Politicians in the Media

A Qualitative Analysis of Swedish political leaders in Dagens Nyheter and SVT

Author

Gustaf Rossi

Abstract

The aim of this master's thesis is to understand what role the media have in a democracy and how they choose to construct the identity of a nation's leaders. The methods used for the problem was a Qualitative Content analysis combined with a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

This study was performed by analyzing media texts about the party leaders in 2010 and 2018 from Sweden's three biggest political parties. From each time period, three articles were selected from Dagens Nyheter (DN) and three articles from Sveriges Television (SVT). In total this thesis covers 12 articles across both media.

The results showed that there are both differences and similarities in the framing through discourses between 2010 and 2018. The first discourse described is an Activist's discourse where a politician with less support from citizens is framed as a political activist rather than a leader. The second discourse is the Player's discourse, in which the media gives politicians a certain set of skills or abilities that are used in competition with their opponents.

The thesis also proposes a Business discourse which could further help understand Political journalism as Issue, Game and Strategy, with the new element of Politics as a Business.

I propose that the media creates abilities of politicians as a form of mediatization of politics. The abilities also help to further expand upon the previous research in Game and Strategy.

Keywords: Democracy, Journalism, Mediatization, Moderate Party, Political Journalism, Press Freedom, Social Democrats, Swedish Democrats, Swedish Politics

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Michael for very useful comments and support during the writing process, which helped me develop my thesis.

Further thanks I would like to give to my opponents and examiner for useful questions and suggestions that helped me finish this work.

The final thanks will be given to friends and family and as well to my opponents who helped with proof-reading of the final thesis. Your support has been invaluable.

Gustaf Rossi
Kalmar, Sweden
6th June 2019
Nothing is True, Everything is Permitted

Table of contents

1. Introduction

The media is everywhere, both in democracies and in smaller forms in dictatorships. A common way to describe the media and journalisms role in a democracy is as the fourth estate. Together with the democratically elected politicians or the dictator of a country they are thus seen as a counterweight to the government through their careful and sometimes more aggressive watch over a society (Weibull and Wadbring, 2014). The media could because of that be a power of its own.

A report by Statens offentliga utredningar (SOU 1995:37), which presents investigations by the government in Sweden, suggests that the media's primary role is to provide the citizens with information to form opinions in political issues (Pressutredningen, 1994).

How the media choose to frame the news is considered a source of shaping the image of society as emphasized both Entman (1993) and McCombs and Shaw (1972). They all agree that the media holds vast power over the individual peoples view of societies through framing and agenda setting.

With the rise of fake news in the 10th decade, the media could have an even bigger role in the framing of news and how they choose to approach this. With the expansion of the internet it makes it easier for alternative media to rise as a form of counterweight to the traditional media and try to frame society in its own way and present the alternative facts (Holt, 2018).

The aim of this research is based on the media's background as the fourth estate. With this thesis, the research will be centered around identifying how the mainstream media choose to frame the image of politicians. The parliament of Sweden has as of 2019, eight political parties that represent the people. These parties hold different ideologies such as socialism on the left, liberal in the center and conservative parties to the right (Sveriges Riksdag, n.d.). In this study I will analyze the framing of the party leaders from the three biggest political parties in the Swedish parliament. Those parties are as of the writing of this thesis in spring 2019, the Social Democrats which is a socialistic party. Their leader was Mona Sahlin in 2010 and Stefan Löfven in 2018 (Nationalencyklopedin (n.d.b). They received 28.26 percent of the votes in the election of 2018 (Valmyndigheten, 2019b) and 30,66 percent in 2010 (Valmyndigheten, 2019a).

The second party analyzed in this thesis is the Moderate Party, which is conservative. Their leader in 2010 where Fredrik Reinfeldt and Ulf Kristersson in 2018. (Nationalencyklopedin, n.d.a). In

2018 they received a total of 19,84 percent (Valmyndighten, 2019b) and 30,06 percent in 2010 (Valmyndigheten 2019a).

The third party is the Swedish Democrats who received 17,53 percent of the votes in 2018 (Valmyndigheten, 2019b) and 5,7 percent in 2010 (Valmyndigheten, 2019a). Their leader is Jimmie Åkesson and it is a social conservative party (Nationalencyklopedin, n.d.c) Nationalencyklopedin (n.d.a)

The Swedish democratic system is built around a general election every four year where the citizens vote for 349 people that will represent them in the Parliament (In Swedish: Riksdagen). The parliament will after the election, select a ruling body, the government. Apart from the national parliament, there is also local municipalities that are local ruling bodies on their own, with its own election (SFS 1974:152).

The election of representatives and government creation process is regulated in one of the constitutional laws of Sweden. It is the same with the role of journalism in Sweden, which is regulated in another of these constitutions, The Freedom of the Press Act (SFS, 1949:105). This constitution gives journalism special privileges to publish freely and appoint one person who will act as publisher and be held legal responsible for everything published. The constitution also gives people the right to anonymously contact a journalist and provide the press with sensitive information without the fear of being harassed by the government and authorities (SFS, 1949:105).

In the following study I will look closer at how the journalists and government coexist in the Swedish society and influence each other. The study is aimed at analyzing the framing of politicians in some of biggest mainstream Swedish media outlets. These two outlets are Dagens Nyheter one of the most distributed newspaper in Sweden with an estimated amount of more than one million readers a day (Dagens Nyheter, n.d; Dagens Nyheter, 2008). DN describe themselves as an independent liberal newspaper which means they do not align with any political party or group, but holds a liberal approach to society (Dagens Nyheter, 2008).

The second media outlet is Sveriges Television, SVT, the public service company aimed at producing television-broadcasts. As a public service company, SVT does not identify itself in any political ideology.

The media's role is, as Pressutredingen (1994) stated, to provide citizens with enough information to form opinion in political issues. In the following study I will look at how these two news outlets

deal with the framing of the political party leaders from the three biggest parties in the Swedish parliament around the time of the election of 2010 and 2018. The thesis will begin with a discussion of the theories used, after that I will move on to present some previous research. Then I will discuss my chosen methods, the relevance of methods and how empirical data was selected. Finally, I will present my results and discuss the findings.

1.2 Research questions

The purpose of this study is to understand what role the media have in a democracy in relation to the construction of the identity of a nation's leaders. I will in this thesis examine how the Swedish news outlets choose to portray different party leaders from the three biggest political parties in the parliament.

The research questions developed for this research problem are the following:

RQ1: *How are Swedish party leaders framed according to the game and strategy, in the Swedish public television (SVT) compared to the newspaper Dagens Nyheter around the election in 2010 and 2018?*

RQ2: *What discourses can be identified in the game and strategy frames of political party leaders in 2010 and 2018, and how could those relate to the theories of political journalism as game and strategy?*

RQ3: *What similarities and differences can be identified in the discourses of political party leaders in the Social Democrats, The Moderate Party and The Swedish Democrats in 2010 and 2018 and how do those relate to the frames of game and strategy?*

2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter I will present the theories used in the thesis. I will start discussing the thesis' theoretical foundation of social constructionism. Then the chapter will continue with a discussion of the theories that will be used when analyzing the empirical data and presenting the results.

2.1 Social constructionism

The study performed in this thesis is based on the theories of social constructionism. The theory originally describes how society is a social construction made by the views of different people. The media itself is built around the representation of identities (Hall, 1997). As the media frames society in a certain way and creates the image of reality, this theory of social constructionism will be used as a foundation for this research problem and help with understanding how politics are a social construction.

Stuart Hall (1997) further explains that media representation is formed in a cultural context and how this representation also creates the cultural context. "Representation connects meaning and language to culture" (Hall, 1997, p. 1). This form of media representation will form the basis for this thesis research since it will study how politicians are a social construction and how the representation connects to culture. The construction of politicians by journalists in media could be a form of a social construct which connects to how culture is formed through language around politics. How a journalist in the news media choose to frame these people's identities can be related to a social agenda and predefined ideas of how a certain person should be. This is the social constructionist approach that is used for this thesis research.

The theories of social constructionism also closely resemble those of discourse theory in how individuals interpret society. Since I will use a discourse analysis as a method in this thesis, the thesis will also need to use discourse theory. Winther Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) suggest that discourses place people and things in certain predefined categories. By identifying what discourses are found around politicians in the media, discourse theory could help with understanding how politicians are constructed in the media.

Fairclough (1995) explains in his book that discourses and the text itself are formed in social relations with predefined definitions of what a word means. The texts published in the media are

formed in a society which have predefined definitions and beliefs, and this creates the discourses I will aim to analyze. The texts that are analyzed in this thesis are written in a Swedish context, with Swedish ideals. Bergström & Boréus (2018) also points out that a text could form how a citizen interprets reality. The construction of politicians could because of that statement, form how citizens interpret them as a person and who they choose to vote for. Discourses could give a predefined definition of how reality looks (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). The text and discourses together form the image of reality and how a politician could be framed in the media. In this thesis I will examine the discourses that can be found around the frames of game and strategy.

Social constructionism and discourses are used as the foundation for this research and the theoretical framework. The theories will not be used for analyzing the data but instead used for understanding how the media texts shapes reality and how identities are constructed in the texts. The following theories will be used to analyze these social relations that are constructed in the media through the theories of social constructionism.

2.2 Mediatization

Mediatization theory will be used to understand how politics adjust according to the conditions established in media outlets. The concept of mediatization does not always have a clear definition of what it means (Hepp et. al, 2015). Mediatization of politics as a theory is about how politics adjust according to the media's conditions. Since the 1950s when the television entered the homes the politics and society depends more on the media to spread their ideas (Strömbäck, 2008). He further points out that mediatization makes media more forced to be independent to the media rather than an independent media from the politics (Strömbäck, 2008). Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999) propose that mediatization of politics has occurred as a response to the commercialization of the media.

Altheide and Snow (1979) emphasize that media dominates the power of politics and that political logic becomes transformed by a media logic. "media are the dominant form to which other institutions conform" (Altheide and Snow, 1979, p.15). They also assert that politics has become more of a television game rather than an issue. The use of mediatization in this study is to understand how politics are mediatized and constructed as a show.

However, some more recent attempts have been made to define the concept and how it could be used. Hepp et. al. (2015) write in their article: "the interrelation between the change of media and communication on the one hand and the change of (fields of) culture and society on the other hand. Media are not necessarily the 'driving forces' of transformations." (p.8). The most important statement in this quote is that media are not the only ones responsible for a mediatization process. Other institutions could be responsible as well. Some media scholars suggest mediatization to be a two-way concept where the media are also conditioned by politics or other institutions that hold a power (Pallas & Fredriksson, 2013; Strömbäck, 2010).

More recent research shows that mediatization is not only a single concept related to journalism. Ekman & Widholm (2015) propose that politicians as media producers also could result in a mediatization of journalism. With politicians having their own Twitter accounts or blogs they in turn are a source of mediatization of journalism themselves.

An article by Kunelius and Reunanen (2016) suggest that there have been two phases of mediatization and that the new second phase that currently takes place, proposes that journalism is entering a new stage where it needs to be controlled and supervised in the same way as politics. The second phase Kunelius and Reunanen discuss could relate to the media as the fourth estate and how it holds power over citizens and politics. It would connect it to the agenda setting of the mass media. The second phase could also be related to how the media hold the power over the construction of society as was discussed in the social constructionism theory that this thesis is based on.

In this research, mediatization will be used to understand the process of how politics are mediatized by the journalism, based on the game and strategy frames in commercialized journalism. My primary approach with using Mediatization theory is to understand the mediatization of politics by journalism, but also the two-dimensional model of mediatization that suggest how mediatization both occur on the journalism on one side and the politicians on the other side.

2.3 Commercialization of political journalism

Political journalism has undergone a commercialization in recent years where the focus is more related to bring economical profit from the journalism instead of presenting politics as an objective

issue (Strömbäck, 2015). Since this study examines politics and politicians in media, the commercialization of journalism is interesting to use to identify the change of agenda in journalism and how this new agenda in journalism is more commercialized as suggested by Strömbäck (2015) and Aalberg et. al. (2012). A lot of the journalism and media outlets are often owned by corporations which in the end have an economic agenda and to bring profit for their owners or stockholders (Weibull & Wadbring, 2014; Strömbäck, 2015).

As was mentioned in the introduction chapter, journalism role is to provide citizens with the necessary information to form an opinion (Pressutredningen, 1994). Strömbäck (2015) and Aalberg et.al (2012) emphasize that framing as Strategy and Game directs attention to politics as a game with someone who wins and someone who loses, while removing attention from the issues. In the empirical texts that will be analyzed these themes could be interesting to identify to find who is perceived as the winner or the loser in the media texts.

Strömbäck (2015) also points out that the approach to Strategy and Game framing of politics could be different between different countries which would suggest that the Swedish political debate studied in this thesis could be different than that of another country.

The economic agenda behind journalism will be used in this research to identify how different news are constructed. As I will explain later, the selection of media outlets for this study is based on the commercialized news platforms where one commercial newspaper will be studied and compared with a government financed media platform.

Public service companies do have to compete with the new privately-owned media and the new social media on the internet. This could be more of a competition for an audience than an economic one. In Sweden the public service is, since the first of January 2019, financed with a public tax paid by everyone with a taxable income (Kulturutskottet, 2018).

Strömbäck (2015) also points out that through the modern media climate on the internet and through phones, it is more difficult attracting the attention from different audiences of a variety of ages. Because of that, political journalism will aim to frame political issues differently to attract bigger audiences.

A common way to frame political journalism in the international context is through the concepts of Game and Strategy. Since the third research question asked how this could be seen in relation to the discourses this thesis would need to use this approach to journalism. This means how politics

are for instance framed as a game and competition between different actors in debates, instead of politics as an issue which refers to a framing of politics focusing on what they want to achieve or their political manifesto (Aalberg, et. al., 2012).

By using this theory in my research, it can help with identifying these games and strategy approaches to political journalism and how the Swedish politicians are framed according to these approaches as both game and strategy.

The theory of commercialized journalism will also be a basis for how the empirical media texts from the research questions are identified. For the study Dagens Nyheter will be examined which is a privately-owned newspaper with a company behind it, along with Sveriges Television which is owned and regulated by the government.

2.4 Agenda setting and Framing

The theories of agenda setting, and framing will be used in this essay. The two theories could sometimes resemble each other. Framing theory describes how the media frame the image of society through their news reporting (Entman, 1993). Agenda setting on the other hand propose that the media shape the image of what citizens believe is important and what to form opinions about (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

Jansen et. al. (2019) comments with their article that political parties in some countries are a general factor that directs citizens attention towards European Union. This would to some extent contradict McCombs and Shaws (1972) conclusion that the media is the driving force of agenda setting. Jansen et. al (2019) suggest that the politics hold a similar power over opinion. For my study it could be of use to understand what power of agenda setting the politicians hold. The behavior of a politician could influence how the media choose to frame some politicians.

They suggest however, that there is a difference between different countries. Their study examined 12 countries in Europe and found that Portugal was more polarized with control from politics, apart from Germany where the media still hold the power of Agenda Setting (Jansen et. al., 2019). My study takes place in Sweden, which was not covered in their article, but it can still help with understanding relations with politics and media and a deeper understanding of Agenda Setting.

For this study, the two theories of Agenda Setting and Framing will be used as a concept to understand how the media shape reality and why they make certain choices. These choices in framing could be a selection of words to use, which are a social construct (Fairclough, 1995). How these words would be formed is the basis of the social constructionism approach explained above and because of that a framing approach is useful for this research.

Framing often refers to identifying how a media text is constructed and why certain choices are made. But it could also be used for identifying what is not included in a text. "Frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements" (Entman, 1993, p. 55). With this statement Entman suggests that it is also be of interest to identify what is not included in a framing of the news as much as of how the theory explains that frames direct attention to one issue. I formulated my research question based on this statement to identify both similarities and differences in the framing of political party leaders.

"To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text*" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). This would suggest that a framing highlights certain visible elements. The framing analysis in this thesis will aim at identifying these elements that create reality and analyzing the visible elements in the text, while trying to compare results to find absent elements in the empirical data.

I combine the theories of agenda setting and framing into a single concept where the choices in framing informs the citizens view. With the framing theory I will analyze the specific frames, the concepts described by Aalberg et. al. (2015) who emphasize politics as Game and Strategy as a common way to frame political journalism. In these frames I will identify relevant discourses as the research questions states. With understanding the politics as game and strategy I aim to understand how politics are constructed in the media.

The agenda settings relation to this thesis, is to understand how media forms the views of citizens and politics alike. Politics could as well be influenced by the agenda setting of the media and form their opinions from the media. The agenda setting could be expanded to analyze how citizens, politics and media influence each other as was mentioned in mediatization theory.

2.5 Summary

The study in this thesis is based on the theories of social constructionism to understand society as a social construct. This theory is used as a foundation for the research puzzle and is because of that, not to be used for the analyzing of the empirical data but rather how I will approach the analysis process of and the interpretation of the results.

As of the theories for analyzing the data, I will first use the theories of mediatization to understand the relations between media and politics and how the media influence politics in a democracy. Commercialization of political journalism will be used to understand the source of the frames of game and strategy that change focus in political journalism and a new agenda set by the commercialized internet society. The frames of game and strategy are the frames that I will analyze in the thesis. My analysis will focus on finding the discourses that are used in the game and strategy frames.

The theories of framing and agenda setting will also be used to understand the power of the media, both over the citizens view of society and as well the power media hold over politics.

As described above I combine and connect the four theories for analyzing. Mediatization is connected to framing and agenda setting in how the media sets the agenda and mediatize other institutions in a democracy. The framing theory connects to commercialized journalism in how it can be framed through strategy and game frames. Framing is also a source of Agenda Setting in how the citizens form their views.

3. Previous research

In this chapter I will present the previous research identified in the chosen area. Relevant research fields are articles that examine either Sweden in other media forms or how politics are generally framed in a media. Research that covers press freedoms in relation to politics is also covered.

3.1 Sweden in the media

A previous one-year master's thesis written by Mathilda Linnader in 2018 examined how Sweden is portrayed in international media outlets. By using a Critical Discourse Analysis of a few articles from news outlets in the United States and the United Kingdom, the author examined how Sweden is framed in an international context. The results from that study showed that Sweden is generally perceived as Good Sweden, with a well-developed social system and as well as Bad Sweden, which would be a county ruined by letting to much immigrants in. Linnander (2018) concludes that the image of Sweden in the international media heavily relies on stereotypes.

In relation to my study this previous master's thesis can be used to identify if the political image in media is as stereotyped as Linnander's result showed. Linnander also suggest further research in the field by for instance a different context in Sweden. The context for this study would be a political approach which was absent from her study.

A dissertation by Michael Krona (2009) examined how politicians in domestic Swedish news were portrayed in the television media from the 1970s up until the 21st century. His study examined the domestic news from three different time periods in two of the most common news programs on SVT. These were Rapport and Aktuellt.

The results showed that 1987 the news focused on the actions of politicians, while in 2005 the news instead framed consequences of their acting (Krona, 2009). This could relate to my study which aims at identifying the differences between 2010 and 2018 as I study in this thesis. This dissertation also relates to my study since it covers Swedish politicians in a news media context and how the framing has developed over different years. It could be of relevance for the results presented to analyze the difference of different times.

3.2 Relation between the Media and Politicians

An article by Anke Tresch published in 2009 examined how and why certain individuals become part of the media. Her study took place in Switzerland in the printed media of that country.

She emphasizes with her article that there are three competing approaches for the studies of politicians in the media. The first approach suggests the news as a mirror of reality where the most influential politicians get the most space. The second approach asserts that the theory of news valuing, emphasize that authoritative politicians are more prominent in media. The final approach suggest that media could be biased towards politicians that have similar views as the news media that covers them (Tresch, 2009).

I selected my empirical texts and designed my research questions from the perspective of identifying what Tresch (2009) could call these authoritative politicians. An authoritative approach could be that a party leader holds a higher influence than other party members and are more prominent in the media. It could also suggest that the different party leaders studied for this thesis could have different roles in the media depending on how large their support is among the citizens. For the study I will perform I have selected the three biggest parties of 2019.

SVT is a government owned institution while Dagens Nyheter represents a privately-owned corporation. It could be of interest to use this article to examine if the third approach suggested by Tresch is visible in the media texts that I will analyze. This third approach could help with the analyzing process of SVT and Dagens Nyheter to understand if some of these media are driven by a more subtle political agenda that directs their attention towards different political issues.

Another article by Matthes et. al (2019) examined the relations between politicians and the media. They describe a hostile media phenomena (HMP) which they explain would help with understanding politicians' disrespect for the media. They explain that HMP is originally from audience research where some individuals perceive the media as biased against their own views.

They used a survey to interview politicians in three European countries. The results showed that HMP is also visible in Politics. The results also assert that HMP reduce the respect politicians hold for democracy. Additionally, results show that politicians become less interested in contacting journalists and instead use a more hostile approach to spread their political agenda.

Matthes et al. (2019) also point out that the media makes politicians believe citizens to be less informed in democratic matters. In relation to my study this could show how the media choose to frame politics and how they frame politicians of different parties. It could be relevant to see how the media behave against the politicians of Sweden. Strömbäck (2010) indicated that the media and politics are dependent on each other. It could be relevant for my study to understand if the Hostile Media Phenomena is visible in the texts that I will analyze. It could also help with understanding hostility between both journalists and politicians alike.

3.3 Media freedom and presidents

An article by Marisa Kellam and Elizabeth Stein (2015) studied how some presidents influence the media by silencing those criticizing the president's rule and ideology. With their article they examine how the relations between politicians and media develops in countries that have presidents who control and hold more power over the media.

They used a quantitative content analysis to study annual presented data of press freedom in presidential democracies in 1993 up until 2013. They use this data to understand how presidents could possibly influence control over the media. Their research was limited to democratic countries and did not include any countries ruled by a dictator (Kellam and Stein, 2015). This would make it relevant for this thesis since I study the Swedish context.

Kellam and Steins (2015) first finding suggest that presidents that hold a different ideological view than the media, generally perceives the media as an opponent to their rule. The second finding propose that media are more vulnerable in a country where the legal system and the legislatures are controlled by the presidents or the leaders of the democracies.

This would mean that media freedom could be limited and controlled in some democracies where leaders have more influence.

However, the authors also discuss the difference of democratic media. "Citizens do not elect editors nor do journalists act as direct representatives of the people" (Kellam and Stein, 2015, p.7). This statement could suggest the media as a less democratic institution than the presidents.

The relevance to this thesis could help with understanding how media and politics work in a democracy. This could be related to the arguments around the theories of mediatization with how

13

the media and politics exist together and influence each other by media use by politicians. Kellam and Stein's article could help with understanding some of the mediatization processes with both the media and politics.

They conclude their article with writing: "Only when the media are free and independent can they serve as the "fourth estate," regardless of whether or not they actually fill this role" (Kellam and Stein, 2015, p. 32). This also connects to my study since I designed the research puzzle from the perspective of the media as the fourth estate and performing my study in Sweden which is a democracy. It could be relevant to use this research to find how media behave towards politics and understand the power news media hold.

3.4 Agenda setting of politics

An article by Jansen et. al (2019) investigated how political parties could possibly influence the citizens attention towards the European union. Their research questions asked whether the media are responsible for the Agenda Setting of the citizens in questions relating to the EU or if this agenda setting are created by politicians and political parties.

The study used a quantitative content analysis of news articles in seven countries who are members of the European Union. The articles analyzed were written in the twelve weeks prior to the Election of the European parliament.

Their results show that political parties are a primary factor for drawing people's attention to European issues. They also suggest that their findings could be different in countries with different media models (Jansen et. al., 2019).

The relevance for this thesis research would be to understand how Agenda setting can be directed by other institutions. McCombs and Shaw (1972) asserted that the media is a source of Agenda Setting. Since Jansen et. al., (2019) comments that their findings suggest that politics could be responsible for influencing the citizens, it could relate to my study in that other institutions are a driving force of agenda setting. It does not always as to be the media that are responsible for agenda setting and the mediatization.

This article will help with analyzing the power held by politics on Agenda Setting and Mediatization. Since their article analyzed the news articles before one of the elections for the

European parliament it makes it similar to my study which is set in the weeks before the election for Swedish parliament. Their study did not include any articles published in Sweden, which I focus on in my thesis.

3.5 Mediatization of politics

The mediatization of politics is common in the media research. An article by Hans Kepplinger (2002) examined the mediatization of politics and how three German newspapers framed political issues. The article examined news articles from 1951 and from 1995. The results suggest that the politicians in Germany has adjusted more according to the conditions in the media. One of these adjustments are that politicians in the German parliament make statements that hold a high news value (Kepplinger, 2002).

More recent research in the field of mediatization suggest that politicians are more aware of the mediatization. Politicians are also more aware of media's interest in personalization and conflicts (Strömbäck, 2008). "political and social actors will construct events that include a focus on these aspects, which in turn leads to a political world in which conflicts and personalities become more important." (Strömbäck, p. 238).

The articles are relevant for my thesis since it examines how politics are mediatized by the media. My mediatization is connected to the frames of game and strategy to understand how mediatization could occur as a game and how the political debates are constructed in these frames. In the game and strategy frames I will analyze and find the discourses which supports the game and strategy frames.

4. Method

This chapter starts with a discussion around the two selected methods that were used for the research. Then it will continue with a description of how the relevant empirical data was collected and how the research was done. The chapter concludes with a reflection of the ethical issues that relates to this thesis research field.

4.1 Qualitative content analysis

The analysis performed for this thesis was a qualitative content analysis of a selection of media texts in Dagens Nyheter and SVT. A qualitative approach was selected because of the depth of the analysis I wanted to perform and to help find the underlying patterns that form society. A qualitative method does not aim to generalize fact but rather understand the deeper meaning that connects different types of text. The qualitative approach with a content analysis is closely related to a textual analysis (Mayring, 2000). A textual analysis can be performed in different ways, such as a discourse analysis, visual analysis or rhetorical analysis (Ledin & Moberg, 2013).

With the content analysis the aim was to identify what discourses can be identified in the media texts and how the texts are constructed using discourses. A qualitative study can be approached from many different angels, such as an inductive or deductive approach. Bergström and Boreus (2012) suggest that a text can be used both to tell a story, but also as a form reality and influence and affect someone else. My aim with the content analysis was to understand how the text is constructed and how it forms the image of reality.

Ledin & Moberg (2013) emphasize that a textual analysis can be approached by opening different doors. The textual analysis should be performed by deciding a method of approach. I started this research by deconstructing the text, to identify what elements it includes. My aim with this content analysis was to identify how the text is constructed and how this could possibly form reality as is described in the theory of social constructionism. Together with the discourse analysis this study will use a qualitative textual analysis to help with answering the research questions.

An issue with the content analysis, however, is that it is not suitable for identifying what is absent from a text (Boreus and Kohl, 2000). They suggest the use of a discourse analysis to further analyze the contents of a text to easier draw predictions of what is not included in a text.

4.2 Critical discourse analysis

To answer the third research question, this study also needed to make use of a critical discourse analysis (CDA). The CDA has many forms and approaches but the most relevant approach to the CDA for this thesis is the three-dimensional model by Fairclough (1995). Fairclough's model studies text as a discursive practice that describes relations between different discourses, as a social practice that describes the text as part of a social context, and as a text itself (Fairclough, 1995).

I choose this approach since Fairclough's model can be used for analyzing the construction of identities which is my aim to do with the research with the politicians. The research process in this thesis focused on the analysis of what Fairclough refers to the text layer. Analyzing that layer would help to understand how the text itself is constructed from a selection of words and the construction of sentences.

With discourse analysis the aim is to identify discourses that can be found in relation to the frames of game and strategy. Fairclough (1995) emphasize the discourse analysis to be used for understanding how and why a text is constructed in a certain way. "How is the text designed, why is it designed in this way and how else could it have been designed?" (Fairclough, 1995, p.202).

The CDA can also be used for understanding underlying meanings and how the text is formulated through grammar and construction of sentences. "Analysis of texts is concerned with both their meanings and their forms" (Fairclough, 1995, p.57). Since the approach is qualitative the analysis aims at first studying the form of the text and then identifying the meaning of the text to understand why a text is constructed in that way. Since the research questions asks about similarities and differences in the media, I use discourse analysis to compare discourses around the different politicians.

In my analysis I will focus on deconstructing the texts and analyzing the contents and meanings of the words that are used. This would be an analysis of what Fairclough calls the text layer, in how the texts and the sentences are constructed.

This is connected to my first method to help with understanding the question of what discourses can be found and why the text is constructed in that way. Why could the media text be constructed in a certain way, can help with answering the research questions and with describing discourses

around politics. A text would not only describe the reality but also form it. A discourse analysis would help with understanding how reality is formed as it is.

4.2.1 Questions for analyzing

To use the Critical Discourse Analysis, I developed the following research questions. The research questions are used when analyzing the media texts.

1. How are the identities of the party leaders constructed according to Fairclough's text layer?
2. What sentences and words are used to describe the party leaders in the media texts?
3. How are the party leaders allowed to speak in the text?

4.3 Empirical data and research procedure

To find empirical data to analyze I used Retriever Mediearkivet which is available from Malmö University library, and as well a lot of other libraries in Sweden. The two media outlets selected for the study was SVT and Dagens Nyheter, I will continue in this chapter by referring to Dagens Nyheter by its abbreviation of DN.

SVT was selected for the study, since it is a public service company owned by the government. SVT has many different programs broadcasting news such as Aktuellt and Rapport. For this study I limited the selection to SVT Nyheter which is the online website for presenting news. The written articles were selected so that I could analyze written texts. The written text would also be analyzed from DN. DN was selected as a news media, because it is a privately-owned newspaper owned by the corporation Bonnier. As was mentioned in introduction DN is an independent liberal newspaper (Dagens Nyheter, 2008). In relation to this study none of the parties analyzed are liberal and DN would thus not be influencing my results to any of the parties' advantage.

In Mediearkivet I began selecting empirical material from 2010. The time period was limited to the four weeks in September and August that was concluded with the election on the Sunday of the final week. In 2010 the weeks of the election week was the dates August 23rd to September 19th. In 2018 this was the August 13th to the September 9th.

I also had to limit the political party leaders I selected. Since the research questions stated the three biggest parties in 2010 and 2018, I choose The Social Democrats, The Moderate Party and The Swedish Democrats.

It should however be noted that the Swedish Democrats received enough votes to enter the parliament on the election of 2010, and at the time of 2010 was not one of the three biggest parties (Valmyndigheten, 2019a). In this study however I use will use the Swedish democrats in 2010 as well since they are one of the three biggest parties in 2018.

The party leader in 2010 and 2018 of the Swedish democrats was Jimmie Åkesson. The party leader of the Social democrats in 2010 was Mona Sahlin and in 2018 it was Stefan Löfven. The party leader of the Moderate party in 2010 was Fredrik Reinfeldt and in 2018 it was Ulf Kristersson.

When I searched for articles, different types of texts were found, such as news, debates and opinion articles. I only included articles about news, since I aimed to study the journalists framing and not the opinion of some person. Since DN is also an independent liberal newspaper (Dagens Nyheter, 2008), texts with opinions could have affected the results different and could have possibly removed the attention from the game and strategy frames that I aimed to analyze.

For empirical texts in 2010 I used the following three search terms for both DN and SVT as a source. I selected articles where each party leader had a major role in the text and not a text where they are mentioned once.

First, I used the search term "*Jimmie Åkesson AND Riksdag*svalet" which resulted in zero results. Therefore, I removed Riksdagsvalet from the search criteria, which resulted in 6 articles from SVT. For DN the search term Jimmie Åkesson generated 24 articles.

Then, I used the search term "*Mona Sahlin AND Riksdagsvalet*" which resulted in 2 results for SVT and 3 articles in DN. Since the articles from SVT did not cover what I was looking for, I tried the search term "*Mona Sahlin*" which resulted in 44 texts. Finally, I used the search term "*Riksdagsvalet AND Fredrik Reinfeldt*" which resulted in 2 texts from SVT, and 3 texts from DN. The text from DN did not match my desired text, so I search for "*Fredrik Reinfeldt*" which generated 122 texts.

The second step was to select articles from 2018. These empirical media texts were also selected to include politicians around the time of the election.

I used the search term "*Jimmie Åkesson AND Riksdagsvalet*" which resulted in 9 results for SVT and none for DN. For DN I instead used the term "*Jimmie Åkesson*" which gave 21 articles. Secondly, I used the search term "*Stefan Löfven AND Riksdagsva*

let" which resulted in 10 results in SVT, and 3 in DN. Finally, I used the search term "*Ulf Kristersson AND Riksdagsvalet*" which resulted in 9 results in SVT, and 1 result in DN. Since the one result from DN did not suit my desired articles, I used the search term "*Ulf Kristersson*" which instead gave me 11 articles in DN.

When I selected the media texts, I choose one article from each of the search terms. In total this resulted in twelve articles for the final study. The final empirical media texts used for the analysis's are included in Appendix I and Appendix II.

4.4 Method relevance and critics

It is important to consider the weaknesses of the qualitative approaches performed in this study. Since a qualitative approach is based on analyzing a text in depth, the results are influenced by my own previous experiences. The qualitative approach does not aim to find generalized answers to my issues, but a deeper understanding of the textual construction (Ledin & Moberg, 2013; Blaike & Priest, 2019)

Since my background is Swedish and I am a Swedish citizen with a political view, my analysis can be biased when using a qualitative approach to analyze the Swedish politics. If this study were to be done again, but by another researcher, the results could probably be slightly different or show a different result than I have presented.

Another weakness with the approach is that a qualitative approach does not study a large amount of data and because of that approach it is not possible to present or discuss any generalized conclusions from the empirical texts. However, a strength with the approach is that it will help with identifying underlying patterns that can help with understanding why a text is constructed in a certain way (Blaike and Priest, 2019). Since the research questions asks how party leaders are framed a qualitative approach would work to understand how texts are constructed.

A qualitative approach can also be very time consuming (Blaike and Priest, 2019). Because of that I only selected three articles from each media outlet, and in both time periods to save the amount of time the study would require.

The research paradigms most closely related to the study is interpretivism and an inductive approach. Blaike and Priest (2019) suggest this approach when studying explorational areas or when answering What and How questions. This further raises issues with the subjective approach with my study and that the results and the following discussion will be my own interpretation of the texts and their meanings. When I approach the issue I first selected empirical text that I then deconstructed and analyzed.

I also had to find relevant articles so study, so there would be a validity in the research design. This was an issue when looking for material to study. Not all texts that showed up in Mediearkivet covered the party leaders to an extent that their identity was described enough to be analyzed for this thesis. When I selected articles, I had to look through large amount of texts to find one that was suitable for the research.

Another issue with the samples of media texts in this study are that the texts are written in Swedish. To suit the rest of this thesis language, which is English, I had to translate the quotes into English. The translation is as well an individual subjective process which means I choose myself how to interpret a text. There is the risk that some content would be absent from the quotes. It could also be that a translation of a word could have a different cultural context or meaning in other languages.

4.5 Ethical considerations

One of the most important and most common ethical issues in social sciences is the approval and informed consent from the participant. The people who participate in a scientific study should always have the option of not participating or withdraw whenever they want, if they feel the need to do so (Blaike and Priest, 2019).

Because I use a content analysis and a discourse analysis, I would need to use a sample, a piece of text to study that could include other individuals. Since this thesis focus on studying the framing of political party leaders as was stated in the research questions, these are individual people who

should be generally acceptive of being part of and seen in the media. They could thus be a public person in their role as a political party leader.

Because of politicians being a public person, these people must generally be acceptive to be supervised, in their role as a party leader, both in the media and as a part of different public documents such as research. Since this thesis is a public document, I have not asked for permission to study these people in their role as a politician. The politicians are only studied in their role as a politician and not their personal lives or individual behavior.

The empirical texts selected are published in known newspapers and public service media that is available to anyone with a computer or phone and internet connection. There should not be any doubt that the journalists that wrote these texts are aware that their articles are public and available for anyone to read. For the selected media outlets. I choose some of the biggest news sources in Sweden and not any small local newspapers where it could have been easier to identify local and less known people.

5. Results and analysis

In this chapter I will present the results and discourses of the analysis performed. I will begin with presenting the results from 2010. Then I will continue with presenting the results from the articles in 2018. The final part will be an analysis and comparison of the results to help with answering all research questions and the following discussion.

In the results sections I will support my arguments by including translated quotes from the media texts. These texts were originally written in Swedish and the name of the articles in its original form is included with Appendix I and Appendix II.

5.1 September 2010

In 2010 there are many similarities, but also some difference between the Moderate Party and the Social Democrats. They are framed in a different way than the Swedish democrats, which takes on the role as political activists. I will start with presenting the discourses found around these party leaders.

The Political Activist

In the media texts from 2010 in SVT, the party leader of the Swedish democrats, Jimmie Åkesson have a less powerful role in the texts. The contents could show Åkesson as more of an outcast or political activist rather than a political party leader.

> "The Police: We did not stop Åkesson" (*SVT Nyheter, 2010-09-16, Polisen: Vi hindrade inte Åkesson*)

From this article the aim could be to describe Jimmie Åkesson as a political activist rather than a political party leader. The headline of the article mentions the police, which would refer to creating or maintaining order. It could also show how Åkesson requires protection and a need for help to create order. It is followed by how the police "didn't stop" him, which could propose how the media sees Åkesson as an Activist when including this quote in their article.

23

> "...the police at the site along with Jimmie Åkesson assessed that it was inappropriate to hold the speech since Åkessons security could not be guaranteed" (SVT Nyheter, 2010-09-16, *Polisen: Vi hindrade inte Åkesson*)

This second quote suggest Åkesson to be the target of a riot or similar issue. The police are mentioned again, which could relate to creating order around the political activist that has the right to express himself according to the constitution. As Entman (1993) suggested framing is about selecting one part of reality that will be more visible. Mentioning the police and security would be one of these aspects that are highlighted.

The use of the word security in relation to him as a party leader and it "could not be guaranteed", could emphasize how Åkesson is a target of a riot that needs the help of the police. This is what I will call the activist discourse, which could suggest that Åkesson is not a politician of his own.

The text moves on with sometimes mentioning and addressing Åkesson as a party leader, or as the leader of the Swedish Democrats. Both DN and SVT refer to Åkesson as the Swedish Democrats Party Leader. DN differs from SVT by letting Jimmie Åkesson have a bigger role as a party leader. However, DN support the Activist discourse by describing Åkesson as a person who wishes to change order.

> "He threatens with creating chaos in the parliament if the already established parties don't negotiate with SD" (Dagens Nyheter, 2010-09-16, *"Partierna måste samtala med oss")*

By using words like threaten and chaos, Åkesson is placed in the context of an outcast entering the parliament to create chaos or change the order that is already established. The word of chaos can as well be interpreted as something that disturbs security and is the opposite of order. Threaten could relate to how someone forces their ideals if the demands are not met. Strömbäck's (2008) claims that politics are aware of mediatization could prove how Åkessons chaotic nature could be an attempt to create interesting news and conflicts.

24

"The Swedish Democrats's Jimmie Åkesson dreams of a pivotal position in the election"
(Dagens Nyheter, 2010-09-16, *"Partierna måste samtala med oss"*)

The use of the words, dreams of, in relation to the political goal I interpret as a suggestion how something is distant or unreachable. DN frame Åkesson as wanting a goal that it is unreachable by just dreaming of it, instead of wanting it. This unreachable goal which compares to a dream, is that of reaching a pivotal position between the already established political parties.

As a game framing described by Aalberg et. al. (2012) there should be a final goal that the politicians would want to reach. In this quote Åkesson could be far and distanced from this final goal of politics. This would also support the Activist discourse, since Åkesson dreams of something that is unreachable unlike the other politics who already have a reachable goal to form a debate around. The description of Åkesson as a dreamer will make him look distant from the actual issues of politics.

The Player of Games

A common way to frame politics is as game and strategy (Strömbäck, 2015; Aalbeck et. al., 2015). This is commonly visible in the media texts regarding the Moderate party and the Social democrats. In the articles I selected from 2010, the framing of the subject of the articles is around a political debate. The party leaders Mona Sahlin and Fredrik Reinfeldt are portrayed as the players of the game in both the texts from SVT and DN.

A word commonly used around both Sahlin and Reinfeldt is that of a Historical election. This could relate to the game and strategy framing since it makes the winning prize bigger than that of a regular competition. The winner of the debates and in the end, the election will win the grand prize, which is a historical election.

I place Sahlin and Reinfeldt in what I call the Players discourse. Based on the descriptions of politics as game and strategy (Strömbäck, 2015; Aalbeck et. al, 2015), I describe the player's discourse in the context of how politicians are players of the game. The game in this scenario is the political debates.

> "According to the rhetorical expert, Reinfeld could make Sahlin show her bad side by making her irritated and grouchy. At the same time, SVT's commentator propose that Sahlin could use her popularity to make Reinfeldt appear as a bully." (SVT Nyheter, 2010-09-12, *Slaget om statsministerposten*)

With this quote SVT describe both party leaders with a set of skills to use in their game. Sahlin hold the abilities of popularity among the citizens, while her bad sides or abilities are irritation and grouchy temperament. Reinfeldts negative abilities are being a bully while he could make use of the temperament of Sahlin. The quote itself describes how these abilities could possibly be used in the game of debates and how each one of the players can take advantage of the abilities. The abilities that they used are rhetorical tools. The texts around Åkesson did not frame him with any abilities to use.

The other two-party leaders are unlike Åkesson more framed to suit the role of a leader of a party or group.

> "Mona Sahlin was clear that the red-green opposition will never make itself dependent of SD and tried to force the same promise from Fredrik Reinfeldt." (SVT Nyheter, 2010-09-16, *Sahlin och Reinfeldt möttes i miniduell)*

> "Sahlin and Reinfeldt met in a minor duel" (SVT Nyheter, 2010-09-16, *Sahlin och Reinfeldt möttes i miniduell)*

The first quote frames Mona Sahlin as the leader of the red-green opposition which refers to a coalition of three parties. The headline also uses the text of a minor duel, which suggest a framing towards a game between the actors in politics as described by Aalberg et. al (2012). Using the word "force" a promise would further strengthen the framing of politics as a game. Strömbäck (2008) also suggested how politics are aware of mediatization and try to create personalized situations. The forcing of a promise could be a form of conflict that Strömbäck mentioned. Kepplinger's (2002) article also emphasized that politicians are more prone to make statements with high news values.

> "Mona Sahlin can rejoice a victory already before the election. She and the Social
> Democrats have won the elections preparation in the television, radio and newspapers."
> (Dagens Nyheter, 2010-09-18, *S vinner över M i medierna)*

Sahlin is in this quote already framed as the winner of the game. In the following sentence Dagens Nyheter frame the election as "She and the Social Democrats" which would suggest that these are two separate beings. The sentence finish with that both she and the party has won. This support the Activists discourse since it states that Mona Sahlin and The Social Democrats wins together and that she would have already been recognized as the leader.

> "The three red-green had prepared a coordinated attack for their questioning of Reinfeldt
> by pulling out one "victim" each that had been affected by the new regulations" (*Dagens
> Nyheter, 2010-09-18, Reinfeldt försökte vara statsmannalik*)

The word victim would refer to someone who had been affected by the bad sides of politics. The quote itself states how the three "red-greens", the three parties consisting of the Green Party, The Social Democrats and The Left Party, are fighting against Reinfeldt who is the leader of the opposition in the game.

The use of the words like "pulling out" and "coordinated attack" could as well be placed in a player's discourse, to be similar to a weapon that are used in the debate. The debate itself could be similar to a strategy game. The game framing refers to who is the winner or loser of a competition. "who is winning or losing elections, in the battle for public opinion, in legislative debates, or in politics in general" (Aalberg et. al., 2015, p. 172).

This would also support the Players discourse, where the players of the game use a weapon which in the example above is referred to as a victim. The weapons as well are the abilities as described above.

5.2 September 2018

Jimmie Åkesson has in the texts from 2018 been recognized more of a political leader than the outcast or activist described in 2010. The Social democrats and the Moderate party have been replaced with new leaders who enter the game of politics with a set of abilities to use.

I have also identified a new addition to politics as game and strategy with the new element of politics as business.

The Political Leaders

The previous Activist discourse has been replaced by Jimmie Åkesson as the political party leader of the Swedish democrats. This further strengthens the argument that the support by citizens to the Swedish Democrats have made the party be recognized as a political party rather than an activist group. SVT writes in their article:

> "For Jimmie Åkesson (SD) there are two things that are important in the evenings questioning. 1: To be seen enough to convince the voters that hold doubts between the Swedish Democrats and another party that it is SD they should vote for. 2: At the same time not be seen to much so that SD could be given the opportunity to cooperate with other parties in the parliament." (*SVT Nyheter, 2018-09-02, Åkessons uppgift: Stick ut utan att sticka ut*).

In the text, SVT portray Jimmie Åkesson as responsible for the development of the political party. In the evenings questioning, SVT points out what Åkesson is responsible to do now as the recognized party leader.

Dagens Nyheter support the image constructed by SVT that Jimmie Åkesson is a leader. In the texts they let Åkesson speak on the party's behalf. They also frame him by calling him The Party Leader unlike the texts from 2010.

> "Jimmie Åkesson: "SD will have a very big influence of the politics". Hear the party leader speak during the evening." (Dagens Nyheter, 2018-09-09, SD: "Måste ske förändringar för att släppa fram en regering")

"Under the leadership of Jimmie Åkessons, the Swedish Democrats have had an almost improbable development." (SVT Nyheter, 2018-09-02, *Åkessons uppgift: Stick ut utan att sticka ut*)

By also mentioning big influence over politics would show how much power Åkesson has. The second quote also used the description of the development as improbable and under Åkessons leadership further shows how Åkesson hold a great power.

This process of how Åkesson has developed from the Political outcast and activist to the Political leader could be a form of mediatization in how the media has been mediatized by the politics and citizens alike, as suggested by Kunelius & Reunanen (2016). The increase of voters and political support for the Swedish democrats would have made Jimmie Åkesson recognized as a politician rather than an activist.

Hepp et al. (2015) points out that mediatization is also about understanding cultural change and what drives the mediatization process. The situation with Åkesson in these texts could also be a cultural change. The Swedish culture has changed which would start a mediatized process in the media.

Treschs (2009) article also suggested that the most influential politicians are those that get the most space in the media which would support the Activist discourse and that a less powerful politician would be an activist rather than a leader. Åkesson would by 2018 be a more powerful leader and would receive more attention in the media.

The journey from political activist to a political leader could be a form of game where Åkesson has been the player. He would by 2018 have finished the game's final level and now been allowed to participate in the debates and also receiving his skills as I described in the Player's discourse.

Similar framing is found around the image of Ulf Kristersson who DN proudly presents as a leader in their selection of quotes.

"It strengthen Ulf Kristersson as a party leader and as the leader of the Alliance." *(Dagens Nyheter, 2018-09-09, Kristersson: "Nu har vi gått första ronden mot en ny regering)*

"Ulf Kristersson (M) is a bobber for the party" (*SVT Nyheter, 2018-08-15, Liten betydelse för väljarna att Kristersson (M) har högst förtroende*)

The quote shows how Kristersson is the leader of the Moderate Party and the media describes him as self-confident in this role. This could support the activist discourse which now indicates that Kristersson is the leader of the Moderate Party.

The media frames Kristersson in the above quote, not only as a leader of a single party, but the leader of entire political group or coalition that is known as the Alliance which is similar to the framing of Mona Sahlin in 2010 who were the leader of the Red-Green opposition.

"SVT's questioning of party leaders with Stefan Löfven the number once again emerged, and that made the prime minister" (SVT Nyheter, 2018-08-24, *Socialdemokraterna missvisande om att Alliansen ska sänka skatten med 100 miljarder*)

The second time Löfven is mentioned in text he is framed as the Prime Minister. It is opposite of how Reinfeldt was framed in the texts from 2010. In 2010 Reinfeldt was only the party leader but not mentioned as Prime minister although that was his role in 2010.

Politics as Business

In relation to the Activists Discourse there is also The Leader's Discourse which would suggest how the media frames some politicians as leaders. They also compare the election to a business. A business would have the goal of bringing profit to a corporation in the form of money.

"when a self-confident Moderate leader goes up on stage to thank his coworkers" (Dagens Nyheter, 2018-09-09, *Kristersson: "Nu har vi gått första ronden mot en ny regering"*)

"Something that the M-leader Ulf Kristersson reiterated when he commented on the election in front of his coworkers" (Dagens Nyheter, 2018-09-09, *Extremt jämt mellan blocken*)

The use of the word Coworkers in both quotes could be similar to a corporation where a CEO has a group of coworkers that work for the company to reach its goal. The goal in corporations would be to make money and turn a profit from their business. This could be some a form of commercialized journalism that compares politics to business.

The party that Kristersson leads could be a company which have an economical agenda as a final goal. This comparison to the goal would be winning the election. Since Aalberg et. al (2012) refer to politics as game and strategy my findings could also suggest politics to be like a business. A business could refer to the commercialized journalism which focus on a more economical agenda as suggested by Strömbäck (2015).

DN describe the Party Leader as self-confident which would propose that he is secure in his role as a party leader. Entman (1993) suggested that framing is to select some parts of reality that will be visible. DN would emphasize that Kristersson is confident in himself and in the role as a political leader. This visible element of making him self-confident makes him appear as a good leader for the party.

Entman (1993) also suggested the absent elements to be of interest. None of the other party leaders are framed in the politics as business. Perhaps this could mean that media frame politicians according to their political view. The moderate party receives more attention to the politics as business framing than the other parties.

The Keeper of Order

With the chaotic Åkesson on one side, and the businessman of Reinfeldt there is a new personality described with the leader of the Social Democrats, Stefan Löfven. He is in the texts from DN, framed as a person who tries keeping order in the otherwise chaotic election.

> "Instead Löfven urged to keep calm until the parliament opens within two weeks"
> (Dagens Nyheter, 2018-09-09, *Extremt jämt mellan blocken*

Framing Löfven as an opposite force than the other party leaders would suggest how there are competing forces in the game of politics. A game-framing would suggest how there is a winner and loser (Aalberg et. al, 2012; Strömbäck, 2015).

This could support the previous statement of Åkesson who wanted to create "chaos" and disturb the order and that there is a contradicting personality in the election that tries to prevent this. This calm personality that Löfven hold in the media's frame would be a competing force with the more chaotic one of Åkesson. This would be their Abilities, as described in the Player's discourse.

Löfven holds the power or the Abilities of a calm negotiator, while Åkesson counters those abilities by disturbing the order and creating new demands. This would be a game-framing where the two different players compete for the grand prize.

> "The Social Democrats, with both prime minister Stefan Löfven and the minister of justice and home affairs Morgan Johansson at the front." (*SVT Nyheter, 2018-08-24, Socialdemokraterna missvisande om att Alliansen ska sänka skatten med 100 miljarder*)

With this quote SVT also adds another minister to the quote mentioning Löfven. It could be suggested that Löfven is not capable of being a leader on his own. He would need the support of his ministers to rule. To support the discourse of how he is the calm leader, this quote could suggest how other people help with the keeping of order.

Åkesson as the leader however states that the party now focus on using the support from the citizens. This also supports the mediatization process that were described above.

> "The question remains how the party should take advantage of their increased support"
> (Dagens Nyheter, 2018-09-09, *SD: "Måste ske förändringar för att släppa fram en regering"*)

The quote suggest how the Swedish Democrats should "take advantage" of increased support which could relate to taking use of the citizens. This would be an opposite force of the calm personality of Löfven who wish to establish order.

5.3 Analysis

The activist discourse described would suggest how citizens influence the media in how they choose to portray the politicians. The agenda setting as described by McCombs and Shaw (1972) emphasize that the media decides what citizens form opinions about. The activist discourse could be related to this by making the media's agenda setting itself being formed by citizens. The increase of voters could set the agenda of media's interest and that would make the media have a source of agenda setting from the citizens.

Kellam and Stein wrote in their article: "Citizens do not elect editors nor do journalists act as direct representatives of the people" (Kellam and Stein, 2015, p.7). However, the Activist discourse that I describe, could sometimes be countering this statement. Since the above description of activism suggest that journalists are not elected, the citizens could possibly have another influence of the media by how media frames politics using the Activist discourse that I described in this thesis. A citizen could possibly use social media to distribute their opinions and from that the media form's their own opinion. The journalist could possibly respect the ideas of the citizens. Only when the politicians have received enough social support, they enter the role of a politician in the media. If they are not, they would still be the activist.

The activist discourse could also be what Matthes et. al. (2019) found in their text. They described how politics are more hostile towards the media. My findings could show how media is somewhat working against the politicians which was one reason for the hostility mentioned by Matthes et. al. (2019).

The large increase for support of the Swedish Democrats could also be the start of a mediatization process which results in the confirmation of the Swedish democrats and Jimmie Åkesson as a politician rather than an activist movement. There was no major difference in results between DN and SVT suggesting that it would be a commercialized framing. As Hepp et. al (2015) pointed out mediatization is about understanding cultural change as well. The cultural change results in an increased support for the Swedish democrats and this is the mediatized process.

The activist discourse in 2010 is framed from two different perspectives. SVT frame Åkesson of the Swedish Democrats as the regular citizen who has started a political movement. DN support the view of the activist discourse but instead use the perspective that the Swedish Democrats and Åkesson are there to disturb the order of the politics.

As Entman (1993) points out, in framing it is also of interest to study the obscured element of the text. The texts from SVT would show how Åkesson is not perceived as a party leader which would be an absent element from the text and why these elements are absent could be relevant to understand. This element was however visible in texts from 2018 which would form my Activist Discourse.

Sahlin was in one text framed as "She and the Social Democrats" while Kristersson was framed as the Leader of all parties of the political coalition known as the Alliance. This is a difference between both the different years and political parties. Löfven was framed alongside his other ministers. This is opposite to the framing of Sahlin which could take on the role of leader of the red-green opposition. In 2018 the role of leader has been taken over by the Moderate party's leader. It could be stated that one leader is stronger and more powerful than the other. Since Sahlin led a coalition in 2010 and in 2018 it was Kristersson who led a coalition. There could at the same time not be two persons leading parties. One of these persons must have a stronger role than the others. This would also strengthen the arguments of Aalberg et. al (2012) since this could create a game between actors that hold different power.

Strömbäck (2010) comments that the media and politics are dependent on each other which my findings show as well. The identity constructed around the politicians would suggest how the politics are dependent on the media. Matthes et. al. (2019) article would also comment on how politicians believe the media does not inform the citizens of the politics agenda. My findings of the Abilities and the Player's discourse could show how the attention in media is more of a game than the issue, which also could confirm some of the findings in Matthes et. al. (2019) article that the politics would believe the citizens are less informed.

Kunelius and Reunanen (2016) comments that journalism is struggling with a mediatization on its own from the commercialized journalism. With the Business addition to Game and Strategy this could be a mediatized process where the politics being framed as a business further removes attention from the issues of politics. A business is closely related to competition and profit from a product or service. A comparison to politics as business is a mediatization of journalism with the economic agenda.

As Michael Kronas (2009) dissertation stated there could be some differences between different times, and that in 2005 the media focus was more related to framing consequences of actions in

politics than the behavior of politicians. However, the results that I presented showed similarities between different ages in the construction of politics as a game. The differences are in the construction of the abilities that I describe.

The Player's discourse and the associated abilities could be explained by the mediatization of politics. Strömbäck (2008) explained how politicians create situations were personalization and conflicts are more visible. The media could highlight these through the game frame and creating these personalization elements as the abilities that I have identified. The abilities would be a form of the personalization elements.

Jansen et. al (2019) suggested that politics could be a driving force in directing attention towards the European Union which could mean that politicians are a source of agenda setting by themselves. My findings support this article's results since I propose that politicians themselves influence the media's agenda.

5.4 Summary of the results

The findings presented here show differences both between 2010 and 2018 as it does with the different media. Politicians are generally framed as players of a game, which I call the Player's discourse which is one of the similarities found.

There are some differences between framing of party leaders in what Abilities they receive in the debates. However, a similarity with all the results is that every leader has received some set of skills to use.

To answer research question around discourses, I first described the Activist-discourse, which describes how a not recognized politicians is framed more as a political activist than a politician. In 2010 Jimmie Åkesson of the Swedish democrats was the outcast, but in 2018 his role had developed into the political leader.

The second discourse is the Players discourse which describes how each politician receives a set of skills to use in the game. These abilities are acquired when they are a leader as described in the Activist discourse. All politicians in the game have some abilities that they receive by the media, to use in the debates.

There are competing forces in each politician. Löfven is the calm careful leader, while Åkesson is the opposite. One of the leader's will also be more powerful than the other. In the case of 2010, Sahlin are a more powerful leader, while in 2018 Kristersson was the leader of the Alliance.

I have also identified framing of politics as business, where some politicians are like a businessman with an economical agenda and that the debate itself is all about business.

6. Discussions and conclusion

In this chapter I will present a discussion about the results and then I will suggest some options for further research in the field of politics in relation to media and communication.

One of the discourses identified was the Activists discourse, which showed how a politician receives different respect and behavior from the media when the voters and citizen support increase. This could be a form of how a citizen are the source of a mediatization process, where the media struggles with the attention of the audience. This is an interesting finding due to it shows how the Swedish Democrats has in the eyes of the media, developed from a political activist group into a political party. It could possibly be the concept of the media deciding what's politics and what's an activist.

Since the agenda setting theory states the media hold power over citizens view, the Activist discourse could show citizens also hold power over the media's view. A strong support through social media or other similar platforms, could be an agenda setting of social media and citizens journalism.

An activist could have a large support among a selected group of citizens, which would be this person's supporters. When they have received enough votes to enter the parliament they would now have been confirmed by the public as a politics leader rather than an activist. The media will then acknowledge a politician as a leader. The media's role could be to confirm the identities of the leaders in the media.

It could also mean that citizens hold power over the media which Kellam and Stein (2015) believed was a problem with the media that journalists are not elected. However, my findings show that citizens could have some influence over the media and how the media choose to frame politics.

Since the media sets the agenda of what citizens believe are important this finding of the Activist could further develop some ideas to the agenda setting theory. It might be that the society also sets the agenda of media and what the media thinks is important. This might also relate to the theories of news value which I did not use for this research. However, my findings could suggest a two-way model of agenda setting, that what citizens are believed to be important are also what the media finds interesting. The process itself could be a mediatization of journalism.

As described in the theory chapter the mediatization of journalism can occur when politicians or citizens hold media power on their own by having blogs and Twitter feeds.

A second finding is what I call The Abilities of the Politicians. The Abilities are connected to what I call the Player's Discourse. With the Player's discourse I describe how politicians receives a set of abilities to use when taking part in the game. When the players, which are the politicians, enter the game, which could for instance be a debate, they are described with these Abilities. I see some similarities with a role-playing game where the Player uses abilities in the competition with the other players. As was described in the texts from 2010 Sahlin and Reinfeldt had a set of abilities they used in the debates. Sahlin is the popular debater but with grouchy temperament that could be used, while Reinfeldt hold the power of being a bully. Löfven in 2018 is the calm leader that tries to create order. That ability would be opposite of the chaotic one of Åkesson. Kristersson holds the ability of being a businessman.

It could be remarked that in every political climate there should always be a set of predefined roles that has to be filled out. The roles would be needed to maintain the regular framing of politics as game and strategy. The media frames every politician or the player with their skills to further maintain the political framing as game.

Linnander's (2018) thesis maintained the view that the image Sweden often relies on the Bad and Good Sweden which would be these competing forces. In my results I could see these competing forces between different actors in politics.

All the abilities that I describe is, as mentioned, like a Role-Playing or Strategy game where the player could select a class with a different set of skills that give them different advantages. This would support politics as a game as suggested by Aalberg et. al. (2012). All abilities could also be the personalization of politicians that Strömbäck (2008) mentioned. The media could have chosen this approach to further construct politics as a strategic game between different actors by constructing the actors in a traditional game context. The reason for this could perhaps be to attract more attention from the audiences.

The discourse itself connects to the activist discourse since Åkesson has not received his full abilities in 2010. The abilities of the Player's discourse will be acquired when a leader turns into a leader in the media.

The abilities relate both to the Player's and Activists discourse. Åkesson has received some Abilities in 2010 which are those of disturbing the order and creating chaos. He has also received the ability of being a dreamer which would be the opposite of the more concrete approach to a political issue.

The Activist discourse itself is could form a Leaders discourse which would suggest how leaders and politicians are formed and constructed in the media. The media would in a way confirm a leader as being the leader. Åkesson would not have this role in 2010, but in 2018 the media recognize him as a leader. This discourse could show how the media hold power of the politics on behalf of the people.

The Business discourse was commonly visible around the text of the Moderate Party's leader Ulf Kristersson. This would form a new addition to the politics as a game, where it could also include politics as a business. This discourse I suggest is related to the commercialization of political journalism in how politics are compared to a business where there is economical profit from winning.

Reinfeldt and Sahlin are commonly in the debates and are taking part of a game. During 2018 the game is redesigned to also include the Swedish democrats as a player. The game would then consist of three players. This would support the concept of the Activists discourse that the media controls who has the right to be a leader.

Åkesson and Löfven are framed with opposite abilities. Åkesson is the chaotic leader, while Löfven and his supporters maintain order. This could show how the media gives each politician opposite abilities, which would make the debate look more like a game.

Some of the leaders are more powerful than the other, Sahlin leads the Red-green opposition, and Kristersson lead the Alliance. Both these groups are an opposition to the actual government. The media could frame politics like this to balance the game of politics.

There are some minor differences between how Dagens Nyheter and SVT's framing politicians. They both stay to the idea of the Player and the Activists discourses. DN however stay more commercialized than SVT does in their framing. The business discourse that I identified was more visible in DN, which could relate to that newspaper being privately-owned, while SVT did not make similarities of politics as business.

It is impossible to generalize any of the findings and discourses since the research itself is qualitative and a very small number of articles has been used in the analyzing process. However, the findings should however help with developing new concepts around politics and further understanding the concepts of politics as game and strategy and how to attract more attention from citizens.

The new discourses that I describe could possibly help with constructing a deeper understanding of how politicians are treated by the news media and the relations between politics, the media as the fourth estate, and regular citizens.

6.1 Final conclusion

To answer research questions, this thesis states that each politician is an individual person with different set of skills that I call The Abilities. The Abilities are an element of the Player's discourse which describes how each party leader are a different person with different skills that is the opposite of the opponent.

A similarity between all politicians are that they all have Abilities and are perceived as players. However, each politician receives different skills use in the game.

Jimmie Åkesson's role is as well explained through the Activist discourse, which refers to him as an activist in 2010 but in 2018 his role has expanded to be a party leader. The rest of the party leaders are already perceived as a leader that has a set of skills to use. This framing is what I call the player's discourse. Sahlin is framed as a popular leader while Löfven receives the image of a careful leader that counters the other player's skills.

Kristersson acquires the role of a self-confident businessman who have access to coworkers that he works with and uses to reach his goal. This is what I call the Business discourse. The business discourse describes how politics can be framed as a business in the same way as game and strategy.

The four party leaders of the social democrats and the moderate party are framed in the player's discourse, which I emphasize is that they have received abilities or a set of skills to use in the game of politics.

In this thesis I have come up with some new discourses around political leaders. The first discourse is the Activist discourse, which describes a politician as a political activist when they are not

recognized by the community. The process of mediatization could be a possible source that turns the activist turn into a leader.

The second discourse is the Player's discourse which describe the Abilities and politicians as players of the political game, which also could be a mediatization process.

6.2 Further research

This thesis has covered the politicians of the three biggest parties in the Swedish parliament. A similar study could be performed by analyzing the other five parties of the parliament and compare the results with what was presented here and if the Player, Activist or Business discourses are visible in the same way in other parties.

Since this thesis only studied the written texts, it could also be useful to perform a visual analysis of other media texts such as the images and TV spots that are included with the articles. The visual analysis could help further building up the discourses I describe.

The same analysis could also be performed on the alternative media or social media to understand how regular citizens or alternative facts, could frame the politicians in the media and how this would support the Activist and Players discourses. This approach could show how the people that elect representatives behave towards them and what differences or similarities could be found around the citizens own views. Since I refer to the countries rule as three beings, the politicians, the media and the citizens an analysis of the citizen journalism could be relevant for study.

With a different methodological approach, such as a quantitative approach to the issue it would be the opportunity to perform a study that can show a more generalized result to the discourses found here. An interview study would as well help with identifying why some of these discourses emerge in political journalism.

Another approach could be to study the context of politics and media relations in another country and how freedom of the press influences the relations between those in power. Countries with a lower freedom of press standard could perhaps be explained by using some of the discourses presented in this thesis.

7. References

Aalberg, Toril, Strömbäck, Jesper, & de Vreese, Claes H. (2012). The Framing of Politics as Strategy and Game: A Review of Concepts, Operationalizations and Key Findings. *Journalism*, 13(2), pp. 162-178. DOI: 10.1177/1464884911427799

Altheide, David L. & Snow, Robert, P. (1979) *Media Logic*. London: Sage.

Bergström, Göran & Boréus Kristina (2018). Diskursanalys. In Bergström, Göran & Boréus Kristina (ed.) *Textens mening och makt: Metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. pp. 353-415.

Blaike, Norman & Priest, Jan (2019). *Designing social research: The logic of anticipation*. Cambridge: Polity press.

Boreus, Kristina & Kohl, Sebastian (2018). Innehållsanalys. In Boreus, Kristina & Bergström, Göran (Ed.). *Textens mening och makt*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. pp. 49-89.

Dagens Nyheter (2008). *Om Dagens Nyheter*. Retrieved from https://www.dn.se/nyheter/om-dagens-nyheter/ [2019-06-02]

Dagens Nyheter (n.d). *Statistik*. Retrieved from: https://annons.dn.se/sv-se/stats [2019-06-02]

Ekman, Mattias & Widholm, Andreas (2015). Politicians as media producers, *Journalism practice, 9*(1), pp. 78-91. DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2014.928467

Entman, Robert M. (1993). Framing: Towars Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm, *Journal of Communication*, 34(4), pp. 51-58. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

Fairclough, Norman (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Arnold.

Hall, Stuart (Ed.). (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage.

Hepp, Andreas, Hjarvard, Stig & Lundby, Knut (2015). Mediatization: theorizing the interplay between media, culture and society, *Media, Culture & Society*, 37(2), pp. 314-324. DOI: 10.1177/0163443715573835

Holt, Kristoffer (2018). Alternative Media and the Notion of Anti-Systemness: Towards an Analytical Framework, *Media and Communication*, 6(4), pp. 49-57. DOI: 10.17645/mac.v6i4.1467

Jansen, A. Severin, Eugster, Beatrice, Maier, Michaela, & Adam, Silke (2019). Who Drives the Agenda: Media or Parties? A Seven-Country Comparison in the Run-Up to the 2014 European Parliament Elections. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 24(1), 7–26. DOI: 10.1177/1940161218805143

Kellam, Marisa, & Stein, Elizabeth A. (2016). Silencing Critics: Why and How Presidents Restrict Media Freedom in Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(1), 36–77. DOI: 10.1177/0010414015592644

Kepplinger, Hans Mathias (2002). Mediatization of politics: Theory and data. *Journal of communication*, 52(4), pp. 972-986. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.2002.tb02584.x

Krona, Michel (2009). *Journalism's Evolutions: Narrative Strategies in Swedish Television's Coverage of Domestic Politics 1978-2005*. Diss. Lund: Lund University.

Kunelius, Risto & Reunanen, Esa (2016). Changing Power of Journalism: The Two Phases of Mediatization, *Communication Theory,* 26(4), pp. 369-388. DOI: 10.1111/comt.12098

Ledin, Johanna & Moberg, Ulla (2013). Textanalytisk metod. In Ekström, Mats and Larsson, Larsåke (Ed.). *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. pp. 153-178

Linnander, Mathilda (2018). *Last Night in Sweden: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Image of Sweden in International Media*. Master's (One-Year) Thesis, School of Education and Communication. Jönköping: Jönköping University. urn:nbn:se:hj:diva-40977

Matthes, Jörg, Maurer, Peter & Arendt, Florian (2019). Consequences of Politicians' Perceptions of the News Media, *Journalism Studies*, 20:3, pp. 345-363, DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2017.1377102

Mayring, Philipp (2004). Qualitative content analysis. In Flick, Uwe, von Kardorff, Ernst & Steinke, Ines (Ed.). *A companion to qualitative research.* London: Sage, pp. 266-269.

Mazzoleni, Gianpietro & Schulz, Winfried (1999) "Mediatization" of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy?, Political Communication, 16(3), pp. 247-261, DOI: 10.1080/105846099198613

McCombs, Maxwell. E. & Shaw, Donald. L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly.* 36(2), pp. 176-187. DOI: 10.1086/267990.

Nationalencyklopedin (n.d.a) *Moderata samlingspartiet*. Retrieved from: https://www-ne-se.proxy.mau.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/enkel/moderata-samlingspartiet [2019-06-03]

Nationalencyklopedin (n.d.b) *Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti*. Retrieved from: https://www-ne-se.proxy.mau.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/enkel/sveriges-socialdemokratiska-arbetareparti [2019-06-03]

Nationalencyklopedin (n.d.c). *Sverigedemokraterna*. Retrieved from: https://www-ne-se.proxy.mau.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/enkel/sverigedemokraterna [2019-06-03]

Pallas, Josef & Fredriksson, Magnus (2013). Corporate media work and micro-dynamics of mediatization. *European Journal of Communication,* 28(4), pp. 420-435. DOI: 10.1177/0267323113488487

SFS 1949:105. *The Freedom of the Press Act*: Stockholm: The Department of Justice.

SFS 1974:152. *The Instrument of the Government*. Stockholm: The Department of Justice.

Strömbäck, Jesper (2008). Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13(3), pp. 228–246. DOI: 10.1177/1940161208319097

Strömbäck, Jesper (2010). Mediatization and perceptions of the media's political influence. *Journalism Studies,* 12(4), pp. 423-439. DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2010.523583

Strömbäck, Jesper (2015). Politisk nyhetsjournalistik. In Karlsson, Michael & Strömbäck, Jesper (Ed.) *Handbok i journalistikforskning*. Lund: Studentlitteratur. pp. 299-316.

Pressutredningen (1994). *Vårt dagliga blad – stöd till svenska dagspress. Betänkande av Pressutredningen*. (SOU 1995:37). Stockholm: Fritzes.

Kulturutskottet (2018). *Långsiktig finansiering och stärkt oberoende för public service*. (2018:19:KrU2). Stockholm: Sveriges Riksdag.

Sveriges Riksdag (n.d). *Ledamöter & partier*. Retrieved from https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/ledamoter-partier/ [2019-06-02]

Tresch, Anke (2009). Politicians in the Media: Determinants of Legislators' Presence and Prominence in Swiss Newspapers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 14(67). DOI: 10.1177/1940161208323266

Valmyndighten (2019a). *Valresultat 2010*. Retrieved from https://val.se/valresultat/riksdag-landsting-och-kommun/2010/valresultat.html [2019-06-02]

Valmyndigheten (2019b). *Valresultat 2018*. Retrived from: https://val.se/valresultat/riksdag-landsting-och-kommun/2018/valresultat.html [2019-06-02]

Weibull, Lennart & Wadbring, Ingela (2014). *Massmedier: nya villkor för press, radio och tv i det digitala medielandskapet*. Stockholm: Ekerlids Förlag.

Winter Jørgensen, Marianne & Phillips, Louise (2002). Discourse analysis as theory and method. London: Sage.

Appendix I: Empirical Media Texts 2010

1. SVT Nyheter, 2010-09-12, *Slaget om statsministerposten,* https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/duellen-mellan-sahlin-och-reinfeldt-slaget-om-statsministerposten

2. SVT Nyheter, 2010-09-16, *Valet 2010 - Sahlin och Reinfeldt möttes i miniduell,* https://www.svt.se/nyheter/nyhetstecken/valet-2010-sahlin-och-reinfeldt-mottes-i-miniduell

3. SVT Nyheter, 2010-09-16, *Polisen: Vi hindrade inte Åkesson,* No URL available.

4. Dagens Nyheter, 2010-09-18, *S vinner över M i medierna,* https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/s-vinner-over-m-i-medierna/

5. Dagens Nyheter, 2010-09-16, *"Partierna måste samtala med oss",* https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/partierna-maste-samtala-med-oss/

6. Dagens Nyheter, 2010-09-18, *Reinfeldt försökte vara statsmannalik,* https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/reinfeldt-forsokte-vara-statsmannalik/

Appendix II: Empirical Media Texts 2018

1. SVT Nyheter, 2018-09-02, *Åkessons uppgift: Stick ut utan att sticka ut,* https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/tva-uppgifter-for-akesson-i-kvallens-utfragning

2. SVT Nyheter, 2018-08-24, *Socialdemokraterna missvisande om att Alliansen ska sänka skatten med 100 miljarder,* https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/socialdemokraterna-missvisande-om-att-alliansen-ska-sanka-skatten-med-100-miljarder

3. SVT Nyheter, 2018-08-15, *Liten betydelse för väljarna att Kristersson (M) har högst förtroende,* https://www.svt.se/nyheter/val2018/liten-betydelse-for-valjarna-att-kristersson-m-ar-popularast

4. Dagens Nyheter, 2018-09-09, *SD: "Måste ske förändringar för att släppa fram en regering",* https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/maste-ske-forandringar-for-att-slappa-fram-en-regering/

5. Dagens Nyheter, 2018-09-09, *Extremt jämt mellan blocken,* https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/knapp-ledning-for-det-rodgrona-blocket/

6. Dagens Nyheter, 2018-09-09, *Kristersson: "Nu har vi gått första ronden mot en ny regering",* https://www.dn.se/nyheter/politik/samsta-valet-for-m-sedan-2002-kan-anda-bli-vinnare/