

# Who affects whom?

An agenda setting analysis of the news media and politicians' social media intermedia agenda setting effects during the 2015 European election

Anne-Sophie Lindvold

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Vejledt af: Anne Vestergaard

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## Abstrakt

### **”Nyhedsmediet og politikkernes sociale mediers indvirkning på hinandens agenda setting under EU-valget i 2015”**

Formålet med denne afhandling er at undersøge, hvilken indflydelse og påvirkning nyheds mediet og de sociale medier har på hinanden i udviklingen af en specifik nyhed.

Specialet tager udgangspunkt i agenda setting teorien, som er baseret på opfattelsen af at nyhedsmedierne har en indflydelse på offentlighedens opfattelse af, hvad der udgør de vigtigste nyheder i en given periode. Dette vil blive sat i relation til, hvordan politikerne vælger at prioritere specifikke nyheder via *posts* og *tweets* på deres social medier.

Til at belyse dette forhold tager afhandlingen udgangspunkt i en case study, der omhandler nyhedsmedierne og de sociale mediers dækning af det danske EU-valg i 2015. Her vil specialet søge at redegøre for de to medieplatformes prioriteringer af nyheder for valget i forhold til valg af emner og aktører samt de evalueringer, der bliver lavet om disse.

Ydermere bestræber afhandlingen sig på at belyse, hvordan intermedia agenda setting teorien kan forklare det eventuelle samspil, der eksisterer mellem nyhedsmediet og de sociale medier.

Undersøgelsen af ovennævnte er udfærdiget via en indholdsanalyse af de førnævnte medier, som derved kvantitativt vil vise sammenhængen mellem nyhedsmedierne og de sociale mediers dækning af EU-valget i forhold til de vigtigste emner og aktører. Ligeså vil et udpluk af disse data blive analyseret kvalitativt ved hjælp af en tekstanalyse, der vil bidrage til at belyse de forskellige evalueringer og aspekter som nyhedsmedierne og de sociale medier danner under valget.

Udfaldet af denne undersøgelse af nyhedsmedierne og politikkernes social medier prioriteringer i deres kommunikation af valget, vil komme med forslag til hvad resultatet kunne antyde omkring politikkernes social medier og nyhedsmediernes påvirkning af hinanden. Da analysen fandt ligheder i politikkernes og nyhedsmediernes måde at belyse og evaluere emner og aktører under valget, kunne dette antyde at nyhedsmedierne og politikkernes social media til en vis grad var påvirket af hinandens prioriteringer af emner og aktører under EU-valget. Dermed kan undersøgelsen være med til at præsentere en ide om, hvordan medier og politikere påvirker hinanden og dermed politikkernes og nyhedsmediernes agenda setting.

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## Chapter 1. Introduction

The news media is a powerful influence when it comes to what to think about a particular topic – especially when it comes to politics. For the past decades, the printed newspaper, along with TV, has been the primary source of information whereas now, the digital media has taken part in being a platform for communicating news with political content (Groshek & Groshek, 2013).

This could be seen in the previous presidential election in the United States in 2012, in which a big part of the political candidates' campaigns were communicated through social media (Conway et al, 2015). The reason for social media's popularity among politicians is that it has become a platform for the politicians to communicate with their voters without being depending on the news media's communication channel.

Research has been conducted in order to see the relationship between the news media and social media when it comes to the salience of a particular topic (Conway et al, 2014, p. 363).

The study shown that the news media has had a tendency to research their news stories on the basis on what happens on politicians' social media.

This could imply that there the news media is undergoing changes from being the be gatekeepers of news information to a more dynamic process in which the news media and social media co-create specific news by referring to each other in articles and social media posts.

On the other hand, other scholars argue that the media is still the primary source when it comes to prioritising the salience and importance of the news. Thus, the politicians are still depending on the news media when campaigning during an election (Conway, 2014).

As a result of the different suggestions of how news media and politicians' social media affect each other, there are reason to examine how news media and politician's social media communicate different political issues and actors and how they affect each other in their communication.

### **1.1 Problem area**

Recent studies show that actors, in this case the politicians, have increased their use of social media as a way to communicate to their voters (Van Dalen et al., 2015, p. 305).

In effect, this could lead to new conditions for how the news media should communicate to their receivers in order to stay relevant and credible as a news source. Also, it raises the question of whether news media is the optimal media channel for politicians to campaign to their voters during the elections.

Therefore, the field is relevant to examine, because it seeks to contribute to an understanding of how the public sources in society, the media and politicians, affect each other and thereby the general opinion formation (Etter & Vestergaard, 2015).

### **1.2 Problem statement**

The dissertation works with the assumption that the news that flourishes on social media can have an effect on how news media chose to set an agenda and vice versa.

In that way, the dissertation seeks to clarify how the politicians' posts on social media influence the traditional news media's prioritising on news.

Additionally, the dissertation will seek to examine how the news media affects the politicians prioritising of news on social media. In particular, the dissertation will examine the relationship between the news media and politicians' social media through a comparison of what issues and actors are prioritised in the news media and politicians' social media in terms of salience and evaluations throughout the EU-election in 2015.

The theoretical foundation for the dissertation will be based on the communication scholar Maxwell McCombs and his theory about agenda setting in relation to mass communication.

The dissertation will seek to take McCombs' theory into revisions in regards to how the relationship between the social media and news media affect each other and thereby the politicians' social media and news media's agenda setting.

In the dissertation, it will be examined how specific news evolves in terms of salience and evaluations on the politicians' social media as well as news media.

The specific news will be related to the Danish EU-election the 3rd of December 2015 in regards to the Danish legal reservations.

The above-mentioned leads to the following problem statement:

*How do news media and social media affect each other in terms of frequency, evaluations and framing of issues and actors during the Danish EU-election?*

### **1.3 Research questions:**

In order to ease the process of answering the problem statement, research questions have been created: Sub Question: How can McCombs' agenda setting theory, in which the news media prioritises the salience of particular news, be extended to social media in relation to the relationship of the development of news between news media and politicians' social media?

**1.Sub Question:** Which issues and actors are salient in the Danish news media's articles and the politicians' social media posts during the EU-election?

**2.Sub Question:** Which attributions are made in the news media's articles and politicians' social media posts during the EU-election?

**3. Sub Question:** How can intermedia agenda setting theory explain the relationship between the news medias' and politicians' social media communication of the EU-election?

### **1.4 The structure of the dissertation**

The previous section has formulated the problem area and problem statement of the dissertation. After the presentation of the dissertation's structure the theoretical section of the dissertation will be presented.

**Chapter 2:** In this section, the theoretical foundation for the dissertation's definition of agenda setting will be presented. This will lead to a presentation of McCombs' agenda setting theory in relation to his study of the US presidential campaign in 1968 that lead him to this theory. Next, the different levels of agenda setting will be presented. These levels will also be for the structure of the empirical analysis. McCombs' agenda setting theory will

be put into perspective with social media with emphasis on how social media has affected how politicians and news media priorities news in their communication.

Thus, the section will seek to answer the first research question which seeks to put McCombs agenda setting theory into perspective with social media.

**Chapter 3** This will lead to the methodology section, in which the dissertation's use of content analysis and textual analysis will be presented and implications discussed. Additionally, this paragraph will include how the collected data have been analysed through the content analysis and textual analysis.

**Chapter 4** This chapter will analyse the empirical data content analysis and textual analysis. This will include McCombs' framework by analysing the issues and actors in relation to the first level agenda setting, thus answering research question 1. Next, the actors and issues will be analysed in term of the evaluations that the media platforms make about them and thereby answer research question 2 and 3. The analysis of the different data will through the use of intermedia agenda setting effect discuss how the news media and social media data affects one another.

**Chapter 5:** The analysis will end up with a discussion of the result. In the discussion, the results will be reflected on in relation to the results of previous agenda setting studies.

**Chapter 6:** The dissertation will end up with a conclusion, which will sum up the points discussed in the different research questions as well as the results from the empirical analysis.

## 1.5 Literature review

The aim with the literature review was to create an overview of previous literatures' contribution to the agenda setting relationship between news media and politicians' social media. This would provide the dissertation with an understanding of how previous studies had carried out their studies methodologically and what they could conclude on the basis of these studies.



For instance, in his study of Twitter posts and news media prioritising of issues, the scholar Conway found a symbiotic relationship between the agenda communicated on the political candidates' Twitter posts and traditional news during the presidential election in 2012 (Conway et al, 2015, p. 363).

Through a content analysis on the news media's articles and the presidential candidates' Twitter post, Conway could present a result that showed that six of the seven identified issues on the candidates' Twitter posts were also apparent in the news media's articles. Thus, the results suggested that during an election, politicians could highly affect the agenda of the news media through their Twitter posts.

Furthermore, the scholars Van Dalen, Fazekas, Klemmesen and Hansen created a study of how the Danish politicians used agenda setting on their Facebook pages during the Danish Parliamentary Election in 2011 compared to the politicians' traditional campaigning. In the study, the scholars found that the discussion of the scholars' defined issues on Facebook were relatively low between the political candidates and the voters (Van Dalen et al, 2015, p. 319). Yet, the political candidates used the salience of particular issues on Facebook as a way to campaign their own political message on Facebook. In addition to this, the study did a survey in which the different politicians explained that they did not use Facebook as a strategic tool but rather to give the appearance of being modern (Van Dalen, 2015, p. 321). Thus, the results from Conway et al. and Van Dalen et al. could suggest that there exist different perspective on how the politicians' use their social media in relation to political campaigns. Additionally, there exist mixed opinions about how the news medias' prioritising of news is affected by the politicians' campaigns on social media. The mixed results from the two studies have a relevance to the dissertation's study, which will seek to examine the gaps presented in the two studies.

## Chapter 2. Theoretical analysis

The theoretical analysis has been made with the purpose of positioning the dissertation's study of agenda setting into a theoretical context. The main focus of the theoretical section will be to explain and discuss the dissertation's understanding of agenda setting and how agenda setting has been undergoing change in relation to social media. The section will put emphasis on how social media, have had an effect on how news media and politicians communicates the salience of news to the public. This will be examined with a particular focus on previous studies conclusions of how social media has affected the news medias' agenda setting process. In addition to this, previous studies of politicians' use of social media have advocated that politicians now campaigns through their social media. This will lead to a presentation of the intermedia agenda setting theory, which will serve as a theoretical explanation to how the news media and politicians might affect each other's agenda setting process.

In order to form an understanding of how the dissertation has applied agenda setting theory in its study, the first part of the section will explain the theoretical understanding that the dissertation has for agenda setting theory and how this theoretical standpoint will have an affect on the rest of the dissertation. This will be done through Harold Laswell's communication models and Jürgen Habermas' concept of the *public sphere*.

### **2.1 Theoretical foundation for agenda setting processes**

The first theoretical section will explain how Harold Laswell and Jürgen Habermas provide a theoretical foundation through their contribution to communication processes. Their views have relevance in relation to the agenda setting theory as Lasswell's communication model will set the methodological foundation of how communication analysis can be regarded as a scientific process. Jürgen Habermas will set the theoretical foundation through his concept of the public sphere. This concept will set the theoretical foundation to how the dissertation regards the development of social media in agenda setting theory in regards to agenda setting theory.

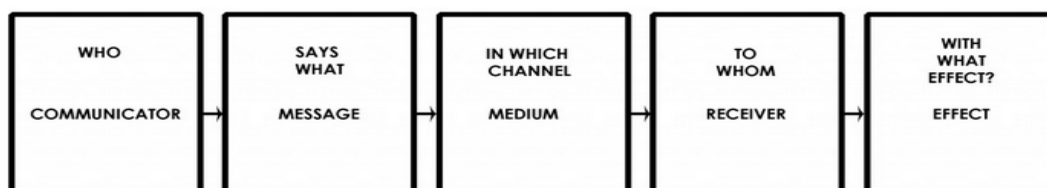
### 2.1.1 Harold Lasswell's linear communication model

This section will examine Lasswell's communication model and will implement his view of communication transmission as a linear process that can be measured. In addition to this, the dissertation will primarily focus on one element of the communication model, which is what messages the communicators, news media and politicians, communicate during the EU-election. Yet, the news media will also be regarded as a media channel when the dissertation illustrates that the politicians now can campaign to their voters through the news media, as a media channel and through the social media.

A key scholar in terms of communication processes is Harold Lasswell and his model for communication. In Lasswell's model, he describes the communication process as a formula in which communication transfers from a sender, who sends a message in a particular channel to a receiver, which then creates an effect.

The communication formula could be seen as a model in which all elements could be analysed in order to understand a particular communication situation. However, the model was also constructed as a formula to examine each of the different elements in the communication process (Just & Burø, 2010, p. 75).

It is worth noticing that Just & Burø state that Lasswell's communication model should be seen as a model that can illustrate the transmission of a communication message. However, they posit that Lasswell's model does not take for granted that even though a communication message channels from a sender to the receiver, the message does not automatically have the sender's aspired effect when it reaches the receiver. There is not necessarily a direct transmission between what the sender wants to communicate and how the receiver responds to it. The point of view Just & Burø presents of how Lasswell does not state that the transmission of a particular communication message might not be the same between the sender and receiver will also be applied in the dissertation



*Lasswell's communication model*

In this dissertation Harold Lasswell's communication model will be applied to agenda setting theory in terms of its notion that communication can be measured and analysed. The dissertation will focus on Lasswell's linear approach to the sender, a similar approach that will be applied in the understanding of agenda setting as a communication process in which the sender communicates a message through a channel to a messenger. The point of view Just & Burø presents of how Lasswell does not state that the transmission of a particular communication message might not be the same between the sender and receiver will also be applied in the dissertation.

The dissertation's definition of agenda setting will base its theoretical assumption on the fact that the media channel prioritises particular aspects of a communication message, which may affect the sender's communication message.

In this dissertation, this can be illustrated by the fact that before social media, politicians would campaign through the news media channel. However, the news media, as a media channel, could have an effect of what aspect of the campaign is communicated and thus, the news media has an effect on the message.

In the dissertation, the empirical analysis will primarily focus on the message between two senders; the news media and politicians. Yet, the news media will serve as two roles in the dissertation; the primary role is as a sender of a particular message, yet, the news media is seen as a media channel when discussing how social media has acquired the politicians with a new media platform. Additionally, to his communication formula, Lasswell also argues that in order to acquire an objective analysis of the communication process, one applies the content analysis (Franzosi, 2007).

Thus, the dissertation will analyse its empirical data through a content analysis in order to analyse the content of the two sender's message in order to see whether they share similarities in their aspects and prioritising of news stories.

#### *2.1.1.2 Implications with Lasswell's' model*

Lasswell's communication model has relevance in the dissertation's understanding of the communication process that occurs in agenda setting theory. Through the communication model and methodology, Lasswell contributes to the dissertation's assumption that the communication process can be measured quantitatively.

The main critic of Lasswell's communication model is the fact that it does not take into account that the media channel can affect the message and thus affect the receiver. A similar critic will be presented in the section of agenda setting as they both share the same linear aspect of communication process.

However, this notion of communication processes is something the dissertation will seek to examine and discuss through its inclusion of newer researches that illustrate how social media has affected this communication process from the notion of being linear to more dynamic. This is also why the dissertation has included the intermedia agenda setting to see if there exist a more dynamic relationship between the news media and politicians through their use of social media.

Additionally, another implication of Lasswell's communication model is the fact that the dissertation will focus on the communication process between two senders, the news media and politicians' social media. Though, Lasswell argues it this is possible to do so, it does leave out the rest of the elements in the transmission of a message. For instance, one could discuss if it is relevant to examine the messages of two senders if it does not have any effect on the receiver. However, the dissertation will work with the assumption that the voters, which will be considered the receivers, will have access to social media and news channel, online as well as offline. Consequently, there is a chance that the receiver will see the news media's articles and social media's posts.

### **2.1.2 Jürgen Habermas' public sphere**

The dissertation will use Jürgen Habermas as a theoretical foundation for how social media has changed the way in which the news media, politicians as well as citizens, have been given a new channel, through social media, to acquire and communicate political messages to the public.

Habermas will thus be used in order to provide the dissertation with the perspective that combines Lasswell's communication model of mass communication with the actors in society, which in this case are politicians and the news media. Consequently, Habermas will also serve as an argument for why this particular problem area is relevant not only for communicators but for the society as a whole.

Habermas defines the *public sphere* as a space for the development of shared culture and ideas located between the realm of public authority (government) and the private realm of civil society (Hodkinson, 2011, p. 174).

Thereby, the dissertation has understood Habermas' definition of the public sphere as a vision to strive towards through the use of news media as the transmitter between the public authority and civil society. Thus, Habermas envisioned a society in which the availability of information would be provided through the news media in order for the civil society to properly interact in debates and discussion about the society.

Even though Habermas includes on the civil society, between public authority and civil society, the dissertation will focus on the public sphere through the news media and the politicians' social media. As the news media and politicians will work as transmitters of political communication, they thus have an effect on the opinion formation of the public. This links Habermas' public sphere to the theory of agenda setting as agenda setting seeks to analyse how the news media and politician priorities specific aspect of news, which then affect the voters, the civil society, in that they will priorities the same aspects of these news.

#### *2.1.2.1 Habermas' public sphere in relation to social media*

This section will present the notion of how Habermas' public sphere can be related to the introduction of social media in agenda setting theory. The introduction of social media has not only had an effect on how the public communicate with each other but has also provided politicians with the ability to communicate directly to their voter. Additionally, the voters also have the ability to discuss and respond to the information provided by the politicians.

Some scholars have argued that this new social media platform for politicians as well as their voters have decentralised communication since each participants of social media are equally entitled to comment or raise a new question or create their own news through the posts of social media (Halpern & Gibbs, 2012).

Others researcher have questioned whether this notion is true, which has been exemplified through the research of Davis who found that people who attended discussions on online forums such as social media only tend to interact in political debates with groups that agrees with the same political views. Thus, David suggests that social media are only reinforcing

groups with similar views and thereby separating people by groups instead of uniting them in a diverse public sphere (Halpern & Gibbs, 2012).

The scholars Daniel Halpern and Jennifer Gibbs have previously carried out a study in which they related Habermas to social media in terms of democracy. According to Habermas, the public should search for information in order to avoid being regulated by the macro society. Thus, Halpern and Gibbs examined the link between social media in terms of political discussions. They did so, through an analysis of the difference between the political utterances on the public's Facebook and YouTube (Halpern & Gibbs, 2012). They found that the comments on posts on Facebook were more likely to be highly argumentative and the users would spend more time on elaborating on their comments compared to YouTube in which the comment were short statements without any justifications.

As a result, the study of Halpern & Gibbs could be argued to illustrate that the social media channel, Facebook has a higher tendency to set the foundation for an ideal public sphere as the users debate through rational arguments.

In relation to agenda setting, the findings from Halpern & Gibbs will set the dissertation's view of Facebook and Twitter as a new relevant media platform for politicians to communicate with their voters without the interference of the media as an extra communication channel.

#### 2.1.2.2 Implications of Habermas public sphere in relation to social media.

This section will seek to explain how Habermas' concept of public sphere has been criticised, how the dissertation has applied this critic in the dissertation and what effect it could have for the outcome of the dissertation's results.

Habermas' public sphere has been criticised for being a utopia for communication as the critics state that a pure rational discussion, between the civil society and public government, will never exist.

Additionally, the public sphere has never been and will never be able to access all political communication in order to form the rational discussions.

Thus the deliberation of the civil society as well could be seen as a utopia.

On the basis of these implications, the dissertation will view social media as a platform to which politicians more easily can interact and go into a dialogue with their voters. The social media will not be seen as a deliberation for the voters and politicians in terms of acquiring and communicate political topics. Instead social media will be regarded as a new

platform for politicians to communicate with their voters without being dependent on the news media,

The dissertation's notion of social media as a new media channel for politicians to communicate with each other, which could have an effect on how the politicians communicate their message to the voters but also to the news media.

As a result, the dissertation will regard social media as a platform that affects the public sphere in society. However, it does not take a stand to how it will affect the society as a whole. Instead it will study the communication process between politicians and news media.

### *2.1.3 Summary*

The previous sections have described Harold Lasswell's communication model with the aim of illustrating how the same linear approach would be applied to the agenda setting analysis and thus the notion of how communication can be measured and analysed.

Laswell's communication model defined how the dissertation will focus on one element of the communication model, the messages communicated by the news media and the politicians' social media, and explained how that could affect the empirical analysis as well as the results.

Through Jürgen Habermas' public sphere, the following section wanted to explain how the communication process affects the concept of public sphere. This was related to the introduction of social media and how that could be related to the concept of public sphere. The dissertation took a stand to how the dissertation regarded the social media in relation to the public sphere and how this notion of social media's effect on society could have an effect on the outcome of the dissertation through its neutral stand to how the politicians through their social media posts could affect the news media.

## **2.2. Agenda Setting Theory**

The following chapter is going to illustrate how the news media's priorities in terms of news stories can be explained through the theoretical framework, agenda setting theory, which was developed through the research of Maxwell McCombs. The section will firstly explain its understanding of McCombs' agenda setting theory which will be illustrated through an explanation of the different agenda setting levels.



The agenda setting theory will be positioned in relation to the development of social media and will analyse and discuss how the social media could have an effect on the agenda setting theory. This will be examined through previous studies and their results of the relationship between politicians' social media and news media's prioritising of news. These studies will focus on how the politicians' social media in particular have affected agenda setting in relation to the news media creation of news stories and politicians' campaign during the election.

This will be put into relation with the intermedia agenda setting theory, which will seek to explain what effects the politicians' social media can have on the politician and news media prioritising of news.

### 2.2.1 McCombs' agenda setting theory and research

The concept of agenda setting theory was innovated by Walter Lippmann (1922) in his famous book, "Public Opinion," where he posited the notion that the media constructs the public's view of the world. This notion was then identified by McCombs' and Shaw's studies. According to McCombs and Shaw:

*The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful in telling its readers what to think, but it is stunningly in telling its readers what to think about. (Baran & Davis, 2014, s. 279)."*

The news media display a selection of news each day and the news media signals the existence of major events and issues. Additionally, McCombs posits that when the news media do so, the news media influences the public's perception of what are the most important issues and actors.

In order to find empirical evidence for his study, McCombs & Shaw conducted a number of studies during the US presidential campaign in 1968 in which they operated with the hypothesis that the mass media sets the agenda of issues for the political candidates' campaign by influencing the salience of issues among voter (McCombs, 2004,p.4)

In their research, they found that the voters' categorisation of the most important issues during the election had a similar correspondence with the most salience news in the news media. Thus, McCombs' research was an important milestone in examining the effect that the mass media had on the public opinion.

### 2.2.1.1 The agenda setting levels

In order to perform an agenda setting analysis, agenda setting can be analysed from two levels. The first level seeks to analyse which issues that is emphasised by the media and thus become important issues to the public. The second level then analyses how the media discuss these issues through the attributions that is being put on these different issues.

#### 2.2.1.1.1 First level agenda setting

The first level of agenda setting wants to examine how the news media priorities specific issues and actors, which then can have an effect on the issues and actors that the public priorities as important.

According to Coleman, McCombs, Shaw and Weaver expands on the first level of agenda stating as:

*“The process of the mass media presenting certain issues frequently and prominently with the result that large segments of the public come to perceive those issues as more important than others ... the more coverage an issue receives, the more important it is to people”*

(Coleman, McCombs, Shaw and Weaver, 2009, p. 147).

First level agenda setting presents the theoretical assumption of how the media accentuate certain issues and actors in the news picture which then affects how the public perceive the importance of those issues and actors. Thus, the first level of agenda setting seeks to analyse which actors and issues are salient in the news media and the politicians' social media and thus the public's agenda.

#### 2.2.1.1.2 Second level agenda setting

Agenda setting can be further analysed through the second level agenda setting, which aims to examine how the issue and actors are discussed in the media. The evaluations and attributions the news media has on the particular issues and actors will provide the second level of agenda setting. Whereas the first level of agenda setting tells the public “*what to think about*” in terms of which actors and issues are important, second level of agenda setting focuses on the attributes of these actors and issues, hence, “*How we should think*” about the different objects (Coleman, McCombs, Shaw and Weaver, 2009, p. 150).

Consequently, McCombs argues that the media not only tells us which issue and actors are important, the media also tells us what to think about these issues and actors.

The second level of the agenda setting analyse will help illustrate how the news media and politicians present the actors and issues in terms of which characteristics emphasise in their communication of these. The second level can include the term of *framing* to analyse the attributions of the issues and actors. Yet the dissertation will focus on the attributions of the issues and actors while having in mind that framing is defined as an extensions of these attributions.

#### *2.2.1.2 Implications with McCombs' theory and research*

McCombs has been criticised for focusing on the salience of issues and the attributes that the news media communicates about them.

According to Scheufele' studies, McCombs focus too little on the issues' and actors' attributes, Sheufele considers more important to analyse in an agenda setting context (Sheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

In relation to the implications with Laswell's communication model, McCombs' empirical research is primarily based on numbers and calculations, which in effect could leave out the nuances and perspective of the data, which could have an influence on how the news media communicates an issue and how the public in return regards that issue.

The dissertation will analyse its empirical data quantitatively through figures and graphs, agenda setting levels in order to acquire the same objective approach to the communication process.

Consequently, the dissertation will in its first and second level analysis apply the implications of McCombs through its use of rhetorical strategies, which will define the different attributions that the news stories will have.

#### *2.2.2 Expanding on agenda setting in relation to social media*

The following section will explain how agenda setting has been undergoing revision through past years' research in line with the development of social media as a new platform for politicians to communicate to each other as well as to the news media.

The first section will present previous studies of how social media have affected the agenda setting theory in regards to how social media has changes the way politicians campaign during an election. The second section will present previous studies of how social media have affected how the news media research their news stories through politicians' social media.

This will end up with a description of intermedia agenda setting theory, which will illustrate how the news media's articles and politicians' social media posts could have an influence on each others' agenda setting priorities.

Finally, the presentation of social media and its effect on agenda setting in relation to politicians' campaigns and news media's articles will lead to an analysis of how the politicians' social media could have an implication for the concept of agenda setting theory and how that have been accommodated in the dissertation.

#### 2.2.2.1 Social media's agenda setting effects on politicians' campaigns

Social media has affected the way the politicians and public prioritise the importance of issues and actors in political news.

As Conway et al states, agenda setting is undergoing scrutiny as society now finds itself in a media environment in which anyone can produce news through social media (Conway et al, 2015, p. 364).

Therefore, political figures such as politicians now also use social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook as a way to articulate and formulate their political campaigns.

Previous studies have showed that when examining political discussions across the social media platform Twitter, they have found convergence between issues discussed on Twitter and news media (Conway et al, 2015, p. 365).

When using the social media platforms, political actors have the possibility to engage and influence the users of the social media profiles; they can monitor and respond to the views expressed by these users on different political issues (Anstead & O'Loughlin, 2014, 207). Thus, these studies put an emphasis on the fact that the social media has had an influence on the general notion of the new media as being gatekeepers of what issues and actors would be prioritised in the media scene.

The politicians have an extra media channel, through social media, in which they can communicate their political campaigns as they see fit without being depending on the extra media channels.

Even though McCombs' agenda setting theory put an emphasis on the relationship between how the media affect the public, the dissertation will focus on how the introduction of social media has influenced the way in which the politicians can communicate and influence the news media during the election. As a result, the dissertation will have the theoretical

assumption that the politicians' social media posts as well as news media's articles will affect the public.

Research by Conway indicates that the social media platforms, Twitter in particular, serve as news source for journalistic content. Thus, it could be argued that there could exist a reciprocal relationship between the news media and the politicians' social media posts. However, scholars also argue that politicians are still reliant on news media when politicians campaign during an election (Conway et al, 2015, p. 364). Thus, there is still some debate to how much the social media platforms affect the politicians' ability to influence the public agenda in comparison to the news media. In this dissertation, the aim with the empirical data is to examine the relationship between the news media and politicians' news media and when their salience and attributions of issue corresponds. Thus, the analysis will also aim to suggest how much the two media platforms affect each other.

#### 2.2.2.2 Social media's agenda setting effects in news media research

This section will examine how the agenda setting theory, with the introduction to social media, has affected the research on how news media collects and creates news and affect the public's agenda setting process.

Additionally, the chosen researches will examine how much news media uses politicians' social media, in particular Twitter, when creating their news stories. The included research will present how a similar theoretical approach will be applied in the dissertation.

In a democratic political system, the media serves to have two functions to the public: they are the *transmitters of political communication* and the *sender of political messages* (McNair, 2011, p. 11). The first role of being a transmitter means that the media functions as a transmitter for what messages different political figures want to communicate through for instance press releases. In addition to this, the media remain objective and neutral in terms of what message to communicate as these messages originate outside the media organisation itself.

In regards to the second function of being the sender of political messages, the media put themselves into the political arena and transmit their own political messages, which are constructed by journalists and other producers such as experts, bloggers etc. (McNair, 2011, p.11). The dissertation will seek to illustrate the two roles that the news media has through

its content analysis of politicians' social media and news media. When analysing the politicians' social media posts, it will be done through the assumption that the politicians' have the social media as a communication platform as well as the news media. Thereby the news media, in the content analysis of social media will be regarded as transmitters of political messages.

In the content analysis of the news article, the news media will be analysed in regard to its second role as a sender of political sender in society.

The section will base its theoretical understanding of how the news media apply social media in their work through the study of Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. In their research, the study wanted to examine how news journalists gathered their information through social media when researching for news stories.

The study found that the majority of journalists used social media when searching for potential news stories. In addition to this, the study also found that journalists used social media in order to get an idea of what was the new breaking news in the political world. Thus, the study showed that journalists used Twitter and Facebook as a tool to acquire information around a certain topic, which could suggest that social media's agenda setting might have an effect on what the news media priorities in their own agenda setting (Alejandro, 2010, p. 31).

Based on the studies by Reuters Institute, the politicians' prioritising of specific news on social media could have an effect on what the journalists prioritises when writing their news articles.

#### 2.2.2.3 Intermedia agenda setting effects

In order to theoretically explain the process that undergo the prioritising that the news media has on a particular news and how that affects the politicians' communication on social media and vice versa, the dissertation will apply the theory of intermedia agenda setting effects.

Intermedia agenda setting explains how one news media prioritising in salience of issues and actors can affect other media channels' priorities in salience of the same issues and actors.

John Groshek and Megan Groshek points out there has become a demand to take intermedia agenda setting into revision as well with the raise of the social networking sites (Groshek & Groshek, 2013, p.17).

Traditional intermedia agenda setting has looked at how the salience and attributions of issue in big newspapers such as the Times spirals down to other smaller newspapers that prioritise similar salience of the same issues.

Thus, intermedia agenda setting has operated with the general assumption that the communication model is a top-down process. Instead, it has been argued that, social networking sites provides intermedia agenda-setting with a communication process that is dynamic in the sense that the audiences of the political messages from the news media can shape and produce their own news as well which then reflects the certain aspect or emphasis that the news media apply to their news articles as well.

In the previous mentioned study by Groshek, he concluded that journalist to some degree are affected by what the politicians post on their Twitter.

However, in Groshek & Groshek's study, they examined Facebook and Twitter in order to discuss when social media platforms corresponded with news media in terms in relation to salience of issues. They did so by analysing the most frequent stories among the public with the stories prioritised in the news media outlets, New York Times and CNN).

They concluded that the public does not have a big agenda setting effect on what the news media communicated. As a result, research of intermedia agenda setting effect shows conflicting results of how the different parts in society affects each other.

#### 2.2.2.4 implications with the expansion of agenda setting

The section will presents how the introduction of social media has had an influenced of how news media prioritises the salience of news. The section will focus on how this introduction of social media may have an implication in terms of the presented theories about agenda setting, which then could have an effect on how the dissertation have chosen to study social media's and news media influence on each other.

The new area in terms of how social media affect the communication process between mass media and the public can argue to have an effect on how to measure agenda setting among the news media and the politicians because the communication process changes from being

Lasswell's one-way model to a more two way dynamic model in which the lines between sender and receiver could be argued to become blurred.

Therefore, it can have implication for agenda setting research, when measuring the effect of the communication process, as it will make the process of defining the sender and the receiver more difficult.

The introduction of social media have presented a new opportunity for politicians' to communicate directly with their voters in the sense that the politicians can skip one the channel, news media. In relation to Laswell's communication model, through social media, the politicians can skip the channel element in the communication model that would function as the news media.

Previous studies have shown conflicting results in relation to the intermedia agenda setting effects of social media as the study by Reuters states that the journalists used Twitter in order to research different stories, yet the study by Groshek and Groshek showed that the news media are not affected by of the public agenda prioritise a particular news.

Thus, the intermedia agenda setting affects of social media could suggest that the journalists uses social media to create their own story but if a particular news gets many retweeed from the public it does not have an affect on the media's news agenda Additionally, other studies shows that politicians are increasingly campaigning through social media.

The conflicting results could result from the argument that politicians and news media in particular have different interests in their prioritising news, which affect the intermedia agenda setting effect. The notion of the two media platforms different interests in their prioritising of social media is a notion that will be further discussed in the presentation of the results of the empirical analysis.

### *2.2.3 Summary of theoretical foundation*

The theoretical section has tried to present the theoretical foundation that will base the assumptions about mass communication in regard to its effect on the public in regards to Laswell's scientific to communication through his models.

Second, it presented the politicians and news media relevance in relation to social media through Habermas' concept of the public sphere.

This led to a presentation of the dissertation's understanding of agenda setting in relation to McCombs agenda setting first and second agenda setting levels. Agenda setting was



afterwards presented in relation to how the social media platform could have an effect on the politicians' campaigning and the news medias gathering of news. In these sections, previous studies showed conflicting results to how news media and politicians' social media affect each other's agenda setting.

In conclusion, the theoretical section presented the term intermedia agenda setting effects. Intermedia agenda setting effects will set the theoretical foundation for how two media channels can affect each other's priorities in agenda setting.

## Chapter 3. Methodology & Empirical Data

In the following paragraph, the methodological considerations for this dissertation will be presented. First, the paragraph will present the theory of science for the dissertation. Second, it will present the methodology of using a case study and empirical data, including the data collecting process. Thirdly, the paragraph will present the reflections of the choice of methodology and how it could affect the examination of the dissertation's problem statement.

### **3.1 Theory of science**

The choice of the theory of science will have an effect on how the dissertation understands and approaches the problem statement that the dissertation seeks to study. The dissertation will approach its study through the social constructivist approach. The social constructivism is included on the basis of the notion that the world is interchangeable in relation to the fact that the individual's subjectivity will have an effect on the examined data.

The approach that the study has to its theory and methodology could suggest that the dissertation would have taken a positivistic approach as it would seek to quantitatively and objectively study the agenda setting processes between news media and politicians social media. Yet, the dissertation applies the ontology that the examined objects should be studied in relation to their context. This means that had another observer conducted the study in another time, the result might not have been the same.

#### *3.1.2 Social Constructivism*

When analysing communicative data, it can be difficult as an observer to do so in an objective manner without affecting the data. This is only amplified by the fact that the examined topic is a political subject, in which there is a high risk of biased opinions about the collected data.

This is something that social constructivism discusses in its approach of how to examine the social reality. The social constructivism's ontology states that the people construct the reality. Therefore, it is impossible to make a true conclusion about how the world is organised because it is a constructed reality (Nygaard, 2012, p. 36).

Thus, the ontology of the social constructivism is relativistic; the notion of what is real and true depends on the social, cultural and linguistic perspective that is being put into that reality.

This lead to a subjective epistemology, which means that knowledge about the world, is an expression of how the observer interprets it (Nygaard, 2012, p.36).

Social constructivism argues that the studies are often inductive meaning that the different data and the results that they will lead to will resolve in a final theory. (Egholm, 2014, p.149).

As a result, all conclusions in the dissertation should be seen in regards to the time its been examined as variables such as time and place can affect the results.

The collected data should be seen in regards to the fact that the data have been analysed two months after the election, which could have an affect on the outcome.

In the dissertation, the observer already knew how the election progressed and resulted.

Thereby, the observer could have applied its own construction of the election in the analysis and construct the analysis in relation to its own interpretations. This is why the dissertation bases most of its data on the objective and quantified data and uses the qualitative analysis in order to emphasis or illustrate points in the quantitative analysis.

Social constructivism's aim to put language and linguistic methods in centre is reflected in the dissertation's qualitative methodology, which is to analyse a selection of the data through a textual analysis (Nygaard, 2012, p. 36). Through the textual analysis, the analysis wanted to analyse the issues and actors in relation to the social context, they were created with the focus on what rhetorical strategies were applied in the news media articles and politicians' social media posts.

#### *3.1.2.1 Limitations to social constructivism*

The limitation with social constructivism is the fact that the observer's own reality can affect the analysed object and thus affect the results. This is also referred to as the *double hermeneutic problem*; the observer will always be affected by its own understanding of the observed data (Nygaard, 2012, p.129). This is why the dissertation seeks to address the analysis with objective methods through a textual analysis in order to analyse the data as objective as possible.

The same limitation has been put into consideration when choosing to analyse the news media articles and politicians' social media posts. It could be argued that the news media and social media posts would form different news and agenda because they share different constructions of the social reality and thereby different aims with their communication. The politicians could be argued to have an interest in spreading the message of their campaign

to their voters. Whereas, it could be argued that the news media would primarily be interested in writing an interesting and selling article.

## 3.2 Case study

The following section will review the choice of case study as well as the collected empirical data. Firstly, the paragraph will reason for the choice of the EU-election as a case study, after which the empirical data of the dissertation will be presented with focus on data collecting and data analysis design.

### *3.2.1 Introduction to the Danish EU-election in 2015*

In August 2015, Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen formally set the date for when Denmark would have a referendum in regards to the Danish collaboration with EU. Lars Løkke Rasmussen announced that on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December, there would be a referendum on whether Denmark should end one of Denmark's four legal reservations towards EU. In his announcement, Lars Løkke Rasmussen further stated that if the Danes chose to vote yes to annul the legal reservations, it would not include the European asylum and immigration policy.

If Denmark chose to vote no and keep the legal reservations on EU's justice and home affairs rule, this would possibly have an effect on Denmark's ability to be part of the EU's police unit, Europol. The legal acts that the Danes are voting about is: the cross-border legal aid directive, the cyber crime directive, the directive of combating the abuse and sexual exploitation of children, and the directive on trafficking human beings (DR, 2015).

Before the election, Denmark's five pro-EU parties agreed to band together to support the annulment of the legal reservations. The five pro-EU parties were Venstre, Konservative, Socialdemokraterne, Radikale og SF.

On the no-side was Dansk Folkeparti, Enhedslisten and Liberal Alliance, who wanted to keep keep the legal reservations towards EU.

### *3.2.2 choice of case study as methodology*

The use of a case study as a research method was chosen in order to analyse agenda setting through a concrete example.

The scholar Yin defines the case study as:

*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-world context when boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident* (Yin 2014, p.16).

In relation to this dissertation, the problem statement will be answered through the case study. Through the particular case study, the results from the empirical analysis could be generalised to similar elections. Therefore, these results could be tested on future agenda setting studies.

The EU-election is a case study that is used to research how agenda setting processes work between the news media and the politicians' social media.

According to Yin, the case study research method can combine different epistemological orientations. For instance, Yin argues that the case study can be seen through a realist perspective, in an independent neutral manner. Yet, Yin also notices that there could be the need to acquire the relativistic perspective as well, noting that the analysis of the case study could be argued to depend on the observers' social reality.

Thus, the case study method falls into place with the previous argumentations made in the theory of science paragraph.

However, the disadvantage of the case study, as a research method, is the fact that it is one case that is being examined and concluded from.

In this dissertation, the case study is an election in which it could be argued that the politicians' posts would primarily seek to campaign to their voters.

Therefore, the agenda setting process on the social media could show a different result if the case study was conveyed in another time period in which there would not be an election.

This is something that has been taken into consideration when examining the different data as the analysis regards the posts as part of their political campaign. However, the use of election as a case study will ease the process of comparing the results with previous research studies as they primarily uses elections in their case studies. Additionally, the election context could argue to increase the amount of articles in the defined time period and thus provide the dissertation with more data to analyse. The larger amount of data could argue to provide the analysis with larger and more valid image of the development of issues and actors compared to an "everyday" context.

### 3.3 Empirical data

The empirical foundation will permit in answering the dissertation's problem statements and additionally research questions.

Firstly, it was necessary to acquire information about how the EU-election was communicated through the news media and the politician's social media.

This information was collected through the primary empirical data. In regards to the news media articles, this empirical data was collected through the search engines Factivia and Infomedia. Simultaneously, the social media posts were found through an examination of the different politician's Facebook and Twitter posts.

The secondary data was collected through articles that explained the EU-election and diagrams about politicians and journalists' use of social media as well as academic articles with similar research fields.

#### *3.3.1 secondary empirical data*

The secondary empirical data was used to understand the concept of agenda setting through academic articles that had carried out similar researches.

In addition to this, diagrams were based on the research from the Reuters Institute for the Study for Journalism in order to find a credible source that could illustrate through numbers how journalists used social media in the creation of their news stories.

Finally, descriptive articles about the EU-election were found in order to get an understanding of what the EU-election was about and how the outcome of the results would affect the Danish political arena.

#### *3.3.2 primary empirical data*

The primary data has been analysed quantitatively in the form of a content analysis of news media articles and social media posts. In this dissertation, the news media will be defined as newspapers, printed as well as online, and the social media will be defined as Facebook and Twitter.

The quantitative analysis is characterized by obtaining knowledge on a tangible level with a broad range of people. This makes the collected data quantifiable and makes it possible to generalize the results (Cornelissen, 2011, p. 125). Thus, this method will permit the use of induction to verify the results of the data analysis.

Consequently, the disadvantage of a quantitative analysis is that it cannot provide the research with detailed information about each article. However, some articles have been analysed qualitatively through a textual analysis in order to gain an understanding of how the EU-election was evaluated in the news media and social media.

Finally, it has been taking into consideration that by only conducting a content analysis based on the media and politicians' perspective, it will not propose any suggestions of the effect that the articles and posts had on the public's opinion formation. The analysis will not discuss how the different posts have affected the public's opinion formation but will assume that the public will have had the ability to acquire access to the information communicated by the politicians' social media and the news media.

#### 3.3.2.1 The collection of the news media data

The collection of the data was done by monitoring, collecting and organising the data from the news media from the 20<sup>th</sup> of November to 18<sup>th</sup> of December 2015.

The election was the 3rd of December and in order to get an image of how the election evolved before and after the election, the study wanted to have data from two weeks before the election and two weeks after.

In order to collect the data the two search engines Infomedia and Factivia were used in order to collect articles from the news media. The search word that was used for both search engines was EU retsforbehold (EU legal reservation).

Each day, in this time period, the articles were collected from the search engines Infomedia and Factivia and put into a system that categorised the data according to date.

Through this process, the most salient actors were defined on the basis of how many times they appeared in the articles. In the collection, the actors had to be mentioned one time to be defined as salience. The collection did take count how many time the actors appeared in one articles neither did it define whether the actors should appear in the heading or body of the article to be considered salient. On the basis of this collection of data, the actors were defined as: Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Søren Pind, Morten Messerschmidt and Kristian Thulesen Dahl.

Salience of actors in News media	Frequency of actors
Lars Løkke Rasmussen	112
Søren Pind	35
Morten Messerschmidt	35
Kristian Thulesen Dahl	63
Total	245

### 3.3.2.2 The collection of the social media data

The politicians' social media profiles that would be analysed depended on which politicians appeared in most articles in relation to how many articles their name appeared and not how many times their name appeared in each article.

The collection of the social media data was thus done after the collection and categorisation of the news media articles.

It is worth noticing that other politicians than Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Søren Pind, Morten Messerschmidt and Kristian Thulesen Dahl were appearing in the news media during the election. Although it was not to the same extent, some of these politicians' social media was examined as well in order to make sure that the analysis could quantitatively argue why the four actors were the most salient in social media and news media during the election (Appendix 1).

Salience of actors in social media	Frequency of actors
Lars Løkke Rasmussen	48
Søren Pind	104
Morten Messerschmidt	79
Kristian Thulesen Dahl	40
Total	271



One of those actors was Inger Støjberg who in one period of the election was very salient in the beginning of the election because of an intense debate between her and Morten Messerschmidt. Yet, she was not that salient during the rest of the election. Additionally, she also appeared on Facebook, but she was not that active a user on her Facebook in her frequency of posts.

Another politician was Margrethe Auken who was not that salient in the news media but very salient on her social media posts. Yet, her posts were a mix of the election but also global climate issues. Despite the fact that she was very salient on her social media during the election, the issues did not appear as much on her profile compared to the four chosen politicians.

Again, in order to gain a balance and coherent analysis the actors were thus defined on which were the most salient on social media as well as news media. Additionally, it is important to mention that the four actors also are actors who in general are quite influential in relation to the EU, which is why it would make sense for them to be salient in social media as well as news media during the election. The total number of analysed social media posts was 271.

Article title Wednesday 02.12.15	Source	Writer	Date
Dagen før dagen! Indleder onsdagen med en debat i GO'Morn	Facebook	Kristian Thulesen Dahl	Wednesday 02.12.15
Jeg stemmer nej tak i morgen	Facebook	Kristian Thulesen Dahl	Wednesday 02.12.15
Nej tak i morgen	Facebook	Kristian Thulesen Dahl	Wednesday 02.12.15
Lige nu på Strøget	Facebook	Kristian Thulesen Dahl	Wednesday 02.12.15
Lars Løkke vi giver selvbestemmelse for at få med (retweeted)	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Wednesday 02.12.15
Lektor i politologi ved roskilde (retweeted) (article)	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Wednesday 02.12.15
Her er den artikel som Lars Løkke (retweeted) (article)	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Wednesday 02.12.15
Skaarup kan vi ikke få lidt respekt	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Wednesday 02.12.15
Image: Nej tak i morgen	Facebook	Morten Messerschmidt	Wednesday 02.12.15
Stemmer vi reelt om for eller imod mere EU (retweeted)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Wednesday 02.12.15

*Extract of table with analysed social media posts (Appendix 5)*

### 3.3.2.3 Analyse 1: Organising of data

In the collecting of the data, there was found a total of 920 articles based on 27 different news media (Appendix 2). The news media that had fewer articles during the period, such as the news media Atlas, who had 1 article during the election period, were deleted.

The rest of the news media were then categorized into one table again and by examining them, the articles were categorized based on which actors and issues appeared in them. This was done in order to find a pattern in terms of what issues and actors were the most salient. The issues that appeared the most : mistrust (to the politicians), refugees, terror, police and doubt.

These issues and actors were the most salient during the election in the rest of the news media. The number of issues was inspired by previous studies from Iyengar and Kinder.

They studied the agenda setting effects on television news on the public's opinion about the president's performance in which five issues were defined (McCombs, 2004, p. 13).

Other studies have used three or six issues in their research (McCombs, 2004 p. 4).

However, the dissertation has tried to balance the fact that the dissertation wanted to create a nuanced examination of the study in order to analyse the different perspectives of the election yet, take into consideration that the issues had to appear numerous times to be considered an issue. In order to focus only on these actors and issues, the rest of the news media was examined again in order to see which news media did not prioritise these issues and actors as much as other news medias. For example, in local news media, the EU election was communicated with some of the issues but not to such an extent as Berlingske and Politiken.

Therefore, more news media was cut from the table, which led to seven news media: Berlingske, Ritzau, Politiken, Børsen, Jyllands-Posten, TV2 and DR. These seven news media had a total of 657 articles that would be closely studied and analysed.

Tabel of news media	Number of articles
Politiken	141
Ritzau	124
Jyllands-Posten	114
TV2	81
DR	81
Berlingske	64
Børsen	52
Total	657

Article title: 03.12.15	Source	Writer	Date
Dagen derpa	Berlingske	Anna Libak	Thursday 03.12.15
Debat: et skridt i den rigtige retning?	Berlingske	Søren Hviid Pedersen	Thursday 03.12.15
Ser dansk EU-debat som egoistisk	Berlingske	Jakob Ussing	Thursday 03.12.15
Sådan skal du stemme	Berlingske	Jakob Stig Jørgensen	Thursday 03.12.15
Helle IB: Nej-et er Løkke's første store nederlag	Børsen	Helle Ib	Thursday 03.12.15
Karsten Dybvad: Jeg er ærgerlig	Børsen	Peter Søndergaard	Thursday 03.12.15

*Extract of tabel with seven news medias (Appendix 4)*

### 3.3.2.4 Analyse 2: Content analysis and Textual analysis

The following section will describe how the data was analysed through the use of content analysis as the quantitative analysis and a textual analysis as a qualitative analysis.

#### 3.3.2.4.1 Quantitative analysis: Content analysis

In order to answer research 1, 2 and 3, a content analysis have been carried out of the articles from the news media and posts from the politicians' social media with the aim to compare the results from the collected data from the news media and social media.

Additionally, Abbot and McKinney states that a content analysis is the study of the things that humans have created rather than the people themselves (Abbot & McKinney, 2013, p.316).

In relation to social constructivism, the empirical analysis worked with the assumption that even though the issue and actors were the same during the election, the context and thus the evaluations made of these could change depending on which time of the election they were communicated. Therefore, the dissertation throughout its study wanted to examine how the issues and actors in news media and politician's social media evolve during the election.

Consequently, the number of times the issues and actors appeared, during the election period, was put into a table (Appendix 2) This data would then assist in creating graphs that could show how the issues and actors moved in the social media and news media but it would also help in comparing how the salience of the issues and actors evolved during time between the social media posts and the news media which could then suggest whether the news media and politicians' social media affected each other during some point in the election. The different graphs will assist in illustrating how the issues and actors evolve during the election in salience and attribution in the news articles as well as politicians' social media.

##### 3.3.2.4.1.1 Limitations of the content analysis:

The central problem of content analysis originates mainly in the data-reduction process by which the many words of texts are classified into much fewer content categories. The issue lies in the consistency of text classification (Abbot & McKinney, 2013, p.45).

As a result of the limited amount of pages, all articles from the period from the 20th of November to 18th of December have been examined but not included in the analysis. This would ease the categorisation process with less articles to analyse and categories.

Since the analysis consists of a selection of articles, it might have missed points made in other articles from news medias that were not analysed which is something that could have affected the final result. The dissertation will thus work with the theoretical assumption that the largest news media during the chosen time period would have had an influence of

what the general news medias have been communicating (Lim, 2011).

#### 3.3.2.4.2 Qualitative analysis: Textual analysis

The textual analysis was chosen in order to analyse the articles and posts qualitatively.

Through this analysis, the aim was to gain a more in-depth perspective of how and why the articles and posts evolved the way they did in their salience of actors and issues.

Additionally, the textual analysis was used to emphasise points seen in the content analysis through an analysis of what rhetorical tropes was used in the articles and posts.

The textual analysis was conducted with the aim to analyse how the politicians and news media evaluated and communicated an issue or actors and if the two media platforms had similar rhetorical strategies in communicating these issues and actors.

The fact that the word should be understood in terms of its context also explains the relevance of the rhetorical strategies. For example, metaphors and similes appear in the analysed texts, which are elements in a text that should be understood in relation to the social and cultural context.

The use of a textual analysis with focus on rhetorical strategies will seek to apply a more objective analysis of the dissertation even though the dissertation will also take into consideration that the writer of this dissertation's own social reality might have an effect on how the textual analysis will be carried out.

#### 3.3.2.4.2 Limitations to textual analysis

In relation to what was written in the social constructivism section, the limitation of analysing the different articles through textual analysis could argue to provide the dissertation with a result that reflect the observer's own reality and not necessarily the reality of the politicians or the journalists who wrote the articles or social media posts.

In addition to this, the different issues and actors were analysed in Spring 2016, in which the observer had a particular understanding of the chosen issues and actors as a result of the additional news that have been written about the issues and actors.

Thus the rhetorical strategies used in the analysis might not have had a similar meaning when they were written as to how the observer analysed them at the time of the conduction of the analysis. The term to describe this limitation could be referred to as Laclau and

Mouffe's concept of *hegemony*: the notion that a word can have a specific meaning for a limited time period (Egholm, 2014, p.165).

### **Agenda setting analysis**

The two methods would quantitatively and qualitative analyse how the agenda setting effect occurs in the news medias' and politicians' social media.

#### *First level of agenda setting:*

The data analysis will through the content analysis quantitatively illustrate how the salience of the actors and the issues in the news media and politicians' social media evolve during the election. Thus, the content analysis will help analysing the first level of agenda setting.

#### *Second level of agenda setting*

Furthermore, the content analysis will illustrate how the issues and actors evolve in terms of negative attributions during the election and thus help analysing the second level of agenda setting.

#### *Intermedia agenda setting*

Finally, the analysed data in the first and second level of agenda setting, will be compared in the intermedia agenda setting effect section in order to see if such effects have occurred between the news media and politician's social media.

## **3.5 Methodological reflection**

The following section will examine the validity and reliability of the conducted study of the EU-election. The section will present how the choice of the quantitatively and qualitative method could affect the studies level of validity and reliability

### *3.5.1 Validity*

The validity of the study will seek to questions whether there exist accuracy in the assessment (Thurén, 2001, p.20). The dissertation seeks to acquire validity in its study by

applying a quantitative method, which has been used in similar agenda setting studies. This has been done by assessing the data through a content analysis. The use of different methods, have been used in order to combine the analysis with different perspective of the collected data and thus a more nuanced analysis. This could be argued to increase the validity of the dissertation. Yet, the use of a textual analysis is not that common when analysing agenda setting effects because its outcome can become very subjective and thereby change depending on who is analysing the article. In the dissertation, it has been taking into consideration that the observer's own reality could have affected the process of categorising and analysing actors and issues. Consequently, it could have an effect of the final outcomes, which could decrease level of validity in the dissertation.

### *3.5.2 Reliability*

The reliability refers to the extent to which assessment are consistent (Thurén, 2001, p.20) The study could be argued to have some degree of reliability as the content analysis would possible show the same results if the data was collected and analysed by another observer. However, the disadvantage of using a content analysis, in terms of reliability, could be found in the use of intermedia agenda setting effects. Through intermedia agenda setting effects, the analysis wished to suggest that if the social media's post and news media articles corresponded in their salience of issues and actors during the election period, it could be concluded that they were somehow affected by each other's prioritising. Yet, there is a chance that the articles and posts were produced randomly. Thereby, the observer could have positioned its own expectation of the obtained results into the data analysis.

Additionally, the same could be apparent with the use of qualitative analysis in which the chosen articles might have a different outcome if another observer was to analyse it.

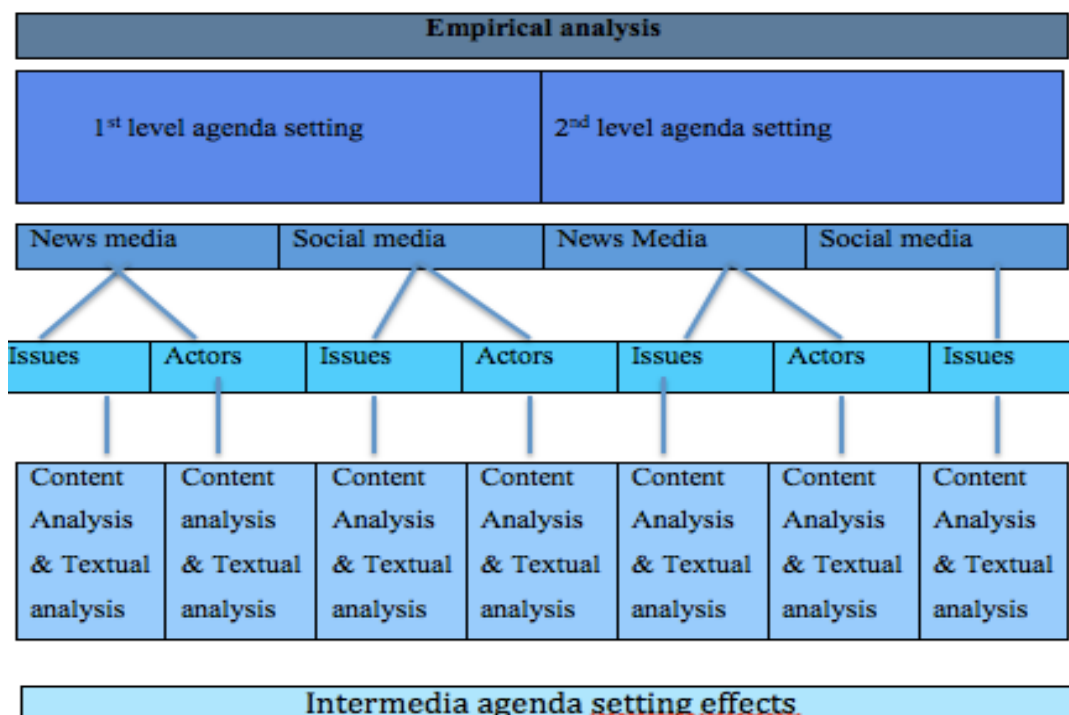
## Chapter 4. Empirical Analysis

The aim with the empirical analysis is to analyse which issues and actors were the most salient in the news media articles and the politicians' social media posts during the EU-election through McCombs agenda setting levels. Thus, the analysis wanted to perform an agenda setting analysis of the two media platforms, which will lead to an comparison of the news media and politicians social media in order to see if they correspond in their priorities of news in the election.

This has been done through a quantitative content analysis of the collected empirical data. Through this analysis, the study wants to see the frequency of actors and issue in terms of salience in the first level of agenda setting. Additionally, the analysis want to analyse what attributions and aspects appears in the news media articles and politicians' social media in the second level of agenda setting.

In order to acquire a more nuanced an in-depth analysis, the content analysis, will be supplemented by a qualitative textual analysis, which will emphasis the content analysis' points and results.

Tabel: *Overview of empirical analysis*



## 4.1 First level agenda setting in news media

The 1<sup>st</sup> level of the agenda setting analysis will start out by analysing the issues and the actors that are the most salience in the news media. The content analysis will be applied to the collected data with the aim of quantitatively illustrate the salience of the different issues and actors during the EU-election. These data will lead into two graphs that demonstrate how the issues and actors evolve in the news media during the election. The times periods during the election in which the issues and actors appear the most will be referred to as *peaks*. In the textual analysis these peaks will be analysed by explaining what social context the different issues and actors should be seen in when analysing them further. Thus, this first part of the analysis will set the foundation for the second level agenda setting analysis.

### 4.1.1 Content analysis in first level agenda setting in news media

The content analysis was applied with the aim of quantitatively acquire an idea of which issues and actors were salient during the EU-election in the news media and politicians' social media. The different actors and issues were filtered in terms of what content they had which was then systematically put into a table. The most frequent issues and actors became the analysed issues and actors based on defined categories that would include the most important trend of the specific time period. The content analysis did not take into consideration whether the issue or actors was on the front page of their offline or online newspaper. Additionally it neither took into consideration whether the article was short or long in the selection process. So, was the same to whether the issues and actors was in the headline of the article or in the article it self. As long as the articles from the top newspapers included these issues and actors, the issues and actors were considered valid for the analysis.

#### 4.1.1.1 Issues in news media

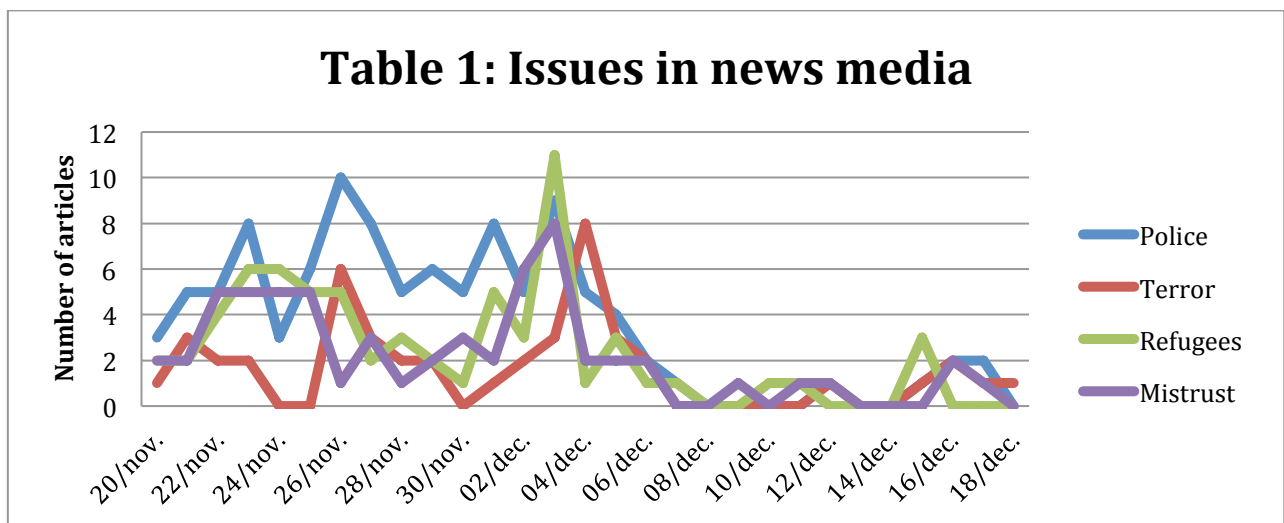
This section will seek to analyse the different issues in terms of how salience they were in comparison with the total amount that all the categorised issues were apparent in the news media during the election.

This section will also examine the development of the issues in the news media in terms of when they are the most salient and when they stop appearing in the news media articles during the election.



The headlines and topics from each of the 7 news media were categorised into one of the 5 issues categories. These categories were mistrust, refugees, terror, police and doubt.

The dissertation did take into consideration whether there should have been a separate category for the topic of children, which would include the topics of how the European legal acts would have an affect on divorce family. Additionally, articles with the issue of children will include how the election would affect the police's work with paedophiles across the European border. Yet, the issues did not appear with such a frequency that it was considered its own.



#### 4.1.1.1.1 Mistrust

The first issue, *mistrust*, will be analysed through the *Table 1*, which illustrated how the issues of mistrust evolved from being very salient in the beginning of the election until the days before the election. In this section, mistrust development will be examined quantitatively. Subsequently, the context to which the issue of mistrust changes will be explained in the textual analysis.

*Mistrust* is a recurrent issue in the European Election. According to the collected data, out of the five issues, mistrust appeared 20% in the analysed articles (Appendix 6).

The issue of mistrust has a development in terms of salience in which it is either very salient in the news media or only communicated a few times (Appendix 7). In the first two days of the election, the issue appears in two articles which then changes to five articles in the next two days and then increases again to appear in 6 and 8 articles which is the day before the election, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December and the day of the election the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December. As a result, the issue has been categories into two peaks in which the salience of mistrust

intensifies: the 22<sup>nd</sup> to the 25<sup>th</sup> of November and the 30<sup>th</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December. After the election the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December, the issue's salience decreases from 0 to 1 articles a day.

#### 4.1.1.1.2 Refugees

The second issues, *refugees*, will also be analysed through *Table 1* as well, which will illustrate how the issue is more constant compared to the previous issue of mistrust (Appendix 8). In this graph, it can be seen how the issue is a more constant issue during the election compared to mistrust. In addition to this, the issue, *refugees*, is the second most communicated issue in the news media with a frequency of 22% in the news media (Appendix 6).

The issue occurs 4-6 times in the news articles from the 21<sup>st</sup> of November to the 26<sup>th</sup> of November. The issue then decreases but continues to increase from the 28<sup>th</sup> of November until its highest and final peak, which is the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December. Afterwards, the issue occurs 0-2 times in the news media articles. The analysis has defined the peaks in refugees to be from the 21<sup>st</sup> of November to the 26<sup>th</sup> of November and from the 1<sup>st</sup> of December to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December.

#### 4.1.1.1.3 Terror

The issue of terror was one of the issues with the least frequency with a frequency of 14% (Appendix 6).

As a result, the issue is not that salient in the news media articles throughout the election. Yet, there are two peaks during the election in which the issue of terror increases a lot. These two peaks happen the day of the 26<sup>th</sup> of November and the day after the election the 4<sup>th</sup> of December (Appendix 9). Beside the two peaks, the issue appears 0-2 times each day during the election.

#### 4.1.1.1.4 Police

This issue is the most communicated in the media with a frequency of 33% (Appendix 6).

The fact that it is the most communicated issue in the news media articles could also suggest why the issue has many large peaks during the election.

As seen on Table 5, the issue of police is an issue that has four peaks in the election period.

The first peak is from the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November to the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November. The second peak is from the 25<sup>th</sup> of November to the 26 of November. The third peak is the 30<sup>th</sup> of November and the final and fourth peak is the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December.

As a result of the police issue's many large peaks that after the election decreases to be between 0-2 articles a day (Appendix 10).

#### **4.1.1.2 Actors in news media**

Similar to the content analysis of the issue in the election, the actors will be analysed in terms of their salience in the election period. Each section will describe how the actors evolved during the election and define the politicians' peaks as well.

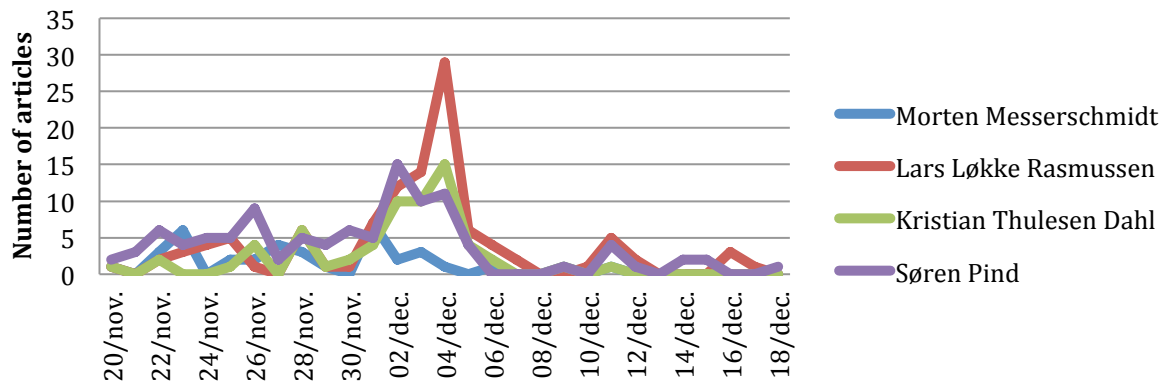
The actors in the first level analysis were based on their salience in the media. As the study wanted to examine the salience of Danish politicians in the news media, the actors were defined beforehand as *politicians*. Thus, the analysis has not included the salience of experts or representatives for different organisations and companies.

Yet, in the election, it is worth noticing that the experts in particular are salient in the election. The different experts will be presented in the textual analysis of the second level agenda setting analysis.

The dissertation has taken into consideration that there is a chance that the calculations of the salience politicians could have looked different if it had included the experts as actors as well.

However, the dissertation wanted to focus on the politicians' salience in the news media in order to compare their salience in the media with their activity on social media.

The actors that were the most salient during the EU-election in the defined time period 20<sup>th</sup> of November to 18<sup>th</sup> of December was: Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Søren Pind, Kristian Thulesen Dahl, Morten Messerschmidt.

**Table 2: Actors in News media**

#### 4.1.1.2.1 Lars Løkke Rasmussen

Lars Løkke Rasmussen is an actor that appears in a few articles in the beginning of the election period. Yet, his salience in the news media increases a lot in the final days of the election and the days before the election. As a result of this big peaks during the days leading to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December, he become the most salient actor in the news media with a frequency of 45% (Appendix 6).

As seen on *Table 2*, Lars Løkke Rasmussen has two smaller peaks during the EU-election. Those peaks occur the 25<sup>th</sup> of November and the 28<sup>th</sup> of November. The days after these peaks, Lars Løkke Rasmussen does not appear that much in the new media articles until the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December in which he appears in 12 articles. Then the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December in which he appears in 14 articles and then the 4<sup>th</sup> of December in which he appears in 19 articles (Appendix 11).

As a result, Lars Løkke Rasmussen's one big peak will be analysed in the second level agenda setting analysis, which is the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December to the 4<sup>th</sup> of December.

#### 4.1.1.2.2 Søren Pind

Søren Pind has a low frequency in the news media with a frequency of 14% (Appendix 6). Søren Pind's salience in the media increases the days before the election and the days after the election. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, he appears in 15 articles. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December, he appears in 10 articles and in the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, he appears 11 times. Thus, this will be one of his peaks in the election. Søren Pind also has another peak the 26<sup>th</sup> of November in

which he appears 9 times in the news articles (Appendix 12). As a result, Søren Pind has two peaks in the election period: the 26<sup>th</sup> of November and the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> of December.

#### *4.1.1.2.3 Morten Messerschmidt*

Morten Messerschmidt has lower frequency in the news media articles with a frequency of 15% (Appendix 6).

As seen on *Tabel 2*, Morten Messerschmidt is constant in his level of salience in the article in the beginning of the election period until the 1<sup>st</sup> of December in which he increases to appear in 7 articles.

Morten Messerschmidt has another peak the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November in which he appears in 6 articles and then the following days continues to be salient in 2-4 articles. During the election he appears in 2-3 articles and after the election, he appears in 0-1 articles for the rest of the election period. As a result, Morten Messerschmidt has two peaks in the election: the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November and the 1<sup>st</sup> of December (Appendix 13).

#### *4.1.1.2.4 Kristian Thulesen Dahl*

Kristian Thulesen Dahl has a frequency of 25% in the election (Appendix 6).

As Table 2 shows, Kristian Thulesen Dahl has some minor peaks during until the election, which increase the days before the election.

In the first part of the election from the 20<sup>th</sup> to the 27<sup>th</sup> of November, he is mentioned 0-2 times in the election.

Then, Kristian Thulesen Dahl appears 2-6 times in the election in the time frame from the 28<sup>th</sup> of November to the 1<sup>st</sup> of December. The 2<sup>nd</sup> of December to the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, his salience in the news media increases a lot to 10-15 times.

After the 4<sup>th</sup> of December and the rest of the election period, his salience decreases to a similar level from the first period of the election, which was 0-2 times.

Again, this large increase in salience could also suggest that Kristian Thulesen Dahl become a key figure during the actual election. As a result, Kristian Thulesen Dahl has 2 peaks: the 28<sup>th</sup> of November and the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December to 4<sup>th</sup> of December (Appendix 14).

### 4.1.2 Textual analysis in first level agenda setting in news media

The textual analysis will seek to illustrate in which context that the different issues and actors have been communicated in. Thus, this section will also explain which news stories were categorised in the 4 issues and 4 actors.

This will be done in order to illustrate why the actors and issues had a high level of salience in one point and a lower level in another.

#### 4.1.2.1 Issue in news media

The issues in the news media showed that many of the issues became very salient during the days up to the election. The next sections will seek to explain what the particular issues were about in the particular peaks found in the content analysis.

##### *4.1.2.1.1 Mistrust*

In the content analysis, mistrust had a frequency of 20% and was not as salient in the media as other issues. The issue mistrust was overall defined as the mistrusts that the voters have to the politicians during the election.

The two central politicians in the communication of these issues are Morten Messerschmidt and Lars Løkke Rasmussen.

Mistrust is an issue that appears primarily in the beginning of the election from the 22<sup>st</sup> of November to the 24<sup>th</sup> of November. In this time period, Morten Messerschmidt is being accused of spending his EU-funding illegally by the EU-commission. As a result, the media questions his credibility to the voters.

Additionally, the issue of mistrusts appears in the news article the 30<sup>th</sup> of November to 2<sup>nd</sup> of December. In this peak, the issue is primarily about how Lars Løkke Rasmussen's guarantee in regards to the asylum policy. The news media states that the voters should not trust this guarantee. In these articles, it is primarily the opposition in the form of Morten Messerschmidt and Kristian Thulesen Dahl who argues why Lars Løkke Rasmussen should not be trusted.

##### *4.1.2.1.2 Refugees*

The issue of refugees were constant in its level of salience during the election. The news stories, that the issue refugees cover, are articles that refer to the refugees from countries

that are under a civil war. As a result of the unstable situation, many people from Syria has fled to the European countries in order to get asylum.

This issue will also consider the border control that the different parties discuss in terms of how strict the Danish and other International borders should be in terms of the amount of refugees the European countries should take in and how the individual countries should manage it. The issue of refugees appears in the media the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November to the 25<sup>th</sup> of November, in which involves the guaranty set by Lars Løkke Rasmussen that Denmark would not share the same asylum policy as EU if Denmark choses to annul the legal reservations. The issue peaks the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December in which Lars Løkke guaranty is the main argument for the opposition to vote no in the EU-election.

#### 4.1.2.1.3 *Terror*

The issue of *terror* did not have a high level salience with a frequency of 14%. Yet it had two peaks in which the salience increased a lot.

The issue of terror includes two news stories:

First, the 26<sup>th</sup> of November, the issue *Terror* appears in the news media articles in relation to the terror attack in Paris the 14<sup>th</sup> of November. As this attack happened a month before the Danish election, news media tend to use this issue as a way to see the Danish election into a broader context.

The issue has to facets during the election: in the beginning, terror is communicated in relation to the terror attacks in Paris.

Second, in the articles written after the election, the issue appears in relation to a new EU initiative; in order to prevent terror, it has been decided that countries, part of the Europol agreement, will register their passengers travelling inside Europe. In its peak from the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, the issue was discussed in relation to a new EU-agreement, which introduced a new passenger registration for airplane traveller in order to decrease the number of people travelling to and from Syria.

#### 4.1.2.1.4 *Police*

In the content analysis, the issue, *police*, was the most communicated of the four issues.

The issue of the police covered various issues, which could be argued to be the police's responsibility – the national as well as the international police force. The issue of police is

about the police itself in relation to the Europol and how the Europol assists the Danish police force during cross border crimes.

Additionally, the issues that are placed into this category are issues such as cybercrime, human trafficking, abduction and child pornography.

In the first peak, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November, the issues of police are primarily descriptions of the Europol and what it will mean for Denmark's role in the EU if the Danes vote yes or no. The 26<sup>th</sup> of November, the issue of the police force is about how a new initiative has been negotiated in the EU in relation to the terror attacks in Paris. In the third peak, the 1<sup>st</sup> of December, the peak is about how the opposition to the annulment of the legal reservation communicates that Denmark would still be able to be part of the Europol if the Danes chose to vote no. The final peak, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December is the issue of police communicated as to how it is most likely going to be a no in the Election and how that is going to affect Denmark's collaboration with Europol.

#### **4.1.2.2. Actors in news media**

Based on the findings from the content analysis, the textual analysis will seek to explain what happens during the actors' defined peaks in order to illustrate their level of salience from the social context that they have been written in.

##### *4.1.2.2.1 Lars Løkke Rasmussen*

In the content analysis, Lars Løkke Rasmussen was not that salient during the election period as a whole. Yet, he was still the most salient actor during the EU election because of his one big peak during the election. The textual analysis will illustrate how Lars Løkke Rasmussen becomes a central figure in the news media during the election the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> of December.

Lars Løkke Rasmussen's high salience in the news media could be a result of him being the prime minister of Denmark and the president of the liberal party *Venstre*.

As a result of his high status as a politician, it could be suggested that he becomes the representative of the parties who wants to say yes to annul the legal reservations towards EU.



The big peak is from the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December to the 4<sup>th</sup> of December. The 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> December, Lars Løkke Rasmussen appears in relation to how he would be seen as the big loser of the election, if the voters chose to vote no.

The day after the election, in which the media communicates how the government with Lars Løkke Rasmussen has to negotiate how what course the government will take in relation to the outcome of the EU-election. Additionally, the article is also about how the outcome of the election is a big loss for Lars Løkke Rasmussen. As a result, Lars Løkke Rasmussen is a figure that appears in the news media because he is the one who has a lot to lose if the Danes vote no and because he will be the lead figure in the negotiations with the government and EU after the election.

#### *4.1.2.2.2 Søren Pind*

In the content analysis, Søren Pind did not have the highest frequency of the actors with a frequency of 14%. Yet he had two big peaks during the election. Søren Pind's role as minister of justice will seek to explain why he has two high peaks during the election.

Søren Pind is the minister of justice in Denmark and represents a big role in the European election. This is because he will be the representative, who will travel to the EU after the election and announce and negotiate the Danish result with the EU commissioner.

Søren Pind did not have the highest frequency of the actors with a frequency of 14%. Yet he had two big peaks during the election.

The first peak is the 24<sup>th</sup> of November in which Søren Pind appears in debate about why the voters should vote yes. His next peak is the 1<sup>st</sup> -4<sup>th</sup> of December in which he also functions as the representative in the campaigning for why the Danes should vote yes. The 4<sup>th</sup> of December the articles are about how Søren Pind is going to the EU-commission and negotiate Denmark's future role in the EU.

Thus, Søren Pind is most salience during the actual election as he has a central role in the negotiations of EU after the election.

#### *4.1.2.2.3 Morten Messerschmidt*

In the content analysis, Morten Messerschmidt had a constant yet low level of salience during the election. His low level of salience could be explained through Morten Messerschmidt cases with EU-funding as well as his lack of alternatives to Europol.

Morten Messerschmidt was more constant in his level of salience during the election compared to the other politicians. Almost everyday up to the election, he appeared in the news media articles. Yet he did so in a lower degree of salience with 1-4 articles each day. Morten Messerschmidt is the European spokesman for Dansk Folkeparti. Additionally, he is a EU-parliamentarian as well. Thus, he has a big role in the European Election in Denmark as well as in the EU. Morten Messerschmidt is the European spokesman for Dansk Folkeparti. As he is a EU-parliamentarian too, he has a big role in the European Election in Denmark as well as in the EU.

In the content analysis, Morten Messerschmidt had two peaks, which were the 23<sup>rd</sup> November and 1<sup>st</sup> of December.

The 23<sup>rd</sup> of November, he was mentioned in the news articles because he was accused of cheating with EU funding.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> of December, Morten Messerschmidt is criticised for not presenting an alternative to Europol if Denmark chose to vote no to the annulment of the legal reservations.

As a result, his appearance in the news media could be a result of Morten Messerschmidt not being as “important” an actors in the EU-election as Lars Løkke Rasmussen and Søren Pind which then affects the extent to which the new media mentions him in the news articles.

#### *4.1.2.2.4 Kristian Thulesen Dahl*

In the content analysis, Kristian Thulesen Dahl had a high level of salience from the 28<sup>th</sup> of November until the 4<sup>th</sup> of December in which he especially in the period from the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December until the 4<sup>th</sup> of December – similar to Lars Løkke Rasmussen and Søren Pind. His high status as president of Danish People’s parties will seek to explain is sudden high increase in peaks.

Kristian Thulesen Dahl is the president of the right wing party Danish People’s Party. Dansk Folkeparti is the biggest party in Denmark giving it and Kristian Thulesen Dahl a big say in the political scene. In the news media, Kristian Thulesen Dahl has a frequency Kristian Thulesen Dahl of two peaks in the defined time period in the election.

The first peak is the 28<sup>th</sup> of November in which Kristian Thulesen Dahl appears as a representative of DF when the party is being criticised for not wanting to fight against child

porn and human trafficking with their campaign by the parties who votes yes to the annulment of the legal reservations. The final and largest peak is the 4<sup>th</sup> of December in which the articles mainly describes how the election was a success for Kristian Thulesen Dahl and his party. As a result, the critic of Kristian Thulesen Dahl changes when the result of the election is no.

#### *4.1.3 Summary of first level agenda setting in news media*

Based on the content analysis and textual analysis, it can be concluded that the majority of politicians and issues changes during the election. Many issues and actors intensify in salience when the election is closer to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the December and the period after the election, the salience of politicians and issues decreases. Thus, the results could suggest that the issues and the actors in the news media are related to each other which is therefore, the have similarities in their development of salience.

## **4.2 First level agenda setting in politicians' social media**

The politicians' social media would also be analysed through the first level agenda setting. As mentioned earlier, the issues and actors were categorised the similar way as the news media in order to gain coherence throughout the analysis. Similar to the news media section, the actors and issues were also plotted into a graph in order to illustrate how the salience of issues evolved during the election.

### **4.2.1 Content analysis in first level agenda setting in social media**

The content analysis wanted to analyse the issues' and actors' salience in the social media. The salience of the different issues were analysed and categorised with the same methodological procedure as with the news media.

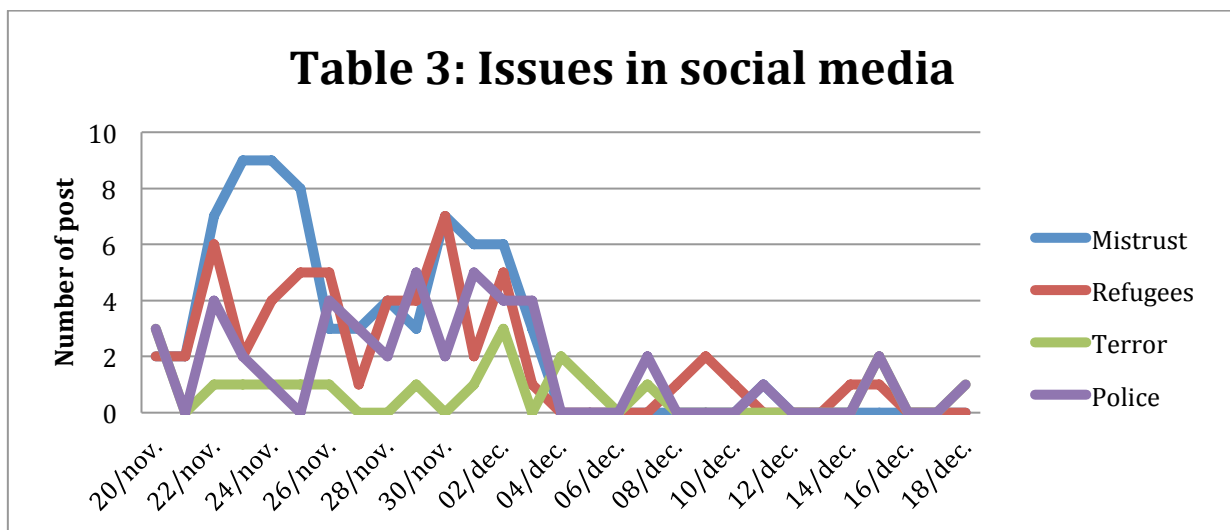
Additionally, the analysis did not examine the actors' salience in other politicians' social media posts or each other's social media posts. Instead, the actors' salience was defined on the basis of the amount of social media posts that the four actors had made during the election period.

#### 4.2.1.1 Issues in social media

As shown in the diagrams (Appendix 15), the issues in the politicians' the issue of trust was the most communicated during the election on the politicians' social media.

The issues that were less communicated by the politicians were terror and police.

The next section will seek to examine how the different issues evolved during the election in order to compare the issues evolvement on the politicians' social media with the results in the news media articles.



##### 4.2.1.1.1 Mistrust

In the politicians' social media, mistrust was the most salient issue with a frequency of 37% (Appendix 15).

In the politicians' social media, mistrust is salient from the beginning of the election and is communicated from the 22nd of November until the 4th of December.

The issue of mistrust has two peaks in the election period, which is the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November to the 25<sup>th</sup> of November and the 30<sup>th</sup> of November to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December. Between the two peaks, the issue appears in 3-4 articles each day. After the election, the issue appears in -2 posts each day.

As a result, the issue has two peaks in the politicians' social media during the election: 22<sup>nd</sup> of November to the 25<sup>th</sup> of November and the 30<sup>th</sup> of November until the 4<sup>th</sup> of December (Appendix 7).

#### *4.2.1.1.2 Refugees*

In the content analysis of the news media, the issue of refugees were the second most salient issue during the election with a frequency of 28% (Appendix 15). The same can be seen in the analysis of the politicians' social media.

The 26th of November, the issue appears 6 times in the politicians' social media and the 30th of November the issue appeared 7 times on the politicians' social media profiles.

In relation to the peak in the news media, the issue of refugees had it first peak the 23rd of November (Appendix 8). Therefore, the issue of refugees has two peaks during the election, which can be seen the 26<sup>th</sup> of November and the 30th of November.

#### *4.2.1.1.3 Terror*

The issue of terror was the issue with the lowest level of salience with a frequency of 10% (Appendix 15).

The issue of terror is the most salient in the beginning of the election and the day before the election in which the issue is communicated in three posts.

It was the most salient the 20<sup>th</sup> of November and the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December. In the 20<sup>th</sup> of November and the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December both date had 3 posts in which the politicians' had posted the issue on their social media profile. As a result, the issue of terror had two peaks in the election: the 20<sup>th</sup> of November and the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December (Appendix 9).

#### *4.2.1.1.4 Police*

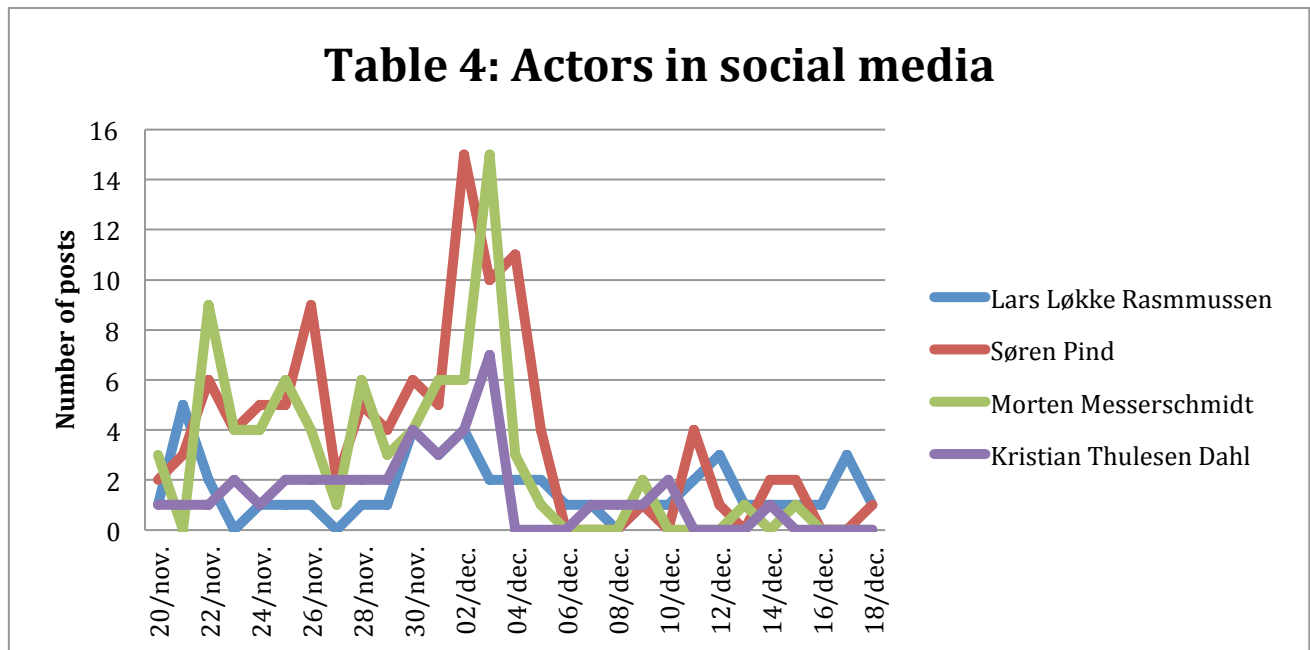
The issue of police had a frequency of 23% (Appendix 15). The issue has four peaks during the election. In between the peaks the issue has a frequency of 3-4 posts each day.

Thus the issue is salient during the election period up until the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December. After the election, the issue decreases in salience from 9 posts the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December to 5 posts, then 2 posts and after the 6<sup>th</sup> of December the issue has a frequency of 0-2 articles each day.

As a result, the issue had 4 was the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November, the 26<sup>th</sup> of November, the 1<sup>st</sup> of December and 3<sup>rd</sup> of December (Appendix 10).

#### 4.2.1.2 Actors in social media

The politicians in the social media were previously defined by their salience in the news media. Additionally, their salience was not based on how much they were salient in other social media posts but how many social media posts the four politicians had created on their own social media profiles during the election.



##### 4.2.1.2.1 Lars Løkke Rasmussen

In the social media, Lars Løkke Rasmussen is not that salient with a frequency of 18% (Appendix 15).

Lars Løkke Rasmussen shows consistency by posting the same amount of posts each day during the election in which he posts between 1-3 posts. After the election, Lars Løkke Rasmussen posts the similar amount of articles throughout the rest of the election period. (Appendix 11). The 21<sup>st</sup> of November, Lars Løkke Rasmussen has 5 posts in his social media, which will be defined as his peak.

##### 4.2.1.2.2 Søren Pind

In the social media, Søren Pind had a frequency of 38% (Appendix 15) in his salience on social media.

In the beginning of the election up until the day before the election, Søren Pind has a consistency in his social media posts that are 5-9 each day.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, Søren Pind has a large increase in his salience of posts that increase to 15. Additionally, Søren Pind has a peak the 4<sup>th</sup> of December with 11 posts (Appendix 12). Consequently, Søren Pind has two peaks the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December and the 4<sup>th</sup> of December.

#### *4.2.1.2.3 Morten Messerschmidt*

In his social media, Morten Messerschmidt had a frequency of 29% (Appendix 15).

In the election period, Morten Messerschmidt posted 3-4 articles on his social media profiles each day. However, he increases in number of posts the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November with 9 posts. This can also be seen the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December with 15 posts (Appendix 13).

As a result, Morten Messerschmidt had two peaks in the election: the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November and the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December.

#### *4.2.1.2.4 Kristian Thulesen Dahl*

Kristian Thulesen Dahl had a frequency of 15% in the social media posts (Appendix 15).

As Kristian Thulesen Dahl throughout the election posts 1-2 posts each day, he has a consistency in his posts. However, he has an increase in posts the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December in which he creates 7 posts (Appendix 15).

As a result, Kristian Thulesen Dahl has one peak during the election, which is the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December.

### **4.2.2.2 Textual analysis in first level agenda setting in social media**

In this section, the defined peaks from the issues will be analysed in relation to their context in which they were written. In this section it will be illustrated how the issues evolve and change on the politicians social media profiles as well as whether one politician communicate a specific issue more compared to another actors. In this section as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup> level agenda setting for social media, the actors, the politicians, will not be included. The dissertation did not wish to analyse how the politicians evaluated them selves and did not find enough data to analyse how the different politicians evaluated each other. Instead, the textual analysis will illustrate how the issues and politicians are combined in the

election and in the intermedia agenda setting section analysis how this combination compares to the ones made in the news media. This section will therefore set the foundation for the next section about second level agenda setting in relation to the politicians' attributions on the different issues.

#### **4.2.2.1 Issues in social media**

In the content analysis of the politicians' social media, the issue mistrust was the most frequent one followed by the issue refugees. The following section will seek to explain how the politicians are communicating the issues.

##### *4.2.2.1.1 Mistrust*

Mistrust was the most salient issue during the election with a frequency of 37% (Appendix 15) out of all the social media posts. The section will illustrate how the different politicians accuse each other of not being credible politicians in order to put themselves in a better light.

The issue had two peaks from the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November to the 25<sup>th</sup> of November and the 30<sup>th</sup> of November to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December.

In The 22<sup>nd</sup> of November to The 25<sup>th</sup> of November, Morten Messerschmidt and Kristian Thulesen Dahl are the politicians that primarily communicate the issue of mistrust.

In their social media posts, they refer to Lars Løkke Rasmussen's guarantee for the asylum policy which Morten Messerschmidt and Kristian Thulesen Dahl argue should not be trusted.

The 30<sup>th</sup> of November to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, the same politicians again communicate how the voters should not trust Lars Løkke Rasmussen's guarantee.

Yet, Søren Pind is also an actor that communicates mistrust during this peak. He communicates that Dansk Folkeparti should not be trusted either and that they only try to scare the Danes through their campaign.

##### *4.2.2.1.2 Refugees*

In the content analysis, the issue of refugees was the second most communicated issue on the politicians' social media (Appendix 15). The section will illustrate how it is primarily Morten Messerschmidt and Kristian Thulesen Dahl that communicates this issue.



Based on the content analysis, the issue of refugees was divided into two peaks, which could be seen the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November and the 30<sup>th</sup> of November.

The 22<sup>nd</sup> of November, the issue of the refugees peaked when Morten Messerschmidt repost a campaign from Margrethe Auken which states that the Danish asylum policy will also be affected by the result of the EU-election.

The 30<sup>th</sup> of November, the issue peaks again which is communicated by Morten Messerschmidt and Kristian Thulesen Dahl. In their posts, they communicate how Lars Løkke Rasmussen with his guarantee tries to get more refugees to Denmark.

#### *4.2.2.1.3 Terror*

In the content analysis, the issue of terror was the least communicated issue the election (Appendix 15). The section will seek to explain how the low level of salience could be caused by the fact that it is only Søren Pind that communicates the issue.

However, the issue of terror did had two peaks the he 20<sup>th</sup> of November and the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December. Both peaks included 3 posts in which the politicians' had posted the issue on their social media profile. The reason for the low salience of terror in the politicians' social media shall be found in the fact that, Søren Pind is the only politician who communicates this issue.

The communicates the issue the 20<sup>th</sup> of November, when he express his condolences on behalf of France and the attack the 12<sup>th</sup> of November.

The issue of terror is communicated the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December in which Søren Pind communicates how more Syrian worriers are increasing in Europe.

#### *4.2.2.1.4 Police*

In the content analysis, the issue of police was the third most communicated issue on social media (Appendix 15). The issue did however have two peaks during the election period, which was the 29<sup>th</sup> of November and the 1<sup>st</sup> of December. The section will explain how Morten Messerschmidt and Søren Pind campaigns during the election through this issue.

The 29<sup>th</sup> of November, Morten Messerschmidt states how the yes-parties campaign with the NGO Safe the Children is wrong communicates the issues. Since Safe the Children is an NGO, they are neutral and can therefore not be include in the yes-parties campaign.

The same day, Søren Pind states the exact opposite: that Safe the Children is part of the yes-parties campaign to annul the legal reservation to create safer conditions for European children.

The 1<sup>st</sup> of December, the issue appeared in relation to Morten Messerschmidt that communicates how expert agrees with his statements about Europol.

#### *4.2.2.3 Summary of first level agenda setting in social media*

The content analysis and textual analysis shows that the majority of the politicians intensify in their social media posts the days up to the election. After the election, all politicians have a very low amount of posts on their social media. In the textual analysis, some of the issues are only communicated by particular politicians such as Søren Pind and the issue of terrorism.

### **4.3 Second level agenda news media and social media**

The second level agenda setting will analyse what attributions the news media has on the politicians and issue in the news articles. Additionally, the section will analyse what attributions the politicians has on the particular issues.

#### **4.3.1 Second level agenda setting in news media**

In the second level of agenda setting, the news articles will be examined on the basis of how the news media evaluated the issues and the actors.

In the content analysis, the study has chosen to categorise those evaluations as: positive and negative in order to easy the process of categorising the media evaluations quantitatively in the content analysis.

Yet, the analysis of the second level agenda could be argued to become too superficial if the different issues and actors were only categorised through these attributes, which is why this analysis will be further analysed through a textual analysis.

### **4.3.1.1 Content analysis in second level agenda setting news media**

The content analysis with quantitatively analyse how often the issues and actors appear in the social media based on what attributions, the news media gives them.

The dissertation will in the second level of agenda setting also apply the assumption that although the issues and actors in salience are the same, the attributions of them can change as the election evolves.

The attribution of each article was made on the articles attribution in one article as a whole. Therefore, the study has not taken into consideration how many time the attributions appear in one article.

#### **4.3.1.1 Issues in news media**

In the first level agenda setting section, the salience of many of the issues changed as the issue evolved toward the election. In the second level analysis, the issues will be analysed on how often they are evaluated negatively in the defined peaks.

##### *4.3.1.1.1 Mistrust*

In the first level of agenda setting, mistrust was the most salience issue.

The issue mistrust was most salient the 22<sup>st</sup> of November to the 24<sup>th</sup> of November and the 30<sup>th</sup> of November to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December. In this time period, Morten Messerschmidt was accused of not evoking trust as the EU-commission had accused him of spending his EU-funding illegally. Additionally, the issue of mistrusts appears in the news article the 30<sup>th</sup> of November to 2<sup>nd</sup> of December.

In the first peak from the 22nd of November to the 24th of November, the issue of mistrust, the articles were primarily negatively evaluated. In this peak there occurs one peak, which is positive loaded towards the mistrust.

Again, the mistrust has negative attributions in relation to the politicians who should not be trusted in relation to the election. In particular, Lars Løkke appears in relation to the issue of mistrust.

In the peak from the 30<sup>th</sup> of November to 2<sup>nd</sup> of December the issue of mistrust applies to the mistrust to Lars Løkke Rasmussen's guarantee as well as Kristian Thulesen Dahl who is blamed for not being able to come up with any alternative to Europol if the Danes vote no.

#### *4.3.1.1.2 Refugees*

In the first level of the analysis, the refugees peaked the 26<sup>th</sup> of November and the 30<sup>th</sup> of November. In the 26<sup>th</sup> of November the issue was communicated negatively in the articles as most of the article were about how Lars Løkke Rasmussen could not keep his guarantee, which would lead to many refugees Denmark. Morten Messerschmidt and Kristian Thulesen Dahl primarily communicate this.

The 30<sup>th</sup> of November, the issue is still valued negatively as the issue continues to be the fact that the Danes will allow refugees to flee to Denmark if they vote yes in the election. Søren Pind also presents the issue of refugees when he states that if the Danes vote no, they will gain a lot of refugees as well.

#### *4.3.1.1.3 Terror*

As mentioned earlier in the content analysis, terror had two peaks in the defined period. The 26<sup>th</sup> of November and the 4<sup>th</sup> of December.

The 26<sup>th</sup> of November the issue of terror existed in 5 articles, which were all evaluated negatively towards terror. The issue is communicated in relation to the new EU-plan, which is going to fight the battle against terror after the terror attack in Paris.

The 4<sup>th</sup> of December the issue of terror existed in 7 articles: in which 7 out of the 7 articles had a negative evaluation of the issue terror in relation to the EU election. In these articles

#### *4.3.1.1.4 Police*

In the content analysis, the issue of police had 4 peaks: The issue of the police had 4 peaks: the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November, the 26<sup>th</sup> of November, the 1<sup>st</sup> December and 3<sup>rd</sup> December.

In the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December, the issue of polices were evaluated mostly in a positive way. In this peak the issue of police is communicated in relation to Europol and all the good things that could come with Europol in terms of Denmark's national as well as international security. The same goes for the 26<sup>th</sup> of November in which the police issue is evaluated

positively because it appears in relation to the how Europol could ease the conditions for children during trials of divorces and custody.

The same positive attributions can be seen in the 1<sup>st</sup> of December and the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December. Since the issue appears a positive way towards Europol and thereby EU, the issue is communicated by Søren Pind who has a key role in the campaigning for a yes to the annulment of the legal reservations.

#### **4.3.1.2 Actors in news media**

The actors in the news media are often given negative attributions to their character as politicians. This will be illustrated through Lars Løkke Rasmussen who is evaluated negatively as a result of his guarantee. The same can be seen with Morten Messerschmidt who is being accused by the EU of cheating with EU funding.

##### *4.3.1.2.1 Lars Løkke Rasmussen*

In the content analysis, Lars Løkke Rasmussen had one big peak during the election, which was from the 2nd of December to the 4th of December. In this peak, many articles are negatively evaluated toward Lars Løkke Rasmussen.

The attributions are negative in regards to the fact that Lars Løkke Rasmussen lost the election and thereby a lot of his credibility and image as a politicians.

##### *4.3.1.2.2 Søren Pind*

Søren Pind had two peaks during the election, which was the 26th of November and the 2nd of December to the 4th of December.

In the 26<sup>th</sup> of November, Søren Pind is evaluated positively in the debate of whether to vote or yes or not. In particular, he communicates how Denmark would be a stronger country if it chooses to be part of Europol.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December and the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, he appears positively in the debate in which he appears in various debates. After the election, the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, he is also given positive attributions, as he is the one who is going to negotiate with the EU about Denmark's future position there.

#### *4.3.1.2.3 Morten Messerschmidt*

In the content analysis, Morten Messerschmidt had two peaks: the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November and the 1<sup>st</sup> of December.

The 23<sup>rd</sup> of November, Morten Messerschmidt is evaluated negatively, as he appears in the news media because of his EU-funding case in which he has been accused of cheating with the use of the money.

This provides him the attributions of not being a trustworthy politician.

However, the 1<sup>st</sup> of December, the news media evaluates Morten Messerschmidt in a more positive manner. In the articles, he is critical to the politicians arguments and is presented as the one who is going to win the election.

#### *4.3.1.2.4 Kristian Thulesen Dahl*

In the content analysis, Kristian Thulesen Dahl had two peaks the 28<sup>th</sup> of November and the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December to the 4<sup>th</sup> of December.

The 28<sup>th</sup> of November, the attributions that the news media gives Kristian Thulesen Dahl are positive as they describe how he appears in political debates.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> of December to the 4<sup>th</sup> of December, there is a mix of negative and positive attributions toward Kristian Thulesen Dahl.

The negative evaluations are about how Kristian Thulesen Dahl has a tough job ahead if the Danes vote no as he will have to prove that Denmark will have an alternative to the legal acts that Europe can provide. The positive are in relation to the fact that he won the election and that the large amount of voters in doubt decreased during the election as a result of his campaigns.

### **4.3.1.2 Textual analysis in second level agenda setting in news media**

The textual analysis will through rhetorical strategies seek to emphasise the quantitatively evaluations made in the content analysis. Through the textual analysis, the analysis will qualitatively seek to analyse how the attributions are expressed during the election.

Additionally, the analysis wants to see if the use of rhetorical phrases could show any indications to how the news media and the politicians' social media affect each other.

However, the politicians' social media will be analysed in another section.

#### 4.3.1.2.1 Issues in news media

The content analysis showed that the majority of issues were given negative attributions during the election. The only issue that had positive attributions were the issue *police*. Through the textual analysis, the issues will be analysed in-depth in order to present how they are negative or positive evaluated through the articles' use of rhetorical phrases.

##### 4.3.1.2.1.1 Mistrust

The issue of mistrust was only given negative attributions in the content analysis and was primarily presented in the peaks in relation to Lars Løkke Rasmussen and his guarantee for Danish asylum policy. The articles analysed in the section will emphasise through phrases and statistics how mistrust and Lars Løkke Rasmussen are linked together during the election.

The following article will illustrate how the news media evaluated Lars Løkke Rasmussen through the issue of mistrust by writing an article that presents him as a weak and non-credible politician. The article is from Politiken the 25<sup>th</sup> of November called “ *Voters do not trust guarantee for asylum* ” (Appendix 16). The journalist Nilau Heinskou uses a metaphor in order to present Lars Løkke Rasmussen with negative attributions.

“*Students grill prime minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen about legal reservation at Copenhagen University*” The noteworthy part of this sentence is the verb “grills”, and that it is the subject, “*the students*”, that grills the object, “*Lars Løkke Rasmussen*”. “*grill*” are to burn something, something that is hot or to cook something. To *grill* someone in the Danish language is also a figurative way of stating that the students at Copenhagen University asked a lot of critical questions to Lars Løkke Rasmussen, questions that he most likely had difficulties answering satisfactorily.

Another notable part of this sentence is the fact that it is *students* that grill Lars Løkke Rasmussen, the prime minister. Again, a student is someone who is young and therefore still in the process of learning and who has a teacher to teach him or her, whereas a “*prime minister*” is someone who is powerful, knowledgeable, credible, respectable and has an authority.

The fact that the students grill the prime minister could thereby imply that they are more knowledgeable than him, and perhaps that they also lack the sense of respect towards him as they “grill” him regardless of his authority.

#### 4.3.1.2.1.2 Refugees

The issue of refugees were similar to the issue of mistrust evaluated negatively in the news media. Morten Messerschmidt or Kristian Thulesen Dahl mainly communicated the issue of refugees. As the previous issue stated, the no-parties, use the refugees as an argument to vote no when they appear in news articles.

The most common statement is that if the Danes chose to let go of the legal reservation, Denmark will no longer be in control of how many refugees, they will accept.

The following article from Jyllands-Posten (Appendix 17) in which the issue is represented through Kristian Thulesen Dahl who uses rhetorical strategies to illustrate how the guarantee cannot be trusted and that the asylum police can become a reality for Denmark. This can be seen in the article from Jyllands-Posten the 26<sup>th</sup> of November called “*Debate: the parties are speaking: More Denmark – less EU – vote no thank you.*” by the politician and president of Dansk Folkeparti Kristian Thulesen Dahl.

In this article, Kristian Thulesen Dahl uses some of the defined issues as markers to make his opinion clear in relation to the European Election.

The issue of refugees is discussed when Kristian Thulesen Dahl talks about Lars Løkke Rasmussen’s guarantee. According to him, the guarantee cannot be trusted as it is not a law integrated into the Danish legal system, which means that in the end the politicians can do as they please with the Danish asylum policy if the Danes were to vote yes.

One of the rhetorical methods that Kristian Thulesen Dahl uses in his argumentation is *irony*, which can be seen in the following sentence:

*“I know that certain yes-parties throw up one’s hand in horror and say that of course the Danes will be asked before it happens”*. Kristian Thulesen Dahl uses figures to illustrate his point about the Danish politicians when he states that the yes-parties “ throw up one’s hand in horror (in Danish: slå syv kors foran sig).

To “*slå syv kors foran sig*” is a Danish phrase referring to the gesture that one does when praying - making the sign of the cross. It could be argued that Kristian Thulesen Dahl in this sentence is also using *hyperbole*, as he is including a religious symbol, a strong expression, to make his point. Again, the use of hyperbole in this sentence amplifies its irony, thus giving the expression the opposite effect of its meaning, which is to associate the yes-politicians with lying.



#### 4.3.1.2.1.3 *Terror*

Terror is an issue that the news media, among other things, uses to set worst-case scenarios for the EU as well as Denmark in relation to the outcome of the election.

The presented article will illustrate how terror is evaluated negatively through the use of *personifications*.

This is illustrated in the article from Berlingske the 4<sup>th</sup> of December called: “*Denmark stands outside new EU-agreement on passenger lists*” (Appendix 18)” by Ritzau.

In the article, Denmark is a *personification* as it is given human qualities of standing outside something. This makes the articles relatable to the receiver, as most people have experienced the negative feeling of being outside something.

As a result, it could be argued that the article appeals to the readers’ emotions in order to illustrate the seriousness of the current state Denmark is in in relation to fighting the battle of terrorism together with the other EU-countries.

#### 4.3.1.2.1.4 *Police*

As mentioned in 1<sup>st</sup> level agenda setting section, the issue ‘*Police*’ covers a variety of different sub issues such as child porn, cybercrime and the general work that the police do across European borders through Europol. These issues are primarily being communicated as arguments to vote yes to the annulment of the legal reservations in the EU. In addition to this, the issue had a mix of both being evaluated negatively and positively in the news media. In order to communicate these attributions, the news media uses different rhetorical strategies to either appeal to the readers’ emotions through fear or the readers’ logic through statistics and experts. The use of logical arguments can be seen in the article written in relation to the attacks in Paris the 13<sup>th</sup> of November. This leads to the article from Politiken: “*Terrortrusel fremskynder EU’s nye aftale om Europol*” from the 26<sup>th</sup> of November written by Thomas Lauritzen (Appendix 19).

The focus is not on the election but on the agreement in the EU parliament made by the politicians in the EU.

However, the article relates the negotiations in the EU to the election in Denmark by stating how a *no* will have an effect on the security in Denmark as well as Europe. If Denmark votes no, Denmark will not be part of the initiative developed by Europol as a way to prevent terror in Europe.

The article argues how the Danish police force will be better off in the work of fighting against terror and cybercrime if they could be a part of the Europol. In order to demonstrate the article's statements about how the Europol could increase the security in Denmark, Politiken includes Europol's director, Rob Wainwright, as a spokesperson for Europol to explain the importance of including Denmark in the Europol.

*"We have never had a EU-country that was not part of Europol. Possibly, Denmark could be part of some of Europol's activities but such an alternative will never be as good as being part of Europol. It would be a bad solution – both for Europol and for Denmark".*

In the article, Rob Wainwright figures as an expert. Thereby, he provides the text with the logical and authoritative argument that makes the statements in the article seem to be credible and true. The article uses logical arguments to provide the issue of police with positive attributions.

#### **4.3.1.2.2 Actors in news media**

The actors that appeared in the news media were given different attributions in the content analysis. The three actors Morten Messerschmidt and Lars Løkke Rasmussen were based on the content analysis evaluated negatively in the election. In addition to this, Søren Pind and Kristian Thulesen Dahl were given positive attributions in the election. In this section, the textual analysis will analyse how the politicians are evaluated in the news media through the news medias' use of rhetorical strategies.

##### *4.3.1.2.2.1 Lars Løkke Rasmussen*

As previously stated, the news media generally communicate that Lars Løkke, the leader of the yes-parties, does not seem trustworthy.

The analysed article illustrates through an expert how Lars Løkke Rasmussen will be weakened if he loses the election. The article that was written by Ritzau on 4<sup>th</sup> December, called: *"Commentator: Løkke will be the big loser if no"* (Appendix 20).

The expert states that Lars Løkke Rasmussen has had many defeats during the last couple of months that it will have a big effect on his image if he loses. In the article, the expert states: "It is Løkke, that will be the big loser after a defeat, and that wears out on a government leader". The article uses an expert to provide Lars Løkke Rasmussen with negative attributions and because it is an expert that states this attribution, they seem credible.

#### 4.3.1.2.2.2 Søren Pind

In the content analysis, Søren Pind was primarily evaluated in a positive way in the peaks in which he was the most salience.

This can be seen in an article from Berlingske the 26<sup>th</sup> of November called “*Left-wing parties defends Lars Løkke’s guarantee for asylum*” (Appendix 21). In the article, the politicians from the left-wing parties argue why the voters can trust Lars Løkke Rasmussen’s asylum guarantee. After the politicians’ positive statements towards Lars Løkke Rasmussen’s guarantee, Søren Pind concludes in the final part of the article by stating that he is happy to hear that the parties support Lars Løkke Rasmussen. The article includes a comment from Søren Pind in which he states that: *The critic that is presented is a very serious case. It is undermining for the trust to the political system and the democratic way to which we act.* The comment is in relation to the statements Morten Messerschmidt has made about Lars Løkke Rasmussen being untrustworthy to the voters. In order to make his statement clear, Søren Pind uses a *hyperbole*, an exaggeration through the use of the word “undermining” to illustrate how bad the comments from Morten Messerschmidt are. Consequently, the statement presents Søren Pind with positive evaluations as he is referred to in relation to the parties that support Lars Løkke Rasmussen.

#### 4.3.1.2.2.3 Morten Messerschmidt:

At first, he appeared in the media as result of an accusation of the illegal spending of EU-funding for a boat trip with his party Dansk Folkeparti. This gave him a negative evaluation in the media.

One example is the story of how Morten Messerschmidt is being accused of not using his funds from the EU in a legal manner. This can be seen in an article from Politiken the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November called “*Europe parliament: Messerschmidt misused EU-funding to DF bot trip*” (Appendix 22). According to Politiken, Morten Messerschmidt used the EU-funds to pay for a boat trip with other DF-members.

In addition to this, the party Dansk Folkeparti has also used the money to produce their campaign video for the European Election, which, according to Politiken, also conflicts with EU-rules.

As a result, the evaluation made about Morten Messerschmidt becomes negative. Actors, such as a European official, Klaus Welle, state that Messerschmidt’s spending conflicts with EU law.

As a result of his high position in the European Parliament, Klaus Welle serves as an expert in the article. Furthermore, he has a neutral role in the article, because he does not play an active role in the election as politician. This could be argued to give him credibility and authority. Consequently, the negative sentiments about Morten Messerschmidt become valid.

#### *4.3.1.2.2.4 Kristian Thulesen Dahl*

In the content analysis, Kristian Thulesen Dahl had both positive and negative attributions. In the chosen article, Kristian Thulesen Dahl gets positive attributions as the article describes how Kristian Thulesen Dahl expects Lars Løkke Rasmussen to incorporate Danish People's party's EU politics into the government.

The article is an exemplification of how the newspaper through the choice of rhetoric describes its attributions to Kristian Thulesen Dahl in reference to Lars Løkke Rasmussen. The title of the article is from Børsen the 4<sup>th</sup> of December and is called "*Thulesen Dahl expects a loyal Løkke as EU-negotiator*" (Appendix 23).

The title of the article illustrates how Thulesen Dahl is evaluated as someone with a higher status than Lars Løkke Rasmussen with the choice of words that in particular is that Kristian Thulesen Dahl expects Lars Løkke to be loyal to him. The fact that the article presents how Lars Løkke Rasmussen as prime minister, should be loyal to Kristian Thulesen Dahl illustrates how Kristian Thulesen Dahl is in a higher status than Lars Løkke Rasmussen.

#### *4.3.1.3 Summary of second level agenda setting in news media*

The second level analysis of the news media showed that the attributions that the news media and the politicians had a negative evaluations which was emphasis with the inclusion of the textual analysis.

The analysis also showed some of the politicians and issue changed during the election whereas other was had the same attributions throughout the election. For example, this was the case with Kristian Thulesen Dahl, which was primarily negatively evaluated throughout the election. However, after the election, the attributions changed to being positive as the news media communicates how Kristian Thulesen Dahl is the winner of election.

### **4.3.2 Second level agenda setting in social media**

The second level analysis will seek to examine how the politicians' evaluated the issues presented in their social media post. This will be done through a content analysis that in the same way as the news media will quantitatively describe how the issue and actors are evaluated during the election. Additionally, the analysis will be supplemented by the textual analysis that will illustrate qualitatively how the politicians' evaluated the issues.

#### **4.3.2.1 Content analysis of second level agenda setting in social media**

Through the content analysis, the analysis wanted to examine what evaluations the politicians through their social media made on the different issues. Additionally, the analysis will illustrate how issues in the politicians' social media evolve in the attributions.

##### **4.3.2.1.1 Issues in social media**

In the first level analysis, the issues in social media had some differences in their salience of the different issues. Therefore, this section will seek to analyse if the attributions that the politicians' apply to the issue changes throughout the election.

###### *4.3.2.1.1.1 Mistrust*

Mistrust has two peaks in social media the 22th November and 30<sup>th</sup> of November. In all of the days mistrust appeared as negatively evaluated.

In the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November, there were 8 posts with mistrust and the negative evaluations were made in relation to the politicians that accuse Lars Løkke Rasmussen for not being a credible candidate in relation to his guarantee for the Danish asylum policy. In these posts, it is primarily Kristian Thulesen Dahl and Morten Messerschmidt that posts these accusations.

Additionally, the 30<sup>th</sup> of November had the same amount of posts, which were all negatively evaluated as well. In the 30<sup>th</sup> of November,

#### *4.3.2.1.1.2 Refugees*

In the first level analysis, the issue refugees appeared in the politicians' social media in two peaks:

The 22<sup>nd</sup> of November to 25<sup>th</sup> of November and the 30<sup>th</sup> of November to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December. In the 22<sup>nd</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> of November, the issue of refugees appears in relation Morten Messerschmidt who uses the party, SF's political campaign in order to argue that the election is also about the amount of refugees that Denmark should accept. Morten Messerschmidt does not want Denmark to accept more refugees which is why he uses the SF campaign to illustrate why the Danes should vote no. In this period, it is primarily Morten Messerschmidt who communicates this issue.

November, the 30<sup>th</sup> of November to 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, the issue appears in relation to Lars Løkke Rasmussen's guarantee for the Danish asylum policy. However, it is not only Morten Messerschmidt who is communicating this issue but also Lars Løkke Rasmussen and Søren Pind. In his posts, Morten Messerschmidt argues that the voters cannot trust Lars Løkke Rasmussen's asylum guarantee. Lars Løkke Rasmussen communicates the exact opposite and includes news articles to emphasise his point. Søren Pind communicates the issue of refugees in relation to Sweden that wants Denmark to take in more refugees. He uses this as an argument to vote yes, so that Denmark can have an influence to how many refugees they want to take in.

#### *4.3.2.1.1.3 Terror*

In the content analysis, the issue of terror had two peaks in the social media, which were the 20<sup>th</sup> of November and the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December. Additionally, the content analysis stated that Søren Pind was the only actor who communicates this issue on his social media profiles during the election.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> of November, Søren Pind evaluates the issue of terror in a negative way as he refers the issue in relation to the terror attacks in Paris in which he is taking part of a EU-meeting.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, Søren Pind communicates the issue of terror in relation to a new EU-initiative that will assist in battling the fight against terror. Additionally, he communicates the issue in relation to the voters in which he asks them to vote yes so he does not have to tell the EU that Denmark cannot participate in the battle against terrorism.

#### *4.3.2.1.1.4 Police*

The police appear as an issue in 4 peaks: the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November, 26<sup>th</sup> of November, the 29<sup>th</sup> of November and 1<sup>st</sup> of December.

The 22<sup>nd</sup> of November, the issue of police is primarily communicated through positive attributions. The posts are from Søren Pind. In his posts, he includes a posts from a representative from the Children's Council which backs the yes-parties up in their campaign. Additionally, he does the same through Jyllands-Posten who also back the yes-parties up in relation to Europol.

The 26<sup>th</sup> of November, Kristian Thulesen Dahl evaluates the issue in a negative manner as he states how he is making progress in his campaign against Europol. Additionally, Lars Løkke Rasmussen communicates the issue positively, in which he communicates that he is visiting Save the Children in relation to Europol.

The 29<sup>th</sup> of November, Morten Messerschmidt evaluates the issue of police negative as he said that Save the Children does not support Lars Løkke Rasmussen's campaign. In addition to this, Søren Pind states that Save the Children will support Lars Løkke Rasmussen.

The 1<sup>st</sup> of December, Morten Messerschmidt communicates how the yes-parties have made a mistake in including Safe the Children in their campaign.

### **4.3.2.2 Textual analysis in second level agenda setting in social media**

The textual analysis will through rhetorical strategies qualitatively analyse how the politicians evaluate the issues in social media. This will seek to provide the analysis with an in-depth understanding of why and how the issues are evaluated in the media.

#### **4.3.2.2.1 Issues in social media**

In the content analysis, the politicians primarily communicated the issues negatively. The only issue, which had a mix of positive and negative attributions, was the issue of police. The next section will illustrate how the politicians use different rhetorical strategies in their communication of the issues.

#### 4.3.2.2.1.1 *Mistrust*

In the content analysis, the issue of mistrust was only communicated negatively in the politicians' social media. Morten Messerschmidt primarily communicates this issue in relation to Lars Løkke Rasmussen and Søren Pind. He states that two appeal to the voters fear through scare campaigns instead of the voters' rationality.

This can be seen in Morten Messerschmidt's tweet from the 24<sup>th</sup> of November called (Appendix 24): "*Scare campaign and free imagination*". The post links to an article from Politiken with the title: "*Pind: the warning does not come from the Swedes*"

The article itself is very critical towards Søren Pind's statements of how a no will lead to an increase of refugees in Denmark. Morten Messerschmidt uses the article from Politiken in order to illustrate how the politicians on the yes side should not be trusted. According to Morten Messerschmidt's post, Søren Pind uses his imagination and worst-case scenarios in order to convince his voters to vote yes.

The words skræmmekampagne and fri fantasi mean being far away from reality, something that appeals to emotion, and something that is made up. Søren Pind's arguments are made up by him, and have nothing to do with reality. Morten Messerschmidt communicates the issue of mistrust in this post by arguing that Søren Pind's politics is not based on logical argument, but facts that he makes up.

#### 4.3.2.2.1.2 *Refugees*

In the content analysis, the issue of refugees is heavily featured in tweets posted by Kristian Thulesen Dahl. The majority of his tweets have something to do with the issue, and how a yes might minimize the Danes' say in the asylum policies. Throughout his posts, Kristian Thulesen applied statistics and experts as arguments to why Lars Løkke Rasmussen's guarantee cannot be trusted.

This can be seen in his posts from the 30<sup>th</sup> of November with the title: "*This is why Lars Løkke Rasmussen's guarantee about Danish asylum and immigration policy is worth little!*" in which Kristian Thulesen Dahl links to an article that argues through legal experts that Lars Løkke Rasmussen can easily annul his guarantee (Appendix 25).

Kristian Thulesen Dahl uses the articles and the legal experts that appear in the articles to objectively illustrate why the Danes should vote no during the election.



#### 4.3.2.2.1.3 Terror

In the content analysis, the issue of terror primarily appears in social media posts at the beginning of this time period because of the terror attacks in Paris and the days before the election. Additionally, the only actor who communicates this issue is Søren Pind. In the chosen posts, Søren Pind uses a figure of speech to criticise the media. Søren Pind's choice of rhetorical strategy could be applied in order to appear credible.

Søren Pind posts a tweet on 21<sup>st</sup> November with the title: “ *EB (Ekstra Bladet red.) presents a stooge. We exclude nothing. But now is not the time*”(Appendix 26).

In the tweet, Søren Pind links to an article from the tabloid Ekstra Bladet that describes how Venstre believes that an increase in border control would be a solution to terrorism in Europe. In this tweet, two of the five issues are being communicated, as the link in the post connects terrorism with border control, referring to the refugees seeking asylum in European countries.

In order to illustrate Ekstra Bladet's actions, Søren Pind uses a *figure of speech* to describe them as a newspaper that makes *stråmænd*. Søren Pind means that Ekstra Bladet is twisting statements that different politicians from Venstre have made about the terrorists from Paris being refugees from Syria. In this article, Søren Pind evaluates Ekstra Bladet in a negative manner, implying that they are using Venstre's statements and the terror attacks in Paris to make a good headline.

When Søren Pind states that now is not the right time to talk about border control, it could be argued that he is telling the media that they should not communicate about this particular issue. He is the only political actor who communicates about the issue on social media.

#### 4.3.2.2.1.4 Police

In the content analysis, Lars Løkke Rasmussen, Søren Pind and Morten Messerschmidt communicated the issue of police. Lars Løkke Rasmussen and Søren Pind gave the issue positive attributions whereas Morten Messerschmidt gave the issue negative attributions. This section will focus on a post made by Lars Løkke Rasmussen. In his posts, he appeals to the emotions of the receiver through a Safe the Children video that portrays sexual abuse of children.

The post is from Facebook on 26<sup>th</sup> November, in which Lars Løkke Rasmussen shared the NGO *Red Barnet*'s video about the fight against sexual abuse of children across Europe

(Appendix 27). The video and the text written to the video emphasises, according to Lars Løkke Rasmussen, why the voters should vote yes to the annulment of the legal reservation, in order to protect children.

In the post, the video is accompanied with the text “ *It (the video) speaks its own strong language and confirms me that the safest will be a YES the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December (Den (the video red.) taler sit eget klare sprog og bekræfter i hvert fald mig i, at det tryggeste vil være et JA den 3. december*”.

Since the word *safety* is such a strong word that most people can relate to, it could be argued that the intended effect is to communicate a message that is relevant to as many voters as possible. In this sentence, the video has also become a personification, as it can talk and provide the voters with the message of why they should vote yes.

In the same post, Lars Løkke Rasmussen expands on the previous mentions text by using irony in his post by stating that: The amount of tropes of figures again illustrates how Lars Løkke Rasmussen communicates in a way that seeks to appeal to the emotions of the receiver, and to seem relatable.

#### *4.3.2.3 Summary of second level agenda setting in social media*

The second level analysis of the news medias' articles and politicians' social media post provided the empirical analysis with the perspective of when the issues and actors were evaluated negatively and positively through a content analysis. Additionally, the textual analysis explained how the news media and politicians evaluated the issues and actors in terms of which context they appeared in. Also, it explained what rhetorical strategies the news media and politicians used in order to communicate the attributions of the issues and actors.

## **4.4 Intermedia effects between news media and social media**

Through the intermedia agenda setting effect, the study wanted to examine whether the news media and politicians' social media at any point in the election period affected each other in their salience and evaluations of the issues and actors during the election.

The section will examine the intermedia agenda setting effect by examining the news media articles and politicians' social media posts through the results found in McCombs two agenda setting level. The dissertation has set the demands that if the peaks of the news

media and politicians' social media appear staggered from the each other, this could suggest that there exist an intermedia agenda setting effect between the news media and the politicians' social media

#### **4.4.1 First level agenda setting in news media and social media**

The next section will compare the news media and politicians' level of salience in an extract of the analysed data in the analysis of the news media and politicians' issues and actors.

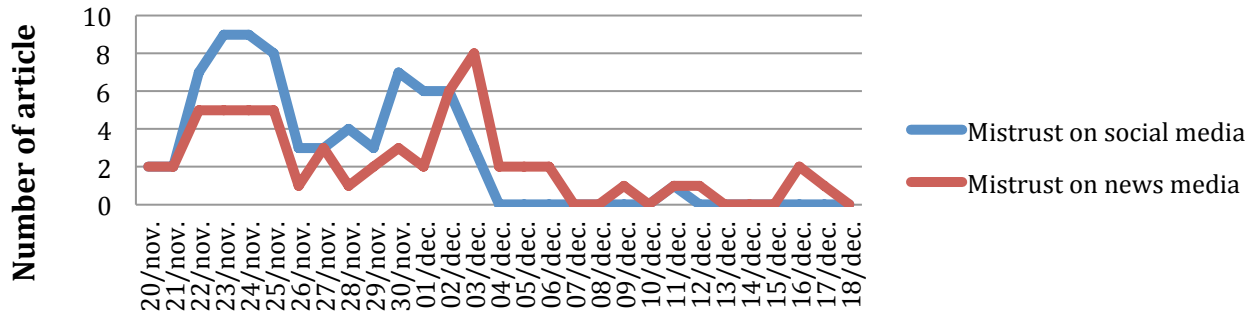
##### **4.4.1.1 Issues:**

In the 1<sup>st</sup> level analysis of the issues in the news media, the issue of mistrust was one of the least salient issues in the election whereas in the politicians' social media posts, the issue of mistrust was the most salient issue.

Despite the fact of not sharing the same level of salience, the news media and the politicians shared similarities in their peaks. In the content analysis, the issue of mistrust had two peaks in the news media articles, which was the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November to the 24<sup>th</sup> of November and the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December and 4<sup>th</sup> of December. In the content analysis, the issue of mistrust had two peaks as well which was the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November and the 30<sup>th</sup> of November. Thus the salience of mistrust intensified in the same time period during the election.

The fact that the politicians' social media peaks earlier than the news media articles the 30<sup>th</sup> of November could suggest that what the politicians have communicated in that peak, have affected the level of salience that the news media chose to project on the particular issue the following days.

**Table 5: Mistrust on News media and social media**



#### 4.4.1.2 Actors:

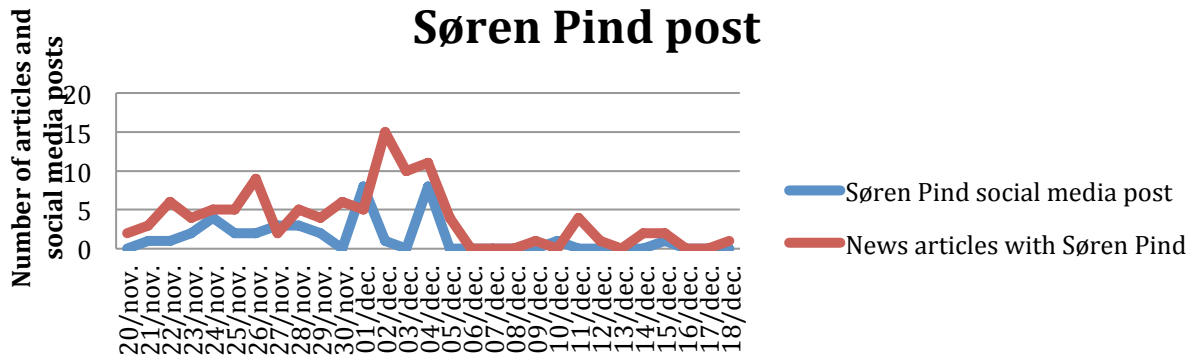
In the 1st level of the agenda setting analysis of the actors in the news media Søren Pind was one of the least communicated actors in the news media. However, in social media posts, Søren Pind was one of the politicians with the highest amount of social media posts during the election.

In addition to this, Søren Pind had two peaks in the news media the 1<sup>st</sup> of December and the 4<sup>th</sup> of December in which he was the most salient. In the social media, Søren Pind also had two peaks that were the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December and the 4<sup>th</sup> of December.

As a result, this is another example in which the news media articles and politicians' social media share a similar development in terms of highest level of salience during the election.

The fact that the news media's articles peak a day before Søren Pind's peak on social media could suggest that Søren Pind has been affected by the news media in his level of activity on social media.

**Table 6: Søren Pind in news articles versus Søren Pind post**



#### 4.4.2 Second level agenda setting in news media and social media

The 2nd level agenda setting analysis was done with the aim to examine which attributes the news media and the politicians gave the different issues during the election.

This started out with a content analysis that quantitatively analysed the attributions of the issues based on whether they were given positive or negative attributions.

This led to a textual analysis of the news media and politicians' use rhetorical strategies in order to emphasise their positive or negative attributions to the given issue.

##### 4.4.2.1 Issues:

In the content analysis, the issue of refugees appeared in the politicians' social media in which most of the posts about the refugees were evaluated negatively. In the content analysis of the news media, the issue of refugees appeared in the news media with the highest level of negative evaluations during the election.

In the textual analysis of the social media, Kristian Thulesen Dahl and Morten Messerschmidt The 30th of November mainly communicated the issue of refugees in relation to how Lars Løkke Rasmussen's guarantee about the asylum policy should not be trusted. Additionally, the textual analysis of the news media, Lars Løkke Rasmussen also appears in relation to the asylum policy in which he is criticized for not being a trustworthy politician. Additionally, the textual analysis could suggest that the politicians and news media shared some similarities in their rhetorical strategies in their combination of the actors and issues. This can for instance be seen in Søren Pind's attributions in the news

media in which he was evaluated positively through the use of hyperboles as a credible politician. In the news media, he appears in relation to Lars Løkke Rasmussen's guarantee about refugees. In the social media, Søren Pind also communicates Lars Løkke Rasmussen's guarantee through the inclusion of a news media article in order to make himself and his statements credible as well. However, in the news media articles, Søren Pind uses rhetorical strategies through the use of hyperbole and thus appeals to the emotions of the reader. On social media, Søren Pind includes a news media article in order to make himself credible which appeals to the logic of the reader.

#### 4.4.3 Summary:

On the basis of my analysis, it can be concluded that there exists a bond between news media and social media. With the small amount of data collection and analysis, it is difficult to establish a set of rules of how social media affects news media and vice versa. However, the analysis has shown sign of intermedia effect in which the news media has had an effect on what has been communicated on social media pages. In addition to this, examples have also been found of social media posts that have had an effect on what has been communicated and included in news articles.

## Chapter 5. Discussion

Through the examined theories and the analysis of the collected data, the dissertation has wished to examine how social media and news media affect one another in relation to Maxwell McCombs' concept of agenda setting.

The dissertation wished to study how the politicians' social media and the news media articles evolved through the case study of the EU-election. This was done through a content analysis in which the aim was to analyse how issues and actors evolved in salience in the news media and politicians' social media posts during the time period from the 20<sup>th</sup> of November to the 18<sup>th</sup> of December. Additionally, it wanted to examine how the issues and actors in the politicians' social media posts and news media articles corresponded with each other during the EU-election. This would lead to results that could suggest whether the politicians' social media and news media affected each other's choice of what to communicate during the EU-election. The findings of the results were as follows.

## **1. Finding: Research suggests the news media and politicians put similar emphasis on certain issues**

The findings show that the politicians' and news media's priority of specific issues had a similar development through the time period to which it was analysed. The two issues were *mistrust* and *refugees* in which the two functions on the analysed graphs showed a similar development during the election. Additionally, two out of the four actors also showed a similar development; when these two politicians campaigned on their Facebook or Twitter profile, the same day, these politicians would appear in the news media articles as well. The two actors were Søren Pind and Morten Messerschmidt. Thus, it could be suggested that under certain circumstances during an election context politicians and news media seems to place similar emphasis on issues and actors.

## **2. Finding: Research suggest that to some extent news media and politicians affect each other**

The second point has been divided into an A and B section in order to illustrate that 2B is an extension of the findings in 2A.

**2A.** The results from the empirical analysis found the politicians and news media had similarities in their communication two actors. This could suggest that the politicians and journalists can be influenced by each other when they are prioritising specific issues and actors and thus shape the agenda. Yet, the empirical analysis cannot present any suggestion of how the politicians and journalists affect each other.

**2B** However, the findings also suggest that the politicians to a greater extent referred to articles from news media when legitimating their arguments on social media. This is illustrated with the inclusion of news articles in the majority of social media posts. The news media included politicians' social media posts. Yet, this inclusion only happened a few times in the election period. In Van Dalen et al's study of Danish politicians use of Facebook as a campaigning tool during the parliamentary election in 2011, they did a survey in which the Danish politicians stated that they did not regard social media as a strategic tool. Yet, in this study, the majority of politicians included news articles in their posts on social media, which could imply that the politicians' use of social media during an election could have strategic elements since some posts were used to campaign against the opposition.

### **Finding 3: Intermedia agenda setting effects should be seen as a dynamic process between news media and social media**

When the study was first conducted, the theoretical goal for conducting the empirical analysis was not to illustrate whether the politicians through social media or the news media were becoming more powerful in the agenda setting process. The study was not an either/or of how to affect the public the most with their communication. In relation to this, some results have suggested that the politicians' social media and the news media channels do not communicate as two independent entities in society.

Rather the contrary, as some of the results showed quantitatively as well as qualitatively that social media and news media work rather close together in the formation and agenda setting process of a particular news such as an election. A similar result was found in Conway et al.'s study of politicians' Twitter posts and news media articles, in which Conway et al. argues that the news media and politicians are in a *source cycle* (Conway et al, 2015, 374); the politicians include news articles in order to state something on their social media profile, which the journalists then include in their articles.

In relation to the previous findings, the results could suggest that the communication process is becoming more dynamic between the news media and the politicians. This could propose that the news media should not necessarily be seen as the only gatekeeper in society.

## Chapter 6. Conclusion

The dissertation has wished to study how the news media and the politicians' social media can have an effect on each other during an election.

This has been done theoretically through McCombs' agenda setting theory, which has expanded through the first and second agenda setting levels. Agenda setting was afterwards presented in relation to how the social media platform could have an effect on the politicians' campaigning and the news media's gathering of news. In these sections, previous studies showed conflicting results to how news media and politicians' social media affect each other's agenda setting. Finally, Intermedia agenda setting effects will set the theoretical foundation for how two media channels can affect each other's priorities in agenda setting.



### 6.1 Expansion on McComb's agenda setting theory

The theoretical paragraph demonstrated through previous research how McComb's agenda setting theory has been expanded in relation to how the social media platform and how this expansion could have an effect on the politicians' campaigning and the news medias gathering of news. In these sections, previous studies showed conflicting results to how news media and politicians' social media affect each other's agenda setting.

In conclusion, the theoretical section presented the term intermedia agenda setting effects. Intermedia agenda setting effects will set the theoretical foundation for how two media channels can affect each other's priorities in agenda setting.

### 6.2 News media and social media share similarities in salience of issues and actors during the election.

The content analysis and textual analysis showed that on McCombs' first level of agenda setting, the social media shared some similarities with the news media. This could be seen in the case with the refugees which the politicians and news media applied the same salience and emphasis on the refugees.

Additionally, the analysis of the politicians' social media found examples of politicians' either sharing the same peaks as their appearances on news media. Also, the analysis found examples of the politicians' peak be a day before they peaked in the news media articles. Based on the content analysis and textual analysis, it can be concluded that the majority of politicians and issues changes during the election. Many issues and actors intensify in salience when the election is closer to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the December and the period after the election, the salience of politicians and issues decreases. Thus, the results could suggest that the issues and the actors in the news media are related to each other which is therefore, the have similarities in their development of salience.

### 6.3 News media and social media share similarities in attributions of issues and actors during the election

The second level analysis of the news medias' articles and politicians' social media post provided the empirical analysis with the perspective of when the issues and actors were evaluated negatively and positively through a content analysis. Additionally, the textual analysis explained how the news media and politicians evaluated the issues and actors in

terms of which context they appeared in. Also, it explained what rhetorical strategies the news media and politicians used in order to communicate the attributions of the issues and actors.

#### 6.4 Intermedia agenda setting effects can explain the relationship between news media and social media

This lead to the final part of the analysis which combined first and second level agenda setting analysis of news media's articles and politicians' social media posts.

It can be concluded that there exists a bond between news media and social media. With the small of amount of data collection and analysis, it is difficult to establish a set of rules of how social media affects news media and vice versa. However, the analysis has shown sign of intermedia effect in which the news media has had an effect on what has been communicated on social media pages. In addition to this, examples have also been found of social media posts that have had an effect on what has been communicated and included in news articles.

### Chapter 7. Future directions for this study

The results from the study suggested that news media and politicians' social media were influenced by each other during the election in salience and attributions of the issues and actors. In this study and the previous examine studies, the focus of those studies have been to examine the relationship between the politicians' use of social media and the news media salience of a particular issue.

All the studies have examined, if and when the issue and actors between the news media and politicians' social media corresponds. Yet, the studies have not examined why the issues and actors have a reciprocal relationship in the evolvement of issues and actors.

In future studies, it could be interesting to examine if certain factors have determined the intermedia agenda setting effects between the news media and the politicians' social media. The study could this continue where McCombs' agenda setting theory finish and through a more psychological or sociological perspective analyse how the relationship between the journalists and the politicians could have an effect on how the result evolve during the electio

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1: Extract of all social media politicians

Ole Rydberg Nej, milliarderne kommer jo ikke	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Sunday 29.11.15.
Ja-partier: red barne og reden siger ja (article) (retweed)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Sunday 29.11.15.
Vil nogen hvilken forklare hvilken interesse? (retweed)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Sunday 29.11.15.
Teslaen er out and about i dag med Løkkegard	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Sunday 29.11.15.
Har blogget om en af de 22 restakter (article)	Twitter	Pernille Skipper	Sunday 29.11.15.
Tankevækkende- flytninge skulle i telte pga (retweed)	Twitter	Pernille Skipper	Sunday 29.11.15.
Løkke vildleder. Vi kan bruge tilvalgsordning (retweed)	Twitter	Pernille Skipper	Sunday 29.11.15.
Har du lagt mørke til, hvor lusket (article)	Twitter	Pernille Skipper	Sunday 29.11.15.
Godmorgen på hovedbanen	Twitter	Pernille Skipper	Sunday 29.11.15.
Ja Danmarks akltage del	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
De vil heller ikke svare på kritisk (article=	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
As faith communities	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Manipulere MrMesserschmidt	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Men det leverer og står ved stærke	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Jeg går med i klimaforandring i dag	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
thats a lot of shoes	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Exact same arguments used by	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Very interested to see how the domestic process	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Image	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Emissions anywhere affec people	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Follow World Council of churches	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Tak Kamel 80	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Pskipper EL OG	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Hvorfor gir LarsLøkke ikke Kristian Thulesen	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Palestinians should welcome Europe's first	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Kom ind i kampen V Borgmestre	Twitter	Margrethe Auken	Sunday 29.11.15.
Læs Redbarnet	Twitter	Søren Pind	Sunday 29.11.15.
Torsdag handler om mere end (article)	Twitter	Søren Pind	Sunday 29.11.15.
Jeg mener egent, der bliver (article)	Twitter	Søren Pind	Sunday 29.11.15.
Dagnes storm bemærkning	Twitter	Søren Pind	Sunday 29.11.15.
<b>Article Monday 30.11.15</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Writer</b>	<b>Date</b>
Selvfølger er Danmark da bare de bedste	Twitter	Anders Samuelsen	Monday 30.11.15.
Ouverture Cop21 a Paris (retweed)	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Monday 30.11.15.
37 countries have comitted to remove(retweed=	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Monday 30.11.15.
Fortsat søtte til reform proces	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Monday 30.11.15.
Lars Løkke tak for hyggelig besøg (retweed)	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Monday 30.11.15.

## Appendix 2: Extract of all collected articles in news media

Dato	Antal artikler	Politikken	Berlingske	Avisen.dk	Information	Jern og Maskinindustrien	DR	Ritzau	Viborg folkeblad	Atlas	Fyens Amtsavis	Jyllands Posten	Finans	Modkraft	Børsen
Freitag 20.11.15	18		3	1	3		2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	
Lørdag 21.11.15	17	1	1		2			2	3			2	2		1
Søndag 22.11.15	17	1	3		1			4	2			1	1		
Mandag 23.11.15	43	8	3		1			3	5			3	9	1	
Tirsdag 24.11.15	26	3	3		1			6					4		
Onsdag 25.11.15	41	4	3		4			5	9			1	4		
Torsdag 26.11.15	37	6	5					3				1	7		
Freitag 27.11.15	42	3	2		1			2	5			2	12	1	
Lørdag 28.11.15	44	6	6					2	2			5	3	1	
Søndag 29.11.15	25	4	2					1	1			4	6		2
Mandag 30.11.15	52	11	1					2	10			8	3		5
Tirsdag 01.12.15	73	13	5		4			4	1			2	7		4
Onsdag 02.12.15	80	13	12		5			9	3			10	7	1	5
Torsdag 03.12.15	191	26	4		9			13	43			5	11	2	15
Freitag 04.12.15	150	22	3		10			18	26				9	3	14
Lørdag 05.12.15	34	7	4		2				7				4	1	4
Søndag 06.12.15	14	2	2					1				1	4		1
Mandag 07.12.15	12	2	1					1	3			1			1
Tirsdag 08.12.15	2	1													
Onsdag 09.12.15	9	3											3		
Torsdag 10.12.15	7							1					2		
Freitag 11.12.15	11	3						2	1				4		
Lørdag 12.12.15	13	1	1		1								6		
Søndag 13.12.15	0														
Mandag 14.12.15	0														
Tirsdag 15.12.15	5							1				1	2		
Onsdag 16.12.15	4								1				2		
Torsdag 17.12.15	3												1		
Freitag 18.12.15	4	1											1		

## Appendix 3: Overview of frequency of actors and issues in news media and social media

News media issues	Mistrust	Refugees	Terror	Police
20/nov	2	2	1	3
21/nov	2	2	3	5
22/nov	5	4	2	5
23/nov	5	6	2	8
24/nov	5	6	0	3
25/nov	5	5	0	6
26/nov	1	5	6	10
27/nov	3	2	3	8
28/nov	1	3	2	5
29/nov	2	2	2	6
30/nov	3	1	0	5
01/dec	2	5	1	8
02/dec	6	3	2	5
03/dec	8	11	3	9
04/dec	2	1	8	5
05/dec	2	3	3	4
06/dec	2	1	2	2
07/dec	0	1	0	1
08/dec	0	0	0	0
09/dec	1	0	0	0
10/dec	0	1	0	0
11/dec	1	1	0	0
12/dec	1	0	1	1
13/dec	0	0	0	0
14/dec	0	0	0	0
15/dec	0	3	1	1
16/dec	2	0	2	2
17/dec	1	0	1	2
18/dec	0	0	1	0

News media actors	Lars Løkke Rasmussen	Søren Pind	Morten Messerschmidt	Kristian Thulesen Dahl
20/nov	1	2	1	1
21/nov	0	3	0	0
22/nov	2	6	3	2
23/nov	3	4	6	0
24/nov	4	5	0	0
25/nov	5	5	2	1
26/nov	1	9	2	4
27/nov	0	2	4	0
28/nov	6	5	3	6
29/nov	1	4	1	1
30/nov	1	6	0	2
01/dec	7	5	7	4
02/dec	12	15	2	10
03/dec	14	10	3	10
04/dec	29	11	1	15
05/dec	6	4	0	4
06/dec	4	0	1	2
07/dec	2	0	0	0
08/dec	0	0	0	0
09/dec	0	1	1	1
10/dec	1	0	0	0
11/dec	5	4	1	1
12/dec	2	1	0	0
13/dec	0	0	0	0
14/dec	0	2	0	0
15/dec	0	2	0	0
16/dec	3	0	0	0
17/dec	1	0	0	0
18/dec	0	1	0	0



Social media issues	Mistrust	Refugees	Terror	Police
20/nov	2	2	3	3
21/nov	2	2	0	0
22/nov	7	6	1	4
23/nov	9	2	1	2
24/nov	9	4	1	1
25/nov	8	5	1	0
26/nov	3	5	1	4
27/nov	3	1	0	3
28/nov	4	4	0	2
29/nov	3	4	1	5
30/nov	7	7	0	2
01/dec	6	2	1	5
02/dec	6	5	3	4
03/dec	3	1	0	4
04/dec	0	0	2	0
05/dec	0	0	1	0
06/dec	0	0	0	0
07/dec	0	0	1	2
08/dec	0	1	0	0
09/dec	0	2	0	0
10/dec	0	1	0	0
11/dec	1	0	0	1
12/dec	0	0	0	0
13/dec	0	0	0	0
14/dec	0	1	0	0
15/dec	0	1	2	2
16/dec	0	0	0	0
17/dec	0	0	0	0
18/dec	0	0	1	1

Social media actors	Lars Løkke Rasmussen	Søren Pind	Morten Messerschmidt	Kristian Thulesen Dahl
20/nov	1	2	3	1
21/nov	5	3	0	1
22/nov	2	6	9	1
23/nov	0	4	4	2
24/nov	1	5	4	1
25/nov	1	5	6	2
26/nov	1	9	4	2
27/nov	0	2	1	2
28/nov	1	5	6	2
29/nov	1	4	3	2
30/nov	4	6	4	4
01/dec	3	5	6	3
02/dec	4	15	6	4
03/dec	2	10	15	7
04/dec	2	11	3	0
05/dec	2	4	1	0
06/dec	1	0	0	0
07/dec	1	0	0	1
08/dec	0	0	0	1
09/dec	1	1	2	1
10/dec	1	0	0	2
11/dec	2	4	0	0
12/dec	3	1	0	0
13/dec	1	0	1	0
14/dec	1	2	0	1
15/dec	1	2	1	0
16/dec	1	0	0	0
17/dec	3	0	0	0
18/dec	1	1	0	0

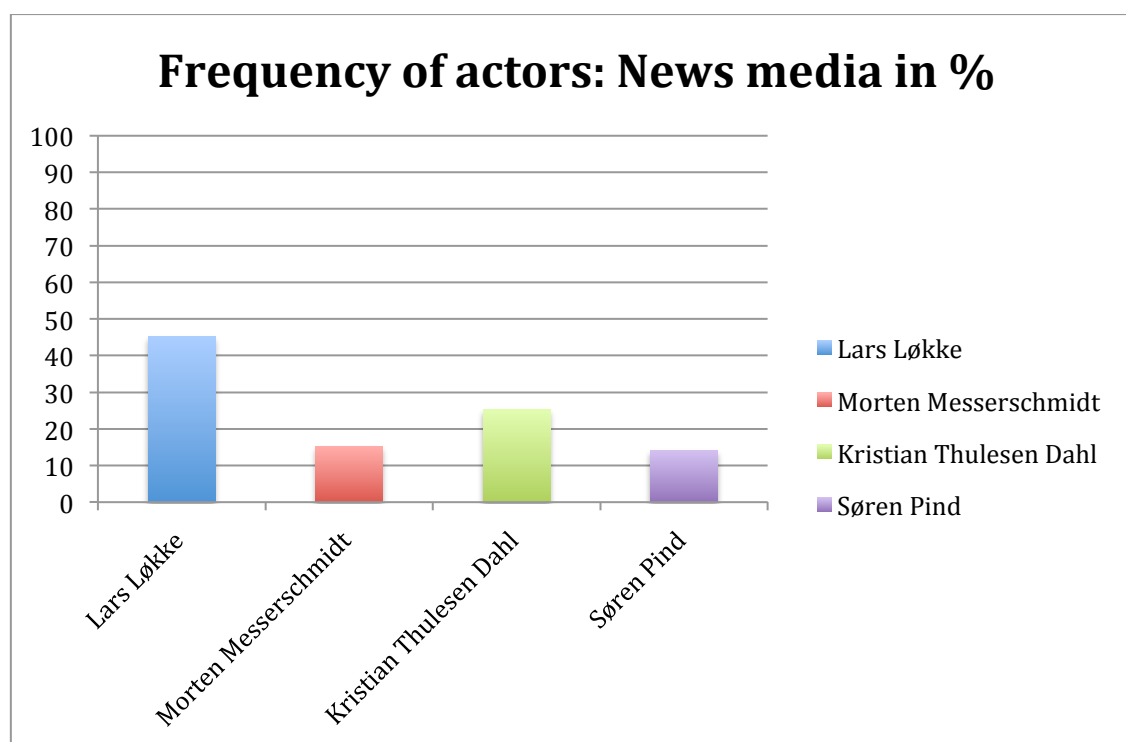
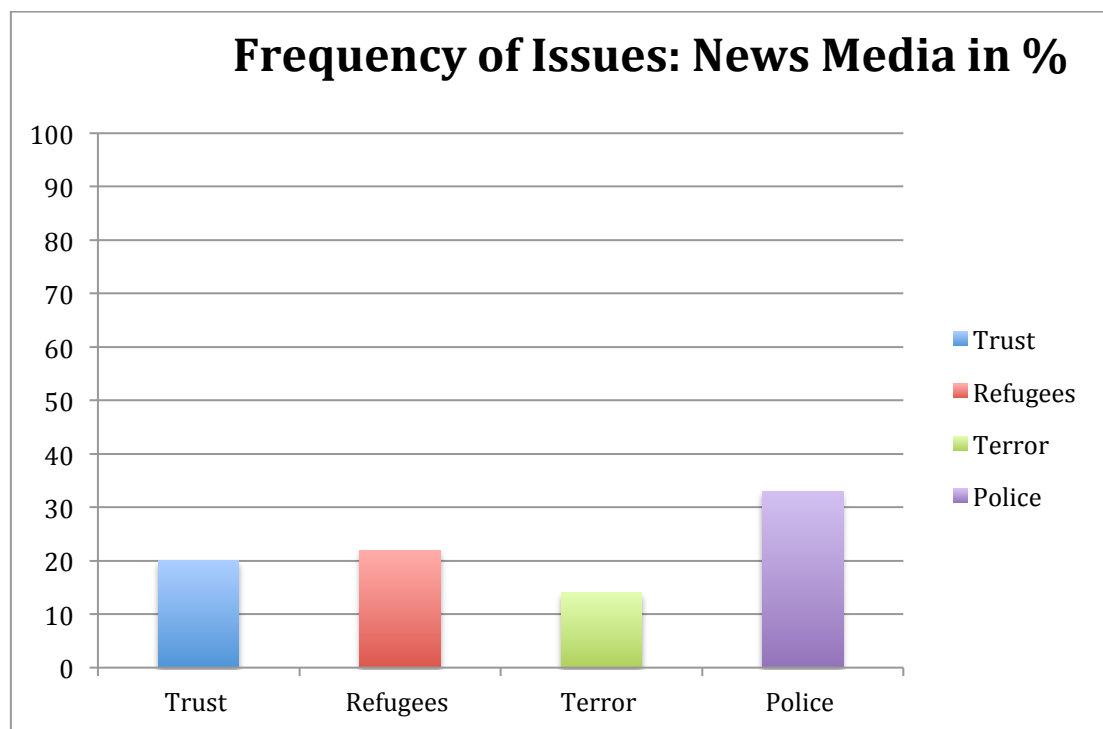
## Appendix 4: Extract of analysed articles

Article title 01.12.15	Source	Writer	Date
Blogindlæg: det ansvarlige ja	Berlingske	Amalie Lyhne	Tuesday 01.12.15
Blogindlæg: skal den indre opportunist virkelig vinde	Berlingske	Claus Skovhus	Tuesday 01.12.15
Det er efterhånden en kliche, men Danmark er et lille land, og vi kan ikke alting selv	Berlingske	LØ, MF, MØ, POD, SP	Tuesday 01.12.15
Retsforbeholdet for dummies	Berlingske		Tuesday 01.12.15
Bookmakere i køvending: nu tror de på et nej	Børsen		Tuesday 01.12.15
Epinion: nej-siden tager føring for første gang	DR	Johan Blem Larsen	Tuesday 01.12.15
EU-retsforbehold: nej-siden fører for første gang	DR		Tuesday 01.12.15
Faktatjek: forskel på interpol og Europol	DR	Jacqueline Rodrigues	Tuesday 01.12.15
Ingen cirkler med guldtsuch: sådan sætter du dit kryds ordentligt	DR	Mathias Sommer	Tuesday 01.12.15
10 argumenter for et ja- eller et nej	Jyllands-Posten		Tuesday 01.12.15
66-årig bruger egne penge på kampagne for et nej	Jyllands-Posten	Mads Bonde Broberg	Tuesday 01.12.15
Blogindlæg: hvor stærke skal vi være i kampen mod menneskehandel?	Jyllands-Posten	Ulla Tørnæs	Tuesday 01.12.15
Leksikon: Hvis du vil vide mere om børnepornodirektivet	Jyllands-Posten	Mads Westermann	Tuesday 01.12.15
Skræmmekampagne imod et nej hænger løst i luften	Jyllands-Posten		Tuesday 01.12.15
Debat: hold dig for næsen, og stem ja	Politiken	Jakob Nielsen	Tuesday 01.12.15
Debat: Hvornår begynder politikerne at respektere vælgernes afgørelser	Politiken	Preben Wilhjelmsen	Tuesday 01.12.15
DF opfordrer Løkke til fælles EU-aftale med nej-partier	Politiken	Jakob Hvide	Tuesday 01.12.15
Er du klar til at stemme på torsdag?	Politiken	Jens Dresling	Tuesday 01.12.15
Et nej var udgangspunktet for partilederdebat	Politiken	Mathias Petersen, Jesper Thubø-Carlson	Tuesday 01.12.15
Justitsministeriet: Retsakt om børneporno ændre ikke dansk love	Politiken	Morten Skaerbæk, Marchen Neel Gjertsen	Tuesday 01.12.15
Røde jupartier til DF-formand: Ro på, nu skal folk lige stemme	Politiken	Jakob Hvide	Tuesday 01.12.15
Tænketank efterlyser Mette Frederiksen i ja-kampagne	Politiken	Nillas Heinskou	Tuesday 01.12.15
Valgforsker forventer mange sofavælgere på valgdagen	Politiken		Tuesday 01.12.15
Vil Thulesen nu i regering?	Politiken	Finn Fransen, Jesper Thubø-Carlson	Tuesday 01.12.15
Bookmakere skifter mening og tror på nej ved EU-afstemning	Ritzau		Tuesday 01.12.15
Ingen EU-slinger på grænsen - politisamarbejde fortsætter	Ritzau		Tuesday 01.12.15
EU-debat skabte spøjse alliancer	TV2	Esben Christensen	Tuesday 01.12.15
Frederiksen: Dansk politi er ikke godt uden EU	TV2	Esben Christensen	Tuesday 01.12.15
Langballe: Pind og Messerschmidt har respekt for hinanden	TV2	Esben Christensen	Tuesday 01.12.15
Løkke vil ikke svare på Samuelssens udfordring	TV2	Esben Christensen	Tuesday 01.12.15
Messerschmidt tror ikke på flytningegaranti	TV2	Esben Christensen	Tuesday 01.12.15
Partilederne mødes til EU-debat	TV2	Esben Christensen	Tuesday 01.12.15
Article Title: 02.12.15	Source	Writer	Date
Blogindlæg: de unge stemmer nej, og det bliver et nej	Berlingske		Wednesday 02.12.15
Blogindlæg: et spørgsmål om mistillid	Berlingske	Tom Jensen	Wednesday 02.12.15
Debat: Inde i lejligheden bestemmet vi selv	Berlingske	Stine Bosse	Wednesday 02.12.15
Det sker der ved et nej	Berlingske	Jesper Beinow	Wednesday 02.12.15
Et skridt i den rigtige retning	Berlingske	Søren Hviid Pedersen	Wednesday 02.12.15
Gruppen af tvivlere er skrumpet markant	Berlingske	Cathrine Bloch, Sanni Jensen	Wednesday 02.12.15
Ja, for en sikkerheds skyld	Berlingske		Wednesday 02.12.15
Lad os få et rungende ja	Berlingske	Oluf Johsson	Wednesday 02.12.15
EU-nej kan åbne dør for DF i regering	Børsen		Wednesday 02.12.15
Det her skal du stemme om	Børsen	Troels Beha Pedersen, Peter Søndergaard	Wednesday 02.12.15
Stem ja til EU. Danmark for luksusordning	Børsen	Anders Krab-Johansen	Wednesday 02.12.15
Smuglericigaretter kræver mere end et ja eller nej	Børsen	Louise Feilberg, Thomas Jepsen, Philip Morris	Wednesday 02.12.15
EU-nej kan åbne dør for DF i regering	Børsen		Wednesday 02.12.15
DR holdt en aften for demokratiet	DR	Jan Dohrmann	Wednesday 02.12.15
Johanne siger nej, Trine siger ja	DR		Wednesday 02.12.15
Mange unge vil stemme nej i morgen	DR		Wednesday 02.12.15
Unge sider nej til at omdanne retsforbehold	DR		Wednesday 02.12.15
Ja eller nej, hvor farde er i blik	DR		Wednesday 02.12.15

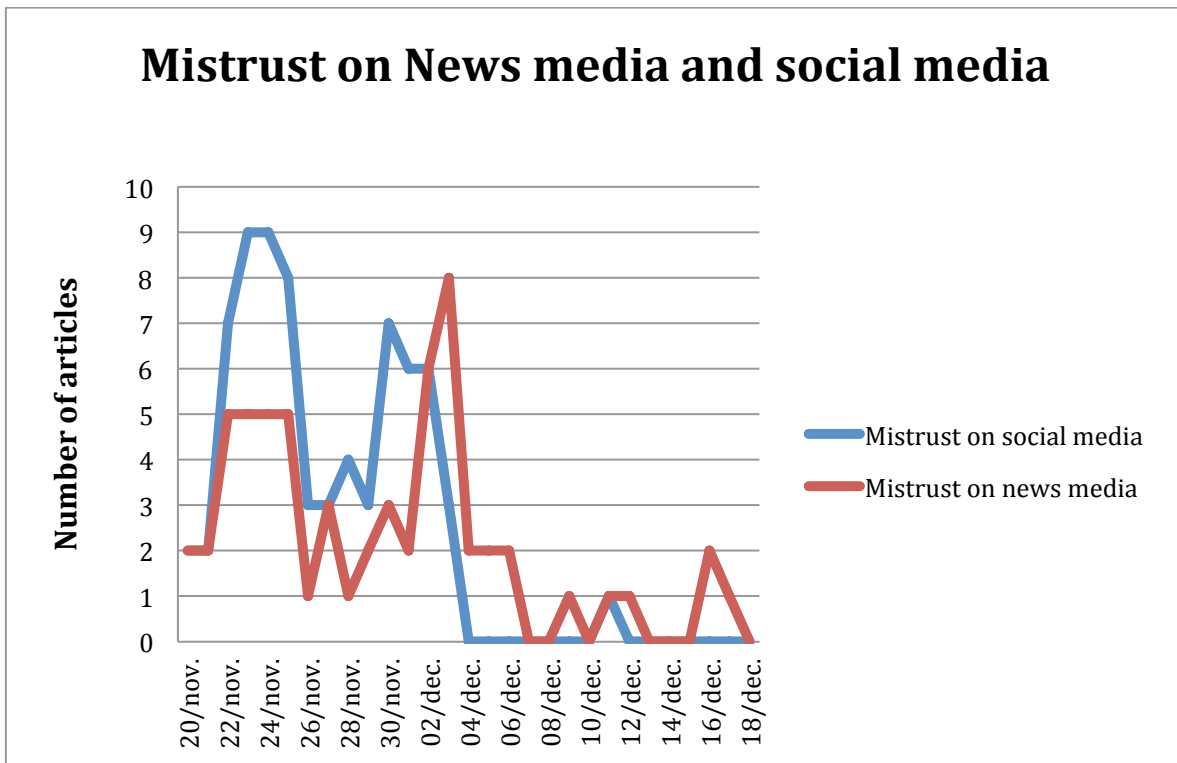
## Appendix 5: Extract of analysed social media posts

Article title Sunday 29.11.15	Source	Writer	Date
Så lykkedes det endeligt! : en direkte duel med Lars Løkke	Facebook	Kristian Thulesen Dahl	Sunday 29.11.15
Del gerne! God aften (video)	Facebook	Kristian Thulesen Dahl	Sunday 29.11.15
Ole Rydberg Nej, milliarderne kommer jo ikke	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Sunday 29.11.15.
Ja-partier: red barne og reden siger ja (article) (retweed)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Sunday 29.11.15.
Vil nogen hvilken forklare hvilken interesse? (retweed)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Sunday 29.11.15.
Teslaen er out and about i dag med Løkkegard	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Sunday 29.11.15.
Læs Redbarnet	Twitter	Søren Pind	Sunday 29.11.15.
Torsdag handler om mere end (article)	Twitter	Søren Pind	Sunday 29.11.15.
Jeg mener egent, der bliver (article)	Twitter	Søren Pind	Sunday 29.11.15.
Dagnes storm bemærkning	Twitter	Søren Pind	Sunday 29.11.15.
Article title Monday 30.11.15	Source	Writer	Date
Del gerne (image)	Facebook	Kristian Thulsen Dahl	Monday 30.11.15
Derfor er Lars Løkke Rasmussens garanti om dansk	Facebook	Kristian Thulsen Dahl	Monday 30.11.15
Så er det næsten NU...på torsdag falder afgørelsen	Facebook	Kristian Thulsen Dahl	Monday 30.11.15
Jeg havde her til aften en god tur til den danske-tyske grænse	Facebook	Kristian Thulsen Dahl	Monday 30.11.15
Ouverture Cop21 a Paris (retweed)	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Monday 30.11.15.
37 countries have comitted to remove(retweed=	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Monday 30.11.15.
Fortsat sætte til reform proces	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Monday 30.11.15.
Lars Løkke tak for hyggelig besøg (retweed)	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Monday 30.11.15.
TV: david trads : JA-partierne prøver (retweed)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Monday 30.11.15.
Nyt ugebrev fra KTD	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Monday 30.11.15.
Pskipper Mr Messerschmidt (article) (retweed)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Monday 30.11.15.
Ja partierne (article) (retweed)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Monday 30.11.15.
Hmmmm: EU- eksperter: (article)	Twitter	Søren Pind	Monday 30.11.15.
Mikkel søren pind fakta hjælper måske	Twitter	Søren Pind	Monday 30.11.15.
MrMesserschmidt har nu varslet to nye	Twitter	Søren Pind	Monday 30.11.15.
Og smatidig et sted i udløget (article)	Twitter	Søren Pind	Monday 30.11.15.
Hmm. Hnderne op af lommen	Twitter	Søren Pind	Monday 30.11.15.
Tja. Hvad sagde jeg	Twitter	Søren Pind	Monday 30.11.15.
Article title Tuesday 01.12.15	Source	Writer	Date
Enig? Image	Facebook	Kristian Thulesen Dahl	Tuesday 01.12.15
Del gerne! Repost af Morten Messerschmidt	Facebook	Kristian Thulesen Dahl	Tuesday 01.12.15
Image	Facebook	Kristian Thulesen Dahl	Tuesday 01.12.15
Lars Løkke 1. julekalender	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Tuesday 01.12.15.
Glæder mig til at byde Lars Løkke (retweed)	Twitter	Lars Løkke	Tuesday 01.12.15.
Konklusion på DR-debat (retweed)	Facebook	Lars Løkke	Tuesday 01.12.15
Image: Lad og beholde retspolitikken på danske hænder	Facebook	Morten Messerschmidt	Tuesday 01.12.15
Husk: Søren pind vs messerschmidt	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Tuesday 01.12.15
Super god EU debat (retweed)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Tuesday 01.12.15
Tv" news eu eksper giver messerschmidt	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Tuesday 01.12.15
Dansk folkeparti med helsideannonce (retweed)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Tuesday 01.12.15
Hvad nu? (article) (retweed)	Twitter	Morten Messerschmidt	Tuesday 01.12.15
Jeg holder på at nå vi i fred og ro	Twitter	Søren Pind	Tuesday 01.12.15
Så har DanskDF	Twitter	Søren Pind	Tuesday 01.12.15
Søren Pape har jeg altid	Twitter	Søren Pind	Tuesday 01.12.15
for god ordens skyld var det folket	Twitter	Søren Pind	Tuesday 01.12.15
Konklusion på DR-debat	Twitter	Søren Pind	Tuesday 01.12.15

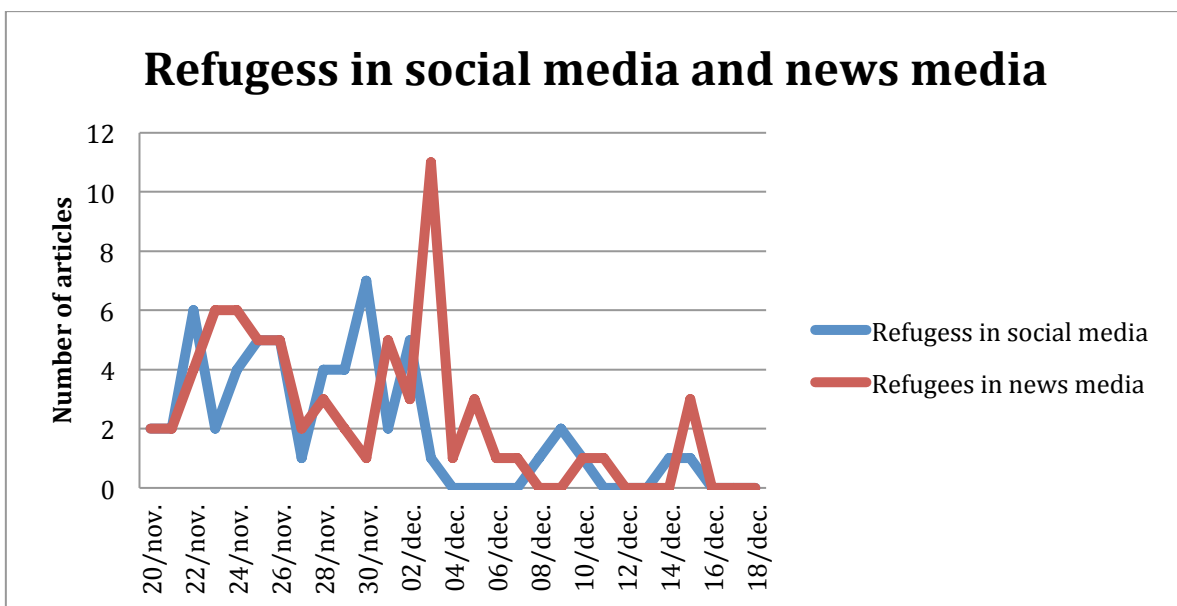
## Appendix 6: Diagram of frequency of news media issues and actors



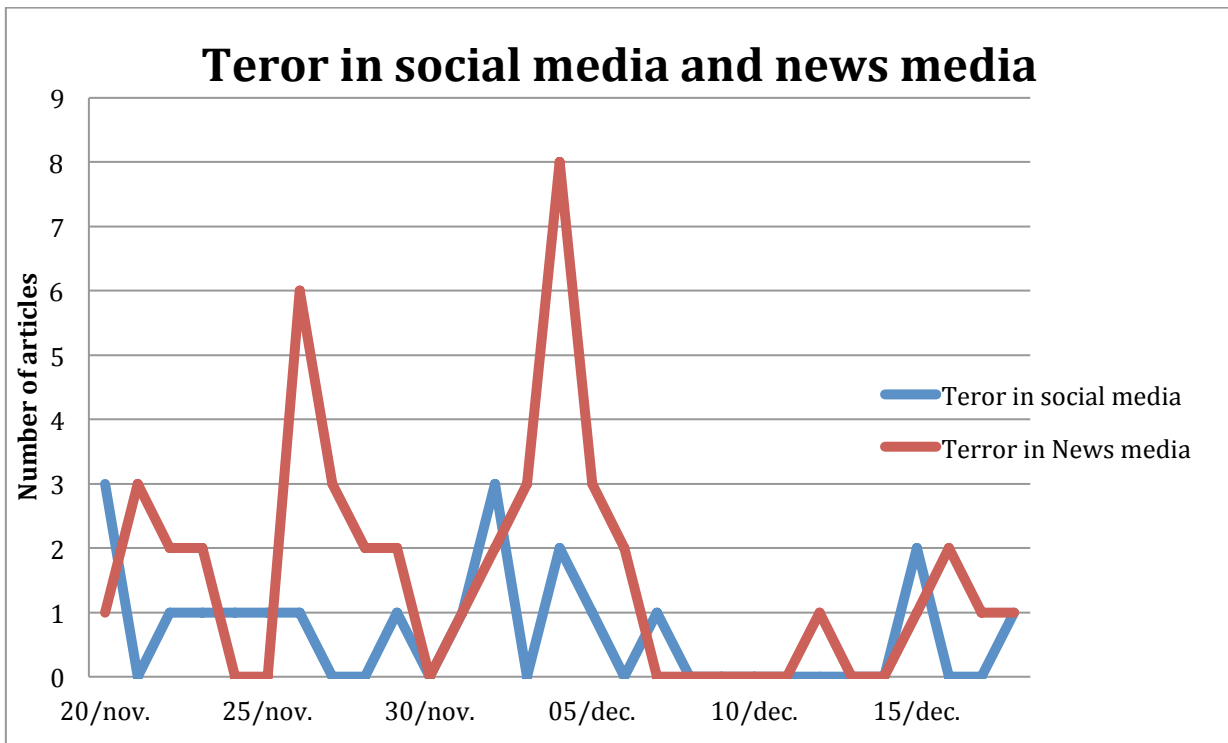
## Appendix 7: Graph of mistrust in news media and social media



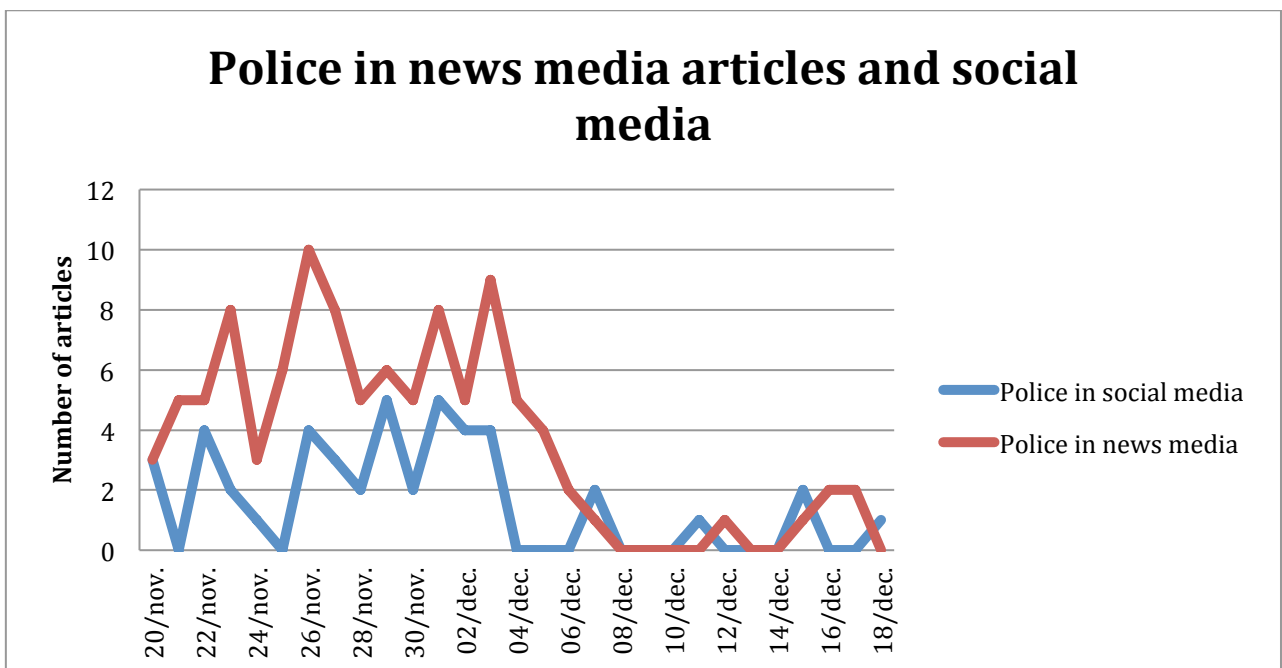
## Appendix 8: Graph of refugees in news media and social media



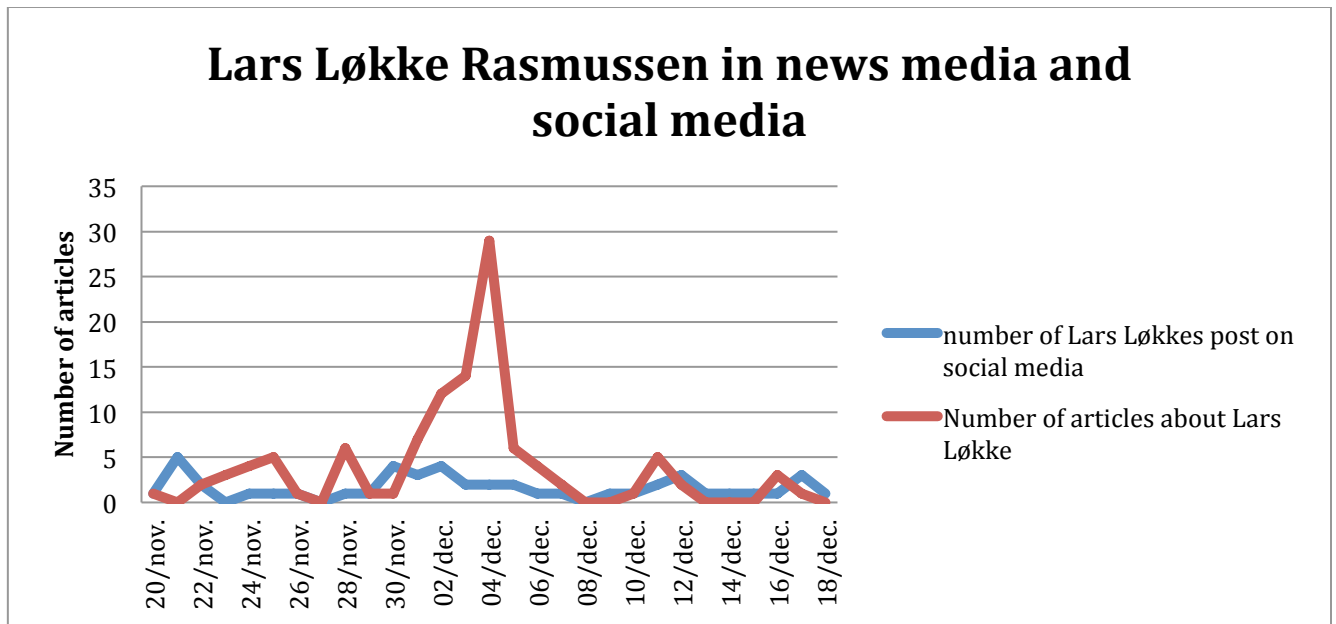
## Appendix 9: Graph of terror in news media and social media



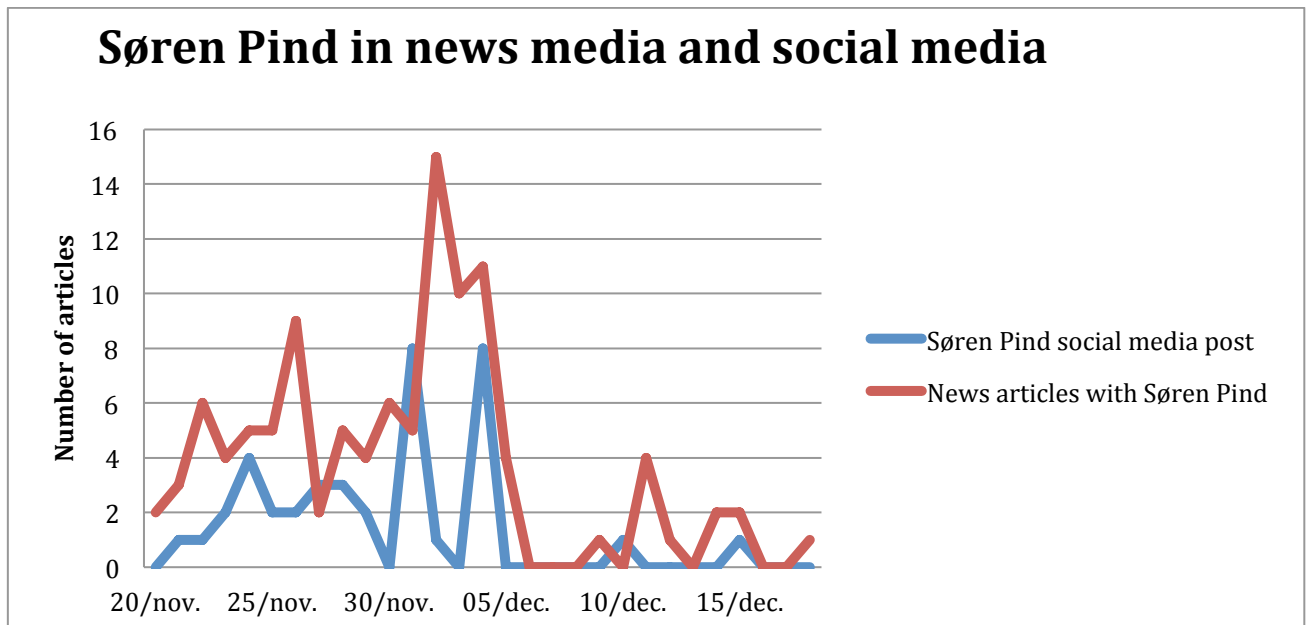
## Appendix 10: Graph of police in news media and social media



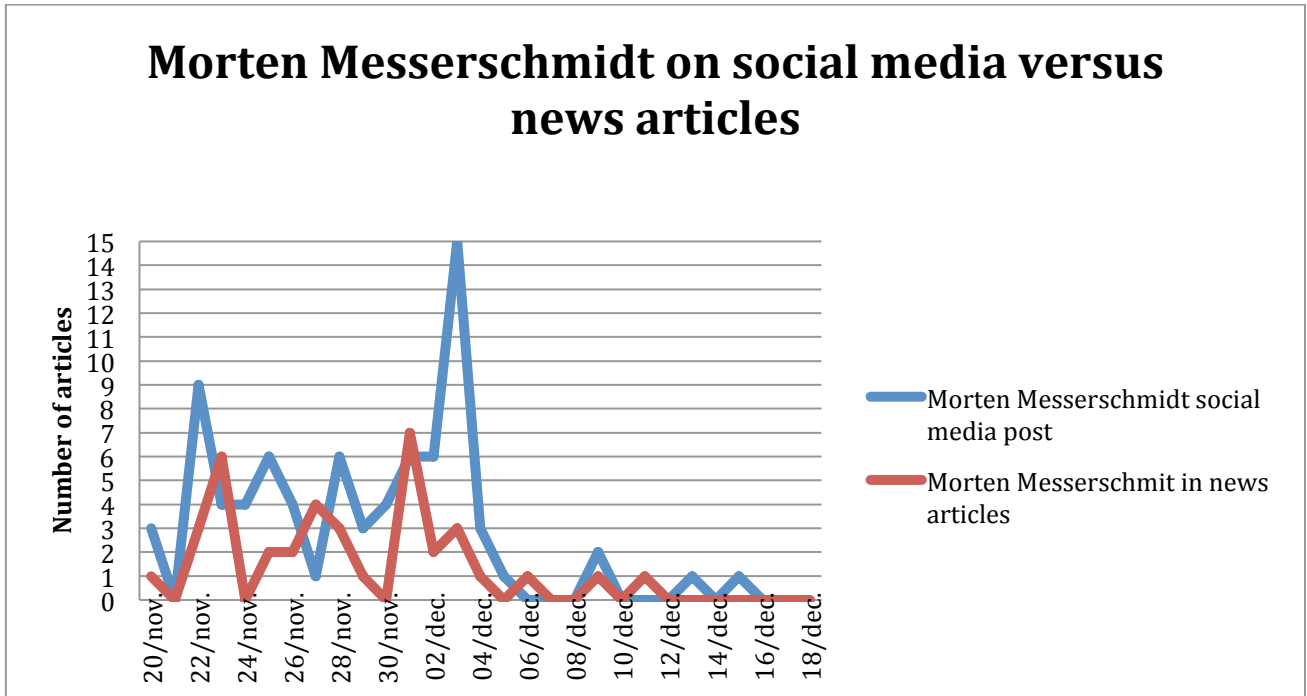
## Appendix 11: Graph of Lars Løkke Rasmussen in news media and social media



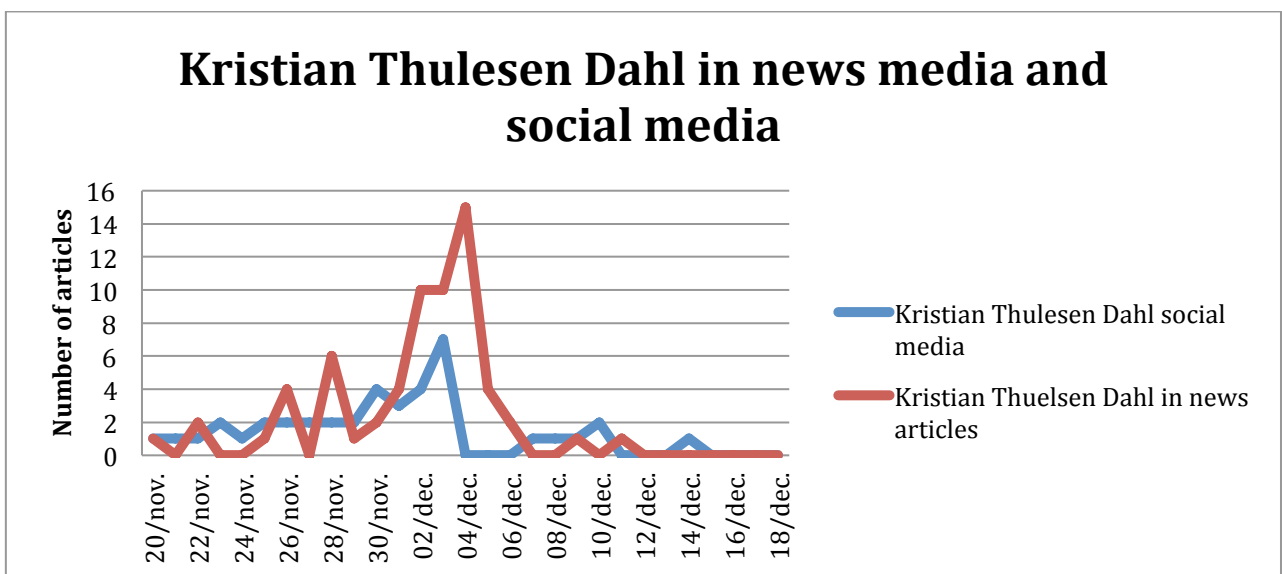
## Appendix 12: Graph of Søren Pind in news media and social media



### Appendix 13: Graph of Morten Messerschmidt in news media and social media

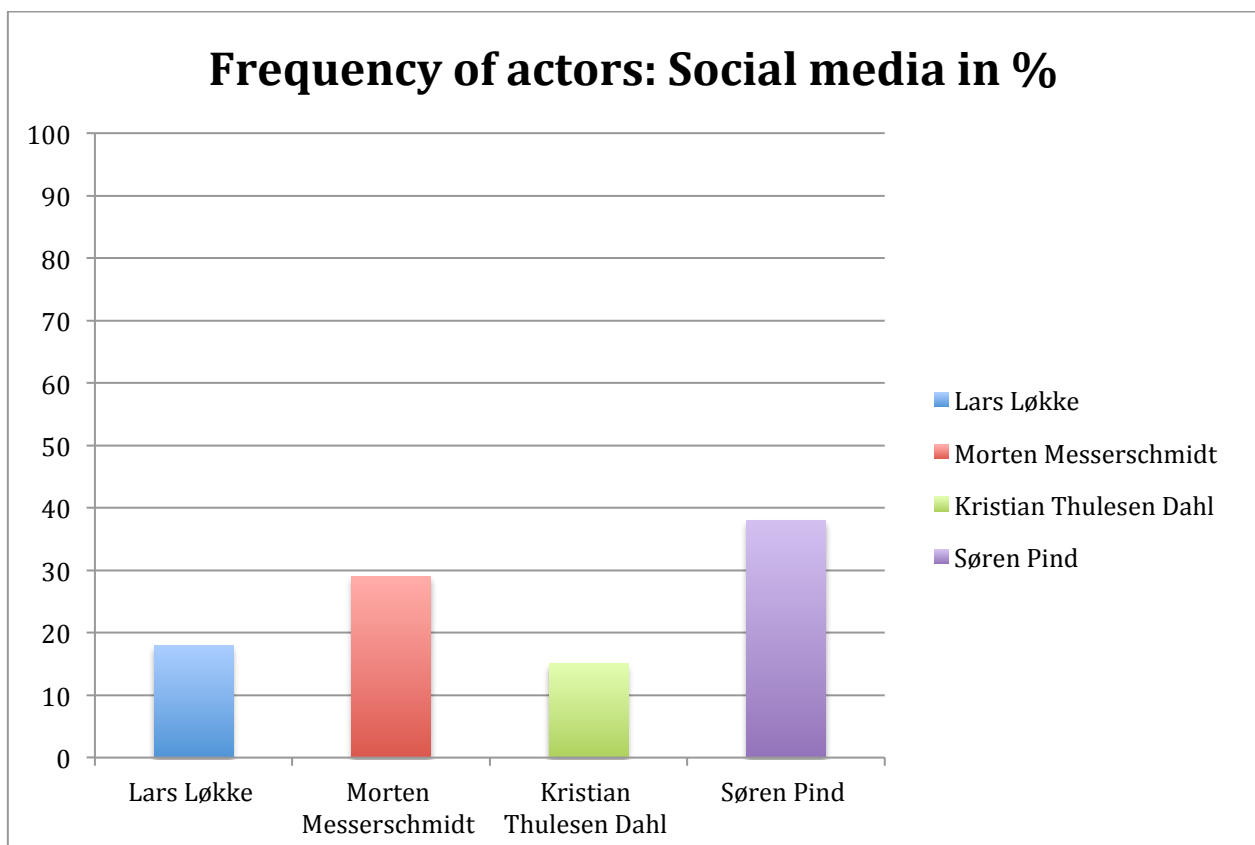
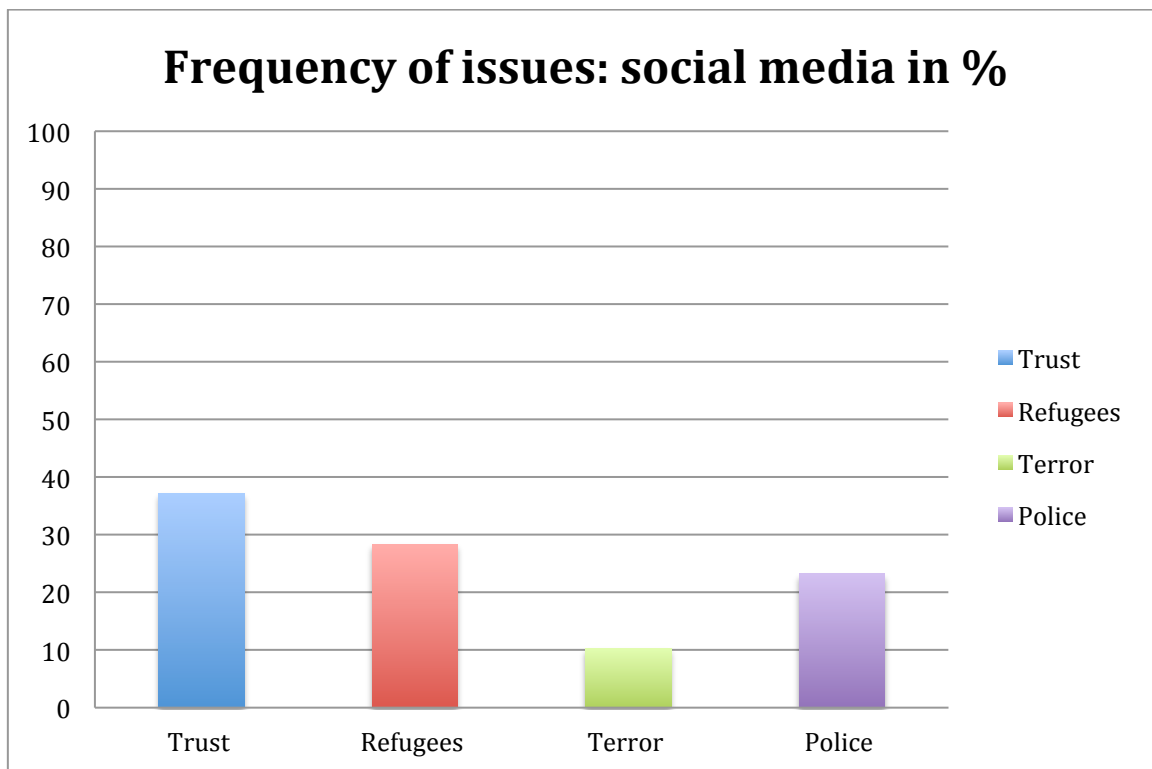


### Appendix 14: Graph of Kristian Thulesen Dahl in news media and social media





## Appendix 15: Diagrams of frequency of social media issues and actors



## Appendix 16: Politiken, 25th of November, "Vælgere tror ikke på asylgaranti"

Vælgere tror ikke på asylgaranti - Politiken.dk

31/05/16 17:37



**Gribende bog spørger: Kan man fødes ond?**



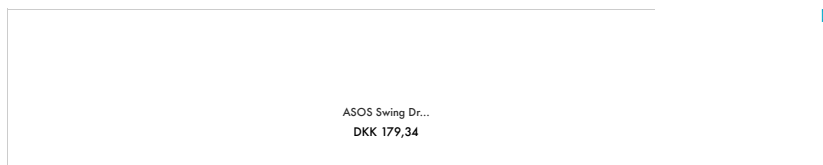
**Mens I andre sover**



**Jo, veganere, mennesket er skabt til at spise dyr**



**Sådan skal lyn- og tord**



**POLITIKEN**

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EU-AFSTEMNING 25. NOV. 2015 KL. 22.00

### Vælgere tror ikke på asylgaranti

Trods forsikringer om det modsatte fra Lars Løkke, tror et flertal, at et ja ved EU-afstemningen vil føre til, at Danmark tilslutter sig EU's fælles asylpolitik.



VALGMØDE. Studerende griller statsminister Lars Løkke Rasmussen (V) om retsforbeholdet på Københavns Universitet. Foto: Martin LEHMANN

Annonce



#### SENESTE POLITIK



**Her er vismændenes fem loftede pegefingre til dansk økonomi**



**Flertal indfører åbne lister over hadprædikanter**



**Islamkritiker melder sig under Nye Borgerliges faner**

Annonce



Annonce

**NILAS HEINSKOU** Politisk reporter

Annonce

Statsminister Lars Løkke Rasmussens og S-formand Mette Frederikssens garanti mod deltagelse i EU's asylpolitik har ikke overbevist danskerne. 54 procent svarer i en Megafon-måling, at de tror, at et ja ved folkeafstemningen 3. december på

[http://politiken.dk/indland/politik/eu\\_afstemning/ECE2948041/vaelgere-tror-ikke-paa-asylgaranti/](http://politiken.dk/indland/politik/eu_afstemning/ECE2948041/vaelgere-tror-ikke-paa-asylgaranti/)

Side 1 af 7


## Appendix 17: Jyllands-Posten, 26th November, "Debat: partierne har ordet: Mere Danmark – mindre EU- stem nej tak!"

7/1/2016

Infomedia - Søgning

**MORGENAVISEN**  
**Jyllands-Posten**

### Debat: PARTIERNE HAR ORDET: Mere Danmark - mindre EU - stem nej tak

Jyllands-Posten | 26.11.2015 | Side 34 | 621 ord | Artikel-id: e55540b5 |  Original artikel

af KRISTIAN THULESEN DAHL folketingsmedlem og formand for Dansk Folkeparti

Den 3. december skal danskerne tage stilling til retsforbeholdet.

Skal vi bevare vores retsforbehold, eller skal vi afskaffe det? Som altid med EU-spørgsmål kan diskussionen virke meget kompliceret. Men i virkeligheden er valget meget simpelt: Skal vi overgive endnu mere suverænitet til EU? Skal vi lade EU bestemme over vigtige ting, som er afgørende for Danmarks fremtid? For hvad med et spørgsmål som grænsekontrol? Et emne, som optager rigtig mange danskere.

Hvis danskerne siger ja ved afstemningen om EU-retsforbeholdet, så bliver Schengen overstatsligt. Der står i den politiske aftale, som ja-partierne bag afstemningen har lavet, at et "ja" vil gøre Schengen-reglerne overstatslige. Altså tilslutter Danmark sig alle fremtidige retsakter på Schengen-området.

Sagt på godt dansk betyder det, at Schengen-reglerne bliver støbt i beton, og at vi ikke længere har mulighed for at melde os ud af Schengen-samarbejdet.

Altså er det også grænsekontrol, som vi stemmer om den 3.

december.

Vi stemmer også om asylpolitik Vi stemmer desuden om vores asylpolitik. For det vil være sådan, at bliver det et "ja", så skal der ikke længere en folkeafstemning til for at tilslutte sig eksempelvis en fælles EU-asylpolitik.

Jeg er med på, at visse af ja-partierne slår syv kors foran sig og siger, at danskerne selvfølgelig skal spørges, før dette sker.

Problemet er bare, at sådan en garanti ikke er ren politik.

Der er ingen juridisk garanti for, at det kommer til at ske. Så fremtidige politikere på Christiansborg kan i realiteten gøre, som det passer dem. Og når først asyl-og udlændingepolitikken er overdraget til EU af et almindeligt flertal på Christiansborg, kan et nyt flertal ikke tage det tilbage igen. Så fanger bordet!.

#### EU ind ad bagdøren

"Garantien" er selvfølgelig et forsøg på at få debatten til kun at handle om de ting, som ja-siden gerne vil tale om. Men sandheden er, at det er hele retsforbeholdet, også den del som omfatter udlændingepolitikken, som vi stemmer om. Det skal danskerne selvfølgelig vide inden den 3. december.

Afstemningen er ganske enkelt et forsøg på at bruge Europol-diskussionen til at luske meget mere

## Appendix 18: Politiken, 4th of December, Danmark står uden for ny EU-aftale

Danmark står uden for nyt EU-forlig om passagerlister – Globalt | www.b.dk

31/05/16 17.49

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# GLOBALT

FOTO • TV

## Danmark står uden for nyt EU-forlig om passagerlister

Af /ritzau/  
4. december 2015, 19:31

EU's nye database over flypassagerer, der skal bruges i kampen mod terror, skal oprettes hurtigst muligt.

DEL ARTIKLEN

Print Mail

Anbefal 16

SE OGSÅ



DF-formand efter EU-nej: Disse tre centrale punkter holder os ude af regeringen

Nej-partier forlanger opbrud i EU-politikken

EU-ivrige Radikale vækker opsigt med 12 krav til Løkke

Kronikken: Beretningen om en bebudet massakre

MERE OM EMNET

[Danmark](#)  
[Europol](#)  
[Folkeafstemning](#)  
[Kriminalitet](#)  
[Søren Pind](#)  
[Terror](#)

Efter mange års hårde forhandlinger har EU-landene og Europaparlamentet fredag indgået en aftale om at oprette en ny fælles database og udveksle oplysninger om flypassagerer til brug for kampen mod terror og alvorlig kriminalitet.

Men på grund af det danske nej ved torsdagens folkeafstemning bliver Danmark ikke en del af det nye samarbejde om det såkaldte PNR-register - Passenger Name Record - som skal oprettes hurtigst muligt.

Frankrig har presset voldsomt på for at få vedtaget det nye værktøj i kampen mod terror efter angrebene i Paris den 13. november, hvor 130 mennesker blev dræbt.

Vicepremierminister Étienne Schneider fra det luxembourgske EU-formandskab glæder sig over kompromisset om det nye register over flypassagerer.

- Kompromisset, som vi er blevet enige om i dag (fredag), vil gøre EU i stand til at oprette et effektivt PNR-system, der respekterer grundlæggende rettigheder og frihed fuldt ud, siger Étienne Schneider.

Det er på et justits- og indenrigsminister i Bruxelles, at EU-landene fredag både har bakket op om en ny ramme for politisamarbejdet Europol fra foråret 2017 og det nye register over flypassagerer.

Justitsminister Søren Pind (V) siger, at det er "lidt mærkværdigt", at Danmark efter folkeafstemningen står på sidelinjen i to vigtige EU-beslutninger, der bliver hastet igennem EU-systemet for at håndtere grænseoverskridende problemer.

- Det er klart, at det at stå uden for et europæiske flypassagerregister, der skal bekæmper terror, og det at måtte sige, at det nye Europol kan vi foreløbig ikke deltage i, det er

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18:00 »Du skal have mod til at træffe de rigtige valg«

18:00 »Når man er barn af en politiker, skal man bare ikke være politiker«

18:00 »Kvinderne mangler opbakning«

18:00 Sådan tager kvinderne det sidste karriereskridt

Flere nyheder



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### MEST LÆSTE

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1. Sebastian Klein gør ekstremt sjældent fund:

http://www.b.dk/globalt/danmark-staar-uden-for-nyt-eu-forlig-om-passagerlister

Side 1 af 5

## Appendix 19: Politiken, 26th of November, "Terrortrusel fremskynder EU's nye aftale om Europol"

13/4/2016

Terrortrusel fremskynder EU's nye aftale om Europol - Politiken.dk



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# EU-AFSTEMNING

EU-AFSTEMNING 26. NOV. 2015 KL. 17.16

## Terrortrusel fremskynder EU's nye aftale om Europol

Danmarks risiko for at miste politisamarbejde bliver tydeligere af, at EU nu hurtigere end ventet enes om at gøre Europol overstøtligt.



**SIKKERHED.** En belgisk soldat bevogter de gamle, kongelige butiksgallerier i det centrale Bruxelles i efterdønningerne af terrorangrebet i Paris. Angrebet har fremskyndet en aftale om det fælleseuropæiske politisamarbejde, Europol. - Foto: Michael Probst/AP

[Gem](#) [Følg](#) [f](#) [t](#) [e](#)

Announce **THOMAS LAURITZEN** ▼  
Europaredaktør, Bruxelles

Det er ikke den danske folkeafstemning i næste uge, der har fået EU til at rubbe neglene med en ny aftale om Europol – men derimod terrorangrebene i Paris og det hidtil usete beredskab på tværs af Europa, som truslen har ført med sig.

»De fleste parlamentarikere fra andre lande ved jo dårlig nok, at der er en folkeafstemning i Danmark. Det er vores eget problem«, siger den radikale Morten Helveg Petersen,

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Novo Nordisk RD

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Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke


**SENESTE POLITIK**

DF er rede til at droppe togbro over Vejle Fjord

Troels Lund har ingen løfter til bidragsramte boligejere

Støjberg ærgres sig over EU-dom om ophold til tyrkere

ANNONCER/BRINDHOLD FRABOKER



**3 ud af 4 betaler for tv-kanaler, de aldrig ser**

**BOXER**

[http://politiken.dk/indland/politik/eu\\_afstemning/ECE2949523/terrortrusel-fremskynder-eus-nye-aftale-om-europol/](http://politiken.dk/indland/politik/eu_afstemning/ECE2949523/terrortrusel-fremskynder-eus-nye-aftale-om-europol/)

1/7

## Appendix 20: Ritzau, 4th of December: Løkke vil være den store taber ved et nej

7/1/2016

Infomedia - Søgning

[/ritzau/](#)

### Kommentator: Løkke vil være den store taber ved et nej (v.2)

Ritzaus Bureau | 03.12.2015 | Side 1 | 247 ord | Artikel-id: e558749d

Kommentator Erik Holstein venter internt abespil mellem ja-partierne, når skylden for nej skal placeres.

København

De første valgstedsmålinger spår, at resultatet af torsdagens folkeafstemning vil falde ud til nej-partiernes fordel.

Hvis det holder stik, så mener politisk kommentator fra det politiske netmedie Altinget, Erik Holstein, at det særligt vil ramme statsminister Lars Løkke Rasmussen (V), fordi han i høj grad har været frontfigur for ja-kampagnen.

- Det er Løkke, der står som den store taber efter et nederlag, og den slags slider på en regeringsleder, siger Erik Holstein.

Prognoser fra både DR og TV2 tyder på, at nej-siden får op mod 55 procent af stemmerne, og at vælgerne dermed afviser at omdanne det danske EU-retsforbehold til en tilvalgsordning.

En sejr til nej-tilhængerne vil derfor være et slag for statsministeren, men Holstein mener ikke, at det bliver slutningen på hans karriere.

- Det sidste halvandet år har ikke budt på andet end valgnederlag for Løkke. Både EU-parlamentsvalget og folketingsvalget gik dårligt for Venstre, selv om han fik statsministerposten.

- Det svækker ham, men det er slet ikke slut for ham, siger Erik Holstein.

Erik Holstein mener dog ikke, at et nej kun vil gå ud over Løkke. Det vil det være et stort nederlag for alle ja-partierne Venstre, Socialdemokraterne, SF, Radikale, Konservative og Alternativet. Og han forventer derfor, det kan skabe interne stridigheder.

- Skylden for nederlaget skal placeres et sted. Så jeg tror, at vi vil se noget internt abespil mellem ja-partierne i de kommende dage, hvis det bliver et nej, siger Erik Holstein til Ritzau.

[/ritzau/](#)

## Appendix 21: Berlingske, 26th of November, Røde Partier forsvarer Lars Løkkes asyllofte

7/1/2016

Infomedia - Søgning



### Røde partier forsvarer Lars Løkkes asyllofte

Berlingske | 26.11.2015 | Side 16 | 2147 ord | Artikel-id: e5553c6a | Original artikel

Folkeafstemning. Danmark vil ikke kunne gå med i fælleseuropæisk asylpolitik uden en folkeafstemning. Sådan lyder det fra SF og R, som dermed forsvarer statsministeren og S-formanden i striden med Dansk Folkeparti. DF fastholder mistilliden.

af Kasper Kildegaard og Chris Kjær Jensen

TORSDAG DECEMBER Vælgerne kan stole på Venstre og Socialdemokraternes løfte om, at Danmark aldrig vil gå med i den fælleseuropæiske asylpolitik uden en folkeafstemning - også selv om løftet ikke er juridisk bindende. Sådan har meldingen den seneste tid lydt igen og igen fra Venstre og Socialdemokraterne som en reaktion på, at Dansk Folkeparti vedvarende har forsøgt at pille garantien fra hinanden.

Nu lyder samme melding så også fra både SF og Det Radikale Venstre. Begge partier ønsker ellers brændende, at Danmark skal gå med i EUs asylpolitik, og ingen af dem ville derfor blande blod med blandt andre Venstre og Socialdemokraterne, da de skrev garantien om en asylafstemning ind i lovbemærkningerne.

Men når nu aftalen er der, er det den, vælgerne kan regne med, lyder det fra den radikale formand, Morten Østergaard.

»Uanset, hvad man måtte mene om at gå med i EUs asylpolitik, står det klart, at det ikke er muligt at gå med uden en folkeafstemning.

Det er de politiske vilkår, som er skrevet ind i lovbemærkningerne, og som vi derfor tager til efterretning,« siger han.

Dansk Folkeparti advarer i kampagnen vælgerne om, at et ja til at omdanne retsforbeholdet til en tilvalgsordning også er et ja til at få smuglet EUs asylpolitik ind ad bagdøren. Men det er ikke rigtigt, mener Morten Østergaard.

»Der er ikke noget at være i tvivl om. Folk behøver ikke at forholde sig til fælles asylpolitik, for det er ikke det, folkeafstemningen handler om. Og skulle det komme på tale, vil der komme en selvstændig afstemning om det senere, fordi de partier, der har store betænkeligheder ved asylpolitikken, har tilkendegivet, at det er betingelsen. Det kan man ikke løbe fra, og det, synes jeg, er helt fint,« siger han.

Den radikale formand beskylder Dansk Folkeparti for at »underminere alting, hvis man ikke lægger til grund, hvad der skrives i et lovforslag«. Det samme mener SFs formand, Pia Olsen Dyhr, som kalder det for »politisk drilleri af værste skuffe«. Hun gør det ligeledes klart, at der skal en folkeafstemning til, hvis Danmark på et senere tidspunkt skulle gøre sig tanker om yderligere deltagelse i EU-samarbejdet på udlændingområdet.

»Der skal ikke være nogen tvivl om, at SF meget gerne ser, at vi er med i flygtninge- og asylsamarbejdet. Men vi lever i en politisk virkelighed, hvor der er partier, som har krævet en folkeafstemning, og det accepterer vi,« siger Pia Olsen Dyhr og fortsætter: »Vi skal diskutere det, som reelt er på bordet. Og der er ingen tvivl om, at vi får en folkeafstemning.« Også i Alternativet,

<http://apps.infomedia.dk.esc-web.lib.cbs.dk/MS3E/ShowArticle.aspx?outputFormat=Full&Duid=e5553c6a>

1/6



## Appendix 22: Politiken, 23rd of November, Europaparlamentet: Messerschmidt misbrugte EU-midler til DF-sejltur

3/5/2016

Europaparlamentet: Messerschmidt misbrugte EU-midler til DF-sejltur - Politiken.dk



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# DANMARK

Samfund Politik Uddannelse Skyggekabinettet Undervisningsprisen Højskoleliv

POLITIK 23. NOV. 2015 KL. 21:10



## Europaparlamentet: Messerschmidt misbrugte EU-midler til DF-sejltur

EU-parlamentet forlanger, at Morten Messerschmidt betaler støtte på 120.700 kr. tilbage. Og problemerne med misbrug af EU-midler fortsætter for DF-profilen.




Announce MISBRUG. DF's sejltur på skonnerten Halmø var ikke tilskudsberettiget ifølge Europaparlamentet. Nu skal Morten Messerschmidt betale 120.000 kr. tilbage. - Foto: Jens Dresling (arkiv)

Gem + Følg f t e


**NILAS HEINSKOU** Politisk reporter
 
**JAKOB HVIDE BEIM** Politisk reporter

Announce

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**Hele byens kongrescenter**  
Højest prioriteres forankringen i lokalmiljøet og samspillet med Roskilde Kommune.

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Det var imod reglerne, da Morten Messerschmidt i 2013 brugte 120.700 kroner i tilskud fra Europaparlamentet til Dansk Folkepartis sejltur med skonnerten 'Halmø'.

Sejlturen lever ikke op til EU's regler om, at midlerne ikke må bruges på at promovere nationale partier og kandidater eller til at føre valgkamp for. Og derfor skal pengene betales tilbage, konkluderer Europaparlamentets præsidium mandag aften. Det oplyser Europaparlamentets pressechef.

Turen på den over 100 år gamle skonnert 'Halmø' blev brugt til at fragte

<http://politiken.dk/indland/politik/ECE2944662/europaparlamentet-messerschmidt-misbrugte-eu-midler-til-df-sejltur/>

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## Appendix 23: Børsen, 4th of December, Thulesen Dahl forventer loyal Løkke som EU-forhandler

8/1/2016

Infomedia - Søgning

### **BØRSEN.**

#### Thulesen Dahl forventer en loyal Løkke som EU-forhandler

Børsen.dk | 04.12.2015 | Side | 300 ord | Artikel-id: e5587ed4 | [W Link til artikel](#)

Det gik, som Dansk Folkeparti havde håbet: Danskerne har stemt nej til statsminister Lars Løkke Rasmussens (V) forslag om at omdanne Danmarks EU-retsforbehold til en tilvalgsordning.

Det nej skal statsministeren nu respektere og arbejde loyalt ud fra, når han skal forhandle med sine kolleger i EU om fortsat dansk deltagelse i Europol. Sådan lyder forventningen fra DF-formand Kristian Thulesen Dahl (DF).

- Jeg forventer det, han også har bekræftet i valgkampen: At han tager det seriøst og tager ansvaret på sig. For min skyld kan regeringen allerede i morgen meddele de andre EU-lande, at Danmark ønsker at genoptage forhandlingerne.

Danmark står til at falde ud af det europæiske politisamarbejde. Men en parallelaftale med de øvrige lande skal i DF's optik sikre fortsat dansk deltagelse.

Spørgsmål: Hvordan vil du presse regeringen til at arbejde loyalt for de løsninger, du anbefaler?

- Det håber jeg ikke, det bliver nødvendigt at presse den til. Løkke har selv sagt i valgkampen, at vi kunne regne med, at de ville arbejde loyalt ud fra det resultat, som danskerne giver i denne folkeafstemning. Så det må vi gå ud fra, siger Thulesen Dahl.

Han har i øvrigt svært ved at forestille sig, at nej-partierne ikke bliver en del af de kommende forhandlinger. Men det er regeringen, der har serveretten, lyder det.

- Det er jo regeringen, der i første omgang må sætte gang i forhandlingerne. Det er deres ansvar. Forhandlingerne blev kun sat i bero, fordi der skulle være en folkeafstemning.

Hvad angår forholdet mellem Venstre-regeringen og Dansk Folkeparti frygter Thulesen Dahl ikke, at nej-flertallet ødelægger noget.

- Forholdet er uændret. Vi har haft en valgkamp om en kendt uenighed. Det vidste vi også, da vi gik til folketingsvalg i sommer. Så det har været helt velkendt hele vejen igennem, siger han.

/Ritzau/

Appendix 24: Morten Messerschmidt, 24th of November,  
Skræmmekampagne of fri fantasi



Appendix 25: Kristian Thulesen Dahl, 30th of November, Derfor er Lars Løkke Rasmussens garanti om dansk asyl- og udlændingepolitik ikke meget værd! Del gerne

**Kristian Thulesen Dahl**  
30. november 2015 · 🌐

Derfor er Lars Løkke Rasmussens garanti om dansk asyl- og udlændingepolitik ikke meget værd! Del gerne



### Jurister: Ja-partier kan sagtens løbe fra løfte om EU-asylpolitik

Ja-partierne har lovet, at Danmark ikke kommer til at være med i EU's fælles asyl- og indvandringspolitik, hvis vi stemmer ja 3. december. Men det løfte er...

VIDENSKAB.DK | AF MALENE SOMMER CHRISTIANS...

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**Torben Nielsen** Efter at have læst artiklen, synes jeg at det står helt klart, at et ja er altså et ja til alle retsforbehold, også asyl politikken, og derved vil vi ikke kunne bestemme selv, HUSK DERFOR AT STEMME NEJ  
Synes godt om · Svar ·  7 · 30. november 2015 kl. 11:29

**Joakim Johansen** I er igang med at stillesiddende at lade regeringen give Tyrkiet absurd mange milliarder for en aftale i ikke har en chance i helvedet for at kontrollere om de overholder... Og endnu værre giver dem en indgangsvinkel til EU medlemskab jeg er simpelthen så forbavset over at der ikke bliver udført en politik som det står for den værdifulde investering som vi indfører

Appendix 26: Søren Pind, 21st of November, EB laver en stråmand. Vi udelukker intet. Men tidspunktet er ikke nu.

**Søren Pind** @sorenpind · 21 Nov 2015

EB laver en stråmand. Vi udelukker intet. Men tidspunktet er ikke nu [ekstrabladet.dk/nyheder/politi...](http://ekstrabladet.dk/nyheder/politi...)

[View translation](#)



**Fogh presser Løkke: Grænsekontrol kan være svaret**  
Mere kontrol ved de danske grænser giver formentlig flere asylansøgere, men det kan være løsningen på et sikkerhedsmæssigt problem efter Paris-terror, mene [ekstrabladet.dk](http://ekstrabladet.dk)

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5:54 AM - 21 Nov 2015 · Details









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Reply to @sorenpind

Appendix 27: Lars Løkke Rasmussen, 26th of November, Besøgte tidligere på dagen Red Barnet.



**Lars Løkke Rasmussen** har delt Red Barnets video.

26. november 2015 · 🌐

Besøgte tidligere på dagen Red Barnet. Et af mange besøg frem til folkeafstemningen den 3. december, hvor jeg gerne vil sætte fokus på de fordele Danmark har med en tilvalgsmodel på linje med den, Storbritannien har. Frem for at opslå et foto med mig og Red Barnets engagerede medarbejdere, der hver dag kæmper mod bl.a. seksuelt misbrug af børn i ind- og udland, vil jeg hellere dele deres video. Den taler sit eget klare sprog og bekræfter i hvert fald mig i, at det tryggeste vil være et JA den 3. december.



88.509 visninger

**Red Barnet**

11. november 2015 · 🌐

👍 Synes godt om side

