In the red
Political scandals in the media and the effect of political affiliation

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Abstract


Nyckelord: Politiska skandaler, politisk tillhörighet, sociokulturella faktorer, förväntningar, skillnader mellan höger och vänster, diskrepans, ekonomiska skandaler, framing, gestaltning, konstruktionism, kritisk diskursanalys
1. Introduction

Freedom of the press is a fundamental part of the Swedish Constitution (Sveriges Riksdag, 2012). The press both informs about and reviews politicians. But the relationship between the media and politicians is not unproblematic. Media has to sell, because besides being a democratic function, newspapers and TV channels are more often than not profit-driven organizations (Stömbäck, 2000: 158). Strömbäck states that the relationship between politics, media and society is not solely based on media ownership or how many media channels are available: content is of importance too (2003). Recent research made by Allern, Kantola, Pollack and Blach-Ørsten showed that scandals have become all the more apparent in the Scandinavian media landscape (2012: 48 – 49).

The issue of political scandals, while being one of the most complex concepts in political communication, is one of the most interesting ones. Questions like; “why do certain scandals receive more coverage than others?” and “why are scandals framed in a certain way?” are big general questions that have only partly been answered (for example, see Bromander, 2012). This particular thesis will attempt to add to the knowledge about political scandals by examining the differences in reporting between right and left wing politicians that have been involved in scandals during the last ten years. The role that sociocultural factors play in the portrayal of the scandals will be of specific interest as well.

The idea that there is a difference in the reporting between right wing and left wing politicians in the media is a highly relevant one. It relates to many different and important issues; possible bias of the media, how sociocultural structures affect journalism and what power prejudice can have over reporting, only to name a few. For this reason, it is not only interesting to academics, but to the public in general.

The main variable of interest in this thesis is political affiliation. However, three additional variables are featured in the study as well; gender, position of government and nature of the scandal. The characteristics of these variables, as well as justifications for their inclusion in the study, will be explained in greater detail further on.

This thesis will have a two level approach, consisting of one quantitative part and one qualitative part. A total of eight political scandals were studied in the quantitative part, covering 1313 articles from four Swedish newspapers. In the
qualitative part, an in depth analysis was made of two scandals, selected from the eight scandals examined in the quantitative part. The results were then analyzed from a framing perspective, with emphasis on the constructionist approach.

1.2 Previous research

A study conducted by Allern et al (2012) shows that political scandals have tripled during the first decade of the millennium in the Nordic countries, and Sweden is on the top of the list for the most scandals (Allern et al.: 35). The authors argued that it is not politicians’ moral standards that have become lower; rather, a shift of what is seen as acceptable behavior has taken place in society (ibid.). This, along with an increased commercial interest for sensational political journalism and a more proactive role of the media are seen as the main reasons for the increased prevalence of political scandals in the media (ibid.).

How sociocultural factors affect the perception of politicians is relevant in this context as well. A dissertation presented by Jenny Madestam examined what kind of a leader the chairpersons of two different Swedish political parties were expected to be like, according to the members of their respective parties (Madestam, 2009). She came to the conclusion that there is a great ambivalence in what is expected from the leaders, with many expectations contradicting each other. A Social Democratic leader, for example, should be like a friend and father at the same time. The leader of the Liberal Party was supposed to be both deep and superficial at the same time (Madestam, 2009). This dissertation was based on an empirical study of the Social Democrats and the Liberal Party of Sweden.

In recent years, examining differences in reporting between politicians of different genders has been a quite popular subject of research in Sweden (Bromander, 2012: 54). Bromander himself examined the effects of gender on political scandals (2012). He examined 92 political scandals that had occurred in Sweden over a period of fourteen years (Bromander, 2012). Bromander argued that female politicians are more extensively covered; there is a stronger demand for accountability and media coverage is less forgiving. There was also a higher risk that female politicians involved in political scandals resign. However, Bromander did not account for
political affiliation in his study; he suggests that political affiliation should be studied further (Bromander, 2012: 43).

2. Purpose and scientific question

The purpose of this essay is not to fully explain why some scandals become massive media spectacles and some completely fade into oblivion. Rather, the purpose is to show that there is a difference in the frequency of reporting between right wing and left wing politicians involved in political scandals and as to how the reporting is framed. As the scope of this thesis is relatively limited; attempts to provide results that can be generalized over a much larger selection of scandals will be comparatively modest. What is aspired to here is showing that political affiliation could be of importance when it comes to explaining how political scandals are framed in the media. The scientific question asked is twofold.

- How does the political affiliation of politicians affect the frequency of reporting about scandals that said politicians are involved in?
- How does the framing of political scandals differ between right wing and left wing politicians?

The questions could conversely be expressed as a hypothesis:

H: There is a difference in the amount reported between right and left wing politicians involved in scandals. There will also be a difference in how the scandals are framed in news articles.

The first question will primarily be answered by the quantitative part of the study, while the second question will be answered primarily in the qualitative part. The results of both parts will however be analyzed and discussed together. The essay is limited to Swedish politicians, and only printed press is examined. The delimitations of the essay are described in further detail later on. By using framing as a theoretical backdrop and critical discourse analysis (referred to as CDA from here on) as a method, the analysis in this thesis will attempt to show that sociocultural norms and structures affect the framing of political scandals, as well as the frequency of reporting. Seeing as culture is of great importance in this thesis, framing will be
primarily be viewed from a constructionist perspective – where frames are seen as products of culture.

There are many possible factors that could affect the media outcome of a political scandal. Bromander, for example, argued that women are subjected to harder scrutiny by the press (Bromander, 2012). Cabinet ministers involved in scandals are often subjected to a higher degree of media exposure as well (Allern et al., 2012: 43).

In order to be certain that there truly was a difference between right wing and left wing politicians in the frequency of reporting, three additional independent variables were included in the study; gender, position of government and nature of the scandal (they will be explained and justified in greater detail in the Theory chapter, as well as in the Material and Method chapter). In short, these variables were included in order to see if the difference between right wing and left wing politicians would be consistent across other possibly important categories, or if the differences were more accentuated within one particular category.
3. Background

John B. Thompson (2000) writes that there are two usages for the word scandal; the first usage is connected to the Greek context in the meaning of that a person has either brought discredit to religion or to something that hindered religious faith or belief. The second usage reflects a more secular character and can be broken down into damaging ones reputation.

Thompson (2000: 13) ultimately defines scandal as: "Actions or events involving certain kinds of transgressions which becomes known to others and are sufficiently serious to elicit a public response". An additional view on the word scandal is that it is associated to different things in different countries; a scandalous behaviour in Sweden may not raise an eyebrow in another country because of cultural differences (Allern et al, 2012: 30). Therefore a scandal cannot be defined by a specific set of moral or political transgressions but by the effects the scandal causes (ibid).

In a study made by the Democratic Council (Demokratirådets rapport 2005; 16) it was suggested that the editorial staff at newspapers often neglected to picture all parties’ standpoints in issues that they reported on. During the last decade the Press Council (Demokratirådets rapport 2005: 117) have received around 400 complaints a year; the most common complaint being about inaccurate and incomplete factual information, and journalistic content being degrading. In 2011 (Pressens Opinionsnämnds årliga rapport 2011), the Press council investigated 115 cases where the required moral standards of journalists were being questioned.

The more personalized a political scandal is, the more public interest it gathers. The personal scandal can be drawn out like a soap opera with the media constantly looking for material for more episodes (Allern & Pollack 2012: 21). This means that when political scandals are more personal and less institutional they attract more readers. Allern and Pollack (2012) argues that this leads to media favoring political news with personal angles over political news with institutional focus.

The Swedish Social Democratic Party has had a large role in the country’s political history (Premfors 1999: 145). The position of the Social Democratic Party is unique compared to similar parties in other democracies; history books often refer to a social democratic hegemony in Sweden (Premfors, 1999; Möller, 2009). The party’s position has helped the labor movement to receive strong sympathies in Sweden; according to many researchers the result is that values sprung from social democratic
ideology, and its related movements, have become rooted in large parts of the Swedish society (Premfors 1999: 141; Möller 2009: 298).

Politicians with considerable national political power are to be referred to as a political elite, according to Niklasson (2008: 112). The Swedish political elite is less socially exclusive than other “elites” in Sweden, such as business elite (ibid: 116).

There are expectations from the Swedish public that the political elite be good representatives of the population and not only share similar opinions but also characteristics such as class background and other societal factors (Jacobsson, Sandstedt 2005). Another “unwritten law” is that a Swedish politician should not enrich him- or herself at the expense of the public; this particular moral maxim is described by Jacobsson and Sandstedt as particularly important (2005). Another demand, according to Jacobsson & Sandstedt, is that high political office should not come with special privileges. Swedish politicians are also expected to practice what they preach; this societal demand is also stressed as especially important (ibid.).

When, for example, Social Democrat Mona Sahlin was photographed with a handbag from the luxury company Louis Vuitton (Lundberg, 2010), she was met with much criticism. The expensive bag was not seen as compatible with the policies and the voter group Sahlin represented (Aftonbladet; Lundberg). A Swedish politician’s lifestyle has to match that of their voters. To exploit or use ones position to receive certain benefits or privileges is not approved of by the public (Jacobsson, Sandstedt, 2005; 144, Niklasson 2008; 117). Neither should Swedish politicians distance themselves from or elevate themselves above the groups they are supposed to represent. The former Centre party leader Lennart Daléus was criticized in 1999 for taking taxi trips instead of public transportation during the daily hours (Aschberg och Wallin; 1999-09-24). In other words a politician in Sweden should always lead by example (Jacobsson, Sandstedt 2005).
4. Theory

The media can never convey a complete and entirely accurate depiction of reality (van Gorp, 2007). The way the media portrays certain events and relations affect how the consumers think about their world (Entman, 2010; Scheufele, 1999). As this essay is concerned with how news are portrayed, and how sociocultural circumstances affect the portrayal, framing was deemed to be a good theoretical framework to use in order to analyze the results and put them in to a broader social context. The constructionist approach to framing will be used as the main perspective. In this chapter, the central concepts of framing will be explained. Here, the theoretical background of the three additional variables will be detailed as well. Criticism and different views on framing will be brought to light and discussed. As Van Dijk’s method for CDA will be used as a primary tool for dissecting and analyzing the articles in the qualitative part of the study, an overview of CDA as a theoretical framework will be given in this chapter as well. At that point, the relationship between framing and CDA will be discussed.

4.1 Theoretical background to additional variables

This section is dedicated to give a theoretical background to the three additional variables. Even though these variables are not technically part of the overarching theoretical framework on which this essay is built (framing theory that is), they will feature in the analysis. Therefore it was deemed necessary to include the theoretical background in the Theory chapter. It is important to justify the choice of variables from a theoretical standpoint as well: Why where these specific variables included? A brief theoretical motivation for each of the variables will be given in this section. How the variables were operationalized will be described in the Material and Method chapter.

4.1.1 Gender

In the field of political communication, gender has been studied extensively. Widespread research has suggests that gender affects how politicians are treated in the media (Bromander, 2012; Jacobsson & Sandstedt, 2005; Norris, 1997). In his dissertation, Bromander concluded that women involved in scandals are framed in a
more negative light than men (Bromander, 2012). On average, they are reported on more frequently as well (ibid). Bromander makes a strong case for the effect of gender on political scandals in his study. Gender was included in this thesis because it has previously been shown that it often affects how individuals are framed in the media.

4.1.2 Position of government
The question of whether one is a minister or not was deemed to be an interesting variable to take into consideration. Allern et al. showed that public demands and expectations are generally higher on cabinet ministers than on politicians that were not in government; this relates to the idea that politicians in government are more powerful, which in turn increases their responsibility to the public (Allern et al., 2012: 43).

Allern & Pollack also argued that ministers were more likely to end up in a political scandal (ibid). This is not only due to the fact that they are more visible and important than non-governmental politicians – a journalistic exposé that ends in a minister’s resignation is more likely to be awarded with a journalistic price for the investigating journalism. This is of symbolic value to the journalist and its newspaper, making the investigation of ministers more interesting from the journalist’s perspective (Allern et al, 2012: 42-43). Considering the results of Allern et al., it was deemed prudent to include position of government as a variable in the analysis.

4.1.3 Nature of the scandal
Swedish politicians should practice what they preach, according to the results of Jacobsson & Sandstedt (2005). With this in consideration, could there be a possibility that politicians of different political affiliations are judged differently depending on what kind of actions they take? That is, if a politician does not practice what it preaches, how will that affect the reporting of the politician? The demands of the Swedish population on its politicians are also important to this study, as they can be said to constitute a part of the Swedish political culture (van Dijk, 1995; van Gorp, 2007). Seeing how the sociocultural context might affect the framing is quite central in this thesis, the variable nature of the scandal was important to include.
The variable offers an opportunity to see if certain actions are seen as more reproachable if they are made by a politician of a certain political affiliation.

4.2 A summary of framing

The theoretical mass describing frames and framing is diverse, and at times, it has been described as fractured and lacking clear unifying definitions for its central concepts (D’Angelo & Kuypers, 2010; Entman, 1993; Maher, 2001; D. Scheufele, 1999; B.T Scheufele, B.T & D.A Scheufele, 2010; van Gorp, 2007). Rather, some scholars have suggested it is a collection of theoretical approaches and methods (Entman, 1993; D’Angelo, 2002). Scheufele came to a similar conclusion (1999). Entman saw this as a weakness, calling framing research a “fractured paradigm” (Entman, 1993). D’Angelo, however, considered the multidisciplinary tendencies of framing to be a great strength; he argued that the multitude of approaches enriched the research in the field, rather than fracturing it (D’Angelo, 2002: 871). A substantial body of theory exists, and while many of them differ on many points, there are certain common denominators. Most of the theory generated within the scope of framing use much terminology and central concepts from the seminal work Frame Analysis, by sociologist Erving Goffman (1974). Goffman wrote the following, defining the concept of a frame: “I assume that definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principals of organization which govern events […] and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements as I am able to identify” (Goffman, 1974: 10). While the original definition used by Goffman is seldom seen today, many other researchers have come to expand the concept of frames as well as clarifying it and adding new concepts.

B.T. and D.A Scheufele argue that even though previous research on framing might sometimes have given contradictory definitions of what constitutes a frame, they do have certain elements in common (B.T. & D.A. Scheufele, 2010). The idea is that frames work on the memory, and that through the use of schemas, they create structures that individuals use to process and organize information which they encounter in their social environment (B.T. & D.A. Scheufele, 2010: 111). B.T and D.A Scheufele define a schema as a mental representation of a real life object or a relation between objects (2010: 116). They further expand on the concept, broadly
defining it as a configuration of salient attributes that aid people in processing information (ibid). Frames, they describe, are structures which activate certain schemas through cognitive networks (B.T. & D.A. Scheufele, 2010, pp. 117 – 118).

By framing the article in a certain way, the journalist selects (consciously or unconsciously) certain schemas that will be represented in the article. Hence, frames connect schemas in a cognitive network (ibid). Another difference between schemas and frames is suggested by van Gorp; while schemas are cognitive structures used to make sense of the world, frames are more connected to culture and are thus relatively stable over time (van Gorp, 2007: 63).

Other authors, such as Gamson & Modigliani (1989), have used the term frame in a similar fashion to what Scheufele describe as schemas, something that is used to process and make sense of events and relations. Reese defines the frame concept in a similar way (Reese, 2001: 7). This kind of definition was criticized by B.T. and D.A. Scheufele (2010); they attempted to clarify the concept of frames by setting it apart from the concept of schemas, and by further expanding on the subject by adding different ways of looking at the problem (B.T. & D.A. Scheufele, 2010).

In his much cited article, D.A Scheufele developed a typology, where he attempted to classify the research in framing according to how the different researchers have approached the problem (Scheufele, 1999). He argues that most researchers either look at media frames or individual frames (i.e. the frames of single journalists or audience members) and that they view them as either independent or dependent variables (Scheufele, 1999: 107). By studying framing from these different angles, one divides the framing process into several sub-processes. These different approaches are important to have in mind when studying frames, as there are indeed many different processes involved in framing (Scheufele, 1999).

Returning to van Gorp, he not only criticizes the lack of clear-cut definitions for the central concepts of modern framing theory, he also criticizes a perceived lack of a cultural perspective (van Gorp, 2007). He proposes a definition closer to that of Goffman’s original definition, where culture plays a central part (van Gorp, 2007: 63). In van Gorp’s model, frames are inseparably connected to the cultural context in which they appear; according to him, there are no true individual frames – they are all highly influenced by sociocultural structures (van Gorp, 2007: 64). Shoemaker and Reese similarly argue that cultural structures are central to framing processes.
4.3 The importance of culture in framing theory

As Shoemaker & Reese stated, the creation of news can never be understood outside the context of the culture that produces and supports it (1996: 15). Shoemaker & Reese, as well as D.A Scheufele point on five different variables that affect how journalists frame news; social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines and ideological orientations of the journalist (as read in Scheufele, 1999: 109). This study could be said to focus on the first of these variables – the concept of framing will primarily be viewed from a constructionist point of view in this essay, and primarily on the work of van Gorp.

Analyzing the results of this study from a constructionist framing perspective was deemed to offer the best opportunities to fulfill the purpose of the essay. One must look at how sociocultural contexts affect the framing process. While a purely cognitive approach to framing might give answers as to why scandals are framed in certain ways, one will be exposed to the risk of missing the possible social and cultural influences that affect how journalists frame news. As journalists don’t exist in a vacuum, but are a part of a greater culture, their framing choices are likely affected by their social and cultural surroundings (van Gorp, 2007: 64). Even though the journalists themselves are not studied in this essay, one might be able to find indicators of sociocultural influence on their framing choices by studying and deconstructing their articles.

Many researchers within the field agree that culture is of significance when it comes to understanding how framing works (see Entman, 1993; D.A. Scheufele, 1999; B.D & D.A. Scheufele 2010; Shoemaker & Reese 1996; van Gorp, 2007). Entman, for example, argues that there is a cultural stock of frames that are shared and upheld by greater sociocultural groups (Entman, 1993; p. 53). These frames are, according to him, commonly reused and applied in the news creation process. Van Gorp draws similar conclusions, arguing that frames are mainly social and cultural structures; he contrasts frames to schemas, defining schemas as cognitive structures used by individuals to process information (van Gorp, 2007: 63). He continues on the matter,
arguing that while schemas become more complex over time – evolving within the
mind of the individual – frames are more stable and move in tandem with the culture
in which they exist.

Van Gorp continues, detailing his view of frames. He, much like Gamson &
Modigliani (1989) identifies so called frame packages (van Gorp, 2007: 64). These
packages consist of three major components: manifest framing devices, reasoning
devices and the actual frame. Things such as word choices, voices, examples and
metaphors – all conceivable devices that point to the same general idea in the article
– constitute the manifest part of the frame package (ibid). The reasoning devices can
be described as statements dealing with justifications, causal chains and
consequences in the text (ibid). The framework that binds the frame package together
through a coherent theme is what van Gorp defines as the actual frame. These
frames, van Gorp argues, are often constructed by the journalist, consciously or
unconsciously, by drawing from shared, cultural themes (ibid).

By tying frames to culture, van Gorp draws a clear distinction between more
general cognitive structures and framing. Frames are, much like schemas, used to
make sense of and organize ones social surroundings. However, according to van
Gorp, frames exist outside the media content, as they belong to a given culture; they
are not constructed and created in the individual mind of a journalist, but are
constructed from a shared cultural stock (van Gorp, 2007). Hence, he argues that
there must exist multiple frames within a given culture that are not actually used;
frames that exist within the cultural consciousness of a group, but are not applied by
the media (ibid: 62). This is an important theoretical point, as the existence of frames
that are never used by the media, shows that there are always alternatives to how the
media can frame certain issues (ibid: 62). A problem with this form of reasoning,
however, is that one can never be certain that any of these hypothetical unused
frames exist until they are actually used by journalists. Thus it is difficult to pinpoint
what the alternatives to a certain frame actually are. Nevertheless, this
conceptualization is a powerful as an analytical tool, showing that within a certain
culture, there are always possibilities of framing issues in different ways. The frames
that are subsequently applied by journalists are tools used for magnifying and
contextualizing issues in the media (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996: 60; van Gorp, 2007:
62).
Another important point, made by researchers such as D’Angelo (2002), D.A. Scheufele (1999), B.T. Scheufele & D.A. Scheufele (2010), van Gorp (2007) is that if one attempts to understand framing, one should look at it as several interconnected and continuous processes working on several levels at the same time. In other words, it is important to consider not only individual frames within the audience, frames as created by journalists or, say frames propagated by officials – one should look at the issue as interplay between several different levels of society. Van Gorp, again, makes a case for the cultural perspective; by studying frames as both a product and a propagator of a certain culture, one can easily discern an interaction between journalists, their audience and their shared culture (van Gorp, 2007). The similar idea of feedback loops, where the media audience’s response to media frames are returned to the journalists – who, naturally, are consumers of media as well – (Scheufele, 1999), show the importance of a holistic perspective on framing. Similarly, Entman argues that the perceived opinion of the public often affects the way media frames its reporting (Entman, 2010: 337). Ideas such as these are highly useful when it comes to understanding how social norms and prejudices, understood as parts of a culture (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; van Dijk, 1995; van Gorp, 2007), affect framing processes.

4.4 Framing and discourse analysis

In the qualitative part of the study, the articles selected will be deconstructed and examined using van Dijk’s method of critical discourse analysis. The method draws many its principles from constructionist ideas; the notion that discourses, such as the news discourse, are socially and culturally constructed (Berglez, 2010; van Dijk, 1995). This idea is closely related to the constructionist framing perspective; reality can never be depicted with absolute accuracy, instead, by choosing to include and exclude certain elements (consciously or unconsciously) the journalist presents an angled portion of reality, and by so doing, affects society (Berglez, 2010; 266). While discourse analysis and framing can be seen as two different theoretical schools in communication, they do indeed share some common elements. By combining the theoretical from framing and the methodological from CDA, one will have a very powerful tool at hand.
CDA is used to discover indicators of social norms, prejudice and ideological undercurrents in news articles, pertaining to a certain sociocultural context (van Dijk; 1995). These indicators are found by deconstructing the articles at different levels:

One looks at the thematic macro level of the text; what is the main theme, and what are the secondary themes and how do they relate? Then the schematic macro level of the texts; how does the journalist express himself, which voices are allowed to speak in the article and what do they say? Lastly, one looks at the micro level of the text: how do the local parts relate to the global whole – how is the text tied together? (Berglez, 2010)

The aim of CDA is to unveil structures embedded in a larger discourse – in this case, the news discourse. If one attempts to study and understand how the media expresses itself and why it expresses itself in a certain way, one must look for the sociocultural structures embedded in to the news discourse, according to van Dijk (1995). This includes ideological structures, as well as cultural ones (ibid).

All in all, van Gorp’s approach to framing bears much resemblance to van Dijk’s model of CDA. Van Gorp argues that the frame packages must be reconstructed in order to fully understand the processes and structures embedded in the discourse (van Gorp, 2007: 61). By this, he means something similar to the concept of deconstruction; to understand the framing process one must first pick apart the article to see what its constituents look like, then reconstruct it as a frame package (van Gorp, 2007). The constituents of the frame package are of course the three components described in the above section: manifest framing devices, reasoning devices and the actual frame. These constituents bear much resemblance to the CDA concepts of the schematic macro level, thematic macro level and micro level (Berglez, 2010). Both approaches deal with how the text is constructed by looking at themes, actors, modes of expression and how a text’s internal coherence is created and then subsequently, how this affects the global whole of the text.

A more detailed description of CDA as a method will be given in the Material and Method chapter.
5. Material and Method

5.1. Overview of selection and delimitation

This thesis seeks to show that there is a difference in the frequency of reporting between right wing and left wing politicians involved in political scandals as well as a difference in how the reporting is framed. As described in above chapters, three variables apart from political affiliation were included in the analysis. This was done in order to see if the difference between right and left wing politicians was consistent across other categories, or if the difference was more accentuated across one of the categories (or perhaps several). If political affiliation had been the only independent variable in the study, one would not have had the opportunity to control for the possibility that the difference between right wing and left wing politicians actually depended on something else. Nor would one be able to see if the difference was more accentuated across one particular category.

The methodological starting point in this thesis is centered on these independent variables. Eight scandals were selected to be examined. The aim of this thesis is not to examine change over time, but rather to see if one can discern a difference between right wing and left wing politicians in the content written. Thus, the period of time from which the scandals would be selected needed to be limited. As position of government is one of the independent variables, one had to go back to at least the beginning of 2006 to be able to find any scandal involving a left wing politician in government. However, only half a year of social democratic government would have been insufficient for the purpose of this thesis. Hence a period of ten years was determined to be sufficient to find enough scandals to cover the scope of the study. September 2002 was set as the lower boundary (the latest social democratic government was elected in September 2002) and 10 years ahead, September 2012, was set as the upper boundary. During this time, the left wing Social Democratic party was in government from September 2002 to the 5th of October 2006. The right wing coalition consisting of The Moderate Party, The Liberal Party, The Centre Party and the Christian Democrats has been in government since the 6th of October 2006, and are still in government.

In the following parts, all methodological and material related decisions and processes will be described in detail.
5.2. Operationalizations of the additional variables

The three additional independent variables in this study, as described before, are gender, position of government and nature of the scandal. They were operationalized as follows:

5.2.1 Gender
Gender was not a particularly difficult variable to operationalize as all the politicians examined in the study were either men or women. Hence, man and woman are the two possible values of the gender variable.

5.2.2 Position of government
Position of government here, refers to whether the politician was a minister or not a minister at the time of the scandal.

5.2.3 Nature of the scandal
This particular variable merits a more detailed description. The different types of scandals were divided into three categories – scandals of economic nature, scandals of an official nature and scandals of a private nature. The first category includes cases where the politician has somehow tried to, or out of neglect, enriched him- or herself in a manner considered inappropriate. This also includes allegations of bribery and occasions where the politician has been given things that have been considered inappropriate. While this categorization might seem somewhat blunt, encompassing many forms of scandals, it serves a purpose. It was deemed prudent to include all forms of scandals of any financial nature in one category, as the detailed nature and motive behind a transgression is not always entirely known; the line between what could be called, for example, negligence, bribery or other offences might not always be clear. What all these forms of transgression share is some form of material acquisition that might be considered morally or judicially wrong.

The second category includes the scandals where the politicians have acted in an inappropriate manner related to their office, but not involving financial affairs. While this second category might seem broader than the first one, it is not necessarily the case. The first category does not have to relate directly to the duties of the office, while the second one is intimately connected to what is considered to be the
The third category, private, refers to scandals that did not involve a trespassing of financial nature, nor was directly related to the office. Instead, it relates to a trespassing that could be considered a moral error on a more general level, one example being the alleged purchase of sexual services.

5.3. The scandals

The importance of political alignment in this essay cannot be stressed enough. Therefore, it was important to include just as many scandals involving right wing politicians as left wing politicians. The theoretical grounds for the three other variables have been described in the Theory chapter. These variables come with methodological considerations as well.

This thesis seeks to show that there is a difference in the frequency of reporting between right wing and left wing politicians involved in political scandals as well as a difference in how the reporting is framed. In order to do this one must, as explained earlier, include additional variables in the study. This was done to see if the difference between right wing and left wing politicians is consistent across other variables (in this study, gender, position of government and nature of the scandal) as well as to see if there are differences within certain categories. I.e. are the differences between right wing and left wing politicians the same no matter what the nature of the scandal, if you are male or female or if you’re minister or not? Or do the differences vary in a certain way across the different categories?

In order to account for the issues described above, there had to be some variance in the categories of the three additional variables. If all the politicians examined were ministers for example, it would have been impossible to see if the differences between right wing and left wing politicians were greater or smaller across the other variables in the study.

After browsing through numerous scandals that had occurred in Sweden over the last ten years, a set of eight scandals were selected to be examined. To be selected, they had to fit certain criteria:

1. They had to involve politicians who worked at national level at the time of the scandal, excluding the parties’ youth wings
2. They had to revolve around politicians who worked for one of the parties represented in the Swedish Parliament\textsuperscript{1} at the time of the scandal
3. They had to involve politicians who, at the time of the scandal, belonged to a party that defined itself as either right or left
4. They had to have a politician at the center of the scandal (i.e. not an institution or a department, for example)
5. They had to have occurred between 2002 and 2012

Unfortunately, there is no easy way of finding all the political scandals that have occurred in Sweden over the last ten years, nor is there any simple way of determining exactly which events can be defined as proper scandals. Thus a cursory analysis of available web material regarding about 20 potential scandals was made. 15 of them were deemed to fit the above criteria.

Upon closer examination of these 15 remaining scandals, seven of them were nonetheless disqualified from the study at this point. The ones that were disqualified were excluded on the following grounds:

1. They were too vague temporally, i.e. there was no clear demarcation where the possible scandal began or
2. They were too vague issue-wise, i.e. the possible scandal had no distinct single transgression at the center. Rather the reporting focused on several vaguely related or completely unrelated transgressions made by one politician.
3. Finally, some of the scandals displayed insufficient variance in the three additional variables. Should they have been included, the total variance in these variables would have been insufficient.

The scandals that finally made it in to the study were the following. The year shown is the year the scandal was revealed.

1. **Jan O. Karlsson** – 2002 (Male Social Democrat, left) *Minister for Aid and Migration*. Karlsson was revealed to be on a double payroll; both on salary from the Swedish Government and on severance pay from his former job as President of The European Court of Auditors. At about the same time, he was

\textsuperscript{1} Riksdag.
\textsuperscript{2} Swedish company in the field of opinion and social research.
revealed to have hosted a private crayfish party at the taxpayers’ expense. (Rosén, 2011)

2. **Lars Danielsson** – 2005 (Male Social Democrat, left). *State Secretary to Prime Minister Göran Persson*. Was revealed in 2005 to have lied about phone calls made during the events of the tsunami disaster in Thailand 2004. At the time of the tsunami, many Swedes were vacationing in Thailand. The government as a whole received a great deal of criticism. (Holmström, 2006; TT, 2005)

3. **Laila Freivalds** – 2004 (Female Social Democrat, left). *Minister for Foreign Affairs*. During the same tsunami disaster, Freivalds was accused of having disregarded her duties as minister for foreign affairs. She had, among other things, gone to the theatre despite being aware of the situation in Thailand. (Aschberg, 2004)


5. **Sven Otto Littorin** – 2010 (Male Moderate Party politician, right). *Minister of Labor*. Was accused of having purchased sexual services. Had resigned the day before the scandal came to light. (Fagerlund, 2010)

6. **Sten Tolgfors** – 2011 (Male Moderate Party politician, right). *Minister of Defense*. Was shown to have played a major part in what was called “The Saudi Affair” in Sweden. The Swedish government had secretly sold weapons to Saudi Arabia and was accused of planning a weapons factory in the country. He resigned a few weeks after the affair was revealed. (Forslund, Olsson, Åkerman, 2012)

7. **Sofia Arkelsten** – 2010 (Female Moderate Party politician, right) *Party Secretary and Member of Parliament*. Not minister. Arkelsten was revealed to have gone on trips as the Environmental Policy Spokesperson for the Moderate party, paid by the company Shell in 2008. She was accused of accepting bribes but no investigation was instigated. (TT, 2010)

8. **Ulrica Schenström** – 2007 (Female Moderate Party politician, right) *State Secretary to Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt*. Not minister. Had been photographed drinking wine with and kissing a political reporter from the newspaper Aftonbladet. She resigned shortly after. (TT, 2007a; TT, 2007b)
These scandals together filled the criteria and were deemed to vary enough in the three additional variables.

5.4. The newspapers and articles

The newspapers studied in this essay are the following: Aftonbladet, Expressen, Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet. The first two are the two largest evening papers in Sweden, while the last two are the biggest morning papers. All of the papers have national spread and readership. On an average weekday, these four papers have about three million readers in Sweden (ORVESTO Konsument, 2010). They also publish a great majority of the written material online. About 7.5 million people in Sweden visit the websites of the papers weekly (ORVESTO Internet, 2011). Even though television remains the most dominant medium to obtain news, newspapers obviously still play a great role. For this reason, avoiding television channels was deemed prudent. This decision was also made with consideration to the possibility of in depth reporting. The printed press is offered a greater opportunity to highlight different aspects and problems of the reported issue. Lastly, collecting data from newspapers is much simpler and secure than searching for recorded material.

The texts are gathered from two Swedish databases: Presstext and Mediearkivet (Retriever). Both databases offer articles in full text from select Swedish newspapers. The first database only offers a selection of articles. However, when comparing the amount of results generated for an identical search string with results limited to the same period of time, both databases produced roughly equal amount of results. With this in mind, Presstext was deemed to have enough articles to still make the results of the essay valid.

With the scandals selected, the search process went as follows:
The full names of the politicians were used as a search string in both of the databases. The search was limited to a set time period. At first, the lower boundary was set at two weeks before the expected start of each scandal and the upper boundary was set six months after. This was done to be able to determine the average duration of the scandal over time. It was rather quickly concluded that none of the scandals carried on for any longer than three months. Most of the articles related to the scandal started to subside after about a month. Therefore the limits were changed
to a few days before the revealing of the scandal to three months after its start. The start of the scandal was defined as when the first article about it was published.

Having done this with all the scandals in both databases, each article concerning the politician in connection to the scandal was included in the dataset. When the headline revealed that the article obviously had to do with the scandal, it was not studied any closer at this stage. When the headline was somewhat unclear, the article was opened and read. If it mentioned the politician in relation to the scandal, it was included.

All forms of articles were included in the analysis, including editorials, columns and texts from news agencies. Some of the texts are purely subjective, and some texts reoccur in several newspapers, but they are still a part of the total media coverage, and consequently included in the study. Even though some articles only mentioned the scandal and the involved politician in passing or in relation to another event, they were included. This was because of the fact that they did still mention the scandal and the politician and were thus a part of the total coverage. In total, 1313 text were selected to be studied. 380 of these were from Aftonbladet, 370 from Expressen, 274 from Svenska Dagbladet, and 289 from Dagens Nyheter.

5.5. A two level approach

Political scandals are objects of research that can vary a lot in scope and nature. Who is involved, what they have done, how the crisis has been handled by the people involved are but a few things that can vary greatly between each and every scandal. Researching them in more general terms can be challenging. However, as researcher Tobias Bromander (2012) puts it; there are always things that reoccur. Notwithstanding, political scandals are still problematic to approach methodologically. As this thesis examines both frequency and framing of reporting concerning political scandals, it will have a “two level approach”.

The first stage of the examination will be of quantitative nature, using comparative analysis of the collected material. This part primarily aims to show that there is an actual difference between right wing and left wing politicians when it comes to how frequently they are written about. Secondly, the aim of the quantitative part is to provide a basis for the qualitative part. The second stage will focus on deconstructing certain newspaper articles, based on the results of the first stage, using CDA.
Hopefully, this will shed some light on possible embedded sociocultural structures. The results of the study will then be analyzed from a framing perspective.

5.6. First stage – quantitative analysis

The amount of press generated about a scandal involved politician can, and does, of course depend on a number of different things. Several different variables are likely interacting with each other, resulting in a certain amount of exposure. One could argue that an all through statistical approach could answer the scientific question. A regression analysis of a large number of scandals could indeed yield results that can be generalized with higher certainty; it would take be able to take the possible differences between individual scandals in to account while still producing solid results. It does have its drawbacks nonetheless. An all out statistical approach of that nature would not be of much use when one wants to study how the scandals are framed. Seeing as sociocultural structures that lie embedded in the news discourse could tell us something of the framing process, an all out statistical approach would not be able to fulfill the entire purpose of this study.

The first stage is not particularly complicated. The scandals were all categorized according to the different values of each of the variables in the analysis. Thereafter, the mean level of articles written about each category was calculated. Lastly, the results were grouped by the political affiliation variable. This was done in order to see across which categories the difference between right wing and left wing politicians remained and to see where the difference was greatest. The results of the quantitative study were then used as a basis for the qualitative study.

5.7. Second stage – qualitative analysis

The second part of the inquiry relies on selecting two scandals, based on the results of the first stage, to study in greater detail; one scandal that has received a lot of media attention and one that has received comparatively less.

One must always remember to separate individual scandals from scandals in general. With only a few cases, there is always a risk that one includes cases that go against the general tendencies. Using the results of the quantitative study as a basis
for the qualitative one reduces the risk of selecting cases that go completely against the general tendencies.

The variable of political affiliation is divided in two categories: left wing and right wing. If the first results indicated that one of these categories was written about more than the other, the attention was to be directed toward the three other variables. There one would try to see if the difference in frequency between left wing and right wing was greater across one category compared to the difference across the other categories. Two scandals were then selected as a basis for the qualitative study. The scandals selected were one right wing politician and one left wing politician that belonged to the category which displayed the greatest difference in frequency.

At this point, four articles from each scandal have been selected; two news articles and two articles of opinion-forming nature. Even though opinion-forming articles are openly ideological, they are still a part of the total media coverage and need to be addressed. Secondly, there might be certain undercurrents of prejudice that are not visible at the surface. These must be taken in to account as well.

Three out of four papers have editorials that consider themselves right wing, at different points of the Swedish ideological scale. To account for this, two articles in each scandal were taken from the tabloid Aftonbladet, the only one of the papers with a clear social democratic stand point. The second set of articles was taken from Svenska Dagbladet, a morning paper with an independent conservative point of view. Just as the editorials, the news paper articles will be selected from these two papers.

The process that led to the selection of the articles went as follows:
The articles were selected from a list of all the articles written about the scandal from the papers described in the paragraph above. Only the headline was used as guidance. The articles were selected from the time period where the weekly frequency of articles was at its peak. In this case it was the week immediately following the outbreak of the scandal.

5.7.1 Analyzing the articles
CDA was deemed to be a suitable tool for analyzing the articles at this stage. Wodak (1999: 8) argues that texts are embedded in institutions and “invisible” structures and in society. It is not, in other words, enough to just analyze the language and form of the text: one must also relate it to its societal context. Ideological streams and thoughts that might be embedded in a certain discourse are a structural part of that
context. To reveal these structures in that particular discourse, one can utilize the tools of critical discourse analysis. On both macro and micro level, one seeks for certain patterns and subtexts that run throughout the discourse, thus revealing underlying structures.

CDA works well together with framing, sharing many common elements. Van Gorp even suggested that CDA would be a very good methodological approach to analyze framing (van Gorp, 2007: 71).

If there are structural differences in the framing of political scandals involving politicians of different affiliations, one might suspect that there are indicators of said sociocultural structures inside the actual content (van Dijk, 1995; van Gorp 2007). These indicators are most likely not going to be readily available at the surface at all times, but could be hidden in the structure of the discourse.

More specifically, it will be Van Dijk’s CDA (see Berglez, 2010: 265 – 279) that is used in the thesis. Van Dijk’s discourse analysis aims to study news on both a macro and micro level. The macro level analysis relates to the overall characteristics of the text; one studies the themes and schematic properties of the texts. The micro level analysis is used to study more specific parts; choice of words and the coherence of the text. While doing this, one must also constantly relate the text to the sociocultural context in which it appears.

The thematic macro level analysis will be carried out like so:

1. How are the themes that occur in the text organized?
2. Which secondary themes appear?
3. How do these relate to the main theme (often appearing in the headline and lead)?

The schematic macro level analysis is divided in stages as follows:

1. What is being said in the headline and lead?
2. Which actors and voices appear in the texts, and what do they express?
3. How is the event related to earlier occurrences in history, and how and who explains this?
4. What kind of discussion about cause and effect appears in the text, and who explains this?
5. To whom are the actors comments directed?
6. Who summarizes and/or draws conclusions about the event?

On the *micro level*, one does not ask “what” as much as “how”. How is the event constructed?

Firstly, the concept of *coherence* is studied and more specifically *global* and *local coherence*. The global coherence refers to the overall meaning of the text, whereas the local coherence is the smaller separate parts that together constitute the global coherence. How do the local parts relate to the global whole? Here, *textual gaps* are analyzed as well; how is the reader’s preconceptions and previous understanding involved in the understanding the text? Is the reader expected to fill in certain textual gaps with previous understanding of the subject? Which gaps are to be filled? Which information is implicit? Thereafter one must ask the question if there is any information that is superfluous with regards to the actual subject of the text. Lastly, the choice of words has been examined. Which actors use which words? How does the journalist express himself- or herself? Could other words have been used to describe the same thing?

While analyzing the text, *sociocultural contextualization* is always kept in mind. How does the discourse express certain social and cultural customs and structures? How does it propagate and/or oppose certain ideological ideas and processes? Could things be expressed differently?

While CDA urges the researcher to put oneself “outside of the discourse”, this is naturally a hard thing to do, and something one always should keep in mind when utilizing the method, as well as examining the results. Finally this method offers powerful analytical tools to examine underlying ideological structures and prejudices.

### 5.8 Reliability and validity

The question of reliability in this thesis is certainly quite important. Considering the fact that all of the articles have been counted manually, there is a risk that some articles that should not have been in the study were included and vice versa. Roughly half of the articles were counted by one of the authors, and roughly half by the other.
Nonetheless, the authors took measures to prevent unsystematic errors like these by recounting each other’s articles.

Upon doing the qualitative part of the study, which is interpretative by nature, one can never be certain that one person will interpret a text in the exact same way as another, even with strict adherence to the method. Therefore, similar to the approach in the quantitative study, both authors reread and gave their inputs on the texts the other one had studied. Through these measures, the reliability was deemed to be relatively good.

The question one should always ask when considering the validity of one’s study is: Am I studying what I say I’m studying? That is, is the study free from systematic research errors? The operationalization of the variable frequency of reporting was deemed to be a rather to-the-point way of approaching the issue; the number of articles written about the politician in the context of the scandal was counted. Of course, as the texts are collected from online databases, some articles written might never have had the chance to be included in the study. Articles that have been printed in the newspapers examined, but not uploaded to the database have been systematically excluded from the essay. This is something that the authors are aware of and have taken in to account. The amount of articles examined is, in the end, rather extensive.

In the qualitative part of the essay, the question of validity boils down to the question of interpretation. Seeing as CDA is an interpretative method, one is always exposed to the risk of systematically misinterpreting parts of the text. The sociocultural background of the authors themselves might be something that causes them to consistently interpret the texts in a certain way, overlooking other possible perspectives. As it is difficult to completely “put oneself outside of the discourse”, the authors described their interpretations of the texts in as great detail as possible; this way, it will be easier for the reader to understand exactly what the authors have taken from the texts and subsequently criticize the authors, should some important perspectives have been overlooked.

With these considerations in mind, the validity of the study was deemed to be quite solid. The authors have tried to take all possible measures to prevent systematic errors.
6. Quantitative results

In total, 1313 articles were written about the scandals. All of the articles were published within three months following the start of each scandal. The distribution of articles among the scandals looked as follows:

Table 1. Summary of articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Political alignment</th>
<th>Position of government</th>
<th>Nature of the scandal</th>
<th>Number of articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Danielsson, Lars</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Not minister</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karlsson, Jan O.</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freivalds, Laila</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schyman, Gudrun</td>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Not minister</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Littorin, Sven</td>
<td>Right</td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolgfors, Sten</td>
<td>Right</td>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkelsten, Sofia</td>
<td>Right</td>
<td>Not minister</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schenström, Ulrica</td>
<td>Right</td>
<td>Not minister</td>
<td>Office</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1313</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of articles for left wing politicians: 734
Total number of articles for right wing politicians: 579

In total, 55.9% of the articles were written about left wing politicians, and 44.1% about right wing politicians. This first cursory view shows that left wing politicians were indeed written about more than right wing politicians. The following table shows how the articles were distributed among all categories.
Table 2. Descriptives on categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total amount of articles</th>
<th>Mean of articles</th>
<th>Scandals per category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right wing</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>144,75</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left wing</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>183,5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>160,5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>167,5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>172,25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not minister</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic scandal</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>178,67</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office scandal</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>163,25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private scandal</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see, the mean level of articles is the highest for left wing politicians. The mean number of articles is somewhat higher for men than women. Ministers tend to be written about slightly more as well. Additionally, the mean level of articles written about politicians who have committed an error of financial nature is substantially higher than the rest of the categories within the variable.

When the data was divided and the results sorted by the political alignment variable, the results were the following:
Table 3. Descriptives on categories sorted by Left wing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total amount of articles</th>
<th>Mean of articles</th>
<th>Scandals per category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>160,5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>206,5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not minister</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic scandal</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>214,5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office scandal</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>152,5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private scandal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Descriptives on categories sorted by Right wing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total amount of articles</th>
<th>Mean of articles</th>
<th>Scandals per category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>160,5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minister</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>160,5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not minister</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic scandal</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office scandal</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private scandal</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These tables tell us a number of things. Men of both right and left seem to be written about equally. The two men of the left were involved in an *economic* scandal and an *office* scandal respectively. The two right wing men, on the other hand, were involved in an *office* scandal and a *private* scandal respectively. There was only one scandal in the entire dataset that could be classified as one of a *private* nature. For this reason, it makes it somewhat more difficult to draw conclusions on differences
between men of the two different blocks. It could be so that scandals of directly private nature are of less interest in the Swedish context.
7. Qualitative results

With regards to the results of the quantitative analysis, the two scandals that were selected to be studied further were those of Gudrun Schyman and Sofia Arkelsten. The two scandals stand in contrast of each other in terms of the number of articles written; Gudrun Schyman with 237 and Sofia Arkelsten with 107. When it comes to the independent variables, they differ only in political affiliations. Both of them belong to the category economic scandal: the one category that by far displayed the greatest difference between right wing and left wing politicians. If there truly are differences in the framing of right and left wing politicians, one should be able to find differences between these two scandals. Two of the texts, the columns from Aftonbladet, were both written by the journalist Lena Mellin. This is merely a coincidence. As stated earlier, the articles were selected mainly by cues from headlines from within the time frame previously mentioned.

The texts were downloaded from Mediearkivet (Retriever Research) in December 2012. Only the main text material was analyzed, omitting pictures and fact boxes. This was due to the fact that in some of the articles, only the main text was available online, and the texts were deemed sufficient for a thorough analysis. The full text versions of the original articles analyzed here are available in Appendix 1. In the essay, the texts analyzed have been translated by the authors.

7.1. Gudrun Schyman

Headline: Heavy Left party names do not believe in negligence as an explanation

_Svenska Dagbladet 2003-01-24_

_Page 9_

_Author: Ola Billiger_

_(Downloaded 2012-12-07)_

The first text is a news article from Svenska Dagbladet. Its lead reads as follows:
“Unacceptable. Sad. Pitiful. Tragic. Stupid. Few party districts give Gudrun Schyman their full support after the tax affair. The Left Party’s own tax expert fears that she will be prosecuted. Additionally, the party’s accountants will review her receipts.”

**Thematic macro analysis**

1. From reading the headline and the lead, as well as the main text (see Appendix 1), one can see that the main theme of the text is how other Left party politicians view Schyman’s tax affair and that their view is rather negative and doubtful.

2. The secondary themes that appear in the text are (a) that other Left Party politicians view it as unlikely that the transgression is due to negligence, (b) that many of said politicians think that Schyman should leave her post as chairperson (c) that the Left Party’s own tax expert believes there is a risk of prosecution, (d) that many high profile politicians within the party want to assign independent accountants to review Schyman’s receipts and (e) that the Left Party executive committee will have a meeting together with Schyman for her to explain herself anew.

3. All of the secondary themes relate to the fact that Schyman has made some form of error with her tax returns. Likewise, all of the secondary themes focus on how different parts of the Left Party view her transgression, seen from different perspectives. For example; the secondary theme (c) is from a judicial viewpoint, while themes (a) and (b) are more ethical and moral.

**Schematic macro analysis**

1. The headline and lead summarize what different actors within the Left Party say about the scandal. The thematic hierarchy is constructed through a news discourse, with headline, lead and main text body. The headline explains the main reaction from other Left Party politicians to Schyman’s explanation of the events, while the lead goes in to further detail, adding different reactions to her actions as well as going in to possible consequences. While one might not exactly describe it as a conflict, the headline and lead paints a clear picture of what the article is about; the confidence in Gudrun Schyman from her party members is very low.

2. The actors in the article are primarily politicians from the Left Party. Six politicians are allowed to speak in the article. The journalist states that the paper had called the leaders of all the 23 local districts of the Left Party. Gudrun Schyman
herself is not allowed to speak. She is only mentioned by the writer of the article and implicitly (referred to as “she”) by the politicians. Two of them suggest that it would be difficult for her to remain in her position, considering what she has done. Her actions are described as detrimental to the party and its credibility. One of the politicians, Sören Bergqvist, chairman for the Left Party in Uppsala, is more hesitant and hopes she will remain as chairperson; her actions were reckless and stupid but not willful tax fraud he says, stating “She is the way she is, unfortunately”. Another one of the politicians, Per Rosengren, substitute in the Parliament tax committee, expresses his fears of possible prosecution of Gudrun Schyman. The executive committee of the Left Party is also expressed as an actor. It is constructed as an institution, with one member being allowed to represent it through a statement.

3. It is primarily the journalist that relates the events of the article to something historical. It is the “tax affair” that is referred back to. It is not explained in detail and is described without any greater depth. The journalist also states that it was SvD that revealed the affair and states that “It is swaying in the Left Party after the uncovering by SvD”. The Left politician Per Rosengren also relates back to a trip of Schyman’s, when she went to Australia and filed for tax deductions that were far greater than the actual cost.

4. When it comes down to cause and effect and that there is a clear difference between some of the actors. As explained earlier, most of the questioned politicians doubt the fact that negligence caused Schyman’s tax affair, with only one suggesting that it might have been a simple case of carelessness. What effects the scandals could have are numerous, but the one that most of the actors agree on is that it would be detrimental to the party. Per Rosengren suggests that her actions could lead to a criminal investigation.

5. The comments are mainly directed to the reader, although indirectly toward Schyman and her actions.

6. There is no clear summary, although the writer of the article comments toward the end, up to which point only doubtful and negative voices have been heard, that not everyone that the paper had asked for a comment were convinced she willfully committed tax fraud and should therefore resign. The last person to speak in the article is the politician that was more hopeful and did not want Schyman to resign; Sören Bergqvist from Uppsala.
Micro analysis

The article centers on the opinions of different actors within the Left Party. One could describe the local coherence as three parts: (a) one where politicians call for examination of Schyman’s actions and what might come out of such examinations, (b) one where a few politicians comment on Schyman’s actions as very negative and suggest she should resign and finally (c) one where politicians that are more lenient toward her behaviour are interviewed. The greatest part of the article however, the most discernible theme, is that she committed tax fraud willingly and should resign. The global coherence of the text could be described as held together by these different opinions, whereas the average opinion – that her actions were deplorable and her explanations to her actions implausible – is put at the center of attention. This is where textual gaps appear. The reader is expected to know that Schyman stands accused of having committed some form of error, criminal or not, with her taxes. It is also implied that Schyman offered an explanation (that the errors were due to carelessness) that should not be believed. In this particular text, she is never invited to comment on her actions.

When it comes to the facts in the text, they are rather curt and to the point. No evident superfluous information is given. The text only relates to what Schyman might actually have done. What is interesting is that only Left Party politicians are heard. They all seem to express that this particular kind of action is hurtful to the party. The journalist seems keen to point out that important politicians of Schyman’s own party are highly critical of her actions. With formulations such as “Extremely serious, regrettable, harmful to the party, mistrust that affects everyone, careless and deplorable are the most common opinions” and “/.../ the chairperson of the Left Party in Gothenburg is highly critical to her party leader and wants her to resign”, the journalist seems to suggest that there is something particularly wrong when there are so many voices in one’s own camp that are so highly negative about one’s actions. It could have been possible to give greater room for representatives of other institutions, parties and voices. It is after all, the journalist that describes what representatives of the 23 districts most commonly say about the events described, not the representatives themselves. Only six of them are actually heard in the article. The article seems to suggest not only that tax fraud is deplorable, but that it is particularly troubling for Schyman.
This second article is an editorial from Svenska Dagbladet. The editorial of Svenska Dagbladet has an independent conservative stance, and the exact author of the article is not stated.

**Thematic macro analysis**

1. In the downloaded text, it is unclear whether there is a proper lead or not, but upon examination of the article, it seems as if the whole article is written as one main text body, apart from the headline. The main theme of the editorial is that the actions of Gudrun Schyman stand in stark conflict with what she and her party advocates.

2. The secondary themes are that (a) her position as a lawmaker in parliament should come with the knowledge that carelessness is not a valid excuse for tax evasion, (b) that the Tax Authority should examine her previous tax declarations, (c) that if she committed tax fraud willingly it could lead to prison, and if not, to heavy fines, (d) and that if she is found guilty, her predicament is no longer just internal business for the Left Party but for the parliament, and finally (e) that her previous errors have been accepted by her fellow party members, but that now, they seem to have run out of patience.

3. Being an editorial, the article does not follow the same model as a regular news article; it instead seeks to convey an opinion and/or argue for or against something. Therefore, it is important to remember that they are part of an argumentation. The themes (a) and (b) undermine her credibility as a politician and as a private person while themes (c) and (d) discuss possible consequences of her actions, and (e) seeks to point out that even her own peers have lost their faith in her. These themes relate to the main theme as indicators of her lack of credibility as a leader for the Left Party as well as a lawmaker and politician in general.
**Schematic macro analysis**

1. The headline mainly illustrates one of the arguments the author conveys, that Schyman’s explanation to her tax problems is not very credible.
2. The only discernible actor in the text is the author. The subject is clearly Gudrun Schyman. The author mainly tries to question Schyman’s credibility and expresses concerns and thoughts about her future as a politician.
3. The author relates to the uncovering of Schyman’s tax problems that occurred the day before. In the article, the author also refers to earlier problems of Schyman, but does not delve any deeper in to explaining what they were. The author does however argue that Schyman seemed to have escaped these issues “/.../ thanks to the forgiving attitude of the party friends”.
4. Again, being an editorial, the only clear voice is that of the author. It is argued in the article that, at the moment, whether or not Schyman acted willingly to lower her taxes is “/.../ known only to her”. Nonetheless, the writer points out that her behaviour is in direct conflict with what she stands for. The writer states “*Gudrun Schyman does not only lead a party with solidarity and justice as its principal precept. She is also a legislator and should as such know that carelessness and lack of time rarely suffice as excuses for someone who breaks the law*”. The author continues to argue that whatever the cause, the effects will be hard hitting. The author deems it quite likely that a legal prosecution will be initiated and that she might find herself in prison or subject to high fines. In any case, the author argues, her position as a Member of Parliament should be questioned.
5. The comments of the writer are principally directed to the reader. The author urges for consideration of her position as a Member of Parliament, which could also be interpreted as a wish for the Parliament and/or the Left Party to consider the same.
6. The final summary is naturally made by the writer of the editorial.

**Micro analysis**

The global coherence of the text is built up around the questioning of Schyman’s credibility and suitability as a legislator and party chair. The smaller parts of the text constitute of different arguments and opinions of the author as well as predictions of what will happen to Schyman later on. In the opening line of the article, the writer states: “*It is deeply rooted in the Swedish societal moral that the court system should be tough, bordering on merciless to tax offenders*”. This statement is an important
reflection on the sociocultural context in which this text appears. The writer states that Gudrun Schyman has not only committed an error with her taxes, she has acted directly against what she is supposed to advocate: higher taxes and strong tax morals.

The reader is expected to know the general outline of the scandal, and also of apparent earlier mistakes made by Schyman. The author suggests that this error was the straw that broke the camel’s back; her previous errors, although never explained in plain text in the article, were transgressions that could be forgiven by her fellow party members. This one however, seems to be over the line according to the author. Again, although more explicitly stated than in the last article, the author illustrates that her wrongdoing is something her party members can’t even tolerate, making it seem all the more worse.

Some excessive information appears, mainly the reference to her earlier problems, and the suggestion that the Tax Authority should look into her earlier declarations. In the same way, some words used to describe her, such as “tax evader”, are quite clearly charged and could perhaps have been expressed differently. Yet, the stance of the editorial at Svenska Dagbladet is independent conservative; is at the opposing end of the political spectrum from Schyman, so criticism is perhaps to be expected.

Headline: **SCHYMAN’S TAX AFFAIRS The readers today: Resign, Gudrun**

*Aftonbladet* 2003-01-23

*Page 12*

*Author: Svante Lidén*

*(Downloaded 2012-12-07)*

The article is a news article with the following lead:

“It’s not working anymore. Gudrun Schyman must resign. Already this morning, 30 000 readers, 75% of the people who had voted on Aftonbladet.se, demanded the Left Party leader’s resignation. - She should have left long ago, says Gunnel Jacobsson, Stockholm”
**Thematic macro analysis**

1. The main theme of the article is that the readers of Aftonbladet want Gudrun Schyman to resign. The lead details that 75% of the people who voted at Aftonbladet want her to resign. There is also a quote from a woman, who is most likely a reader of Aftonbladet.

2. The secondary themes appearing are (a) that Schyman has had several problems preceding the events described in the article such as misuse of the credit card of the Parliament and alcohol abuse, then (b) that her actions are especially bad considering her position as a leader for the Left Party and (c) that her actions are detrimental to politics in general and to the politics of the Left Party in particular.

3. The secondary themes (b) and (c) in the text relate to the main theme in the sense that they seem to act as arguments for her resignation. They are constructed as reasons as to why she should resign in the text, voiced by the readers interviewed in the article, as well as by the former chairperson of the Left Party, Lars Werner. Theme (a) is used to put the current event in a historical context of Gudrun Schyman, focusing on her earlier misbehaviours.

**Schematic macro analysis**

1. The headline and lead together suggest that Gudrun Schyman has committed enough errors and should now resign from her position. This demand is something that comes from the readers of Aftonbladet. One of these presumed readers is allowed to say that the resignation should have come long ago.

2. The actors that appear are (a) “the people”, here understood as being represented by those who have voted on the web page of Aftonbladet. Then there are (b) three people who are not given any proper introduction, but are presumably readers of Aftonbladet. Lastly, (c) there is the former chairperson for the Left Party Lars Werner. The people are, by the journalist, said to have laid a hard judgement upon Gudrun Schyman. The voices in (c) represent what “the people” say. They are highly critical of Schyman and express disappointment and anger toward her actions, especially since Schyman, according to them, is someone who advocates high tax morals and increased taxation for the rich. They further express that Schyman, being in the high income part of society, should accept and gladly pay her higher taxes. Lars Werner initially does not want to comment Schyman’s affairs but eventually
states the following: “Well it doesn’t goddamn make the politics in the party any easier”. The writer remarks at this point that Werner seemed “pissed off”.

3. The event is primarily related back to the recent revelation of Schyman’s tax troubles, as well as several other occurrences where she has acted inappropriately in the past. It is the writer that explains this.

4. It is mainly the effects of Schyman’s earlier actions that are discussed. Her recent tax evasion accusations as well as earlier problems are explained to be the reason for the people’s reactions. The effects seem to be that people express that they no longer have confidence for Schyman, nor will they vote for her or her party. They also express their demands for her resignation. Further, statements are made about how the scandal will affect the Left Party, the opinion being that the effects will be negative.

5. The comments of the people and the individuals representing them are mainly directed to Schyman. Schyman is implicitly referred to in their comments as “she”.

6. The last person to comment the Schyman’s tax affairs is Lars Werner. He is described by the author as hesitant to comment and as being agitated and tired. The quote (see above) by Werner is used as a final word in the article, expressing what her actions have resulted in.

**Micro level analysis**

The article expresses remarkably harsh attitudes toward Schyman. Its global coherence is built up by different voices articulating criticism and resentment toward her actions. Together these individual voices are constructed to express the opinion of “the people”, which is that she should resign. What is especially socioculturally relevant in this case is that almost all of the actors believe that her actions make her non credible as a left wing politician. Here is an example from one of the actors appearing in the text, Gunnel Jacobsson: “A politician should practice what it preaches. This was the final straw”. The words used by the actors are quite negative as well. Schyman is described as cheating with her taxes. Lars Werner even curses in his response to the news paper, where as the journalist describes Werner as “pissed off and tired”. Words such as these are quite negatively charged, and might be used to deliberately scandalize Schyman as well as her party colleague. In general, the wording of the journalist is somewhat sensational and dramatic.
Likewise, Schyman’s earlier problems with alcohol mentioned in the text, do not necessarily need to be there for the reader to understand the current situation. The journalist states “She has even admitted to driving while drunk”, seeming to implicitly suggest she is prone to commit legal errors. The reader is however expected to know about these past problems that are mentioned early in the article. In the same way, one is expected to roughly know what Schyman’s current predicament is about.

**Headline:** She’s greedy – not careless. Schyman’s tax affairs

- This is not befitting of a Left leader

_Aftonbladet_ 2003-01-23

**Page 9**

**Author:** Lena Mellin

*(Downloaded 2012-12-07)*

The last article to be analyzed about Gudrun Schyman is a column by author Lena Mellin. The lead reads:

“A Left leader shall not cheat with the taxes. It’s that simple. But Gudrun Schyman deducted 120 000 without receipts. Among other things a free ticket with SAS to Australia”

**Thematic macro analysis**

1. The central theme of the article is that a Left Party politician should under no circumstances doctor or cheat with their taxes and that Schyman acted out of greed. It is clearly expressed in both the headline and the lead.

2. The secondary themes of the text are (a) that the author doubts that Schyman made the deductions because she was careless, that (b) her tax declaration is entirely absurd and faulty (c) that the rest of the members of the Left Party are going to become less careful in their comments and more disappointed and angry as time progresses, suggesting it may even happen the same day as the article is published and finally that (d) the Left Party has a very stern tax policy with great emphasis on the rich giving up large parts of their pay to the poor. Mellin states that Schyman should be counted as rich, earning twice as much as an average Swede.
3. The secondary themes (a) and (b) are used by the author to build an argumentation around the main theme, using these secondary themes to explain that Schyman acted willingly and cheated with her taxes. The theme (c) discusses consequences of her behavior, noting that her fellow party members are likely to turn against her, further building on one part of the central theme; that her behavior was inappropriate considering the party she represents. The theme (d) makes a point of Schyman’s societal position; being wealthy, she should, according to her own party, pay more taxes, not less. This theme relates to the main theme in the same way as the theme (c).

Schematic macro analysis

1. The headline expresses the inappropriateness of Schyman’s behavior and an assumption that she acted out of greed. The lead expands on that theme while adding further details about the deducted amounts.

2. Apart from the author herself, the actors in the article are (a) Gudrun Schyman, (b) the Tax Authority, (c) the Left Party and its members, (d) Schyman’s husband Jacques Öhlund, (e) The Parliament, (f) TV 4, a Swedish television network, (g) Swedish Radio and (h) the voters. None of the actors have any voices in the column; only the author speaks. The author is mainly critical of Schyman and notes the following about the Tax Authority: “The Tax Authority in Malmö have had fun when looking at Gudrun Schyman’s tax declaration. Most of it is as a matter of fact entirely crazy”. Actors (b) through (g) are simply explained as institutions that have paid for things for Schyman. The voters are not given any voice, but Mellin suggests that they find Schyman’s actions morally deplorable.

3. Mellin compares Schyman’s actions to an event eight years earlier involving social democratic politician Mona Sahlin. Mellin writes: “Just like Mona Sahlin eight years ago, Gudrun Schyman excuses herself with having had a lot of things going on around her. She was careless, did not know what was going on and let someone else do the tax declaration”. Mellin immediately follows by writing: “This is qualified bullshit”. It is not fully explained what Sahlin did eight years ago, but the comparison is less than flattering. Mellin discredits Schyman’s explanation.

4. The writer of the column has clear opinions on the cause of the events, as could be hinted in the quote above as well as in the headline; greed motivated Schyman to file for faulty tax deductions. The consequences, Mellin predicts, will be that the voters
will leave the Left Party and Schyman, just like members of the party will abandon their faith in her.

5. The comments are mainly directed at the reader and perhaps at Schyman. She points out the problems with Schyman’s actions to the reader. Comments such as “This is not befitting of a Left leader”, could be interpreted as being directed toward Schyman.

6. Mellin, being the only voice in the column, is the one who concludes the article

Micro level analysis

The author of the column is highly critical to the actions of Schyman. Her main point is that Schyman has acted directly against her own and her party’s beliefs. The local parts of the column, is that of Schyman being greedy and not very credible as well and the notion that her actions will turn her party friends against her. There are some parts of the text, such as the comparison to Mona Sahlin that could easily have been omitted, and the global coherence would largely have stayed the same.

The language used by the author is often charged and confrontational; phrasing such as “It’s qualified bullshit”, regarding Schyman’s explanations, continuing the same train of thought later on claiming: “On the other hand, she seems quite greedy”. The point the author tries to make is that Schyman has acted out of self-interest could have been made without using such charged words. The agitation toward Schyman also relates to a broader sociocultural context – and more specifically, a Swedish political cultural context, in which a politician is expected to practice what they preach. Mellin attacks her moral fiber, and claims that her actions have undermined the faith in her as a leader for a party that is especially ardent in its calls for high taxes and strong tax morals. Again, the discrepancy between Schyman’s actions and what she claims she stands for is brought to the surface.

The author is generally quite explicit in her writing, at one point even detailing great parts of Schyman’s allegedly faulty tax deductions; however, some information remains implicit. Mellin implies that the politician Mona Sahlin did something similar eight years ago and tried to use similar excuses, which too failed to gain any credibility. Likewise, she implies that there has been an election recently, which ended badly for the party. Quote from the text “The tune might change even today. Or this weekend, when disappointed left party members will gather for a wise after the event post election analysis”. She implies in the same paragraph that Schyman’s
party colleagues will start acting more unsympathetically towards Schyman, not only because of the bad election, but on account of the recent scandal as well.

### 7.2. Sofia Arkelsten

**Headline:** *One has to stand free from influence*

*Aftonbladet 2010-10-28*

*Page 9*

**Author:** Josefin Berglund, Eva Buskas

*(Downloaded 2012-12-25)*

This text is a news article and the lead reads as follows:

“Every fourth voter thinks that Sofia Arkelsten should resign. This is shown in a Sifo survey that Aftonbladet carried out last night. – It must be very clear that one as Member of Parliament is free from influence, says Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt.”

**Thematic macro analysis**

1. The two main themes in the article, also seen in the headline and lead (Appendix 1) are that every fourth voter has lost their trust in Arkelsten and want her to resign, as well as what the Prime Minister’s thinks on how members of parliament should act.

2. The secondary themes are the following: (a) of one thousand Swedish voters asked, 24 % answered that Arkelsten should resign, (b) Arkelsten’s continued support amongst her own party’s voters, (c) Prime Minister Reinfeldt’s view on paid for trips in general; (d) the Prime Minister finds it regrettable that Arkelsten’s reliability is being questioned.

3. The quote in the headline and lead is in fact only a portion of a quote by Reinfeldt. It can at first sight seem to be criticism directed toward Arkelsten but is later on in the article revealed to be a more general comment on how a Member of Parliament should behave. The other secondary themes relate to Arkelsten committing an ethical
error and her position being questioned. There is no questioning about whether Arkelsten committed a judicial error or not.

**Schematic macro analysis**

1. The headline is a part of the Prime Minister’s quote that is further developed in the lead (Appendix 1). The lead does not discuss the background of the subject, it is constructed with the first part covering the distrust of every fourth voter and then the quote from Reinfeldt. The focus is on the distrust that Arkelsten has inflicted on herself.

2. The actors are (a) the Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt, (b) Sifo, represented by the project manager\(^2\), (c) the company Shell and (d) the voters. The journalist describes the Prime Minister as cautious in his comments, but writes that the Prime Minister does not believe that Arkelsten has broken any of the party’s own rules. Sifo is presented as the co-contributor to the poll that was conducted the night before the article was published; the project manager’s only comment is that every tenth of the party’s own voters want Arkelsten’s resignation. Shell is presented as the oil company that paid for Arkelsten’s trip to the south of France. Nowhere in the article is her position as the party’s environmental spokesperson mentioned. Arkelsten is not represented in the article with her own voice, instead she is written about in third person; “She defends her trip to the south of France/.../”. Arkelsten is described as one of Reinfeldt’s closest associates but “Fredrik Reinfeldt himself is cautious in his comments about the party secretary’s Shell-trip”. The comments made by Reinfeldt are not directed aimed at Arkelsten; instead his comments are directed mainly to the readers and possibly indirectly to Arkelsten. The only time Reinfeldt talks about Arkelsten he refers to her as “she”. The journalist has mainly focused on the critical group of voters in the article. Only in the poll that is presented with the article can the reader determine that 55% of the asked voters do not think she should resign. However, when the project manager at Sifo presents that Arkelsten has support amongst the party’s own voters he says “/.../ only every tenth voter consider that she should step down from office”. Here, the focus is on a more positive aspect of the study presented – Arkelsten’s own party does not want her to leave. Nonetheless, the amount of voters who have explicitly stated that she should stay is not presented.

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\(^2\) Swedish company in the field of opinion and social research.
3. The reader learns that Arkelsten has been invited to a trip paid for by Shell two years ago and that she later praised Shell in Parliament. In other words the facts are rather shallow and require the reader to have previous knowledge about the situation. But no other background is given.

4. The discussion about cause and effect is relatively modest. The journalist writes that Prime Minister Reinfeldt does not believe that Arkelsten has broken any of the party’s internal rules of paid trips, and that he is satisfied with her answers. Resignation is one possible consequence discussed in the article, but the results of the Sifo study show that the majority of the voters do not call for this.

5. The comments are directed to the reader and perhaps indirectly to Arkelsten.

6. No major conclusions are drawn, nor is the article summarized. The article ends rather openly with Reinfeldt’s answer “I expect her to have good grounds for that”, referring to Arkelsten’s praising of Shell in Parliament.

Micro level analysis
The global coherence of the text is built up around whether or not Arkelsten can be regarded as uninfluenced as well as possible calls of her resignation, together with comments from the Prime Minister. The text is mainly built around the quotation “It must be very clear that one as a Member of Parliament is free from influence” which could be interpreted in a number of ways. It is however clarified that the Prime Minister refers to inappropriate influence. Implicitly, this could be interpreted as being free from accusations of bribery. If one looks at the article in its sociocultural context, one discerns a discussion about the role of a Member of Parliament in relation to the private sector; a sector to which the Moderate Party traditionally has strong ties. This hints of an underlying societal structure, suggesting that certain politicians of certain parties should be tied to certain parts of society.

There is a textual gap as to what should happen to Arkelsten. The article ends loosely without any summary or clear conclusion. Likewise, the specific nature of Arkelsten’s trips is not explained in detail.

Headline: Arkelsten has to resign
Aftonbladet 2010-10-28
Page 8
Author: Lena Mellin
(Downloaded 2012-12-25)

This text is a column and the lead reads as follows:

“She has shown proof of both embarrassing naivety and extremely poor judgment. Sofia Arkelsten should go. As environmental spokesperson, to let herself be invited to travel abroad by an oil company and a nuclear lobby is not misguided. It is – excuse the expression – stupid.”

Thematic macro analysis
1. As stated in the lead, the columnist directs strong criticism towards Arkelsten’s paid for trips. Arkelsten’s judgment and ability to perform her work is being questioned. The headline reads that Arkelsten should resign. The criticism toward her judgment and the author’s calls for resignation are interpreted as the main theme.
2. The secondary themes are (a) criticism of the fact that the environmental spokesperson and Member of Parliament receives a paid trip by Shell, (b) there is a high amount to be disposed by an a Member of Parliament for both individual trips and trips made within the committee, (c) Shell as one of the largest contributors to global warming, (d) Shell’s purpose to sell oil and petrol as well as the wish of nuclear lobbyists to build more nuclear power sources, (e) the Department of Finance’s own rule that an elected official or employee should never be suspected to be influenced by extraneous irrelevant requests or concerns in their work.
3. The secondary themes focus on the errors of Arkelsten’s actions. Secondary theme (d) makes the proposition that Arkelsten’s actions may be a case of bribery as the organizations that paid her trips might want something in return. There is not only a focus on Arkelsten’s judgment but on her ethics and morals. The columnist makes it clear that the reader should doubt Arkelsten in her ability as Member of Parliament.

Schematic macro analysis
1. The headline reads “Arkelsten should resign” and the lead expresses that she is both injudicious and “stupid”. The article is strongly colored by the columnist’s own opinion. In the three sentences that the lead consists of, the journalist manages to use four disparaging attributes; “embarrassing naivety”, “extremely poor
“judgment”, “misguided”, “stupid”. The lead also brings up Arkelsten’s position as an environmental spokesperson. The background to the affair is explained in one sentence.

2. The actors in the column, beside (a) Arkelsten, are (b) Shell, (c) the Environmental and Agricultural Committee, (d) the Moderate party, (e) the nuclear lobby organization in Finland, (f) Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt, and (h) the Department of Finance. None of the actors’ own voices appear in the text. Shell is described as one of the world’s largest oil companies and one of the biggest contributors to global warming. The author uses this description to point out a discrepancy; the Prime Minister’s (who at the time was also the chairman of the European Union) wish for Sweden to be an environmental pioneer in contrast to the trips made by his environmental spokesperson, paid for by an oil company. The columnist writes that if the Environmental and Agriculture Committee or the Moderate party would have found it “super important” to meet with environmental students (which Arkelsten claimed to be one of the reasons for her trips) or to look at nuclear reactors she could have covered the expenses of the trip through other, less questionable funds.

3. There is no historic context to the article. The column is describing an affair that took place two years before the column was published. The author makes a remark in the beginning, just after the lead that she does not think that people have to resign as soon as they make a mistake but “…Arkelsten has, as Member of Parliament and environmental spokesperson (M) during the last term, shown proof of both embarrassing naivety and extremely poor judgment”. This refers to the whole term and not just the two isolated events of 2008.

4. According to the journalist it is not Arkelsten’s comments about Shell in her blog following the trip, but that she did not pay for the trip herself that is the most alarming. The author suggests that Arkelsten thinks too highly of herself and of her official position. The author describes the decision to take the trips as naive and clueless. Arkelsten has, according to the author, as a Swedish politician broken a cultural or social custom by allowing herself to go on these paid trips and argues that Arkelsten should have abstained from the trips. Arkelsten’s “cluelessness” and “naivety” are put forward as the main cause of the events and the call for her resignation as the desired consequence.

5. The journalist is the only actor who makes any comments. Comments made are often rhetorical questions. The journalist’s comments are indirectly aimed at
Arkelsten, referred to in third person, but also at the reader. For example “Did Arkelsten not really understand this?” and in the case where Shell paid for her trip and accommodation “A Member of Parliament from Sweden, VIP? Hardly”.

6. The conclusions in the article are solely made by the columnist. The main summary is made with the support from the Department of Finance’s rule that “An elected official or employee can never be suspected to be influenced by extraneous requests or concerns in their work”. The journalist concludes the column with “therefore Arkelsten should resign. Before she does anything worse”.

**Micro level analysis**

The global coherence in the text is built around the tenability of Arkelsten at her position and Arkelsten’s perceived lack of competence. As the journalist writes that Arkelsten needs to resign before she makes any more mistakes with greater consequences. The smaller parts in the text are that Arkelsten does not realize her own wrongdoings and that she chose not to apply for money to pay her own trip. The journalist’s chooses certain words that can be considered also superfluous at times; the lead’s four negative attributes, the use of VIP that implies that Arkelsten exploits her position. The word clueless is used three times in the text, as well as the synonym naive being used once. The journalist constructs the article to imply that Arkelsten is not only guilty, but also incompetent and therefore incapable of maintaining her new position as party secretary.

The journalist makes a great deal out of diminishing Arkelsten. In contrast to Schyman however, no reference is made to Arkelsten’s ideological standpoints and party affiliation. It is mainly the nature of Arkelsten’s office that seems to concern Mellin.

Headline: *Sofia Arkelsten welcomes an investigation of the paid for trip.*

*Svenska Dagbladet* 2010-10-28

*Page 14*

**Authors:** Sofia Ström, Sebastian Chaaban

*(Downloaded 2012-12-25)*

This text is a news article and the lead reads as follows:
“The Moderate party’s newly appointed party secretary Sofia Arkelsten does not think she did anything wrong to let herself be invited on a trip to southern France by the oil company Shell. - I think it was part of my work as an Member of Parliament, she says.”

Thematic macro analysis

1. The main theme is Arkelsten defending herself in saying that she has not committed any wrongdoings by accepting the paid trip (Appendix 1).

2. Secondary themes are: (a) background to why Arkelsten, as The Moderate Party’s environmental policy spokesperson, went to France where Shell paid for the flight, accommodation and meals, (b) Arkelsten’s positive attitude to Shell following the trip, (c) the Prime Minister’s comments and knowledge about the events, (e) whether an investigation should be initiated, and (f) which rules that apply to members of Parliament in cases like this.

3. The secondary themes relate to the main theme by providing context to Arkelsten’s statements, in which she defends her actions. The fact that she is open to an investigation is of small matter in the article, although referred to in the headline.

Schematic macro analysis

1. The headline reads that Arkelsten welcomes an investigation of the trip. The lead reads that Arkelsten is the newly appointed party secretary and that she does not acknowledge that she has done anything wrong and claims that the trip was made within the frames of her office.

2. Apart from (a) Arkelsten, these are the actors: (b) Social Democratic politician Ibrahim Baylan who claims that nothing comes for free; meaning Shell would have expected something in return. The second actor (c) is Gustav Fridolin, a politician from the Swedish Green Party who states that Arkelsten acted with “extremely poor judgment”. Other actors are (d) Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt and (e) the Director of Public Prosecution, Gunnar Stetler, at the National Anti-Corruption Unit. Stetler is in charge of analyzing the facts and thereafter deciding if an investigation is needed. Reinfeldt claims that he did not know about the trip nor talked to Arkelsten, but explains that the statement she had made on the party’s website is sufficient. Arkelsten is defending her actions with her own voice in the article.
3. The article is constructed around a historic event, seeing as it took place two years ago. The journalist refers to “Yesterday, several heavy politicians targeted the severely criticized Arkelsten, following Expressen’s publishing of the information”.

4. The cause of the affair is not elaborated on very much. Arkelsten makes some statements regarding the causes of her trip; she made a professional and legitimate trip within the confines of her office. An investigation is the only effect discussed in the text, although its likelihood is not clearly stated.

5. The comments are not directed to a specific person; instead they have a more general approach, mainly being directed toward the reader.

6. The conclusion states that there are no specific rules concerning members of parliament and paid-for trips or gifts; Members of parliament are under the same law as private citizens. The conclusion is made by the authors of the article.

**Micro level analysis**

One can see that the primary theme on a global level is that Arkelsten does not consider herself guilty of any wrongdoing or bribe. Her strategy is to defend the trip by letting the judiciary investigate. The smaller parts’ relation to the global whole is to provide a context to Arkelsten’s actions and suggesting that her behavior might have been a judicial transgression; her possible innocence is not a main theme in the article. The using of anonymous politicians and attributing them as powerful might seem somewhat superfluous. The reader is expected to have prior knowledge about the two politicians being named in the article. They are presented only by stating which party they belong to. The journalist makes a rather neutral description of the subject. Arkelsten is not “convicted” as guilty, nor is she depicted as definitely innocent. The article ends with “An inquiry can be instituted either after a notification has been submitted or initiated by the prosecutors” meaning that it is up to Stetler or someone from the outside to instigate an investigation about Arkelsten. The description of the scandal is rather undramatic. The opposition is critical and suspicious; Reinfeldt assumes that she has had good grounds for what she is saying.

There is a discussion in the article about whether or not making trips such as the ones Arkelsten made are to be considered appropriate, which puts the article in a bigger context. How is a politician supposed to relate to activities like these? Is this to be considered unremarkable behaviour by a Swedish politician? These are more general questions that are asked implicitly by the author.
The last text is a news article that is an analysis and the lead reads as follows:

“Reinfeldt gave, after the election, Sofia Arkelsten the mission to renew the Moderate Party. But Arkelsten has already violated the New Moderates’ most important commandment: to nurture the brand.”

**Thematic macro analysis**

1. The main theme of the text is that Arkelsten, in her role as Party Secretary of the Moderate Party has acted in a way that threatens the brand of the New Moderates (Appendix 1).
2. The secondary themes are the following: (a) the Prime Minister has to take over the role in the damage control of Arkelsten’s behavior, (b) Arkelsten’s commitments in boards and her loan of an environmentally friendly car from BMW, (c) Arkelsten is not the first Member of Parliament who has made a similar trip with Shell, (d) the party’s ethical rules which Arkelsten has broken and (e) the party’s former traditional bond with the Swedish commercial and industrial sector.
3. The themes relate to the headline and lead by emphasizing that Arkelsten does not represent the new ways of the party. Her possible transgressions are mainly put forward as ethical ones. The author simply notes that the cases in the past (c) never had any judicial consequences, implying that the same would apply for Arkelsten. Arkelsten is presented as an example of something from the party’s past, which Fredrik Reinfeldt has tried to move the party away from.

**Schematic macro analysis**

1. The headline “The old M makes itself known” is referring to the “old party”, meaning the Moderate Party before the rebranding that took place when Fredrik Reinfeldt took office as party chairman. The lead tells that Arkelsten’s main purpose was to continue the renewal of the party but she already failed to nurture their brand.
2. The actors that appear in the text, other than (a) Arkelsten and (b) the Prime Minister and Moderate Party leader Fredrik Reinfeldt, are (c) Shell and (d) BMW, a luxury car manufacturer, from which Arkelsten has previously accepted favors, (e) Sweco, a company that focuses on environmental technology, (f) Anders Borg, the Minister of Finance, and (g) the Moderate Party. As the article is an analysis written by one person, the journalist’s voice dominates the article. One quotation is used; one made by Arkelsten when she had accepted her new office: “I’m the new party secretary for the new Moderates”. It is the only time her voice appears; in the rest of the text she is the subject.

3. The article mentions that Members of Parliament have made similar trips with Shell and their investigations of bribes had been closed down.

4. The discussion in the article is built around how Arkelsten’s behavior has affected the party’s image. The article mentions a possible cause and effect; whether or not Arkelsten has broken the party’s ethical rules is up to the Moderate party to determine. The final verdict however is in the hands of the voters.

5. The comments are directed to reader and to the Moderate party indirectly.

6. The article ends in a paragraph about lobbying being a field of politics that is hard to regulate but is politically explosive. The main conclusion is not about what will happen to Arkelsten, but that the Moderate party has a traditional bond to the commercial and industrial life just as the Social Democratic party has ties to the unions. The author ends by raising a question about which relations politicians should have to the private sector and NGOs, following by bringing up the fact that lobbyism remains a problematic issue.

**Micro level analysis**

Arkelsten’s case can be summoned up to two possible cases of bribery, one from Shell and one from BMW. Arkelsten is portrayed as a moderate, female politician with environmental responsibilities. All the small parts sum up to that Arkelsten hinders the ambitions to establish the brand of the New Moderate party. In the article the journalist writes that the ambition is mainly one of Reinfeldt and Borg. Any articulated support for Arkelsten on their part is not covered however. The article brings up the fact that it is the party secretary who usually comes forward to explain difficult situation. This time however, it was the chairman Fredrik Reinfeldt who had
to explain the actions of the party secretary, referring to an "*important boundary drawing discussion that I [Reinfeldt] intend to come back to*".

The journalist’s opinion is that the question of politicians’ relations to commercial and industrial life as well as interest organizations is once again awakened. The journalist brings up the example of Borg who has been a strong critic of greed in the commercial sector. Reinfeldt and his efforts to renew the party in order to broaden the spectra of voters is lifted as well. The article expresses that the Moderate party has had a traditional bond with the commercial and industrial sector; in recent times however, the party has tried to change its image by toning down these perceived “tight bonds” to the private sector. Therefore it becomes more important to the party to exonerate her from bribery since their image depends on her. It can be regarded as superfluous information when the journalist ends the analysis “*Making up with special interests in Washington was the main theme in Barack Obama's presidential campaign*”. Especially when no other comparisons with the US or Barack Obama have been made.

The discussion of the relations between the “old” and “new” Moderate party is quite central in the article.
8. Analysis and conclusions

8.1 Analysis of the results

The quantitative results did indeed show that left wing politicians were reported on more frequently than right wing politicians. The differences were greatest between the politicians who had been involved in economic scandals. Only in the category official nature was the number of articles the same for both right wing and left wing politicians. While it is difficult to say anything about the causal relationships when it comes to frequency, one can at the very least try to understand it by looking at the issue through a framing lens.

As Shoemaker and Reese said, the cultural context in which a journalist exists will affect what the journalist writes about (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Relate this to what Entman said about perceived public opinion affecting reporting choices (Entman, 2010) and one might be able to discern a theoretical connection between the sociocultural context and the frequency of reporting: If the journalist is indeed affected by his or her cultural surroundings, and the public is a part of said cultural surrounding, it would not be farfetched to suggest that the public affects the frequency of which the journalist reports about a scandal. The expectations on Swedish politicians that Jacobsson and Sandstedt formulated (2005) are social norms and thus to be considered a part of Swedish political culture (see Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; van Dijk, 1995; van Gorp, 2007). This makes these demands likely to affect the frequency of reporting.

Of course, discerning possible causal links between sociocultural norms and reporting choices becomes easier upon examining media content in greater detail, as was done in the qualitative part of the study. There, the scandal of Gudrun Schyman’s tax affairs and Sofia Arkelsten’s alleged acceptance of bribes were deconstructed through CDA.

Comparing the two scandals examined in the qualitative analysis, there are quite a few things that come to mind. In the case of Gudrun Schyman, the articles focused mainly on the apparent discrepancy between her actions and the ideas she claim to advocate, while in the case of Sofia Arkelsten, the focus lies mainly on the questionability of her actions in relation to her office. In the few cases where Arkelsten’s party affiliation was brought up as something problematic, it was contextualized as a fear that she might have acted in accordance with prejudices.
about the Moderate Party. When one examines the nature of Schyman’s scandal in relation to her party affiliation a few interesting things appear. Consider Jacobsson’s and Sandstedt’s (2005) description of what the Swedish population expects from its politicians; do not enrich yourself at the public’s expense and practice what you preach. Schyman broke all those rules. With Arkelsten on the other hand, this is less evident. She did not use funds that belonged to the public, nor did she as clearly act against what she preached. Secondly, she was consistent in the justifications of her actions.

What do we make of these comparisons? If one is to look at the respective frame packages as described by van Gorp (2007), certain patterns appear. The frame packages describing Schyman are quite similar in all the articles regarding her. The manifest devices generally consist of actors and voices criticizing her actions, as well as comparisons to earlier events in history when her credibility was under questioning. They tend to point out that her committing tax fraud makes her much less credible as the leader of the Left Party. She has acted against her own beliefs, something which the Swedish populace considers an extremely inappropriate thing to do for a politician (Jacobsson & Sandstedt, 2005). Here, it is shown how political affiliation interacts with the nature of the scandal to produce a certain result. Sociocultural norms are shown to affect the framing process (Scheufele, 1999; Shoemaker & Reese 1996; van Gorp, 2007), the sociocultural norm here being the public’s expectations on politicians. The actual frame in this instance is somewhat more complicated to explain. Van Gorp argued that frames are inseparable from the culture in which they exist (2007). Seeing as the journalists themselves are a part of said public, their framing choices are largely dependent on the sociocultural context in which they exist (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; van Gorp, 2007). Van Gorp even goes so far as to argue that there are no true individual frames – they are all sprung from a shared cultural stock of frames (van Gorp, 2007). In this instance, there seems to be a clear connection between the actual frame and the sociocultural context. Throughout the articles describing Schyman, the main frame seems to be consistently the same: It is wrong to act against one’s own beliefs. One could call this a Word to action discrepancy frame. The frame is indeed strongly connected to Swedish political culture (again, see Jacobsson & Sandstedt, 2005). The main attributes connected to the frame describe the main character as some sort of “villain” – being
immoral, untrustworthy and unreliable. This is clarified in what van Gorp described as the *reasoning devices* (2007). The statements about causal chains that are made in the articles about Schyman generally indicate that Schyman acted out of self interest and greed. The way Schyman justifies her actions are generally described as implausible or even “silly”.

Feedback loops, as described by Scheufele (1999), are an interesting concept to discuss at this point. It shows how the producers of media and the consumers of media are inseparably connected: the frames that journalists encounter when they read newspapers themselves affect their future framing choices. This, as described by van Gorp solidifies the cultural stock of frames (2007). Since this feedback loop goes on and on, the cultural stock of frames becomes constantly reinforced, and the hypothetical other frames that exist within the culture remain unused (van Gorp, 2007). In the case of Schyman, the *Word to action discrepancy frame* is the most culturally applicable one, which causes the journalists to avoid frames that have been used less frequently.

When it comes to Arkelsten, the frame packages are quite different. The *Word to action discrepancy frame* is not used at all in the articles describing her. Even though she is accused of having made a transgression of *economic nature*, she is never accused of having *acted against her own beliefs*. The *manifest devices* are more diverse in the articles about Arkelsten than about Schyman. Voices speaking in defense of Arkelsten are brought up and Arkelsten herself is allowed to speak. Similarly, much less superfluous information is brought up in the articles describing Arkelsten’s scandal. She is sometimes described as naïve and clueless and sometimes even stupid, but never as immoral.

Coming from a party with traditionally strong ties to the private sector, Arkelsten’s actions were perhaps not as surprising to the public? Even though she was accused of accepting bribes – which is no small offence – she was not described as immoral. Perhaps the *actual frame* of *Word to action discrepancy* was not culturally applicable in her case. In one of the articles, written by Göran Eriksson in Svenska Dagbladet, it was suggested that Arkelsten’s actions reminded of something a representative of the “Old Moderate Party” would do. This suggests that there are prejudices concerning Moderate Party politicians. In other words, there are *sociocultural structures* affecting the framing in the case of Arkelsten as well, except that the effect is the opposite of Schyman’s case. In this instance, the social norms suggest that it is not
surprising that a right wing politician would act like Arkelsten did, thus making the
*Word to action discrepancy frame* inapplicable.

The *reasoning devices* (van Gorps, 2007) support this claim. The causes for her
actions are by her opponents described as *stupid, naïve and clueless*, while Arkelsten
herself declares that she sees nothing wrong with what she did. While possible legal
consequences are discussed, there seems to be no *actual* threat of prosecution, as
interpreted from the texts. Nor are the demands for her resignation allowed to
dominate the articles.

### 8.2 Conclusions

What conclusions can be drawn from the analysis? Firstly, there is a difference in
*frequency* between right wing and left wing politicians. This difference is the greatest
in cases where the politicians have been involved in scandals of *economic nature*.
Secondly, there are clear differences in the *framing* of the scandals as well. Only
scandals where the politicians were accused of having made transgressions of
*economic nature* were studied. What can be said with some certainty is that the
framing of politicians involved in economic scandals seems to be quite different
between right wing and left wing politicians. Left wing politicians are framed in a
more negative light than right wing politicians.

The difference in framing can be explained, to some extent at least, by the influence
of *sociocultural structures*, such as *norms* and *prejudices*. At the heart of this lie the
expectations and demands that the public has on the politicians.

*A word to action discrepancy frame* is applied when the politician acts in stark
contrast to its own stated beliefs. The reason behind this it seems, is that the
politician’s actions makes this particular *frame* applicable in this particular
sociocultural context. The frame is not to be seen as a fabrication of the individual
mind of the journalists, but rather as a product of a larger *cultural stock* of frames.
9. Discussion

The question of political scandals is one with many different aspects. In this thesis, the role of political affiliation has been examined. While the study is limited in its size, it points out some important issues with the way scandals are framed in the media. Even if the difference would be this stark in but a few cases, the issue would still be problematic. The way sociocultural structures and prejudices are allowed affect the framing process could be quite detrimental to public trust in politicians as well as trust in media. While it is certainly understandable that people might become more upset when a politician acts completely in conflict with its own stated beliefs, this cannot be seen as an excuse for the media to consistently angle their reporting in a certain direction. This becomes even more problematic if the issues consistently hit one political camp harder than the other.

Perhaps the most important discussion here is whether sociocultural structures ever can be separated from the framing process? Is it possible to break free from these structures or at least opt to alternatives within the given sociocultural context? Van Gorp argued that there are frames within a culture that are never used by the media; frames that offer different perspectives than the ones presented by the press (van Gorp, 2007). If that is the case, what kind of frames are these, and how can the media begin to access them?

To the authors of this thesis’ knowledge a similar study has not previously been done, at least not in a Swedish context. Therefore, further research in to the subject is needed. Testing the results of this paper on a greater scale would surely bring greater clarity. One could also look further into how the portrayal of scandals changes over time – from the outbreak of the scandal to a few months ahead. The authors would also suggest future studies in the outcome and aftermaths of political scandals. The subject is fascinating if one bears in mind that Arkelsten resigned in April 2012, and has not returned to national politics. Schyman on the other hand has made a comeback in to the Swedish political landscape (SvD 2012-04-20, Thurfjell 2011-01-14).

In this thesis it was a woman who wrote the two most negative articles in the qualitative results. Both Arkelsten and Schyman received strong reactions from journalist Lena Mellin. This made the authors wonder if it was a simple coincidence that a female journalist criticized female politicians much harder than her male
colleagues. From this thought, another suggestion for future research was born: could it be so that journalists criticize politicians of the same gender as themselves much harder than politicians of the opposite gender?

All of the questions raised in this discussion, the authors would like to leave to future researchers to answer.
10. Sources

10.1. Printed sources


10.2. Reports


10.3 Online sources


Note: Articles used in the qualitative analysis are found in Appendix 1.
Appendix 1

Tunga v-namn tror inte på slarv som förklaring

Svenska Dagbladet, page 9
Published: 2003-01-24
Downloaded: 2012-12-07
Authors: Ola Billger, Lova Olsson

Gudrun Schyman sitt fulla stöd efter skatteaffären. Vänsterpartiets egen
skatteexpert fruktar att hon blir åtalad. Dessutom ska partiets revisorer
granska hennes kvitton.

Riksdagsmannen Per Rosengren, suppleant i skatteutskottet, har läst
skatte myndighetens beslut. Han säger att han förstår att ekobrottsmyndigheten nu ska
titta på fallet. Och det är svårt för Gudrun Schyman att hävda att hon slarvat.

Det allvarligaste är den kritiserade resan till Australien, säger Per Rosengren. Där
gjorde hon avdrag på nästan 13 800 kronor samtidigt som den verkliga kostnaden
bara var 457. Resten var gratis genom hennes Eurobonuskort.

- Det är svårt att hävda slarv. Man bör väl veta om man betalat något för 13 000
kronor från sitt eget konto. Det är försvårande för henne, säger Per Rosengren.

Tror du att hon kan bli åtalad?
- Ja, finns det inte en nöjaktig förklaring ligger åtal i farans riktning, säger Per
Rosengren.

En del av vänsterledaren Gudrun Schymans resor har partiet finansierat. Nu vill
tunga vänsterpartister att "byken tvättas ordentligt". Därför kommer partiet att låta
oberoende revisorer granska Gudrun Schymans interna reseräkningar.

- Vi måste granska de räkningar och kvitton som betalats med partiets medel, säger
Staffan Norberg, ledamot i vänsterpartiets verkställande utskott och kommunalråd i
Södertälje.

En rundringning som Svenska Dagbladet gjort till samtliga 23 partidistrikt och stora delar av partistyrelsen visar att många vänsterpartister är mycket kritiska till Gudrun Schymans försök till felaktiga skatteavdrag.

Oerhört allvarligt, beklagligt, skadligt för partiet, ett misstroende som drabbar alla, slarvigt och bedrövligt är de vanligaste åsikterna.

Lena Olsson, tidigare riksdagskvinna och ordförande för v i Dalarna, säger att partiexpeditionen blivit nedringd.

Kan Gudrun Schyman stanna?
- Jag tycker att det blir svårt, säger Lena Olsson.

Också ordföranden för vänstern i Gävleborg är mycket kritisk till sin partiledare och vill att hon avgår:

- Jag tycker att hon ska fundera på om hon kan sitta kvar, ja, säger Yvonne Oscarsson.

Det går inte heller att skylla på slarv, menar hon:

Andra distriktsordföranden är också kritiska utan att gå lika långt. Många vill inte ge något reservationslöst stöd till Gudrun Schyman, även om de inte kräver hennes avgång. Marie Engström är ordförande för v i Värmland och sitter också i skatteutskottet:

Ett fåtal distriktsordföranden säger samtidigt att deras förtroende inte rubbats av skatteaffären:

- Slarvigt och dumt, men jag bedömer inte att det var något uppsåtligt, så jag har inte något minskat förtroende för henne om partiledare. Hon är väl som hon är, tyvärr, säger Sören Bergqvist, ordförande för v i Uppsala.
Det ligger djupt rotat i den svenska samhällsmoralen att rättssystemet ska vara tufft, på gränsen till skoningslöst mot skattebrottsslingar. Just därför blir man något förundrad när partiledaren för det parti som hårdare än något annat propagerar för höga skatter, själv agerar som en skattesmitare.

Gudrun Schyman leder inte bara ett parti som har solidaritet och rättvisa som sitt främsta rättesnöre. Hon är också lagstifare och förväntas som sådan känna till att slarv och tidsnöd sällan duger som ursäkt för den som bryter mot lagen. Ändå är det just slarv och tidsbrist som Schyman åberopar för att hon i sin deklaration för 2001 felaktigt har yrkat skatteavdrag för flygresor, hyrbilar, hotellnätter, krogbesök och representation. Kostnader som riksdagen och vänsterpartiet redan har kompenserat Schyman för. Kanske gör skattemyndigheten klokt i att granska även Schymans tidigare deklarationer för att se om det nu uppdagade schabblet är en engångsförsyndelse eller ett resultat av mer regelbundet slarv?

Om Schyman har slarvat eller ägnat sig åt systematiska försök att sänka sin skatt, vet än så länge bara hon själv. Har hon avsiktligt lämnat de oriktiga uppgifterna kan det bli fråga om skattebrott med två års fängelse i straffskalan. Men redan grov oaktsamhet (slarv) kan ge fängelse i upp till ett år för vårdlös skatteuppgift, som lagens terminologi lyder. I Gudrun Schymans fall handlar det om drygt 90 000 kronor.

Huruvida Schyman efter gårdagens avslöjande kan sitta kvar som partiledare är i dagsläget en uppgift för partiet att hantera. Men om en brottsprocess inleds - allt annat vore förvånande - blir Schymans underråkade skatteavdrag och felaktiga uppgift om en fastighetsförsäljning något mer än en intern partiangelägenhet. Då gäller frågan också om hon har rätt att behålla sin riksdagsplats.
Vänsterledaren har klarat tidigare kriser tack vare partikamraternas förlåtande attityd. Nu talar mycket för att deras tålamod har nått sin gräns.
SCHYMANS SKATTEAFFÄRER Läsarna i dag:

Avgå, Gudrun

Aftonbladet, page 12
Published: 2003-01-23
Downloaded 2012-12-07
Author: Svante Lidén

Nu håller det inte längre. Gudrun Schyman måste avgå. Redan i morse hade 30 000 läsare, 75 procent av de som röstat på Aftonbladet.se, krävt vänsterledarens avgång. - Hon borde ha avgått för länge sedan, säger Gunnel Jacobsson, Stockholm.

Folkets dom är stenhård.
Tidigare har hon klarat sig undan upprepade fyllor, missbruk av riksdagens kontokort och klipp på traktamenten och skattefria bostadsbidrag.
Hon har till och med erkänt att hon kört i fyllan.
Allt har blivit förlåtet.
Men när det gäller skatten är det en annan sak.
- Det har varit alldeles för mycket affärer kring Schyman, säger Gunnel Jacobsson.

"Leva som man lär"
- En politiker ska leva som man lär. Det här var droppen säger hon.
14-årig Johan Larsson skakar på huvudet när han ser dagens Aftonbladet:
- Jag vill kunna rösta på hederliga politiker när det blir dags, säger han.
Kommer du att rösta på Schyman om hon sitter kvar?
- Nej, inte på Schyman. Och inte på någon annan heller som beter sig som hon.
Vänsterpartiet är ett utpräglat högskatteparti. De som tjänar mest ska också betala mest.
Gudrun Schyman är höginkomsttagare som vid den den senast godkända deklarationen år 2001 deklarerade för 419 000 kronor.
Sedan hon flyttade till Klockaregården i Simrishamn drar hon dessutom in skattefria hyresbidrag och traktamenten med över 100 000 kronor om året.

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Natalja Gerlash tycker att det är svagt av Schyman att dribbla med skatten.

"Hon ska inte fiffla"
- Hon är med och påverkar villkoren för oss alla.

Lars Werner, vänsterpartiets förre ordförande vill inte kommentera skandalen.
- Det överlåter jag åt de andra i den innersta partikretsen, säger han.

Aftonbladet ställer flera frågor. Den enda vi får svar på till slut är hur Schymans skattedribblingar kommer att påverka förtroendet för vänsterpartiets politik:
- Inte fan underlättar det för politiken i partiet.

Han låter trött och förbannad när han säger det.
Hon är sniken - inte slarvig Schymans skatteaffärer
- Det här anstår inte en vänsterledare analys

Aftonbladet, page 9
Published: 2003-01-23
Downloaded 2012-12-07
Author: Lena Mellin


Precis som Mona Sahlin för nu åtta år sedan ursäkter sig Gudrun Schyman med att hon hade mycket omkring sig. Hon var slarvig, hade inte koll på läget och lät någon annan sköta deklarationen.

Det är kvalificerat skitsnack. En partiledare och riksdagsledamot som fått förmånen att beskatta andra bör kunna fylla i en vanlig deklaration. Saknas förmåga att fullgöra normala medborgerliga plikter bör man lämna riksdagen.

Uppåt väggarna

Skattemyndigheten i Malmö har haft roligt när de kollade Gudrun Schymans deklaration. Det mesta är nämligen helt upått väggarna.

En måltid på anrika restaurang Maxim i Paris, där särbon Jacques Öhlund bor, betalades av vänsterpartiet. Trots det drog Gudrun Schyman av 1 719 kronor.

En resa till Singapore, Nya Zeeland och Australien uppgav Gudrun Schyman "efter insänd komplettering" hade kostat 13 833 kronor som hon ville dra av.

Det pinsamma är att biljetten var gratis. Schyman drog nytta av sina Eurobonuspoäng och flög fritt till andra sidan jordklotet. Det enda hon behövde betala var 457 kronor i flygskatt.


Försiktiga kamrater

Gudrun Schymans partikamrater är försiktiga i sina inledande kommentarer till
skattefusket. Det kan bli andra tongångar redan i dag. Eller i helgen då besvikna vänsterpartister samlas till en efterklok eftervalsanalys. Varför övergav nästan var tredje väljare partiet i valet?

Gudrun Schyman framstår som allt annat än slarvig i sina avdragsförsök. Snarare verkar hon ha väldigt god ordning på kvittona, även dem som vänsterpartiet, riksdagen, TV 4 och Sveriges Radio redan hade betalt. Däremot verkar hon ganska sniken. Vem drar annars av för gratisbiljetter?

**Sträng politik**

Vänsterpartiet har en mycket sträng skattepolitik. Enligt valmanifestet ska "de som tjänar mest betala en större del av sin inkomst i skatt".

Schyman tjänar dubbelt mycket som en genomsnittlig svensk. Lägenhet i Gamla stan, hus på Österlen, Gudrun Schyman tillhör en ekonomisk elit. Men när partiets skattepolitik ska omsättas i praktiken tycks hon inte längre vara med på noterna.

Lika skoningslös är partiet i sitt partiprogram. "Den återstående inkomstskatten ska omförda från rika till fattiga och stärka rättvisan."

**Inte populärt**


Gudrun Schyman ville i förra årets deklaration, innan skattemyndigheterna tog fram rödpennan, dra av 183 400 kronor för framför allt taxi, utlandsresor och representation. Anstår det en vänsterledare?
Man måste stå fri från påverkan

Aftonbladet, page 9
Published: 2010-10-28
Downloaded: 2012-12-07
Authors: Josefin Berglund, Eva Buskas
Mellin: Hon borde avgå

Aftonbladet, page 8

Published: 2010-10-28

Downloaded: 2012-12-07

Author: Lena Mellin
Sofia Arkelsten välkomnar granskning av bjudeson

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Moderaternas nyttillträdde parti-sekreterare Sofia Arkelsten anser inte att hon gjorde något fel som lät sig bli bjuden på en resa till Sydfrankrike av oljebolaget Shell. - Jag anser att det låg inom ramen för mitt arbete som riksdagsledamot, säger hon.

- Resan som har uppmärksammat var en studieresa -under mitt dåvarande uppdräg som riksdagsledamot.

Min bedömning var och är att seminariet gav mig möjligheter att träffa studenter, forskare och politiker från hela världen, säger Sofia Arkelsten.

Två månader efter resan talade Sofia Arkelsten positivt om Shell i riksdagen. Hon har även nämnt företaget i sin blogg 13 gånger -efter utlandsstistelsen, till skillnad från en gång före evenemanget.

Flera tunga politiker riktade igår hård kritik mot Arkelsten sedan Expressen publicerat uppgifterna. Ibrahim Baylan (S) menade att Shell inte bjuder på en sådan resa utan att förvänta sig något tillbaka, och Gustav Fridolin (MP) kallade agerandet för "oerhört dåligt omdöme".

Reinfeldt sade i samband med EU-nämndens möte igår att han varken kände till resan eller har pratat med Arkelsten, men anser att den kommentar hon lämnat på
Moderaternas hemsida är tillräcklig. Om blogginläggen och uttalandena sade Reinfeldt att han "förutsätter att hon hela tiden har grund för det hon säger".

Överåklagaren vid Riksenheten mot korruption, Gunnar Stetler, ska nu analysera Sofia Arkelstens bjudresa till Sydfrankrike.

- Uppgifterna i pressen gör att vi måste undersöka om det finns skäl att inleda förundersökning eller inte, säger han.

Sofia Arkelsten väntade hela -dagen med att kommentera -resan, trots att nyheten toppat de flesta nyhetssajterna under -dagen. Hon säger det låg inom ramen för hennes uppdrag att hålla sig uppdaterad på energi- och klimat-frågor.

Beklagar du att du åkte?
- Nej, det gör jag inte. Men jag beklagar om det uppfattas som att jag låtit mig påverkas.
Har du det?
- Nej.
Ser du ingen fara i att låta dig bjudas på sådana här resor?


En utredning kan väckas antingen efter att en anmälan inkommit eller på initiativ från åklagarna.
Fredrik Reinfeldt gav efter valet Sofia Arkelsten uppdraget att förnya Moderaterna.

Men Arkelsten har redan brutit mot de nya Moderaternas viktigaste budord: att vårda varumärket.

När politiker ertappas i tveksamma omständigheter kliver vanligen partisekretareren fram, och säger något om att "vi har anledning att se över rutinerna". Nu är det partisekretarens själv som är ifrågasatt. Alltså får Fredrik Reinfeldt ta över rollen och säga att Sofia Arkelstens agerande aktualiserar en "viktig gränssprångdiskussion som jag ämnar återkomma till".

Och det här är områdena där M:s nya partisekretare har rört sig i närheten av gränsen. Hon har låtit oljebolaget Shell betala för enresa till Frankrike, och kärnkraftslobbyister för enresa till Finland. Hon har låtit sig väljas in i styrelsen för börsbolaget Sweco, som bland annat sysslar med miljöteknik. Och hon har lånat en vägansdriven bil av BMW. Allt medan hon var riksdagsledamot och miljöpolitisk talesman för Moderaterna.


I hög grad har Reinfeldts projekt de nya Moderaterna handlat om att förändra bilden av partiet, för att kunna attrahera nya väljar-grupper. En del i detta har varit att tvätta bort bilden av M som näringslivets politiska gren. Framför allt finansminister Anders
Borg har klivit fram som engagerad kritiker av girighet och bristande ansvar hos banker och företag. Det är ett nytt förhållningssätt: traditionellt har Moderaterna aldrig betraktat näringslivet som ett politiskt särintresse.

"Jag är den nya partisekreteraren för de nya Moderaterna" sade Sofia Arkelsten när hon presenterades av Fredrik Reinfeldt i början av oktober. -Hennes relationer med näringslivet återuppväcker snarare den gamla bilden av Moderaterna.

Arkelstens agerande väcker återigen frågor om hur politiker ska förhålla sig till näringsliv och intresseorganisationer. Moderaternas traditionellt täta relation med näringslivet har ju en motsvarighet i Socialdemokraternas förhållande till de fackliga organisationerna.

Lobbyism finns i alla utvecklade länder och är ett svårreglerat område, men det saknar inte politisk sprängkraft. Att göra upp med särintressena i Washington var ett bärande tema i Barack Obamas presidentvalskampanj.
Appendix 2

Division of the work

In the dividing of the different parts we have tried to work as evenly as possible. Hörnfeldt has written the background, theory as well as the qualitative analysis on Arkelsten. Svensson has written the introduction, purpose and scientific question, method and material, the quantitative results and the qualitative analysis on Schyman.

In the quantitative study Svensson counted the articles that concerned the left wing and Hörnfeldt counted the articles concerning the right wing. To secure our result we re-counted each other’s articles assure that we had gotten a valid number.

In general we have reviewed, commented and made changes in each other’s parts.
Press release

Mer och hårdare medial granskning av röda politiska skandaler

I en studie genomförd av två studenter vid Uppsala universitet framkommer det att politikers blocktillhörighet spelar roll när det gäller granskningen av politiska skandaler. Det gäller särskilt vid skandaler av ekonomisk natur.

Politisk tillhörighet påverkar rapporteringen av skandal. Att kvinnor påverkas mer negativt i en media under en skandal har redan framkommit. Men enligt en ny undersökning gjord vid institutionen för Informatik och media så har två studenter kommit fram till att även politisk färg påverkar hur en politiker framställs i media och mängden artiklar som publiceras.

En kvinnlig vänsterdriven politiker löper en större risk att framställas mer som en skurk. Sällan får den utsatta få uttala sig i artiklarna. Det är mest uppenbart i skandaler av en ekonomisk karaktär, såsom mutor och skattefusk. Skillnaden går att se i både antalet publicerade artiklar och hur media rapporterar i ämnet. Olika förutfattade meningar och förväntningar på politiker påverkar. Kort sagt så skapas mest drama om en politiker inte lever som den lär, försöker sko sig på andra och dessutom ljuger om det.

Undersökningen visar på en sned mediebild med fokus på att dramatisera. Förväntningar och förutfattade meningar kan alltså vara skadliga inte bara för vår tillit på politiker utan också på media om journalister konsekvent har en hårdare ton mot ett politiskt läger, menar författarna.

Författarna till studien, Sofia Hörnfeldt och Jonatan Svensson, studerar vid Uppsala universitet. Studien som de genomförde var en kandidatuppsats i media och kommunikation.

Sofia Hörnfeldt och Jonatan Svensson

Undersökningen heter In the red – Political scandals in the media and the effect of political color.
Translations

Cabinet minister – Statsråd
Chairman – Partiordförande

Christian Democrats – Kristdemokraterna
Center Party - Centerpartiet

Democratic Council - Demokratirådet
Director of Public Prosecution – Överåklagare

Environmental and Agricultural Committee – Miljö- och Jordbruksutskottet
Environmental Policy Spokesperson – Miljöpolitisk talesperson
European Court of Auditors – Europeiska Revisionsrätten
European Union – Europeiska unionen
Executive committee – Partiledning

Left Party – Vänsterpartiet
Liberal Party - Folkpartiet

Member of Parliament – Riksdagsledamot
Minister for Aid and Migration – Bistånds- och Migrationsminister
Minister of Finance – Finansminister
Minister for Foreign Affairs – Utrikesminister
Minister of Labor – Arbetsmarknadsminister
Minister of Defense – Försvarsminister
Moderate party - Moderaterna
National Anti-Corruption Unit – Riksenheten mot korruption

Party Secretary – Partisekreterare
Party leader – Partiledare
Press council – Pressens Opinionsnämnd
Prime Minister – Statsminister

Social Democratic Party - Socialdemokraterna
State Secretary - Statsssekreterare
Swedish Constitution – Sveriges grundlag
Swedish Government – Regeringen
Swedish Green Party – Miljöpartiet
Swedish Parliament – Riksdagen

Tax Authority – Skatteverket
Revidering av uppsats

Abstract är översatt till en svenska.

Inledningen är omskriven.

Svensk politisk kontext har lagts till i bakgrunden tillsammans med hur svenska politiker förväntas vara.

Uppsatsens syfte har omformulerats på inrådan av examinatoren. Även frågeställningen är reviderad.

Den främsta kritiken som riktades mot uppsatsen av examinatoren var att teoridelen var för svag. Detta har åtgärdats genom att helt skriva om teoriavsnittet och ersätta den med framing-teorin. Detta för att ge en tydligare teoriförankring. Därefter har uppsatsen omarbetats efter den nya teorin, detta inkluderar

Vissa delar av tidigare teori har flyttats upp till bakgrund samt tidigare forskning. Till exempel har Increased amount of scandals flyttats upp till tidigare forskning.

I avsnittet om material och metod så har urvalsprocessen förtydligats. Ett delavsnitt om uppsatsens validitet och reliabilitet har lagts till. Samt delar har blivit omskrivna.

Political alignment har ersatts av political affiliation på inrådan av examinatoren.

Även språket har setts över.

Genusaspekten har tonats ner.