How social is the politics?
A case study of how political parties used social media in the Swedish governmental election of 2014

Author: Emelie Kempe
Supervisor: Renaud de La Brosse
Examinator: Kristoffer Holt
Semester: VT15
Subject: Journalism
Level: Magister
Course code: 4MK40E
Abstract

Author: Emelie Kempe
Title: How social is the politics? A case study of how political parties used social media in the Swedish governmental election 2014
Level: Magister thesis in Journalism
Location: Linnaeus University
Number of pages: 116

In the past years the usage and growth of social media has increased, through the increase in popularity, growth and use, social media has become an all the more important arena. Politicians need to communicate with the public, where the public is, in order to be elected and right now a large amount of the public is on social media. This research studies how four of the largest political parties in Sweden, Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Sverigedemokraterna and Miljöpartiet, together with an upcoming party Feministiskt initiativ, used social media in the governmental election in Sweden 2014. In order to study how these political parties used social media, the posts made on Facebook and Twitter were selected. The posts were selected from the two weeks leading up to the election. The posts on Twitter had a higher quantity and were studied through a quantitative content analysis; while the posts on Facebook included richer text and were studied through a qualitative content analysis. The choice to include both a quantitative and a qualitative content analysis were made to give a richer result with a more including picture.

The result showed that there is not one universal media logic used by the parties on the posts posted on Facebook and Twitter, however the elements used were the same, but in different extent. One of the parties, Miljöpartiet, had a consequent media logic of all of the selected post made by them on Facebook. On social media political parties become gatekeepers themselves, without relying on journalists to bring forth their ideals, election issues, and topics of importance. On social media the political parties decide what to publish and how to publish it. The political parties frame the topics to benefit themselves and argue for why their approach is the right choice and why the viewer of the post should vote for them.

Keywords
Social media, Political communication, Framing, Framing theory, Framing analysis, Gatekeeping, Media Logic, Facebook, Twitter, Quantitative content analysis, Qualitative content analysis.
Table of content

1 Introduction ____________________________________________ 1
   1.1 Background ____________________________________________ 2
       1.1.1 Social Media ________________________________________ 3
       1.1.2 Communication ________________________________________ 8
       1.1.3 The political parties on social media __________________________ 10
   1.2 Objective ____________________________________________ 11
   1.3 Formulation of research question /problem ____________________________ 11
   1.4 Delimitations ____________________________________________ 11
   1.5 Definitions? ____________________________________________ 12

2 Preceding research ________________________________________ 13

3 Theoretical background ____________________________________ 19
   3.1 Framing theory ____________________________________________ 19
   3.2 Media Logic ______________________________________________ 21
   3.3 Gate keeping theory ________________________________________ 23
   3.4 Political marketing ________________________________________ 25

4 Methodology ______________________________________________ 27
   4.1 Choice of methodology ________________________________________ 27
   4.2 Implementation and definition of the methodology ________________ 28
       4.2.1 First step - The quantitative content analysis definition ________________ 28
       4.2.2 Second step – The qualitative content analysis ________________ 31
   4.3 Selection ________________________________________________ 33
       4.3.1 Selection process ________________________________________ 33
       4.3.2 Requirements of selection ________________________________________ 33
   4.4 The data ________________________________________________ 34

5 Results from the quantitative content analysis ________________ 39
   5.1 Frequency of the posts ________________________________________ 40
   5.2 The structure of the posts ________________________________________ 42
       5.2.1 The core elements ________________________________________ 42
       5.2.2 Status of the posts ________________________________________ 44
       5.2.3 Hashtags ________________________________________________ 46
       5.2.4 Mentions ________________________________________________ 48
       5.2.5 Images ________________________________________________ 49
       5.2.6 Videos ________________________________________________ 50
       5.2.7 Links ________________________________________________ 50
   5.3 The topics and information ________________________________________ 51
       5.3.1 Political position of the post ________________________________________ 51
       5.3.2 Orientation of the posts ________________________________________ 52
       5.3.3 Substance and point of issue ________________________________________ 54
5.3.4 Portrayal of images

5.3.5 Portrayal of videos?

5.3.6 Links to where?

5.3.7 Comparison and criticism

6 Analysis of the quantitative result

6.1 In relation to the research questions

6.1.1 How did the political parties use social media?

7 The qualitative result and analysis

7.1 The main presented frames

7.1.1 “Responsibility”

7.1.2 “Action”

7.1.3 “Mobilization”

7.1.4 “Interactivity”

7.2 Augment framing

7.2.1 Structure of the posts

7.2.2 Narrative of the posts

7.2.3 Mediation of the posts

7.2.4 Topics of the posts

7.2.5 Actors of the posts

7.2.6 Manifest and reasoning devices of the posts

7.2.7 Thematic frames of the posts

7.3 Political marketing

8 Conclusions and discussion

References

Attachments

Attachment A – Questionnaire of the quantitative content analysis

Attachment A2 – Definitions of the questionnaire in Attachment A
1 Introduction

Media is undergoing a dual evolution, social media is expanding and through the use of smartphones, computers, and tablets, a person is connected every hour of the day. Simultaneously the old/traditional media is struggling and undergoing change.¹

In a changed media landscape, with websites, blogs, microblogs and social networks; political parties, social movements, interest organizations and private citizens hold the possibility to communicate directly with each other. This perspective introduces that political parties are less dependent on journalists, they can establish and run their own arenas of communication, without the influence of mass media.²

In the past years there has been an increased use of social media, such as Twitter and Facebook, which create a more participated environment online. For a platform or forum to be recognized as a social media, it must entail a certain type of characteristics, such as participation, openness, conversation, community and connectivity. Social media includes the audience to be participants instead of receivers of information.³

People use of the web and social media have created a changed paradigm of information than has dominated historically, the press and media companies no longer hold as strong gate-keeping positions.⁴ In contrast to mass media, network media has the ability to change the communication relationship by using social networking, the participants (users) can challenge the monopoly of control by gate-keepers of the traditional media.⁵

A new type of media has been established through the usage of the Internet. The Internet has become the newest expression of new media, with network societies, cyberspace and virtual worlds. Through these relatively new platforms on the Internet, the Internet has achieved in creating links to people, regardless of time and space, joined

---

¹ Jukes (2013), p. 1
² Karlsson; Clerwall; Buskqvist (2013), p. 92
³ Wallace (2013), p. 74
⁵ Loader; Mercea (2012), p. 3
with links of information. The Internet permit and enable both interpersonal communication and information retrieval.\(^6\)

The change of the traditional media, growth of social media and people’s connectivity online is why I’ve chosen to study social media. Through the use of social media, actors such as politicians are less dependent on journalists, which is why this research focuses on political communication made by the selected parties on social media. This study entails how the major Swedish political parties (Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Sverigedemokraterna and Miljöpartiet) used social media in the governmental election campaign of 2014. Feministiskt Initiativ is included as well, even though they didn’t pass the four percent limit to the government, they reached 3.12 percent. Feministiskt Initiativ used social media as their main campaign platform and is the party which has the most followers on Facebook.

1.1 Background

Over the past ten years the way users use the Internet has changed. New media forms have occurred which combine computing and information technologies, communication networks, digitalized media, information content and a convergence of all of them.\(^7\) There has become a decentralized participation, users have become contributors, and the idea of collectiveness have been in-cooperated with new technologies to create what we now call social media or Web 2.0.\(^8\) Web 2.0 refers to the new technologies, which enables the platforms to have the attributes that social media possesses.\(^9\) These new attributes and technologies created new platforms on the World Wide Web, with new possibilities of interaction. The users possesses a significant part in a collective on the web and in co-creating the values of those platforms, such as Facebook and Wikipedia, both creates a “community of connected users”.\(^10\)

Social Media and Web came together to primary make communities possible and communication regardless of time and space.\(^11\) There are two dimensions of new

\(^7\) Flew (2002), p. 10
\(^8\) Fuch (2014), p. 32
\(^9\) K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 7
\(^10\) Fuch (2014), p. 33
\(^11\) K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 7
media: interactivity and (the development of) networks. Interactivity became enabled through a combination of digital media forms, described as the collective name web 2.0 and have become one of the main concepts of the new media, later in this chapter referred to as called social media.

Democracy requires choice and choice requires engaged and mobilized election campaigns in order to be democratically meaningful. The core of election campaigns consists of political communication. Strömbäck, 2013, declares that there’s several ways to define an election campaign but the foundation rests on dynamic communication processes, political communication. Since Internets breakthrough in the 1990:s, a discussion about the traditional medias impact decrease and internets impact increase. Over time has the Internet and social media gained a greater part of the election campaign. There’s however an ongoing debate if social medias have effects on the politics or not.

1.1.1 Social Media
Internet offers possibilities as a communicative space, a space which is generated by the users themselves. On the internet, the platforms mostly used for participation is, social media. Social media is a fast moving world, where ideas can be expressed and exchanged in a rapid way of interaction. Social media also offers an opportunity for a specific cause to focus on a specific audience. Specific types of participation on social media, such as political participation, have a tendency to gather an audience interested in key topics.

Social media often seek to be accessible for most people, while being technological and financial easy for most to access. Social media is highly interactive, receivers and senders are connected through technical networks. In The social media bible, is social media defined as activities and behaviours which concern gathering online in order to
share information, knowledge and opinions; to share a conversation online through web-based platforms.\textsuperscript{21}

Social media differs from traditional media in numerous aspects:

- Traditional media communicate via a monologue and social media through a dialogue
- Traditional media possesses more control of the content, while on social media the content gets an uncontrollable life of its own
- Traditional media communicates through mass communication, social media communicates through individualised communication
- Traditional media has a predisposition target group while the target group is more unclear on social media
- Traditional media is producer controlled while social media is ruled by consumer power
- Traditional media presents a controlled debate, while the public debate on social media is tough to control
- Traditional media has a high cost, social media a low cost
- Traditional media is still the main channel while social media is a complement.\textsuperscript{22}

Social media increases the user’s capability to share and collaborate with others and take collective actions, spreading information from one social media to another.\textsuperscript{23} In a participatory culture the users actively take part in participation, interaction creation and sharing of content. The users commonly feel some social connection/relation with the other users.\textsuperscript{24}

Carol Rose launched a theory in the 1980s which was called “comedy of commons”, which means that some resources dramatically increase in value depending on the amount of users using the resource; this can be applied to social media, the more people who use social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook the more valuable they become, while if nobody used them their value would fall.\textsuperscript{25} On social media the users

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{21} K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 6
\textsuperscript{22} Andersson; Wik Yeung (2011), p. 134
\textsuperscript{23} Fuch (2014), p. 53, 35
\textsuperscript{24} Fuch (2014), p. 54-55
\textsuperscript{25} Klang (2011), p. 51
\end{flushleft}
have an active part in shaping the media flow, they play a dynamic part in spreading the materials, which they find meaningful for themselves. Therefore they are participating in one of the core characteristics of social media, it’s a spreadable media and sharing is of importance. 26 Since the occurrence of social media it’s abundantly easier to express an opinion or take a stand for something. This presents a risk that the easy access and simplicity decreases the value of the engaging. 27 Criticism which has been brought forward regarding social media is that it can be viewed as a type of mass-self-communication. Social media can be dominated by companies etc. that are not working towards participation.28

1.1.1.1 Social networking

The online life on different communities is chosen by the consumer, who choose with whom to interact with, commonly with the same interests and goals, sometimes is those people harder to come by in the off-line, life. 29 Virtual cultures or virtual communities are based mostly on text-based interactions between internet users and these cultures are dependent on members willingness to take part in the communication.30

In order to have a successful community on social media there’s important to know your audience and your target group to define your information based on that information. 31 Guidelines to create these successful communities are:

- “Act like a publisher” – think of your content as valuable and relevant for your audience. Know the audience.
- “Create content” – develop a specific content and present it to your audience.
- “Differentiate your concept and experiment” – have a theme for your content and make it differ from competitor. The way to success isn’t static, there’s a need to try different things. 32

On social networks photos are equal important as text, it’s recommended for communities to take a lot of photographs, edit the images, upload them, tag them and

---

26 Fuch (2014), p. 53  
27 Trygg (2011), p. 67  
28 Fuch (2014), p. 87, 121  
29 Flew (2002), p. 26  
30 Flew (2002), p. 76-79  
31 K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 77  
32 K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 93-94
have a description on them and a comment section on the photos. The purpose of gaining the most hits of search engines make the keywords essential. Hashtags (#), keywords which are attached to a post, is a # followed by a word, like “#socialmedia”. The hashtag makes the post part of a thread, a media link, which gathers posts of the same topic and links them together.

The two main social media platforms, with high circulation of information, is Twitter and Facebook; which some considered to be crucial tools in regards of opinion leaders, companies, public institutions, political parties and celebrities. Twitter and Facebook have become channels themselves for political information and have become important tool in the public’s political discussion. It’s in the human nature to consort with those who are of similar opinions, on Facebook there’s a possibility to click on the “like” button, in which way communication lines are being drawn, between people and organisations with similar minds, Peter Dahlgren argues that Facebook have an important role in political communication. On Facebook and Twitter the viewer can “like” / “follow” a politician or political parties of their choice, and through that receive specific updates when they have posted something new.

1.1.1.2 Facebook

Facebook is a product designed with the purpose that it is the users themselves who fill the service Facebook provides with meaning and content. Facebook has been classified as the most open and allowing network of all. Facebook is the biggest social network in the western world. The members can “like” pages and posts of their interest as well as befriend other members and expand their network. An extrovert motive of using Facebook is a desire to be seen and therefore creates a visible image of oneself. To do so, marketing is important both for the individual person as well as groups and business.

---

33. K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 206
34. K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 389
35. Loader; Mercea (2012), p. 8
37. Dahlgren (2013), p. 60
38. Dahlgren (2013), p. 61
39. Karlsson; Clerwall; Buskqvist (2013), p. 105
40. Sundström (2011), p. 177
41. Åblad (2011), p. 16
1.1.1.3 Twitter

Microblogs are described as something between blogs and chatrooms. On Twitter the user got 140 characters. After publishing a post it appears immediately on the timeline of those who follow that specific account. The post can also become visible through people sharing the post, retweeting, commenting, tagging, hash tagging etc. In 2010 there were 100 000 Swedish accounts on Twitter, with a rapid increase. There’s not only people on Twitter but businesses and organizations as well. In the advocacy Swedish political parties are active on Twitter, with Twitter accounts, hoping to influence the public opinion.43

1.1.1.4 The government and social media

Parallel with the increasing popularity of social media, there has been an increasing interest from governmental agencies and organizations to use social media as a communication service. It’s a cheap and simple way to communicate, social media is popular and used by large groups in society.44 Social media is argued to possess the abilities to create a public opinion.45 Those who are the most active on political parts of social media are the ones who already were engaged in politics.46 The usual citizen (user) can take part of political campaigns on social media while watching television at home.47 Politicians and political parties always possesses a desire to be heard by the public and to be heard they need to be where the people are, therefore they have joined the online society.48

1.1.1.5 Businesses and organizations on social media

From a business and organization perspective the most prompted attributes on social media is to enable a conversation, influence the conversation and build relationships based on that influence.49 This is something the politicians can make use of as well.

43 Ström (2010), p. 76-87
44 Klang (2011), p. 49
45 Trygg (2011), p. 68
46 Loader; Mercea (2012), p. 4
47 Loader; Mercea (2012), p. 5
48 Klang (2011), p. 54
49 K. Brake; Safko (2009) p. 4-5
1.1.2 Communication

Internet and digital media offers a new way to communicate with target groups of interest, where it’s possible to present oneself, a business or organization.\textsuperscript{50} Communication goals are what the communication shall result in, knowledge, awareness or change in attitudes and behaviours within the target groups.\textsuperscript{51} It’s of importance to nuance the message, it’s not enough to publish a message in one channel by using one formulation, a nuanced combined message in different descriptions using different media is better to create an interactive dialogue with the users.\textsuperscript{52} Integrated communication means to communicate with those of interest, at a right time with a coordinated message to reach a goal. The ability to communicate with all those of interest means to run a dialogue.\textsuperscript{53}

1.1.2.1 Planned communication

Planned communication have become all the more important in the rapidly changing world. Planned communication offers an exchange in information, between at least two parties.\textsuperscript{54} The sender of the communication must listen to the surrounding world and assimilate the impressions according to the environment.\textsuperscript{55}

1.1.2.2 Strategic communication

The social media bible presents four pillars of social media strategy.\textsuperscript{56} Those four pillars of social media strategy are: communication, collaboration, education and entertainment.\textsuperscript{57} Strategic communication is defined as organizations’ conscious communication efforts in order to reach their goals, not the goals for one communication effort, but the long term goal. Communication is vital for the organizations existence and operation, not only a tool for spreading information and enabling conversations between different parties.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{50} Leiman; Friberg (2011) p. 155
\textsuperscript{51} Erikson (2011), p. 300
\textsuperscript{52} Erikson (2011), p. 48-49
\textsuperscript{53} Erikson (2011), p. 196-197
\textsuperscript{54} Erikson (2011), p. 9-10
\textsuperscript{55} Erikson (2011), p. 11
\textsuperscript{56} K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 673
\textsuperscript{57} K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 675
\textsuperscript{58} Falkheimer; Heide (2014), p. 15
1.1.2.3 Marketing communication

In the classical marketing theory the role of communication is to informe, convince, strengthen and differentiate. 59 In regards of marketing communication, it’s important to communicate with the chosen target group, where the target group is. 60 It’s of high importance to create a “recognizable” factor, which creates associations and confidence, logos and visual profiles as examples. 61 Social media is not pure advertisement channels, they provides communication channels, that can be used in order to build reliance and strengthen relations between different parties. The purpose from businesses and organizations on social media is to be a part of the dialogue and to be visible for the users / consumers. 62

1.1.2.4 Political communication

Public organizations and government agencies have changed the way of interaction with the citizens, with an increase of access to the government online. Tendencies have become visible that they work more with creating public opinion. 63 More and more people collect their information through social media channels, such as Facebook and Twitter. Political parties use those channels to spread their information and is easy accessible for citizens. Although research in 2009 and 2011 showed that the traditional mass media still were the main source of information about politicians and society. 64 Nord highlights that it’s important to take into consideration the fast change of the political communication online, especially on social media. 65

In the Swedish election campaign of 2010, was the first time political TV-commercials were used by all the parliamentary parties. It was also the first time Twitter and Facebook was used in the campaign work. 66

Political communication involves the communicative interplay between political actors, media actors and citizens. Political actors involve politicians, political parties and organizations which are involved in public opinion. 67 Among the functions political

59 Falkheimer, Heide (2014), p. 94
60 Åblad (2011), p. 13
62 Lundqvist; Lundin (2011), p. 111
63 Erikson (2011), p. 31
64 Strömbäck (2013), p. 18
65 Nord (2013), p. 41
66 Nord (2013), p. 36
67 Strömbäck (2013), p. 10
parties use social media for is to: mobilize sympathizers, spread information about party activities and attempt to reach new voters. 68 Recent studies show that the election campaign greater effect the outcome of the votes in the election. In the 2010 election 53 percent decided on which party to vote for during the election process. 69

In theory does social media offer the opportunity for political parties to establish, build and maintain relations with their target group in order to influence their views and how to vote. In relation to that, it means that social media is an important part of political communication and public relations. Social media offers the ability to establish direct and interactive relations with different target groups. 70

1.1.3 The political parties on social media

Today (the 25th of February, 2015) the political parties included in this research have the following numbers of followers on Facebook and Twitter, on their official pages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Facebook</th>
<th>Twitter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socialdemokraterna</td>
<td>126 277</td>
<td>49 753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderaterna</td>
<td>72 086</td>
<td>49 067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sverigedemokraterna</td>
<td>93 563</td>
<td>23 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miljöpartiet</td>
<td>67 359</td>
<td>48 953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feministiskt Initiativ</td>
<td>142 150</td>
<td>30 432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The result from the Swedish election in September 2014 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election results 2014</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socialdemokraterna</td>
<td>31,01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderaterna</td>
<td>23,33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sverigedemokraterna</td>
<td>12,86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miljöpartiet</td>
<td>6,89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feministiskt Initiativ</td>
<td>3,12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68 Nord (2013), p. 46
70 Karlsson; Clerwall; Buskqvist (2013), p. 89
1.2 Objective

The purpose of this study is to research and enlighten how the four major political parties in Sweden (Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Sverigedemokraterna, Miljöpartiet), together with Feministiskt Initiativ, used social media as a tool of communication to interact with the public, the voters, in the weeks leading up to the Swedish governmental election in the fall of 2014. My aspiration is to reach a deeper understanding about the structure of the communication, what topics were communicated, in which way were the posts communicated, to whom were the posts directed and which were the actors of the posts.

I find this study relevant due to the copious and increasing use of social media, merged together with political parties now using the social networks as social media platforms for communication with the public, both a specific audience and the more general public. Because of this I find it of vast relevance to study how the major Swedish political parties and Feministiskt Initiativ used social media as campaign forums in the weeks leading up to the election.

1.3 Formulation of research question /problem

In this research I will study, as mentioned above, the four major political parties in Sweden: Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Sverigedemokraterna and Miljöpartiet. I will also include Feministiskt Initiativ, who used social media as their main campaign forum. This research will focus on how these political parties used social media as a communication tool in order to interact with the public through the social network forums. In order to conduct this research I will focus on these main research questions:

- How did the political parties use social media?
  - How were their posts structured?
  - What were their main focuses/topics?
  - In which way were the topics portrayed?
  - To whom were the post directed?
  - Which were the main visible and invisible actors?

1.4 Delimitations

The main operators in this study is social media and Swedish political parties who uses social media as tools of communication with the public. How the Swedish political parties used social media in the latest governmental election is what this research
focuses on. The parties which will be included in this research are the four parties who became the four major ones after the election, those who gained the most votes. These are: Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Sverigedemokraterna and Miljöpartiet. Besides the four major parties the feminist party, Feministiskt Initiativ, will also be included in this research. They didn’t make the four percent limit for the parliament, but they used social media as their main parliamentary campaign forum, whilst the other parties used other platforms as well. I believe it will be interesting to include them as a counterpart and see if their strategies, topics, actors etc. differs from the others.

In regard of social media, Twitter and Facebook are among the leading ones and have become channels of information. Part of that information is political communication and social media has become a forum for political discussion.\(^7_1\) Both Facebook and Twitter have a very high circulation of information and can be considered as crucial tools in regards of opinion-leaders, companies, public institutions, celebrities and political parties.\(^7_2\) Due to the popularity and leading role of Twitter and Facebook as social networks, those are the social networks this research is centred around and the political parties’ official pages on these platforms.

The election took place on the 14\(^{th}\) of September 2014 and the time period which this research focuses on is from the first to the 14\(^{th}\) of September. It was in the two weeks leading up to the election a spurt took place in the campaigning on social media. During this time period all of the selected parties had started their campaign on social media.

All the data in this research is gathered from the selected platforms, Facebook and Twitter, from the parties’ official page. Every post which matches the selection will be included on Twitter, and three posts from each party will be selected from Facebook, more about this in the selection in the methodology chapter. If a similar post gets selected both form Facebook and Twitter, they will be studied separately and accordingly to the methodology.

1.5 Definitions?

\(^7_1\) Dahlgren (2013), p. 60
\(^7_2\) Matthews (2013), p. 252
In this research there is some recurrent words which is essential to define in order to diminish the lack of misunderstanding in following chapters. The most important ones in regards of social media is defined in the background chapter and here follows definitions about the political parties, and the phrase “viewer”.

**Viewer** – The unknown mass who is taking part of the posts of social media.

**Socialdemokraterna** – Is a socialistic and democratic political party in Sweden.
**Moderaterna** – Is a liberal conservative political party in Sweden.
**Sverigedemokraterna** – Is a nationalistic political party in Sweden.
**Miljöpartiet** – Is an environment friendly party who has its foundation in the green ideology and advocates for an ecologically sustainable society.
**Feministiskt initiativ** – Is a feminist party, and work for feminism, intersectionality and against discrimination.

All of the hashtags and quotes in the result and analysis are translated into English since the posts originally were written in Swedish. The translations have been made to the best of my abilities and the original posts and quotes are available on demand.

### 2 Preceding research

This chapter is about previous research done in similar fields. This will be presented below with thoughts how their research can be useful in this study, and at the same time give an image of what has been studied preceedingly. In order to understand whereas in the field my research "fit" in, as well as get ideas on how to do my research in the best way possible.

In the article "Does Scotland "like" this? Social Media use by political parties and candidates in Scotland during the 2010 UK general election campaign" by Graeme Baxter and Rita Marcella. I found similarities between their and my research which I consider of value in perusing this research.

Baxter and Marcella researched how social media were used by political parties and candidates in Scotland during the UK general election campaign. Their ambition was to identify the ways political actors provided information to, and interact with potential
voters. However they found that although the politicians used social media in a high frequency, the type of communication was mainly one-way and they observed a reluctance to answer to questions of difficulty. They also found that the followers mainly consisted of family, friends and those of a similar mind, the political actors where mostly "preaching to the converted" rather than taking the opportunity to gain more "followers" and a participatory debate.\textsuperscript{73}

In the background to the research Baxter and Marcella introduced that many observers before the election predicted that social media would be of greater impact in this election. As social media created a more interactive space, they thought that the politicians in the UK would follow the suit of engage voters, mobilize voters and widen participation online as Barack Obama did during the election of 2008. \textsuperscript{74}

In their research they noticed same as me that Facebook and Twitter are among the leading social media sites worldwide and that politicians are using them increasingly. Baxter and Marcella however choose to include blogs in their research as well as individual members of the political parties.\textsuperscript{75} The methodology they chose consisted of an analysis of the content. They choose to focus on Facebook, Twitter and blogs with the intention to have a more textual content than YouTube and Flickr, Instagram etc. The time period of their research consisted of the five weeks preceding the election.\textsuperscript{76}

The two main political parties: Labour and Liberal Democrats were on average the ones with the most posts. They found it surprising that the frequency of posts however did not alter from popular candidates/parties. The followers that party possessed were relatively small in comparison to the individual candidate, the Labour party only had 3528 followers’ maximum, while the Liberal Democrats only had a maximum followers of 3329.\textsuperscript{77}

They divided the communication down to different types of broadcast:

\textsuperscript{73} Baxter, Marcella (2012), p. 109
\textsuperscript{74} Baxter, Marcella (2012), p. 109
\textsuperscript{75} Baxter, Marcella (2012), p. 110
\textsuperscript{76} Baxter, Marcella (2012), p. 110
\textsuperscript{77} Baxter, Marcella (2012), p. 112
- There was the primary broadcast mainly consisted of the candidates posting, their own thoughts and party affiliation.
- Secondary broadcast, candidates posted about obtained information
- Two-way engagement dialogue between candidates and voters, example asking/answering questions.
- Unreciprocated engagement - voters tried to engage but was ignored, comments, questions etc.\textsuperscript{78}

In the conclusion Baxter and Marcella found that the political actors of Scotland had a will to use social media during the 2010 UK election campaign, but only 35 percent of the parties and 37 percent of the candidates did use social media (Facebook, Twitter and/or blogs). On social media the communication were mainly one-way, the parties/candidates broadcasted the communication to their audience. Baxter and Marcelle tried to identify the lack of interaction between the voters and the political actors. There was a lack of meaningful policy from the politicians, they did not discuss politics, as much to start a debate. The manner of which the posts where written in, wasn't inviting a two-way interaction, the followers consisted mainly of family, friends and members of the party, which made it an exclusive group. Lastly there was a reluctance to respond to difficult questions.\textsuperscript{79}

I also found a similar research done on the German Federal election campaign in 2009, "Beyond the base?" which was carried out by Lauren Copeland and Andrea Römmele. They studied political communication through social media with a different methodology approach than mine, though I believe it's important to see different approaches to understand that there are different ways to approach a study, and that it can result in ideas for my own research.

In their abstract they presented that they found that younger party members and strong partisans were the most active to campaign on social media, independent of income, education and / or gender. Their result showed that the parties/ candidates made information accessible through social media to groups that otherwise would not have been exposed to the campaign.\textsuperscript{80}

\textsuperscript{78} Baxter, Marcella (2012), p. 114-117
\textsuperscript{79} Baxter, Marcella (2012), p. 120
\textsuperscript{80} Copeland, Römmele (2014), p. 169
Römmele and Copeland argued, based on a previously done research by Römmele; that the Internet holds an attractiveness to political parties, as the political parties themselves decide and influence issues to discuss and communicate about on social media. This is something they cannot be certain about in traditional media. At the time of their research they estimated that 75 percent of the population in Germany had Internet connection and 50 percent of the population used social media, the users of social media where mainly younger people, but the age was not such a dominant factor as in other countries, it was more regarding education than age.\footnote{Copeland, Römmele (2014), p. 176} Römmele and Copeland constructed two hypotheses based on the growing use of social media and Web 2.0, which platforms themselves created new participatory mechanisms for those who are interested in political campaigns. Those hypotheses were:

- Party members will be more likely than non-members to see political information on parties and the campaign through social media sites
- Party members will be more likely than non-members to share parties' information with their friends and family through social media sites.\footnote{Copeland, Römmele (2014), p. 175}

To study the use of social media in the election they choose to study the audience, not the posts themselves which made this research differ from mine. If I had a limitless amount of time to spend on this research I would be thrilled to include how the audience perceived the posts. If they noticed them, shared them and so on, but for this research it's the content itself which I find of value.

The result of this research showed that party members were significally more likely then common citizens to see information about the parties and the campaign on social media; as Römmele and Copeland presented in their abstract young people and strong partisans were more likely as well to take part/ see information on the social media sites.\footnote{Copeland, Römmele (2014), p. 178-179} They also found that four percent of the electorate engaged in sharing campaign information, "citizen- driven online campaigning, although they do believe this will increase in the following years.\footnote{Copeland, Römmele (2014), p. 180-181}
Ulrike Klinger studied how the political parties on social media, in the Swiss national election of 2011. Klinger started off her article by establishing that online communication has become central as a tool for communication by political actors in western democracies. She also "establish" Switzerland among the foremost countries in the world when it comes to broadband, internet use, media literacy and that all the major parties are active on social media, as well as they run their own websites. After a quick glance online, I can see that this is true for Sweden as well, where all the major parties are active on social media and run their own websites.

This study by Klinger is based upon data from structural analysis of party websites, official Facebook sites and Twitter feeds, regarding their resonance, update frequency and thematic clusters focusing on information, mobilization and participation, in the 2011 election in Switzerland. The result showed that most political parties claimed that they wished for a dialogue with the public through social media, but they mainly used social media as an additional channel to spread information and electoral propaganda. The research showed that larger parties with more resources and voters work better to generate effective communication than small parties and more marginal parties. The methodology Klinger used is focused on in my methodology chapter, as I drew inspiration from parts of her methodology.

What the hashtag? A content analysis of Canadian politics on Twitter, is a research carried out by Tamara A. Small. A. Small based her introduction on how Twitter has become a new source for journalism. She introduces Twitter as a democratic media as Twitter makes democratic activism possible, although there are still debatable content on Twitter such as inaccuracies and rumours. Critics argues that it’s impossible to know whether the information on Twitter is credible or not. In 2010, 50 million tweets where posted daily, to make out those of the same topics, hashtags (#) are essential to organize the information. A hashtag is a keyword assigned to a tweet with a certain type of information which matches the keyword. Hashtags permits communities by organizing people by interests or events. Hashtags also play a part in making the

---

85 Klinger (2013), p. 717
86 Klinger (2013), p. 717
87 Small (2012), p. 109
information spread beyond the individual's followers, it is also possible to search for hashtags using Twitter, Google and trending sites.\textsuperscript{88}

The research questions where influenced by two themes: the relationship between spheres of blogging and media the potential blogs possesses to create more involved political participation.\textsuperscript{89} Interactivity online is central for political participation and intends to create a relationship between the sender and the receiver as well as between users themselves.\textsuperscript{90} Popular hashtags forms communities around them instantly, some live longer than others. \textsuperscript{91} A. Small found that there are different types of political hashtags being used in Canada.

- Those who relate to specifically parties and views.
- Over-all political tags - for all regardless of party
- Non-political hashtags - communicate beyond specific followers.

The hashtags where not only used by politicians but by journalists individuals and bloggers as well.\textsuperscript{92} Parts of her methodology is also discussed in my methodology chapter as I drew inspiration form certain parts of it.

Her researched showed that two thirds of tweets came from two categories (individuals and others). Information were the dominated category of tweets in the Canadian election.\textsuperscript{93} In A. Small’s conclusion she established that Twitters offers a conversation between the sender and the receiver, through interactions and through hashtags. The traditional media and individuals where active in the debate, and they shared information to other platforms online.\textsuperscript{94}

In the spring of 2015 Anders Olof Larsson at Oslo Univeristy published a research which holds similarities to mine. He compared the Swedish parties during the general election of 2014, on the different social medias Twitter and Facebook.\textsuperscript{95} Larsson carried out a comparative study of Facebook and Twitter and studied comparatively how the

\begin{flushleft}
\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{88} Small (2012), p. 110  
\textsuperscript{89} Small (2012), p. 112  
\textsuperscript{90} Small (2012), p. 114  
\textsuperscript{91} Small (2012), p. 115  
\textsuperscript{92} Small (2012), p. 115  
\textsuperscript{93} Small (2012), p. 118-119  
\textsuperscript{94} Small (2012), p. 125  
\textsuperscript{95} Larsson (2015), p. 1
\end{flushleft}
Swedish political parties used these platforms in the election of 2014. In the introduction of his research he established that Swedish political actors in general have been early to adopt to the technologies as the web offers. He also equate Web 2.0 with social media, as if both concepts entail the same thing.

The result he found entails that the political parties have prepossession to use Twitter more often than Facebook. This was the case for all of the parties, even though the difference changed between the parties. For some there were a large difference for others a smaller. The result also showed that Feministiskt Initiativ was the most active of the parties, on both of the studied social medias. On Twitter Socialdemokraterna was the one with the second highest frequency of posts.

In Larssons discussion he argued that a large number of supporters don’t have to result in attention on Facebook and Twitter. He discussed that the Swedish political parties focused their priorities on the societal elities on Twitter, than the larger number of citizens from different socio-economical backgrounds on Facebook. On Facebook was Socialdemokraterna the party gained the most feedback, whereas on Twitter it was a stand off between Moderaterna and Sverigedemokraterna. Larsson ended his research to sum up that the larger parties had larger online success.

The foremost difference between my research and Larssons’ is that I aim to research how the political parties structured their posts and what topics they discussed. I wish to focus more on the content and the elements used to structure the posts.

3 Theoretical background

3.1 Framing theory

“The entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that the media have significant effects”

---

96 Larsson (2015), p. 2
97 Larsson (2015), p. 2-3
98 Larsson (2015), p. 8-9
100 Larsson (2015), p. 13
101 McQuail (2010), p. 327
Framing theory seeks to identify systems, systems that individuals use to perceive and understand the world, according to Sage Encyclopaedia of Communication Theory. Sociologist Ervin Goffman is often seen as the founder of this theory; he debates that all individuals use a certain type of interpretation patterns, frames. Goffman claims that frames help in order to reconstruct the reality. 102

The function of framing theory can be described as meaningful units that are communicated through socialisation processes and contributes in the making of a collective reality. 103 Situations, problems and events, as descriptions of the world can be portrayed in a numerous amount of ways, using different frames, each way it’s portrayed affects its audience in different ways. 104 The frames strive to make a definition, an explanation, a problematisation or a logical explanation; a frame is not only the way something is being portrayed, it also gives an interpretation. 105

All things which is portrayed are dependent on the individual behind the text and the individuals degree of subjectivity or not, in the framing. 106 There are two main types of frames, those which are used in the communication and those which are used on the receiving end, inside the individual to comprehend the context. 107

James N. Druckman discusses effects of framing theory concerning political messages. In his article "The implications of framing effects for citizen competence", Druckman discusses some of the effects of framing theory and presents some of the designs in framing. In the beginning of his article he started by establishing that researchers in the social sciences during the past fifty years have established that the political views of the citizens often depend on how the subject or problem is packaged/designated/framed in the media channels. 108 Framing effects have shown, according to Druckman, that the public base their political preferences arbitrarily on the information/communication which is presented in the media, which the elite uses to manipulate the discernment of the public. 109

102 Volkmer (2009), p. 1
104 Strömbäck (2009)a p. 120
105 Van Gorp (2007)a p. 66
106 Strömbäck (2009)a, p. 121
107 Scheufele (1999), p. 106
108 Druckman (2001), p. 9
109 Druckman (2001), p. 10
Druckman presents frames as principles of selection and presentation; these includes theories on what is, what's happening and what matters. Frames provide a centrally organized idea or an event through a cohesion in design. Druckman describes framing as the way a story is being told, produced and presented, as well as the effects of that design. The meaning of a framing design is not universal but depended on the dominated view of the media and the dominated view of the audience of that media. Therefore there cannot be a coherent "outlook" for the whole society. For an example, if Moderaterna and Socialdemokraterna, discuss that something has to be done about the school-politics, their framing of that issue is different as well as the approached design to gain public awareness of that matter.110

In the conclusion of his article Druckman makes the conclusion that there are two different types of framing:
- Equivalency framing, in which the same information is communicated in all the media, using the same frames and designs.
- Emphasis framing, in which politicians for an example present their views to the media, using different frames depending on their political position, in order to sway the media and the audience in one way or another.111

3.2 Media Logic

The term media logic was first introduced by David Altheide and Robert Snow, in the 1970:s. The concept media logic refers to the medialized society whereas there are quiet agreements between the media and the audience on how to present information. The sender and receiver forms the agreement together, that consist of how the material/information is presented. Altheide and Snow present media logic as a communication process, which consists of how information is presented and transferred in different medias to the audience/ the receiver of the information. The packaging of the information can be formatted in a numerous of different ways, using frames and tools to create genres.112

110 Druckman (2001), p. 11-13
111 Druckman (2001), p. 14
112 Altheide; Snow, (1979), p. 10
My ambition is to research how the media logic appears in posts on Twitter and Facebook, in which way is the information packaged, if this differ between the parties or do they work with a similar media logic. The audience itself and the social network the information appears in also influence the packaging. For example, on Twitter the post is limited to 140 characters, but on Facebook the sender of the communication decide on the length of the communication. As well as other types of packaging the information, is the post joined with images, videos and links.

The formats/ packaging of other media, traditional/ old media, have a more prominent appearance, than social media. It's easy to recognize the patterns and defining them for what they are, as for the evening news on TV or a news article in the daily newspaper. Every consumer of the media recognizes these patterns at once, and through that reorganization have other expectations on the media and the presentation regarding the forum it's presented in. The content of the media, the information it communicates adapts to the respective medias condition. Over time a number of templates have occurred, regarding the packaging and the storytelling which is formed according to the different medias. The same information communicated through different channels/ media is perceived differently according to the media it's presented in. 113

According to Jesper Strömbäck, prof. in journalism, media- and communication sciences, information which is easier to package in the frames/templates that the media is providing and allowing, is more likely to be spread through that media.114

Politicians and politics have always had a talent to assimilate with the dominated media and through history, a relationship with both actors dependant on each other have been created. Politicians have assimilated their information to match the available media outlet.115

Finances are most commonly an important factor regarding media logic, since media organizations wishes to be profitable, and gain as much economic capital as possible to

113 Altheide; Snow (1979) p. 104-105; Strömbäck (2009)a, p. 177
114 Strömbäck (2009)a, p. 33-34
115 Altheide; Snow (1979), p. 103-105
continue to exist.\textsuperscript{116} The type of media logic which concerns the media organizations possibility to make money is not of relevance in this research as the most social media is free for the users, including Facebook and Twitter. Although the political parties wishes to raise awareness of their causes and get people to vote, it's not a monetary profit peer say, but the goal is to be visible and get more voters. It's not completely coherent but similarities are there. The consequence of both is the same, the audience, transform from a silent receiver to an important party who are part of defining how the material shall be presented, to match their desires, which have great influences on the media logic.\textsuperscript{117}

3.3 Gate keeping theory

"The gatekeeping process determines the way in which we define our lives and the world around us, and therefore gatekeeping ultimately affects the social reality of every person".\textsuperscript{118}

Gatekeeping is defined as certain mechanisms which decide what is let through. It’s an ongoing process with a guard over what to enter, and deciding on what to exit.\textsuperscript{119} Gatekeepers decide not only the quantity of information which reaches the public eyes, but also the quality in regard of definitions.\textsuperscript{120} From a traditional perspective gatekeeping is about selecting information, mainly by journalists and editors. However with the emerge of the new media this traditional dynamic has been challenged. Today gatekeeping can also include shaping, manipulating and construction the reality for a specific target audience. Furthermore nowadays the citizens are more empowered in the relationship between the gated and the gatekeepers than ever before, due to the excessive use of social media and the possibility of social media to comment and engage.\textsuperscript{121}

Gatekeeping is commonly related to mass media and the selection which is made in order to decide which stories become news and which will not. Back in 1947 a

\textsuperscript{116} Altheide, Snow (1979), p. 165, 172
\textsuperscript{117} Altheide, Snow (1979), p.165, 172
\textsuperscript{118} Shoemaker; Vos (2009), p. 3
\textsuperscript{119} Elpers; A. Fitzgerald (2013), p. 288
\textsuperscript{120} Singer (2014), p. 56
\textsuperscript{121} Feng, Wayne Xu (2014), p. 422
psychologist, Kurt Lewin, made an observation, an observation which entailed that some individuals had a certain power to decide, what to pass onward to a larger group, for example the public. Those individuals with that power are considered gatekeepers. In recent years gatekeepers have acquired an extended meaning to the word, individuals, bloggers, political institutions etc. can be considered gatekeepers as they possess the tool through social media to control access of information, the flow of information and hence potentially control political influences. The medialized world today consists of many different channels for information, opinion and outlets which gives the audience more autonomy than ever before.

The traditional table of power is that the journalists are the ones who guard the information and decides what to be spread to the audience, the gated. On social media the gated have the possibility to directly interact with the guards. The digital advancements in technology have changed the possible routs of interactions, for example between the citizens and the news media. Digital technology enables the audience to produce, broadcast and interact independent of gatekeepers.

Internet, digital media and social media enforced a change in the role of gatekeepers. More and more people publish content online and decide for them self what to publish. The information communicated online may often be biased and restricted only by the ones who publish it, this however has a tendency to set public agendas.

People are depended on gatekeepers to transform messages and information, form bits and pieces to a more understandable wholeness, which is easy to access for the individuals. The process includes what information that is selected by the gatekeepers and the content of the message it shares. Theoretically the availability of more media outlets creates a more nuanced aspect of events, even though it’s not always the case in real life. In 2008, Barzilai-Nahon suggested that there are two components to networked gatekeeping: identification and salience. Identification concerns the

---

122 Valentini (2014) p. 565
123 Feng, Wayne Xu (2014), p. 422
124 Feng, Wayne Xu (2014), p.420
125 Feng, Wayne Xu (2014), p. 422
126 Valentini (2014) p. 566
participants in gatekeeping process, while salience refers to the relation between the gatekeepers and the gated. 128

Opinion leaders are producing large amounts of content and have a viral audience, sometimes with a lot of followers. They have political influence. The higher the connectivity is the broader audience it reaches. Because of this dynamic the gatekeepers can build audiences as well, not only choose which information to spread. Those who are more involved in politics are more likely to be leaders of opinion on social networks, such as Twitter. 129

On social media it’s possible to converse with gatekeepers, through casual chats, nurturing relationships or self-disclosure. 130 The gated have different alternatives and options to choose from on social media, through different sources and media outlets. There’s however an idea that people mainly choose those sources of information which reinforce the belief they already have. 131

3.4 Political marketing

Political marketing is not the same as political communication, although political marketing can’t be carried out without communication processes. Political marketing use marketing techniques, as polling, voter segmentation, TV-commercial and direct mails. Marketing concepts are based upon an understanding of what the customer, in this case the voter, and the costumers needs and wants. 132

Today the market of politics is more open than before, in order to sway votes based upon consumer behaviors and marketing technics. Politicians use marketing to investigate how to understand the voters and adjust their behaviors accordingly. 133 There is however argued that it’s of importance by the politicians to not only treat the voters as consumers, it’s equally important to treat them as citizens. 134

128 Feng, Wayne Xu (2014), p. 423
129 Feng, Wayne Xu (2014), p. 424
130 Feng, Wayne Xu (2014), p. 424
132 Strömbäck (2011)c, p.17
133 Lees-Marshalment (2009), p. 9-10
134 Lees-Marshalment (2009), p. 14
The core of political marketing is to respond to the voters needs and what they want. How this occur on the social media is one of the aspects that is included in this research. How is this communicated on the social medias?

Strömbäck presents three categories of political marketing, product-, sales- and market-oriented parties.

- Product-oriented party – “Argues for its own ideas and policies; assumes that voters will realize that its ideas are the best and therefore vote for it”.
- Sales-oriented party – “Believes in its own ideas and policies, but realizes that they must be “sold” to the public; does not change its behaviour or policies to give people what they want, but tries to make people want what the party offers.
- Market-oriented – “Uses market intelligence to identify voter needs and demands, and design its policies, candidates and behavior to provide voter satisfaction; does not try to change what people want, but to give the people what they want”.

Factors that matter of political marketing is, the political system within each country that shapes how the political marketing is applied, the parliamentary arena to maximize the influence is the goal and is easiest to accomplish in a majoritarian system, the electoral arena, where the voters decide who to support, the internal arena of members, supporters, and activists and lastly the media arena where politicians mediates their own politics to the voters.

Websites and social media offers opportunities of platformes to engage in political marketing. On these platforms it’s possible to communicate with voters who have not decided yet and simultaneously mobilize the supporters, although the limits are that the citizen must seek out the information and pay attention to it, but at the same time it’s giving politicians a wide range.

---

135 Lees-Marshment (2009), p. 23
136 Strömbäck (2011)c, p. 18
137 Strömbäck (2011)c, p. 19-27
138 Lees-Marshment (2009), p. 173
In political marketing it’s also important to identify who the target is, is the target the traditional supporter or voters who are unsure of which party to vote?\textsuperscript{139}

### 4 Methodology

In this chapter I present the methodology of this project. I present the choice of the methodology, the implementation, selection, methodological problems, together with reliability and validity. My aspiration is that it will make this research transparent and contribute to credibility of the study. The transparency in this chapter will also make this research possible to implement by other researchers in the future. I believe it’s of importance concerning the research ethics to be open with the choice and implementation of method, therefore the research becomes easy to follow and accessible for the reader.

#### 4.1 Choice of methodology

In order to conduct this project I will use both a quantitative and qualitative approach, which will triangulate the result. Triangulation is beneficial due to its use of multiple methods to a specific study.\textsuperscript{140} While using a triangulation, the traditional attitude is to combine a quantitative and qualitative approach for the methods to mutually authenticate each other.\textsuperscript{141} The use of both a quantitative and a qualitative approach in the methodology is also beneficial in a number of different ways. All methods have their strengths and weaknesses, while using a combination of both a quantitative and a qualitative approach it compensates for the weaknesses by focusing on the strength of both methodologies. The picture will also be more inclusive by using both a qualitative and quantitative approach. Quantitative research are better at describing structures while qualitative research is better at describing the depth of the process. Overall it’s strengthening the result to rely on both a quantitative and a qualitative approach.\textsuperscript{142}

The quantitative and the qualitative methodology will be applied through a quantitative and a qualitative content analysis, which will study the posts posted on Facebook and Twitter during the limited time period. The posts on Facebook and Twitter consists of texts, images, videos, logos, etc. The use of these segments vary between the posts and

\textsuperscript{139} Lees-Marshment (2009), p. 78  
\textsuperscript{140} Bryman, Alan (2008), p. 354  
\textsuperscript{141} Bryman, Alan (2008), p. 560  
\textsuperscript{142} Bryman, Alan (2008), p. 560
a number of different assemblies occur in the material, between texts and images, videos and texts, etc. Text is not always the dominated segment in the posts, but videos and images can also be the dominated segment. All of the post, including the non-text parts will be studied through the qualitative and quantitative methodology.

4.2 Implementation and definition of the methodology
The methodology used is divided into two different steps: the quantitative and the qualitative content analysis.

4.2.1 First step - The quantitative content analysis definition
The first step of implementation in my methodology is the quantitative content analysis, which was carried out and applied onto all the posts published on Twitter. The posts were categorised according to the questionnaire in Attachment A, for definitions of each individual part of coding in Attachment A, see Attachment A2.

The definition of quantitative content analysis is that it’s a systematic and replicable examination of communication understood by symbols, as have been assigned numeric values coherent with measurement and analysed based on statistical methods to describe the studied communication, and in conclusion draw deductions of its meaning. 143 Quantitative research enables to collect equivalent and comparable units of a material containing voluminous units of data. 144

The quantitative content analysis means to quantify the elements of a content. Berelson presents that there are five main units of analysis in a content analysis: words, themes, characters, items and “space and time” measures. Words are the smallest unit which commonly is applied in a content analysis, and can be measured in frequencies or placed into categories. Themes in the most basic of forms can be just one sentence or a statement about a subject. Regarding the characters, who they are, which role they play, if they are symbolic, if they can be classified etc. Items, can be books, letters, news stories, it’s a unit which classifies the material as a whole. The “space and time” unit offers the possibility to divide the content by inches, pages, words, minutes etc. 145

---

143 Fico; Lacy; Riffe (2014), p. 19
144 Esaiasson; Gilljam (2012), p. 219
145 Berelson (1971), p. 135-143
this research the units of analysis studied the concerning themes, characters and items, the frequency of words is adaptable through hashtags and mentions and space and time for defining the structure of the post.

The units of research/questions in the quantitative schedule are based upon the research questions. These units were chosen as guidelines of what’s of interest and what’s being counted in direct relation to the research questions. The research questions are:

- How did the political parties use social media?
- How were their posts structured?
- What were their main focuses/topics?
- In which way were the topics portrayed?
- To whom were the post directed?
- Which were the main visible actors?

In order to answer my research questions I have drawn inspiration from the research presented in the “Preceding research chapter”, to be inspired on what’s already establish and evolve it further.

Klinger presented that she divided the posts into different thematic clusters:
- The first cluster was labelled information and involved three sub-clusters.
  1. Information about party program, propaganda, political positions, information about statistic/survey, candidates and photos.
  2. Mass media references, link to and comment news articles and broadcast features.
  3. Transparency including posts with the aim to facilitate information regarding internal processes and decisions.
- The second cluster contained mobilization: through symbolic or material resources - donate, share, invitations to events, offered campaign materials, souvenirs etc.
  - The third cluster involved participation on a higher level, more demanding participation, activate users to participate in the real world.
  - The fourth cluster became label as "others", whereas they included those posts which did not fit in the other ones, this was 1, 6 percent of the postings.

---

146 Bryman (2008), p.287
147 Klinger (2013) p. 723-725
The coding schedule in Attachment A, consists of questions and alternatives, through these questions and alternatives I’ve included Klingers thematic clusters, in my quantitative questionnaire schedule.

In the coding schedule I’ve also collected inspiration from T. Small’s research, which is also presented in the “Preceding research chapter”. T. Small wished to define the contributor of the posts and the category it entails.

Part 1 - Who is the contributor ex. politician, news org, individual, other?
Part 2 - Category of the tweets: comments, conversations, news, retweets. Etc. 148

Even though my research is based upon specific Twitter accounts I believe it’s of importance to define who the contributor is, and if it’s a repost done, as well as the category of the post, therefore I have included these parts as well in the coding schedule in Attachment A.

Included in the coding schedule is also if the post is a comment, link, response to questions, criticism etc., which Baxter and Marcella included in their research. Baxter and Marcella also included different types of broadcasts:
- Primary broadcast that mainly consisted of the candidates posting, their own thoughts and party affiliation.
- Secondary broadcast, candidates posted about obtained information
- Two-way engagement dialogue between candidates and voters, example asking/answering questions.
- Unreciprocated engagement - voters tried to engage but was ignored, comments, questions etc. 149

The types of broadcasting is defined in the coding schedule, but unreciprocated engagement is an exception and will not be included in the coding schedule, since this research focuses on the posts made by the party, not by individuals engagement.

Finally I drew inspiration from T. Smalls’ different categories for hashtags:
- Those who relate to specific parties and views.
- Over-all political tags, for all regardless of party

---

- Non-political hashtags, communicate beyond specific followers.\textsuperscript{150}

The questions with alternatives for the coding schedule is presented in Attachment A, where the categories mentioned above takes form. Included as analysis units are also the main subject mediated through the post, as for example education, immigration or environment. Included is also the structure of the post, which elements it contains, how the elements are presented, what the elements mediates etc. For definitions of every unit in Attachment A, see Attachment A2.

While establishing the quantitative content analysis questionnaire in Attachment A and A2 I drew inspiration from the preceding research, as well as developing it further and adding my imprint on the study. My research takes place in a more present time than the others and the use of social media is still increasing. What separates my research from those I’ve drawn inspiration from is that I focus on a more delimited time and have the ambition to give a whole picture of the posts during this time. I focus on both Twitter (in the quantitative part) and Facebook (in the qualitative part). I also focuses on the largest parties, four of them, and a party which is a new established party which did not reach the government.

\textbf{4.2.2 Second step – The qualitative content analysis}

The second step of this research is the qualitative content analysis. As with the posts on Twitter, every single post published between the first and 14\textsuperscript{th} of September was gathered from Facebook. The qualitative content analysis consists of the first, middle and last post published on Facebook by the chosen political parties. For the selection to be valid the chosen post must consist of text and can’t just be that the party choose a different profile picture. If two posts are in the middle, the one with the most elements (as video, image, etc.) is chosen. The posts on Facebook will be studied through a qualitative content analysis, since the posts on Facebook offer the possibility to contain a richer text material, than Twitter. The qualitative content analysis is carried out as a framing analysis and in this step of my study I’ve taken inspiration from Van Gorps approach to a framing analysis.

Van Gorps first steps consists of:

\textsuperscript{150} T. Small (2012) p. 115
Step 1. Collect the material, text and otherwise.
Step 2. Open coding of the text independently on any schematics, and write down everything of notice, look at what choice are being made and what is presented.
Step 3. Arrange the codes with focus of the meanings and measures.
Step 4. Selectively coding and construct frame-packages, from the open coding.  

In “The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In” Van Gorp presents items to consider while working with framing analysis and specifically “Step 2” in the paragraph above.

Step 2.1. Focus on the “manifest framing devices”, such as implied phenomenon, what kind of words are being used? Such as metaphors, examples, descriptions, arguments and visual pictures.

Step 2.2. Focus on the “reasoning devices”, in which way is the text dealing with justifications, causes and consequences. What is defined as a problem? How is it defined as a problem? How is the problem reasoned about? Which moral values are enforced/implied? Is there any recommendations in the text?

Step 2.3. Focus on the “thematic frame”, how is the text presented? How is the post structured? What is the narrative? How is it told? Which archetypes can be identified?

Framing analysis process chart

- What’s the post mediating?
- Which are the topics and focuses?
  - How do they focus on those?
  - How are the topics reinforced?
  - In which way were the topics portrayed?
  - What is defined as a problem? How is it defined as a problem? How is the problem reasoned about?
- To whom were the post directed?
- Which were the main visible and invisible actors?
- Which are the manifest framing devices? What do the post imply? Which words are being used –metaphors, examples, descriptions?

---

151 Van Gorp (2010)b, p. 94-96
152 Van Gorp (2007)a p. 64-65
• Is the post containing reasoning devices, such as justifications, causes and consequences, moral values and recommendations? How are they used?

• Which is the thematic frame? Which is the overall thematic frame? How is the post structured? What is the narrative? How is it told? How is the format structured? How is the post narrated?

4.3 Selection

In order to research how Swedish political parties used social media as a communication tool with the public I’ve chosen to focus on the four parties which became the four major ones after the election, Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Sverigedemokraterna and Miljöpartiet. I’ve also chosen to include Feministtiskt Initiativ, because they had the most posts of all of the parties and they used social media as their main campaign tool.

The election took place on the 14th of September 2014 and the time period which this research focuses on is from the first of September to the 14th of September. It was in the two weeks leading up to the election a spurt took place in the campaigning on social media, during this period of time all of the selected parties had started their campaign on social media.

4.3.1 Selection process

All the data in this research is gathered from the selected platforms, Facebook and Twitter, from the parties’ official pages. Every post between the September first and the 14th are included in the collection of the material, although some exceptions are made about the posts which will be analysed.

4.3.2 Requirements of selection

4.3.2.1 Requirements of the quantitative posts

These are the requirements for selection on Twitter.

• The post must be published by the political party on their official timeline during the selected time period.

• Private conversations between individuals and the party, are disregarded if the party does not answer questions or direct the individual through information
and/or links. If the answer consists of less than three words or an incomplete incomprehensive sentence the post is disregarded.

- Retweets by the party are included, if the tweets are made by local fractions of the same party, important figures within the party, interest groups and other parties. Individuals which get retweeted are disregarded in this research, because in some cases this is more of a confirmation than aimed communication from the party. Retweets which consists of less than three word or an incomplete incomprehensive sentence are disregarded.

4.3.2.2 Requirements of the qualitative posts

All of the posts between the first and the 14th of September by the selected parties were gathered from Facebook. The analysis proceeded to be applied on the first, middle and last post made by the parties during this time. If two posts are in the middle, the one with the most elements (as video, image, etc) is chosen. For the selection to be valid the chosen post must consist of text as one of the elements and can’t just be that the party choose a different profile picture as an example.

4.4 The data

The units of data which are researched in this project are collected from the social media platforms Facebook and Twitter. The data are collected from the political parties’ official pages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political party</th>
<th>Account on Twitter</th>
<th>Account on Facebook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socialdemokraterna</td>
<td>twitter.com/socialdemokrat</td>
<td>facebook.com/socialdemokraterna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderaterna</td>
<td>twitter.com/nya_moderaterna</td>
<td>facebook.com/moderaterna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sverigedemokraterna</td>
<td>twitter.com/sdriks</td>
<td>facebook.com/pages/Sverigedemokraterna….</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miljöpartiet</td>
<td><a href="https://twitter.com/miljopartiet">https://twitter.com/miljopartiet</a></td>
<td>facebook.com/miljopartiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feministiskt Initiativ</td>
<td>twitter.com/feministerna</td>
<td>facebook.com/feministisktinitiativ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It’s dots behind Sverigedemokraternas page on Facebook, because the title consisted of a longer search name than the others and did not fit the page, which is: [facebook.com/pages/Sverigedemokraterna/676246449160270](https://facebook.com/pages/Sverigedemokraterna/676246449160270). Why the name consists
of numbers whereas the other parties did not, I don’t know and it is not of relevance in this research.

All my material is collected from these accounts above. On Facebook it was easy to go back in time to the date of the election, for the qualitative part of the research, which is implemented on the posts on Facebook. The first step in the selection was to gather all of the material from their official Facebook pages, gathering all of the posts.

Once I entered their separated pages I clicked on 2014 (this is from the Feministiskt Initiativs page, but they all look the same), and from there scrolled my way back to the first of September and collected all the post, images, videos and links inclusive, between the first and the 14th of September. The parliamentary election were on the 14th which I used as a stop for the research. During my delimited time period, there were a total of 68 posts published on Facebook on the selected political parties official pages, that were still visible when I gathered my material (between 5th and 6th of Mars). If any posts got deleted between the time period when they were published and the date of my gathering of the material, those posts cannot be included in this research, due to obvious reasons, I cannot study something I cannot see.
How these 68 post spread out on the different parties, is visible below. The reason why Sverigedemokraterna lack a number is because when I was trying to get back to the starting date the timeline abruptly stopped, showing no posts published before December second 2014, even though they launched their page on the first of January 2010 and I do recall seeing their posts during the election campaign, I can’t prove this and unfortunately I could not include them in the qualitative research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political party</th>
<th>Posts on Facebook</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socialdemokraterna</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderaterna</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sverigedemokraterna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miljöpartiet</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feministiskt Initiativ</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total amount:</strong></td>
<td><strong>68</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Once I gathered my material I saved all the posts in Word-documents, all posts from the same party is included in one document joined with the name of that party the date I collected them, and comments regarding the title, likes, shares, comments of the post, links, images and videos. The videos themselves could not be saved in the document but links to them where.

The data for the quantitative research origins from Twitter, and same as on Facebook the data was retrieved from the political parties official pages, between the dates of the first of September to the 14th.

I clicked on Tweets and began to scroll back to the date of September first.
I collected all the posts by Sverigedemokraterna into one document, with the date I retrieved the post, the complete post, including the date, images, links, etc.

I used the same method for Moderaterna and Miljöpartiet, but with Socialdemokraterna a problem occurred, Twitter was not able to go back so far, because Socialdemokraterna had posted to many posts since that date. I found a website called “Snapbird.org”, which is a search engine for social media which made it possible to go back further.

I decided “who” I searched for, which was the timeline of Socialdemokraterna, their name on Twitter is @socialdemokrat, and clicked “find it”. Through this I could go back to the date of September first and collect their posts as well, in the same manner as Sverigedemokraterna, Miljöpartiet and Moderaterna. The only difference were that, the posts didn’t quite look as their original on Twitter, because the images were only visible by clicking on a link, and it also wasn’t possible to view the number of retweets or favourites. It looked like this:
The posts still consisted of the information I needed for my research, text, images, videos and links, I'll just had to click on the links to view the videos and images. However the links had a specific signature if the images/ videos were visible in the post through other means than just a link.

Once I collected all the posts from Socialdemokraterna there was only Feministiskt Initiativs’ posts on Twitter left, but neither Twitter nor Snapbird made it possible to go back to the selected date, due to a too big amount of tweets. Feministiskt Initiativ had made too many posts since that date. I had to consult google; I found that if you searched for “Twitter” and “advanced search” a new, more detailed search option on twitter appeared.
All I had to enter was the selected account, define between which dates the search should entail and include retweets. I had to start the search from the day before my time period to the date after my time period in order to see all the tweets. After this search I was able to retrieve all the posts, from all my chosen parties.

5 Results from the quantitative content analysis

In this chapter the results from the quantitative content analysis are presented. In the quantitative content analysis I studied the posts made by the chosen political parties (Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Sverigedemokraterna, Miljöpartiet and Feministiskt Initiativ) on Twitter, between the dates of the first and the 14th of September, which were the two last weeks leading up to the Swedish governmental election of 2014. During these two weeks between the first and the 14th of September a total amount of 1859 posts were posted on Twitter which held the standards set by the
selection in my methodology chapter. The 1859 posts were spread out between the parties, as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political party</th>
<th>Posts on Twitter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socialdemokraterna</td>
<td>676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderaterna</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sverigedemokraterna</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miljöpartiet</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feministiskt Initiativ</td>
<td>826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total amount:</strong></td>
<td><strong>1859</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The feminist party, Feministiskt Initiativ, had the highest frequency of posts, followed by the socialist party, Socialdemokraterna. In the middle was the liberal party, Moderaterna and the environment friendly party, Miljöpartiet. Last with the lowest frequency of posts published on Twitter was Sverigedemokraterna, the nationalistic party.

In the following sub-chapters the percentage is rounded to the closest integer, no decimals is included.

5.1 Frequency of the posts

The frequency of the posts increased as the date of the election approached.
The mean for Socialdemokraterna was around 48 posts published a day, although the variation varied between nine and 103 posts, in reality, which gives a variation width of 94 posts. The peak of 103 posts was published on September 11th, followed by 77 respectively 78 posts published on the 12th and 13th of September.

The second largest party in the election was Moderaterna. During these two weeks they posted a total of 134 posts, with the highest peak of posts, 21 of them, were published on the first of September. The number of posts however went down after the first peak and they reached their second highest peak on September 11th with 13 posts. Followed by twelve and 13 on the 12th and the 13th. The mean for Moderaterna was ten posts, although, for Moderaterna the number of posts varied from zero to 21 posts published per day, which gives a variation width of 21 posts.

Miljöpartiet started these two weeks of by not publishing any posts until the sixth. The largest amount of posts were published on the 12th, with 44 posts, followed by 21 on the 13th. The mean for Miljöpartiet was 15 posts, and the span varied between zero and 44 posts published per day, which gives a variation width of 44 posts.

Sverigedemokraterna published less posts than the rest, only 19 posts within these two weeks, with a peak of eight posts on the Election Day. The second highest peak was on the fourth, with four posts. The mean for Sverigedemokraterna was slightly over one post per day, and the published posts varied from, zero to eight posts per day, which gives a variation width of eight posts.
Feministiskt Initiativ were the ones with the most posts published on Twitter during this time, 826 of them, with a mean of 59 posts. The number of published posts varied between 32 and 94 which gives a variation width of 62 posts. As Socialdemokraterna, Feministiskt Initiativ reached their peak on the 11th with 94 posts, followed by 81 on the 12th.

For the majority of the parties, the peak was centred at the end of the delimited time period, around the 11th and 12th, for the majority, with the exception of Sverigedemokraterna. Sverigedemokraterna had their peak on the election day, which mean they also had their peak at the end of the spectrum. Moderaterna who started off with their peak and had their second and third peak at the end of the delimited time period. To sum up, the number of posts held a higher frequency at the end of the spectrum.

5.2 The structure of the posts

In order to describe the structure of the posts, I’ve divided the segments of the posts in separate sub-headlines following below. The structures are described through which elements the posts include, to what extent these elements are being used and which elements that are being used together by the different parties. The structures of the posts are also being described through the status of the post, which is defined by whether if it’s a new post published by the party or if it is a re-post, a retweet. The structure of the post is also defined by the use of elements, such as hashtags (#), mentions (@), images, videos and links.

5.2.1 The core elements

The core elements are defined as the building blocks or the parts which the post consists of, such as text, links, images, videos, and other parts. In the figures below, the percentage of each part is defined and showing how the elements were spread out, both overall and in the individual parties.

Seen to all the parties, the main elements which the posts were built with were text, image, links and videos. 97 percent of the studied post included text as one of the building elements. Overall was the division of elements divided as such; post only
including text is accounting for 45 percent of the overall posts. The second largest zone consists of the posts including text and links, 31 percent of the total amount. The third dominated group of elements were text and image together, which accounted for 17 percent of the posts. Leaving text and video on only four percent of the posts and other combination on three percent.

All of the studied parties used the same core elements, although the extent the parties used these elements differed. The majority of the posts published by Socialdemokraterna consisted of text, more than half of their posts consisted solely of text; which is a higher frequency than the other parties. The dominated core elements within Moderaterna were the combination of text and image, with the result of almost half of their posts. In the posts published by Miljöpartiet were the dominated core elements were the combination of text and link, which was the dominated elements in 31 percent of the posts. Sverigedemokraterna had a tie between the top two categories of their core elements, text and the combination of text and links, 32 percent each. This followed the overall outcome, whereas text and the combination of text and link to have the highest frequency of use. The result of Feministiskt Initiativ were close to the
overall result in fig. 1. The largest segment for them was the same as for Socialdemokraterna, which was text.

Socialdemokraterna followed the overall trend and their second largest segment were text and link, still with a slightly higher frequency than overall. The same case was for Moderaterna, where text and link were the second largest segment for them as well, around the same percentage as Socialdemokraterna. Feministiskt Initiativ also had the combination of text and links as the second biggest segment and around the same percentage. The second biggest segment of the posts published by Miljöpartiet was text and the combination of text and image had close to the same percentage, only one percentage separated them. Sverigedemokraterna had a higher percentage than average of the segment consisted of text and video, with 21 percent of their posts.

The segment of text and images together were the third largest segment of core elements within the posts made by Socialdemokraterna. The third largest segment within Moderaterna was different from the other parties and consisted of the posts only including text. The elements that had the lowest frequency of the posts made by Socialdemokraterna were text and video, and other compositions. Text and video were a small segment for Moderaterna as well, with only four percent. Still, even for Miljöpartiet the combination of text and video, together with the other combination ended up at the bottom. Lastly for Sverigedemokraterna was the posts consisting of text and image, this were different compared to the other parties.

Seen to all of the parties the dominated core element varied, although similarities occurred, as the combination of text and links, which were the second largest segment for Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna and Feministiskt initiativ. On the bottom for the most parties was the combination of text and video, together with the category of “other”.

5.2.2 Status of the posts
The status of the post is determined whether it’s a completely new post posted by the party or if it’s a repost, a post the party posts again on their timeline, but originated somewhere else. Based on my methodology chapter only the repost which match the
demands of my selection is included, every other repost made is not included in this statistics nor in the research as a whole.

The status of the post, including all of the parties is visible in the diagram above. Of the total sum of 1859 posts in this research 86 percent of them were new-posts, 13 percent were re-posts and less than one percent had another or an unclear status. Which translates to 1599 new posts, 242 reposts and 19 other posts which the kind of was unclear to measure.

The majority of the parties used a combination of both posts made by themselves and re-posts made by other actors; which matched the selection, such as re-posts which was originally made by interest organizations, other politicians etc. The only party which did not have any re-posts in the total amount of the selected posts were Feministiskt Initiativ, 100 percent of their posts were new posts. The other parties had re-posts from between 17 to 40 percent, which gives a variations width between the parties of 23 percent regarding re-posts.

Of Socialdemokraternas posts 79 percent were original posts made by them and 21 percent were reposts made by others. Miljöpartiet and Sverigedemokraternas division of the posts followed a similar pattern with 82 percent new posts and 17 percent reposts made by Miljöpartiet and 26 percent reposts and 74 percent new posts made by Sverigedemokraterna. In the division between new posts and re-posts Moderaterna was the party with the highest number of re-posts included in the selection. Moderaterna
made 60 percent original posts and 40 percent of the posts originated from other timelines than their own.

5.2.3 Hashtags

Hashtags are another element which the parties used to structure their posts. All parties used hashtags in their posts but the extent differed between them. For most of the parties hashtags were used in the dominated amount of posts, while the exception was Sverigedemokraterna which was lacking hashtags in the majority of the posts. Only eleven percent of Sverigedemokraternas posts included hashtags, in comparison to the other parties which all reached over 50 percent. The party with the highest percentage of hashtags in their posts were Moderaterna, who used hashtags in 96 percent of their posts. Moderaterna was followed by Socialdemokraterna who used hashtags in 83 percent of their posts. Feministiskt Initiativ landed in the middle with 63 percent.

![Do the post contain hashtags? fig.5](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Hashtags Used (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socialdemokraterna</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderaterna</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sverigedemokraterna</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miljöpartiet</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feministiskt Initiativ</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.3.1 The use of hashtags

The hashtags were used to link information around different titles. Those titles could be specific to the political contributor of the post, general to the election as a whole, a combination of hashtags regarding both the party and the election in general, non-political hashtags, another combo or other hashtag.

The category which was the largest one differed between the parties. The biggest category of the hashtags published by Socialdemokraterna were hashtags concerning the election in general (66 percent), followed by the hashtags related specifically to them, with significantly smaller percentage (nine percent). The category which dominated in the posts made by Moderaterna was the category which included both hashtags related to the election generally and to them specifically (64 percent), followed by the category which entailed general hashtags (22 percent). The dominated choice made by Sverigedemokraterna was to not include hashtags, this was the dominated structure in 89 percent of their posts. Followed by the category of combining hashtags about the general election and the political contributor (11 percent). The dominated category for Miljöpartiet was the same as Socialdemokraterna and was concerning the election in general (33 percent), followed by hashtags specific to the contributor (ten percent).
Lastly the largest category of Feministiskt initiatives was the one with hashtags concerning them on 38 percent followed by the category that combined hashtags of the election in general and hashtags concerning them specifically (15 percent). The least used hashtags by all was the non-political hashtags.

5.2.4 Mentions

Mentions, the use of @ in order to tag someone or something in the posts, is another element which the parties used to structure their posts. The use of mentions had lower percentages than the use of hashtags.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mentions (@) in the posts fig. 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No mentioned (@)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/ other combination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The media/ opinionmakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party/ politicians of the opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party/ politicians of the same block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party/ politicians of the contributor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seen to all of the parties, no mentions in the posts were the dominated structure. Overall had 62 percent of the posts no mentions included in the structure. In the 38 percent of posts which included mentions overall, 15 percent included mentions which referred to the contributor of the post, the party which published the post or politicians of that same party. Less than one percent of the mentions referred to a party or a politician of the same block and about one percent of the mentions referred to a party or a politician of the opposition. Two percent of the mentions referred to media or opinion makers and as much as 20 percent consisted of either another type of mentions, as personal account or a combination of mentions, for example politicians both from their own party and the opposition.

The political party which had the highest frequency of mentions in their posts was Feministiskt initiativ with 58 percent. Of these 58 percent 31 percent fell into the category of other/ other combination and 24 percent were mentions of the party or politicians within the party. The remaining three percent fell into the other categories. Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna and Miljöpartiet had a lower percentage of mentions. Socialdemokraterna used mentions in 24 percent of their posts, the most mentions fell into the category of other/ other combination and mentions of the party and/or politicians within the party, same as Feministiskt initiativ. Miljöpartiet also had the
most mentions in the categories of other/other combination and party and/or politicians within the party. Moderaterna followed the same trend, although they had more posts with mentions of the party and/or politicians of the party than the category of other. Sverigedemokraterna had the lowest use of mentions, only five percent and those were in the category of the party and/or politicians within the party.

5.2.5 Images

Images were another element that the political parties used in order to structure their posts, as previously mentioned regarding the core elements. Images were something all of the parties used but it differed in frequency, between the parties.

Moderaterna were the ones with the highest percent of images in their posts, with 57 percent. They were followed by Miljöpartiet who had images attached in 35 percent of their posts. Feministiskt initiativ, Sverigedemokraterna and Socialdemokraterna, all had images in between 15-16 percent of their posts, which is a difference of almost 40 percentage units compared to Moderaterna.
5.2.6 Videos

Videos were an element used in lower frequency than images.

All parties, except from Sverigedemokraterna had videos in less than ten percent of their posts; Sverigedemokraterna had videos in 21 percent of their 19 posts, which translates to four video posts. Socialdemokraterna had the lowest percentage of videos with only two percent of their 676 posts, which gives 15 video posts. Moderaterna had the second lowest with four percent, of their 138 posts, which gives five video posts. Moderaterna and Socialdemokraterna were followed by Miljöpartiet and Feministiskt initiative, both on six percent of their posts, of Miljöpartiets total of 203 and Feministiskt initiativs total of 826, which in reality gives twelve video posts from Miljöpartiet and 50 posts from Feministiskt initiativ.

5.2.7 Links

Links as an element in the posts were first introduced in the core elements section, together with images, videos and text. The posts including links were the second most common structure after the posts including only text. The majority of posts including links were overall close to 40 percent, including in links are also videos, which were added to the posts by link.
In total 40 percent of the 1859 posts included links, which is 751 posts. All of the parties had percentages around the same percent. The party with the highest percentage was Sverigedemokraterna, who had links in 53 percentages of their posts. Followed by Miljöpartiet on 46 percentages, Moderaterna on 41 percentages, Socialdemokraterna on 40 percentages and lastly Feministiskt initiativ on 39 percentages.

5.3 The topics and information

In this segment I present the topics, orientations of the posts and what kind of information that is presented.

5.3.1 Political position of the post

With political position of the posts I refer to whether the post is dealing with information about the political position or propaganda, as defined in Attachment X2?
Of the total 1859 posts made by all of the parties, 54 percent of them included information about the political position and/or propaganda, 40 percent did not and 6 percent of the posts were unclear to whether the post included information about political position, propaganda, or not. The studied political parties’ political position and/or propaganda appeared in between 45 and 64 percent of the posts. The posts published by Socialdemokraterna had the highest percent of political position and propaganda in their posts. Socialdemokraterna was followed in magnitude by Moderaterna, Miljöpartiet, and Sverigedemokraterna.

5.3.2 Orientation of the posts

By orientation of the posts the alignment of the post is being described.
Even though political position/propaganda submissive category in this segment, it was still the dominated orientation of the posts overall, with 39 percent of the 1859 total posts. The main orientations which followed were interaction (19 percent), mobilization (10 percent), other (10 percent) and references to mass media/debates (9 percent). The category “about candidates” had less than one percent and was the least used orientation.

For the majority of the parties the dominated category was the category of political position/propaganda. Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna and Miljöpartiet all had that category as the dominated one. Sverigedemokraterna had a tie between the dominated categories, political position/propaganda were one of those, and the other one were the category which dealt with mass media (without links). The dominated orientation of the posts published by Feministiskt initiativ varied from the other parties, for them the
category of interaction was the largest one (30 percent of their posts). The category of political position/propaganda was only the second largest category of the Feministiskt initiativs’ posts. Overall this category varied between 54 and 26 percentage units. Out of the other parties the second largest orientation were, for Moderaterna the orientation on mobilization, for Miljöpartiet the category of mass media/debates and for Socialdemokraterna (besides the category of other) the category of interaction.

5.3.3 Substance and point of issue

Substance and point of issue is simplified the topic of the post, the election issue or if the topic is the election itself.

![Point of issue - total fig. 14](image)

Seen to all of the parties together, the election itself was the topics which was discussed in the most posts. 41 percent of the total 1859 posts were about the election itself. The category of other topics than those to choose from was the second biggest category with 24 percent. Out of the election issues to chose from employment/unemployment was together with education the topics most commonly discussed in the posts. Closely followed by equality and environment.
The point of issue in the posts which were the dominated one for all of the parties was the election itself; although the percentages varied between the parties from 26 to 55 percent. This gives a variation width of 29 percentages. Sorted by magnitude, highest percentage to lowest: Feministiskt initiativ, Sverigedemokraterna, Moderaterna, Miljöpartiet and Socialdemokraterna. In a majority of the parties the category of “other” was the second biggest category. This was the case for Socialdemokraterna, Sverigedemokraterna and Feministiskt initiativ. The second biggest category for Moderaterna was employment/unemployment and for Miljöpartiet it was the category regarding the environment. As for the third biggest category, Socialdemokraterna had education, Moderaterna had other, Sverigedemokraterna did not have third category, Miljöpartiet had education and equality and Feministiskt initiativ had equality.

5.3.4 Portrayal of images

Seen to all of the parties, 388 posts included images, which is just over 20 percent in total. These 388 images consisted of different portrayals. The separate categories were:
politicians, icons/logos, propaganda/political policies, viewer contributed, in the moment, other image.

Seen to all of the parties the dominated portrayal of the images was the political policies/propaganda category, with 63 percent of the total images. The category with the second highest percent was “in the moment”, with 17 percent. Between the dominated category and the second biggest category it differed 46 percentage units. Among the categories of images which was not used in such a high frequency were, icons, logos, the focus on things and the strict politician images, these categories had lower than ten percent. Viewer contributed images and images that did not fit into the categories were the ones with the lowest percentage.

In the majority of the parties the dominated category of their published images belonged to the propaganda/political policies category. This was the case for Socialdemokraterna (85 percent), Moderaterna (46 percent), Miljöpartiet (76 percent) and Feministiskt initiativ (49 percent). Sverigedemokraterna however had most images that belonged to “in the moment” category (67 percent). The majority of the parties also had the category of “in the moment as the second biggest category. This was the case for Socialdemokraterna (14 percent), Moderaterna (39 percent) and Miljöpartiet (15 percent). Sverigedemokraterna and Feministiskt initiativ however did not follow the majority. The second biggest category for Sverigedemokraterna was propaganda/political policies (35 percent) while the second biggest category for Feministiskt initiativ focused on things, icons and logos (19 percent).

![Graph showing the portrayal of images by different categories](chart.png)
5.3.5 Portrayal of videos?

Of the total number of posts of 1859, 87 of them included video. The different categories regarding video were: party program/ propaganda/ political policies, reality/behind the scenes, regarding the candidates, debates, answering questions, non-working videos and other.

![Diagram showing video portrayals](image)

Seen to all of the parties together the dominated type of the video was videos which regarded party program/propaganda/political policies, with a total of 47 percent. The dominated category was followed by the category of reality/behind the scenes, with a total of 23 percent. Other types of videos than the alternatives consisted of ten percent, followed by videos regarding the candidates, debates, answering questions and non-working videos, all below ten percent.
Seen to all of the parties, few videos were posted on twitter during this time. Socialdemokraterna posted 14 videos, Miljöpartiet posted 12 videos, Moderaterna posted six videos and Sverigedemokraterna posted four videos. The one party that stood out was Feministiskt initiativ who posted 51 videos. The majority of the parties dominated amount of videos belonged to the category of party program/propaganda/political position. The dominated amount of videos published by Sverigedemokraterna, Moderaterna and Feministiskt initiativ belonged to this category as well. Socialdemokraterna and Miljöpartiet had another biggest category, reality/behind the scenes. For those two the second largest category was the category party program/propaganda/political position, and that category was not dominated if the videos fitted into another category as well.

5.3.6 Links to where?

In previous parts of this result chapter links have been discussed in terms of how much of the total posts consisted of the link element and how this differed etc. In this segment it will be described to where the political parties’ links lead.
In total the dominated amount of the links lead to their own website/social media, with 24 percent of the total posts, followed by links to mass media on eleven percent. Other links, political media, bloggers/opinion makers, other twitter accounts within the party and other twitter accounts outside the party, got one percent each. The rest of categories did not reach one percent in the total findings.

The two biggest categories for the majority of the parties were links to their own website/social media and links to mass media. The one exception was Sverigedemokraterna, instead of mass media as the second biggest category they had political media instead.

**5.3.7 Comparison and criticism**

Criticism and comparison is difficult to identify in quantitative terms since criticism and comparison can appear both veiled and hidden, only criticism and comparison which is outspoken will be accounted for in this segment.
In 21 percent of the posts published by Socialdemokraterna they compared themselves to the opposition, which was the only comparison they made. Moderaterna compared themselves with the opposition in 31 percent of the posts and Miljöpartiet compared themselves with the opposition in 25 percent of the posts. Feministiskt initiativ compared themselves with the opposition in one percent of their posts and Sverigedemokraterna did not compare themselves to any of the other parties. Miljöpartiet did also compare themselves to Sverigedemokraterna in twelve percent of their posts and both Socialdemokraterna and Feministiskt initiativ did the same but, in one percent each of their posts. Moderaterna did not compare themselves to Sverigedemokraterna.
Socialdemokraterna published criticism towards the opposition in nine percent of their posts, criticism of specific politicians of the opposition in six percent of the posts and other types of criticism in six percent of their posts. Moderaterna published criticism towards the opposition in 16 percent of their posts, critic of specific politicians of the opposition in one percent of their posts and other types of critic in four percent of their posts. Sverigedemokraterna published no criticism towards the opposition but 26 percent of their posts contained criticism of the media and 21 percent included other types of criticism. Miljöpartiet published criticism of the opposition in eleven percent of their posts, criticism towards specific politicians in five percent of their posts and other types of criticism in eight percent of their posts. Feministiskt initiative published criticism of the opposition in one percent of their posts and other types of criticism in four percent of their posts.

6 Analysis of the quantitative result

In this chapter the result of the study is presented together with an analysis, with connections to the research questions of this study, theories and theoretical background. In order to construct the findings in relation to the theoretical base and the general context.

6.1 In relation to the research questions

6.1.1 How did the political parties use social media?

All of the studied political parties used social media, but the number of posts they made during this delimited time varied in extent between them, as did the structure, topics etc. The party with the highest amount of posts on Twitter was Feministiskt initiativ, and then sorted by magnitude followed Socialdemokraterna, Miljöpartiet, Moderaterna and Sverigedemokraterna. For most of the parties the frequency of the post per day increased as the date of the election approached. The peak for most parties were around the 11th, 12th and 13th of September, however the highest amount of posts published by Moderaterna was on the first of September, Moderaterna had other high peaks at the end of the time period and the highest peak for Sverigedemokraterna was on the election day.
6.1.1.1 How were their posts structured?

Status of the posts

The status of the posts were mainly new posts published by the contributor of the post, as some of the reposts got rejected in the selection process, since it did not match the requirements of the selection. Almost 90 percent of the posts were new posts published by the political contributor. Feministiskt initiativ was the one that had the lowest number of re-posts, a total of 100 percent new posts and Moderaterna was the one who had the highest number of re-posts with around 40 percent, the other parties were in between. Retweets can be used as a form of communication on social media alongside commenting, tagging and hashtagging; communication forms which can be used to create a highly followed account on Twitter.153

Core elements

On Twitter the political parties used core elements to build their posts; those were text, links, images and videos, the usage of these elements differed in extent between the parties. Text was the element which was the most common, both seen as an individual category and a combined block, since the posts build with images, videos and links included text as well. The combination of elements which had the highest usage were text and links. On social media there’s an extrovert motive to be seen by the viewer and therefore create a visible image.154 To create a visual image for the viewer there’s several elements to use, such as text, video, images and links, which were the most prominent elements in this study. The elements are used to promote the parties, through social media marketing, which is of importance to create a fan base/ followers.155 For Socialdemokraterna and Feministiskt initiative, the core element used was text, and the second category of the core elements were text joined with links. Sverigedemokraterna had a tie between the dominated core elements used, both the category of only text and the one consisted of text and link had the same dividend. Text and links continued to be the dominated core element within the posts of Miljöpartiet, followed by text. The dominated core elements in the posts made by Moderaterna were text and image, a category not in the top by the other parties, followed by text joined with links for them as well.

---

153 Ström (2010), p. 76; p. 82-85
In regards of social networking it has been presented that it’s of importance to create content which are specific for your audience. With the ideal that the audience wish to take part of the content and acting like a publisher, thus believing that the content you present is relevant for your audience. To create it, it’s recommended to experiment in the creation and packaging of the content. Using a variation of the building blocks in the post, the core elements are a way of both creating material for the viewer as well as experimenting with which composition works best. Through publishing on social media and building an audience they become publishers which the viewer perceives materials from. Materials can vary in format, text is always a recommendation, but also publishing photographs and other types of media, in order to get noticed by the viewer.

Images
Images were one of the core elements, which all of the parties used in their posts, in different quantities and types. The party with the highest frequency of images in their posts was Moderaterna, who had images in more than half of their posts. Followed by Miljöpartiet who had images in more than a third of their posts, the other parties, Socialdemokraterna, Sverigedemokraterna and Feministiskt initiative all had images in about a seventh of their posts. Images and photos on social networks is argued to be as important as text, and it’s highly recommended to use a lot of edited images on social media, to create awerness. The most common categories of images were the same among the parties, which can be argued that they followed a similar media logic, of what type of images to post and how to post them.

Videos
Videos were also one of the core elements, however the quantities were lower. The only party who had videos in more than ten percent of their posts was Sverigedemokraterna. Social media consists of a collective and collaborative culture, through posting on one social media site it’s possible to link it to other sites, as social media increases the ability to share content. Users can upload videos to YouTube and then spread it to other

---

156 K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 93-94
157 K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 206
158 K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 206
159 Altheide; Snow, (1979), p. 10
social media platforms.\textsuperscript{160} Sverigedemokraterna together with the other parties used this technic which social media provides.

**Links**

Links were the last segment of the core elements. The posts including links were the second most common structure of the posts besides the posts which only consisted of text. In the total amount of posts which consisted of links, were close to 40 percent of the total posts. All of the parties were close to this percentage of the posts including links. While social media has increased in popularity political parties and other governmental agencies have begun to use communication through these platforms. It’s mostly a one way dialogue and they link the viewer to pages they wish the viewer to see.\textsuperscript{161}

**Hashtags and Mentions**

The political parties also used elements such as hashtags and mentions. All of the parties used hashtags in their posts, although the degree of use, and the type of hashtag differed. For most of the parties hashtags were used in a dominated amount of posts, the exception was Sverigedemokraterna who lacked hashtags in the majority of the posts. The common denominator of the used hashtags were that the majority of the parties all had least hashtags which were non-political, however the nature of the most used varied between the parties. Hashtags which referred to the election in general were the one that dominated within Socialdemokraterna and Miljöpartiet. For Moderaterna a combination between hashtags which referred to the general election and them specifically were the hashtags of highest use, this also was the category of the hashtags used by Sverigedemokraterna, although within Sverigedemokraterna the dominated structure was not to use hashtags. Feministiskt initiative was the one party that mostly used hashtags which referred to them and their politics. Hashtags make the posts with the same hashtags part of a thread on social media, which gathers all the information of the same topic, this also gives more hits on search engines.\textsuperscript{162} Through the use of Internet, it’s possible to search for a topic, using hashtags, which is linking materials of the same topic, creating links between people and information.\textsuperscript{163}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item Fuch (2014), p. 53, 35
  \item Klang (2011), p. 49
  \item K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 389; Loader; Mercea (2012), p. 8
  \item Flew (2002), p. 12
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Tagging or mentions, the use of tagging someone or something in a post through the use of @-symbol were another element which the parties used in order to structure their posts; although the dominated structure was not to have any mentions in the post. Less than 40 percent of the posts contained mentions in the structure. The dominated mention was either an other combination or another mention then the alternatives. The second most common mention in the posts was a mentioned that was in relation to the contributor of the post, either the party itself or politicians within the party. The third type of mention was mentions related to the media or opinion makers, this third section was however significantly smaller than the other two. Tagging/mentioning opens up to a two-way interaction, and gives new links on who to follow and interact with. As well as a mention makes the one who is mentioned aware of the post. Through using mentions/tagging one can create links to people who would share an interest of the post.

As if the post was about them or about something of their interest.

6.1.1.2 What were their main focuses/topics?

The general topic of all of the studied posts, including all of the parties, were the election itself, not election issues. Over 40 percent of the posts had the election as the main topic. Almost a fourth of the posts consisted of another topic than the ones to choose from, or a combination of topics which made it impossible to choose the dominated one, or a topic that was unclear. Of the election issues, of all of the parties together, employment/unemployment and education were the two election issues, which appeared in the highest quantity. Those topics were closely followed by the topic of equality and environment. The other topics got two percent or less. A part of social media is that it’s a forum that offers the opportunity to specify on a specific cause or focus which matches the audience. The specific cause which all of the parties seemed most interested to discuss was the election. The election was the common denominator of all the parties. Political participation possesses a tendency to focus around the specific political positions key topics. The election issues however differed between the parties, as they focused on specific topics, dependent on the party.

---

164 Ström (2010), p. 77
165 Ström (2010), p. 77
166 Matthews; Anwar (2013), p. 303; Rohumaa (2013), p, 444
167 Dahlgren (2013), p. 48
The two biggest parties, Socialdemokraterna and Moderaterna, both had the same dominated election issue unemployment/employment. The framing of these topics can have an effect, according to Druckman, the public base their preferences on information which is presented in the media, if this in extension also is adaptable to social media, the political parties can gain favour based on the topics and how these topics are framed.

6.1.1.3 In which way were the topics portrayed?

Orientation of the post

The first classification made regarding the orientation of the post, was whether the post dealt with political position or propaganda. More than half of the posts had an orientation which dealt with political position and propaganda. Since a post can include both political position and propaganda, this orientation was regressive in the other part regarding the orientation, if another orientation was apparent that one would be chosen. Other forms of orientation which was apparent were: interaction, mobilization, mass media / debates, transparency, participation etc. Those which are mentioned and the category of “other” were the most prominent categories a side from political position/propaganda. Others which didn’t reach as high outcome were: statistics/ survey, about candidates, media (without links) and user generated orientations. Orientation can be considered to be a type of media logic. Orientation and media logic both rely on an agreement between the sender and the viewer and regards how the material is being presented, how the information is being transferred to the public.

Orientation of the images

About one fifth of all the posts contained images, these images consisted of different portrayals, orientations. In total the dominated orientation was the same as with posts overall, propaganda/ political policies. The second largest orientation was “in the moment” – images, followed by other image, icons/logos, strict politician on the same percentage.

Orientation of the videos

The videos followed the same trend as the images, the dominated orientation seen to all of the videos were political policies/ propaganda, followed by “reality behind the

169 Altheide; Snow, (1979), p. 10
scenes”. The other orientations which had a lower part each were orientations regarding the candidates, debates and answering questions. There were a few videos that did not work and those who did not fit into the categories.

**Orientation of the link**
The most links lead to their own sites, either their own website or another social media site where they had an account. The second most links lead to mass media. Other links, lead to political media, bloggers/opinion makers, twitter accounts and there were also other links which did not match the categories.

**Comparison and criticism**
Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna and Miljöpartiet did compare themselves with the opposition in a significant amount of posts, Feministiskt initiativ did compare themselves with the opposition in the posts as well but only in one percent of their posts. Miljöpartiet did also compare themselves with Sverigedemokraterna in more than a tenth of their posts, Socialdemokraterna and Feministiskt initiativ did the same but in one percent each of their posts.

Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna and Miljöpartiet did publish criticism of the opposition in a similar percentage of their posts. Feministiskt initiativ in less the one percent. Sverigedemokraterna did not publish criticism of the opposition, but their posts contained criticism. A fourth of their posts contained criticism of the media and a fifth of their posts contained other types of criticism. Feministiskt initiativ published criticism in less than one percent.

**7 The qualitative result and analysis**
In this chapter I present the result and analysis from the qualitative part of my research, based on the qualitative framing analysis of the parties posts on Facebook; as selected between the date of the first and 14th of September in the Swedish election campaign. The parties which will be included in this part of the research is: Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Miljöpartiet and Feministiskt initiative. The Facebook page of Sverigedemokraterna, is excluded in this part of the research, since it was not possible to retrieve the posts made by them during the election, every post made before December of 2014 was not visible.
The material which are presented and analysed in this part of the research consists of three Facebook posts from each party, which gives a total of twelve posts. All of the posts have been through the qualitative framing analysis chart, which was presented in the methodology chapter. All of the data, the original posts and the raw material from the framing analysis is available on demand.

The results and analysis are presented through text with examples/quotes from the material together with connections to the presented theories, previous conducted research and my research questions. The results and analyses are presented overall and by party.

7.1 The main presented frames

In the overall posts, the framing differed between the parties. Each party had a dominated frame which was more prominent than the others presented by that party. Four frames were more dominated than others, one from each party. In order to refer to these frames in the following text, they will be called “Responsibility”, “Action”, “Mobilization” and “Interactivity”.

Frames are identified systems within the text which are apprehended in order to understand the context and reconstruct a reality. Texts, which describes situations, problems and events can be described and portrayed in different ways, using different frames. Each frame holds the possibility to affect the viewer in different ways. “Responsibility”, “Action”, “Mobilization” and “Interactivity” are the frames which will be discussed in the following segment, those are the overall frames which the parties used in order to reconstruct the reality according to their context and describe situations, problems and events from their perspective.

7.1.1 “Responsibility”

This frame focuses on evoking a sense of responsibility within the viewer and was the main frame used within the posts made by Socialdemokraterna. In their posts they

170 Volkmer (2009), p. 1
171 Strömbäck (2009)a p. 120
focused on the future and how the viewer wishes the future to be like and what the
viewers’ ideals are.

“Vote for Socialdemokraterna if you want jobs, education and welfare to come
before tax cuts.”
Socialdemokraterna, post 1: September first, quote from post, unknown composer.

This line connotes responsibility while aiming towards the viewer’s ideals. This line
appeals to the viewer to vote, if the statement made matches their beliefs about work,
education and welfare being of higher importance than tax cuts. If the viewer agrees, the
responsible thing to do is vote for the party which matches their beliefs.
The media logic, the communication process, of the presented information, is
presented as a direct conversation towards who is reading the post and if the viewer of
the post agrees, the viewer is urged to vote.
The responsibility frame is also visible through even more direct messages aimed
towards viewer, where the text mediates that it’s the viewer who decide the course of
the future, it’s up to them to create the future which they wants to live in.

“100 hours left until you decide:
4 more years of tax reductions
or
it’s time for a better Sweden. For everyone.
Vote for Socialdemokraterna.
Change government.”
Socialdemokraterna post 2: September 10th, all of the text from the post.

Through the post Socialdemokraterna mediates that they will be responsible and make
sure there will be a better Sweden for everyone, but they present it as a choice. There’s
100 hours left until the election, the offer of which to choose from is someone who
focuses on a better Sweden or someone who focuses on tax reductions. A better
Sweden, for everyone (as they say in the post) is mediated as a better option, than the
other one which only gives tax reductions. Helping others and make sure that everybody
gets a part of a better Sweden, is mediated as the responsible option.
Through a gatekeeping processes, deciding what of the content that is let through, 

172 Altheide; Snow, (1979), p. 10
173 Elpers; A. Fitzgerald (2013), p. 288
Socialdemokraterna is choosing to describe themselves as a force for a better Sweden in contrast to the choice of tax-reductions. In the framing process they are saying that there’s 100 hours left, to stress the factor that time is running up and it’s time to decide now, to be responsible now.

---

*Today Sweden will choose the direction for the next four years. Your vote is deciding.*

*Socialdemokraterna post 3: September 14th, quote from text.*

---

The responsibility frame focuses on the viewer as a deciding party, which will affect the outcome. The viewer is described as having the power and with power comes responsibility, responsibility of deciding, of voting. The frame is striving to make a problematization and offer a logical course of action. 174 The problematization is defined as today is the day of the election and the day Sweden will choose the direction of the coming four years. The logical course of action is suggesting to vote, because your vote is deciding. This too connotes responsibility, when everyone’s vote is deciding, it’s in extension irresponsible not to vote. Responsibility is also connoted through descriptions of a Sweden that is failing, through examples of higher unemployment, lower results in school etc. and describing themselves as the counterpart to this. In extension a vote for them is responsible because they wish to fix what is broken.

---

*“This is how we create a better Sweden. For everyone.”*  
*Socialdemokraterna, post three: September 14th, quote from post.*

---

A society which includes everyone and has a desires to create a better society, connotes responsibility and is transferred to the viewer through the text. The text is framed through; describing meaningful units, which contributes to a socialisation process which makes a collective reality. 175 The posts made by Socialdemokraterna connote a specific view of the world and of how to fix it, they describe this image through framing and constitutes a collective reality between themselves and those who share their views.

---

174 Van Gorp (2007)a p. 66  
7.1.2 “Action”

This frame focuses on action, and it is a frame which is about doing. The frame focuses more on action, than anything else and is the main frame of Moderaternas posts. The frame of action; is used in order to create systems which are used to perceive the world, patterns of interpretation and constructing their reality.\(^{176}\)

---

“More people should get to experience their first day at work. Over 300 000 new jobs is just the beginning.”

Moderaterna. Post 1: September first, all of the text from the post.

---

The text in this post visualizes the action made by Moderaterna. The framing in the posts focuses on achievements and goals which they wish to achieve in the future. In this post the action, focus on achievements done. The 300 000 jobs and the aim to achieve even more jobs in the future, initiating more people to experience the first day at work.

The gatekeeping, which is about selecting information to spread further, is also about shaping, manipulation and construction realities for specific target audiences.\(^{177}\) Moderaterna chose to describe that a number of new jobs have been created, while not presenting for example that the unemployment has increased, thus creating a constructed reality which is more appealing for their viewers. The posts is not inviting the viewer in, it focus solely on the actions of them as a party. In one of the posts it focuses on what the leader of the party is doing, but still highlighting the actions of them as a party and the achievements which they have completed and wishes to engage in future. Moderaterna focuses on actions and achievements.

---

“2000 new student housings in Kista together with two new subway stations and 10 000 new housing in Barkarby.”

Moderaterna. Post 2: September 11\(^{th}\), quote form the text.

---

In this post they line up achievements and coming achievements after each other in the post, leaving it unclear if there’s achievements which has been done or will be done. In either case the only focus of the post is action, in other words, achievements. The party

\(^{176}\) Volkmer (2009), p. 1

\(^{177}\) Feng, Wayne Xu (2014), p. 422
is presenting the information packaged through text and images; which means that they uses a specific type of media logic, which they perceive benefited them. The packaging and the format which the post use play an important part of the media logic.  

“Fredrik Reinfeldt is voting for more jobs, order of the finances, and more knowledge in school.”
*Moderaterna. Post 3: September 14th, whole text of the post.*

In this post they focus on the leader (at the time) of the party Fredrik Reinfeldt and describe what he is voting for, nowhere in the post does it say that it’s what Moderaterna stands for (even though it’s implied since he is the leader of the party). In this post too, the focus is on achievements, coming achievements, which is mediated through the choice of voting for the leader of their party. In sum the main focus for Moderaterna were achievements and actions.

### 7.1.3 “Mobilization”

This frame focuses on mobilizing the viewers’ online, which was the dominated frame of Miljöpartiets posts. The way viewers take part of information depends on how it’s packed, designed and framed through the media channels. Framing effects have shown that communication in the media offer presentations that the viewer base their beliefs on. The frame of mobilization refers the viewers to take part of media material which they have published in other channels as well as the mobilization frame appeals for the viewer to take part in discussions. In all of the studied post on Facebook published by Miljöpartiet they wished to mobilize the viewer to take part in watching their reality show “Allt Grönt/ All Green”. In the majority of the post the text also mediated a desire of having a discussion about the episode in the comment section.

“Come behind the scenery with our new reality-show.”
*Miljöpartiet. Post 1: September first, quote from the post.*

In this sentence as an example the party/composer of the post is inviting the audience in, in other words they are mobilizing the viewer towards the video of their reality-show,

---

178 Altheide; Snow (1979), p. 103-105
179 Druckman (2001), p. 9-10
which is a dominated phenomenon in all of the posts. Either by using the direct phrasing as above or in some other construction, as in the quote below.

Follow Gustav Fridolin and Åsa Romson in the hectic days leading up to the election in the reality-show #AllGreen (#AlltGrönt), Miljöpartiet. Post 2: September 9th, quote from the post.

In all of the posts the mediation is the same, to mobilize the viewers through direct appeals in the text, followed by links to their YouTube channel below where they wish to mobilize the viewers to. The content of the media as well as the packaging adapts to the condition of the given media, using their templates of storytelling.\(^\text{180}\)

Miljöpartiet are using the templates available on Facebook and linking their posts to other social media, YouTube. On youtube they have created their own web-channel and are uploading their reality show there and spreading it through Facebook. This gives the followers on Facebook access to the video and offering a place of having a discussion regarding the videos, right on their Facebook page. Regarding the mobilization of mediating, an appeal for the viewers is to discuss the episode the quote was the same and consists of a direct request in the text.

"Discuss the episode right here in the comment section!"
Miljöpartiet. Post 3: September 14th, quote from the post.

The mobilization is also promoted through the words and argumentations in the posts. The first post is mediating that they have a new reality show and argues that it’s something the other parties don’t have, therefore it’s a unique experience. The text in the post argues that this makes the party more open and tries to intrigue the viewer through the introduction of it put together with the first promo-video that’s linked to the first post. The posts end with the appeal to watch the show on YouTube.

7.1.4 “Interactivity”
This frame focuses on the interaction between the writer and the viewer of the post. This was the main frame within Feministiskt initiativs’ posts. The viewer is addressed as

\(^{180}\) Altheide; Snow (1979) p. 104-105; Strömbäck (2009)a, p. 177
being a part of a “we” and gets included by the writer of the post as if they both are parts of the same community and as a part of the same community the writer and viewer share values and goals. The process of including the viewer as a part of a “we” are a type of framing. The type of framing which invites the viewer into a collective reality through meaningful units of communication for both parties, the sender and the receiver. In social networking and creating a community on social media it’s important for the publishers to know the audience and who they wish to target. Since the viewer in fact is reading the post and perhaps following them, the party conclude that the viewer share their beliefs.

“*We will make sure that your mail reaches as many inboxes as possible. Together, we will help!*”

_Feministiskt initiativ post 1: September first, quote from post, unknown composer._

This shows how the composer of the post, refers to both to themselves of Feministiskt initiativ and the viewer as being a part of the same “we”. The writer does not seclude themselves from the viewer who reads the post. It’s described through them being of the same group of people, including the viewer.

“We shall never forget all the fun we had, that we all are a part of the love-moment which has grown explosively during the year”.

_Feministiskt initiativ post 3: September 14th, quote from post, unknown composer._

Through the posts there’re a visible appeal, as in the quote above, an appeal of togetherness sprung from the writer of the post and aimed towards the viewer, it emphasises a will to achieve an ambition together, where both are components of value. The gatekeeping in these posts is choosing to write the posts in an interactive way. This includes the viewer and only formulate posts which does include the viewer and how to post it in order to create a sense of togetherness. As mentioned in the chapter of gatekeeping, more and more people and organizations publish their content online, on social media according to their own agendas.

---

182 K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 77
183 Valentini (2014), p. 566
Feministiskt initiativ also connotes the frame of interactivity while using a casual and informal langue and through the langue they have a more personal conversation with the viewer of the post. It becomes personal through the conversation and the choice of words as they aim towards the viewer, but not personal as to topics of their own lives etc. The “social interaction” frame communicates to the viewer of the post, with an implied interest from the viewers. As they imply that the viewers are of similar minds as the contributor of the post and through that imply both an interest and that the viewer wishes to interact in the social interaction.

In post number one, September first, a chain letter is published. The letter is written by a 90+ lady and in her letter she encourages people to vote for Feministiskt initiative and appeal to the viewers to share her letter and her message further. Below the chain letter, the composer(s) of that specific post from Feministiskt initiative also appeal to the viewers to vote and spread the old lady’s’ chain letter further. In this the composer(s) use direct interaction with the viewer, the composer(s) speaks directly to them and urges them to take part and help. See the first quote by Feministiskt initiativ above.

7.2 Augment framing

In this segment of the chapter, additional framing to the overall frame from each party is presented. The purpose is to present a deeper framing within the parties is, the focus is on the parties’ together in a summarized part of each segment in the subheadings, together with examples from the different parties.

7.2.1 Structure of the posts

Facebook offers the possibility to create posts with various different structures, with different building blocks or elements at ones disposal. Socialdemokraterna as an example used different structures in their presentation of the posts; with structures as: only text, headline, text, hashtags, videos and images that contained both visuals and text. Media logic refers to specific medialized agreements between the viewer and the sender of how the materials are presented. Though the parties published their messages using different packaging, they all followed media logic assimilated to the specific media. All of the posts published by Miljöpartiet followed the same media logic.

184 Whiting; Williams (2013), p. 363-365
185 Altheide; Snow, (1979), p. 10
and structure. All of the studied posts made by Miljöpartiet started with an overall title, whereas the leaders of the party were mentioned. This was followed by a headline regarding that specific posts, all of which was aimed towards highlighting their TV-show, followed by text where the leaders are mentioned a last a link to the video. The structure which information is spread through, depends on the specific media and the possibility it possesses. The structure of telling a story depends on the channel and adapts to the given condition and templates. Facebook holds the possibility for a user of the social network to create posts consisting of different assemblages, posts can consist only of text as the last post published by Socialdemokraterna,

posts can consist of text and image (one or more) as the last post published by Moderaterna,

---

186 Altheide; Snow (1979) p. 104-105; Strömbäck (2009)a, p. 177
Fredrik Reinelt röstar för fler jobb, ordning och reda i ekonomin, och mer kunskap i skolan. #jobbvalet

posts can consist of text and video, as the first post by Miljöpartiet,
and/or posts can consist of text, links and videos as the second post of Feministiskt initiativ,

as well as other combinations, which matches the media outlet.

7.2.2 Narrative of the posts

The way in which the posts were narrated differed between the parties.

The frames of narratives; hold information that can be described in different ways in order to affect the audience in diverse ways to benefit the contributor and their views.

Social media maintains possibilities of communication and interaction. Senders and

---

187 Strömbäck (2009) a, p. 120
receivers are together with communication and information fundamental parts of social media. 188

Socialdemokraterna continuously referred to the viewer in their posts, and communicated to the viewer while referring to them as a “you/your”. The posts made by Socialdemokraterna communicated with the viewers through ascribing them active and deciding roles. The posts made by them is also narrated as a conversation with the viewer.

“We can change the development together, but we have to choose reforms of the future, investments in more jobs and a better school instead of continuous tax-reductions and privatizations.”
Socialdemokraterna. Post 3: September 14th, quote from text.

Socialdemokraterna used an informal language and was urging the viewer to be an active part of the election. Moderaterna differed from Socialdemokraterna, without having any interactions or mentions of the viewer and their posts were told “matter-of-fact”.

“Well 2000 new student housings in Kista together with two new subway stations and 10 000 new housing in Barkarby.”
Moderaterna. Post 2: September 11th, quote form the text.

Miljöpartiet on the other hand had a confusing narrative at times, the narrative was divided and told both from the outside and from the inside of the party; however they appealed to the viewer to take part in watching and commenting, and therefore they acknowledge the viewer in their narrative. The overall narrative of Feministiskt initiativ was an interaction between themselves and the viewer, continuously referring to the viewer and themselves of being a part of the same “we”. The langue in the posts made by Feministiskt initiativ was simple and held similarities to interactions in the real world.

188 K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 449; Flew (2002), p. 76-79
Yesterday we did what we always do. When the other parties went off to the debate of the party leaders – we went to a pre-party in Globin.

Feministiskt Initiativ. Post 3: September 14th, quote from post.

The life each viewer has online is specified according to their own preferences, therefore it’s not of a surprise that some of the parties implies to know their viewers, the choices the sender make and the choice of materials which matches the viewers is considered to result in communication effects. The sender of planned communication have a responsibility to know the surroundings to assimilate their messages according to the environment.

7.2.3 Mediation of the posts

Strategic communication means that conscious efforts are made through communication in order to reach their goals, not a specific goal of a singled out communication, but for the overall communication process. All of the posts made are a part of the parties’ strategic communication and the goal of each post has a lower priority by itself but as a whole it’s a part of the general higher priority, to gain the most votes.

The core mediation for Socialdemokraterna is the desire to create a better Sweden for everyone, and in order to create this they need the viewers’ vote. Moderaterna focuses on actions they have implemented and/or actions which they have as a goal to implement in the future. Miljöpartiet mediates information and topics of their reality show, singles it out as something which the other parties does not have and that the show makes them unique and more open. Feministiskt Initiativs’ mediation differs between the posts, with the core of engaging in their politics, about equality, feminism etc.

In order to achieve these overall goals, the parties’ are framing their post differently, which is not only a part of strategic communication, but also framing. Druckman, argues that there’s a type of framing called “Emphasised framing” which is more based

---

189 Flew (2002), p. 26
190 Erikson (2011), p. 11
191 Falkheimer; Heide (2014), p. 15
on the impartial, and is posting according to their own views,\textsuperscript{192} something which is done by politicians in the posts.

### 7.2.4 Topics of the posts

Emphasised framing is also of relevance while discussing the topics which the parties used. The parties are not using equivalency framing, which means posting the same information, instead they are using emphasis framing which has as a goal to convince the audience of one way instead of another.\textsuperscript{193}

Socialdemokraterna focused on the topics which are of most importance for them, as politics about employment, education and welfare, and presented them in contrast of tax-reduction which is the other side of the coin, other important topics are “a better Sweden”, “for everyone” and the future. Moderaterna’s topics are about creating more work opportunities, infrastructure and housing policies. The core topics of Miljöpartiet are their reality-show and getting people to watch it, other important topics are the environment, equality, that the election is coming and a manifestation which they made against Sverigedemokraternas’ immigration policies. Feministiskt initiativs’ core topics were why to vote for them, equality, feminism and not just for them but other parties as well, lastly their topics were that they were thankful for the journey and their supporters.

The role of communication in marketing is to inform, convince, strengthen and differentiate; as well as adapting the communication to the target group.\textsuperscript{194} Which the parties do in their posts, they inform, they convince, they strengthen and they differentiate, in comparison with the other parties, as well as they adapt their specific communication to be fitting for those who follow them.

### 7.2.5 Actors of the posts

The specific followers who follow the political parties online, do so by choice and through that choice they receive specific updates which are relevant for them.\textsuperscript{195} Most of the posts, by every party were aimed towards those who share the same ideals and

\textsuperscript{192} Druckman (2001), p. 14
\textsuperscript{193} Druckman (2001), p. 14
\textsuperscript{195} Karlsson; Clerwall; Buskqvist (2013), p. 105
thoughts as they do in the party. In order to make sure that they agree, they reinforced the topics while aiming the topics towards those viewers who have the same thoughts and ideals. Receivers and senders are intertwined on social media, which possesses them both with abilities to interact and get something out of that interaction. The political parties wish that the viewers share their party policies and through reinforcing those policies in the posts, they make sure that the viewer know their policies and chooses to vote for them. While the viewer wishes to know more and decide on who to vote. Political communication is obliged to involve an interplay between the political actors and the citizens, the political actors need to spread information in order to relay on the citizens to vote. The actors of the party contributors were invisible in the posts, besides the fact that the post was published on their official Facebook page.

7.2.6 Manifest and reasoning devices of the posts
The posts published by Socialdemokraterna implies that voting for them will make things better. This connotes that all is not good as things are and that things need to be better. The way to make things better is presented as voting for Socialdemokraterna, which will create a better Sweden. Through using moral values, recommendations, consequences and justifications etc. the contributor of the post, is motivating and reconstructing their views of the reality, a reconstructed reality.

Consequences presented by Moderaterna are that their politic leads to new/ more work opportunities and that more than 300 000 have occurred already, this offers an implied consequence that if Moderaterna isn’t in power the work opportunities they could have created disappear as well. Frames have a tendency to be constructed to make a definition, explanation, recommendation problematization and explanation, it offers an interpretation, while motivating their reasoning in their posts through manifest and reasoning devices the frames tend to do just that. The posts made by Miljöpartiet offer a recommendation that the viewers should follow their TV-show and the viewer is also recommended to discuss the post at the suggested place. Gatekeeping online, on social media, is often more biased, non-restricted and set their own agendas; while people

\[^{196}\text{Flew (2002), p. 23-24}\]
\[^{197}\text{Strömbäck (2013), p. 11}\]
\[^{198}\text{Volkmer (2009), p. 1}\]
\[^{199}\text{Van Gorp (2007)a p. 66}\]
depend on gatekeepers to transform information into understandable units. Political gatekeeping is per definition more biased, since they have their own messages to spread, messages which they make more appealing for their audience while using reasoning and manifest devices. Feministiskt Initiativ presents voting for them as a moral value, they imply that voting for them is connoting voting for equality and against racism and discrimination.

7.2.7 Thematic frames of the posts

7.2.7.1 Socialdemokraterna

The main frame “Responsibility” is described as argued for in the previous section. Apart from and as part of that frame, the presented frames are the viewer has the choice to decide, while focusing on job, education and welfare the future will be better, vote for something better. Interactivity with the viewer in the sense that they refer their posts to them as a conversation. Inclusive, the goal can be reached together.

7.2.7.2 Moderaterna

The main frame “Action” is described as argued for in the previous section. Apart from and as part of that frame the frames presented is: “we create jobs”, “we are building Sweden, through housing and infrastructure”, “Issues worth voting for - vote for jobs, order of finances” and “Fredrik Reinfeldt is voting”.

7.2.7.3 Miljöpartiet

The main frame “Mobilization” is described as argued for in the previous section. Apart from and as part of that frame the frames presented is: argumentative mobilization, argumentative due to the comparison with other parties and the arguing on why to follow the TV-show, “get to know us”, “watch the video”, “follow us”, distinction between them and Sverigedemokraterna”.

7.2.7.4 Feministiskt initiativ

The main frame “Interactivity” is described as argued for in the previous section. Apart from and as part of that frame the frames presented is: together we can achieve a change, it’s never too late, the importance of equality, “tonight’s the night”.

7.2.7.5 Combined analysis

Besides the main overall frame, there were also minor frames within the parties. Framing identifies systems, to perceive and understand the world. 201 To do so the parties used more than one frame, multiple minor frames and systems. The thematic frames of the posts made by Socialdemokraterna are inclusive towards the viewer and includes that the viewer is the one who is deciding, they are highlighting the importance of the viewers’ role; voting for them means voting for better, jobs, education and welfare.

Principles of framing includes what is, what is happening and what matters, in short the way a story is told.202 These stories are told, not by simply follow one lane, but a more complex outlook on the subjects. The thematic outlook of the posts made by Moderaterna is still sub frames to achievements, more specifically we achieve jobs, and we work for issues worth voting for, jobs and order of the finances. Miljöpartiet also had a thematic outlook with sub frames of their main frame, the difference is it focuses on argumentation as well. It’s argumentative on why to mobilize and mostly it’s argumentative in their comparison with the other parties. Sub frames are also a part of planned communication, where the sender is must pay attentioned towards the surroundings, and therefore use sub frames which are appealing for the viewer. 203 The thematic frames are tools in creating a type of communication. A type of communication with the ambition to end in a specific goal, for a specific target group, as knowledge, awareness. 204 Or votes. Lastly Feministiskt initiativ thematic frames focuses on achieving a change, together with the supporters, it’s never too late and equality is of the highest importance.

7.3 Political marketing

Political marketing is something that the political parties engage in, in order to understand and influence the voters. 205 As presented in theories there are three different categories to be sorted into, product-oriented, sales-oriented, market-oriented.

201 Volkmer (2009), p. 1
202 Druckman (2001), p. 11-13
203 Erikson (2011), p. 11
204 Erikson (2011), p. 300
205 Lees-Marshment (2009), p. 9-10
Product-oriented:
Moderaterna was difficult to place into a category, based upon the posts published on Facebook. The posts published focused on actions, the arguments were evasive as in this example:

“More people should get to experience their first day at work. Over 300 000 new jobs is just the beginning.”
Moderaterna. Post 1: September first, all of the text from the post.

They use a subtle type of argument, Moderaterna does not actively argue for their cause and assumes that the voter will realize that they are the best option. This is why they got sorted into the product-oriented category, even though they did not actively argue for their cause. But in the product-oriented category the politicians assumes that the voters will come to the conclusion that their choice is the best one on their own.206

Sales-oriented:
Socialdemokraterna got sorted into the sales-oriented category, because in their posts they wished to sell in their ideals of a better Sweden and how to make this possible.

“Vote for Socialdemokraterna if you want jobs, education and welfare to come before tax cuts.”
Socialdemokraterna, post 1: September first, quote from post, unknown composer.

The posts wished to evoke a sense of responsibilities within the viewer and tried to make people want what they offered, which is the core of sales-oriented political marketing.207 They still stayed true to their ideals and worked with promoting those ideals to the voters.

Market-oriented:
Miljöpartiet mainly wished to mobilize their viewers to take part in watching their TV-shows. Their TV-shows can be perceived as marked oriented, as they used their politics and candidates to give voters insight. Miljöpartiet did however at times argue for their

206 Strömbäck (2011)c, p. 18
207 Strömbäck (2011)c, p. 18
cause which don’t quite matches market-orientation, but more of product/sales-orientation.

Follow Gustav Fridolin and Åsa Romson in the hectic days leading up to the election in the reality-show #AllGreen (#AlltGrönt).
Miljöpartiet. Post 2: September 9th, quote from the post.

However they got sorted into the category of market orientation as they mainly focused on market principles, and the arguments are secondary. They did not work with convincing the audience but aimed their posts as giving the viewers what they want.

**Community-oriented marketing**

Feminisitskt Initiativ was the most difficult party to place into one of the three categories above. The posts published by Feminisitskt Initiativ did not fit into one of the categories, parts of their posts were applicable but not as a whole. Feminisitskt Initiativ continuously refered to the viewer as being a part of the same “we”, and refered to both themselves and the viewer as parts of the same “we”. They worked towards creating a community with the users who shares their values which were the dominated orientation.

This is why I chose to add community-oriented marketing as another aspect to the three types of political marketing. Community-oriented marketing works to create a sense of togetherness with the consumers and involving them directly in the movement as they are as involved as the politicians themselves, both politicians and the consumers are presented as equals and parts of the same team.

“We shall never forget all the fun we had, that we all are a part of the love-moment which has grown explosively during the year”.
Feminisitskt initiativ post 3: September 14th, quote from post, unknown composer.

**8 Conclusions and discussion**

This chapter is linking the result and analysis to the objective and methodology against the theoretical background, as well as implications and recommendations. The objective of this research was to study how the four major political parties in Sweden,
Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Sverigedemokraterna, Miljöpartiet, and the minor party Feministiskt initiativ (which did not reach the parliament) used social media as a communication tool to interact with the public, in the weeks leading up to the election. The aspirations I had were to reach a deeper understanding of about the structure of the communication, what topics were being communicated, in which way were the post communicated, to whom were the post directed, which were the actors in the post. The result, analysis and conclusions is only applicable on the selection for this research, even though visible tendencies, such as the elements which were used are likely to be coherent in other studies as well. Through the qualitative and quantitative methodology I reached results in these questions about the structure of the posts, the topics communicated, how the topics were communicated, etc. Below follows connection between the result and the theoretical framework.

On Facebook and Twitter the parties become contributors of information and gatekeepers of their own, when they decide what to publish, how to publish it and what to exclude from the audience. Through this they become gatekeepers of power; as gatekeeping is defined as the mechanisms which decide on what to pass forward to an audience.\(^{208}\) When they are acting as gatekeepers of themselves they aren’t dependent on how the gatekeeping’s of others are working, because they can distribute material themselves. The political parties have therefore become less dependent on journalists as they can communicate directly with the public, without the influences of journalists and mass media.\(^{209}\)

Gatekeeping today on new media platforms include the shaping, manipulating and construction of a reality for a specific target audience.\(^{210}\) Which is something the political parties on social media are taking advantage of. On their platforms on Facebook and Twitter they are the ones who decide, on what to publish and not. They adjuste the published materials to fit their audience and only publish things which benefits them, makes the public aware of them and why they are the best option in the election. As social media offers the possibility to focus the communication around a specific cause or topic for a specific audience; such as political communication around

\(^{208}\) Elpers; A. Fitzgerald (2013), p. 288
\(^{209}\) Karlsson; Clerwall; Buskqvist (2013), p. 92
\(^{210}\) Feng, Wayne Xu (2014), p. 422;
its specific key topics. The political parties don’t report on everything regarding all of the election issues and sides of the election, they make a choice and they communicate what’s important/beneficial to them and what they believe will have the greatest penetration of their target group. Therefore it’s important to know the audience you direct your messages too; in order to have a successful communicative community it’s important to define the communication based upon the knowledge about the audience. Planned communication which means communicate messages accordingly to the environment and assimilate.

The way the posts of Facebook and Twitter are told are also dependent on framing. Everything which is portrayed in one way or another is dependent on the degree of subjectivity or non-subjectivity of the composer, which play a part in framing. Political parties have a difficulty to be subjective and be apprehended as subjective, because political parties always wishes to gain influence over the public, the posts in this study were no different. Social media possesses the attributes for a specific cause to focus on a specific audience. One of these specific causes are politics, which have a tendency to gather an audience around key points of interested. With messages aimed towards all of those who share an interest, there’s an integrated communication process, whereas the messages are aimed to reach a goal. Which is close to strategic communication, with communication efforts directly aimed onto reaching their goals, not only for a specific communication process but as for the communication at large. The political parties posted information in a way which benefitted them, spoke of topics which were close to their agendas, argued for why these were the most important issues and compared themselves to the other parties, the opposition and why their politics and views were superior.

There are always at least two sides of every situation, problem, event and description, which can be portrayed in different ways, depending on the contributor of the post and subsequently affect the viewer differently. Two of the biggest election issues were

212 K. Brake; Safko (2009), p. 77
213 Erikson (2011), p. 11
214 Strömbäck (2009)a, p. 121
217 Falkheimer; Heide (2014), p. 15
218 Strömbäck (2009)a, p. 120
employment and education, something both of the biggest parties debated in their posts, but in completely different ways. One side, Moderaterna, used an example that they had accomplished over 300,000 new employment opportunities, while the other party, Socialdemokraterna, argued that there were too high unemployment. Moderaterna were a part of the ruling team in the government and framed the posts about employment like they have succeeded in creating new jobs, therefore their supporters should think that they were doing a good job; while Socialdemokraterna who wished to win the election aimed their framing on the faults and highlighted that they wished to improve things if they won.

Frames and framing also aim to define, explain, problematize or give a logical explanation, besides the way something is portrayed, frames strives to make an interpretation; thus contributing in creating a collective reality. 219 Through the qualitative framing analysis on the posts selected from Facebook, the posts consist of reasoning and manifest devices which argues and motives their point of view, including the viewer in how they perceive the world through their ideals and motivates and argues for why they should perceive the world the same way. Feministiskt initiativ’s posts on Facebook took it one step further and already included the viewer as being a part of the same collective reality and as a part who already shared their political views and general ideals, while they continuously referred themselves and the viewer as being a part of the same “we”.

General for all of the parties were that they engaged in what Druckman calls “emphasis framing”. The framing was not coherent between the different parties, but depending on their political position and expressing their political views, in the pursuance of swaying the viewers in their direction. 220 According to Druckman, it has been shown that framing effects possesses the prospect that the public decides their political preferences arbitrarily on the communication presented in the media. 221 If this is true regarding social media as well is not approached in this research, however it would be an interesting approach and something which can be developed and researched in the future.

220 Druckman (2001), p. 14
221 Druckman (2001), p. 10
Media logic, how the posts are presented and packaged is another factor besides framing and gatekeeping regarding the communication process including structures and designs of the post and how it’s transferred upon the viewer, using frames and tools to create genres.222 On neither Facebook nor Twitter were there one dominated media logic, not in general nor in the parties separately, however there were several different media logics used on the separate platforms. The dominated structure differed between the parties, which didn’t end in one consenting media logic. However what can be said about the general media logic on Twitter is that all of the parties used posts that included text and links, text and images, text and video. The information communicated must adapt to respective medias condition, over time templates occur of packaging dependent on the forum where the communication is spread. Same information can be communicated differently in different medias/channels adapting to the given medium.223 Thus the political parties on Twitter adapted to its given format, no longer text than 140 characters and using the available possible templates of adding images, links and videos to the posts, another part of the packaging were to add hashtags and mentions.

Hashtags hold the attribute of connecting posts through the use of a keyword which is added to all of the posts including that topic and thus linking all of the posts of the same topic together.224 Hashtags were another part of the structure, templates as the parties used, though the orientation and extent varied between them, in the use of hashtags there were no coherent media logic in general. Although within the different parties there were a visible media logic concerning the orientation of the hashtags. The two parties that used hashtags at the largest extent were the two biggest parties Socialdemokraterna and Moderaterna. Socialdemokraternas posts mainly included hashtags which concerned the election in general and Moderaterna mainly used hashtags which consisted of a combination between the elections in general and concerning them specifically.

Mentions, which like the hashtag has the possibility of adding something (someone) in the post, were a templates used to a lower extent than hashtags. Seen to all of the parties, no mentions were the dominated media logic. The party with the most posts including mentions as a media logic was Feministiskt initiativ, who used it in a

222 Altheide; Snow, (1979), p. 10
223 Altheide; Snow (1979) p. 104-105; Strömbäck (2009)a, p. 177
224 Loader; Mercea (2012), p. 8
dominated amount of their posts, however the most mentions did not fit the categories in the coding schedule and ended up below the category of others, this was the case even if there were two mentions in the post and only one fitted the categories. The second most mentions were of the own party and its politicians.

Political parties and politicians have historically speaking always had an aptitude to assimilate to the available media outlets and match their communication to the media logic of that platform. As for the media logics on Facebook the political parties did not follow one general media logic, instead the separate posts used different media logics adapted to the given platform and the available templates, which can be considered to be a general media logic. There was however one party who followed one and the same outline throughout all of the studied posts made by them and they created their own media logic for their communication on Facebook. All of the posts made by Miljöpartiet had the same packaging, format and created a specific template only for their posts. The templates consisted of a top where the two leaders of the party were mentioned, a headline in capital letters with a teaser of the post, a text segment which figured on all of the posts, mentions of the two leaders of the party in the text, and a video of their TV-show, all of their posts followed this outline. The other parties had more randomly chosen templates and packaging, but that's also a media logic, of not being static but changing the packaging of their posts. Nuancing the message with different approaches and descriptions are tools in communication techniques to create a changing dialogue with the viewer.

On social media there’s a possibility for the audience, viewers, to interact and participate. The participation/interaction can take place both in virtual and actual world. I have established a difference calling participation online for mobilization and participation off-line participation, in the posts made on Twitter; while interaction is only referred to as interaction. In general, interactions were used in more posts than the other, followed by mobilization and last participation. While on Facebook the party who mostly engaged with mobilization was Miljöpartiet who wished to mobilize the people towards their TV-show. Socialdemokraterna appealed to the viewers to participate in voting and Feministiskt initiativ continuously interacted with the viewer.

225 Altheide; Snow (1979), p. 103-105
227 Wallace (2013), p. 74
Social media creates links between people and organizations and offers channels of communication for publishing and retrieval. In this research links between the viewers of the post and the political parties who offer channels of information to be retrieved. The activities on social media depends on Carol Roses’ theory “comedy of commons”, if the viewers don’t take part of the posts, reading them, reflecting over them etc. the value of the posts decreases; the value of the posts published by the political parties is in relation with the viewers.

There’s no doubt that the parties engage in political marketing, whereas the politicians consider what the voter needs and wants. I believe though that the categories of political marketing needs to be developed further, especially in Swedish politics with populistic parties. There’s a need to include “community-oriented marketing” as well. In “community-oriented marketing” the politicians and the voters joined together in a common goal in a joined community.

In the chapter of preceding research I presented that Anders Olof Larsson had carried out a research similar to mine. He studied the same election with a different methodology and different research questions, however we share similarities in our result. Similarities such as we both found that politicians have a prepossession to use Twitter. I found that this allows a rapid pace with different topics and compositions in different posts, this presents a risk that information of importance can be lost in the noise. Even though Larsson studied a longer period of time, the parties who were the most active were the same.

The research questions which I believe need to be studied further are about to whom the post is directed and the actors of the posts. These were difficult to define quantitatively, and are in my opinion better suited to be researched qualitatively, where there’s a possibility to nuanced describe to whom the post is directed and the actors which are apparent in the posts. Quantitatively there’s difficulties on where to draw the lines between if the post is aimed at supporters or politicians, people in general or those who share an interest, because the posts were not defined in that way. Therefore I had to skip

---

228 Flew (2002), p. 12
229 Klang (2011), p. 51
the quantitative result about to whom the post was directed, because that would not have given an informative image of the reality.

Now after I’ve researched the communication the political parties engaged in on Twitter and Facebook in the weeks leading up to the election, an interesting trail of research to follow up on in the future would be to study, if/why people follow political parties on social media. How they perceive the communication and if the communicative messages posted on social media have an effect on how they perceive the party’s and effect their choice while voting. In order to conduct this follow-up research, the methodology I have in mind would be a combination of a quantitative survey between the ages of 18-65 as well as qualitative depth interviews with people spread out within that age spectrum. It would be interesting to see if social media really have an effect on people’s political sympathizes.

After all, the base of mass communication studies is that it presumes that the things mediated through the media have effects on the receivers. 230 At the same time a criticism has been brought forward that the forums of social media can be perceived as a type of mass-self-communication, whereas the senders are mostly communicating for themselves and not for the public. 231 Whether the posts made have an effect on the viewer, its presumed through this being a communication study. This research defined how the major political parties in Sweden, Socialdemokraterna, Moderaterna, Sverigedemokraterna, Miljöpartiet and the minor party Feministiskt initiativ used social media in the two weeks leading up to the election of 2014, close to all of the published posts on Twitter were studied and a selected number of posts on Facebook, these were my conclusions.

230 McQuail (2010), sid 327
231 Fuch (2014), p. 87, 121
References


Attachments

Attachment A – Questionnaire of the quantitative content analysis

1. Which is the number of the post?

2. Which is the date of the post?
   1: 1/9
   2: 2/9
   3: 3/9
   4: 4/9
   5: 5/9
   6: 6/9
   7: 7/9
   8: 8/9
   9: 9/9
  10: 10/9
  11: 11/9
  12: 12/9
  13: 13/9
  14: 14/9

3. Who is the contributor of the post?
   1: Socialdemokraterna
   2: Moderaterna
   3: Sverigedemokraterna
   4: Miljöpartiet
   5: Feministiskt initiativ

4. What is the status of the post?
   1: New-post
   2: Repost
   5: Other

5. What elements does the post consists of?
1. Text
2. Text + Image
3. Text + Video
4. Text + Link
5. Text + Logo
6. Text + Image + Video
7. Image + Video
8. Image + Link
9. Image + Logo
10. Video + Logo
11. Video + Link
12. Logo + Link
13. Other/ Other combination

6. Does the post deal with information about the party program/ propaganda/ political position?
   1: Yes
   2: No

7. Which type of information is the category of the post?
   1: Information about statistics or survey
   2: Information about candidates
   3: References to mass media / political media (even debates)
   4: Transparency
   5: Mobilization
   6: Participation
   7: Interaction
   8: Information about party program/ propaganda/ political position.
   9: User generated information
   10: Other
   11: References to mass media

8. What is the main subject of the post?
   1: Education
2: Immigration
3. Environment
4: Finances state/ private
5: Housing policies
6: Feminism/ Equality/ Solidarity
7. (Un)Employment
8: Defence
9. Financial compensation (sickness and long-time unemployment)
10: Medical care
11: Taxes
12: The election/ campaign/ result
13: Other
14: Welfare

9. Does the post contain criticism?
1: criticism of other parties (opposition)
2: criticism of specific politicians (opposition)
3: criticism of their own party
4: criticism of their own politicians
5: criticism of the mainstream media
6: criticism of the election
7: criticism of the voters
8: Other criticism
9: No criticism/ veiled criticism

10. Are the post containing hashtags?
1: Yes
2: No

11. Which hashtags are the post containing?
1: Hashtags related to the political contributor of the post (and of the same block)
2: Hashtags related to other political parties (opposition)
3: Overall political hashtags regarding the election
4: Hashtags regarding a specific politician
5: Non-political hashtags
6: No hashtags
7: A combination of hashtags concerning the party and the overall election
8: Other / other combination

12. Does the post include links?
1: Links to their own website (or accounts on other social media)
2: Mainstream media
3: Divergent media
4: Bloggers/ columnists/ opinion makers
5: Other political parties and politicians of the same “block”
6: Other political parties and politicians from the opposite “block”
7: Other Twitter accounts within the party
8: Other Twitter accounts outside the party
9: Other links
10: No links
11: Non-working links

13. Does the post contain images?
1: Yes
2: No
3: Other

14. What does the image of the post portray?
1: Politicians
2: Iconic logos
3: Propaganda / political policies
4: Viewer contributed pictures
5: Campaign photos/ event photos
6: No images
7: Other image

15. Does the post contain video?
1: Yes
16. What does the video portray?
1: Information about the party program/ propaganda / political position
2: Information about statistics or survey
3: “Reality, behind the scenes”, transparency
4: About candidates
5: Debate
6: Interaction, answering questions
7: Other.
9: Non-working

17. Who is the target of the post?
1: Politicians/ Members of the party/ Supporters
2: Outside, wish to gain votes
3: Both / Other
4: Opposition

18. Does the party compare or discuss themselves with…
1: Parties/ politicians of the opposite block
2: Sverigedemokraterna
3: Feministiskt initiativ
4: No/ Other/ Unclear
5: All of the other parties and politicians

19. Is anyone mentioned in the posts, (@)?
1. Politicians of their own party or the party itself
2. Politicians of the same group of parties or a party from that group
3. Politicians of the opposite block
4: Sverigedemokraterna
6: The media, journalists, radio hosts, oppinionmakers
7. No @, no mentions
8. Other/ Other combination
Attachment A2 – Definitions of the questionnaire in Attachment A

1. Which is the number of the post?
   
   Every post receives a numeric value, an individual number between 1 and 1859, which is the number of posts in the quantitative content analysis. The first post will receive the number “one” and the numbers continues onward from there, the second posts studied will receive the number “two”, the third the number “three”, etc. Until every post has an individual number.

2. Which is the date of the post?
   
   The date visible at every posts which declares on which day of the interval the posts was published by the main account. If it’s a repost the date of the repost will be the date which is noted.

1: 1/9
2: 2/9
3: 3/9
4: 4/9
5: 5/9
6: 6/9
7: 7/9
8: 8/9
9: 9/9
10: 10/9
11: 11/9
12: 12/9
13: 13/9
14: 14/9

3. Who is the contributor of the post?
   
   From which account was the post published.

1: Socialdemokraterna
2: Moderaterna
3: Sverigedemokraterna
4. What is the status of the post?

1: New-post

A post which is not a repost or a favourite. It’s a post originated from their own timeline, published by the political contributor who is in control of the timeline.

2: Repost

A repost is a posts which originates from another timeline then their own and is reposted on their timeline, in a choice made by the ones in control of the timeline, a repost is marked as a “re-tweet”.

5: Other

A posts which is not a repost, nor a new post. It’s a posts which isn’t able to be identified as either.

5. What elements does the post consists of?

Elements are the building blocks used in order to assembling posts, a post can consist on a various of different elements and the elements will be taken into account, by the alternatives which follows. If the post consist of other elements or a combination which is not an alternative, the post will be sorted into the category of “Other/ Other combination”.

1. Text

   The posts consist only of text.

2. Text + Image

   The posts consist solely of text and image.

3. Text+ Video

   The post consist solely of text and video.

4. Text + Link

   The post consist solely of text and link.

5. Text + Logo

   The post consist solely of text and logo.

6. Text + image + video

   The post consist solely of text, image and video.
7. Image + Video
The post consists solely of image and video.

8. Image + Link
The post consists solely of image and link.

9. Image + Logo
The post consists solely of image and logo.

10. Video + Logo
The post consists solely of video and logo.

11. Video + Link
The post consists solely of video and link.

12. Logo + Link
The post consists solely of logo and link.

13. Other/ Other combination
The post consists of other elements or another combination of the elements.

5. Does the post deal with information about the party program/ propaganda/ political position?

Is the post including information about the party in regard of its ideals, hopes, goals and how it reach them. Is the post including information or ideas spread in the posts to help themselves or harm other political parties. Is the post spreading particular doctrines and / or principles of importance for the contributing party. Is the party talking about their election promises, the content of their election manifesto or issues of importance for them.

1. Yes
The post is dealing with information about the party program/ propaganda or political position as identified above.

2. No
The post is not dealing with information about the party program/ propaganda or political position as identified above.

6. Which is type of information is the category of the post?

The category is defined through a definition of the post and what the post is including. Based upon what the post is including one of the classifications below is chosen. The
exception is classification number “8”, since that category include the same classification as the question above is number “8” not dominated, if the post include any of the other classifications as well, that one is the one which is choosen. Since a post can include both political position, propaganda and party program at the same time as one of the other categories.

1: Information about statistics or survey

Only posts that include statistics or surveys, published by an imparsial political actor, statistics and/or surveys presented by the party themselves without links will be disregarded.

2: Information about candidates

Posts that deals with information about the candidates

3: References to mass media / political media

The post must include links to that specific media.

4: Transparency

Aims to facilitate information about internal processes, tells about how they work etc.

5: Mobilization

Urges for people to join their cause with symbolic resources, on online platforms, ex. “watch the debate” “join us on facebook”.

6: Participation – activate users in real world.

Activate viewers in the real world, urges people to join their causes, events, etc. in the real world and not online.

7: Interaction – answering / asking questions

The post is mainly answering questions or in other ways have a direct interaction with single individuals of the public.

8: Information about the party program/ propaganda/ political position?

(same definition as in question “5”).

9: User generated information

Whereas the viewers are the ones who is contributing the materials.

10: Other

Post which is not possible to identify as one of the categories above.

11. Evasion references to mass media.

Posts which include references to mass media, but doesn’t include any links to them.
8. What is the main subject of the post?

Around what matter of thought the post is focusing on, the most subjects can also be referred to as election issues.

1: Education
The main topic of the post was education.

2: Immigration
The main topic of the post was immigration, this topic also include racism.

3. Environment
The main topic of the post was environment, climate, pollution, etc.

4: Finances state/ private
The main topic of the post was finances both regarding the state and the private households.

5: Housing policies
The main topic of the post was housing policies, building new living arrangements etc.

6: Feminism/ Equality/ Solidarity
The main topic of the post was humanism, equality, feminism and solidarity.

7. (Un)Employment
The main topic of the post was unemployment and/ or employment.

8: Defence
The main topic of the post was defence, the army, financial support of the defence/ army etc.

9. Financial compensation
The main topic of the post was about financial compensation for those who are sick and a long-time unemployment.

10: Medical care
The main topic of the post was medical/ health care.

11: Taxes
The main topic of the post was taxes.

12: The election
The main topic of the post was the election, the campaign, the result, polls, etc.

13: Other
The main topic of the post was a topic not available in the categories or not possible to sort into one of the categories.

14: Welfare
The main topic of the post was about the welfare system.

9. Does the post contain criticism?
   
   Criticism in this question is defined as the act of passing judgement of critic, a critical comment etc. However the criticism must be obvious, outspoken in the post and not concealed or hinted, the criticism must be spelled out.
   1: criticism of other parties the opposition
   If the post contains criticism of the parties of the opposition.
   2: criticism of specific politicians of the opposition
   If the post contains criticism of politicians of the opposition.
   3: criticism of their own party
   If the post contains criticism of their own party.
   4: criticism of their own politicians
   If the post contains criticism of their own politicians.
   5: criticism of the mainstream media
   If the post contains criticism of the mainstream media.
   6: criticism of the election
   If the post contains criticism of the election process.
   7: criticism of the voters
   If the post contains criticism of the voters.
   8: Other criticism
   If the post contains criticism of other source then the alternatives.
   9: No criticism
   If the post contains no criticism.

10. Are the post containing hashtags?
    If the element of hashtags is used in posts, if this “#” symbol is visible and some word is attached to it as “#election2014”
    1: Yes
    The symbol “#” is included in the post together with a word which follows.
    2: No
    The symbol “#” is not included.

11. Which hashtags are the post containing?
The type of hashtag which the post is containing.
1: Hashtags related to the political contributor of the post
2: Hashtags related to other political parties
3: Overall political hashtags regarding the election
4: Hashtags regarding a specific politician
5: Non-political hashtags
6: No hashtags
7: A combination of hashtags concerning the party and the overall election

12. Does the post include links?
If the element of links is attached to the post.
1: Links to their own website (or accounts on other social media)
2: Mainstream media, including private radio, debates etc.
3: Political media, which whole content is defined based upon their political angle.
4: Bloggers/ columnists/ opinion makers
5: Other political parties and politicians of the same “block”
6: Other political parties and politicians from the opposite “block”
7: Other Twitter accounts within the party
8: Other Twitter accounts outside the party
9: Other links
10: No links

13. Does the post contain images?
If the element of images is attached to the post.
1: Yes
2: No

14: What does the image of the post portray?
1: Politicians
These are strict pictures, with a politician staring right into the camera and solely is the one (ones) who are in focus, hold similarities to “school photos”, there’s one (or couple) persons right in front of the camera staring into it and are the only one(s) who is in focus. The pictures are strict.
2: Iconic logos
Symbol or symbols which is relevant for the party.

3. Propaganda / political policies

Is the image including information about the party in regard of its ideals, hopes, goals and how it reach them. Is the image including information or ideas spread in the posts to help themselves or harm other political parties. Is the image spreading particular doctrines and / or principles of importance for the contributing party. Is the party talking about their election promises, the content of their election manifesto or issues of importance for them.

4: Viewer contributed pictures

Images which is contributed from the viewers.

5: Campaign photos/ event photos, more relaxed in the moment.

Images which is taken “in action”, while the politicians are doing something on the campaign at the same time, the politician is not looking into the camera, but are ignoring it and doing campaign related stuff.

15: Does the post contain video?

1: Yes

2: No

16: What does the video portray?

1: Information about the party program/ propaganda / political position

Is the video including information about the party in regard of its ideals, hopes, goals and how to reach them. Is the video including information or ideas spread in the posts to help themselves or harm other political parties. Is the video spreading particular doctrines and / or principles of importance for the contributing party. Is the party talking about their election promises, the content of their election manifesto or issues of importance for them.

2: Information about statistics or survey (not posted by the political parties themselves)

Only videos that include statistics or surveys, published by an impartial political actor, statistics and/or surveys presented by the party themselves without links will be disregarded.

3: “Reality, behind the scenes” Transparency –aim to facilitate information regarding internal processes

Aims to facilitate information about internal processes, tells about how they work etc.
4: About candidates
The video focuses about the candidates and let the candidates speak on what’s important for them.

5: Debate
The video is of a debate.

6: Interaction answering questions
The video is answering questions.

7: Other.
Other type of video.

8: No video

17. Who is the target of the post?
1: Politicians/ Members of the party/ Supporters
Refers to party activities, campaign stops, urges them to come join, clear aim in order to appeal those of a similar mind to participate.

2: Outside, wish to gain votes

3: Both / Other

4: Opposition

18. Does the party compare or discuss themselves with…
In the comparison/ discussion the post is examining similarities and/ or differences between themselves and an alternative of the following options.

1: Parties/ politicians of the opposite block

2: Sverigedemokraterna

3: Feministiskt initiativ

4: No/ Other/ Unclear

5: All of the other parties and politicians, except themselves.

19. Is anyone mentioned in the posts, (@)?
If the element of mentions is used in posts, if this “@” symbol is visible and some word/name is attached to it as “@emeliekempe”

1. Politicians of their own party or the party itself

2: Politicians of the same group of parties or a party from that group

3: Politicians of the opposite block
4: Sverigedemokraterna
6: The media, journalists, radio hosts, opinion makers
7. No @, no mentions
8. Other/ Other combination