

Words of Triumph

The Use of Rhetoric in Newspapers
During the Reykjavík 2014 Municipal Election Campaign

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**Words of Triumph: The Use of Rhetoric in Newspapers
During the Reykjavík 2014 Municipal Election Campaign**

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Final Thesis in Media Studies at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely the result of my own work except as indicated in the text

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I hereby declare that this final project satisfies, in my opinion, requirements for a B.A. degree in Media Studies at the School of Humanities and Social Sciences

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the 2014 municipal elections in Reykjavík and explores the use of rhetorical devices by candidates and political parties during the last month of the election campaign in the three biggest newspapers in Iceland. A chapter on every participating party is provided with a discussion about its place in the political landscape before the campaign, a rhetorical analysis on campaign advertisements and an analysis of rhetorical devices used by top candidates. Ensuing the analysis is a comparison between the used rhetorics and an evaluation on their success by using the official election results.

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I. Introduction

“A man can confer the greatest of benefits by a right use of these, and inflict the greatest of injuries by using them wrongly.”

Aristotle, Rhetoric. Book I. Chapter I.

When it comes to seeking office a candidate must persuade his constituents that he or she is the right person for the job. How to do that is a difficult task, especially when facing a stiff competition. The mayor of Reykjavík, Jón Gnarr, and his party, the Best Party, had decided to quit. The Best Party being largest political party in Reykjavík and had formed the city council majority with the Social Democratic Alliance since 2010. Here in Iceland, the competition had possibly never been so stiff as when it came to electing a new mayor for Reykjavík in 2014.

The capital of Iceland is by far the most populous area on the entire island, with more than 121 thousand inhabitants out of a total 329 thousand Icelanders. In the parliamentary elections the city of Reykjavík is split into two constituencies with eleven candidates and 45 thousand voters in each. (Statistics Iceland, 2015). The city council campaign on the other hand has 93 thousand voters and fifteen candidates. The average being 4 thousand Reykjavík voters behind every parliamentarian but 6.2 thousand voters behind every seat in the city council. (Statistics Iceland, 2015). Making the Reykjavík municipal elections the largest in Iceland when it comes to voter per candidate.

The Best Party blind sighted Icelandic politics in 2010, no one could have predicted that a self-proclaimed joke party would have won the election by a landslide. The party used innovative ways to reach voters like producing music videos, making promises that focused more on peripheral things like free towels in public swimming pools and making outrageous promises that they promised not to keep. (Stefnumál, 2010). Eiríkur Bergmann Einarsson, Professor of Political Science at the University of Bifröst, explained that the Best Party had

capitalized on the public's frustration on ordinary politics. (Einarsson, 2011). In October 2013 the Best Party continued to score high in the polls, with 37% and seven candidates. (Karlsson, 2013). Jón Gnarr however was adamant to quit, merging the Best Party with the new national political party, Bright Future, leaving a gap in Reykjavík politics that will be pursued by old and new political candidates alike.

II. Rhetorical Devices

“Rhetoric is useful because things that are true and things that are just have a natural tendency to prevail over their opposites, so that if the decisions of judges are not what they ought to be, the defeat must be due to the speakers themselves, and they must be blamed accordingly.” (Aristotle, 350 BC). So does Aristotle's *Rhetorica* make it the responsibility of the candidates whether they win or lose. The treatise was written ca. 350 BC. and outlines three different aspects of persuasion: ethos, pathos, and logos. Ethos refers to the appeal to the speaker's authority and credibility as an enhancement to the argument being put forth. Pathos is the emotional appeal, the speaker substituting, diffusing or adding emotion to the audience's reason. Logos is the appeal to reason; an argument with logos can use facts and details to persuade the audience by means of logic. (Braet, 1992). A combination of the three is desirable for a good argument, but insofar as pathos is the most influential means of persuasion, then the goal of this thesis will be to see how it was used by the candidates along with ethos and logos.

To limit the scope of the research, a decision was made to examine the largest newspapers in Iceland, that is, those published nationwide during the month before the election. Starting on May the 1st and ending on the 31st of May. This list comprises *Morgunblaðið*, *Fréttablaðið* and *DV*. The news reports and polls will put the appeals of the candidates into social and political context. Newspaper advertisements, if any, issued officially by the party will be subsequently

analyzed. The political parties will be analyzed in the order they appear on the ballot. That order is alphabetical, meaning by the letter that the parties are allocated by the city returning board, the official body designated by law to canvass election returns. In the start of every chapter there will be a brief summary of the events surrounding the party up until the start of May 2014.

III. Parties and Candidates

III.I Framsókn og Flugvallarvinir

Framsóknarflokkurinn (e. The Progressive Party) lost their representative in the 2010 elections and had initial difficulties finding a candidate for the 2014 elections. Óskar Bergsson was the Progressive Party city councilman from 2007 to 2010 but lost the nomination to Einar Skúlason. Then, in the beginning of April 2014, he withdrew and the party had to look for a new candidate less than two months before the elections. (RÚV, 2014). Many names were put forward, like the former minister of agriculture, Guðni Ágústsson. At the end of April the party settled on Sveinbjörg Birna Sveinsdóttir as their top candidate. (Morgunblaðið, 2014).

The new candidate put the party back into the spotlight with news stories in both *Fréttablaðið* and *Morgunblaðið*, *DV* ignoring the party until its May 13th issue. Sveinbjörg told *Morgunblaðið* on May the 1st that she prefers “Framsókn og flugvallarvinir” (e. The Progressive Party and Airport Friends) over “Framsókn og flugvallarsinnar” (e. The Progressive Party and Airport Activists), relaying a less aggressive message to possible voters (Morgunblaðið, 2014). In a joint article in *Fréttablaðið* on the 6th of May by Sveinbjörg and her 3rd chair on the candidate list, Gréta Björg Egilsdóttir, they appeal to authority as they are representatives of every organization that has criticized shutting down the airport: “If no one guards

the center of domestic air travel, then there is a real danger that the airport-antagonists in the current majority get their chance to finish their plans and tear down Reykjavík Airport in a haphazard way despite it's clear that 72% of citizens are against it." They continue: "Its right to mention that after the uproar against the dream-like and aggressive ideas of the Social Democratic Alliance and Best Part majority regarding urban planning, then they themselves decided to topple their own suggestions in the city council." (Sveinbjörnsdóttir & Egilsdóttir, 2014).

No advertisements were published by the party until the 26th of May, when they ran a full page in *Morgunblaðið* on page 13 with the headline reading "We don't vote for a planning disaster" and a picture of the top four candidates accompanied by graphics illustrating the proposed buildings in the old harbor district of Reykjavík. (Við kjósum ekki skipulagsslys, 2014). Underneath, in smaller typeface, the graphics are explained as well as the party's position on the issue of urban planning, specifically when it comes to constructions in downtown Reykjavík and housing in Laugardalur-valley. The point made towards the new buildings is a simple political position that the candidates want a lower urban landscape in the city with current construction projects in Lækjargata 2 as a precedent. "We also want to save Laugardalur from the planning disaster agreed upon by the current majority". (Við kjósum ekki skipulagsslys, 2014). There is an emotional appeal, pathos, to convince the voter to help an area in danger from the current majority by voting for the Progressive Party. The timing of this advertisement is interesting as at this point in the campaign the party was fighting accusations of xenophobia on all sides due the party's top candidate negative remarks on building a mosque in Reykjavík and using its position on urban planning as a justification. Sveinbjörnsdóttir was quoted by *Fréttablaðið* reporter on the 23rd of May: "It's not like my opinion is based on prejudice. My judgement is just based on my experience. For example, I just came out of the largest mosque in the world in Abu Dhabi. There is no church there, as there should be. I respect other countries customs. I cover myself entirely as it's their habit and just consider that natural." (Kjartansson, 2014). The next day, *Fréttablaðið* was quick to point out that in reality Abu Dhabi has many churches.

(Haraldsson, 2014). But nothing in this ad points to the issue. Two possible conclusions are available to why that is: either the ad was designed before the candidate made the mosque remarks; or the ad was a way of diffusing that particular public discussion by extending and emphasizing the party's position on urban planning.

DV analyzed the chances for the Progressive Party getting a candidate elected as slim with disastrous consequences for the cabinet, led by the Progressive Party, this was only one week before the election (*DV*, 2014). After more than three weeks of arguing for protection of the airport and better city planning appealing for reason and authority, the polls indicated that the party was facing a consecutive election defeat, so there was a need for a different topic. A topic still discussed in March 2015 whether it was a planned political stunt or an innocent remark. Sveinbjörnsdóttir made a Facebook statement about her conviction that the city should not zone an area for a mosque or any churches other than the state-protected Evangelical Lutheran church. She appealed to authority, claiming to know more about the subject than ordinary people: "I lived for around one year in Saudi Arabia and base my opinion not on prejudice, but experience." (Kjartansson, 2014).

The mosque remarks were not presented as an emotional appeal, there is no Pathos in: "I believe that everyone should be able to practice their religion. But I don't think it's right that Muslims or other sects receive a lot to build mosques or comparable houses." (Kjartansson, 2014). Sveinbjörnsdóttir's emotional appeal was made by simply referencing the proposed mosque in Reykjavík, as the public debate regarding the mosque culminated in leaving decapitated pig head on the lot designated to the mosque. (Pálsson, 2013). The emotional responses from both the public and other candidates were prompt, on Sveinbjörnsdóttir's personal Facebook-page one wrote: "Before a mosque lot is designated I think men and women should familiarize themselves with the situation in Scandinavia and other places because of Muslims and their crimes, especially against women and young girls and learn from that experience. A mosque should under no circumstances be

allowed in this country.” (Kjartansson, 2014). Left-Green’s top candidate Sóley Tómasdóttir said in *DV* on May the 30th: “I find it tragic”. (Tómasdóttir, 2014). She continues in her *DV* article on the same day: “Ideology that goes against human rights is in plain words dangerous and has no business in politics.” (Tómasdóttir, 2014). This also presented a possible legal problem, Icelandic General Penal Code no. 19/1940 article 125 states “Anyone officially ridiculing or insulting the dogmas or worship of a lawfully existing religious community in this Country shall be subject to fines or imprisonment for up to 3 months.” (General Penal Code no. 19/1940). But no charges were filed. Even though Sveinbjörnsdóttir had appealed to authority in her remarks, by choosing a controversial subject she, possibly unreflectively, appealed to emotion. It worked, in a poll taken a few days later it showed the Progressive Party with 5.5%, the highest ever during the 2014 campaign. (Magnússon, 2014).

III.II Sjálfstæðisflokkurinn

Sjálfstæðisflokkurinn (e. The Independence Party) was intermittently the ruling power in Reykjavík between the Second World War and 1994, when they lost the absolute majority and have been yearning to get it back ever since. Reykjavík had two years of stability between 2008 and 2010 under Independence Party mayor Hanna Birna Kristjánsdóttir in coalition with the Progressive Party. But after the landslide victory of Jón Gnarr’s Best Party in 2010, the Progressive party was erased and with their campaign rhetoric targeting primarily the Best party, the Independence party was subjected to four years in opposition. Hanna Birna left city politics in 2013 to engage at a national level, so in the year preceding the election the party was essentially leaderless in the city. The challenges were not only to find a suitable candidate for mayor, but one who could bring them back a majority.

Party advertisements were visible all through May in both *Fréttablaðið* and *Morgunblaðið*, but never in *DV*. They appeal to all levels: emotion, authority and reason. The authority stems from the claims that no one else can implement the changes they seek. In *Fréttablaðið* on May the 1st a full page illustrates the top candidate, Halldór Halldórsson, dressed in a suit with the words “Lower debts and taxes” (“Lækkum skatta og skuldir”, 2014). The same advert appearing in *Morgunblaðið* on the same day. (“Lækkum skatta og skuldir”, 2014). The party adopted the slogan “Dásamlega Reykjavík” (e. Wonderful Reykjavík), to associate positive emotions to the party as a whole. The general composite has a slogan above a list of a wide variety of issues to appeal to reason, with a photo of their candidates dressed in business attire with the party ancestral tint of blue to appeal to authority and the “Wonderful Reykjavík” banner to subtly appeal to emotion. (“Á laugardag verður...”, 2014). (“Við ætlum að lækka...”, 2014). The Independence Party put the most effort in reaching voters via newspapers, the most advertisements, totaling eight in May, and boasted the highest numbers of articles.

The Independence Party maintained a momentum all through May, their top candidate Halldórsson appeals to reason, authority and emotion in his articles. In his article in *Morgunblaðið* on the 10th of May he simply states the party’s position on various issues: “The Independence Party’s campaign policies show that we are a liberal, open and reformist right-wing party that emphasizes responsible financial management, lower taxes and improved service to citizens.” This is an appeal to authority as he enhances his credibility before he appeals to emotion: “The Independence Party asserts its offer of good and clear alternatives so citizens have more options when it comes to service. The same applies to transportation where good public transportation and other modes of travel should be a genuine choice instead of the family car but not compulsory. With freedom of choice people will feel better and the city will evolve in a positive and fun way. We want to create a wonderful Reykjavík.” Halldórsson proceeds to appeal to reason: “Reykjavík is by far the largest municipality in the country and should enjoy an efficiency of size when it comes to management. Better management

creates leeway for the lowering of taxes that creates more disposable income for families. We intend to lower taxes on citizens as it will be beneficial for everyone and is the greatest bargain for the families.” (Halldórsson, 2014).

Then on the 20th of May Halldórsson goes on the offensive and appeals to the authority of the party as the only choice to avert the “scary” plans of the majority, telling potential voters that he is scared and they should be too if the current majority should be reelected: “The methods (of the majority) are reminiscent of their methods regarding Hofsvallagata. Huge costs, residents filled with anger and then they throw it all away. Leaving behind a waste of many tens of millions of krone and the responsibility cast on others. The cost of the neighborhood planning operations is close to 150 million. 150 million makes a lot of room for many improvements in service for citizens.” He continues: “My enumeration can be a lot longer and it is clear that the track record of the current majority is scary. They ignore residential democracy and that’s why citizens must have an alternative in the city council elections on the 31st of May. That is to vote for the Independence Party.” (Halldórsson, 2014). This article also reveals the aim of the Independence Party’s election campaign, attacking the Social Democratic Alliance and Best Party, now Bright Future, majority. Not attacking the other parties, rather presenting the Independence Party as the alternative to the majority. There is also no attempt to reach out to other parties to present a coalition or imply an offer to Bright Future to form a majority post-election. Bright Future however formed a majority after the 2014 elections in the town councils of Kópavogur and Hafnarfjörður, neighboring municipalities of Reykjavík. (Guðjónsson, 2014).

Hildur Sverrisdóttir, the Independence Party’s 5th place candidate, appeals to reason by presenting other parties as lacking either policies or comprehension compared to her party. She also utilizes subtle emotional appeals in the same way as Halldórsson does, in this case telling readers that she is afraid of the campaign promises that other parties are making, referencing the economist Assar Lindbeck: “The city council candidates agree there is a (housing) problem but the solutions vary greatly. Bright Future and the Pirates have no orchestrated policy. The

Progressive Party wants the city itself to commission colossal construction projects. The Social Democratic Alliance swaggers and promises up to 3000 apartments with the engagement of the city, but is very vague when it comes to how and in collaboration with who, and Left Greens are also talking about some kind of cooperative housing.” She continues: “The economist Assar Lindbeck phrased it so that such (plans) were the most efficient way to destroy a city, besides a bombing attack.” Then she presents her party: “We have a reasonable and feasible policy that harnesses the imaginative and forceful private companies on the construction market to fulfill the needs of the public for affordable housing.” (Sverrisdóttir, 2014). Sverrisdóttir then acted as the party’s messenger when the Progressive Party made their comments regarding the mosque building, expanding the positive emotion Pathos of the “Wonderful Reykjavík” slogan used by the Independence Party: “We should celebrate diversity and respect people’s freedom in speech and action and practice their religion and customs, provided it doesn’t impede on the rights of others. We should assist immigrants in adapting and learn the language, while we maintain our own native language. We should gather in pride walks and show support to both heterosexual and homosexual love. We should welcome refugees and asylum seekers, those who want to make Reykjavík their new hometown. Reykjavík is full of prominent churches that do graceful justice to our Christian heritage. We should celebrate the acquirement of houses of worship for more religions, to show that here we revere the freedom of belief and that everyone is equal.”(Sverrisdóttir, 2014).

III.III Albýðufylkingin

Albýðufylkingin (e. The People’s Alliance) formed before the parliamentary elections in 2013 as a far-left alternative to other parties led by carpenter Þorvaldur Þorvaldsson, a former active Left Green party member. The choice of slogans against and imagery reminiscent of the Soviet-era, using yellow letters with a bright red background, is in itself a powerful political statement. (“*Stofnun*

Alþýðufylkingarinnar”, 2015). After receiving only 118 votes in parliamentary elections, there were still high hopes of gaining a seat in the city council.

(Fjármála- og efnahagsráðuneytið, 2014). As a small party with limited financial resources, in addition to being idealistically against financial support from corporations, they did not advertise in newspapers in the election’s run-up.

There is reason to suspect that the People’s Alliance’s candidacy was not taken seriously by others, not only by their absence in *Fréttablaðið* and *Morgunblaðið* campaign news pieces and debates, but also that no one objected publicly to their absence. *DV*, on the other hand, includes them in all their coverings but one.

(Helgason, 2014). When asked about the party’s top political desire, Þorvaldsson responds “...of course the interests of the public, increased equality and increased justice. On the other hand we have a different opinion on this than it has been dominant.” (Þorvaldsson, 2014). He goes on in a *DV* article “Unlike others, our policy in municipal affairs is based on our opinion that increased equality, more democracy and welfare is achieved only by emphasizing the social at the cost of market trends”. (Þorvaldsson, 2014). This shows the attempt to distinguish the party from others by presenting an alternative approach, appealing to the party’s authority on authentic socialistic policy. Further exemplified by their online slogan “Socialism in one community”. (Borgarmálastefnuskrá Alþýðufylkingarinnar 2014, 2014).

The party’s first and only campaign article in May appeared in *DV* on the eve of the election. There, top candidate Þorvaldsson blames interest rates for the high prices of housing in the city. “Housing is the biggest item of expenditure for most families... The biggest cost of housing is not construction, but interests. That component has of course greatly increased after the implementation of indexation and moneylenders given the freedom to decide on interest rates”. There is no appeal to emotion, but to reason and is a continuation of an appeal to authority on alternative strategy based on socialism. The authority is bolstered by calling the former cabinet of the Social Democratic Alliance and Left Green as “The Welfare Government”, a self-title mocked by quotation marks. In addition claiming that

other parties that offer center left policy as providing guarantees to the “financial plowmen”. As evidence of these guarantees, Þorvaldsson points to the promises of the Social Democratic Alliance to build 2500 to 3000 rental apartments that would in the end compel inhabitants to pay interest to either the city or moneylenders. “The People’s Alliance has forged a policy that all finances in the country will be operated on a social foundation and everyone has the right to housing with interest-free financing”. (Þorvaldsson, 2014).

III.IV Samfylkingin

Leading the polls at the start of May was Samfylkingin (e. The Social Democratic Alliance), who formed the ruling majority with the Best Party between 2010 and 2014. Its mayoral candidate, Dagur B. Eggertsson, was a favorite in the polls when asked who should be the next mayor of Reykjavík. The party had lost its cabinet seats in 2013 along with half of their parliamentarians. National unpopularity seemed not to affect its chances of holding the city; on the contrary, every poll predicted they would more than double their presence in the city council.

The Social Democratic Alliance placed one full-page advert on Election Day in *Fréttablaðið*, Eggertsson dressed smart-casual urges people to vote and tells readers that city politics had been stable in the election period and that he hopes for your support. (“Kæri Reykvíkingur”, 2014). A longer version appeared in *DV* the day before. (Eggertsson, 2014). This emphasis on stability is retained from articles earlier in the month, Eggertsson lists the various issues facing the next election period, appealing to authority and confident of a successful campaign. While the main issue presented was the promise to build 2500 to 3000 rental apartments, hence appealing to reason, as he explained how the enterprise would benefit the community as a whole. (Eggertsson, 2014).

The appeals to authority within the Social Democratic Alliance was not confined to Eggertsson. For example, sixth place candidate Heiða Björg Hilmisdóttir lists in *Fréttablaðið* on May the 7th the many achievements reached towards enhancing human rights of minorities during her party's term in majority. That includes the care of children, gay rights and the elderly. "Human rights don't appear automatically. It is our job to address these issues and insure that politics revolve around the battle for rights and the better quality of life for those who are weaker. The Social Democratic Alliance will then continue to exert itself in human rights issues and insure our city will continue to be Reykjavík, the city of human rights." (Hilmisdóttir, 2014). The same topic was brought up again the day before the election by second place candidate Björk Vilhelmsdóttir, but appealed to reason as she describes in detail what the party plans to do for the elderly. "In times of hardship people need to have access to safe support and care, everything from domestic care to nursing homes." (Vilhelmsdóttir, 2014).

III.V Dögun

Dögun (e. Dawn) was, like the People's Alliance, formed before the parliamentary elections in 2013 then lead by ex-Borgarahreyfingin (e. The Civil Movement) parliamentarian Margrét Tryggvadóttir. They announced their city campaign in April of 2014 under the leadership of Þorleifur Gunnlaugsson, former Left Green city councilman who had lost his chair to Sóley Tómasdóttir in the 2010 primaries. As with the People's Alliance, Dawn did not advertise in newspapers in May, but are credited with four articles in *DV* and another four in *Morgunblaðið*.

In a 6th of May article in *DV*, top candidate Gunnlaugsson describes his vision of establishing a city bank that would not only provide low-interest loans to fund city projects but also generate capital to pay off the city's debt. He appeals to reason by providing the example of North Dakota's state bank as a model for the future institution: "We don't see any contradictions, why shouldn't the city run a bank

and use the profits to pay for the city's expenses? A City Bank is desirable to create competition in the current banking market. It would be a real option for the public and would be a model for other social banking institutions in the country.” (Gunnlaugsson, 2014).

The party's articles in *Morgunblaðið* are aimed to reassure possible voters that the candidacy is valid, “We are in a vicious circle of measuring low in polls hence discarded by the media...”. (Gunnlaugsson, 2014). After the mosque comments by the Progressive Party, Dawn appealed to authority on Muslim-related issues by pointing to their third candidate Salman Tamini, a founding member of the Association of Muslims in Iceland: “Everyone who knows him know he is a messenger of tolerance and human rights. That is the reason why he is one of our top candidates.” (Gunnlaugsson, 2014). Then a day before the election Gunnlaugsson conceded, appearing humble and appealing to reason, he stated Dawn's campaign issues and said the party had no worries losing the election: “We ask voters to vote the candidacy they deem the most likely to fulfill their promises.” (Gunnlaugsson, 2014).

III.VI Vinstrihreyfingin Grænt Framboð

Formed in 1999 out of the remnants of the People's Coalition in addition to other left wing factions, Vinstrihreyfingin Grænt Framboð (e. The Left Movement Green Candidacy). More commonly known as Vinstri Grænir (e. Left Green), they established themselves as the main option for left wing voters in Iceland, with the focus on welfare, feminism and environmental protection. The party generally received around 10-15% of the popular vote until the 2009 parliamentary elections, when they received 27% and entered into a coalition government with the Social Democratic Alliance. When it came to city politics they never seemed to garner more than one seat. Pushing out the older-generation socialists like Þorleifur Gunnlaugsson with Sóley Tómasdóttir and Líf

Magneudóttir as top candidates, now was the chance to get them both a seat in the city council.

The party's Reykjavík candidacy did not advertise, but were included in a national advert on Election Day where party chairperson Katrín Jakobsdóttir, dressed casually, urges people to vote and visit campaign offices under the slogan "Vote for equality and justice". ("Kjósum jöfnuð og réttlæti", 2014). The party focused mainly on the issue of making preschooling free of charge, stressed in Tómasdóttir's article against poverty where she states: "In the new Red Cross report, Hvar þrengir að, states that every ninth person is trapped in poverty, despair and isolation. The biggest concern is the situation of children, children living with poverty wrestle with social isolation and their social difficulties increase the chance of poverty when they reach adulthood." She continues. "Primarily to sever the vicious circle of poverty to prevent they are inherited between generations." Then she makes a direct appeal to reason. "There are no arguments supporting collecting hundreds of thousands in school fees for kindergartens, rather than elementary school, junior college or university." (Tómasdóttir, 2014). In their 2002 book *Art, Argument, and Advocacy: Mastering Parliamentary Debate*, authors John Meany and Kate Shuster identify the phrase "Think of the Children" in the political arena as an appeal to emotion. Rather than engaging directly in a logical discussion the topic of children is used to emotionally sway the public. (Meany and Shuster, 2002). While this could apply to the Left Green campaign as a whole, this is not evident in the writings of Tómasdóttir where she primarily appeals to reason on the topic of children along with other topics. This is further evident in her *DV* article on May 28th where she writes: "The city should provide diverse and good service in accordance with the will of the city populace, without private participation." (Tómasdóttir, 2014).

III.VII Píratar

After the split of the Civil Movement, Birgitta Jónsdóttir did not follow her fellow parliamentarians to Dögun (e. Dawn) but rather established another political movement for the 2013 parliamentary elections based on the international Pirate Party, calling themselves in Anglophonic fashion Píratar (e. Pirates). Unlike Dawn, the Pirates seemed to strike a chord with voters with an emphasis on civil rights, official transparency, individual privacy and new ways to enhance democracy. With three parliamentarians, the Pirates set their sights on the city with top candidate Halldór Auður Svansson, computer programmer.

As the party prides itself in their knowledge and usage of the internet, they did not advertise in newspapers during the election campaign. This pride is illustrated in Svansson's article in *DV* on the 30th of May, where he describes the writing of said article using a collaborative effort via computer. Humor directed at politics is an emotional appeal: "We sometimes say that making Pirates come to a unanimous decision is like making cats round themselves up." (Svansson, 2014). The rounding up of cats most likely referencing Left Green parliamentarians in the 2009-2013 election period. Humor as an emotional appeal was used successfully by The Best Party in 2010, humor conveys a sense of charm and in this instance, creates an emotional link to the reader who recognizes the reference. Svansson then appeals to reason as he explains in a direct manner of how online democracy would benefit citizens of Reykjavík. "The Pirates have shown in Alþingi that everyone can join and take part in good decision making. Parliamentarians meet regularly with the party grass roots to tell them about their activities and receive feedback- and of course everyone talks online and vote on policies." He continues: "Then citizens could monitor the activities inside City Hall and give their opinion of it." (Svansson, 2014).

III.VIII Björt Framtíð

It is still not settled on whether Björt Framtíð (e. Bright future) is a continuation, descendant or a distant political relative of the Best Party that won the city in 2010. The origins lie in how to catch the momentum gained in the city and bring it into the parliament in 2013 and then nationwide in the municipal elections 2014, making it a permanent presence in the Icelandic political scene. It stripped itself of all humor and irony, but retained most of the Best Party candidates besides the mayor Jón Gnarr that left politics taking the Best Party with him. With Jón's second chair in 2010 and Óttar Proppé in parliament for Bright Future, deputy mayor S. Björn Blöndal became their top candidate in the city.

Bright Future did not advertise in newspapers in May but Blöndal was keen on writing articles in *Fréttablaðið* and *DV*. The central theme was to maintain the support gained by the Best Party four years earlier by referencing past deeds such as the reorganization of Orkuveita Reykjavíkur (e. Reykjavík Energy), thus appealing to authority. (Blöndal, 2014). The theme is continued throughout the month of May as Blöndal calls the election victory in 2010 a "revolution". (Blöndal, 2014).

Blöndal strikes a chord similar to the Social Democratic Alliance when writing in *DV* on the 30th of May when he lists future projects in a broad spectrum, appealing to authority as he lists the various issues facing the next election period fully confident of winning the election. (Blöndal, 2014). On Election Day Blöndal appeals to emotion when he wrote in *Fréttablaðið* that Reykjavík will be at peace and calls it a "sanctuary", a reference to the dissolution in city politics before 2008. "By voting Bright Future you are taking a clear stance. You are saying that human rights are important. You are saying that honesty is important. You are choosing a power disconnected from special interest. You are choosing responsibility. You are also saying that there can be joy in politics, city government and municipalities." (Blöndal, 2014).

IV. Discussion and Conclusions

“The majority of men prefer delusion to truth. It soothes. It is easy to grasp. Above all, it fits more snugly than the truth into a universe of false appearances-of complex and irrational phenomena, defectively grasped.”

H.L. Mencken’s introduction to Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche’s *The Anti-Christ*.

To define whom the candidates are addressing it is not sufficient to rely on personal feelings or suspicions regarding possible political leanings of each newspaper. Birgir Guðmundsson, political scientist and associate professor at the University of Akureyri, published his research on the 2014 municipal elections in 2015. There he asked candidates on every election list in all municipalities on where they place newspapers and themselves in the left-right political spectrum. Provided with the data from candidates in Reykjavík, where they themselves place *Morgunblaðið*, *Fréttablaðið* and *DV*, it is possible to deduce whom they address when it comes to choosing a publishing venue. (Guðmundsson, 2014, *appendix*).

The Independence Party never advertises in *DV*, four times in *Fréttablaðið* and five times in *Morgunblaðið*. Interesting is that they place *Morgunblaðið* furthest to the right, thus advertising to readers most deemed most likely to vote for them. But *Morgunblaðið* cannot be called a loyal paper to the Independence Party. Even though its editorials lambast the majority by saying they ignore the will of the citizens, the paper takes no qualms in criticizing the minority as “ineffective”. (Staksteinar, 2014). (Daufleg barátta, 2014). Placing *Morgunblaðið* furthest to the right seems to be the only thing all parties are in agreement on. The Progressive Party and Independence Party candidates place *DV* and *Fréttablaðið* to the left and center, while candidates in other parties place them in the center and right. Individual perceptions aside, this does affect where the candidates write and indicates to what group of readers they are reaching to. *Morgunblaðið* being a popular arena for civilians to write praises to Independence Party and Progressive

Party members while mud-slinging the Social Democratic Alliance and Best Party majority on a wide variety of issues, such as road building, moving the airport, taxes, personality of majority candidates and even building birdhouses.

(Kjartansson, 2014). (Kárason, 2014). (Snorrason, 2014). For example: “Elections should not revolve around charm and charisma, but issues. Try to understand that and respect, and think better, before you vote for Dagur and company over us again, even though you really want their terrible policy regarding the city, then there is a large group here that doesn’t want that! Wake up, you who sleeps, before it’s too late!” (Jónsdóttir, 2014). If the letters to the editor are any indication of the true opinion of *Morgunblaðið*’s readership then it would be a very inviting forum for Independence Party and Progressive Party candidates.

The same pattern applies to those who don’t identify with *Morgunblaðið*’s views, the exception that proves the rule is the fact that Dawn only starts to campaign via *Morgunblaðið* after facing low numbers in the polls and shifting from rational appeal to emotional appeal. The emotional shift is particularly evident when analyzing the Progressive Party campaign as they, inadvertently if subsequent candidate statements are to be believed, command an issue no other party had touched upon, i.e. the Mosque in the capital.

In the book *Journalism: Who, what, when, where, why and how*, James Glen Stovall writes about the news media’s participation in the political system. He states that because it is cheaper to publish opinions than to produce news it has led to the condition of fragmentation. Where the amount of individual opinions has dispossessed political parties of the ability to coalesce policies, leading to the formation of new parties fragmented out of the larger ones. (Stovall, 2005). While this offers a good explanation to the presence of so many political parties in the campaign, especially Dawn and the People’s Alliance, whose top candidates are former members of the Left-Movement Green Candidacy. This however did not have an effect on the election results, even if the 774 votes cast for Dawn and the 219 votes for the People’s Alliance had gone to Left Green, Left Green would still have needed 320 votes to get two candidates on the city council.

The election results were clear on June the 1st 2014, after counting 56.896 ballots. The Progressive Party received 10.7% and two representatives in the city council: the gamble had worked, a campaign that looked like a failure in the polls just days before had been revitalized due to the mosque comments. The People's Alliance ended with 0.4%: it seemed only 219 voters were looking for a socialist alternative. Dawn had already conceded defeat and received only 1.7% of the vote. Even though the Pirate Party had mostly ignored newspapers, they received 5.9% and one seat in the city council, a sign that a future analysis of campaign rhetoric needs to include websites.

Bright Future held on to less than half of what the Best Party got in 2010, 15.6% and three seats in the city council. Left Green ended with 8.3% and one seat. Appearing to engage in single-issue politics that were called into question by other parties did not garner higher support. S. Björn Blöndal spoke out against Left Green's policy in a *DV* interview saying that making kindergarten's free of charge would have a bad impact on service quality, he continues: "Everyone considers it natural and normal to run a kindergarten service. But we don't consider it to be unreasonable expenditure. Parents share today is 15% that is not particularly much. I as a parent can pay that 15%." (Jóhannsson, 2014). The Independence Party failed in their mission to take back the city, but a strong campaign got them 25.7% and four seats, even though they had managed to gain one extra seat it would not have mattered as they would have needed six to be able to form a majority with the Progressive Party, unless Bright Future or the Pirate Party had been convinced to support them. The clear winner of the election was the Social Democratic Alliance with 31.9% and five seats, appealing to reason and emotion while not focusing solely on a single issue and offering stability to a broad variety of issues. (Úrslit úr stærstu sveitarfélögum, 2014).

On June the 11th a new majority was formed under the leadership of the Social Democratic Alliance, Dagur B. Eggertsson became mayor with the support of the Bright Future, Left Green and the Pirates. ("Nýr meirihluti í borginni kynntur...", 2014).

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VI. Appendix

In appendix to this thesis is part of the data collected by Birgir Guðmundsson for his article Pólítísk boðmiðlun í héraði og á landsvísu (e. Political communication in counties and nationally) that was published in the journal Þjóðarspejillinn XV: Rannsóknir í félagsvísindum in October 2014. Questionnaires were sent out to all candidates in the 2014 municipal elections and they asked a variety of questions. For the purpose of this theses I was graciously given access to the data to collect the responses from candidates in Reykjavík to the questions of where they personally consider news outlets and especially newspapers on the left-right political spectrum.

VI.I Appendix I

Candidates from each party rank Fréttablaðið, Morgunblaðið, DV, RÚV News and Stöð 2/Bylgjan on the left-right political spectrum. One being left and five being right.

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Veljið flokk í felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttablaðið	124	81,0%	29	19,0%	153	100,0%
Veljið flokk í felliglugganum - Flokkur * Morgunblaðið	124	81,0%	29	19,0%	153	100,0%

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * DV	121	79,1%	32	20,9%	153	100,0%
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa RÚV	125	81,7%	28	18,3%	153	100,0%
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar	123	80,4%	30	19,6%	153	100,0%
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Héraðsfréttamiðlar	124	81,0%	29	19,0%	153	100,0%

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttablaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttablaðið	
		Einkunn 1	Einkunn 2
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	3
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	0	3
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	3	5
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	3
	Björt framtíð	1	2
	Dögun	0	0
	Píratar	0	1
	Óháður listi	2	2
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	3
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total		6	23

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttablaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttablaðið	
		Einkunn 3	Einkunn 4
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	8
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	7	9
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	9	2
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	5	11
	Björt framtíð	6	3
	Dögun	0	0
	Píratar	4	2
	Óháður listi	5	1
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	2	2
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		40	38

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttablaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttablaðið	Total
		Einkunn 5	
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	5	18
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	5	24
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	19
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	21
	Björt framtíð	1	13

	Dögun	3	3
	Píratar	1	8
	Óháður listi	0	10
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	7
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total		17	124

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Morgunblaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Morgunblaðið	
		Einkunn 1	Einkunn 2
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	1
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	0	5
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	0
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	0
	Björt framtíð	0	0
	Dögun	1	1
	Píratar	0	2
	Óháður listi	1	0
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	1	0
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		3	9

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Morgunblaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Morgunblaðið	
		Einkunn 3	Einkunn 4
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	4	5
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	4	12
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	5
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	3
	Björt framtíð	1	6
	Dögun	0	0
	Píratar	0	3
	Óháður listi	1	6
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	0
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		10	40

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Morgunblaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Morgunblaðið	Total
		ð	
		Einkunn 5	
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	8	18
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	3	24
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	15	20
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	18	21

	Björt framtíð	6	13
	Dögun	1	3
	Píratar	2	7
	Óháður listi	3	11
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	5	6
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	1	1
Total		62	124

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * DV Crosstabulation

Count

		DV	
		Einkunn 1	Einkunn 2
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	1
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	1	1
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	4	9
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	5	6
	Björt framtíð	2	4
	Dögun	1	1
	Píratar	2	1
	Óháður listi	3	3
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	3	1
Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1	
Total		21	28

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * DV Crosstabulation

Count

		DV	
		Einkunn 3	Einkunn 4
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	4	4
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	7	7
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	3	2
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	7	1
	Björt framtíð	7	0
	Dögun	1	0
	Píratar	0	3
	Óháður listi	2	2
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	2
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total	31	21	

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * DV Crosstabulation

Count

		DV	Total
		Einkunn 5	
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	8	17
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	8	24
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	20
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	20

	Björt framtíð	0	13
	Dögun	0	3
	Píratar	1	7
	Óháður listi	0	10
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	6
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total		20	121

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa RÚV Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttastofa RÚV	
		Einkunn 1	Einkunn 2
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	3
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	3	8
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	9	8
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	9	6
	Björt framtíð	3	7
	Dögun	2	0
	Píratar	2	2
	Óháður listi	4	5
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	5	0
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		39	39

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa RÚV Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttastofa RÚV	
		Einkunn 3	Einkunn 4
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	6	3
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	4	6
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	3	0
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	4	1
	Björt framtíð	3	0
	Dögun	0	1
	Píratar	2	0
	Óháður listi	1	0
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	1	1
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total		24	13

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa RÚV Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttastofa RÚV	Total
		Einkunn 5	
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	4	18
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	3	24
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	20

	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	21
	Björt framtíð	0	13
	Dögun	0	3
	Píratar	1	7
	Óháður listi	1	11
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	7
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total		10	125

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar	
		Einkunn 1	Einkunn 2
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	5
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	1	6
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	3	8
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	5
	Björt framtíð	1	5
	Dögun	0	0
	Píratar	0	2
	Óháður listi	0	5
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	1	2

	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		7	38

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar	
		Einkunn 3	Einkunn 4
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	8	3
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	9	5
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	6	1
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	7	3
	Björt framtíð	4	2
	Dögun	1	1
	Píratar	1	3
	Óháður listi	3	1
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	2	2
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		41	21

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar Crosstabulation

Count

	Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar	Total
		Einkunn 5

	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	18
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	3	24
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	20
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	5	20
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Björt framtíð	1	13
	Dögun	1	3
	Píratar	1	7
	Óháður listi	1	10
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	7
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	1	1
	Total	16	123

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Héraðsfréttamiðlar Crosstabulation

Count

		Héraðsfréttamiðlar	
		Einkunn 1	Einkunn 2
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	6	2
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	4	11
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	4
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	5	8
	Björt framtíð	1	3
	Dögun	1	1
	Píratar	0	0

	Óháður listi	0	3
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	2	2
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	1	0
Total		22	34

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Héraðsfréttamiðlar Crosstabulation

Count

		Héraðsfréttamiðlar	
		Einkunn 3	Einkunn 4
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	3	5
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	5	3
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	7	3
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	5	3
	Björt framtíð	4	4
	Dögun	1	0
	Píratar	3	0
	Óháður listi	1	4
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	2	1
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		31	23

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Héraðsfréttamiðlar Crosstabulation

Count

	Héraðsfréttamiðlar	Total

		Einkunn 5	
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	18
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	1	24
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	4	20
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	21
	Björt framtíð	0	12
	Dögun	0	3
	Píratar	4	7
	Óháður listi	3	11
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	7
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total		14	124

VI.II Appendix II

Candidates choose where they personally feel each news outlet is located, or supports a particular area, on the political spectrum. The options being “Supports left-wing policies”, “Supports center-left policies”, “Supports center policies”, “Supports center-right policies” and “Supports right-wing policies”.

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttablaðið	120	78,4%	33	21,6%	153	100,0%
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Morgunblaðið	124	81,0%	29	19,0%	153	100,0%
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * DV	120	78,4%	33	21,6%	153	100,0%
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Viðskiptablaðið	118	77,1%	35	22,9%	153	100,0%
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa RÚV	123	80,4%	30	19,6%	153	100,0%
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar	119	77,8%	34	22,2%	153	100,0%

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttablaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttablaðið	
		Styðurvinstri istefnu	Styðurvinstri i miðjustefnu
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	6	3
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	2	13

	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	3
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	4
	Björt framtíð	0	5
	Dögun	0	1
	Píratar	0	1
	Óháður listi	0	4
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	0
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		8	34

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttablaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttablaðið	
		Styðurmiðju stefnu	Styðurhægri miðjustefnu
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	4
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	4	3
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	4	3
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	3	11
	Björt framtíð	3	3
	Dögun	1	0
	Píratar	4	0
	Óháður listi	2	2
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	1	3
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	1	0

Total	24	29
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Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttablaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttablaðið	
		Styðurhægri stefnu	Styðurenga stefnu umfram aðra
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	2
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	0	1
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	8
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	1
	Björt framtíð	0	1
	Dögun	1	0
	Píratar	1	1
	Óháður listi	0	3
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	2
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total	6	19	

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttablaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Total
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	17

	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	23
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	20
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	20
	Björt framtíð	12
	Dögun	3
	Píratar	7
	Óháður listi	11
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	6
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	1
Total		120

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Morgunblaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Morgunblaðið	
		Styðurhægr i miðjustefnu	Styðurhægr istefnu
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	3	14
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	10	13
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	20
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	21
	Björt framtíð	3	10
	Dögun	0	3

	Píratar	4	3
	Óháður listi	3	8
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	7
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total		23	100

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Morgunblaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Morgunblaðið	Total
		Styðurenga stefnu umfram aðra	
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	17
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	1	24
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	20
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	21
	Björt framtíð	0	13
	Dögun	0	3
	Píratar	0	7
	Óháður listi	0	11
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	7
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total		1	124

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * DV Crosstabulation

Count

		DV	
		Styðurvinstr istefnu	Styðurvinstr i miðjustefnu
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	4	7
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	6	12
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	6
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	7
	Björt framtíð	0	5
	Dögun	1	0
	Píratar	3	0
	Óháður listi	1	1
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	2
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total	17	40	

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * DV Crosstabulation

Count

		DV	
		Styðurmiðju stefnu	Styðurhægri miðjustefnu
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	1
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	3	0

	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	0
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	2
	Björt framtíð	1	2
	Dögun	1	0
	Píratar	2	0
	Óháður listi	3	0
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	1	1
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	1	0
Total		17	6

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * DV Crosstabulation

Count

		DV	
		Styðurhægri stefnu	Styðurenga stefnu umfram aðra
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	3
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	0	1
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	11
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	8
	Björt framtíð	0	5
	Dögun	0	1
	Píratar	0	2
	Óháður listi	0	6
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	2

	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		1	39

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * DV Crosstabulation

Count

		Total
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	17
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	22
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	20
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	20
	Björt framtíð	13
	Dögun	3
	Píratar	7
	Óháður listi	11
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	6
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	1
Total		120

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Viðskiptablaðið Crosstabulation

Count

	Viðskiptablaðið	
	Styðurvinstr i miðjustefnu	Styðurmiðju stefnu

	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	2
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	0	2
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	1
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	0
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Björt framtíð	0	2
	Dögun	0	0
	Píratar	0	0
	Óháður listi	1	0
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	0
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total		1	8

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Viðskiptablaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Viðskiptablaðið	
		Styðurhægri miðjustefnu	Styðurhægri stefnu
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	8
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	6	9
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	14
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	6	11
	Björt framtíð	4	3
	Dögun	0	1
	Píratar	4	2

	Óháður listi	2	3
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	3	3
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		29	54

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Viðskiptablaðið Crosstabulation

Count

		Viðskiptablaðið	Total
		Styðurengastefnu umfram aðra	
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	5	17
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	7	24
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	19
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	19
	Björt framtíð	3	12
	Dögun	1	2
	Píratar	1	7
	Óháður listi	5	11
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	6
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total		26	118

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa RÚV Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttastofa RÚV	
		Styðurvinstr istefnu	Styðurvinstr í miðjustefnu
Veljið flokk í felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	5	6
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	4	11
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	0
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	2
	Björt framtíð	0	2
	Dögun	0	0
	Píratar	0	1
	Óháður listi	0	2
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	0
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		9	24

Veljið flokk í felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa RÚV Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttastofa RÚV	
		Styðurmiðju stefnu	Styðurhægri miðjustefnu
Veljið flokk í felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	0
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	3	1
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	3	3

Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	4
Björt framtíð	1	3
Dögun	0	1
Píratar	1	1
Óháður listi	2	1
Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	1
Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	1
Total	13	16

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa RÚV Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttastofa RÚV	
		Styðurhægri stefnu	Styðurenga stefnu umfram aðra
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	3
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	0	5
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	14
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	13
	Björt framtíð	0	7
	Dögun	0	1
	Píratar	0	4
	Óháður listi	0	6
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	6
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0

Total	2	59
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Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa RÚV Crosstabulation

Count

		Total
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	17
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	24
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	20
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	21
	Björt framtíð	13
	Dögun	2
	Píratar	7
	Óháður listi	11
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	7
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	1
Total		123

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar Crosstabulation

Count

	Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar	
	Styðurvinstr istefnu	Styðurvinstr i miðjustefnu

	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	3	2
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	2	9
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	1
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	0	2
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Björt framtíð	0	0
	Dögun	0	0
	Píratar	0	0
	Óháður listi	0	0
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	0	1
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		5	15

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar	
		Styðurmiðju stefnu	Styðurhægri miðjustefnu
	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	6
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	4	3
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	5	5
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	1	10
	Björt framtíð	4	2
	Dögun	1	1
	Píratar	3	3

	Óháður listi	2	4
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	2	1
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	0	0
Total		23	35

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar Crosstabulation

Count

		Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar	
		Styðurhægri stefnu	Styðurenga stefnu umfram aðra
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	3
	Sjálfstæðisflokkur	0	4
	Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	2	7
	Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	4	3
	Björt framtíð	2	5
	Dögun	0	0
	Píratar	0	1
	Óháður listi	1	4
	Óháður listi félagshyggju	1	1
	Óháður listi borgaralegur	1	0
Total		13	28

Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur * Fréttastofa Stöðvar 2/Bylgjunnar Crosstabulation

Count

	Total
Framsóknarflokkur (og samstarfsaðilar)	17
Sjálfstæðisflokkur	22
Samfylkingu (og samstarfsaðilar)	20
Vinstri grænir (og samstarfsaðilar)	20
Björt framtíð	13
Veljið flokk i felliglugganum - Flokkur	
Dögun	2
Píratar	7
Óháður listi	11
Óháður listi félagshyggju	6
Óháður listi borgaralegur	1
Total	119