

Appendix 2 - By August Merved

This appendix contains all the transcription files of the scholar interviews in one document. All interviews have been done in Danish and then translated, by the thesis author, into English, with the help of the translation service DeepL, and then proofread by the author - who is a native Danish speaker.

For the sake of transparency, the original Danish transcription is included, so the reader can be sure that the translation is as close to the real statement as possible. The time codes are taken from the original recordings of the interview for clarification.

All respondents have read and agreed to a data consent form which can be shown by request by the thesis author.

Appendix 2 - By August Merved	1
Jørgen Jensen, Scholar. Date of interview, 24-02-2023. Conducted via Skype	2
Danish original version:	2
English translated version:	10
Mads Hove, Media researcher. Date of interview, 23-02-2023. Conducted via Zoom.	17
Danish original version:	17
English translated version:	24
Roger Buch, Head of Research at the Danish School of Media and Journalism. Date of interview, 24-02-2023. Conducted via Zoom.	32
Danish original version:	32
English translated version:	41

Jørgen Jensen, Scholar. Date of interview, 24-02-2023. Conducted via Skype

Danish original version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Jørgen Jensen

00:00:00 - **Speaker 1**

Her.Så laver jeg.Backup her.Nu skal vi se herDet beklager. Det troede jeg faktisk var sat op allerede.

00:00:21 - **Speaker 1**

Det var det ikke.Så skal vi se.Nej nu simpelthen blive med. Det må blive telefonen. Det plejer at gå fint.

00:00:34 - **Speaker 1**

Ja OK Jeg er i gang med at skrive speciale. Jeg ringer fra Tjekkiet. Jeg har ligesom Sådan en dobbelt grad fra Aarhus Universitet og så karlsUniversitet. Det var derfor jeg gerne ville have det på skype, ellers så bliver det så forfærdeligt dyrt med de lange.

00:00:48 - **Speaker 2**

Telefonerne fungerer åbenbart fint.

00:00:51 - **Speaker 1**

Ja Det kan man sige, men jeg skriver speciale om de herVil jeg kalde det hemmelighedsfulde pengestrømme til de danske partier fra private donorer, altså ikke de offentlige, men simpelthen de private. Jeg har med mit speciale fokus på journalisternes

dækning af det. Det er jeg ikke sikker på hvor meget du har lyst til at udtale dig om. Jeg vil stille dig spørgsmålet, og så kan du sige "det ved jeg simpelthen ikke nok om eller ej." Bare så Det er klart. Jeg har ligesom en form for bias, hvor Jeg synes det bliver dækket lidt for lidt i forhold til andre områder, så det lige for at klargøre Det er altså det mit standpunkt kommer fra, selvom jeg prøver at være så neutral som muligt.

00:01:37 - Speaker 1

Men jeg kunne godt tænke mig at starte med at spørge, hvor stort et problem er den her manglende transparens i Danmark i forhold til de her pengedonationer?

00:01:48 - Speaker 2

Ja jamen Jeg vil sige stort altså forstået på den måde at hvis man har et ønske om, at der skal være transparens, og Det kan man sige det, Det er vel Sådan et et nogenlunde fælles ønske for for samtlige demokratiske lande, at man man gerne vil vide hvor pengene kommer fra og bag det ligger jo en eller anden formodning om at penge kan påvirke, og derfor kan man sige, hvis man skal gardere sig mod uheldige påvirkninger, så er man også nødt til at vide hvor pengene kommer fra. Altså man kan have måske 2 standpunkter på at man kan have det standpunkt, at man overhovedet ikke vil acceptere store donationer, fordi Det kan påvirke. Og man kan have det standpunkt at folk i og for sig er fri til at give hvad de vil, men det skal bare være offentligt hvem der giver til hvad og så må vælgerbefolkningen jo så ud fra det selv tage stilling. Man kan sige de forskellige systemer har har måske lagt forskellige grunde til de 2 synspunkter, altså man kan sige for eksempel det amerikanske system bygger egentlig på en tanke om, at der skal være en overgrænse for hvor meget man overhovedet må give, at det så i praksis overhovedet ikke fungerer, Det er så noget andet, men altså udgangspunktet har egentlig været, at man fastsatte nogle beløbsgrænser, og mere måtte man ikke give, no matter what, der kan man sige de fleste europæiske lande, og i hvert fald i Danmark, Der har udgangspunktet jo været, at man måtte give så meget man vil, Men det skulle i en eller anden grad være gennemskueligt, hvor pengene så kom fra.

00:03:12 - Speaker 2

Og man kan sige det. Det hænger jo sammen med et eller andet med at undgå korrupsion, altså i måske ikke i Sådan den helt traditionelle forstand, hvor man køber sig til adgang til et bestemt projekt eller lignende, men Sådan den den mere. Hvad skal vi kalde det? Eller Sådan noget indirekte korrupsion, der består i, at man kan sige, at hvis man giver mange penge til et eller andet, så forventer man vel også, at den pågældende organisation så på en eller anden måde er venlig overfor én i form af...I hvert fald ikke de retter modarbejde måske også være mere accepterende overfor de synspunkter man har, og at Jeg tror ikke, Der er i Danmark foreligger korrupsion Sådan i den traditionelle forstand det. Det har jeg ikke nogen som helst baggrund for at mene at, at der skulle gøre, men, men Jeg tror, der der foreligger noget andet, nemlig det, at man ved at give en masse penge - Jamen i det mindste køber sig adgang til beslutningstagerne. Altså Det er meget svært, hvis en eller anden donor, der har givet 5 millioner til partikassen, ringer til partiformanden og siger, "jeg kunne godt tænke mig at få et møde." Så er det altså meget svært at sige. "Nej, Det kan jeg ikke. Det har jeg sgu ikke tid til. Altså det gider jeg ikke," altså fordi så kunne man risikere de 5 millioner ikke kom næste år, ikke. altså så så på den måde tror jeg at at at man man får noget igen på en eller anden facon, og som sagt jeg hælder selv mest til det standpunkt at at folk egentlig må give hvad de vil, hvis bare man vidste hvor pengene kom fra. Altså Jeg tror Det er meget

svært at fastsætte beløbsgrænser som at håndhæve dem, og det viser det amerikanske eksempel jo med alt ønskelig tydelighed, at det i praksis ikke kan lade sig gøre, og derfor kan man måske lige så godt tage tyren ved hornene og sige, "Det er sådan set også okay, at folk giver hvad de vil." Der er noget omkring nogle principielle synspunkt omkring ytringsfrihed og sådan noget ikke? Altså man må bruge sine penge også til at fremme sine synspunkter, men men det skal bare være kendt hvor pengene kommer fra, og Det er jo så det, at det danske system halter helt gevaldigt. Fordi i realiteten ved vi jo stort set ikke hvor pengene kommer fra, når det drejer sig om de private donationer.

00:05:10 - **Speaker 1**

Hvad betyder det for demokratiet i Danmark?

00:05:14 - **Speaker 2**

Hvad? Hvad sagde du?

00:05:14 - **Speaker 1**

Hvad betyder det for demokratiet i Danmark, at Vi har de her regler?

00:05:21 - **Speaker 2**

Jeg tror at ikke det betyder så vældig meget. Fordi Vi har en meget stærk demokratisk Kultur, ikke? Men men men Det er et et synes jeg - Man bør være opmærksom på, og vi scorer jo højt på de der anti-korrupsions lister. Altså vi ligger jo ret konstant i om nummer et, så i hvert fald de 5 første eller sådan noget, og Det er jo Det er jo nok lidt tilfældigt hvordan man opgør sådan noget, ikke? Altså man kan sige Vi er i den forand et korrupsionsfrit land, men men der har jo været international kritik fra Europarådet tror jeg Det er Om altså noget der hedder GRECO som er en eller anden forkortelse for nogen der er sådan et antikorrupsions observationsgruppe og de de kritiserer den der manglende åbenhed i partisystemet, og så kan man sige, samtidig proklamerer jo Vores politikere, at de ønsker, at åbenheden. De gør bare ikke noget som helst for at fremme det og og der har jo været nedsat et fint udvalg, som jeg selv har været medlem af, som er kommet med en meget lang betænkning omkring mere åbenhed i partistøttereglerne. Eller ja, i omkring de her private donationer, og der kom stort set ingenting ud af det.

00:06:30 - **Speaker 2**

Okay, så de de anbefalinger vi kom med blev i det store hele ikke gennemført. Altså så så man kan sige, Der er ikke nogen politisk vilje til at gøre noget ved det, tror jeg man kan sige.

00:06:41 - **Speaker 1**

Hvorfor er partistøttereglerne anderledes i Danmark, end de er i Vores nabolande?

00:06:47 - **Speaker 2**

Ja, man kan sige nogle af af Vores mindre... ja hvad hedder sådan noget, mindre korrupsionsfrie nabolande, der har man måske følt et større behov for faktisk at at skabe den der åbenhed, fordi man måske altså. Vi har jo ligesom måske klappet os selv på skulderen hele tiden og sagt, "jamen, Vi har jo ingen korrupsion, så derfor behøver vi heller ikke at have nogen særlig skrappe regler på det her område," og der kan det da godt være, at andre lande, hvor man måske i højere grad har korrupsionsproblemer inde på livet, ligesom har været mere motiveret for at få lavet nogle skrappe regler. Men det gælder ikke. Det er ikke

den eneste forklaring, fordi altså for eksempel over i Sverige har også betydning skrappe regler, end Vi har i Danmark, og de er jo lige så korrupsionsfrie som os.

00:07:25 - Speaker 2

Altså så jamen Jeg tror simpelthen, jeg må sige at Det er -Det er et spørgsmål om, at de store partier, der jo er dem, der får de store donationer, har simpelthen en fælles modvilje mod at gøre noget ved det, ikke? Altså og og det man så skulle gøre ved det, kan man ikke blive enige om, tror jeg man kan sige altså, Det har jo - altså i hvert fald Sådan som regel oprindeligt var skruet sammen, så var det jo Sådan, at man kan sige at at Socialdemokratiet og de venstreorienterede partier fik en meget stor grad af deres penge fra fagbevægelsen og, organisationer og de borgerlige partier fik en meget højere grad af penge på private virksomheder. Og det holdt ligesom hinanden lidt i skak, fordi hvis man sagde "ja, der skal være større åbenhed om hvor pengene kommer fra og omkring de store virksomheder," så kom de borgerlige partier og sagde, jamen, "Det kan vi så måske godt gå med til. Men så skal der samtidig indføres nogle begrænsninger på, hvor meget fagbevægelsen må give, fordi Det er jo noget, de gør på medlemmernes vegne, og medlemmerne skal så kunne tale sig fri af det" og så videre og så videre. Og der kan man sige Socialdemokratiet var måske så mere interesseret i at beholde de donationer, og de fik fra fra fagbevægelsen end i at skabe åbenhed, og man kan sige Socialdemokratiet nyder jo også i en eller anden grad godt af, at der er lukkethed omkring det, selvom fagbevægelsens donationer jo er offentligt kendte, altså Det er ikke dér, men men de modtager jo også forskellige andre, altså de der erhvervsclubber og Sådan som Jeg kan se du også skriver om, ikke, altså så så så altså Jeg tror man må sige, Der er simpelthen ikke en erklæret, men men en indforstået konsensus om, at det her. Det gør vi sgu ikke noget ved, fordi vi nyder alle sammen godt af det i hvert fald. Og man kan sige dem, Der er meget hidsige på det her. Det er dem, der ikke selv får ret meget ud af det. Altså hvilket jo selvfølgelig, måske ja, forståeligt nok altså så altså... og det vil sige de mindre partier på fløjene især ikke altså.

00:09:20 - Speaker 2

Men for eksempel også de Radikale er er meget ivrige efter at få gjort noget ved det her også. Eller har i hvert fald været det hidtil. Og det hænger jo sikkert også sammen med de ikke selv modtager ret meget ikke... så så så.

00:09:34 - Speaker 1

Tak skal du have. Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at spørge lidt ind til... nu når Vi har erklæret, at Det er problematisk. Hvad er journalisternes rolle så i hele det her system?

00:09:46 - Speaker 2

Ja, Det er vel for det første er at afdække de steder hvorDe nuværende regler bliver overtrådt, fordi Vi har jo nogle regler, som godt nok ikke er ret effektive, men man kan sige Det er dog bedre end absolut ingenting, ikke? Altså så så og der kan man sige det det. Det har der jo været en række sager, hvor journalister rent faktisk har afdækket nogle af de huller Der er. Der er eller eller deciderede overtrædelser. Man kan sige, Det er både måske de deciderede overtrædelser, men Det er også at påpege de smuthuller, Der er dem, er der jo virkelig mange af, ikke? Altså, Det er jo ikke bare en sti, Det er jo et fiskenet med meget store huller, ikke? Altså det her så og og man kan sige på den måde holder man da i hvert fald debatten i gang, og om der skal gøres mere ved det.

00:10:29 - Speaker 2

Den dukker typisk op i forbindelse med valgkampe, og så dør det igen. Så snart valgkampen er overstået. Altså Sådan var det jo også ved Det ny overståede folketingsvalg, så det der nye organ, der hed frihedsbrevet, havde jo Sådan en retHeftig kampagne omkring hvordan stort set alle partier jo prøver at omgå den der 20.000 såkaldte 20.000 kroners regel. Altså at det at man skal offentliggøre donorer, navn og adresse på donorer, der giver mere end 20.000, så havde man jo alle mulige smuthuller, som ikke er ulovligt, men som er imod det, der var intentionen i hvert fald - nemlig at man så kan dele det op og give nogen til kandidaten og nogle til selve partiet og nogle til kredsorganisationen. Og på den måde kan man altså fint slippe afsted med at give både 50 og 100.000. Og Det varPartierne, altså det det foregik ved, at Frihedsbrevet ringede op og sagde, "hør engang" - altså foregav, at der var en eller andet, der gerne ville give 50.000, men han ville bare ikke have sit navn frem, fordi det ødelagde hans virksomhed og Sådan noget og så vejlede partierne yderst behjælpeligt med at komme med ideer til, hvordan man så kunne omgå de der regler. Og som sagt, Det var ikke noget, det var ikke ulovligheder de foreslog, men Det var jo altså omvendt heller ikke i overensstemmelse med den orden, som reglerne er lavet i.

00:11:44 - Speaker 1

Nu nævnte du før, at det blev dækket en del under valgkampen. Jeg har selv lavet nogle undersøgelser via Infomedia og Google på, hvor meget det egentlig er blevet beskrevet på webmedierne, at de 6 til 7 største danske medier som dr dk, tv 2 dk Jyllands-Posten, Berlingske Politiken, Ekstra Bladet og BT. Ikke overraskende, måske, var der flere 1000 artikler om sundhed og integrationOg skat. så var der 90 artikler om Søren Papes skandalesager.Der varOver 100 artikler om Qatar, som ikke engang var startet endnu i verdensmesterskabet. Og så var der 19 artikler om den manglende transparens. I valget i 2019, Der var én enkelt artikel under valgperioden fra Jyllands-Posten, og hvor der var over 100 artikler om Rasmus [mentioned the wrong name red] Paludans korruptionssager. Hvordan kan det være, at Der er så stor forskel på dækningsgraden, når vi nu har sagt Det er et problem den her manglende transparens?

00:12:54 - Speaker 2

Fordi der måske ikke er så meget nyhedsværdi eller salg i det i forhold til det. Det er vel det der motiverer journalisterne primært at få nogle klik eller få solgt nogle aviser. Og Jeg tror Det er den almindelige danskerder Går man ikke vældig meget op i det her, fordi man hele tiden har den der i baghovedet med, at "Vi er jo korruptionsfrie, og derfor gør det ikke så meget." Ikke altså det. Det tror jeg måske er en væsentlig forklaring, altså altså det det det bilder vi os jo ind, og Det er vi jo også i realiteten. Ja, som sagt tror jeg ikke, der foregår decideret korruption, altså det. Det tror jeg ikke altså, men men den der indirekte påvirkning der ligger i at give pengene den, tror jeg til gengæld er er ægte nok, og man kan sige, Der er Sådan set for mig at se heller ikke noget galt i, at Det er Sådan Det er.

00:13:40 - Speaker 2

Hvis det bare var klart for vælgerne, at hvem Det varMan så blev indirekte påvirket af, fordi hvisHvis Liberal Alliance så eller hvem det nu er der der bliver sponsoreret af af Saxo Bank klart og tydeligt fortæller det, så kan man sige, så er det jo så op til vælgerne ligesom at se på om om de så bliver tilgodeset særligt gennem Liberal Alliance eller Nye Borgerliges politik. Og hvis man synes Det er jamen, så kan man jo stemme på nogle andre, ikke? Altså og omvendt synes man, at de standpunkter de indtager, er meget fornuftige og heller ikke

ser ud som om de Sådan at dikteret af nogle bestemte interesser - Jamen så stemmer man på det ikke? Altså så. Altså det. Det er jo Sådan Det har ligesom været Rationalet bag det det åbenhedskriterium med, at at hvis man bare havde kendskab til, hvad der foregik, jamen så.

00:14:29 - **Speaker 2**

måtte man tro at vælgerne var så rationelle, så de kunne tage stilling, og man kan sige det. Det er måske lidt en illusion, men men man kan sige hele demokratiet bygger jo på et rationale om, at vælgerne i en eller anden forstand er rationelle, ikke? og og så og det gør det her så også altså.

00:14:47 - **Speaker 1**

Hvor væsentligt er det at journalisterne, dækker det her emne under en valgkamp?

00:14:51 - **Speaker 2**

Væsentligt, Men Jeg er jo også Sådan en nørd kan man sige på på det her område, ikke? Altså fordi Jeg har interesseret mig meget for det, via at Jeg har været USA ad nogle omgange og af den vej er kommet ind i ligesom og og se på de danske regler og har fulgt den danske debat rigtig meget. Lige fra man fik de allerførste regler om om partiåbenhed og og jeg var som sagt medlem af det der udvalg som afgav betænkning i 2015. Og Der var lige på det tidspunkt var der jo så ganske meget snak om det. Det var jo et af Thorning-regeringens.

00:15:22 - **Speaker 2**

- Eller en del af regeringsgrundlaget for Thorning-regeringen. Det er fra 11 til 15 og man fik først nedsat udvalget. At vi nåede at afgive betænkning, mens Thorning regeringen sad endnu. Men det flertal, der var fra Thorning. Regeringen nåede ikke at få gennemført nye regler, og Det har nok noget at gøre med, at Socialdemokratiet ikke specielt var hidsigt efter at få det til at fungere, altså det. Det var et udpræget ønske fra fra SF og De Radikale og ikke noget der var groet i Socialdemokratiets baghave, og derfor gjorde man måske heller ikke så meget for at få det til at være effektivt. Altså, men Men altså jeg. Jeg synes Det er vigtigt, af Sådan måske mere principielle grunde, for Jeg tror egentlig ikke, at det i praksis endnu. Da har de helt store negative virkninger, men men men hvorfor skulle vi ikke få det her i orden? Og Jeg kan ikke se hvad argumenterne er for ikke at have åbenhedsregister mellem, når man fra politisk side klart og tydeligt proklameret, så kunne man jo have den holdning, at det må vi sgu da selv om, og Det er ikke noget, offentligheden skal have kendskab til, men det siger man jo ikke, man siger som vil sige. Det erklærede målsætning, at der skal være åbenhed omkring det her.

00:16:23 - **Speaker 2**

Og men jeg gør bare absolut intet for at skabe orden.

00:16:29 - **Speaker 1**

Tror du, at den lave dækningsgrad skyldes, at Det er svært, for journalisterne at skaffe oplysninger om det her?

00:16:35 - **Speaker 2**

Ja måske også, eller man kan sige, det bliver i hvert fald det... Altså det bliver jo en gentagelse af alle de huller Der er kan man sige, ikke? altså og Det er der måske ikke så

meget nyhedsværdi i altså og og de der sager hvor man deler pengene op i flere portioner og og enten ved at Det er forskellige personer der der giver eller - altså formelt forskellige – men i realiteten den samme... Det har der jo været... alt det der blev kaldt Brit Bager-finten, ikke? Altså at hun havde en en donor som havde 5 forskellige firmaer, der hver gav 20.000 kroner eller lige under 20.000 kroner. Og Det er der jo stadigvæk ikke noget. Det er jo ligesom blevet afdækket, og man kan sige det der kom fra dengang, Det har så været jamen det for så vidt ulovligt, men --- Det er for så vidt ikke ulovligt, men Det er måske heller ikke Sådan det der var tanken ved det. Men men man kan sige den nyhed, Det er jo Sådan ligesom afsluttet, fordi hvis det ikke er ulovligt, så kan man jo bare blive ved at gøre det og så skrive den samme historie ved næste valgkamp. Det er der måske ikke så meget sjov ved i virkeligheden, vel? Og det gælder det andet hovedproblem, Det har jo været de der såkaldte erhvervsclubber.

00:17:39 - Speaker 2

Det har også været det dækket rigtig mange gange, så Der er jo egentlig ikke nogle nyheder i det. Altså og og Jeg tror man kan sige - politikerne er vel efterhånden blevet Sådan relativt dygtige til ikke decideret art overtræder reglerne, altså så de gør det de skal. Men men Det har bare ingen effekt i forhold til åbenhedskriteriet.

00:18:00 - Speaker 1

Jøren, Det var faktisk det jeg havde af Spørgsmål. Er der noget du godt kunne tænke dig at tilføje, som du mangler at få sagt?

00:18:06 - Speaker 2

Nu ved jeg ikke, Hvor meget du skriver om de der huller Der er altså men men altså man kan sige ja jeg plejer jo Sådan lige at sige at at jeg jeg i hvert fald ser 2 store huller og og det ene Det er det der med 20.000 kroner reglen. Altså hvor man har jo den regel at man skal offentliggøre, hvis man får mere end - at nu er det så et pristalsreguleret - men altså et eller andet sted i tyvetusinderne. Og Det det overholder partierne så, men men man skal ikke offentliggøre, hvor meget man gør ud af hver enkelt donor og det. Det er jo grotesk, fordi Jeg er da ligeglad med om en eller anden virksomhed har givet 25.000, men Jeg er ikke ligeglad med om de har givet 5 millioner, vel. altså så altså hvis der overhovedet skal være nogen mening i den regel, så skal det jo være Sådan at man selvfølgelig skal offentliggøre hvilket beløb man har modtaget over 20.000 kroner og det... Sådan er reglerne ikke, og Det var også et af de forslag vi stillede. Det kom der absolut intet ud af.

00:19:04 - Speaker 2

Tværtimod hævede man jo beløbsgrænsen ved at pristalsregulere, så nu bliver det altså højere og højere beløbsgrænse år for år, for at offentliggøre det. Og det andet hul, Det er jo den, der med erhvervsclubben ikke. Altså fordi Det er jo - Det er jo den sikreste måde at anonymisere sine bidrag. Altså man melder sig ind i en eller anden forening, der hedder noget fuldstændig ubestemt. "Foreningen til Claus Hjorts genvalg eller Sådan noget," og der kan man så give lige så meget man vil, og så kan foreningen give pengene videre til Claus Hjort eller Lars Løkke, eller hvem det nu er.

00:19:36 - Speaker 2

Det vil så fremgår af Løkkes partiregnskab eller Venstres partiregnskaber, , at man har modtaget et beløb over 20.000 kroner fra Den der organisation, men Der er jo ingen der ved, hvem der i virkeligheden har givet pengene. Så altså. hvad enten beløbet er over 20.000

kroner eller ej for dem, der har givet pengene, så kommer deres navn og adresser ikke frem, og det kunne man jo også relativt nemt gøre noget ved at sige, "jamen, de der erhvervsclubber skal så altså selv offentliggøre, hvis de modtager bidrag der er over beløbsgrænsen" og med tilsvarende pligt til at offentliggøre Det fulde beløb, ikke? Sådan, at man i hvert fald ligesom... altså jeg. Jeg ser godt at at man lukker ikke alle huller med det her, men Det var da 2 Sådan relativt nemme tiltag man kunne gennemføre uden videre, ikke?

00:20:26 - **Speaker 2**

Så Vi skal have betydeligt mere åbenhed end Vi har i dag.

00:20:30 - **Speaker 1**

1000 tak skal du have fordi du ville dele din viden med mig.

00:20:35 - **Speaker 2**

Held og lykke med projektet.

00:20:37 - **Speaker 1**

Tak skal du have, og som

00:20:38 - **Speaker 2**

Sagt.

00:20:40 - **Speaker 1**

Ja. Det lover jeg, og så får du en besked fra mig med den her erklæring, som du bliver nødt til at underskrive, hvis jeg skal bruge de ting, Vi har snakket om, som bare handler om at... ja, Jeg vil slette de oplysninger, der ikke er væsentligt mere efter jeg transskriberet og så videre og så videre. Det kan du læse mere om.

00:20:59 - **Speaker 2**

Rent praktisk gør man det bare vil jeg skrive på på mail og Det er helt fint eller?

00:21:04 - **Speaker 1**

Nej, Jeg skal faktisk have en underskrift. Jeg kommer til at sende dig en PDF, så kan du selv vælge om du har lyst til at printe den ud hvis du.

00:21:13 - **Speaker 2**

Ja, og så kan jeg scanne den ind bagefter, ikke?

00:21:14 - **Speaker 1**

For eksempel ja eller Der er også nogle PDF programmer, hvor du kan underskrive i selve PDF'en. Jeg skal bare bruge en dato og underskrift det, men jeg sender dig i hvert fald en PDF-fil. Ja godt. Hej

00:21:27 - **Speaker 2**

Hej hej.

English translated version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Jørgen Jensen

00:00:00 - **Speaker 1**

Here. Then I'll make backup here. Now let's see here. Sorry. I thought that was actually set up already.

00:00:21 - **Speaker 1**

It wasn't. Let's see. No, just stay with me. It must be the telephone. It usually works fine.

00:00:34 - **Speaker 1**

Yes OK I'm writing my thesis. I'm calling from the Czech Republic. I have like a double degree from Aarhus University and then Charles University. That's why I wanted to have it on Skype, otherwise it will be so terribly expensive with the long one calls.

00:00:48 - **Speaker 2**

The phones seem to be working fine.

00:00:51 - **Speaker 1**

Yes, you could say that, but I'm writing my thesis on these, some would call it "secretive money flows to the Danish parties from private donors," not the public ones, but simply the private ones. My thesis focuses on the journalists' coverage of this, and I'm not sure how much you want to comment on that.

I will ask you the question, and then you can say "I simply don't know enough about that or not." Just so it's clear. I have a kind of bias, where I think it's covered a little too little compared to other areas, so just to clarify, that's where my point of view comes from, even though I try to be as neutral as possible.

00:01:37 - **Speaker 1**

But I would like to start by asking, how big a of a problem is this lack of transparency in Denmark in relation to these donations?

00:01:48 - **Speaker 2**

Well, I would say big, in the sense that if you have a desire for transparency. You could say that, it is a fairly common desire for all democratic countries, that you want to know where the money comes from, and behind it lies some kind of assumption that money can influence. Therefore you can say that if you want to guard against unfortunate influences, then you also need to know where the money comes from.

So you can have maybe two points of view: you can have the point of view that you will not accept large donations at all because it can influence [political choices]. And you can have the position that people in and of themselves are free to give what they want, but it should just be the public who gives to what, and then the electorate must then, based on that, take

a position themselves. You could say that the different systems may have different reasons for the two points of view, so you could say, for example, that the American system is actually based on the idea that there should be an upper limit on how much you can give at all, the fact that in practice it doesn't work at all, that's something else, but the starting point has actually been that you set some amount limits, and that's all you could give, no matter what, you can say most European countries, and certainly in Denmark, the starting point has been that you could give as much as you want, but it had to be transparent to some extent where the money came from.

00:03:12 - **Speaker 2**

And you can say that. It is linked to something about avoiding corruption, so maybe not in the traditional sense, where you buy access to a particular project or the like, but in the more, what shall we call it? What shall we call it? Or some kind of indirect corruption, which consists in - that you can say that if you give a lot of money to something, then you probably also expect that the organization in question is in some way friendly to you in the form of... At least not the right to work against a certain policy, but maybe also be more accepting of the views you have, and I do not think there is corruption in Denmark in the traditional sense. I don't have any background or results whatsoever to believe that there is, but I think there is something else, namely that by giving a lot of money - Well, at least you buy access to the decision-makers. So it's very difficult if some donor who has given 5 million to the party coffers calls the party chairman and says, "I would like to have a meeting." Then it's very difficult to say. "No, I can't do that. I don't have time for that. I don't want to do that," because then you could risk the 5 million not coming next year, right. so in that way I think that you get something back in some way, and as I said, I myself lean more towards the point of view that people can really give what they want if only you knew where the money came from. Well, I think it's very difficult to set limits and to enforce them, and the American example shows very clearly that this is not possible in practice, and therefore you might as well take the bull by the horns and say, "It's also okay that people give what they want." There is something about some principled views on freedom of expression and such things, right? So you can also use your money to promote your views, but it just has to be known where the money comes from, and that's where the Danish system is really lagging behind. Because in reality, we hardly know where the money comes from when it comes to private donations.

00:05:10 - **Speaker 1**

What does this mean for democracy in Denmark?

00:05:14 - **Speaker 2**

What did you say? What did you say?

00:05:14 - **Speaker 1**

What does it mean for democracy in Denmark that we have these rules?

00:05:21 - **Speaker 2**

I don't think it means very much. Because we have a very strong democratic culture, right? But but but but but It's one I think - you should be aware of, and we score high on those anti-corruption lists. So we're pretty consistently in about number one, so at least the first five or so, and it's a bit random how you measure things like that, isn't it? So you can say we are

in that sense a corruption-free country, but there has been international criticism from the Council of Europe, I think it's about something called GRECO, which is some kind of abbreviation for an anti-corruption observation group, and they criticize the lack of openness in the party system, and then you can say, at the same time our politicians proclaim that they want openness. They just do not do anything to promote it, and a fine committee has been set up, of which I myself have been a member, which has come up with a very long report on more transparency in the party support rules. Well, yes, about these private donations, and virtually nothing came out of it.

00:06:30 - **Speaker 2**

Okay, so the recommendations we made were by and large not implemented. So you could say that there is no political will to do anything about it, I guess you could say.

00:06:41 - **Speaker 1**

Why are the party funding rules different in Denmark than in our neighboring countries?

00:06:47 - **Speaker 2**

Well, you could say that some of our less...well, what do you call it, less corruption-free neighboring countries, there you might have felt a greater need to actually create that openness because you might have... We have kind of patted ourselves on the back all the time and said, "well, we have no corruption, so therefore we don't need to have any particularly strict rules in this area," and it may well be that other countries, where corruption problems are perhaps more prevalent, have been more motivated to make some strict rules. But that does not apply. It is not the only explanation, because, for example, Sweden also has stricter rules than we have in Denmark, and they are just as corruption-free as we are.

00:07:25 - **Speaker 2**

So I think I simply have to say that it's - It's a question of the major parties, who are the ones who get the big donations, simply have a common reluctance to do anything about it, right? Well, and what to do about it, you can't agree on, I guess you could say, it has - well, at least the way the rule was originally set up, it was so that you could say that the Social Democrats and the left-wing parties got a very large part of their money from the trade unions and organizations and the bourgeois parties got a much higher degree of money from private companies. And that kind of kept each other in check, because if you said "yes, there should be greater openness about where the money comes from and about the big companies," then the bourgeois parties came and said, "Well, maybe we can agree to that. But at the same time, there should be some restrictions on how much the trade union movement can give, because it's something they do on behalf of their members, and the members should be able to talk themselves out of it" and so on and so forth. And you could say that the Social Democratic Party was perhaps more interested in keeping the donations they received from the trade union movement than in creating openness, and you could say that the Social Democratic Party also benefits to some extent from the fact that it is closed, even though the trade union movement's donations are publicly known, so it's not there, but they also receive various others, such as business clubs and such as I see you also write about, right, so so so so I think you have to say, There is simply not a declared, but an implicit consensus that this... We don't do anything about it, because we all benefit from it in any case. And you could say those who are very hot-headed about this. They are the ones who don't get much

out of it themselves. Which of course, perhaps yes, understandably so and that is, the smaller parties on the wings especially not so.

00:09:20 - **Speaker 2**

But also De Radikale [political party], for example, are very keen to do something about this as well. Or at least they have been so far. And that's probably also connected to the fact that they don't receive very much themselves... so there you go.

00:09:34 - **Speaker 1**

Thank you very much. I would like to ask a little bit about ... now that we have declared that it is problematic. What is the role of journalists in this whole system?

00:09:46 - **Speaker 2**

Well, first of all, it's to uncover the places where the current rules are being violated, because we have some rules that are not very effective, but you could say It's better than absolutely nothing, right? So there and then you can say that. There have been a number of cases where journalists have actually uncovered some of the gaps. There are or or actual violations. You could say that it's both the actual violations, but it's also pointing out the loopholes, there are a lot of them, aren't there? I mean, it's not just a path, it's a fishing net with very large holes, right? Well, this then and and you can say in that way you at least keep the debate going, and whether more should be done about it.

00:10:29 - **Speaker 2**

It typically appears in connection with election campaigns, and then it dies again. As soon as the election campaign is over. Well, that was also the case in the recent parliamentary elections, so the new organ called the Freedom Letter had a rather vigorous campaign about how virtually all parties are trying to circumvent the 20,000 so-called 20,000 kroner rule. So the fact that you have to publish donors, names and addresses of donors who give more than 20,000, then you had all sorts of loopholes, which is not illegal, but which is against what was the intention in any case - namely that you can then divide it up and give some to the candidate and some to the party itself and some to the district organization. And in that way, you can get away with giving both 50 and 100,000. And it was the parties, so it was done by Frihedsbrevet [Danish news media] calling up and saying, "listen" - that is, pretending that there was someone or something who wanted to give 50,000, but he just didn't want his name out because it ruined his business and such, and then guiding the parties extremely helpful in coming up with ideas on how to get around the rules. And as I said, it wasn't anything, it wasn't anything illegal they proposed, but it was also not in accordance with the order in which the rules are made.

00:11:44 - **Speaker 1**

Now you mentioned before that it was covered a lot during the election campaign. I myself have done some research via Infomedia and Google on how much it has actually been described on the web media, the 6 to 7 largest Danish media such as DR.DK, tv2.dk Jyllands-Posten, Berlingske Politiken, Ekstra Bladet and BT. Not surprisingly, perhaps, there were several 1000 articles about health- and integration, And tax. Then there were 90 articles about Søren Papes scandal cases .There were Over 100 articles about Qatar, which had not even started yet in the World Cup. And then there were 19 articles about the lack of transparency. In the 2019 election, there was one single article during the election period

from Jyllands-Posten, and there were over 100 articles about Rasmus [mentioned the wrong name red] Paludans corruption cases. How can it be that there is such a big difference in the level of coverage when we have said that this lack of transparency is a problem?

00:12:54 - **Speaker 2**

Because there may not be as much news value or or sales in it compared to that. I guess that's what motivates the journalists primarily to get some clicks or to sell some newspapers. And I think it's the ordinary Dane who doesn't care very much about this, because they always have that in the back of their minds that "We are corruption-free, and therefore it doesn't matter so much." Not really. I think that might be an important explanation, that is, we imagine that we are, and in reality we are. Yes, as I said, I don't think there is actual corruption, that is. I don't think so, but the indirect influence that lies in giving the money, on the other hand, I think is real enough, and you can say that, in my opinion, there is nothing wrong with that being the way it is.

00:13:40 - **Speaker 2**

If it was just clear to the voters who they were being indirectly influenced by, because if the Liberal Alliance or whoever it is that is being sponsored by Saxo Bank clearly states this, then you could say that it is then up to the voters to see whether they are being favored in particular through the Liberal Alliance or the New Citizens' [Nye Borgerlige. DANish party] Party's policy. And if you think it is, well, then you can vote for someone else, right? Well, and conversely, if you think that the positions they take are very reasonable and do not look as if they are dictated by certain interests - well, then you vote for them, right? Well, then. Well, that. That's how it has been the rationale behind the transparency criterion that if you just had knowledge of what was going on, well then

00:14:29 - **Speaker 2**

you would have to believe that the voters were so rational that they could take a position, and you can say that. It may be a bit of an illusion, but you could say that the whole democracy is based on a rationale that the voters are rational in some sense, right? And so and so and so and so this also does that.

00:14:47 - **Speaker 1**

How important is it that journalists cover this topic during an election campaign?

00:14:51 - **Speaker 2**

Essential, but I'm also such a nerd you could say in this area, right? Well, because I've been very interested in it, because I've been to the United States a few times and in that way I've gotten into like and look at the Danish rules and have followed the Danish debate a lot. Right from the very first rules on party openness and I was, as I said, a member of the committee that submitted a report in 2015. And at that time there was quite a lot of talk about it. It was one of the Thorning [former Danish prime minster] government's.

00:15:22 - **Speaker 2**

- Or part of the government platform for the Thorning government. It is from 11 to 15 and the committee was first set up. That we managed to submit a report while the Thorning government was still in office. But the majority was from Thorning. The government did not

manage to implement new rules, and it probably has something to do with the fact that the Social Democrats were not particularly eager to make it work, that is. It was a distinct desire from SF and De Radikale and not something that had grown in the Social Democratic Party's backyard, and therefore perhaps they did not do much to make it effective. Well, but I mean, I. I think it's important, for such perhaps more principled reasons, because I don't really think that in practice yet. Then it has big negative effects, but but but but why shouldn't we get this in order? And I don't see what the arguments are for not having an openness register when the political side has clearly and unambiguously proclaimed, then one could have the attitude that it's up to us, and it's not something the public should know about, but you don't say that, you say what you want to say. The stated objective is that there should be openness about this.

00:16:23 - **Speaker 2**

And I just do absolutely nothing to create order.

00:16:29 - **Speaker 1**

Do you think that the low level of coverage is because it's difficult for journalists to get information about this?

00:16:35 - **Speaker 2**

Yes, perhaps also, or you could say, it will be at least that ... Well, it will be a repetition of all the gaps there are, you could say, right? Well, and there may not be much news value in that, and those cases where the money is divided into several portions and either by different people giving or - formally different - but in reality the same... There have been... all that was called the Brit Bager trick, right? That is, she had a donor who had 5 different companies, each of which gave 20,000 kroner or just under 20,000 kroner. And there is still nothing there. It has been uncovered, and you could say that what came from that time, it has been illegal, but --- It is not illegal, but it is perhaps not what was intended. But you could say that the news is kind of over, because if it's not illegal, then you can just keep doing it and then write the same story in the next election campaign. There may not be much fun in that in reality, is there? And that applies to the other main problem, the so-called business clubs.

00:17:39 - **Speaker 2**

It has also been covered many times, so there is not really any news in it. Well, and and and I think you could say - the politicians have become relatively skilled at not actually breaking the rules, so they do what they should. But it just has no effect in relation to the transparency criterion.

00:18:00 - **Speaker 1**

Jørgen, that was actually the question I had. Is there anything you would like to add that you have yet to say?

00:18:06 - **Speaker 2**

Now, I don't know how much you write about those gaps There are but but but but you can say yes, I usually say that I see at least two big gaps and one of them It's the 20,000 kroner rule. So where you have the rule that you have to publish if you get more than - now it's a price-rate regulated - but somewhere in the twenty thousand, and the parties comply with that, but you don't have to publish how much you make out of each individual donor and that.

It's grotesque because I don't care if some company has given 25,000, but I don't care if they have given 5 million, I guess. So if there is to be any sense at all in that rule, then it must be that you must of course publish the amount you have received over DKK 20,000 and that ... The rules are not like that, and that was also one of the proposals we made. Absolutely nothing came of it.

00:19:04 - **Speaker 2**

On the contrary, the amount limit was raised by adjusting the price scale, so now it will be higher and higher amount limit year by year, in order to publicize it. And the second gap is the one with the business club, isn't it? Because it's the safest way to anonymize your contributions. So you sign up to some association called something completely indeterminate. "The association for Claus Hjort's re-election or something like that," and you can give as much as you want, and then the association can pass the money on to Claus Hjort or Lars Løkke, or whoever it is.

00:19:36 - **Speaker 2**

It will then appear from Løkke's party accounts or the Liberal Party's party accounts that you have received an amount over 20,000 kroner from that organization, but no one knows who actually gave the money. So, whether the amount is over 20,000 kroner or not for those who have given the money, their names and addresses do not appear, and this could also be relatively easily done by saying, "well, the business clubs must publish themselves if they receive contributions that are above the amount limit" and with a corresponding obligation to publish the full amount, right? So that you at least like... well, I. I realize that you don't close all the gaps with this, but it was two such relatively easy measures that could be implemented without further ado, right?

00:20:26 - **Speaker 2**

So we need a lot more openness than we have today.

00:20:30 - **Speaker 1**

1000 thank you for sharing your knowledge with me.

00:20:35 - **Speaker 2**

Good luck with the project.

00:20:37 - **Speaker 1**

Thank you very much, and as said

00:20:40 - **Speaker 1**

Yes, I promise, and then you'll get a message from me with this statement that you'll have to sign if I'm going to use the things that we've talked about, which is just about yes, I will delete the information that is not essential anymore after I transcribed and so on and so forth. You can read more about that.

00:20:59 - **Speaker 2**

In practical terms, you just do it, I'll write to you by email and that's fine, isn't it?

00:21:04 - **Speaker 1**

No, I actually need a signature. I'm going to send you a PDF, so you can choose if you want to print it out if you.

00:21:13 - **Speaker 2**

Yeah, and then I can scan it in afterward, right?

00:21:14 - **Speaker 1**

For example, yes or There are also some PDF programs where you can sign in the PDF itself. I just need a date and sign it, but I'll send you a PDF file anyway. Yes good. Hi, I'll send you a PDF file.

00:21:27 - **Speaker 2**

Goodbye.

Mads Hove, Media researcher. Date of interview, 23-02-2023. Conducted via Zoom.

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Mads Hove

Danish original version:

00:00:00 - **Speaker 1**

Så kan jeg lige gøre det. Og så kommer jeg til at sende dig en consent form bagefter, for ligesom at sige, at det er okay at jeg bruger, ja, nogle af de ting vi snakker om her interviewet. Og så kan du selvfølgelig få lov at se det færdige produkt, hvis du orker det. Det kan godt forstå, hvis man ikke lige gør man det skal du i hvert fald være velkommen til.

Speaker 2

Det kunne måske være meget spændende.

- Speaker 1

Ja. Man kan sige, hvis jeg ligesom skal gøre mit eget bias klart, så er det jo at, jeg synes det bliver dækket for lidt. Det er det man skal passe lidt på, så jeg prøver at gøre det så neutralt som muligt.

00:00:34 - **Speaker 1**

Så Det er ligesom det mit standpunkt er. Fedt og jeg kommer til at skrive lidt ned imens bare så Jeg har mine egne noter, så du må sige til hvis det kommer til at larme for meget. Jeg

skal se her... ellers så er jeg ved at være klar. Mads, vil du ikke lige forklare mig lidt om din egen baggrund? Bare til, ja, så jeg også har det med.

00:00:55 - Speaker 2

Jeg er kandidat i statskundskab fra Københavns Universitet, hvor jeg.. sådan er specialiseret i politisk adfærd, nærmere bestemt politikernes repræsentationsstil. Så hvordan præsenterer politikere sig over for deres vælgere? Og hvilken effekt har det, hvordan politikere præsenterer sig over for deres vælgere? Det er også det, jeg tager udgangspunkt i lige nu i mit ph.d. projekt. Jeg er ph.d. Studerende på University of Amsterdam og så også videnskabelig assistent på på Syddansk Universitet. Men hvor jeg nærmere bestemt kigger på Facebook annoncer eller annoncer i det hele taget, så hvordan politikere de - de annoncerer og i den henseende er der jo naturligvis også en hel del penge. Det jeg så er særligt interesseret i, det er den del, der handler om micro targeting. Altså hvordan bliver de her annoncer så rent faktisk målrettet

00:01:49 - Speaker 2

Derudover, så har jeg haft en del med det at gøre i den forstand, at jeg har haft. Jeg har drevet egen virksomhed det sidste år, hvor jeg sælger politiske analyser til medier, til politikere, til interesseorganisationer og forskellige andre ting og det er lidt på pause under min ph.d. men. Men blandt andet under valgkampen kørte jeg som valg af analytiker inde på det medie, der hedder frihedsbrevet. Hvor vi blandt andet også lavede en del dækning af partistøtte.

00:02:17 - Speaker 2

Og og der har jeg så også ja arbejdet en hel del med hvordan politikere de de annoncerer og og kører valgkamp særligt igennem annoncer.

00:02:29 - Speaker 1

Fedt tak skal du have. Mads, jeg kunne godt tænke mig at starte dig med at spørge om hvor stort et problem den her manglende transparens er i forbindelse med private virksomheder og donorer donerer til partier uden befolkningens kendskab til det. Hvor stort et problem er det?

00:02:46 - Speaker 2

Jamen. Jeg tror egentlig... Problemet problemet tror jeg egentlig er OK stort i den forstand, at Det er jo ikke fordi vi ikke ved hvor mange penge partierne har. Det får vi jo egentlig at vide på et tidspunkt, fordi reglerne er jo Sådan som jeg husker det, så er reglerne Sådan ret snørklet med at du må, at altså Det er først om 2 år eller Sådan noget, vi ved hvor mange penge partierne faktisk havde til valgkampen i 2022 eller også er det i hvert fald først i 24 eller noget i den stil, så på den måde så den... Det at vi ligesom ikke ved, at man kan gemme sig under alle de her regler, gør at vi ikke reelt set ved hvor mange penge de har.

00:03:23 - Speaker 2

Og og køre afsted med. Og Det er jo... og og Det er en udfordring, når vi når vi snakker om hvor, hvor level er den her playground, som Det er for politikere i løbet af valgkampe, så Jeg synes, Det er et altså, at Det er det OK stort problem plus at hvad der jo også er et kæmpe stort problem, Det er vi ikke. Vi ikke ved, hvem Der er i lommen på hvem og, og Det er klart, at Vi er Danmark, der er verdens mindst korrupte land, men nu nu ligger jeg lige om aftenen

og læser den der nye bog af Simon Emil Ammitzbøll. Og jeg tænker, du har måske også set det citat, som også har floreret lidt rundt med Lars Seier, der siger, "Jeg har fandme ikke postet 10-15 millioner i det her projekt for at få for at få skattelettelser i bunden". Og Lars Seier jo selvfølgelig eksemplet på en mand, som er meget åbenlys omkring hvordan han han giver sponsorater til til et politisk parti. Men Der er jo rigtig mange der, godt kunne være interesseret i at give nogle penge naturligvis for også at få en dør ind for at nemmere at kunne få adgang til møder kunne komme med forslag til til politik og alle mulige andre ting. Og Der er det altså ikke helt ligegyldigt Sådan rent fra et demokratisk perspektiv, at vi ikke ved, hvem er det, der betaler de forskellige partier og de forskellige politikeres valgkampe? Det er, at Det er så Der er både, kan man sige, spørgsmålet Sådan om fair konkurrence mellem partierne, og så er der et spørgsmål, så for mig er det også det her vvgtige spørgsmål om; er der en risiko for, at Der er nogen, Der er i lommen på nogen? Eller skylder skylder nogle skylder nogle tjenester og vennetjeneste.

00:05:07 - **Speaker 1**

Er der nogle eksempler på, hvor vi kan drage, at Der er blevet -nu nævnte du Lars Seier før, men hvor der er blevet givet nogle penge, og Der er noget politik, der eventuelt er blevet influeret af de her penge?

00:05:19 - **Speaker 2**

Det det, det tror jeg ikke. Det har jeg ikke rigtigt. Det har jeg ikke rigtig viden om, og det tror jeg, ved det heller ikke, hvor nemt det nødvendigvis ville være Sådan nødvendigvis Sådan at kunne pinpointe og sige: det her, det er sket på grund af Sådan her Sådan her. Og Jeg tror måske også, at en stor del af Det er også at huske at en ting, Det er den, Det er den direkte indflydelse. Det er at sige Lars Seier giver 15 millioner til Liberal Alliance for så at få lettelser i topskatten. Altså Der er direkte - altså i så fald Det var sket, så er der direkte link der.

00:05:50 - **Speaker 2**

Men Der er jo lige så meget den indirekte i, at Der er nogen der giver penge og får lov til at sidde med til møder. Nu har der også lige være dækning i forhold til, at Lars Løkke også har taget penge i forhold til det tror jeg også er frihedsberøvet. Der kører det jeg taget taget penge for at at man så kan have spist en aftensmad med ham og Sådan. Det er jo også hele det der... Mere subtile indflydelsesaspekt i det som hvor man ikke nødvendigvis kan pinpointe og sige, "det her stykke lovgivning, den her specifikke virksomhedsleder, eller hvem det nu er, der har fået det igennem ved at give penge til et parti." Men men vi kan ikke Sådan afvise, at det lige så meget sætter sig i tankegangen. Hvem er det man forhører sig hos, hvis man skal, hvis man skal inden man kommer med et udspil? Altså der kan være Der er så mange dele af processen, hvor den her indflydelse reelt set kan kan kan komme ind.

00:06:45 - **Speaker 2**

Og det, det tror Jeg er. Det er meget svært og og og sige i hvilket i hvilket omfang er det.

00:06:55 - **Speaker 1**

Hvorfor tror du partistøttereglerne er anderledes i Danmark, end de er i for eksempel Vores nabolande?

00:07:01 - **Speaker 2**

Ja det det ved jeg ikke rigtig men. Det ved jeg ikke rigtigt. Men altså. Der er jo ingen tvivl om, det handler jo også noget om, hvor hvor dygtige er politikerne i de enkelte lande til rent faktisk at sikre de her ting, altså i Danmark. Alt hvad der handler om de der spørgsmål er der jo Sådan lidt en Alliance mellem Socialdemokratiet og Venstre i Danmark.

00:07:30 - Speaker 2

Hvor... Og det gør jo også bare, at selvom at det i så fald kommer fra både fra Venstre og fra højre, så så er det jo Sådan noget der.... Det gør bare, at status quo ret nemt bare fortsætter med at være. Og Det er jo ikke fordi Det er og og hvis Det er den der Sådan Alliance henover midten. Det er ikke fordi partistøttere regler er noget Vælgerne ændrer deres kryds på baggrund af. Altså det, at et parti har en holdning til partistøttere regler Kontra et andet parti, gør ikke, at en vælger og vælger parti x frem for parti y, altså det gør de på grund af sundhedspolitik, indvandringspolitik, klimapolitik - kan man sige større Sådan højtsælgende emner, så derfor så er det altså så længe Der er Sådan en... En bred forankring på begge sider af Folketinget, så er der bare en god sandsynlighed for at status quo bare altid vil blive der.

00:08:27 - Speaker 1

Du har måske svaret på det, men jeg kunne godt tænke mig at stille Sådan direkte spørgsmål. Altså hvad betyder det for demokratiet i Danmark, at Vi har de her regler? Det er lidt lidt snørklet som du siger.

00:08:38 - Speaker 2

Altså Jeg tror man skal også man skal også huske den positiv ting af det, og Det er at Det er ikke altid rart for mennesker at blive... Sat i politisk bås, fordi de har lyst til at støtte op om en given sag. Altså den ide er der jo Sådan set meget fint at Der er en... en virksomhedsleder eller en privatperson, eller hvad ved jeg da jeg siger "jamen, den her specifikke kandidat kunne jeg godt tænke mig, at der kom ind i Folketinget, fordi jeg godt kan lide vedkommende, eller jeg godt kan lide det her parti eller Sådan." Men Jeg har ikke lyst til at blive associeret med partiet, fordi Det kan være det... Kan han negative konsekvenser i forhold til mit salg, og så skal de andre ting. Der er det jo en positiv ting, at man godt kan få lov til at give et lille beløb Uden at det nødvendigvis skal kunne stå alle steder, at Jeg kan se, at Lars Hansen nede fra hjørnet han, Han giver altså penge til dansk Folkeparti, så derfor så køber jeg aldrig nogensinde i hans tømrerforretning igen. Så så problemet opstår jo først i det tidspunkt, hvor det bliver større, og hvor det bliver systematisk. Men den, men der der der tænker jeg, at Det er en Det er en det Det er skidt for demokratiet i den forstand at det skævvrider I forhold til, hvem Der er gode til at tiltrække penge, og hvem der ikke er gode til at tiltrække penge, så derfor så er det nogle, der reelt set bare har bedre muligheder for at føre en god kampagne, mens der andre, der har ringere mulighed for det og så at vi simpelthen ikke ikke ved, om Der er nogen, der i den henseende bytter sig til noget, hvor at man siger, jamen, OK, hvis hvis I giver 200, hvis I spiller 200.000 i Vores kampagne, jamen Wså skal vi nok lige sige, at Vi er venlige over for at co 2 afgiften ikke nødvendigvis lige skal ramme

Den her sektor, eller hvad det nu skulle være". Og igen, Det er jo, Det er jo svært, at Det er jo Det er jo også Sådan lidt spekulationer, men men alene det, at Det er en mulighed er jo ikke nødvendigvis super godt. Så vil jeg sige, at Det er jo faktisk egentlig i den måde Vi har lavet... vores system på i Danmark, så prøver man vel egentlig at komme lidt ud over det i den forstand, at vi siger, "Vi har partistøtte offentlig partistøtte. Hvor at alle partier får penge

fra staten, så får man godt nok forskellige penge afhængig af hvor mange, hvor mange man, hvor mange stemmer man har fået." Men Det er jo et forsøg på at sikre sig at alle får penge, og man ikke på samme måde er nødt til at gå ud og fundraise.

00:11:15 - **Speaker 2**

Så man så Det er også det der med Sådan. Ja, Vi har egentlig et system, der måske endda burde gøre, at man ikke Havde behov for at skulle ud og ud og fundraise, men men Det er jo klart. Det gør man jo alligevel, fordi så er det vil man så væk potentielt have en komparativ fordel. I det omfang det virker.

00:11:36 - **Speaker 2**

at køre annoncer, det tror jeg ikke, det gør.

00:11:41 - **Speaker 1**

Tak skal du have kunne jeg godt tænke mig at snakke om journalisternes dækning af det at starte med at spørge helt plain, hvor væsentligt er journalister der dækker Sådan et emne som det her under en valgkamp, eksempelvis.

00:11:54 - **Speaker 2**

Jeg tror Det er ekstremt vigtigt. De dækker det under en valgkamp, men jeg Jeg er lige ved at have lyst til at sige jeg synes næsten, Det er vigtigere, at man dækker det udenfor valgkamp, fordi i en valgkamp, der drukner det også i altså - igen i de 3 uger En valgkamp varer der skal vælgerne finde ud af Hvem skal de stemme på, hvorfor skal jeg stemm på dem? Og det handler om klima, skat, udlændinge og den type spørgsmål, så derfor så er det klart, at jo, Vi har masser af folk, Der er klar under en valgkamp til at se Og få opmærksomhed på, hvordan partierne, handler Sådan rent økonomisk og og hvor der ellers partistøtte-wise .Og hvordan det godt kan være lidt lidt shady, men Det er jo altså også ekstremt vigtigt, at man har det pres udenfor valgperioder, hvor det ikke nødvendigvis også er alle mulige andre ting, der dominerer dagsordenen. Men men Det er ekstremt vigtigt, fordi det de kommer... Det kommer ikke til, der kommer til at ske nogle ændringer af det, med mindre der kommer et pres fra det. Det tror jeg ikke fra borgernes side og vælgerne side.

00:13:05 - **Speaker 2**

Og så er det, så tror jeg også Det er Sådan ret god som demokratisk diskussion i forhold til at at vi egentlig lige får får zoomet ud og får sagt, "hvad er det egentlig, der påvirker Vores demokrati?" Ind imellem så har vi en ide om, at det bare, at Det er 179 mennesker, som gør det, som der står i Grundloven, nemlig at de er bundet af deres egen overbevisning. Men men Det er det jo ikke nødvendigvis. De er jo også spændende spundet ind i interessekonflikter, om det så er, at de får penge fra sponsorater, eller om de har altså traditionelt set har Socialdemokratiet jo bånd til Fagbevægelsen og Sådan der, så får man pres på derfra... altså de de de de kilder til indflydelse er ekstremt vigtige at få afdækket, fordi der ofte er en god forklaring på, hvorfor et bestemt parti er påpasselig med at snakke om co 2 afgifter på landbruget, at Der er et bestemt parti, Der er påpasselig med og snakke om ringere arbejdsvilkår for arbejdstagerne og Sådan at at at... Det er ekstremt vigtigt at få at få frem i lyset og det, Det føler jeg det at Det her spiller fuldstændig ind i.

00:14:12 - **Speaker 1**

Jeg har lavet en smule research på hvor meget Det har dækket. Det har så ganske vist været under valgkampen. Jeg har undersøgt de seneste , hvor jeg simpelthen bare har. Talt

og ligesom opsætte nogle kodex for meget det egentlig er skrevet om. Lad os bare tage den seneste valgkamp her fra oktober til november. Der var flere 1000 artikler om sundhed og, Flere hundredvis om integration så var der 100 1770 artikler om Qatar på trods af, at de engang var startet endnu. Så havde vi 19 artikler om Søren papes kriser - undskyld Det er noget vrøvl, vi havde 90 artikler så havde vi 19 om de her skandaler, der var i forbindelse med funding af partierne.

00:14:59 - **Speaker 2**

Men hvor meget, hvor meget altså hvordan tæller du? Hvordan hvor tæller du dem henne? Altså på hvilke medier eller Sådan?

00:15:06 - **Speaker 1**

Jeg har krydstjekket via Google og sæt den ind i perioden og så via infomedia også. Og så har jeg taget de mest læste medier som Jyllands-Posten, DRDK, tv 2 DK Politiken, Berlingske, ekstra Bladet og BT.

00:15:21 - **Speaker 2**

Er dem Jeg har taget og så kun online.

00:15:24 - **Speaker 1**

Så kun online ja.

00:15:25 - **Speaker 2**

Men det det lyder det lyder. Det lyder nok ikke helt ved siden af.

00:15:29 - **Speaker 1**

Det Jeg er interesseret i Det er hvordan kan det være - At, vi snakkede lige før om Sundhed og skat og integration er ligesom det, der får folk til at vælge krydser. Men, men Qatar og Søren pape ligger alligevel et stykke udenfor for skiven. Og bevares kan man sige, Det er vel også nogle der skal skrive om det, men at styrkeforholdet er så forskelligt. Hvordan kan det være?

00:15:51 - **Speaker 2**

Jo, men Jeg tror Der er jo både Søren Pape er det jo klart noget. Hvad kan man sige noget noget.... Jeg synes jo det andet har også direkte politisk relevans, men men Det har jo direkte politisk relevant i forhold til at man har en statsministerkandidat. Og Det er så personificeret at at Det er det... Det er gode historier, og det kunne jeg også forestille mig, at det samme, der ligesom er gældende med Qatar. Det Det er ret nemt at forholde sig til et spørgsmål om - det er ikke nødvendigvis nemt at forholde sig til, Men det Det er en, Det er nemt at forstå, at Der er en diskussion af menneskerettigheder, når Der er nogle stadions, Der er blevet bygget, hvor Der er masser af mennesker, Der er døde i forbindelse med det, og at vi alligevel tager ned og spiller fodbold, og Det er sket på et korrump bagtæppe og Såda

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Altså Det er en ret let historie at forstå, men så det her. Det er jo Sådan lidt besværligt i forhold til at hvis du donerer under 20.000, så kan du være anonym. Men hvis du donerer over 20.000 så kan du, så skal du fremgå af register. Men hvis du spiller deroppe mellem forskellige cpr numre, så kan du godt få lov til at aflevere flere gange under 20.000 kroner. Altså, Jeg tror lige så meget Det er også bare er et tilgængeligheds aspekt i det der hedder

at Der er flere mennesker der Sådan.” Åh hvad er det egentlig udfordring af med det her” og

og
Forstår nødvendigvis lige, hvad Det er, Der er på spil, hvor Det er nemmere at forstå det eksempel, som jeg kom med tidligere med Lars Seier. Det giver 10 15 millioner kroner en person, der giver en ordentlig røvfuld penge. Men det her med at skære kagen mellem 100.000 ud i 5 dele for at være anonym. Det tror jeg, at Det er ret Sådan svært tilgængeligt, nødvendigvis lige at forstå, og så derfor har det måske ikke den der, forargelsen faktor på samme måde som. Som for eksempel krænkelse af menneskerettigheder eller Søren papes privatliv har.

00:17:43 - **Speaker 1**

Men krølle på det, og Det var den sidste valgkamp. Så blev det faktisk kun skrevet én gang om i den i 2019, og Det var Jyllands Posten en enkelt artikel. Hvorimod, hvad hedder en Rasmus Paludan, Blev nævnt over 200 gange i forbindelse med hans konflikter. Altså er det ikke et mønster vi ser at det bliver skrevet så lidt om i forbindelse med de andre emner?

00:18:07 - **Speaker 2**

Jo, det tror jeg. Men men som sagt så tror jeg at at at Det er simpelthen fordi det drukner i alt muligt andet altså og Det er Det er svært at forholde sig til. Det er svært også at finde.... Det er jo også svært nødvendigvis at finde den rigtige konflikt i det. Nu kan man sige, nu bliver den konfliktlinje måske lidt mere aktuel i den Sådan aktuelle regeringsform, fordi Det så netop er de partier, som er enige om den måde at køre partistøtteregele på, som sidder i regeringen. Men så Der er flere af de partier, som er uenige, som sidder udenfor regeringen.

00:18:39 - **Speaker 2**

Ellers som sidder i opposition. Men Det er jo ikke Sådan et eller andet skæl altså eller Sådan et klassisk politisk skel mellem at du får eller eller er du for en mere lempelig eller en mere stram indvandringspolitik og Sådan. Altså hvor at, som så det jeg... Det kan, Det kan godt være. Jeg tror bare det det Det er sgu svært at få det til at konkurrere med med alle mulige andre emner i en i en verden, hvor Der er så mange store politiske kriser, så så Det er svært for folk at se hvad er relevansen i at Vi skal diskutere den her beløbsgrænse for eksempel.

00:19:16 - **Speaker 1**

Er det for meget at sige, at det skyldes, at det simpelthen er en kedelig historie?

00:19:21 - **Speaker 2**

Det ved jeg ikke. Altså der der tror jeg Der er jeg tilpas Der er tilpas ikke-journalist til at vide hvad Der er kedelig historie. Jeg synes jo Det er en mega spændende historie og Det er super vigtigt at Sådan mere grundlæggende rent for for hvordan demokratiet bliver udført. Men men jeg kunne da godt få kunne da godt mistænke det for at fordi Det er en kedelig historie.

00:19:49 - **Speaker 1**

Og så efter jeg lige har nævnt alle de her tal for i forhold til dækningsgraden og det andet Vi har snakket. Er dækningen så tilpas Ifølge dig?

00:20:01 - **Speaker 2**

Det det, det ved jeg ikke fordi det det det kræver en eller anden ide om hvor man skal kunne rangordne hvilke politiske emner Der er vigtigst. Så så så det tror jeg ikke ikke jeg ville. Det ville jeg ikke ikke kaste mig ud i andet end at sige, at Jeg tror at Det er ...Det er, Det er ekstremt vigtigt, at man får det diskuteret og.Og givetvis også får gjort noget ved reglerne, fordi altså det. Det er jo et konstant tilbagevendende fænomen, at der ind imellem lige dukker den der enkelte historie op med "Lars Løkke tager penge for at spise aftensmad med med ham." - Det var det også med David Cameron for år tilbage og Sådan så Det er Sådan, Der er bare så det... Det kommer jo Sådan lige op ind imellem, så Jeg tror det. Det er vigtigt, at man får taget en større diskussion omkring det for at finde frem til nogle nogle bedre og nogle ordentlige regler, som både giver folk mulighed for at kunne deltage politisk i forhold til at lave politiske donationer uden at skulle blive sat i direkte association med et politisk parti, men uden at partierne kan bruge det til at...Endda få rigtig mange penge i kassen, og potentielt set er et... have en eller anden form for skyldnerforhold eller i hvert fald stå i stå i en eller anden form for politisk gæld. Alene risikoen for det altså, Det er jo ikke fordi Jeg tror egentlig ikke det. Altså Jeg har ingen anelse om, om Det er et problem, Altså om politikerne rent faktisk tænker, "og nu står vi i gæld politisk gæld til dem, der har givet os mange penge." Det det det ja jeg håber og tror, at det egentlig ikke, men alene det, at Der er risiko for det - alene det, at Der er en mulighed for det. Det er bare ikke skide godt.

00:21:52 - **Speaker 1**

1000 tak skal du have. Det var det jeg havde af spørgsmål, er det noget du godt kunne tænke dig at tilføje? Eller fik du sagt det du gerne vil sige?

00:21:59 - **Speaker 2**

Det her. Det var fint Det var. Det var spændende at lyder som et spændende projekt, så du må meget gerne sende det, når Det er, når Det er klart, fordi at jeg Sådan så det kunne da også godt lige være spændende at orientere mig i, altså fordi det spiller jo meget fint - Hvad kan man sige igen? Mit min forskningsdelen handler jo mere om målretning af det, men i den scene er der jo altså et ressourceaspekt, altså de partier som har mange penge og kan altså også bedre til at målrette og kan målrette mere, kan nå ud til flere vælgergrupper end end dem som har... end dem som har få penge...

Så du må meget gerne sende det, når Det er færdigt. Det vil jeg da gerne læse.

00:22:37 - **Speaker 1**

De kommer også til at være i kontakt i forbindelse med den her...Nu Kan jeg ikke huske hvad det hedder på dansk, men Consent form - tillidserklæring. Ja, ligesom her.1000 tak for din tid og tak for hjælpen og så fedt du havde lyst til at medvirke og så håber jeg at du får en god dag.

00:22:53 - **Speaker 2**

Tak og i lige måde.

English translated version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Mads Hove

00:00:00 - **Speaker 1**

And then I'm going to send you a consent form afterward, to sort of say that it's okay for me to use, well, some of the things we're talking about in this interview. And then, of course, you can see the finished product if you want to. I can understand if you don't, but you're certainly welcome to do so.

Speaker 2

That could be very exciting.

- **Speaker 1**

Yes, it could be. One could say that if I have to make my own bias clear, it is that I think it is covered too little. That's what you have to watch out for, so I try to make it as neutral as possible.

00:00:34 - **Speaker 1**

So that's kind of what my position is. Great and I'm going to write down a little bit as I go along just so I've got my own notes, so you'll have to let me know if it's going to be too noisy. I'll look here ... otherwise I'm about to be ready. Mads, why don't you explain a bit about your own background? Just for, yea, so that I have that as well.

00:00:55 - **Speaker 2**

I have a master's degree in political science from the University of Copenhagen, where I... specialize in political behavior, more specifically in the representational style of politicians. So how do politicians present themselves to their voters? And what is the effect of how politicians present themselves to their voters? This is also what I am currently focusing on in my PhD project. I am a PhD student at the University of Amsterdam and also a research assistant at the University of Southern Denmark. But where I look more specifically at Facebook ads or ads in general, so how the politicians they - they advertise and in that respect there is of course also a lot of money. What I'm particularly interested in is the part that deals with micro targeting. So how are these ads actually targeted.

00:01:49 - **Speaker 2**

In addition, I have had a lot to do with it in the sense that I have had. I have run my own business for the last year, where I sell political analysis to the media, to politicians, to interest organizations and various other things and it is a bit on pause during my PhD. But but among other things, during the election campaign, I ran as an analyst of choice in the media called the Frihedsbrevet, where we also did some coverage of party support.

00:02:17 - **Speaker 2**

And I have also worked a lot with how politicians advertise and run election campaigns, especially through ads.

00:02:29 - **Speaker 1**

Great thank you. Mads, I would like to start by asking you how big a problem this lack of transparency is in connection with private companies and donors donating to parties without the population's knowledge of it. How big a problem is it?

00:02:46 - **Speaker 2**

Well... I think really... I think the problem is actually OK in the sense that it's not because we don't know how much money the parties have. We'll actually find out at some point, because the rules are As I remember it, the rules are quite intricate in that you're not allowed to know how much money the parties actually had for the election campaign in 2022, or at least it's not until 24 or something like that, so in that way, the ... The fact that we don't know that you can hide under all these rules means that we don't really know how much money they have.

00:03:23 - **Speaker 2**

And and and drive off with. And It's ... and and and It's a challenge when we talk about where, where the level is this playground, which It is for politicians during election campaigns, so I think It's an OK big problem plus what is also a huge problem, We are not. We do not know who is in the pocket of whom and, and it is clear that we are Denmark, which is the world's least corrupt country, but now I'm just now in the evening and read the new book by Simon Emil Ammitzbøll. And I think you may also have seen the quote that has also been floating around with Lars Seier, who says, "I haven't put 10-15 million in this project to get tax breaks at the bottom", and Lars Seier is of course the example of a man who is very open about how he gives sponsorships to a political party. But there are a lot of people who might be interested in giving some money, of course, to also get a door in to make it easier to get access to meetings to make suggestions for politics and all sorts of other things. And from a democratic perspective, it is not entirely unimportant that we do not know who is paying the various parties and the various politicians' election campaigns? It is that there is both, you could say, the question of fair competition between the parties, and then there is a question, so for me it is also this important question: is there a risk that there is someone who is in someone's pocket or owes someone owes someone owes someone favors and favors.

00:05:07 - **Speaker 1**

Are there any examples where we can draw the conclusion that there has been - now you mentioned Lars Seier before, but where some money has been given and there is some policy that may have been influenced by this money?

00:05:19 - **Speaker 2**

I don't think so, I don't think so. I don't really have that. I don't really know, and I don't think I know how easy it would necessarily be to be able to pinpoint and say: this, this has happened because of this, this, this. And I think perhaps also that a large part of It is also to remember that one thing, It is the, It is the direct influence. It is to say that Lars Seier gives 15 million to the Liberal Alliance in order to get top tax relief. So there is a direct - so if that had happened, then there is a direct link there.

00:05:50 - **Speaker 2**

But there is just as much the indirect in that there is someone who gives money and is allowed to sit in on meetings. Now there has also just been coverage in relation to the fact that Lars Løkke has also taken money in relation to that, I think he is also in custody. I've taken money so that you can have dinner with him and so on. It's also the whole...more subtle influence aspect of it, where you can't necessarily pinpoint and say, "this piece of legislation, this specific company manager, or whoever it is who got it through by giving money to a party." But we can't dismiss the fact that it's just as much in the mindset. Who do you consult if you have to, if you have to, before you make a proposal? There are so many parts of the process where this influence can actually come into play.

00:06:45 - **Speaker 2**

And that's what I think it is. It's very difficult to say to what extent it is.

00:06:55 - **Speaker 1**

Why do you think the party funding rules are different in Denmark than they are in, for example, our neighboring countries?

00:07:01 - **Speaker 2**

Well, I don't really know, but I don't really know, but there is no doubt that it also depends on how skilled the politicians in the individual countries are at actually ensuring these things, in Denmark. When it comes to these issues, there is a bit of an alliance between the Social Democrats and the Liberal Party in Denmark.

00:07:30 - **Speaker 2**

Where ... And that just means that even if it comes from both the Left and the Right, it's something like that.... It just means that the status quo quite easily just continues to be. And it's not because it's and and if it's that kind of Alliance across the middle. It's not because party support rules are something voters change their crosses on the basis of. So the fact that a party has a position on party support rules versus another party does not mean that a voter chooses party x over party y, they do so because of health policy, immigration policy, climate policy - you could say larger such high-selling topics, so therefore, as long as there is such a ... A broad support on both sides of the parliament, there is just a good probability that the status quo will always be there.

00:08:27 - **Speaker 1**

You may have answered that, but I would like to ask such a direct question. What does it mean for democracy in Denmark that we have these rules? It's a bit complicated, as you say.

00:08:38 - **Speaker 2**

Well, I think you also have to remember the positive thing about it, and that is that it's not always nice for people to be...put in a political box because they want to support a given cause. So the idea is that there is a very nice idea that there is a ... a business leader or a private person, or whatever, when I say "well, I would like this specific candidate to get into parliament, because I like him or her, or I like this party or something." But I don't want to be associated with the party, because it could be that... It could have negative consequences in relation to my sales, and then the other things. It's a positive thing that you can be allowed to

give a small amount without it necessarily having to be written everywhere, that I can see that Lars Hansen down from the corner he, he gives money to the Danish People's Party, so therefore I never ever buy in his carpentry shop again. So the problem only arises at the time when it gets bigger and where it becomes systematic. But that, but there I think it's a It's a It's a It's a It's bad for democracy in the sense that it distorts in relation to who is good at attracting money and who is not good at attracting money, so therefore there are some, who really just have better opportunities to run a good campaign, while there are others who have less opportunity to do so, and so we simply do not know whether there are some who in this respect trade themselves for something where you say, well, OK, if you give 200, if you play 200. 000 in our campaign, well then we should probably just say that we are friendly to the fact that the co 2 tax does not necessarily have to hit this sector, or whatever it might be."

And again, it's difficult, it's difficult, it's a bit of speculation, but the mere fact that it's a possibility is not necessarily a good thing. Then I would say that it's actually in the way we have made... our system in Denmark, we try to get a little beyond that in the sense that we say, "We have party support public party support, where all parties get money from the state, so you get different money depending on how many, how many you, how many votes you have received." But it's an attempt to ensure that everyone gets money and you don't have to go out and fundraise in the same way.

00:11:15 - **Speaker 2**

So you saw It's also the thing about like that. Yes, we actually have a system that should perhaps even mean that you didn't need to go out and fundraise, but it's obvious. You do that anyway, because then you will potentially have a comparative advantage. To the extent that it works.

00:11:36 - **Speaker 2**

running ads, I don't think it does.

00:11:41 - **Speaker 1**

Thank you, I would like to talk about journalists' coverage of it to start by asking quite plainly, how important are journalists covering a topic like this during an election campaign, for example.

00:11:54 - **Speaker 2**

I think it's extremely important. They cover it during an election campaign, but I'm just about to say I almost think it's more important that you cover it outside the election campaign, because in an election campaign, it also drowns in - again, in the three weeks of an election campaign, voters have to figure out who to vote for, why should I vote for them? And it's about climate, tax, foreigners, and that type of question, so therefore it's clear that yes, we have lots of people who are ready during an election campaign to see and draw attention to how the parties act financially and where else party support-wise, and how it can be a little shady, but it's also extremely important that you have that pressure outside election periods, where it's not necessarily also all sorts of other things that dominate the agenda. But it's extremely important, because what they're going to... There's not going to be any changes unless there's pressure from that. I don't think so on the part of the citizens and the voters.

00:13:05 - **Speaker 2**

And then I think it's also quite good as a democratic discussion in terms of us zooming out and saying, "what is it that actually affects our democracy?" Sometimes we have an idea that it's just that there are 179 people who do what the Constitution says, namely that they are bound by their own convictions. But that is not necessarily the case. They are also spun into conflicts of interest, whether it's that they get money from sponsorships, or whether they have, traditionally speaking, the Social Democratic Party has ties to the trade union movement and so on, so you get pressure from there... So the sources of influence are extremely important to uncover, because there is often a good explanation as to why a particular party is wary of talking about CO2 taxes on agriculture, that there is a particular party that is wary of talking about poorer working conditions for workers and so on... It is extremely important to bring this to light and that, I feel that this plays an important role.

00:14:12 - **Speaker 1**

I've done a bit of research on how much it has covered. Admittedly, it's been during the election campaign. I've looked at recent ones where I've simply just talked and kind of set up some codes for how much it's actually been written about. Let's just take the last election campaign here from October to November. There were several thousand articles on health and, Several hundreds on integration then there were 100 articles on Qatar despite the fact that they had even started yet. Then we had 19 articles on Søren Pape's crises - sorry, that's nonsense, we had 90 articles then we had 19 on these scandals that were in connection with the funding of the parties.

00:14:59 - **Speaker 2**

But how much, how much, how do you count? How do you count them where? On which media or something like that?

00:15:06 - **Speaker 1**

I have cross-checked via Google and put it into the period and then via infomedia as well. And then I have taken the most read media such as Jyllands-Posten, DRDK, tv 2 DK Politiken, Berlingske, extra Bladet and BT.

00:15:21 - **Speaker 2**

Are the ones I have taken and then only online.

00:15:24 - **Speaker 1**

So only online yes.

00:15:25 - **Speaker 2**

But it sounds like it sounds. It probably doesn't sound too far off the mark.

00:15:29 - **Speaker 1**

What I'm interested in is how can it be - that, we were talking just before about health and tax and integration is kind of what makes people choose crosses on their voting page. But, but Qatar and Søren Pape are still a bit outside the dial. And you could say that some people should write about it, but that the balance of power is so different. How can that be?

00:15:51 - **Speaker 2**

Yes, but I think there are both Søren Pape it is clearly something. What can you say something something.... I think the other has direct political relevance, but it has direct political relevance in relation to the fact that you have a candidate for prime minister. And it's so personalized that it is... These are good stories, and I could also imagine that the same is true of Qatar. It's quite easy to relate to a question of - it's not necessarily easy to relate to, but it's a, it's easy to understand that there is a discussion of human rights when there are some stadiums that have been built, where there are lots of people who have died in connection with it, and that we still go down and play football, and it has happened on a corrupt backdrop and ...

Well, it's a pretty easy story to understand, but then this. It's a bit difficult because if you donate less than 20,000, you can remain anonymous. But if you donate over 20,000, you can, but you have to appear in the register. But if you play up there between different social security numbers, then you may well be allowed to hand over several times under 20,000 kroner. So, I think it's also just an accessibility aspect of the fact that there are more people like that." Oh, what is the actual challenge of this" and and and
It's easier to understand the example I gave earlier with Lars Seier. It gives 10 or 15 million kroner to a person who gives a lot of money. But this thing about cutting the cake between 100,000 into 5 parts in order to be anonymous, I think it's quite difficult to access, necessarily to understand, and therefore it may not have the outrage factor in the same way as, for example, the violation of human rights or Søren Pape's privacy.

00:17:43 - **Speaker 1**

But to put a curl on it, and it was the last election campaign. Then it was actually only written about once in 2019, and it was Jyllands Posten with one single article, whereas, what is the name now - of Rasmus Paludan, was mentioned over 200 times in connection with his conflicts. So is it not a pattern we see that it is written so little about in connection with the other topics?

00:18:07 - **Speaker 2**

Yes, I think so. But as I said, I think it's simply because it drowns in all sorts of other things, and it's It's hard to relate to. It's also difficult to find.... It's also difficult to necessarily find the right conflict in it. Now you could say that this line of conflict is perhaps a little more relevant in the current form of government, because it is precisely the parties that agree on the way to run party support rules that are in government. But then there are several of the parties that disagree who sit outside the government.

00:18:39 - **Speaker 2**

Or else who are in opposition. But it's not some kind of classic political divide between you get or or are you in favor of a more relaxed or a more strict immigration policy and so on. So where that, as I ... It may, it may well be. I just think it's It's damn hard to make it compete with all sorts of other issues in a world where there are so many major political crises, so it's hard for people to see what is the relevance of We're going to discuss this threshold for example.

00:19:16 - **Speaker 1**

Is it too much to say that it's because it's simply a boring story?

00:19:21 - **Speaker 2**

I don't know, I don't know. I think I'm enough of a non-journalist to know what is a boring story. I think it's a very exciting story and it's super important to such a more basic clean for how democracy is carried out. But I could suspect that because it's a boring story.

00:19:49 - **Speaker 1**

And then after I've just mentioned all these figures in relation to the coverage rate and the other things we've talked about. Is the coverage so adequate according to you?

00:20:01 - **Speaker 2**

I don't know because it requires some idea of how to rank which political issues are most important. So I don't think I wouldn't. I wouldn't do that, other than to say that I think it's ...it's, it's, it's extremely important to discuss it and and of course also to do something about the rules, because it. It's a constantly recurring phenomenon that every now and then a story pops up with "Lars Løkke takes money to have dinner with him." - It was the same with David Cameron years ago, and so on and so on, it's like that, it's just like that... It comes up every now and then, so I think so. It's important that we have a major discussion about it to find some better and proper rules that allow people to participate politically in terms of making political donations without having to be directly associated with a political party, but without the parties being able to use it to get a lot of money in their coffers, and potentially ... have some kind of debtor relationship or at least be stuck in some kind of political debt. The risk of that alone, I mean, it's not because I don't really think so. I have no idea whether it's a problem,

I mean, whether politicians actually think, "and now we are in political debt to those who have given us a lot of money." I hope and believe that it really isn't, but just the fact that there is a risk of it - just the fact that there is a possibility of it. It's just not very good.

00:21:52 - **Speaker 1**

A thousands thanks to you. That was my questions, is that something you would like to add? Or did you say what you wanted to say?

00:21:59 - **Speaker 2**

This one. It was fine, it was. It was exciting that sounds like an exciting project, so you're very welcome to send it when it's, when it's ready, because I Like that so it could also be exciting to orient myself in, because it plays very well - What can you say again? My research part is more about targeting, but in that scene there is a resource aspect, so the parties that have a lot of money and are better at targeting and can target more, can reach more voter groups than those who have ... than those who have little money ... So feel free to send it to me when it's finished. I'd love to read it.

00:22:37 - **Speaker 1**

They will also be in contact in connection with this...Now I can't remember what it's called in Danish, but Consent form - declaration of trust. Yes, just like here.1000 thanks for your time and thanks for your help and so great you wanted to participate and I hope you have a good day.

00:22:53 - **Speaker 2**

Thank you and you too.

Roger Buch, Head of Research at the Danish School of Media and Journalism. Date of interview, 24-02-2023. Conducted via Zoom.

Danish original version:

Speaker 1: August

Speaker 2: Roger Buch

00:00:00 - **Speaker 1**

Optag.

00:00:02 - **Speaker 2**

Ja.

00:00:02 - **Speaker 1**

Ja nu skal du høre, Jeg er i gang med at skrive speciale om partistøttereglerne i Danmark i forbindelse med de kontroverser, Der er om det. Men i særdeleshed med fokus på den dækning, der har været af det, jeg kalder den manglende transparens i dansk politik i forbindelse med de her hemmelighedsfulde pengedonationer til de politiske partier. Og ligesom hvordan de er dækket under specielt valgkampen de seneste 3. Og hvordan det ligesom kan være? Så jeg kommer bare til at stille spørgsmålet, som Jeg har stillet til nogle af de andre, Jeg har prøvet at kontakte, og så må du svare på de ting, som du ligesom finder relevant i forbindelse med med din baggrund.

00:00:49 - **Speaker 1**

Tænkte jeg. Så jeg kunne godt tænke mig at starte med at spørge hvor stort et problem, Den manglende transparens med de her pengestrømme til de politiske partier og politikerne er?

00:01:03 - **Speaker 2**

Altså det tragikomiske svar er jo, at det ved vi ikke. Fordi Det kan være det ikke er et problem. Men det ved vi ikke, fordi at åbenheden ikke fungerer. Det kan også være at Det er et kæmpestort problem, men det ved vi ikke, fordi åbenheden ikke fungerer så så man kan sige det, som åbenheds reglerne er jo egentlig handler om. Sådan i værste fald så om Politikerne, er i lommen, på personer eller virksomheder eller andet.

00:01:35 - **Speaker 2**

Det ved vi ikke noget om om om det der worst case scenario om det rent faktisk er noget der finder sted. Men det betyder, men altså hvis vi lige løfter det op på et på et andet plan og

siger, jamen, "hvad betyder det så i forhold til Vores demokrati?" Og så så er det jo et kæmpe problem, fordi Det er jo Sådan set derfor, Vi har - Det er jo fordi at vi gerne vil have åbenhed for at have et stærkt demokrati, at vi har lavet de her åbenheds regler. Og Det kan vi jo så i hvert fald konkludere at, at det får vi ikke med de hullede regler, som Vi har så. Og Det er jo også det, vi så er blevet kritiseret for.

00:02:14 - Speaker 2

af Blandt andet GRECO, Europarådets antikorrupsionsenhed. Det er også internationale organisationer som Transparency International, som kritiserede Danmark for, at vi ikke lever op til demokratiske standarder og, og Det er jo så, kan man sige. Det er jo i hvert fald et problem, at vi ikke lever op til af til et demokratisk standard. Og altså, som jeg også har udtrykt det nogle gange overfor medier: Altså Det er jo. Det er jo et problem, men Det er jo Sådan set også ret pinligt for Danmark, som jo normalt rejser rundt i verden og.

00:02:51 - Speaker 2

Og bryster sig af at være et stærkt demokrati og belære andre lande om hvordan man skal lave demokrati. Det er jo for eksempel bygget ind i Vores Ulandshjælp. At vi. At vi stiller demokratiske krav, når vi støtter udviklingslande med penge, så er det koblet op på det. Nogle krav, som også handler om demokrati, så Vi er Sådan, missionerer det i demokrati.

00:03:17 - Speaker 2

Men Vi har Sådan set ikke orden på hjemmebane.

00:03:23 - Speaker 1

Men hvad betyder det så for demokratiet i Danmark? At Vi har de her pengestrømme til de politiske partier? Uden, vi kender til dem.

00:03:31 - Speaker 2

Jamen at jamen. Det betyder jo at vi ikke ved om Der er korrupsion i Danmark. Vi ved ikke, om Der er enkelte politikere, som er korrupte, eller partier som er korrupte, og vi ved så den i den blødere inde, ikke om Der er partier som lader sig købe. Altså til bestemte politiske holdninger eller er i lommen på på økonomiske interessenter. Og Vi har jo faktisk lige fået demonstreret et eksempel her i de seneste dage med Simon emil ammitzbølls nye bog, hvor han jo beskriver, hvordan en en ja man kan vel nok kalde roligt kalde ham hovedsponsoren for Ny Alliance og senere Liberal Alliance, Saxo Banks direktør.

00:04:18 - Speaker 2

At møder med ham kunne have afgørende betydning for, hvad Liberal Alliance gjorde. Men Det er jo ikke beviset på at man altså man kan sige Det kan også bare være fordi han var fornuftig og han sagde nogle kloge til og han fik dem til at tænke sig om, så Det er jo ikke sikkert at at Det var på grund af pengene eller frygten for en pengestrøm der kunne stoppe. Men men Det er bare et rigtig godt eksempel på at folk der giver Mange penge til partierne, jo formentlig får en en lydhørhed, som som vi jo normalt vil betragte som i modstrid med modstrid med demokrati, at det ligesom er penge der giver lydhørhed. Det har vi også nogle andre eksempler på, altså når man via erhvervsnetværk og pengeklubber kan få eksklusiv adgang til ministre i Danmark. Moderaterne for eksempel har jo også lavet Sådan en et netværk, nu hvor man for 20.000 kroner om året kan købe sig til en til et møde med ministre og både høre ministrene siger men altså også købe sig adgang til ministerens øre.

00:05:31 - **Speaker 2**

Så. Så så Det er jo i hvert fald noget af det der, der sker i Vores demokrati og hvor vi jo. Altså den bedste måde i virkeligheden at illustrere det problematiske. Det er Sådan set at, igen den der pointe med andre lande altså når Danmark. Når vi ser Sådan noget i andre lande.

00:05:51 - **Speaker 2**

Så så er de generelt kritiske over for det. Men når det sker i Vores eget land, så er Vores politikere åbenbart fuldstændigt afslappede i forhold til, at Det er ikke noget problem. Når det foregår i Danmark.

00:06:08 - **Speaker 1**

Hvordan kan det så være at partistøttere reglerne er anderledes i Danmark end i Vores nærmeste nabolande?

00:06:14 - **Speaker 2**

Jo, Det er jo i virkeligheden også gådefuldt. Altså, Det er jo det jeg sagde før med det der med pinligt. Altså Det er meget, meget uforståeligt. At danske politikere ikke vil leve op til de standarder, man ser i rigtig mange andre lande. Så så altså jeg må sige Jeg kan ikke svare andet end at altså at Det er uforståeligt. Så på den på den anden side set så er det jo ikke hverken forståeligt eller mærkeligt, at politiske partier som lovgiver laver nogle meget l.

00:06:44 - **Speaker 2**

Hvad hedder det... Gunstige regler for dem selv. Det det. Det kan man jo i virkeligheden, hvis man tænker efter ikke synes sådan rent logisk at, Det er underligt at hvis man laver reglerne for sig selv, så kunne man godt finde på at lave nogle lempelige regler. Altså jeg tænker hvis det er SU studerende i Danmark, eller hvis de SU studerende i Danmark bestemte SUs Størrelse så ville det nok blive større, og hvis hvis dansk industri skrev skattereglerne for virksomhederne, så bliver de nok mere lempelige, så så på den måde rent logisk er der jo ikke noget underligt i, at man laver gunstige regler for sig selv.

00:07:21 - **Speaker 2**

Men når det så er sagt så tilbage til start, altså stadigvæk må man undre sig over, at danske politikere ikke lever op til det - De standarder de ser i andre lande, og at danske politikere vil udsætte sig selv for at blive kritiseret for antikorrupsionsenheder af åbenhedsinteresseorganisationer og skulle blive kritiseret for, at vi simpelthen ikke har nogle regler, der lever op til standard, og det bliver vi jo kritiseret for lige om lidt igen. Altså hvad hedder det OECE har jo haft valgobservatører i Danmark her. Under folketingsvalget, og de har jo givet et interview også forbindelse med at de var i Danmark, hvor jeg så vidt jeg husker de også sagde, at "Det var noget af det de de kiggede på," og Jeg har selv talt med dem så, og de har faktisk lovet deres rapport, som kom ud cirka 2 måneder efter valget, så Det er Sådan set nu. Så det. Det kunne du eventuelt prøve at skubbe til dem og høre om Der er noget på vej.

00:08:17 - **Speaker 2**

Fordi de der vil vi så endnu engang blive kritiseret for, at Vores regler de ikke skaber åbenhed.

00:08:27 - Speaker 1

Det vil jeg kigge på. Tak for svar. Nu kunne jeg godt tænke mig at snakke lidt om journalisterne i forbindelse med den her manglende transparens. For hvad er journalisternes rolle i forbindelse med -Ja, men den her problematik kan vi vel nok godt kalde den manglende transparens?Hvad skal de gøre her?

00:08:46 - Speaker 2

Altså. Altså Det er det de gør. Det er jo i virkeligheden Sådan helt klassisk klassisk journalistisk altså helt tilbage til de helt store skandaler den største måske man kan sige mytologisk største skandale globalt set var Watergate sagen. Hvor Der ud af Watergate-sagen er kommet en talemåde, som nu skal jeg lige tænke efter Jeg har skrevet en artikel en gang eksempel ikke huske det, men hvis ikke jeg husker meget fejl, så er det faktisk i virkeligheden en sætning, der kommer ud af en filmatisering, altså en Hollywood filmatisering af watergate skandale, for Jeg tror faktisk ikke Det er et egentligt citat fra nogle af de involverede journalister dengang, men men frem til sætningen. Det er jo sætningen follow the money, som ligesom forbindelse med watergate.

00:09:37 - Speaker 2

Skandaler, hvor pointen er, at det der var det fældende bevis for, at man brugte ulovlige metoder fra republikanerne i watergate. Skandalen: Det var pengene, at man kunne følge et pengespor og afsløre, at dem der lavede indbrud og lavede andre ulovlige ting At de brugte nogle penge, som var doneret af - ja lige præcis donerede af nogen der vil støtte det republikanske parti, hvor man jo så var så -Når man tænker over det, så var så ufattelig dumme, at man videregav de her checks, som jeg lige husker det så donor gav Sådan check til det republikanske parti og så brugte man så de checks til at finansiere ulovligheder, så Det var jo mildest talt ikke særlig genialt men men men Det er jo det de gør her de danske journalister Det er "follow the money" altså og Det er virkelig Sådan altså Lige det. Det er som jeg sagde før mytologisk inden for journalistik. Det her med watergate-skandalen, så Det er nok også det, der ligger bevidst eller ubevidst, når de her når journalister kaster sig over det her emne, så så det tænker jeg, at en dreje driver, som i virkeligheden kommer fra statistikkens selv. Men, men Der er jo helt klart også noget her, som handler om det, vi lige har talt om. Altså politikere, som som hårdt sat op er dobbeltmoraliske, altså politikere, som er meget nidkære med, at sociale klienter skal leve op til en masse krav for at få sociale ydelser. Politikere, Der er optaget af at virksomhedernes snyd, skattesnyd eller miljø snyd, eller hvad det måtte være, at det skal vi slå hårdt ned på, at de her politikere, som på rigtig mange områder er nidkær.

00:11:18 - Speaker 2

Er de så når lige præcis når det kommer til dem selv og reglerne der gælder for dem selv og deres partier, så er de ikke særlig nidkære. Jeg tror den der dobbeltmoral, det tror jeg faktisk også er noget af det, der trigger for mange journalister, når de kaster sig over det her. Og så kan man sige det tredje punkt, eller Det er måske så i virkeligheden burde måske i virkeligheden være det første eller andet punkt er - Det burde nok være det første punkt. Det er jo at At, Der er jo her kan være tale om, at man bryder reglerne altså godt og ulovligt. Og altså det at tage en politiker i at gøre noget ulovligt. Det er klart, Det er noget, som kan som kan friste enhver journalist, fordi det jo er politikerne, der laver reglerne. Hvis de selv bryder

det, så er det jo en særlig interessant historie, så det tror jeg, Det er Sådan nogle af de der drivere der gør, at det her er Sådan et interessant felt for journalister eller for nogle journalister at kaste sig over.

00:12:10 - **Speaker 1**

Ja, hvor væsentligt er det man dækker Sådan et her emne under en valgkamp?

00:12:19 - **Speaker 2**

Jeg ved ikke, om Det er særligt væsentligt i forhold til en valgkamp. Jeg synes det under alle omstændigheder er væsentligt, hvis politikerne ikke overholder lovgivningen, hvis politikerne ikke lever op til internationale demokratiske standarder. Hvis politikere er dobbeltmoraliske. Det synes jeg da er helt sikkert, er noget, Der er relevant valgkamp eller ej, så jeg tænker måske ikke, at Det er specielt relevant under valgkampen, men Der er jo et, kan man sige et aktualitetsmoment i det, fordi Det er jo i valgkampen Man får rigtig mange penge en af de. Det er jo så en af de ting, vi trods alt kan trække ud af åbenhedsreglerne i Danmark. At hvis vi går ind og kigger på partiregnskaberne, så kan vi jo se, at de år, hvor de får.

00:13:01 - **Speaker 2**

Eller undskyld de år, hvor Der er valgkampe, der får partierne ekstra mange penge fra private donorer, så så Det kan man sige der. Det gør jo, at emnet på den måde altså den vej rundt er specielt interessant under valgkampen. Men altså, men jeg mener egentlig i udgangspunktet synes jeg, at det Det er stort set lige så relevant uden for valgkampssæsonen.

00:13:26 - **Speaker 1**

Hvor er det man kan se de her tal, spørger jeg helt dumt.

00:13:30 - **Speaker 2**

Ja, Det kan du på Folketingets hjemmeside. Der ligger partiregnskaberne, de bliver lagt ud en gang om året, men der kan du så lige få en anden en anden lille finurlig krølle på det her med de gunstige regler, altså Mærsk's regnskab for 22. Det er vel lige kommet ud faktisk ikke - med deres rekordstore overskud, og Jeg tror Sådan Og selskabsreglerne siger, at man inden for et halvt år skal som aktieselskab komme med sit regnskab. Nu har Mærsk så gjort det her på et par måneder og kommer ud med med med de her absurde overskud, så de har altså brugt et par måneder her på at lave deres regnskab i milliardkoncern Mærsk, der omsætter 500 milliarder. I de små virksomheder og partierne, som omsætter for nogle få millioner og nogle nogle små tocifrede beløb. Hvis vi snakker de store partier, der har man givet sig selv et år til at lave årsregnskab, så det vil sige, hvis du interesserer dig for sidste års valg, så skal du vente til januar, februar 23 for regnskaberne bliver offentliggjort på Folketingets hjemmeside, så Det er jo endnu et mikroskopisk, om i virkeligheden jo nærmest Latterligt eksemplet på hvor hvor gunstige regler de laver til sig selv, at de altså får et helt år til at få styr på pengene, hvor Mærsk ifølge reglerne har et halvt år og i virkeligheden kan gøre det på et par måned.

00:14:59 - **Speaker 1**

Tak skal du have. Jeg har i min

00:15:02 - **Speaker 2**

Research

00:15:03 - Speaker 1

Prøvet at lave nogle tællinger i infomedia og Google med nogle keywords af webartikler i forbindelse med hvor meget den her manglende transparens er blevet dækket i valgperioder kontra andre emner. Måske ikke overraskende, så er der har været væsentligt flere artikler om sundhed og integration og skat. Men Jeg har også kigget på nogle af de andre valg. Lad os starte med det i 2022 at tage vm i Qatar på trods af dengang var startet. Der var 90 artikler fra de 7 største medier, der var 90 artikler om Søren Pape og så var der 19 artikler om den her manglende transparens i valget 2019 der var en artikel fra Jyllands Posten om de her pengestrømme under valgkampperioden.

00:15:49 - Speaker 1

Og 170 artikler om Rasmus Paludans stram kurs. Det er jo selvfølgelig forskellige emner, men hvordan kan det være at dækningen er så forskellig?

00:16:01 - Speaker 2

Jamen det betyder jo så i virkeligheden, fordi nu startede jeg ligesom med de der fortalte om de drivere, der gør, at journalister synes Det er interessant. Ikke også? Men Der er bestemt også nogle bremseklokker i forhold til journalister beskæftige sig med det her stof. Og Det er jo, at Det er svært. Altså Vi har nogle hullede regler, som partierne kan, hvis de har lyst snyde groft med, og hvis ikke de har lyst til at snyde, så kan de omgå dem. Altså hvis ikke de har lyst til at overtræde reglerne, så kan de omgå reglerne.

00:16:33 - Speaker 2

Og Vi har en elendig transparens. Vi har meget, meget lidt åbenhed, og Det er jo det, der gør, at Det er rigtig, rigtig svært at arbejde med journalistisk, og Det er derfor, man så skal have nogle whistleblowere og nogle kilder, der måske fortæller noget om, hvad der sker i et parti. Eller som frihedsbrevet gjorde det her. Hvad hedder det i forbindelse med 22 valget. Altså man laver et man lokker partierne i en fælde, altså den her fallerede finansmand som eller erhvervsmand som og og tidligere straffede erhvervsmand, som man får til at ringe rundt og tilbyde partierne og og så siger, at han gerne vil være anonym, selvom han vil give 50.000. Og så er der nogle af partierne og nogle politikere, der gerne vil rådgive ham om, hvordan vi kan omgå reglerne.

00:17:23 - Speaker 2

Og og så det kræver, ligesom man gør. Sådan noget eller man har nogle nogle whistleblowere og nogle kilder som som som gør at man kan trække ned i det her ikke også så Det er Det er svært område at trænge ind i journalistisk og det tror Jeg er en af hovedgrundene til at der ikke er mere- Altså bliver lavet mere journalistik på det og så kan man sige under en valgkamp der kan man der... Der er jo. Så det der også er med en valgkamp. Det er der der ruller. Altså Nyhederne ruller meget, meget hurtigt. Der er pres på. Der er mange historier som ligesom presser sig på og partierne og lige pludselig er politikerne til at komme til at tale med.

00:18:01 - Speaker 2

Hvor hvor altså de ledende politikere, ministre og alt. Sådan noget ikke som jo tit er rigtig rigtig svære at få i tale - Dem kan man pludselig få i tale, og Der er fart på valgkampen ikke så så, så Der er travlt og Sådan noget som det her. Sådan et emne som det her. Det er jo tit

noget, der kræver et langt og grundigt arbejde, og for at kunne få noget gravet frem og derfor så tror jeg ikke, at vi normalt ser så meget, ser så meget under valgkampen.

00:18:27 - Speaker 1

Så skyldes det simpelthen, at Det er svært at skaffe oplysninger, og Der er manglende transparens altså fra fra regeringens side. Og Det er det, der gør, at Der er færre artikler om det. Under valgkampen er det en af forklaringerne?

00:18:39 - Speaker 2

Ja altså, men men men altså man kunne jo godt lave noget journalistik uden egentlig at lave noget research og og komme med nye afsløringer og lave fælder for politikerne. Altså man kunne. De holder jo netop presse møder. Vi så jo et ret godt eksempel i forhold til det mytologiske presse møde om om PET sagen, og hvor Der er så mange journalister der havde besluttet sig for at de ville ikke blive brugt af alle Venstre og konservative i deres Spin mod statsministeren og og regeringen, så de brugte presse mødet til at gå ind i Samsam sagen. Og hvad kan man sige? Og Kaprede presse mødet ikke, og man sige det, Det er jo det kunne man jo sagtens gøre.

00:19:28 - Speaker 2

Altså når politikerne netop er så velvillige til at stille op til alt muligt, så kunne man jo godt konfrontere dem med med de spørgsmål, som de ikke regner med. Man kunne stille sig op på vælger møderne som journalist og stille de spørgsmål, som politikerne normalt ikke har så meget lyst til at svare på i forhold til transparens. Så på den måde kunne man da sagtens lave noget på det, som ikke kræver ret meget. Hvad kan man sige journalistisk kraft? Eller altså hvis et medie beslutter sig, for vi vil gøre rigtig meget ud af den manglende åbenhed. Vi vil hver eneste gang vi møder en politiker, så vil vi spørge dem om, om de offentliggør deres personlige deres personlige valgkampsbudget, og når de så svarer "nej" til det de fleste, så ville vi spørge dem om Hvorfor de ikke vil offentliggøre deres personlige valgkampsbudget og regnskab.

00:20:15 - Speaker 2

Det kunne man jo sagtens, når man var færdig med at interviewe dem om det de velvilligt stillede op til, så kunne man jo sagtens spørge om det, så Det er ikke fordi det ville være umuligt, men... Men, men hvis man Sådan virkelig skal i dybden altså og og ligesom hvad kan man sige; skal Den åbenhed der ikke er, så er det jo som regel et kæmpestort stykke arbejde, med mindre at der der Der er en eller anden der der tipper en eller anden kilde weblager. Der har vi jo en sag jeg lige på vej ind i Århus her. Der har vi jo faktisk en sag i Aarhus Kommune, hvor politiet er gået ind og efterforsket en overtrædelse af partistøttereglerne. Og, og Det er jo så i øvrigt første gang, at vi ser Sådan en sag fordi, Ja, Det kan jeg så lige Det kan du så også lige få med i forhold til Vores manglende åbenhed ikke at en anden hovedpointe i forhold til manglende åbenhed er jo, at Der er ikke nogen kritisk revision af regnskaberne, altså de politiske partier afleverer bare deres regnskab, og så bliver det lagt ud på Folketingets hjemmeside, landsorganisationen parti regnskab, men Der er ikke statsrevisorerne går ikke ind og tjekke om det om Der er fiflet med regnskabet eller andre kritiske instanser, de lokale partiforeninger skal slet ikke fremlægge deres regnskaber. Det er der ikke noget krav om og Der er de skal bare underskrive en tro og love erklæring på, at de har brugt pengene Som de skulle, men Det er der heller aldrig nogensinde nogen Der er gået ind og tjekket - om de lokale partiforeninger bruger pengene,

som de skal. Det er derr aldrig lavet nogen kritisk revision i forhold til bortset lige fra den her sag i Århus, hvor Der er en whistleblower eller en kilde, der har tippet et medie om at DF i Århus ikke har overholdt reglerne. Reglerne siger, at man skal bruge penge år for år. Man må ikke spare op af partistøtten.

00:22:00 - Speaker 2

Og Der er så en kilde, der har tippet et lokalt medie om at DF i Århus de har, De har ikke brugt pengene de har sparet op af partistøttemidlerne. Og da det kommer frem i medierne, så gik Århus Kommune, som er dem De afleverer blanketten til, Så gik de så ind og sagde også helt helt sædvanligt gik de så ind og sagde, at "vi vil gerne se dokumentation for, at i har brugt pengene, som I skal" og og og så fifler de rent faktisk med med Hvad hedder det bilagene og prøver at snyde sig til eller snyde sig frem til at de har overholdt reglerne. Og det bliver de så taget i, og det bliver også, Det bliver også beskrevet i medierne, hvordan de har fiflet med med bilagene for at få det til at se ud som om de overholder reglerne. Det kommer også i medierne, og så går politiet af egen drift ind og starter den efterforskning. Og hvordan er det nu?

00:22:53 - Speaker 2

De har vel de har vel lavet en sigtelse, men der har ikke været en retssag endnu. DR siger og skriver. "Det eneste eksempel ever på, at Der er nogen, Der er gået kritisk til, om parterne overholder reglerne." Hvis du sidder og tænker Morten Messerschmidt, så er det jo noget andet, fordi Det er jo EU-midler. Så så Det er jo en helt anden boldgade. En helt anden snak i det her eksempel fra Århus. Det er første og eneste gang at.

00:23:20 - Speaker 2

At at Der er et parti, Der er bliver undersøgt i forhold til, om de har brudt reglerne. Og Det er kun fordi at Der er den her whistleblower. Så så det viser noget om også, altså journalistisk hvor svært Det er ikke - at man har ligesom brug for den der interne kilde der afslører et eller andet for en, at man for alvor kan vise at reglerne bliver brudt.

00:23:48 - Speaker 1

Det gav god mening. Tak skal du have. Det var faktisk det jeg havde medmindre der er noget du kunne tænke dig at uddybe eller en pointe du mangler at sende afsted.

00:24:00 - Speaker 2

Måske prøve at tænke i forhold til medierne. Nej altså hvis jeg skulle altså hvis man skulle tage hvis man altså hvilken krøllen på det sidste har jeg siger omkring Aarhus ikke? Det er det. Det er usædvanligt ved den historie, Der er i Århus. Er Sådan set også, at Det er et lokalt medie, som har gravet de her ting frem.

00:24:24 - Speaker 2

Altså man må sige bredt, og - Det kan du måske også faktisk se i din egen - Nu er det selvfølgelig også folketingsvalg, så er det ikke så mærkeligt, men Jeg tror også hvis du undersøgte det udenfor folketingsvalg, så er jeg ret sikker på, du finder et mønster der hedder, at langt de fleste historier, Der er lavet om altså kritiske historier om åbenhed om partistøtte, de lavede landsdækkende medier. Og Det er jo helt usædvanligt i sagen her i Århus, hvor Det er et lokalt medie og ovenikøbet er Sådan et lillebitte lokalt medie der har - Der er blevet tippet om den her sag ikke også... så så det jeg egentlig vil frem til at sige Det er, at Der er særlig stor bevågenhed om og mediedækning af landspolitikere og og. Og og og

i de landsdækkende medier af det her emnefelt, men Der er ingen tvivl om, at der gemmer sig mindst lige så meget om ikke endnu mere ude lokalt og regionalt. Men Der er det bare endnu sværere at trænge ned i. Altså blandt andet fordi man ikke engang har adgang til nogle partiregnskaber, fordi så bliver ikke offentliggjort. Det er ikke et krav om, at de skal offentliggøres lokalt. Det er kun landsorganisationer, som skal offentliggøre. Det er ikke det lokale partiforening, der skal offentliggøre deres regnskaber, men det også sammen med lokale regionale medier. Der er Sempelthen ikke så mange kræfter.

00:25:33 - Speaker 2

Altså nogle af de helt store sager, Der er kommet frem her i forhold til støtte, Det er jo gravergrupperne, for eksempel på Berlingske, som har og vel også på Politiken, altså de egentlig gravergrupper, så har gravet sig ned i det her felt, ikke? Og det når man sige, når Det er Sådan nogle folk, der gør det, så er det jo også et signal om, at det her, Det er svært, at Det er ikke noget, som den almindelige journalist lige kan kaste sig over, med mindre man laver Sådan et, synes jeg meget fint stunt, som de gjorde der med...Altså under valgkampen, hvor de får politikere til at rådgive om, hvordan man kan omgå reglerne eller partifolk til at rådgive om, hvordan man kan omgå reglerne ikke. Men ellers så kræver det altså virkelig noget journalistisk saft og kraft, og derfor Det er tit Det er de, der gravergrupper, som som er dem, der har lavet det. Men, men min min hovedpointe er egentlig den der med Der er et kæmpe...

00:26:25 - Speaker 2

Hvad hedder det skyggeområde gråzoneområde ude Lokalt og regionalt. Her tænker jeg ikke bare kommunalvalg og regionalvalg. Det er selvfølgelig noget i sig selv, men jeg tænker også, at alle folketingsmedlemmer er jo opstillet i en valgkreds og bliver valgt ude i en valgkreds og føre deres valgkamp ude i en valgkreds. Så så så selv under folketingsvalget er det lokale jo enormt vigtigt for politikerne, og Det er også der, de samler penge ind, og Det er der, de bruger deres penge. Så så så på en eller anden måde kan man sige i alt det her mørke felt eller gråzonefelt, som vi snakker om her Da er det allermest skjulte, Det er Sådan set det, der foregår lokalt, så så så Der er uden tvivl rigtig rigtig mange ting der som kunne kunne fortjene at blive gravet frem.

00:27:13 - Speaker 1

Tusinde tak skal du have. Det var et godt interview. Jeg synes vi kom rigtig godt rundt, og jeg sender dig efter noget tid af denne her tillids erklæring. Og så skal du bare have tusinde Tak fordi du ville medvirke.

00:27:27 - Speaker 2

Ja, og så vil jeg bare sige noget, men det jeg skrev til dig på mail men men når du engang er færdig må du meget gerne sende det, ikke, for jeg skal tjekke hvad du citerer mig for mere hvad du får at se hvad du har fået andre til at sige og også hvad hvad du i øvrigt hvad hedder det skriver det jeg godt tænke mig at se så du må meget gerne sende opgaven en gang når den når du er færdig med.

00:27:44 - Speaker 1

Det kan du tro. Det bliver nok først en gang i august, men det skal jeg gøre.

00:27:48 - Speaker 2

Jeg har god tid.

00:27:50 - **Speaker 1**

Tak skal du have. Hav en god dag, hej.

00:27:54 - **Speaker 2**

Hej.

English translated version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Roger Buch

00:00:00 - **Speaker 1**

Recording.

00:00:02 - **Speaker 2**

Yes, it is.

00:00:02 - **Speaker 1**

Well, here's the thing, I'm writing my thesis on the party support rules in Denmark in connection with the controversies surrounding it, but in particular with a focus on the coverage that has been given to what I call the lack of transparency in Danish politics in connection with these secretive donations to political parties. And how they have been covered during the election campaigns of the last three years in particular, and how it can be... So I'm just going to ask the question that I've asked some of the others I've tried to contact, and then you can answer the things that you find relevant in connection with your background.

00:00:49 - **Speaker 1**

I thought so, so I would like to start by asking how big a problem is the lack of transparency with these money flows to the political parties and politicians?

00:01:03 - **Speaker 2**

Well, the tragicomic answer is that we don't know, because it may not be a problem, but we don't know because the openness doesn't work, it may also be that it's a huge problem, but we don't know because the openness doesn't work, so you could say what the openness rules are really about, so in the worst case scenario, whether the politicians are in the pockets of people or companies or something else.

00:01:35 - **Speaker 2**

We don't know anything about the worst case scenario if it is actually something that takes place, but it means, but if we just raise it to another level and say, well, "what does it mean in relation to our democracy?" And then it's a huge problem, because that's kind of why we have - it's because we want openness in order to have a strong democracy that we have made these openness rules, and we can at least conclude that we won't get that with the hole in the rules that we have. And that is also what we have been criticized for.

00:02:14 - **Speaker 2**

by, among others, GRECO, the Council of Europe's anti-corruption unit. It is also international organizations such as Transparency International, which criticized Denmark for not living up to democratic standards and, and that is, you could say. It is certainly a problem that we do not live up to a democratic standard, and as I have expressed it a few times to the media: It is a problem, but it is a problem. It is a problem, but it is also rather embarrassing for Denmark, which normally travels around the world and.

00:02:51 - **Speaker 2**

And prides itself on being a strong democracy and lectures other countries on how to make democracy. It is, for example, built into our foreign aid, that we make democratic demands when we support developing countries with money, so it is linked to that. Some requirements that are also about democracy, so we are like that, missionizing it in democracy.

00:03:17 - **Speaker 2**

But we don't really have order at home.

00:03:23 - **Speaker 1**

But what does that mean for democracy in Denmark? That we have these flows of money to the political parties without us knowing about them.

00:03:31 - **Speaker 2**

Well, well, well."that is, for certain political positions or in the pockets of economic stakeholders. And we have actually just had an example demonstrated here in recent days with Simon Emil Ammitzbøll's new book, where he describes how one of the main sponsors of the New Alliance and later the Liberal Alliance, Saxo Bank's CEO.

00:04:18 - **Speaker 2**

That meetings with him could have a decisive impact on what the Liberal Alliance did. But that is not proof that you can say It could also just be because he was sensible and he said some wise things and he made them think, so it is not certain that it was because of the money or the fear of a flow of money that could stop. But it's just a really good example of the fact that people who give a lot of money to the parties probably get a responsiveness, which we would normally consider to be contrary to democracy - that it's money that gives responsiveness. We also have some other examples of this, i.e. when you can get exclusive access to ministers in Denmark through business networks and money clubs. The Moderates, for example, have also created such a network, now where for 20,000 kroner a year you can buy access to a meeting with ministers and both hear what the ministers say but also buy access to the minister's ear.

00:05:31 - **Speaker 2**

So.So.So.So.So.This is certainly one of the things that happens in our democracy and where we.So the best way to really illustrate the problem. It is, in a way, again the point about other countries when Denmark.When we see something like this in other countries.

00:05:51 - **Speaker 2**

So then they are generally critical of it.But when it happens in our own country, our politicians are apparently completely relaxed in relation to the fact that it is not a problem.When it happens in Denmark.

00:06:08 - **Speaker 1**

How is it then that the party support rules are different in Denmark than in our closest neighboring countries?

00:06:14 - **Speaker 2**

Well, it is in fact also puzzling. Well, that's what I said before about the embarrassing thing. It is very, very incomprehensible that Danish politicians do not want to live up to the standards seen in many other countries, so I have to say that I can only answer that it is incomprehensible. On the other hand, on the other hand, it is neither understandable nor strange that political parties as legislators make some very low standards.

00:06:44 - **Speaker 2**

What is it called...Favorable rules for themselves. In reality, if you think about it, you might not think logically that, It is strange that if you make the rules for yourself, then you could well think of making some lenient rules. So I think if it is SU students in Denmark, or if the SU students in Denmark determined the SUs size, then it would probably be larger, and if Danish industry wrote the tax rules for companies, then they would probably be more lenient, so in that way, purely logically, there is nothing strange in making favorable rules for themselves.

00:07:21 - **Speaker 2**

But having said that, back to the start, so you still have to wonder that Danish politicians do not live up to it - the standards they see in other countries, and that Danish politicians will expose themselves to being criticized in front of anti-corruption units of transparency interest organizations and should be criticized for the fact that we simply do not have any rules that live up to standard, and we will be criticized for that again in a moment. So what is it called OECE has had election observers in Denmark here during the parliamentary elections, and they have given an interview in connection with the fact that they were in Denmark, where, as far as I remember, they also said that "It was one of the things they looked at," and I have spoken to them myself, and they have actually promised their report, which came out about 2 months after the election, so it's like that now. You could possibly try to push that to them and see if there's anything in the pipeline.

00:08:17 - **Speaker 2**

Because we will once again be criticized for the fact that our rules do not create transparency.

00:08:27 - **Speaker 1**

I will look into that. Thank you for your answer. Now I would like to talk a little bit about journalists in the context of this lack of transparency. Because what is the role of journalists in connection with -Yes, but we can probably call this problem the lack of transparency... What should they do here?

00:08:46 - **Speaker 2**

Well, that's what they do. It is in fact such a classic classic journalistic way, so all the way back to the big scandals, the biggest, perhaps you could say mythologically biggest scandal globally was the Watergate case. Where out of the Watergate case has come a saying that now I have to think about I have written an article once example do not remember it, but if I do not remember very wrong, it is actually in fact a phrase that comes out of a film adaptation, ie a Hollywood film adaptation of the Watergate scandal, because I do not actually think It is an actual quote from some of the journalists involved at the time, but until the phrase. It's the phrase "follow the money," which is kind of related to watergate.

00:09:37 - **Speaker 2**

Scandals where the point is that that was the smoking gun that proved that illegal methods were used by the Republicans in watergate. The scandal: It was the money, that you could follow a money trail and reveal that those who were doing burglaries and other illegal things were using some money that was donated by - well exactly donated by someone who wants to support the Republican party, where they were so -When you think about it, they were so incredibly stupid that they passed these checks, as I remember it, the donor gave such a check to the Republican party and then they used the checks to finance illegalities, so it was not very ingenious to say the least, but but but but But that's what they do here, the Danish journalists It's "follow the money" and it's really like that. As I said before, it's mythological in journalism. The watergate scandal, so it's probably also what lies consciously or unconsciously when journalists throw themselves into this topic, so I think it's a turning driver, which in reality comes from the statistics themselves. But, but there is clearly also something here that is about what we have just talked about. Politicians who, to put it bluntly, are double-minded, i.e. politicians who are very zealous about social clients having to meet a lot of requirements in order to receive social benefits. Politicians who are concerned about corporate cheating, tax cheating or environmental cheating, or whatever it may be, that we must crack down hard on these politicians who are zealous in many areas.

00:11:18 - **Speaker 2**

Are they so when it comes to themselves and the rules that apply to themselves and their parties, they are not very zealous. I think that double standards, I think that's actually one of the things that triggers many journalists when they get involved in this. And then you could say the third point, or maybe it should really be the first or second point - it should probably be the first point. It is, of course, that there may be a case here of breaking the rules, i.e. well and illegally. And catching a politician doing something illegal. Obviously, it's something that can tempt any journalist, because it's the politicians who make the rules. If they themselves break it, then it's a particularly interesting story, so I think that's one of the drivers that make this such an interesting field for journalists or for some journalists to get involved in.

00:12:10 - **Speaker 1**

Yes, how important is it to cover a topic like this during an election campaign?

00:12:19 - **Speaker 2**

I don't know if it's particularly important in an election campaign. I think it's essential in any case if politicians don't respect the law, if politicians don't live up to international democratic standards. If politicians have double standards. I think that is definitely something that is relevant election campaign or not, so I may not think that it is particularly relevant during the election campaign, but there is a, you could say a topicality element in it, because it is in the election campaign You get a lot of money one of the. This is one of the things we can draw from the openness rules in Denmark. If we go in and look at the party accounts, we can see that the years when they get.

00:13:01 - **Speaker 2**

Or excuse me, the years when there are election campaigns, the parties get extra money from private donors, so you could say that. That makes the topic in that way, that way around, particularly interesting during the election campaign. But anyway, but I really think that it is basically just as relevant outside the election campaign season.

00:13:26 - **Speaker 1**

Where can you see these figures, I ask stupidly?

00:13:30 - **Speaker 2**

Yes, you can do that on the Parliament's website. There you can find the party accounts, they are published once a year, but there you can get another little twist on this with the favorable rules, i.e. Maersk's accounts for 2022. It has just come out, hasn't it - with their record-breaking profits, and I think the company rules say that as a limited company you have to publish your accounts within six months. Now Maersk has done this in a couple of months and come out with these absurd profits, so they have spent a couple of months here preparing their accounts in the billion-dollar Maersk Group, which has a turnover of 500 billion, in the small companies and the parties, which have a turnover of a few million and some small double-digit amounts. If we talk about the big parties, they have given themselves a year to make annual accounts, so that is, if you are interested in last year's election, you have to wait until January, February 23 for the accounts to be published on the parliament's website, so it's another microscopic, if in reality almost ridiculous example of how favorable rules they make for themselves, that they get a whole year to get a handle on the money, where Maersk according to the rules has half a year and in reality can do it in a few months.

00:14:59 - **Speaker 1**

Thank you very much. I have in my research

00:15:03 - **Speaker 1**

tried to do some counts in Infomedia and Google with some keywords of web articles related to how much this lack of transparency has been covered in election periods versus other topics. Perhaps not surprisingly, there have been significantly more articles on health and integration, and tax. But I have also looked at some of the other elections. Let's start with the one in 2022 to take the World Cup in Qatar, despite the fact that it had already started. There

were 90 articles from the 7 largest media, there were 90 articles about Søren Pape and then there were 19 articles about the lack of transparency in the 2019 election, there was an article from Jyllands Posten about the flow of money during the election campaign period.

00:15:49 - **Speaker 1**

And 170 articles on Rasmus Paludan's Stram Kurs, which are of course different topics, but how is it that the coverage is so different?

00:16:01 - **Speaker 2**

Well, that means in reality, because now I started with those who talked about the drivers that make journalists think it's interesting. Isn't it? But there are certainly also some braking blocks in relation to journalists dealing with this material, and that is that it's difficult, so we have some holey rules that the parties can, if they want to cheat grossly, and if they don't want to cheat, they can circumvent them. So if they don't want to break the rules, they can get around the rules.

00:16:33 - **Speaker 2**

And we have terrible transparency. We have very, very little openness, and that's what makes it really, really difficult to work with journalistically, and that's why you have to have some whistleblowers and some sources who might tell something about what's happening in a party. Or as the Frihedsbrevet did it here. What is it called... in connection with the 22 election. So you make a trap, you lure the parties into a trap, so this failed financier like or businessman like and and and previously convicted businessman, who you get to call around and offer the parties and then say that he wants to remain anonymous, even if he wants to give 50,000. And then there are some of the parties and some politicians who would like to advise him on how we can get around the rules.

00:17:23 - **Speaker 2**

And so it requires like you do something like that or you have some whistleblowers and some sources that allow you to pull down this not also so It's a difficult area to penetrate journalistically and I think that's one of the main reasons why there is not more- So more journalism is being done on it and then you can say during an election campaign there you can ... There is. So that's also the thing about an election campaign. That's where it rolls. The news rolls very, very fast. There is pressure. There are many stories that kind of press on and the parties and suddenly the politicians are available to talk to.

00:18:01 - **Speaker 2**

Where the leading politicians, ministers, and all that sort of thing, who are often really, really difficult to get to talk to - you can suddenly get to talk to them, and the election campaign is not so, so there is a rush and something like this Such a topic like this. It is often something that requires a long and thorough work, and to be able to get something dug out therefore I do not think that we usually see so much, see so much during the election campaign.

00:18:27 - **Speaker 1**

Then it is simply because it is difficult to get information and there is a lack of transparency on the part of the government. And that's why there are fewer articles about it. During the election campaign, is that one of the explanations?

00:18:39 - **Speaker 2**

Yes, but but but but but but you could do some journalism without actually doing any research and coming up with new revelations and setting traps for the politicians. They hold press conferences. We saw a pretty good example in relation to the mythological press conference about the PET case, where there are so many journalists who had decided that they would not be used by all the Liberals and Conservatives in their spin against the Prime Minister and the government, so they used the press conference to go into the Sam-sam case. And what can you say? And didn't the press conference hijack the press conference, and you say that, that's what you could easily do.

00:19:28 - **Speaker 2**

Well, when politicians are so willing to stand up for everything, you could confront them with questions that they do not expect. You could stand up at the electoral meetings as a journalist and ask the questions that politicians usually don't want to answer in relation to transparency. So in that way, you could easily do something about it that doesn't require much. What can you say about journalistic power? Or if a media outlet decides, because we will make a big deal of the lack of openness. Every time we meet a politician, we will ask them if they publish their personal election campaign budget, and when they answer "no" to most of them, we would ask them why they do not want to publish their personal election campaign budget and accounts.

00:20:15 - **Speaker 2**

You could easily, when you had finished interviewing them about what they willingly volunteered for, you could easily ask about it, so it's not that it would be impossible, but ... But, but if you really have to go in-depth and like what can you say; the openness that is not there, it is usually a huge job, unless there is someone who tips some source web storage. We have a case just about to go into Aarhus here. We actually have a case in Aarhus Municipality, where the police have investigated a violation of the party support rules. And, and this is the first time that we have seen such a case because, Yes, I can also bring this up in relation to our lack of openness, not that another main point in relation to lack of openness is that there is no critical audit of the accounts, so the political parties just submit their accounts, and then it is posted on the Parliament's website, the national organization party accounts, but there is not the state auditors do not go in and check whether the accounts have been tampered with or other critical bodies, the local party associations do not have to present their accounts at all. There is no requirement to do so, and they just have to sign a solemn declaration that they have spent the money as they should, but no one has ever gone in and checked whether the local party associations are spending the money as they should. No critical audit has ever been made in relation to this, except for this case in Aarhus, where a whistleblower or a source has tipped off the media that Dansk Folkeparti in Aarhus has not complied with the rules. The rules say that you have to spend money year by year. You are not allowed to save money from the party subsidy.

00:22:00 - **Speaker 2**

And there is a source who has tipped off a local media that DF in Aarhus they have, they have not spent the money they have saved from the party subsidy funds. And when it comes out in the media, then went Aarhus Municipality, which is the ones they hand the form to, Then they then went in and said also quite usual, they then went in and said that "we would

like to see documentation that you have spent the money as you should" and and and then they actually tamper with What is it called the vouchers and try to cheat themselves or cheat themselves to the fact that they have complied with the rules. And they are then caught, and it is also described in the media how they have fiddled with the vouchers to make it look as if they are complying with the rules. It also appears in the media, and then the police of their own accord go in and start the investigation. And how is it now?

00:22:53 - **Speaker 2**

Well, they've made a charge, but there hasn't been a trial yet. DR says and writes. "The only example ever that there is someone who has critically examined whether the parties comply with the rules." If you sit and think Morten Messerschmidt, then it's something else, because it's EU funds, so it's a completely different ball game. A completely different conversation in this example from Aarhus. It is the first and only time that.

00:23:20 - **Speaker 2**

The fact that there is a party that is being investigated in relation to whether they have broken the rules, and it's only because there is this whistleblower, so it shows something about how difficult it is not - that you kind of need that internal source that reveals something to you, that you can really show that the rules are being broken.

00:23:48 - **Speaker 1**

That made a lot of sense. Thank you, that's actually what I had, unless there's something you'd like to elaborate on or a point you need to make.

00:24:00 - **Speaker 2**

Maybe try to think in relation to the media.No, if I were to take if you were to take if you were to take if you were to take what curl on the last I have said about Aarhus, right? That's it. It is unusual about the story that is in Aarhus is that it is a local media that has unearthed these things.

00:24:24 - **Speaker 2**

So you have to say broadly, and - You can perhaps also actually see that in your own - Now, of course, it is also a parliamentary election, so it is not so strange, but I also think if you investigated it outside parliamentary elections, I'm pretty sure you'll find a pattern that says that the vast majority of stories that have been made about critical stories about openness about party funding, they made national media. And it is quite unusual in the case here in Aarhus, where it is a local media and even such a tiny local media that has been tipped off about this case... So what I really want to say is that there is a lot of attention and media coverage of national politicians and so on and so forth in the national media on this topic, but there is no doubt that there is at least as much if not even more hidden locally and regionally. But there it is just even more difficult to penetrate. Among other things, you don't even have access to some party accounts, because they are not published. There is no requirement for them to be published locally. It is only national organizations that have to publish. It's not the local party association that has to publish their accounts, but also together with local regional media. There is simply not that much power.

00:25:33 - **Speaker 2**

So some of the big cases that have come to light here in relation to support, it's the digging groups, for example at Berlingske, which has and probably also at Politiken, so the actual digging groups have dug themselves into this field, right? And when you say that, when it's people like that who do it, it's also a signal that this is difficult, that it's not something that the ordinary journalist can just throw himself into, unless you make such a, I think very nice stunt, as they did there with ... So during the election campaign, where they get politicians to advise on how to circumvent the rules or party people to advise on how to circumvent the rules. But otherwise, it really requires some journalistic juice and power, and therefore it is often the digging groups that are the ones who have made it. But, but my main point is really the one with There is a huge ...

00:26:25 - **Speaker 2**

What is that shadow area called gray zone area out local and regional. I'm not just talking about local and regional elections. That is of course something in itself, but I also think that all members of parliament are nominated in a constituency and are elected in a constituency and conduct their election campaign in a constituency. So even during the parliamentary elections, the local level is hugely important for politicians, and that's also where they raise money, and that's where they spend their money. So in a way, you could say that in all this dark field or gray area field that we're talking about here That's the most hidden, that's basically what goes on locally, so there are undoubtedly many, many things that could deserve to be unearthed.

00:27:13 - **Speaker 1**

Thank you very much, it was a good interview. I think we got around really well, and I'll send you this letter of confidence after a while, and thank you very much for participating.

00:27:27 - **Speaker 2**

Yes, and then I just want to say something, but what I wrote to you by email, but once you're finished you can send it, right, because I have to check what you quote me for more what you get to see what you've got others to say and also what you also what is it called what it writes what I would like to see so you can send the task once when you're done with it.

00:27:44 - **Speaker 1**

That is a deal. It will probably be sometime in August, but I'll do that.

00:27:48 - **Speaker 2**

I have plenty of time.

00:27:50 - **Speaker 1**

Thank you very much, thank you. Have a good day, bye.

00:27:54 - **Speaker 2**

Bye bye - bye bye

Appendix 3 - By August Merved

This appendix contains all the transcription files in one document. All interviews have been done in Danish and then translated, by the thesis author, into English, with the help of the translation service Deepl, and then proofread by the author - who is a native Danish speaker. For the sake of transparency, the original Danish transcription is included, so the reader can be sure that the translation is as close to the real statement as possible. The time codes are taken from the original recordings of the interview for clarification.

The respondents have all been provided an alias for the sake of privacy and security, but their identity is known by the thesis author. All respondents have read and agreed to a data consent form which can be shown by request by the thesis author.

Appendix 3 - By August Merved	1
Journalist A, DR. Date of interview, 05-05-2023. Conducted via Facebook Messenger.	2
Danish original version:	2
English translated version:	9
Journalist B, BT. Date of interview, 20-04-2023. Conducted via Zoom.	15
Danish original version:	15
English translated version:	20
Journalist C, Politiken. Date of interview, 24-03-2023. Conducted via Zoom	25
Danish original version:	25
English translated version:	32
Journalist D, TV2. Date of interview, 21-04-2023. Conducted via Facebook Messenger.	40
Danish original version:	40
English translated version:	42
Journalist E, DR. Date of interview, 08-05-2023. Conducted via Zoom.	45
Danish original version:	45
English translated version:	48
Journalist F, Ekstra Bladet. Date of interview, 27-04-2023. Conducted via Zoom.	50
Danish original version:	51
English translated version:	54
Journalist G, Berlingske. Date of interview, 19-05-2023. Conducted via Google Meet.	57
Danish original version:	57
English translated version:	61
Journalist H, Berlingske. Date of interview, 04-05-2023. Conducted via Facebook WhatsApp	65
Danish original version:	65
English translated version:	70

**Journalist A, DR. Date of interview, 05-05-2023.
Conducted via Facebook Messenger.**

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist A

Danish original version:

Speaker1: [00:00:00] Jamen så starter jeg med optagelsen, og det ser ud som om den går igennem. Så laver vi lige en back-up optagelse ligeså. Okay. Ja, jeg kunne godt tænke mig at starte med at spørge dig, hvordan du synes dækningen af sådan noget som partistøtte er i medierne bare sådan generelt?

Speaker2: [00:00:21] Ja, altså den, den er jo ikke fraværende. Men typisk kræver det personsager. Typisk kan skal man afdække, at en person har fået for meget. Det er nogle helt vanvittige indviklede regler, jo, på mange måder. Umiddelbart er de meget simple, men man kan relativt let omgå nogle af reglerne med donorer. Altså flere donorer giver det 22.000 eller 19.000 - eller den samme gør i princippet fem gange eller et eller andet. Det er nogle meget indviklede regler, og det er typisk personsager, altså er det noget der en art af graverjournalistik eller i hvert fald mere avanceret end nyhedsjournalistik, som der skal til for at dække det, synes jeg. Det er ikke noget, jeg syntes jeg selv-- jeg kan være i hvert fald ikke huske det, men jeg har også lavet så meget lort. Jeg mener ikke noget nødvendigvis selv jeg på eget initiativ har fundet eller gravet sådan historie frem. Det kan være jeg tager fejl. Det kan være jeg har haft gjort noget med nogle kollegaer, men jeg har hvert fald ikke beskæftiget mig med det, udover at citere andre folks historier, tror jeg. Og jeg er faktisk heller ikke helt sikker på, jeg finder ud af, hvordan jeg skulle gøre det. Eller har tålmodighed til at det nødvendigvis. Jeg synes, de dukker op, og det gør de jo ikke tilfældigt, syntes jeg i virkeligheden. Det er klart, at Frihedsbrevet lavet måske valgkampens bedste historie overhovedet totalt set med deres Champagnedrengen, som ja, som blev brugt lidt som muldvarp for at lokke nogen i fælden. Og det var jo et fantastisk- en fantastisk tabloid historie - kanon historie. Men det viste også at man tog nogle lidt specielle værktøjer i brug for at og lave den historie. Det var et langt svar. Undskyld.

Speaker1: [00:02:11] Jeg vil enormt gerne have lange svar, så det skal du slet ikke beklage. Men jeg kunne faktisk godt tænke mig at høre, ud fra et journalistisk perspektiv, er det så en interessant historie at dække - også for Danmarks Radio?

Speaker2: [00:02:25] For Danmarks Radio er det mindre interessant, end det er for Frihedsbrevet eller for Ekstrabladet eller for BT. Det vil jeg sige. Omfanget af det som Frihedsbrevet de afdækkede, det kunne jeg godt tænke mig at vide. Det tror jeg også godt, Danmarks Radio ville lave, men for Danmarks Radio vil det ikke være noget at v sad og sagde "det skal vi gå efter." Vi har lige haft seminarer på vores redaktion i går, og da kan jeg love dig for, at det ikke var, altså, det var ikke en af boblerne for, hvad vi skal lave i vores semi-gravergruppe på vores Christiansborgredaktion. Det er ikke partistøtte eller hvad hedder det?- Støtten af de enkelte kandidater eller partistøtte på den måde. Og nej, du snakker- snakker du om partistøtte eller valgstøtte, altså kandidatstøtte. Undskyld det er mig, der fabler rundt her.

Speaker1: [00:03:13] Det er det helt okay. Det er lidt en blanding af det hele, men jeg kunne godt tænke mig at høre hvorfor synes du eller- hvorfor- Hvorfor siger du, at det ikke kunne være en interessant historie for DR kontra de andre medier for eksempel?

Speaker2: [00:03:24] Jamen fordi-- Fordi hvis jeg snakker om kandidatstøtte, altså støtte til en enkelt kandidat op til en valgkamp for eksempel, så handler det meget om personsager. Det er ikke et bredt... Altså det er ikke en stor bred historie. Hvis man skal lave det, så skal man have rigtig mange eksempler, ligesom Frihedsbrevet gjorde. Danmarks Radio vil aldrig lave den på den måde, hvor man havde sådan en art lokkedue som Mads Dinesen til at lave det. Altså det ville simpelthen aldrig blive accepteret af cheferne derude eller DR-jura for den sags skyld. Vi ville godt-- Jeg tror godt vi kunne have tænkt os at have lavet og have summen af det, men det er ikke noget vi vil gå efter på den måde. Men snakker vi om partistøtte og pensionsordninger og sådan noget til, altså fra Folketinget og skatteyderne til partierne, så er det jo noget, vi beskæftiger os rigtig meget med, fordi det er bredere. Vi kigger mere på, hvordan partierne giver sig selv penge og bedre vilkår end befolkningen. Vi når i tider, hvor man skærer ned på tilbagetrækningsreformen eller laver tilbagetrækningsreformen, eller skærer i, hvor tidlig man kan kunne fra arbejde, så er det interessant, at partierne de... Deres partikasse bugner, og man kan gå på... Man kan blive sygemeldt med stress og uden lægeerklæring og få fuld løn. De får en vanvittig pension, og generelt flyder det ret meget med penge på Christiansborg. Og den forskel på folketingsmedlemmer, partier og den almindelige befolkning er interessant også for Danmarks Radio. Enkelte historier om hvad folk har fået i støtte op til valgkampe, kampagnestøtte og at de givetvis har snydt med det, det er jo historie, men det er ikke klassisk Danmarks Radio historie, fordi det er personsager, som har et tabloid snit, som ikke er det, vi bruger vores primære kræfter på i Danmarks Radio. Jeg synes, det er skønne historier. Det er slet ikke det, men...

Speaker1: [00:05:15] Tak skal du have.

Speaker1: [00:05:18] Du nævnte tidligere, at det var en svær historie at dække og i forhold til til graverjournalistik. Kan jeg få dig til at dykke lidt ned i det - hvad er det, der gør det svært at lave sådan en historie versus noget mere lettilgængeligt?

Speaker2: [00:05:33] Ja, altså, man er nødt til at have et eller andet sammenligningsgrundlag. Du sammenligner med- altså de mange, mange historier om Søren Pape Poulsen i forbindelse med valgkampen. Det var jo også graverjournalistik, der fik det frem. Og igen også tabloid graverjournalistik, hvor man var taget til Caribien eller fundet ud af, at nogle gamle udsagn i virkeligheden ikke passede sammen, og at manden han måske løj. Det er fuldstændig grundlæggende graverjournalistik og igen heller ikke noget, som vi i Danmarks Radio nok vil lave, tror jeg. Men hvis vi skal blive ved partistøtten og sådan noget, så kræver det jo, at man får aktindsigt, og at man læser økonomi fra

partierne også lokalafdelinger. Man fokuserer på et budget for en enkelt politiker- eller et partis valgkampagne og den historie-- Jeg synes den maximale historie man får ud af det... Det syntes jeg har, vist sig de seneste mange år at være en historie, hvor nogen måske har snydt eller måske har forsøgt at omgå reglerne. Man sætter en politiker i et lidt dårligt lys eller et helt dårligt lys, men uden at de sådan på den måde har gjort i nældeerne. Og jeg er ikke helt sikker på, at jeg kan se det store perspektiv i historien, ud over at man sætter én i et dårligt lys. Men det kræver ret meget tid at skulle sætte sig ind i de regnskaber. Dels. Og jeg synes ikke, at... Dert arbejde, der skal gøres for at gøre det, retfærdiggør- nødvendigvis retfærdiggør historien man ender ud med. Man skal altså meget med at tage en eller anden chance. Det Frihedsbrevet lykkedes med det var, at de fik en bred palette af politikere fra alle mulige partier til at hoppe i en fælde og dermed gjorde mængden af det

Speaker2: [00:07:14] en kanon historie midt i en valgkamp, hvor man kunne sige "Okay, de er presset, de gør alt hvad de kan for at få så mange penge i kassen som overhovedet muligt, så de bliver valgt." Jeg synes det har været en rigtig god historie, men det var stadig ikke én, hvor der er det helt store perspektiv i, og det har krævet enormt arbejde fra mange journalister, inklusive en muldvarp. Den er svær, fordi... Lad os tage Søren Pape, så snart at et par medier havde fået dokumenteret, at der var bare nogle usandheder, der ikke hang sammen, så kunne vi selv i Danmarks Radio på dagen, på få timer gå ind i vores mediearkiv, finde ud af, hvad han havde--, hvad han har sagt hvornår om jøder, eller at, hans mand var jøde, for eksempel. Hvordan han havde præsenteret ham om hvad han havde lavet i sin fortid, Joshua dér. Og så var det altså også det faktum, at Søren Pape Poulsen lige pludselig stod til at sådan noget knapt 20% i meningsmålingerne, lige inden vi skulle til et valg og havde erklæret sig som statsministerkandidat med et politisk program, som var uhørt liberalt konservativt i forhold til, hvad man har set fra en statsministerkandidat i mange år. Det var, syntes jeg, dels en meget, meget vigtigere historie. En større historie. Egentlig ikke principperne i sig selv omkring, hvad Joshua skulle have gjort, eller hvad han ikke havde gjort. Men det, at vi har en statsministerkandidat, der simpelthen har rod i sit bagland på flere måder.

Speaker2: [00:08:48] Det viste sig bare også at fortælle rigtig, rigtig meget for vælgerne eller nok til vælgerne om, at de flygtede fra ham. 3 ud af 4 stort set på en måned. Det er den største nedsmeltning, jeg nogensinde har set. Og så langt tid har jeg trods alt heller ikke været med. Jeg har været journalist i 8 år på Borgen og 10-15 år i alt. Men det var ret markant, så jeg synes-- hvis du forstår-- jeg skelner i de tilfælde både mod, hvad der er en vigtig historie set med mine øjne, og hvad der er så-- og også hvad det kræver. Det er simplere for os i Danmarks Radio at hoppe på en historie, hvor det er sådan, at det er helt tydeligt, at han har sagt noget forkert. Vi kan endda dokumentere det relativt let selv bare ved at gå tilbage i historien, så vi kan skrive dem. "Flere medier har skrevet det her." Det er der ikke nogen tvivl om. Vi kan selv understøtte det og fortælle, at statsministerkandidaten er i problemer. Så det er både lettere, men det er også en vigtigere historie. Den fra Frihedsbrevet. Den tror jeg aldrig nogensinde... Jeg ved ikke-- jeg kan sgu ikke huske om vi hoppede på den på den på en eller anden måde. Jeg vil tro DR har haft rigtig svært ved at

komme ind i den historie, fordi man har brugt en lokkedue. Ja. Jeg tror, jeg kom til at svare lidt i øst og vest. Sådan er det. Jeg er ikke noget særlig godt interviewoffer egentlig. Jeg er også træt. Jeg har været i Berlin siden klokken 5 i morges. Det er derfor.

Speaker1: [00:10:06] Jeg vil sige sådan her Andreas: det kunne være meget værre. Jeg synes, det er rigtig, rigtig fint. Det skal du slet ikke tænke på. Og ja, men lad os da bare tage den, fordi rørte lidt ved noget af det. Som jeg også har gjort ved de andre jeg har interviewet, har jeg præsenteret dem for nogle tal, jeg har lavet i mine undersøgelser, som jeg også godt kunne tænke mig at høre et journalistisk perspektiv på fra de seneste to valgkampe. Lad os starte med partistøtte, hvordan det blev dækket. Hvordan undersøgelserne er lavet, det kan jeg gå ind i efterfølgende, men, men-- Jeg fandt frem til, at partistøtten kun var dækket en enkelt gang under valgkampen i 2019. Altså én enkelt artikel fra Jyllands-Posten. Under den seneste valgkamp, selv med Frihedsbrevets afsløringer, der var det dækket 18 gangen af de syv største danske medier. Søren Pape han var oppe på 90 artikler. VM; i Qatar, der ikke engang var startet endnu, altså ikke det sportslige, ikke sportsnyheder, men det politiske spil omkring Qatar havde 170 artikler, og i 2019 var Rasmus Paludans sager, som der også var mange af og på nogenlunde det samme antal, altså over hundrede. Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at høre ud fra et journalistisk perspektiv, hvordan kan det være, at der er så stor forskel på den slags historier?

Speaker2: [00:11:13] Det er godt nok vanvittigt, var? Jeg tror-- det kan jeg simpelthen ikke... Det kan jeg jo ikke redegøre for. Jeg kan jo kun tro noget. Jeg har jo ikke lavet nogle undersøgelser. Jeg kan... Jeg dækkede begge valgkampe. Jeg synes i forhold til partistøtten, syntes jeg, at jeg har redegjort for det. Jeg vil helt klart hellere læse om VM i Qatar og Søren Pape, end jeg vil læse om partistøtte, næsten uanset hvad. 19 kan jeg huske, at Paludan han fyldte helt sindssygt meget, selvom vi i hvert fald i DR gjorde en dyd ud af, at der ligesom skulle være en historie. Han skulle ikke bare stå og brænde Koranen af. Han skulle lige komme med et eller andet der gav mening i en valgkontekst før vi dækkede det. Så tror jeg nok vi dækkede det rigtige. Eller det ved jeg ikke, han blev dækket ret massivt alligevel. Så jeg tror helt klart vi også er skyldige i det der. Men ham ville jeg også hellere læse om end jeg ville læse om partistøtte, tror jeg. Fordi han var så vanvittigt et fænomen. Og fælles for både Qatar og for Paludan var, at han jo er enorm-- Det har været til helt vildt debatskabende historier. Så rør vi noget grundlæggende i...Om ikke vælgere, så i hvert fald danskerne. Altså, Paludan splittede helt sindssygt, og politikerne tog Paludan op som et eksempel. Løkke som, hvad hedder det, Statsministerkandidat, gik jo direkte ud og ændrede sine prioriteter i, for hvem man gerne vil i regering med på grund af ikke mindst Paludan, også Pernille Vermund, og denne her splittelse, som han fik øje på i landet, eller det der kunne blive skabt af Paludan... Det var udlændingepolitik, det var dem og os, altså. Det indeholder bare så meget godt stof journalistisk, men det lyder til, at det kammede ret massivt over.

Speaker2: [00:12:49] VM i Qatar....Igen. Det fik også en helt sindssyg eksponering, fordi alle havde en holdning til det, og det var jo i virkeligheden også den store historie. Om det

var fordi Danmark var så pivelendige, at det handlede... Altså det var jo mere en slutrunde, der skulle glemmes og diskuteres i forhold til, hvilken rolle FIFA og fodboldspillere i verdenssamfundet end, hvad hedder det, om Simon Kjær han var god eller han ikke kunne spille fodbold. Så jeg tror journalistisk, at der har været så meget godt debatstof i de 2 nævnte historier, at de suverænt også fortjener en førsteplads i dækningen. Selv om jeg synes, det lyder sindssygt med Qatar i en valgkamp. Det kan også være, det er et udtryk for, at der er en anden god debathistorie. I DR har vi det være meget sådan, at det er valg, og det skal fylde 90%, men de sidste 10% det skal så være... Det er godt at have sådan en historie, som Qatar, hvor både... Vi har en stor sportsredaktion, der kan bidrage, og hvor debatprogrammer, som vi har en del af, kan bidrage. Og det er også ret lette historier altså at lave. Det er meningsdannere, der siger noget, de mener. Det er ikke noget, du skal faktatjek eller undersøge. Du kan i princippet kan du høre P1 Debat, som er linet op på en dag, og så kan du skrive to artikler ud fra, hvad folk måtte mene om VM i Qatar i den udsendelse. Og du kan klippe radioaviser på det. Og der er tydelige konflikter, det er jo bare et journalistisk kriterium, som vi altid har øjnene rettet mod.

Speaker1: [00:14:30] Tak. Jeg har to spørgsmål tilbage. Det første er, at jeg godt kunne tænke mig at høre dig, hvordan du ville kategorisere sådan noget som partistøttreregler eller omgåelse af partistøttreregler, eller i det hele taget... Ja, snyd med pengedonationer... Ville det være en politisk møgsag eller skandale ala det som vi så med Søren Pape eller Rasmus Paludan? Eller vil du tænke det som noget andet. Altså, ville du putte det i samme bås?

Speaker2: [00:14:58] Det havde også været en større historie, hvis det var Søren Pape, der havde snydt og det beviseligt kunne dokumenteres at han havde snydt. Det kan jeg sgu ikke engang huske, om han havde. Der var ligesom så meget andet med ham, og historien havde ligesom fat med ham og hans mand eller eksmand. Jeg er sgu ikke sikker på den rør så sindssygt

Speaker2: [00:15:17] mange mennesker, men omvendt så burde den jo også gøre det. Jeg tror simpelthen at det er teknisk svært og formidle, hvad det er de har gjort. Jeg har været her, som sagt, 8 år på Christiansborg, og jeg er faktisk ikke helt sikker på, at jeg kender reglerne ind til benet. Det er noget med at de maks må give eller få 20.000 kr. Pr... For den enkelte virksomhed eller en enkelt person. Så er de ikke offentlige. Og de gider ikke være offentlige, når de sidder ovre i DI og skal sprøjte penge i Radikales valgkamp for eksempel, for at være sikker på, at hvis de nu skulle ende i en regering, så har de noget at skulle have sagt. Og enkelte... altså, Lars Seier Christensen og sprøjter også mange penge i Liberal Alliance, sikkert. Men jeg er sgu ikke sikker på, at jeg kender de regler dér, så det er nok både fordi det er teknisk lidt svært både at formidle og også komme i besiddelse af, og dokumentere, og hvad er straffen. Det er jeg heller ikke sikker på jeg er helt 100 % skarp på. Og så det jeg sagde tidligere, det var det her med magthistorien... Jeg kan ikke huske der er.. Er der nogen, der er blevet fældet af-- Altså hende Mette Thiesen hun blev jo simpelthen taget med fingrene i kagedåsen og var meget interesseret i at gøre det på en lusket måde.

Det kan jeg huske, men det var jo ikke nødvendigvis noget, der gjorde det store udslag for hende, andet end hun så sådan lidt afklædt ud midt i en valgkamp.

Speaker2: [00:16:34] Og det var jo ikke heldigt. Men. Så er der måske heller ikke så meget mere i det. Der er ikke så meget dybde i den historie. Der er ikke så mange, der kan være uenige, i at det er eddermame dumt. Men jeg tror... At der er jo af og til snak om, at man skal ændre de der partistøtteregler, men i virkeligheden tror jeg ikke, at der er nogen af de politiske partier, der i virkeligheden har en stor interesse i det, fordi de små partier vil altid sige, dem der ikke får så mange penge i støtte af de store organisationer, de vil altid sige, at "der skal være fuld åbenhed omkring det." De får alligevel ikke ret mange, og de store partier, de får så mange penge, at de synes, at det er godt, at det kan være lukket. At de måske sådan lidt let kan omgå reglerne, uden at det bliver opdaget og, at det egentlig har nogle konsekvenser. Jeg tror der, at de der magtpartier, de har jo bare ikke nogen interesse i at ændre det for alvor. Det er sådan noget de kan sige i en valgkamp "Jamen, den kan også ske, at vi skal se på det," og så ser de måske på det, men så gør de ikke mere ved det. Jeg tror faktisk måske snart, at det skal på eller for... I folketinget og diskuteres. Men ja, det er ikke noget-- min radar den er den fuldstændig. Jeg ved sgu ikke, hvorfor jeg ikke synes den er så fed. Og undskyld.

Speaker1: [00:17:47] Det helt fint. Det er også din ærlige mening, jeg gerne vil have. Ja, og du må også meget gerne tale ud fra DR's perspektiv, hvis det passer dig bedst, lige med det sidste spørgsmål her. Det er jo bare i forhold til at dække partistøtte under en valgkamp versus i en valgperiode.

Speaker2: [00:18:08] Engang til , undskyld?

Speaker1: [00:18:09] Hvordan i forhold til at dække partistøttereglerne i-- Eller partistøtten generelt i en valgkamp versus udenfor en valgkamp? Altså er der noget specielt ved at skulle dække det i en valgkamp? Er det vigtigere, eller er det på samme niveau, som inden... Kan du prøve at sætte lidt ord på det?

Speaker2: [00:18:27] Jeg synes, det er vigtigere at gøre det i en valgkamp. Det er jo derfor, jeg synes at Frihedsbrevets historie trods alt fik så meget opmærksomhed, og jeg også lægger her selv, som DR ansat næsten hele min karriere og sige, at "jeg synes måske nok, at det var valgkampens historie," fordi at der var så mange forskellige politikere, der blev taget med fingrene i kagedåsen og måtte flove sig og lægge sig fladt ned bagefter. Eller med det samme. Jeg tror Britt Bager hun på et tidspunkt var inde i- var ude i en lille storm, fordi hun havde fået noget, som hun ikke måtte og kunne tørre det lidt af på sin lokalforening, tror jeg nok i en valgperiode. Og der tror jeg, at jeg synes, at det får der- det bliver for

unuanceret, og kommer til at handle-- det er ikke så mange historier, men de der bliver lavet, de kommer til at handle om én person, hvor... Det er selvfølgelig også et fint eksempel, men man ved jo godt, at historien er bredere, og det var det, Frihedsbrevet de fik dokumenteret så fint. Og det kunne de, fordi det var på et tidspunkt, hvor politikerne virkelig havde et behov for at få penge til deres sociale medier og til deres valgkampe. Jeg tror, det er mest relevant inde i en valgkamp og op til en valgkamp, selvfølgelig. Men det er jo bare... Det har mest aktualitet, synes jeg i en valgkamp. Ja, det er de historier, der er bedre og mere aktuelle i en valgkamp. Men selvfølgelig er det også vigtigt i en valgperiode. Ja, jeg tror bare, at de eksempler jeg lige husker det er primært Britt Bager-sagen, og der tror jeg, hun kommer til at tage uforholdsmæssigt mange kugler, uden at jeg har noget personligt med hende. Hvad er godt eller skidt for et system, der ikke fungerer?

Speaker1: [00:20:23] Tak skal du have. Det var det jeg havde af spørgsmål. Jeg stopper optagelsen her.

English translated version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist A

Speaker 1: [00:00:00] Well, I'll start with the recording and it looks like it's going through. Then we'll just do a back-up recording as well. Okay. Yes, I would like to start by asking you how you think the coverage of something like party funding is in the media just in general?

Speaker 2: [00:00:21] Yes, well, it's not absent. But typically it requires personal cases. Typically, you can uncover that a person has received too much. These are some crazy complicated rules, yes, in many ways. At first glance, they are very simple, but it is relatively easy to circumvent some of the rules with donors. So several donors give you 22,000 or 19,000 - or the same person basically does it five times or something. There are some very complicated rules, and these are typically personal cases, so it's a kind of investigative journalism or at least more advanced than news journalism, which is what it takes to cover it, I think. It's not something I thought myself-- I can't remember it, but I've also done so much crap. I don't mean anything necessarily even I on my own initiative have found or dug up such a story. It may be that I am wrong. It may be that I have done something with some colleagues, but I have certainly not dealt with it, other than quoting other people's stories, I think. And I'm actually not quite sure I can figure out how to do it either. Or have the patience to do it necessarily. I think they show up, and they don't do so by chance, I really think. It is clear that Frihedsbrevet made perhaps the best story of the election campaign overall with

their Champagne Boy, who was used a bit as a mole to lure someone into the trap. And it was a fantastic - a fantastic tabloid story - great story. But it also showed that they used some special tools to make that story. That was a long answer. I apologize for that.

Speaker 1: [00:02:11] I really like long answers, so don't apologize for that. But I would actually like to hear, from a journalistic perspective, is it an interesting story to cover - also for Danmarks Radio?

Speaker 2: [00:02:25] It is less interesting for Danmarks Radio than it is for Frihedsbrevet or Ekstrabladet or BT. I would say that. I would like to know the extent of what the Frihedsbrevet uncovered. I think Danmarks Radio would also like to do that, but for Danmarks Radio it wouldn't be anything for us to sit there and say "we're going to go for that." We have just had seminars in our editorial office yesterday, and I can promise you that it was not, well, it was not one of the bubbles for what we should do in our semi-digger group in our Christiansborg editorial office. It is not party support or what is it called?- the support of individual candidates or party support in that way. And no, you're talking - are you talking about party support or election support, i.e. candidate support. Sorry, I'm the one who's rambling here.

Speaker 1: [00:03:13] That's all right. It's a bit of a mix of everything, but I'd like to hear why do you think or- why- Why do you say that it wouldn't be an interesting story for DR versus the other media, for example?

Speaker 2: [00:03:24] Well because-- Because if I'm talking about candidate support, meaning support for a single candidate in the run-up to an election campaign for example, it's very much about personal matters. It's not a broad... Well, it's not a big broad story. If you're going to do it, you need a lot of examples, like Frihedsbrevet did. Danmarks Radio would never do it in a way where you had a kind of decoy like Mads Dinesen to do it. It would simply never be accepted by the bosses out there or DR law for that matter. We would have liked to-- I think we would have liked to have made and have the sum of it, but it's not something we would go for in that way. But if we talk about party subsidies and pension schemes and so on, from Parliament and taxpayers to the parties, then it is something we are very much concerned with, because it is broader. We look more at how the parties give themselves money and better conditions than the population. We- when in times when you cut back on the retirement reform or make the retirement reform, or cut back on how early you can leave work, it is interesting that the parties ... Their party coffers are overflowing and you can go on... You can go on sick leave with stress and without a doctor's note and get full pay. They get an insane pension, and in general there's quite a lot of money flowing in parliament. And that difference between MPs, parties and the general public is also interesting for Danmarks Radio. A few stories about what people have received in support for election campaigns, campaign support and that they have probably cheated with it, that's history, but it's not classic Danmarks Radio history, because it's personal cases that have a

tabloid cut, which is not what we spend our primary efforts on in Danmarks Radio. I think they are great stories. It's not that at all, but...

Speaker 1: [00:05:15] Thank you very much.

Speaker 1: [00:05:18] You mentioned earlier that it was a difficult story to cover and in relation to investigative journalism. Can I get you to dive into that a little bit - what is it that makes it difficult to do a story like that versus something more accessible?

Speaker 2: [00:05:33] Well, you have to have some sort of basis of comparison. You're comparing with - well, the many, many stories about Søren Pape Poulsen in connection with the election campaign. It was also investigative journalism that brought it out. And again also tabloid investigative journalism, where they had gone to the Caribbean or found out that some old statements in reality did not fit together, and that the man might be lying. This is completely basic digging journalism and again not something that we at Danmarks Radio will probably do, I think. But if we are to stay with party funding and such things, it requires that you get access to documents and that you read the finances of the parties, including local branches. You focus on a budget for a single politician or a party's election campaign and the history-- I think the maximum history you get out of it ... I think that's what I've found over the last several years to be a story where somebody may have cheated or may have tried to circumvent the rules. You put a politician in a slightly bad light or a completely bad light, but without them having done anything like that. And I'm not quite sure that I can see the big perspective in the story, other than that you put someone in a bad light. But it takes quite a lot of time to familiarize yourself with the accounts. On the other hand. And I don't think that... The work that has to be done to do that justifies - necessarily justifies the story you end up with. So you have to take a lot of chances. What Frihedsbrevet succeeded in doing was that they got a wide range of politicians from all sorts of parties to fall into a trap and thus made the amount of it

Speaker 2: [00:07:14] a great story in the middle of an election campaign where you could say "Okay, they're under pressure, they're doing everything they can to get as much money as possible to get elected." I think it's been a really good story, but it still wasn't one where there's a lot of perspective, and it's taken a lot of work from a lot of journalists, including a mole. It's difficult because... Let's take Søren Pape, as soon as a couple of media outlets had documented that there were just some untruths that didn't add up, then we ourselves at Danmarks Radio on the day, in a few hours we could go into our media archive, find out what he had--, what he had said when about Jews, or that his husband was Jewish, for example. How he had presented him about what he had done in his past, Joshua there. And then there was also the fact that Søren Pape Poulsen was suddenly at something like almost 20% in the opinion polls, just before we were going to an election and had declared himself as a candidate for prime minister with a political program that was unheard of liberal conservative compared to what we have seen from a candidate for prime minister for many years. It was, I thought, partly a much, much more important story. A bigger story. Not really the principles in themselves about what Joshua should have done or what he should not

have done. But the fact that we have a prime ministerial candidate who simply has a mess in his hinterland in several ways.

Speaker 2: [00:08:48] It just also turned out to tell really, really much to the voters or enough to the voters that they were running away from him. 3 out of 4 pretty much in a month. That's the biggest meltdown I've ever seen. And after all, I haven't been around that long either. I've been a journalist for 8 years at Borgen and 10-15 years in total. But it was quite significant, so I think - if you understand - I distinguish in those cases both what is an important story from my point of view and what is so - and also what it requires. It is simpler for us at Danmarks Radio to jump on a story where it is quite clear that he has said something wrong. We can even document it relatively easily ourselves just by going back in history, so we can write them. "Several media outlets have written this." There is no doubt about that. We can support it ourselves and say that the prime ministerial candidate is in trouble. So it's easier, but it's also a more important story. The one from Frihedsbrevet. I don't think I'll ever... I don't know - I can't remember if we jumped on that one somehow. I think DR had a really hard time getting into that story because they used a decoy. Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. I think I ended up answering a bit in East and West. That's the way it is. I'm not a very good interview victim really. I'm also tired. I've been in Berlin since 5 o'clock this morning. That's why.

Speaker 1: [00:10:06] I'll put it this way Andreas: it could be much worse. I think it's really, really good. Don't even think about that. And yes, but let's just take it, because I touched on some of it. As I've done with the others I've interviewed, I've presented them with some figures I've made in my surveys, which I would also like to hear a journalistic perspective on from the last two election campaigns. Let's start with party funding, how it was covered. How the surveys are made, I can go into that later, but, but-- I found that party funding was only covered once during the 2019 election campaign. That is, one single article from Jyllands-Posten. During the last election campaign, even with the revelations of the Freedom Letter, it was covered 18 times by the seven largest Danish media. Søren Pape he was up to 90 articles. The World Cup; in Qatar, which had not even started yet, so not the sports, not sports news, but the political game around Qatar had 170 articles, and in 2019 Rasmus Paludan's cases, of which there were also many and at roughly the same number, ie over a hundred. I would like to hear from a journalistic perspective, how is it that there is such a big difference between these kinds of stories?

Speaker 2: [00:11:13] That's crazy, isn't it? I think-- I just can't... I can't account for that. I can only believe something. I haven't done any studies. I can... I covered both election campaigns. I think in relation to party support, I think I have accounted for it. I would definitely rather read about the World Cup in Qatar and Søren Pape than I would read about party funding, almost no matter what. 19 I remember that Paludan was an insane amount of attention, even though we, at least in DR, made a virtue of the fact that there had to be a story. He shouldn't just stand there and burn the Koran. He had to come up with something that made sense in an election context before we covered it. Then I think we probably covered the right thing. Or I don't know, he was covered pretty massively anyway. So I think we're definitely guilty of that too. But I would rather read about him than I would read about

party support, I think. Because he was such a crazy phenomenon. And what both Qatar and Paludan had in common was that he's enormous... These have been two stories that have generated a lot of debate. Then we touch something fundamental in ... If not voters, then at least the Danes. I mean, Paludan divided people like crazy, and politicians took Paludan up as an example. Løkke as, what is it called, candidate for Prime Minister, went straight out and changed his priorities in terms of who he would like to form a government with, not least because of Paludan, also Pernille Vermund, and this division that he saw in the country, or what could be created by Paludan... It was immigration policy, it was them and us, you know. It contains so much good journalistic material, but it sounds like it went over the top quite massively.

Speaker 2: [00:12:49] World Cup in Qatar....Again. It also got an insane amount of exposure because everyone had an opinion on it, and that was really the big story. Whether it was because Denmark was so miserable that it was ... Well, it was more a final round that was to be forgotten and discussed in relation to the role of FIFA and football players in the world community than, what is it called, whether Simon Kjær was good or he could not play football. So I think journalistically, there has been so much good debate material in the 2 mentioned stories that they sovereignly also deserve a first place in the coverage. Even though I think it sounds crazy with Qatar in an election campaign. It may also be an expression of the fact that there is another good debate story. In DR, we have it very much like this: it's an election, and it should take up 90% of the time, but the last 10% should be... It's good to have a story like Qatar, where both... We have a large sports editorial department that can contribute, and where debate programs, which we have a part of, can contribute. And these are also fairly easy stories to do. It's opinion makers saying what they think. It's not something you have to fact-check or investigate. In principle, you can listen to P1 Debat, which is lined up for one day, and then you can write two articles based on what people might think about the World Cup in Qatar in that broadcast. And you can cut radio newspapers on that. And there are clear conflicts, it's just a journalistic criterion that we always have our eyes on.

Speaker 1: [00:14:30] Thank you. I have two questions left. The first one is that I would like to hear from you how you would categorize something like party support rules or circumvention of party support rules, or in general... Yes, cheating with donations... Would it be a political mess or scandal like we saw with Søren Pape or Rasmus Paludan? Or would you think of it as something else. I mean, would you put it in the same box?

Speaker 2: [00:14:58] It would have been a bigger story if it was Søren Pape who had cheated and it could be proven that he had cheated. I can't even remember if he had. There were so many other things going on with him, and the story had something to do with him and his husband or ex-husband. I'm not sure it's touching that insanely

Speaker 2: [00:15:17] many people, but on the other hand, it should. I simply think that it is technically difficult to communicate what they have done. I have been here, as I said, 8 years at Christiansborg, and I'm actually not quite sure that I know the rules to the bone. It's something to the effect that they can give or get a maximum of 20,000 kr. Per... For the

individual company or a single person. Then they are not public. And they don't want to be public when they sit over in DI and have to inject money into the Radical Party's election campaign, for example, to be sure that if they end up in a government, they have something to say. And a few... well, Lars Seier Christensen and also injects a lot of money into the Liberal Alliance, probably. But I'm not sure I know the rules there, so it's probably both because it's technically a bit difficult both to communicate and also to get hold of, and document, and what the penalty is. I'm not sure I'm 100% clear on that either. And then what I said earlier, it was this with the history of power ... I can't remember if anyone has been taken down by... Well, Mette Thiesen, she was simply caught with her fingers in the cookie jar and was very interested in doing it in a sneaky way. I remember that, but it wasn't necessarily something that made much of an impact on her, other than she looked a bit undressed in the middle of an election campaign.

Speaker 2: [00:16:34] And that was not lucky. But then again, maybe there's not much more to it. There is not so much depth in that story. There are not so many who can disagree that it's damn stupid. But I think... That there is sometimes talk about changing the party support rules, but in reality, I don't think that any of the political parties really have a great interest in it, because the small parties will always say, those who do not get so much money in support from the big organizations, they will always say that "there must be full openness about it." They don't get very much anyway, and the big parties, they get so much money that they think it's good that it can be closed. That they can perhaps easily circumvent the rules without it being discovered and without it actually having any consequences. I think that the parties in power, they just don't have any interest in changing it seriously. It's the kind of thing they can say in an election campaign, "Well, it could also happen that we need to look into it," and then they might look into it, but then they don't do anything more about it. I actually think it might soon be on or for... In the parliament and discussed. But yes, it's nothing - my radar is completely off. I don't know why I don't think it's so cool. And I'm sorry.

Speaker 1: [00:17:47] That's fine. That's also your honest opinion that I would like to have. Yes, and you are also very welcome to speak from DR's perspective, if that suits you best, just with the last question here. It's just in relation to covering party support during an election campaign versus during an election period.

Speaker 2: [00:18:08] One more time, sorry?

Speaker 1: [00:18:09] How in terms of covering party funding rules in-- or party funding in general during an election campaign versus outside an election campaign? I mean, is there something special about having to cover it in an election campaign? Is it more important, or is it at the same level as before... Can you try to put it into words?

Speaker 2: [00:18:27] I think it is more important to do it in an election campaign. That's why I think Frihedsbrevet's story got so much attention after all, and I also put myself here, as a DR employee for almost my entire career, and say that "I think it was perhaps the story of

the election campaign," because there were so many different politicians who were caught with their fingers in the cookie jar and had to embarrass themselves and lie down flat afterwards. Or right away. I think Britt Bager, at one point she was in a little storm because she had been given something that she was not allowed and could wipe it off on her local association, I think probably during an election period. And I think that I think that it gets there- it becomes too one-sided, and comes to be about-- there are not so many stories, but the ones that are made, they come to be about one person, where... Of course, that's also a fine example, but you know that the story is broader, and that's what Frihedsbrevet documented so well. And they were able to do that because it was at a time when politicians really needed money for their social media and for their election campaigns. I think it's most relevant inside an election campaign and leading up to an election campaign, of course. But it's just... It's most relevant, I think, in an election campaign. Yes, these are the stories that are better and more topical in an election campaign. But of course it's also important during an election period. Yes, I just think that the examples I remember are primarily the Britt Bager case, and there I think she will take a disproportionate number of bullets, without me having anything personal with her. What is good or bad for a system that doesn't work?

Speaker 1: [00:20:23] Thank you. That's all the questions I had. I'll stop the recording here.

**Journalist B, BT. Date of interview, 20-04-2023.
Conducted via Zoom.**

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist B

Danish original version:

Speaker 1: [00:00:03] Det skulle være.

Speaker 2: [00:00:04] Sådan der.

Speaker 1: [00:00:05] Fedt! Du har jo skrevet om emnet før. Men jeg kunne alligevel godt tænke mig at høre, hvad du tænker om at skulle dække et emne som det her med partistøtte. Hvor vigtigt er det?

Speaker 2: [00:00:18] Jamen altså, jeg synes det er virkelig vigtigt for den demokratiske proces og er nok de vigtigste historier, man kan lave op til et valg. Men samtidig så er det også nogle af de sværeste at lave, fordi at de kilder du skal bruge for at kunne lave dem allesammen har en interesse i ikke at få lavet de her regler om. Altså, ofte i journalistik og politik, der er kilderne jo politiske modstandere, og det er jo så også en stor del af arbejdet, det er jo at afveje, Hvorfor er der nogen, der kommer med den her historie nu? Altså hvis det ikke er noget, du selv ligesom har fundet på at søge aktindsigt i. Men i det her tilfælde, der står man jo lidt. Altså på samme måde som at skulle lave pensionsreglerne om for politikerne, hvor det også næsten kun er Enhedslisten man kan få fat i. Og de ved allesammen godt... Jamen altså, hvis der kommer 3-4 store af de her skandaler sådan lige i rap, så bliver de nødt til at lave om på de her regler, selvom der egentlig ikke er nogen af dem, der har en interesse i det. Der kan du se det. Jeg tror faktisk også næsten kun det er sådan Enhedslisten der kan gå til det her ikke, og har forsøgt at lave en lovændring efterfølgende, som ikke bliver til noget - så vidt jeg ved. Og måden denne her historie er kommet på, og som rent faktisk formåede at skabe noget dagsordenen i valget - Jamen, det er jo også ved utraditionelle journalistiske metoder. Altså ved egentlig at sende-- Jeg ved ikke om man kan kalde det "undercover", men altså at sende en af sted med et falsk forslag og så få dem til at hoppe i på den måde. Og det synes jeg heldigvis er meget godt, og det er jo ingen historie, som nogen har haft en interesse i kom frem.

Speaker 1: [00:02:00] I min research der har jeg lavet en kvantitativ analyse af, hvordan det blev dækket i forhold til Qatar og så Søren Pape. Der snakkervi primært om valgperioden i 2022. Qatar blev dækket, og det er ikke det fodboldmæssige. Det er rent politisk 170 gange af de syv største medier i Danmark. Søren Pape Han blev--.

Speaker 2: [00:02:22] I hvilken forbindelse Qatar altså?

Speaker 1: [00:02:25] I forbindelse med, hvorvidt DBU skulle strejke, eller hvordan det DBU skulle forholde sig, hvordan de danske politikere--

Speaker 2: [00:02:34] Men det er vel - Det er jo fodboldmæssigt. Altså, tænker jeg.

Speaker 1: [00:02:38] Ja, jeg tænkte bare ikke i forhold til det sportslige. Altså det har ikke noget at gøre med om det bliver Mesis sidste VM eller hvordan Ronaldos form er. Så det er mere det samfundsmæssige aspekt i det. Så i forhold til Søren Pape. Han blev dækket af 70 gange i forbindelse med hans møgsager. Jeg kan sende det til dig, hvis du er nysgerrig på de forskellige parametre jeg har udvalgt.

Speaker 2: [00:02:57] Nej, Jeg fulgte selv med i den dækning, og jeg lavede også selv et interview med ham om det.

Speaker 1: [00:03:02] Præcist. Og så kunne jeg læse mig til, at denne - det her partistøtte. Det blev dækket 18 gange.

Speaker 2: [00:03:08] Ja.

Speaker 1: [00:03:09] I 2019 Der bliver det kun dækket en enkelt gang i den valgperiode, der var der. Så jeg kunne godt tænke mig at spørge dig: Hvorfor tror du, at der er så stor forskel på de her - hvad skal man sige? - Politiske kontroverser i forhold til at noget bliver dækket rigtig meget, og noget bliver dækket meget mindre - Nu tænker jeg specifikt på partistøtten.

Speaker 2: [00:03:28] Altså jeg tror helt klart der er et element i hvor-- Altså hvilket stykke arbejde der skal laves. Jeg sad selv med en partistøttehistorie, som vi var nødt til at ligge ned, fordi vi simpelthen ikke kunne få de relevante kilder på og simpelthen ikke kunne grave det frem, fordi det er så meget-- Altså lukket land, og der er så få, der har en interesse i det. Så selvom du så måske får en politiker, som gerne vil fortælle noget til baggrund, så har du stadigvæk brug for noget håndfast bevis for at kunne fortælle om det. Og hvis du vil lave en anonym artikel, så ville jeg jo sige de fleste sådan respekterede medier vil sige at der skulle være 3, 4 altså meget troværdige anonyme kilder, før man skriver noget om det. For jeg tror, at hvis du spørger på de journalistiske... På de politiske redaktioner, så vil interessen være altså næsten højere for at lave den slags historier end for at lave Søren Pape historierne. Altså hvis du sammenligner det fordi partistøtte historien ville du for eksempel også være interesseret i på Berlingske og på Politiken og på Information. Altså, det er nogle rigtig fede historier at lave som journalist også for ens egen karriere. Men de er bare utroligt svære at løfte. Og så har du også det element, der hedder altså -- læserinteresse, og hvor svært det er at forklare. Jeg tror grunden til at Frihedsbrevet historie... altså fik så meget luft under vingerne, og det gjorde den altså. Den tog dagsordenen i sådan 2 dage, hvor alle medier var ude og lave interviews på den. Jeg tror vi lavede 3-4 interviews på den eller sådan noget. Jeg havde fat i de forskellige partier, men det er fordi det er noget der er så nemt at forstå. Altså den video med Dinesen, der ringer rundt og siger, at han gerne vil give 50.000.

Speaker 2: [00:05:14] Men der er lige de her regler her. Hvordan kommer vi uden om det? Det er noget, alle kan forstå, når de ser det. Men Søren Pape, der er det jo bare-- Altså det sensationelle i, at han er blevet snydt af en mand, som han tilsyneladende elsker. Så det er utroligt. Altså det er utroligt interessant på et helt sådanne identifikationsniveau for læseren.

Og det gør også at De andre medier hopper på det ikke?, fordi det så skaber dagsordenen, og så hopper det over i en anden diskussion, der handler om... Altså sådan. Når man er statsministerkandidat, så er det også noget andet, vælgerne kigger på. Fordi det handler meget om. Er det en du stoler på? Er det en du kunne drikke en øl med. Og det er derfor det måske er lidt unfair, men derfor er det også relevant om man gerne vil have en mand til at styre landet, som kan blive snydt så groft af en ægtefælle. Og så kan Qatar - Det siger jo sig selv, fordi der er så stor opmærksomhed på landsholdet. Christian Eriksen var faldet om på det tidspunkt, altså inden det i sommeren? Og der var meget om landsholdet i forvejen. Så når du laver de her side vinkler her, så kan de ligesom mig ride på bølgen af interessen for fodbold, og det er også derfor, jeg ser det som altså en slags fodboldhistorie. Det er bare en afart af dem. Fordi dem, der læser dem, der læser en historie om DBU og Qatar for eksempel, det er ikke nødvendigvis de læsere, som normalt læser en politisk artikel. Det er måske dem, der læser en sportsartikel, men som så vælger at læse en politisk artikel, fordi den har det underemne, der hedder "fodbold."

Speaker 1: [00:06:49] Du må lige rette mig, hvis det ikke er korrekt, men jeg kunne forstå på dig før, at det var en ret interessant historie at skrive som journalist. Det her om der her partistøtteregler her.

Speaker 2: [00:06:57] Ja, helt sikkert.

Speaker 1: [00:06:59] Er der ligesom nogle begrænsninger i din dagligdag - både personligt og redaktionel - der ligesom forhindrer dig i at lave flere af de her historier, hvis de vel at mærke er vigtige, som du siger?

Speaker 2: [00:07:10] Ja, altså lovgivningen gør jo, fordi den lovgivning, den er jo sat sammen på en måde, hvor når den er over 20.000, så kan du ikke... Så kan du ikke se det, så kan du bare se det er over 20.00. Og det informationsniveau er for lavt til det bliver interessant. øhm, og der er ikke nogen måde at få aktindsigt på det. Altså, det eneste du skal -- altså den eneste måde du kan få det at vide på, er at vide, at der er nogen involveret, der fortæller om det. Og det er jo-- det jo der den bliver svær, fordi når det er en praksis, som er så bred, og som er så vigtig i forhold til det politiske arbejde, altså rent faktisk at samle penge sammen til at køre en valgkampagne, Så det er ikke noget man vil tage frem, fordi man skader de andre. Det er også derfor, at sådan noget som en ændring af offentlighedsloven er utrolig svær at få igennem, fordi det vil oftest være magtpartierne, altså magtpartierne, Det ville så i det her tilfælde var i hvert fald Venstre, Socialdemokratiet og Konservative, som ofte er de største partier. Men de går allesammen og tænker, at de gerne vil have magten næste gang. Så hvis de er med til at lave en lovændring, der gør det nemmere at kigge dem i kortene. Altså kigge deres modstandere i kortene, så er det dem der kommer til at stå med lorten næste gang. Og det er også derfor, at du altså du ser-- Jeg tror offentlighedsloven den blev vedtaget med Venstre også. Altså det er jo meget sjældent

du ser et et så bredt forlig på den måde, som jo egentlig burde være ligetil, når det handler om altså indsigt i offentlig oplysning.

Speaker 1: [00:08:45] Syntes du emnet bliver dækket nok?

Speaker 2: [00:08:51] Nej, jeg ville gerne se mere af det, men jeg tror, at der bliver gjort forsøg på at dække det. Altså så snart man har et eller andet, fordi det er en god historie. Men jeg er også glad for, at vi har altså nogle journalistiske principper, der gør, at vi ikke udgiver en historie på baggrund af én anonym kilde for eksempel. Og jeg syntes, Politikens serie om Britt Bager, som fik navnet Britt Bager-finten, var utrolig interessant. Ikke? De lavede også en bog om det efterfølgende. Men det er jo igen-- altså du skal huske-- I hvert fald hos os så er journalistik jo også en forretning, og du kommer nok aldrig nogen sinde til at tjene pengene hjem på en graverredaktion. Måske kan du på en politisk redaktion, men du er nødt til at se i hvor mange ressourcer i form af tid du ligger i en historie, som du så er nødt til at ligge ned. Især hvis det er under et valg, hvor ressourcerne ofte er meget knappe. Så hvis du sætter nogle af til at skulle sidde og undersøge det i en uge, og der så ikke kommer noget ud af det, så står du med et ret stort problem, For så er der lige pludselig nogle af de andre, der har en dagsordensættende historie.

Speaker 1: [00:09:59] Jeg har snakket med andre journalister udover dig, der har sagt noget lignende i forhold til at det er en svær historie at grave op bare på egen hånd og kræver mange ressourcer. Men jeg har alligevel hørt fra Roger Buch, medieforsker, Han havde en idé til det og sagde: han undrede sig over, hvorfor der ikke var flere journalister der-- Når nu politikerne er så velvillige til at stille op til det ene og det andet under en valgkamp- Så lige efter interviewet, om det politikerne nu gerne vil snakke om var færdigt, så ikke lige spurgte "for øvrigt, hvordan kan det være at i ikke offentliggør jeres partidonationer-- private partidonationer?" Lidt ligesom det der skete ved pressemødet - jeg tror det var Venstre og Konservative, Hvor det blev drejet hen mod Samsam-sagen. Så det kunne jeg egentlig også godt tænke mig at spørge dig om: Hvorfor gør man som som journalist ikke bare det, når nu man har en politiker i røret?

Speaker 2: [00:10:52] Jamen altså man kan jo sige det. Jo, du har jo faktisk lidt sådan en lakmusprøve på det. Fordi Frihedsbrevets historie gjorde, at det ligesom var det, der skete. Jeg ved i hvert fald, at vi var ude og til 3-4 forskellige partiledere og spørge. Og det bliver bare, altså, et er at du ved, hvilket svar du får. Det kan nogen gange være fint nok, men når du ikke har noget konkret at spørge ud fra, så bliver det utroligt svært at skrive en artikel ud fra det. Altså man kan selvfølgelig lave det som en eller anden form for eksperiment, men rent faktisk at få et produkt ud af det, ville jeg have svært ved at se.

Speaker 1: [00:11:32] Hvad med i forhold til læserne? Altså er der noget... Jeg vil prøve at omformulere... Selvfølgelig er der altid læsernes interesse i det også - Men hvor højt rangerer den her historie i forhold til til til læserne? Er det en interessant historie at skrive? Ikke bare som journalist, men også i forhold til at det er en forretning?

Speaker 2: [00:11:50] Ja, det vil jeg sige. Altså, det kommer selvfølgelig an på, hvordan den bliver turneret, men jeg er sikker på her på BT eller TV2 eller Ekstrabladet, vil man altså ret nemt kunne få den kørt spændstigt op. Men det er jo igen problemet ligesom at lave de koblinger dér, fordi at man skal være utrolig altså.. de mennesker der laver partistøtte er jo også ofte ret ressourcestærke personer. Jeg tror for eksempel at der var noget med Mærsk for nogle år siden mener jeg nok, hvor at de var kommet med noget partistøtte, da det var kommet frem - Jeg kan ikke huske præcis, hvordan det var kommet frem - og så havde de jo så fået nogle ret gunstige skatteforhold i Tyra feltet. Og selv dér, hvor det er så åbenlyst, at der kan ligesom være en konflikt, så bliver de jo stadig skrevet meget, meget forsigtigt, fordi der er så meget med injurielovgivningen og sådant noget, som alt sammen er godt, men det gør også, at det er svært ligesom at kode det sammen. Men jeg tror generelt, så er politikere, der bare får penge, altid interessant. Ja, altså det er ligesom det er også interessant, når der er... Øhm, en fest i Kolding Byråd og de bruger 1500 kroner per næse, selv om de kun må bruge 500. Altså, så det er jo ikke altid beløbet det handler om, men mere - Hvem er personerne og må de, eller må de ikke? Og det er jo her problemet er fordi reglerne er skruet sammen sådan, så det må de egentlig godt. Jeg kan ikke huske, om de blev lavet om efter Britt Bager, men der var jo ikke noget ulovligt i det, der egentlig blev gjort, altså det var ikke til - Det var ikke hensigten med loven, at man skulle gøre det, men det gjorde man så alligevel.

Speaker 1: [00:13:37] Det var faktisk det, jeg havde af spørgsmål. Er der noget du kunne tænke dig at tilføje til sidst?

Speaker 2: [00:13:41] Nej, ikke rigtig. Jeg synes, du skulle tage at tage fat i. Frihedsbrevet? fordi de jo rent faktisk havde held med at gøre det. Og på en utraditionel måde. Det er nok de mest relevante at tale med, synes jeg.

Speaker 1: [00:13:57] Jeg vil i hvert fald tage det i mente. Det kunne sagtens være. Tusind tak skal du have. Jeg håber, at du -- og jeg stopper lige recording her....

English translated version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist B

Speaker1: [00:00:03] That should be.

Speaker2: [00:00:04] There you go.

Speaker1: [00:00:05] Great! You've written about this topic before. But I'd still like to hear what you think about having to cover a topic like this with party funding. How important is it?

Speaker2: [00:00:18] Well, I think it's really important for the democratic process and is probably the most important story you can do before an election. But at the same time, they're also some of the hardest to do, because the sources you need to do them all have an interest in not having these rules changed. So, often in journalism and politics, the sources are political opponents, and that's a big part of the work, weighing up why someone is coming up with this story now. That is, if it's not something you yourself have thought of seeking access to documents. But in this case, you're in a bit of a bind. In the same way as having to change the pension rules for politicians, where it is also almost only Enhedslisten you can get hold of. And they all know ... Well, if there are 3-4 big scandals like this in a row, then they will have to change these rules, even though none of them really have an interest in it. There you can see it. I actually think it's almost only the Enhedslisten that can't go to this, and have tried to make a change in the law afterward, which hasn't come to anything - as far as I know. And the way this story came about, and which actually managed to create somewhat of an agenda in the election - well, it's also through unconventional journalistic methods. I don't know if you can call it "undercover", but sending someone with a false proposal and then getting them to jump in that way. And I think that's fortunately very good, and it's not a story that anyone has had an interest in coming out.

Speaker 1: [00:02:00] In my research, I have made a quantitative analysis of how it was covered in relation to Qatar and Søren Pape. We're talking primarily about the 2022 election period. Qatar was covered-- and it's not the soccer aspect. It is purely political, 170 times by the seven largest media in Denmark. Søren Pape He was--.

Speaker 2: [00:02:22] So, in what context would Qatar be covered?

Speaker 1: [00:02:25] In connection with whether the DBU should strike, or how the DBU should relate to how the Danish politicians--.

Speaker 2: [00:02:34] But it's well - It's in terms of football. Well, I think.

Speaker 1: [00:02:38] Yes, I just wasn't thinking in terms of the sports aspect. My research has nothing to do with whether it will be Messi's last World Cup or how Ronaldo's shape is. So it's more the societal aspect of it. So in relation to Søren Pape. He was covered 90 times in connection with his shitty cases. I can send it to you if you're curious about the different parameters I've selected.

Speaker 2: [00:02:57] No, I followed that coverage myself, and I also did an interview with him about it.

Speaker 1: [00:03:02] Exactly. And then I was able to read that this - this party support. It was covered 18 times.

Speaker 2: [00:03:08] Yes.

Speaker 1: [00:03:09] In 2019 it was only covered once in the term that was there. So I would like to ask you: Why do you think there is such a big difference between these - what should I say? - Political controversies in terms of something being covered a lot and something being covered a lot less - I'm thinking specifically about party funding.

Speaker 2: [00:03:28] Well, I think there's definitely an element of how-- I mean, what kind of work needs to be done. I myself had a news story of party funding that we had to put down because we simply couldn't get the relevant sources and simply couldn't dig it up because it's so much-- I mean, it's a closed segment and there are so few people who have an interest in it coming forth. So even though you might get a politician who wants to talk about it, you still need some solid evidence to be able to talk about it. And if you want to do an anonymous article, then I would say most such respected media would say that there should be 3, 4 very credible anonymous sources before you write something about it. Because I think that if you ask the journalistic... In the political editorial offices, the interest will be almost higher to do that kind of stories than to do the Søren Pape stories. So if you compare it to the party support story, for example, you would also be interested in this story at Berlingske and at Politiken and at Information. So, these are some really cool stories to do as a journalist, also for your own career. But they are just incredibly difficult to do. And then you also have the element called reader interest, and how difficult it is to explain. I think the reason why the Frihedsbrevet story ... got so much air under its wings, and it did. It took the agenda for like 2 days, when all the media were out doing interviews on it. I think we did 3-4 interviews on it or something like that. I got hold of the different parties, but that's because it's something that's so easy to understand. So the video with Dinesen calling around and saying that he would like to give 50,000 DKK.

Speaker 2: [00:05:14] But there are these rules here. How do we get around that? It's something everyone can understand when they see it. But Søren Pape, it's just-- Well, it's sensational that he has been cheated by a man he apparently loves. So it's incredible. I mean, it's incredibly interesting on such a level of identification for the reader. And it also makes the other media jump on it, because it creates the agenda, and then it jumps into another discussion about... Well, like this. When you're a candidate for prime minister, the voters are also looking at something else. Because it's very much about. Is it someone you trust? Is it someone you could have a beer with? And that's why it might be a bit unfair, but that's why it's also relevant if you want a man to run the country who can be cheated on so badly by a spouse. And then Qatar - It goes without saying because there is so much attention on the national team. Christian Eriksen had collapsed at that time, so before that in the summer? And there was already a lot about the national team. So when you do these side angles here, they can, like, ride the wave of interest in football, and that's also why I see it as a kind of football story. It's just a variation of them. Because the people who read a story about DBU and Qatar, for example, are not necessarily the readers who normally read a

political article. They might be the ones who read a sports article, but then choose to read a political article because it has a sub-topic called "football".

Speaker 1: [00:06:49] You can correct me if this is not right, but I could understand from you before that it was quite an interesting story to write as a journalist. This story about the party support rules here?

Speaker 2: [00:06:57] Yes, absolutely.

Speaker 1: [00:06:59] Are there any constraints in your daily life - both personal and editorial - that prevent you from doing more of these stories, if they are important, as you say?

Speaker 2: [00:07:10] Yes, well, the legislation does, because the legislation is put together in a way where when it's over 20,000 DKK, you can't ... Then you can't see it, you can just see it's over 20,000 DKK. And that level of information is too low to be interesting. um, and there's no way to get access to it. So, the only thing you have to -- well, the only way you can find out is to know that there is someone involved who is talking about it. And that's where it gets difficult because when it's a practice that is so broad and so important in relation to political work, i.e. actually collecting money to run an election campaign, it's not something you want to bring up because you're harming others. This is also why something like an amendment to the Freedom of Information Act is incredibly difficult to get through because it will usually be the parties in power, the parties in power, in this case, it would certainly be the Liberal Party, the Social Democratic Party, and the Conservative Party, which are often the largest parties. But they are all thinking that they want to be in power next election. So if they are involved in making a legislative change that makes it easier to look at their hidden cards. That is, to look their opponents in the cards, then it is they who will be the ones with the shit next time. And that's also why you see-- I think the Freedom of Information Act was passed with the Liberal Party as well. So it's very rare that you see such a broad settlement in that way, which really should be straightforward when it comes to access to public information.

Speaker 1: [00:08:45] Do you think the topic is covered enough?

Speaker 2: [00:08:51] No, I would like to see more of it, but I think there are attempts to cover it. I mean, as soon as you have something because it's a good story. But I'm also glad that we have some journalistic principles that mean that we don't publish a story based on one anonymous source, for example. And I thought Politiken's series on Britt Bager, which was called the Britt Bager-trick, was incredibly interesting. Wasn't it? They also did a book about it afterward. But again, you have to remember that journalism is also a business, and you're probably never going to make money on an investigative journalist editorial board. Maybe you can in a political newsroom, but you have to look at how many resources in terms of time you put into a story, which you then have to put down. Especially if it's during an election, where resources are often very scarce. So if you set some people to sit and investigate it for a week, and nothing comes out of it, then you have a pretty big problem, because then suddenly some of the others have an agenda-setting story.

Speaker 1: [00:09:59] I have spoken to other journalists besides you who have said something similar in terms of it being a difficult story to dig up on your own and requiring a lot

of resources. But I have still heard from Roger Buch, the media researcher, whom had an idea for it and said: he wondered why there were not more journalists there-- When politicians are so willing to stand up for this and that during an election campaign- So right after the interview if what the politicians want to talk about was finished, then not just asked: "by the way, how come you do not publish your party donations-- private party donations?" A bit like what happened at the press conference - I think it was Venstre and Konservative, where it was twisted by the journalists towards the Sam-sam case. So I would also like to ask you about that: Why don't you as a journalist just do that, now that you have a politician on the phone?

Speaker 2: [00:10:52] Well, you could say that. Well, you actually have a litmus test for that. Because the news story from Frihedsbrevet meant that that's what happened. I know that we went out to 3-4 different party leaders and asked questions. And it's just, well, you know what answer you're going to get. That can sometimes be fine, but when you don't have anything concrete to ask, it becomes incredibly difficult to write an article based on that. So you can of course do it as some kind of experiment, but actually getting a product out of it, I would have a hard time seeing.

Speaker 1: [00:11:32] What about in relation to the readers? I mean, is there anything... I'll try to rephrase... Of course, there's always the readers' interest in it as well - but how high does this story rank in relation to the readers? Is it an interesting story to write? Not just as a journalist, but also in terms of it being a business?

Speaker 2: [00:11:50] Yes, I would say so. Well, of course, it depends on how it is toured, but I'm sure here at BT or TV2 or Ekstrabladet, you will quite easily be able to make it exciting. But that's the problem again, like making the links there, because you have to be incredibly ... the people who make party support are often quite resourceful people. I think, for example, there was something with Maersk a few years ago, I think, where they had come up with some party support when it had come to light - I can't remember exactly how it had come to light - and then they had received some quite favorable tax conditions in the Tyra field. And even where it is so obvious that there may be a conflict, they are still written very, very carefully, because there is so much with libel laws and so on, which is all good, but it also makes it difficult to sort of code it together. But I think in general, politicians who just get money are always interesting. Yes, well, it's like it's also interesting when there's... Um, a party in Kolding City Council and they spend 1500 kroner per nose, even though they're only allowed to spend 500. So, it's not always the amount that matters, but more - Who are the people, and can they or can't they? And this is where the problem is because the rules are set up in such a way that they are actually allowed to do so. I can't remember if they were changed after Britt Bager, but there was nothing illegal in what was actually done, so it wasn't for - It wasn't the intention of the law that they should do it, but they did it anyway.

Speaker 1: [00:13:37] That's actually what I had of questions. Is there anything you would like to add at the end?

Speaker 2: [00:13:41] No, not really. I think you should take to address Frihedsbrevet because they actually succeeded in doing that. And in an unconventional way. They are probably the most relevant to talk to, I think.

Speaker 1: [00:13:57] I would certainly take that into account. It could very well be. Thank you very much indeed. I hope that you -- and I'll just stop recording here...

Journalist C, Politiken. Date of interview, 24-03-2023. Conducted via Zoom

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist C

Danish original version:

00:00:00 - **Speaker 1**

Sende citater til mig.

00:00:02 - **Speaker 2**

Det kan du tro.

00:00:03 - **Speaker 1**

Nu har jeg lige fået Sådant en "recording in progress."

00:00:06 - **Speaker 2**

Det er mig, som har sat den på.

00:00:07 - **Speaker 1**

Så ser jeg lige....Godt. Hvis du bare sender citater efterfølgende, så kan vi, så kan jeg lige se på det, ikke?En lille guide i forhold til - du skal selvfølgelig bare spørge løs, men hvis du -- Jeg er jo journalist, så hvis du spørger meget til min holdning til noget, så der får du nok ikke så mange svar, fordi Jeg har jo ikke holdninger til noget i princippet, men Jeg vil gerne svare på mange faktuelle spørgsmål og altså Jeg vil også godt prøve at give et bud, men Jeg har nok ikke Sådant holdninger til, hvorfor politikere er som de er og Sådant nogle ting, og at jeg selv synes noget at skandaløst, fordi jeg prøver ligesom at lade journalistikken tale for sig selv og ikke have en masse holdninger til, hvorfor andre gør som de gør, ikke.Bare til din til din til din spørgeguide.

00:00:58 - **Speaker 2**

Det giver god mening. Tak jeg prøver at lave det så jeg prøver at lave det så neutralt som muligt i forhold til at kun og spørge ind til journalistikken selv, så Jeg vil faktisk gerne have din personlige mening, men kun om dine egne arbejdsvilkår i den forstand.Vi får se

00:01:10 - **Speaker 1**

Jeg siger noget, hvis jeg siger det bliver for holdnings agtigt.

00:01:15 - **Speaker 2**

Perfekt det er en aftale, men jeg kunne godt tænke mig at høre det om hvordan du synes at den her non transparens den bør dækkes af journalister i Danmark?

00:01:27 - **Speaker 1**

Jeg synes Det er et rigtig, rigtig vigtigt emne, og Det er fordi at I min optik er det jo Sådan en grundpille i Vores demokrati, at vælgerne kan få indsigt i hvilke relationer Vores politikere har til eventuelle donorer. Og Der er penge og økonomi jo en en vigtig faktor, for Der er lavet meget forskning særligt i udlandet, I USA og andre lande, som som viser at at det betyder noget, hvis en politiker modtager en donation fra en En virksomhed eller en forening eller en privatperson eller en anden form for interesse, fordi det simpelthen skaber - det giver adgang til politikerne. Det ser vi i forskningen, at hvis for eksempel en politiker har 10 ubesvarede opkald, og de kan se, at 9 af dem kender de ikke, men en af dem har de opbygget en relation til alene på grund af for eksempel en donation. Jamen, så vil vil vil man ofte måske ringe først til den man man man har en relation til, og Der er penge en del af det. Det giver simpelthen ørenlyd, eller Det kan give ørenlyd og adgang og og give penge til en politiker og og.

00:02:41 - **Speaker 1**

Og derfor synes jeg, at Det er, Det er vigtigt at at belyse.

00:02:46 - **Speaker 2**

Hvad med i forhold til at belyse det under valgkampe? Min tese var jo, at Det er her, at de her penge, som bliver doneret jo, bliver brugt i store træk, og der hvor de er allervigtigst brugt, så at sige. Hvor vigtigt er det art det Skal dækkes det her -I forhold til alle mulige andre perioder?

00:03:07 - **Speaker 1**

Ja, det Der er udfordringen ved at dække det under en valgkamp Det er det utroligt lidt du kan få frem under en valgkamp. Vi har jo nogle regler i Danmark, som gør, at du faktisk ofte først Halvandet år efter en valgkamp måske nogle gange op til 2 år kan få få indsigt I større donationer. Og Det er fordi at Vores partistøtteregler og regnskabsregler er skruet sammen som de er. Og det betyder, at de enkelte partier og lokalafdelinger ikke behøver at indberette beløb over de her 20.000 kroner, som bliver opskaleret hvert år indekseret hvert år til myndighederne før en rum tid efter valget. Det vil sige, Vi har jo ikke et system i Danmark, hvor vælgerne kan gå ind og seHvilken støtte Politikerne på stemmesedlen får, inden vælgerne skal sætte deres kryds.

00:03:57 - **Speaker 1**

Der går lang tid, før vi kan få de oplysninger, som stadig er en ret begrænset mængde oplysninger. Men trods alt få de oplysninger, Der er tilgængelige.

00:04:08 - **Speaker 2**

Jeg har i mine undersøgelser prøvet at sammenligne dækningen med nogle andre emner, der har været oppe under valgkampen. Jeg har taget de seneste 2 - den i 2022 og den i 2019. I 2019, Ud fra de søgeparametre Jeg har lavet, der kunne jeg finde én artikel fra Jyllands-Posten om det her under valgkampen. Under seneste folketingsvalg, der var 19. Størstedelen af dem var i forbindelse med Frihedsbrevet, der lavede de her afsløringer.

00:04:37 - **Speaker 2**

Kontra det så var der i 2022 170 artikler om de politiske skandaler omkring VM i Qatar. Der var 90 artikler om Søren Pape og hans turbulente periode, der. Så i 2019 så var der over 100 artikler om Rasmus Paludan og stram kurs der ikke engang endte med at komme ind i Folketinget. Hvordan kan det være, Tror du, at Der er så stor forskel på på dækningsgraden af de her historier? Som jo i og for sig kan kategoriseres som en form for skandale, men Der er nogen, der får mere medietid end andre.

00:05:15 - **Speaker 1**

Jamen Der er nok flere forhold, der gør sig gældende der, ikke. For det første er der jo nok noget med nogle perioder, som er forskellige, Ikke. En valgkamp er en afgrænset periode på x antal uger. Hvor for eksempel ved, VM i Qatar er der blevet skrevet om i måske et år, men lad det nu ligge. Det handler jo om, at Det er ud fra de oplysninger, Vi har i Danmark på grund af de relative--Den, nogen vil mene manglende transparens, Vi har omkring reglerne, Det er ret, så er det meget meget svært at påvise at finde altså og og virkeligheden at lave historier om partistøtte under en valgkamp.

00:05:49 - **Speaker 1**

Som jeg var inde på før, så er der -Altså de eneste oplysninger, der i princippet kan indikere noget omkring partistøtte eller økonomisk støtte til politikere under en valgkamp, Det er jo det, vi som almindelige borgere og journalister kan se med det blotte øje, det vil sige antallet af valgplakater, reklamer og så videre. Men men vi kan jo ikke-- politikerne er jo ikke --- skal jo ikke indberette under en valgkamp. Så vi kan vi, vi, og hvis vi stillede spørgsmål under en valgkamp for eksempel til en politiker om, hvor mange penge, de de får og bruger, så er det helt op til dem, selv om de vil oplyse dem. Og Det er de færreste, Der er under Under en valgkamp vil oplyse, hvem de får penge af. Jeg lavede engang en Spørgeskemaundersøgelse Det er mange år siden.

00:06:39 - **Speaker 1**

I forbindelse med et folketingsvalg, hvor vi spurgte alle folketingskandidater, om de havde lyst til at oplyse det, fordi Det er jo helt frivilligt og og der var alle dem, der næsten ikke fik noget, De ville Sådan set gerne oplyse det, men næsten alle de større eller... Sådan mest garvede politikere og mange af dem, som som fik større beløb, De var meget tilbageholdende med at give oplysninger om, hvem de fik støtte fra, så Det er utroligt svært at påvise andet end med ens egne observationer, hvem der får mange penge. Og i øvrigt kan man jo heller ikke lægge til grund at dem, der annoncerer meget, Ikke har pengene fra deres egen partikasse og så videre, så så derfor kræver det jo, at man går ind og laver undersøgende journalistik Under en valgkamp på få på få uger, så Det er Det er svært. Det er svære vilkår.

00:07:32 - **Speaker 2**

Kan en forklaring også være, at Det er noget som læserne simpelthen ikke går nok op i kontra nogle af de andre historier der bliver nævnt, altså indenfor et -- hvad skal man sige - journalistisk prioriteringstidsperspektiv?

00:07:45 - **Speaker 1**

Jamen Det er et godt spørgsmål. Altså min erfaring er når vi skriver om de her sager så er der ret bred interesse for det. Men selvfølgelig ikke... Jeg kan huske Transparency International, som er en interesseorganisation på det her område. Deres formand var engang ude og sige, "jamen partistøttereglerne bliver jo nok ikke ændret, med mindre Der er nogen der bliver... Der bliver så stor folkelig opbakning til at folk laver demonstrationer" og så videre, fordi fordi interessen blandt de etablerede politiske partier er ikke så store for at ændre reglerne, så Der er interesse for det. Men Det er jo nok ikke noget som...

00:08:21 - **Speaker 1**

Jamen jeg skal ikke kunne sige hvorfor. Jeg kan ikke. Jeg har ikke aldrig lavet Sådan meningsmålinger omkring, hvor stor interessen fra den almindelige borger er til at ændre partistøttereglerne. Jeg tror så også Det er de færreste der faktisk ved hvordan reglerne er er indrettet, og Det er måske det vigtigste argument.

00:08:42 - **Speaker 2**

Synes du den dækning Der er det lige i øjeblikket er den? Hvad skal man sige stor nok? Ifølge dig?

00:08:52 - **Speaker 1**

Altså Jeg har Jeg har i mange år Interesseret. mig på det her felt, og Jeg har nok også altid undret mig, at der ikke var flere der... Der er interesseret sig for de her for de her... den her type historie. Og Det har egentlig altid undret mig, og Jeg har nogle gange følt at...

00:09:12 - **Speaker 1**

Jeg har. Jeg har altid undret mig over der ikke er flere journalister der kastede sig over det her felt. Men Jeg tror også, det handler om, at man jo. Altså Det er jo ikke Det er jo ikke et. Hvordan skal Man formulere det.

00:09:30 - **Speaker 1**

Altså, det kræver jo det det vil. Jeg skal lige. Jeg skal lige veje mine ord her. Jeg tror måske bare skal formulere på den måde før. Fordi Jeg synes, Det er ret rigtig vigtigt område, netop som vi snakkede om i starten at det... Det er vigtigt område for Vores demokrati. Det er Det er ting der flugter med mange danskeres generelle demokratiopfattelse, at der skal være transparens. Vi ligger meget højt på på almindelige Sådan nogle vurderinger af af korruption og så videre og, og derfor er det jo ret vigtigt, at vi så også har fokus på netop det her område. Ikke mindst fordi at når netop Sådan nogle mellemstatslige organisationer som GRECO, altså Europarådets Vagthund når det gælder korruption, roser jo Danmark i høje toner som som regel, men der har de sidste 10-15 år været hård kritik af Vores partistøtteregler. Så er det jo lige netop på det her område, at de mener, at Vi har et problem i Danmark, og derfor har det nok også undret mig, at der ikke er flere journalister, der har.

00:10:37 - **Speaker 1**

Der har interesseret sig for det her felt. Men, men men en gang imellem bliver der jo lavet rigtig gode historier, for eksempel Frihedsbrevet. Ting, som du også nævner, var jo et eksempel på nogen, der havde sat sig for at ville prøve at lave en anden form for eller lave en form for undersøgende journalistik om det her. Så så det, det glæder mig hver gang jeg ser at Der er andre, der går ind i det.

00:10:57 - **Speaker 2**

De folk jeg ellers har snakket med om emnet... Der er snakket om hvorfor det ikke er blevet dækket så meget, at Jeg tror måske også selv var lidt inde på det i forhold til det er meget undersøgende journalistik, Og Det er i forbindelse med en valgkamp, så er der ikke lige så meget fokus på den slags. Jeg havde selv hørt at Når politikere nu er så velvillige til at stille op til alle mulige ting i en valgkamp, fordi de gerne vil have eksponering, Hvorfor man så for eksempel ikke stiller et spørgsmål efter hvert interview, siger "nu har vi snakket om det du gerne vil snakke om. Hvordan kan det egentlig være, at i ikke fremlægger jeres partiregnskaber?" Og så kan man sige, Det er måske ikke præmissen for interviewet, men som vi også så med med pressemødet med Venstre og Konservative under den seneste valgkamp, hvor der blev snakket om alt muligt andet end det, som oppositionen gerne vil snakke om.

00:11:43 - **Speaker 2**

Altså Det er jo muligt, så så hvorfor tror du ikke at Der er flere der tager teten, fordi Det er jo i og for sig ikke undersøgende journalistik. Det er jo et ,hvad skal man sige, konkret interviewspørgsmål til til ja til efter interviewet er færdigt?

00:11:57 - **Speaker 1**

Jamen Det er jo en glimrende ide. Det synes Jeg er en glimrende idé at at man i forbindelse med valgkampen lige spørger Sådan helt ufarligt. "nå, vil du egentlig -- Vil du fortælle, hvem du får støtte af I din valgkamp?" Der er nok flere ting at bemærke til det. Jeg har nogle gange gjort det faktisk i en i en valgkamp og og Der er Sådan nogle ret Sådan nogle standard formuleringer og også måde at bygge deres valgkampsmaskiner op på, som går igen for rigtig mange politikere. Det ene er, at hver gang du ofte spørger en politiker om om Sådan noget her, så vil de sige "Det har jeg ikke noget at gøre med. Det er min Lokale partiforeningens formand eller kasserer i lokalforeningen, der står for det, Jeg har intet med penge at gøre, så det må du spørge dem om." Sådan har det ofte været, når Vi har lavet kritiske historier, så er det, skal man igennem den rækkefølge.

00:12:45 - **Speaker 1**

Det vi. Det var bare det det vi bare kan se. Det er at oftest er det ikke helt korrekt, fordi det fungerer ofte Sådan, så Det er politikerens selv der står for selve fundraisingen. Det er meget sjældent at der bliver givet Sådan store beløb uden at politikerne selv er opmærksomme på det. Men det Der er rigtigt nok, Det er de jo er jo så overlader kan man sige Overblikket - eller de Sådan de formelle - den formelle håndtering af pengene til deres. enten deres kampagne, en kampagnemedarbejder og deres kampagnechef eller typisk lokalformanden i den kreds, hvor de stiller op, og så Der er Sådan en, de forsøger at holde sig lidt armslængde, så Der er Sådan en fortælling om, at de på ingen måde har noget med penge at gøre, og derfor får man meget sjældent politikere til at stille spørgsmål eller til at svare på spørgsmålet om det.

00:13:34 - **Speaker 1**

Det er den ene ting. Den anden ting er, at jeg kunne godt forestille mig, at Der er nogle journalister, som måske-eller at Der er nogen der ikke vil spørge til det, fordi de ikke har lyst til -- at det kan lyde inkriminerende at stille spørgsmålet. Altså at Der er en lille smule tabu omkring penge i politik i Danmark. Vi ved alle sammen, at Der er langt de fleste og største mest kendte politikere får Sådan. Relativt-får i hvert fald beløb til deres valgkamp, men Der er stadig en lille smule tabu i at tale om det, og Det kan jo måske blandt andet hænge sammen med den grænse Vi har for partistøttereglerne eller i partistøttereglerne For hvornår er et stort beløb og hvornår er det beløb, man skal tale om. Og og normalt henholder politikerne sig til "jamen Jeg følger alle regler." Det er det som de ofte svarer, hvis man stiller spørgsmålet, og det vil så sige, at de så...

00:14:26 - **Speaker 1**

Men ikke, men vil du så selv sige hvor mange penge du får? Så vil de typisk sige."Det skal du snakke med min lokale formand om og i øvrigt, men vi følger alle regler" og alle regler betyder, at så kan man halvandet år efter få indsigt i dem, der måtte give over 20.000 kroner til deres valgkamp. Men du kan ikke nødvendigvis, du har ikke krav på at få noget at vide, hvis du for eksempel stiller spørgsmål under en valgkamp. Så og Det er jo nok det tredje, reglerne tilsiger ikke, eller de kræver ikke, at en politiker skal være åben omkring sine bidrag under en valgkamp.

00:15:02 - **Speaker 1**

De kræver kun, at de skal være åbent om større beløb lang tid efter en valgkamp.Og der var de for langt de fleste politikere, der har henholdt sig til. Jamen, jeg følger reglerne"

00:15:12 - **Speaker 2**

Så for ligesom at måske at sætte det lidt på spidsen vil man kunne sige, at grunden til at det måske ikke bliver dækket så meget er også fordi Der er en stor form for gatekeeping. Og Det er simpelthen en svær historie at lave på grund af de her politiske - Hvad skal man sige-Mure, der bliver lavet mellem interview og svar?kan man forstå det Sådan?

00:15:35 - **Speaker 1**

Det er i hvert fald svært. Det er svært at lave journalistik på det, og derfor kræver det jo også, og det kræver ofte, at Det er undersøgende journalistik, man laver.Og på den måde er det jo og så undersøgende journalistik tager jo tid, og Det er derfor de oftest de bedste historier bliver lavet mellem valgkampene, fordi det tager tid.Og der kan også være nogen der mener, at man ligesom i en valgkamp skal afholde sig fra, at Sådan lancere store undersøgende historier om enkelte politikere, fordi Det kan se ud som om, at de lige er timet, selvom de må ikke nødvendigvis måtte være det, så er de måske timet til at lægge i en valgkamp.Og derfor bliver dækning af valgkampe tit Sådan mere generisk om temaer og debatter og så videre.

00:16:16 - **Speaker 1**

Jeg har været på flere forskellige dagblade i Danmark. Jeg kan huske fra alle valgkampene. Der har altid været Sådan en debat - kan man - hvis man så har en afsløring om en politiker, kan man så egentlig tillade sig at publicere den i en valgkamp, fordi Det kan --, selvom det ikke er tilfældet, så ville det kunne se ud som om, at den var timet og eller gemt som Sådan en bombe, der så blev smidt i en valgkamp. Ikke det det Det kan være medvirkende til, at

man. At man ikke nødvendigvis ser så meget undersøgende journalistik blive publiceret i valgkampen, men at det kommer mellem valgene.

00:16:45 - **Speaker 2**

Og undskyld hvorfor? Hvorfor er det man ikke vil smide Sådan en bombe så at sige i en valgkamp?

00:16:52 - **Speaker 1**

Nå men jeg siger bare Det kan. - Det er en overvejelse. Det kan være en overvejelse. Jeg siger ikke, at det ikke sker der bliver, at der bliver jo lavet undersøgende journalistik under en valgkamp. Det er bare: Punkt et, det tager tid og tit ved du jo ikke nødvendigvis lige, hvornår valget kommer. Det er jo, Det er jo statsministerens opgave at udskrive det, man kan have en fornemmelse, man ved, hvornår det kommer.

00:17:16 - **Speaker 1**

Men, men Der er jeg siger bare Der er. Jeg har da været med til mange samtaler og overvejelser om, men... Det er nødvendigvis ikke at man ikke gør det. Men er det nødvendigvis en god ide? At kan det se ud som om, at man at man smider at det bliver et personangreb, hvis du lægger en persons sag i en valgkamp, selvom det måske ikke er det.

00:17:38 - **Speaker 1**

Men Jeg tror først og fremmest det handler om, at det tager tid at lave den her type journalistik. Det kræver indsigt i reglerne. Det kræver indsigt i, hvordan hele systemet er skruet sammen, og Det er er min erfaring gennem de her år er det Det er der ikke så mange selv selv mange politikere har ikke engang Sådan fuldstændig styr på, hvordan reglerne fungerer.

00:18:02 - **Speaker 2**

Fedt jeg kigger lige mine noter igennem for at se om der var mere jeg godt kunne tænke mig at høre. Nej, Jeg synes egentlig, Vi er kommet meget godt rundt. Du ved super meget om emnet så det Det var super fedt. Har du noget du selv vil tilføje til sidst som du tænker det kunne egentlig være godt at få sendt afsted?

00:18:25 - **Speaker 1**

Nej, det tror jeg ikke. Det vigtigste er bare, at du føler du får svar på dine spørgsmål.

00:18:29 - **Speaker 2**

Ellers er det muligt, jeg kontakter dig igen, hvis der var noget jeg lige ko m i tanke om?

00:18:33 - **Speaker 1**

Selvfølgelig. Selvfølgelig. Det lyder som et spændende, spændende emne du har gang i fordi altså du har jo fuldstændig ret at Der er. Det har også været slående for mig at Der ikke har været flere journalister, der har dækket det her. Men Det er også.

00:18:48 - **Speaker 1**

Et svært felt nogle gange, fordi Der er Det er så svært at tilgå information om det, ikke?

00:18:53 - **Speaker 2**

Og Det er jo det, jeg godt kunne tænke mig svar på. Hvorfor blev det ikke dækket mere? Og der kan være mange kedelige grunde, men Det er i hvert fald vigtigt at belyse , fordi Der er en undren, og Det er det jeg godt kunne tænke mig at svare på.

00:19:02 - **Speaker 1**

Jeg håber duBare tilfreds med mine svar, så ellers må du vende tilbage. Håber du kunne bruge det.

00:19:07 - **Speaker 2**

Jeg sender dig den her lille formular som skal underskrives. Du kan skrive under den PDF. Du kan også printe den ud og tage et billede af den, men den skal i hvert fald underskrives.På den ene på den måde, for ellers kan jeg ikke bruge de ting, Vi har snakket om.

00:19:22 - **Speaker 1**

Det er Det er en aftale og held og lykke med arbejdet.

00:19:25 - **Speaker 2**

Tak for det 1000 tak for hjælpen.

English translated version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist C

00:00:00 - **Speaker 1**

Send me quotes.

00:00:02 - **Speaker 2**

You betcha.

00:00:03 - **Speaker 1**

Now I've just got one of those "recording in progress."

00:00:06 - **Speaker 2**

I'm the one who put it on.

00:00:07 - **Speaker 1**

I'll just see.... Good. If you just send quotes afterwards, then we can, I can have a look at that, right? A little guide in relation to - you should of course just ask away, but if you -- I'm a journalist, so if you ask a lot about my opinion on something, you probably won't get many answers, because I don't have opinions on anything in principle, but I would like to answer any factual questions and I would also like to try to make an offer, but I probably don't have such opinions about why politicians are the way they are and things like that, and that I myself think something is scandalous because I try to let journalism speak for itself and not have a lot of opinions about why others do what they do, right. Just to your to your to your to your to your question guide.

00:00:58 - **Speaker 2**

That makes a lot of sense. Thank you, I'm trying to make it as neutral as possible in terms of just asking about journalism itself, so I'd actually like to get your personal opinion, but only about your own working conditions in that sense. We'll see

00:01:10 - **Speaker 1**

I'll say something if I say it's getting too attitudinal.

00:01:15 - **Speaker 2**

Perfect, it's a deal, but I would like to hear how you think this non-transparency should be covered by journalists in Denmark?

00:01:27 - **Speaker 1**

I think it's a really, really important topic, and that's because in my view it's such a cornerstone of our democracy that voters can gain insight into the relationships our politicians have with potential donors. And money and finances are an important factor, because a lot of research has been done, especially abroad, in the United States and other countries, which shows that it matters if a politician receives a donation from a company or an association or a private individual or some other kind of interest, because it simply creates - it gives access to the politicians. We see in the research that if, for example, a politician has 10 missed calls and they can see that 9 of them they don't know, but one of them they have built a relationship with just because of a donation, for example. Well, then you might often want to call the person you have a relationship with first, and there's money involved in that. It simply resonates, or it can resonate and access and and give money to a politician and and and.

00:02:41 - **Speaker 1**

And that's why I think it's, it's important to highlight.

00:02:46 - **Speaker 2**

What about in relation to highlighting it during election campaigns? My thesis was that this is where the money that is donated is spent in general, and where it is most importantly used, so to speak. How important is it to cover this - compared to all sorts of other periods?

00:03:07 - **Speaker 1**

Yes, that's the challenge of covering it during an election campaign. It's incredibly little you can bring out during an election campaign. We have some rules in Denmark that mean that you can often only get insight into major donations one and a half years after an election campaign, sometimes up to two years. And that's because our party support rules and accounting rules are set up the way they are, which means that the individual parties and local branches do not have to report amounts above this 20,000 kroner, which is scaled up every year and indexed every year to the authorities until some time after the election. In other words, we don't have a system in Denmark where voters can go in and see how much support the politicians on the ballot paper receive before they have to mark their crosses.

00:03:57 - **Speaker 1**

It will be a long time before we can get that information, which is still a rather limited amount of information. But still get the information that is available.

00:04:08 - **Speaker 2**

I've tried in my research to compare the coverage with some other issues that have come up during the election campaign. I have taken the last 2 - the one in 2022 and the one in 2019. In 2019, based on the search parameters I have made, I could find one article from Jyllands-Posten about this during the election campaign. During the last parliamentary election, there were 19. The majority of them were in connection with Frihedsbrevet which made these revelations.

00:04:37 - **Speaker 2**

In contrast, in 2022 there were 170 articles about the political scandals surrounding the World Cup in Qatar. There were 90 articles about Søren Pape and his turbulent period there. Then in 2019, there were over 100 articles about Rasmus Paludan and "Stram Kurs", which did not even end up entering the Danish Parliament. How is it, do you think, that there is such a big difference in the degree of coverage of these stories? Which in and of itself can be categorized as a kind of scandal, but there are some who get more media time than others?

00:05:15 - **Speaker 1**

Well, there are probably several factors that apply there, right. First of all, there is probably something about some periods that are different, right. An election campaign is a limited period of x number of weeks. Where, for example, the World Cup in Qatar has been written about for maybe a year, but let's leave that aside. The point is that it is based on the information we have in Denmark because of the relative lack of transparency we have around the rules, that's right, it is very, very difficult to demonstrate that and the reality of making up stories about party funding during an election campaign.

00:05:49 - **Speaker 1**

As I mentioned before, the only information that can in principle indicate anything about party funding or financial support for politicians during an election campaign is what we as ordinary citizens and journalists can see with the naked eye, that is, the number of election posters, advertisements and so on. But we can't---politicians are not---do not have to report during an election campaign, so we can, we, we, and if we asked questions during an

election campaign, for example, to a politician about how much money they get and spend, then it is entirely up to them, even if they want to disclose it. And very few people during an election campaign will disclose who they get money from. I once did a questionnaire survey many years ago

00:06:39 - **Speaker 1**

In connection with a parliamentary election, where we asked all the parliamentary candidates if they wanted to disclose it, because it's completely voluntary and and there were all those who received almost nothing, they kind of wanted to disclose it, but almost all the larger or... Such mostly seasoned politicians and many of those who received larger amounts, They were very reluctant to provide information about who they received support from, so It is incredibly difficult to demonstrate other than with your own observations, who gets a lot of money. And besides, you can not assume that those who advertise a lot, Do not have the money from their own party coffers and so on, so, therefore, it requires that you go in and do investigative journalism during an election campaign in a few in a few weeks, so It's It's difficult. These are difficult conditions.

00:07:32 - **Speaker 2**

Could an explanation also be that it's something that readers simply don't care enough about compared to some of the other stories that are mentioned, that is, within a - how shall we say - journalistic priority time perspective?

00:07:45 - **Speaker 1**

Well, that's a good question. I mean, my experience is that when we write about these cases, there's quite a broad interest in it, but of course not... I remember Transparency International, which is an interest organization in this area. Their chairman once said, "Well, the party support rules will probably not be changed, unless someone becomes ... There will be so much popular support for people doing demonstrations" and so on, because the interest among the established political parties is not so great for changing the rules, so there is interest in it. But it's probably not something that...

00:08:21 - **Speaker 1**

Well, I shouldn't be able to say why. I can't. I have never made such polls about how much interest from the ordinary citizen is to change the party support rules. I also think that very few people actually know how the rules are set up, and that is perhaps the most important argument.

00:08:42 - **Speaker 2**

Do you think the coverage that is there at the moment is it? What should we say big enough? According to you?

00:08:52 - **Speaker 1**

Well, I've been interested in this field for many years, and I guess I've always wondered why there weren't more people...interested in these for these...this type of story. And I've always wondered, and I've sometimes felt that...

00:09:12 - **Speaker 1**

I have. I've always wondered why more journalists don't go into this field, but I think it's also about the fact that it's not a. It's not a. How do you put it?

00:09:30 - **Speaker 1**

Well, it requires that it will. I'll just. I'll just weigh my words here. I think maybe I should just formulate it that way before. Because I think it's quite an important area, just as we talked about at the beginning that it ... It's an important area for our democracy. These are things that are in line with many Danes' general perception of democracy, that there must be transparency. We are very high on general such assessments of corruption and so on, and therefore it is quite important that we also focus on this particular area. Not least because when intergovernmental organizations such as GRECO, the Council of Europe's watchdog when it comes to corruption, praise Denmark in high tones as a rule, but there has been harsh criticism of our party support rules over the past 10-15 years. So it is precisely in this area that they believe that we have a problem in Denmark, which is why I was surprised that there are not more journalists who have

00:10:37 - **Speaker 1**

who have taken an interest in this field. But, but, but, but once in a while really good stories are made, for example, Frihedsbrevet, which you also mention, was an example of someone who had set out to try to do a different kind of or do a kind of investigative journalism about this. So, I'm pleased every time I see that there are others who are going into it.

00:10:57 - **Speaker 2**

The other people I've talked to about the subject... There has been talk about why it has not been covered as much, that I think maybe I myself was a little bit on it in relation to it is very investigative journalism, and it is in connection with an election campaign, so there is not as much focus on that kind of thing. I had heard that when politicians are now so willing to stand up for all sorts of things in an election campaign, because they want exposure, why you do not, for example, ask a question after each interview, saying "now we have talked about what you want to talk about. How come you don't present your party accounts?" And then you can say, "That may not be the premise of the interview, but as we also saw with the press conference with the Liberals and Conservatives during the last election campaign, where they talked about everything else but what the opposition wants to talk about.

00:11:43 - **Speaker 2**

Well, it's possible, so why don't you think that more people are taking the lead, because it's not investigative journalism per se. It's a, how shall we say, specific interview question for yes to yes to after the interview is finished?

00:11:57 - **Speaker 1**

Well, that's an excellent idea. I think it's an excellent idea that in connection with the election campaign, you just ask such a completely harmless question. "Well, do you really want to -- Do you want to tell who you get support from in your election campaign?" There are probably several things to note about that. I have sometimes done it actually in an election campaign and and There are some pretty standard formulations and also ways of building their election campaign machines that are common to many politicians. One is that every time you often ask a politician about something like this, they will say "I have nothing to do with that. It's my

local party association's chairman or the treasurer of the local association who is responsible for it, I have nothing to do with money, so you have to ask them about that."This has often been the case when we have done critical stories, so you have to go through that order.

00:12:45 - **Speaker 1**

That's what we. That was just what we can see. It is that most of the time it is not quite correct, because it often works like that, so it is the politician himself who is responsible for the fundraising. It is very rare that such large amounts are given without the politicians themselves being aware of it. But it's true enough, it's true that they leave the overview - or the formal - the formal handling of the money to their campaign, either their campaign, a campaign worker and their campaign manager or typically the local chairman in the district where they are running, and so they try to keep a little arm's length, so there is such a narrative that they have nothing to do with money, and therefore you very rarely get politicians to ask questions or to answer the question about it.

00:13:34 - **Speaker 1**

That is one thing. The other thing is that I could imagine that there are some journalists who might-or that there are some who don't want to ask about it because they don't want to-that it might sound incriminating to ask the question. So there is a little bit of a taboo about money in politics in Denmark. We all know that the vast majority of the biggest and most famous politicians get like this. Relatively speaking, they get money for their election campaigns, but there is still a little bit of a taboo in talking about it, and this may be partly related to the limit we have for the party support rules or in the party support rules for when is a large amount and when is the amount you should talk about. And usually the politicians say, "Well, I follow all the rules." That's what they often answer if you ask the question, and that means that they then...

00:14:26 - **Speaker 1**

But not, but will you say how much money you get? Then they will typically say, "You should talk to my local chairman about that and otherwise, but we follow all the rules" and all the rules mean that a year and a half later you can get insight into those who had to give over 20,000 kroner to their election campaign. But you can't necessarily, you're not entitled to be told anything if, for example, you ask questions during an election campaign. So, and that's probably the third thing, the rules do not require, or they do not require a politician to be open about his or her contributions during an election campaign.

00:15:02 - **Speaker 1**

They only require them to be open about large sums of money long after an election campaign, and that was the case for the vast majority of politicians who complied. "Well, I follow the rules"

00:15:12 - **Speaker 2**

So to maybe put it a little bit on the tip, you could say that the reason why it may not be covered as much is also because there is a large form of gatekeeping. And it's simply a difficult story to do because of these political - how shall we say - walls that are made between interviews and answers? can you understand it like that?

00:15:35 - **Speaker 1**

It's certainly difficult. It's difficult to do journalism on it, and therefore it also requires, and it often requires that you do investigative journalism, and in that way it is and so investigative journalism takes time, and that's why the best stories are often done between election campaigns, because it takes time. And there may also be some who believe that, like in an election campaign, you should refrain from launching big investigative stories about individual politicians, because it may look as if they are just timed, even though they may not necessarily be, they may be timed to be placed in an election campaign. And therefore coverage of election campaigns often becomes more generic about themes and debates and so on.

00:16:16 - **Speaker 1**

I have been on several different daily newspapers in Denmark. I remember from all the election campaigns, there has always been such a debate - can you - if you have a revelation about a politician, can you allow yourself to publish it in an election campaign, because it can - even if that is not the case - it could look as if it was timed and or hidden as such a "bomb" that was dropped in an election campaign. That you don't necessarily see so much investigative journalism being published during the election campaign, but between elections.

00:16:45 - **Speaker 2**

And I'm sorry, why? Why is it that you don't want to drop such a bombshell, so to speak, in an election campaign?

00:16:52 - **Speaker 1**

Well, I'm just saying it might - it's a consideration. It can be a consideration. I'm not saying that there won't be investigative journalism during an election campaign. It's just: Point one, it takes time and often you don't necessarily know when the election is coming. It's the Prime Minister's job to call it, you can have a feeling, that you know when it's coming.

00:17:16 - **Speaker 1**

But, but there is, I'm just saying there is. I have been involved in many conversations and considerations about, but ... It's not necessarily that you don't do it. But is it necessarily a good idea? That it can look like you're throwing that it becomes a personal attack if you put someone's case in an election campaign, even though it may not be.

00:17:38 - **Speaker 1**

But I think the main thing is that it takes time to do this type of journalism. It requires knowledge of the rules. It requires insight into how the whole system is set up, and it's my experience over these years that not many people, even many politicians, don't even have a complete grasp of how the rules work.

00:18:02 - **Speaker 2**

Great, I'm just looking through my notes to see if there's anything else I'd like to hear. No, I think we've really gotten around very well. You know a lot about the subject so it was great. Do you have anything you want to add at the end that you think it would be good to send off?

00:18:25 - **Speaker 1**

No, I don't think so. The most important thing is just that you feel like you're getting answers to your questions.

00:18:29 - **Speaker 2**

Otherwise, I might contact you again if there's anything else I can think of?

00:18:33 - **Speaker 1**

Of course, of course, of course. Of course, of course, of course. It sounds like an exciting, exciting topic you have going on because you're absolutely right that there is. It has also been striking to me that there have not been more journalists who have covered this.

00:18:48 - **Speaker 1**

A difficult field sometimes, because it's so difficult to access information about it, isn't it?

00:18:53 - **Speaker 2**

And that's what I would like an answer to. Why wasn't it covered more? And there can be many boring reasons, but it's certainly important to shed light on that, because there's a wonder, and that's what I'd like to answer.

00:19:02 - **Speaker 1**

I hope you're just satisfied with my answers, otherwise please come back. Hope you found it useful.

00:19:07 - **Speaker 2**

I'm sending you this little form to sign. You can sign the PDF. You can also print it out and take a picture of it, but it has to be signed, one way or the other, because otherwise I can't use the things we've been talking about.

00:19:22 - **Speaker 1**

It's a deal and good luck with the work.

00:19:25 - **Speaker 2**

Thank you for that 1000 thanks for the help.

**Journalist D, TV2. Date of interview, 21-04-2023.
Conducted via Facebook Messenger.**

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist D

Danish original version:

Speaker 1: [00:00:00] Det gør jeg bare via min telefon, så jeg synes lyden kører fint igennem, så det er godt. Jamen nu skal du høre. Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at spørge dig om, hvordan du synes partistøtten skal dækkes under en valgkamp ud fra et journalistisk perspektiv?

Speaker 2: [00:00:19] Ja men den skal altså jo dækkes-- Og altså den skal jo først og fremmest skal man jo dække, hvordan de partier, der satser på at komme i regeringen og få magt på deres partistøtteordninger. Men der skal altså. Der skal jo også være en vinkel med at dække det - altså med at skrive om det. Altså hvorfor skal man-- Hvorfor skal vi skrive om deres partistøtteregler? Så der skal jo også findes en eller anden anledning til at skrive om - eller lave fjernsyn - eller hvad man nu gør på partistøttereglerne.

Speaker 1: [00:01:01] Tak skal du have. Jeg har i min analyse lavet en form for kvantitativ oversigt over dækningen af partistøtten under valgkampen i 2022 og i valgkampen 2019. Ud fra de 7 største danske medier.

Speaker 2: [00:01:21] Du har simpelthen talt?

Speaker 1: [00:01:22] Jeg har simpelthen talt, og jeg fandt frem til ud fra--

Speaker 2: [00:01:26] Nu hvor du... Du hvor... Du er--, nu hvor jeg hjælper dig er det sådanne nogle tal, eller skal de indgå i din opgave?

Speaker 1: [00:01:32] De skal indgå i opgaven. Men når min opgave er udkommet, så vil jeg hjertens gerne sende det videre. Det kommer til at ligge offentligt tilgængeligt for alle, så det det fint. Jeg skal bare lige have det certificerede først af vores universitet, så jeg kan ikke sende noget nu. Men jeg vil bare lige fremlægge nogle tal for dig, som jeg godt kunne tænke mig at høre din mening om, fordi jeg har sammenlignet dækningen med nogle andre, så at sige, politiske skandaler, der ligesom opstod under valgkampen. Jeg tænker det som en politisk skandale i og med at Frihedsbrevet blandt andet dækkede det støt. Der var meget snak om Qatar. Ikke kun det sportslige. Sådant noget med, hvordan "Messis og Ronaldos form var," men mere om politikerne skulle gøre noget, kulturministeren skulle gøre noget osv. Altså også en form for politisk skandale. Og så i forbindelse med Søren Pape og alle hans møgsager. Qatar Det blev dækket 170 gange. Søren Pape Han blev dækket 70. Gange med 70 artikler. Det er noget vrøvl, undskyld 90 gange og partistøtten - Selv med denne afsløring blev dækket 18 gange. I 2019, der blev det kun dækket en enkelt gang, partistøtten, og det var en artikel i Jyllands-Posten. Så jeg kunne godt tænke mig at høre dig, Hvordan kan det være, at der er så stor forskel på dækningsgraden af disse emner inden for politiske møgsager?

Speaker 2: [00:02:51] Det kan jo være fordi - Altså nu siger du-- Kaldet du også partistøttereglerne for en skandale i og med der er nogle medier, der har dækket det, og det er jo ikke nødvendigvis sådan alle ser på det, altså. Og sådan ser jeg måske heller ikke helt selv på det. At reglerne for partistøtte er, at de er så skandaløse, så det retfærdiggør en

dækning på linje med dækningen, der blev med Pape-sagen og Qatar sagen til dels. Ja, det er jo sådan hvad jeg umiddelbart syntes jeg vil sige om det.

Speaker 1: [00:03:27] Ja, så kunne jeg godt tænke mig at spørge-- hvordan? Hvorfor tror du der er så stor forskel på dækningsgraden af de her emner?

Speaker 2: [00:03:34] Jamen det tror jeg som sagt altså... Partistøttere er jo ikke så sexet et emne som som en personsag som Pape og heller ikke så kendt. Med Qatar som VM, hvor fodboldlandsholdet jo også bliver en del af det. Der er det at partistøttere er mere sådan tørt og umiddelbart et lidt usexet emne.

Speaker 1: [00:03:58] Det kan være, at du synes, at det lyder dumt, men hvordan kan det være, at du tænker det som et usexet emne?

Speaker 2: [00:04:06] Fordi det er tørt. Altså, det er tal. Og altså, det er ikke så nemt. Så enkelt at opfatte ligesom en personsag som Papes eller i en sag, der implicerer et... Blandt andet implicerer fodboldlandsholdet altså som danskerne... Det var meget oppe på det. Så derfor tror jeg, at de to sager fanger folk mere end partistøttere fanger folk. Det er det, jeg mener med ordet sexet.

Speaker 1: [00:04:40] Tak skal du have. Synes du, at dækningen af partistøtten generelt er stor nok?

Speaker 2: [00:04:47] Altså et...Både og... Man kan godt skrive mere om det, fordi der er... Der er noget at komme efter. Men jeg synes også, at-- altså nu skrev jeg selv den, du har fundet, som jeg selv har lavet. Det er Enhedslistens tilgang. Jeg synes også, der er en del hykleri i det her, fordi Enhedslisten gjorde det på den måde-- Du har sikkert læst nede i bunden af artiklen, at de bare.. det Var nogle tal på en bagside af en serviet nærmest man heksede frem i løbet af... og man valgte jo hvad man ville, offentliggøre og ikke ... og de ville i øvrigt ikke diskutere det mere, så det var... Altså som jeg opfattede det så var det en sag, hvor de havde behov for at vise, at de var så og så progressive i modsætning til alle de andre grådige fjolser. Så det var sådan lidt en opportunistisk sag. Der er helt sikkert noget at komme efter på begge sider af hegnet. Men så altså. Jeg tror at det kommer nok lidt længere ned-- det kommer uanset. Næsten uanset, så kommer det nok lidt langt nede i køen, fordi det ikke er, Af de grunde jeg forklarede før, så er det ikke så så oplagt som de andre lettere tilgængelige emner.

Speaker 1: [00:06:15] Det er måske et spørgsmål, du har svaret på før. Jeg kunne bare godt tænke mig at stille dig det direkte. Nu siger du selv, at der måske godt kunne blive skrevet mere om det. Er der nogle begrænsninger i din hverdag - Det kan både være af personlige årsager eller redaktionelt - der forhindrer dig i at dække et emne som partistøtten mere?

Speaker 2: [00:06:36] Nej, nej, nej, altså, det er der ikke. Altså det er for at sige det, som det er. Altså hvis jeg valgte at sige, "at det her, det syntes jeg ser festligt ud. Nu kan jeg godt. Gøre mere ved det," så kunne jeg sagtens gøre det. Altså jeg kunne f.eks. godt have tænkt mig-- men altså, der er jo selvfølgelig nogen i og med at jeg er på en... På en nyhedsredaktionen, hvor jeg har daglige nyhedsvagter ikke også? Så er der selvfølgelig

grænser for, hvor meget-- altså det er tiden. Der ville jeg-- , hvis jeg havde fat i en historie, jeg syntes var noget, altså, og i min-- Og jeg op... Jeg var... Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at se f.eks. på venstrefløjens partiernes måde at tilgå det her på, fordi jeg er sikker på, at der måske også er nogen-- der er nogle skjulte sponsorer, som man ikke lige kan se. Og hvis jeg fandt-- Hvis jeg skulle... Altså hvis jeg fandt en indgang dér og fandt noget, der var en historie, så ville jeg helt sikkert få lov at arbejde med den. Det er jeg ikke i tvivl om.

Speaker 1: [00:07:38] Det var faktisk det jeg havde af spørgsmål. Jeg lovede jo det ville blive kort og godt . Jeg stopper optageren.

Speaker 2: [00:07:44] Det er....

English translated version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist D

Speaker 1: [00:00:00] I'm just doing it through my phone, so I think the sound is coming through fine, so that's good. But here's the thing. I'd like to ask you about how you think party funding should be covered during an election campaign from a journalistic perspective?

Speaker 2: [00:00:19] Yes, but it should be covered-- And it should first and foremost be covered how the parties that aim to get into government and gain power through their party subsidy schemes. But there must be... There must also be an angle to cover it - to write about it. Why should we write about their party subsidy rules? So there must also be some reason to write about - or make television - or whatever you do on the party funding rules.

Speaker 1: [00:01:01] Thank you very much. In my analysis, I have made a kind of quantitative overview of the coverage of party funding during the 2022 election campaign and the 2019 election campaign. Based on the 7 largest Danish media...

Speaker 2: [00:01:21] You have simply counted?

Speaker 1: [00:01:22] I have simply counted, and I found out based on--.

Speaker 2: [00:01:26] Now that you... You where... You're--, now that I'm helping you, are these numbers like that... or do you have to include them in your assignment?

Speaker 1: [00:01:32] They have to be included in the assignment. But when my paper is published, I would be happy to send it your way. It's going to be publicly available to everyone, so that's fine. I just need to get it certified first by our university, so I can't send

anything now. But I just want to present you with some figures that I would like to hear your opinion on, because I have compared the coverage with some other, so to speak, political scandals that occurred during the election campaign. I think of it as a political scandal in that Frihedsbrevet, among other things, covered it steadily. There was a lot of talk about Qatar. Not just the regular sports news - such as about how "Messi's and Ronaldo's form was," but more about whether politicians should do something, the Minister of Culture should do something, etc. So also a kind of political scandal. And then in connection with Søren Pape and all his shit cases. Qatar was covered 170 times. Søren Pape He was covered 70 times with 70 articles. It's nonsense, sorry, I meant 90 times and the party support - even with this revelation - was covered 18 times. In 2019, it was only covered once, the party subsidy, and that was an article in Jyllands-Posten. So I'd like to ask you, how is it that there is such a big difference in the coverage of these topics in the field of political malfeasance?

Speaker 2: [00:02:51] It may be because - Now you're saying - Are you also calling the party support rules a scandal because some media have covered it, and that's not necessarily how everyone sees it. And maybe I don't quite see it that way myself. That the rules for party funding are so scandalous that it justifies coverage in line with the coverage of the Pape case and the Qatar case to some extent. Yes, that's what I think I would say about it.

Speaker 1: [00:03:27] Well, then I would like to ask-- how? Why do you think there is such a big difference in the coverage of these topics?

Speaker 2: [00:03:34] Well, as I said, I think that... Party support rules are not as sexy a topic as a personal case like Pape and are also not as well known. With Qatar as the World Cup, where the national football team will also be part of it. Party support rules are more of a dry and somewhat unsexy topic.

Speaker 1: [00:03:58] You may think it sounds silly, but why do you think it is that you think it's an unsexy topic?

Speaker 2: [00:04:06] Because it's dry. I mean, it's numbers. And so, it's not that easy. So simple to perceive like a personal case like Pape's or in a case that implicates a... Among other things, the national soccer team implicates the Danes... It was very much up there. So that's why I think those two cases capture people more than party support rules capture people. That's what I mean by the word sexy.

Speaker 1: [00:04:40] Thank you very much. Do you think the coverage of party funding is generally high enough?

Speaker 2: [00:04:47] Well, a...both yes and no... You could write more about it because there's... There is something to be gained. But I also think that-- well, I wrote the one you found, which I made myself. That is Enhedslisten's approach. I also think there's a lot of

hypocrisy in this, because Enhedslisten did it that way-- You've probably read at the bottom of the article that they just... It was some numbers on the back of a napkin that they conjured up in the course of... and they chose what they wanted to publish and what they didn't... and they didn't want to discuss it any further, so it was... Well, as I understood it, it was a case where they needed to show that they were so and so progressive as opposed to all the other greedy fools. So it was a bit of an opportunistic case. There's definitely something to be had on both sides of the fence. But then again. I think it's probably going to come down a little further--it's going to come regardless. Almost regardless, it's going to be a little far down the line because it's not, for the reasons I explained before, it's not as obvious as the other more readily available topics.

Speaker 1: [00:06:15] That's maybe a question you've answered before... I would just like to ask you directly. Now you say yourself that maybe more could be written about it. Are there any constraints in your daily life - be it personal or editorial - that prevent you from covering a topic like party funding more?

Speaker 2: [00:06:36] No, no, no, no, well, there aren't. Well, that's to tell it like it is. So if I chose to say, "I think this looks festive. Now I can do it. Do more with it," then I could easily do that. For example, I could have thought about-- but then, of course, there are of course some people in that I'm in a ... In a newsroom where I have daily news shifts, right? Then of course there are limits to how much-- well, it's about time. I would--, if I had a story that I thought was something, and in my-- And I was ... I was... I would like to look, for example, at the left-wing parties' way of approaching this, because I'm sure that there may also be some-- there are some hidden sponsors that you can't see. And if I found... If I were to... I mean, if I found an entrance there and found something that was a story, then I would definitely be allowed to work with it. I have no doubt about that.

Speaker 1: [00:07:38] That was actually the questions I had. I promised it would be short and sweet. I'll stop the recorder.

Speaker 2: [00:07:44] It's

Journalist E, DR. Date of interview, 08-05-2023.
Conducted via Zoom.

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist E

Danish original version:

Speaker1: [00:00:00] Jeg begynder optage nu her. Perfekt. Og så kunne jeg godt tænke mig at starte med at spørge dig, hvis du har en idé til det; hvordan du ville beskrive den nuværende dækning af partistøtte i medierne?

Speaker2: [00:00:16] Uha... altså, Partistøtte har jo.. Jeg tror det store omdrejningspunkt når vi taler partistøtte, ihvertfald når vi tænker de sidste år, halvanden, to, to en halv. Det har jo været Stram Kurs og Rasmus Paludan. Hvor man vel, hvor det virker som, fra politisk side, at man måske har tænkt, at det var sted man skulle man skulle-- Man skulle skride ind, ikke? Og og for mediesiden, har det jo været en interessant sag, fordi det, det er jo til at forstå. Og det er jo en mand, man kender, g det er jo sådan set også noget, som... En mand, som befolkningen interesserer sig for. Tror jeg. Det vil jeg mene. Det tror jeg sådan set overordnet, er det er som jeg lige anskuer det. Jeg har ikke fulgt vildt meget mere med i den yderligere dækning. Og jeg kan forstå, at man strammer reglerne nu, så det kræver lidt flere stemmer at få noget partistøtte eller et eller andet. Uden at har sat mig videre end det. Så ved ikke hvor meget det er blevet dækket, lidt tror jeg. Men ja.

Speaker1: [00:01:27] Okay, hvad med dækningen i forhold til i en valgperiode versus under en valgkamp, for det er også noget af det jeg har undersøgt. Er der nogen forskel på dækningsgraden dér - altså af vigtigheden - i din optik?

Speaker2: [00:01:46] Nej, jeg tror ikke, der er nogen-- Jeg tror ikke, der er nogen, som har... Det er jo klart, at når man er i en valgkamp, så fylder den politiske dækning mere, og så videre. Men, men, men, men, men, hvad kan man sige? Spørgsmålet om, hvordan vi tilrettelægger vores partistøtte, og hvem der skal have, og hvor meget der skal til, og hvor meget man skal have per stemme, og om det skal være... Ja, om det skal være en sats pr. Stemme man får, eller det skal være en anden algoritme bag eller sådan noget - altså det, det synes jeg ikke på nogen måde. Altså det der synes jeg jo som sådan ikke at det er vigtigere under en valgkampen end på alle mulige andre tidspunkter. Så tror jeg da jeg grundlæggende syntes i en valgkamp, at der er mange andre rigtig, rigtig, rigtig, rigtig mange andre emner, som er væsentligere i forhold til, hvordan danskerne de skal sætte deres kryds ud over partistøtte. Ja, det kan man jo tale om, men jeg ved ikke, hvor vigtig jeg synes, at der nødvendigvis i valgkampen.

Speaker1: [00:02:42] Og det leder meget godt hen til den undersøgelse, jeg har lavet. Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at præsentere nogle få resultater for dig. Jeg har undersøgt valgkampen i 2022 og i 2019 i forhold til dækningsgraden af partistøtte versus nogle af de andre emner, der var oppe at vende. Jeg sammenligner i 2022 med Søren Papes møgsager

og Qatar-skandalerne omkring Qatar, og det er altså ikke det fodboldmæssige, jeg har taget med. Det er ikke noget om Ronald eller Messi, det er noget om Kulturministeriet, DBU osv. Qatar blev dækket, inden det blev startet under valgkampen, 170 gange af de syv danske medier altså 170 artikler. Søren Pape, han fik spaltepads på 90, og selv med Frihedsbrevets afsløringer, der fik partistøtten 18. I 2019, der blev det kun dækket en enkelt gang under valgkampen. Så mit spørgsmål til dig er, ud fra et journalistisk synspunkt, hvorfor tror du, der er så stor forskel på de her sager i forhold til at tage artikler og spaltepads?

Speaker2: [00:03:54] Jamen, det er jo et godt spørgsmål. Altså, man kan sige, at hvis vi tager Søren Pape, så var det jo rimelig afgørende for, hvordan valget det ville falde ud, så derfor har det selvfølgelig haft en sindssygt stor væsentlighed. Og så er det rigtigt at Frihedsbrevet lavede noget... Rigtig godt afdækning-- en god afdækning af-- Ja, hvad kan man sige i omgåelse af de forskellige partistøtteregler. Jeg ved ikke så meget, om det havde noget med selve... Hvordan reglerne er skruet sammen på, fordi man kan vel altid snyde. Men men men, jeg vil da helt sikkert sige at den dækning Frihedsbrevet lavede den, den blev da underdækket. Det kunne da være fedt hvis hvis andre medier de kunne hoppe på vognen. Men jeg vil så også sige at jeg synes måske faktisk Frihedsbrevet, hvis de skulle-- Nu er det jo et nichemedier som som var en... Som skal forsøge at ramme ind i nogle dagsordener, hvor vi ser andre måske ikke gør. Men hvis det DR skulle have lavet, skulle lavet den historie, så tror jeg, da at jeg bedrer havde set den i et forløb mellem valgene end under selve valgkampen. Jeg ved ikke, om jeg har svaret helt på spørgsmålet, men det da... I forhold til hvor god en afdækning Frihedsbrevet lavede, så er det da... Så er det da lidt voldsomt at Pape er faktor 5 og Qatar faktor 10. Men igen jeg synes jo sådan set grundlæggende både Qatar og Søren Pape er væsentligere større historier. Så ja.

Speaker1: [00:05:33] Må jeg spørge hvorfor du syntes det er væsentligt større historier? Det kunne jeg godt tænke mig at høre dit besyv på.

Speaker2: [00:05:40] Altså, fordi Qatar det... Det er et land vi handler med for cirka 1 mia. kroner om året. Vi sender nogle fodboldspillere derned... Som som... Hvad kan man sige, sportsfolk der blandes i...image... Ja, altså altså ja, det tror jeg grundlæggende er det. Og Søren Pape det var altså manden han stod til, måske at skulle være statsminister og have enorm indflydelse på, hvad der skulle ske i det her land i de kommende fire år. Så det gør det til en lidt væsentligere historie. Partistøtte er jo sådan set også helt sikkert væsentligt. Så jeg syntes jo også, at en faktor 5 og en faktor 10 - et slag på tasken i forhold til hvor mange artikler der blev skrevet. Dette er det da høje tal, ja.

Speaker1: [00:06:37] Tak skal du have. Jeg har spurgt dine kollegaer på andre medier i forhold til - hvad skal man sige - nyhedsværdien af selve historien-- altså interessen for den hos læserne, hvilket også er noget, jeg undersøger, hvordan de forskellige medier griber den del an. For eksempel for Danmarks Radio - sådan en historie om omgåelse af

partistøtteregele og den slags. Hvor højt rangerer den - i forhold til nogle af de andre, der var blevet nævnt?

Speaker2: [00:07:05] I forhold til interesse? Ja, altså nu... Det tror jeg vi... Jeg ved ikke hvad din undersøgelse viser, men jeg ved nærmest ikke om, der er blevet lavet en artikel om det på dr.dk om det, men i så fald der gjorde, så tror jeg altså-- det der, det der virker både på dr.dk og sikkert alle andre medier også, det er jo hvis der er nogle, nogle klare hovedpersoner, nogle skurke, et eller andet lignende. Så jeg tror, at hvis vi havde lavet-- hvad var det Ida Auken-vinklen eller Anders Samuelsen, eller hvad de mere lavede... Altså de ville virke super godt. Og Pape virker jo også super godt, fordi der er en klar hovedperson. Qatar, det tror jeg faktisk har lidt færre læsere, så jeg tror-- Jeg tror ikke, man skal se det som et et fravalg, fordi det ikke generer mange klik og læsere og så videre. Men ja-- Det tror jeg godt kunne performe lidt. Man kan sige, at den overordnede diskussion om partistøtte... Den er måske lidt sværere at sælge. Men det gør den jo ikke uvæsentlig. Ja.

Speaker1: [00:08:10] Er det en svær historie at lave?

Speaker2: [00:08:13] Tydeligvis ikke. Det så ud til at være meget nemt for Frihedsbreve. Altså, jeg kan sige... Altså, det er jo ikke. Altså, det er jo ikke en historie, jeg vil sidde og lave på Erhvervs- og økonomiredaktionen, men men, tydeligvis har den ikke været svær. Men jeg tror tit det er sådan noget med de historier, som hvad jeg lige har læst lidt om den og så videre... altså, alle ved, at der bliver fusket med det, ikke? Sådan lidt i det skjulte. Det er sådan én, én. Hvad kan man sige? En almen kendt hemmelighed. De historier bliver tit bare ikke lavet. Altså vi har med hende her Lizette Risgård, der lige er stoppet som FH formand, det var også sådan noget, alle de gik lidt og vidste, ikke? Der er ikke rigtig blevet gjort noget ved det. Det-- det sådan meget klassisk tror jeg, på nogen måder. Men nej, jeg tror ikke, den er svær at lave.

Speaker1: [00:09:06] Det var faktisk det, jeg havde af spørgsmål. Jeg skynder mig lige at stoppe optagelsen her.

English translated version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist E

Speaker1: [00:00:00] I'll start recording now here. Perfect. And then I'd like to start by asking you, if you have an idea, how you would describe the current coverage of party funding in the media?

Speaker2: [00:00:16] Uha... well, party funding has... I think the big focal point when we talk about party funding, at least when we think about the last year and a half, two, two and a half. It has been Stram Kurs and Rasmus Paludan. Where you well, where it seems like, from the political side, that you might have thought that it was a place you had to-- You had to intervene, right? And for the media, it's been an interesting case, because it's understandable. And it's a man you know, and it's also something that ... A man that the population is interested in. I think so. I would say so. I think that's how I see it in general. I haven't followed much more of the additional coverage. And I understand that they are tightening the rules now, so it requires a few more votes to get some party support or something. Without having looked any further than that. So I don't know how much it's been covered, a little bit I think. But yeah, yeah.

Speaker1: [00:01:27] Okay, what about the coverage in terms of during an election period versus during an election campaign, because that's also one of the things I've been looking at. Is there any difference in the level of coverage there - in terms of importance - in your view?

Speaker2: [00:01:46] No, I don't think there's anyone-- I don't think there's anyone who has... It's obvious that when you're in an election campaign, the political coverage takes up more space, and so on. But, but, but, but, but, but, but, what can you say? The question of how we organize our party funding, and who should get it, and how much it should be, and how much you should get per vote, and whether it should be... Yes, whether it should be a rate per vote you get, or whether there should be another algorithm behind it or something like that - well, I don't think so in any way. I don't think it's more important during an election campaign than at any other time. Then I think I basically think in an election campaign that there are many other really, really, really, really, really, really many other issues that are more important in terms of how Danes should mark their crosses in addition to party support. Yes, we can talk about that, but I don't know how important I think it necessarily is in the election campaign.

Speaker1: [00:02:42] And that leads very well to the study I have done. I would like to present a few results to you. I have examined the election campaign in 2022 and in 2019 in terms of the coverage of party subsidies versus some of the other issues that were discussed. I compare in 2022 with Søren Pape's messy cases and the Qatar scandals around Qatar, and it is not the football-related issues that I have included. It's not about

Ronald or Messi, it's about the Ministry of Culture, DBU, etc. Qatar was covered before it was started during the election campaign, 170 times by the seven Danish media, i.e. 170 articles. Søren Pape, he got column space on 90, and even with the revelations of the Frihedsbrevet, which got the party support 18. In 2019, it was only covered once during the election campaign. So my question to you is, from a journalistic point of view, why do you think there is such a big difference between these cases in terms of taking articles and column space?

Speaker2: [00:03:54] Well, that's a good question. Well, you could say that if we take Søren Pape, then it was pretty crucial for how the election would turn out, so therefore it has of course had an insanely great importance. And then it is true that Frihedsbrevet did something ... Really good coverage-- a good coverage of-- Well, what can you say in circumvention of the various party support rules. I don't really know if it had anything to do with the... How the rules are set up, because you can always cheat. But but but but, I would definitely say that the coverage Frihedsbrevet made it, it was undercovered. It would be great if other media could jump on the bandwagon. But I would also say that I think maybe actually Frihedsbrevet, if they were to-- Now it is a niche media that was a ... Which should try to hit some agendas, where we see others may not do. But if DR were to have done that story, I think I would have preferred to see it in a period between elections rather than during the election campaign itself. I don't know if I've answered the question completely, but there it is... In relation to how good a coverage Frihedsbrevet made, it is then ... Then it's a bit wild that Pape is factor 5 and Qatar factor 10. But then again, I think both Qatar and Søren Pape are basically much bigger stories. So, yes.

Speaker1: [00:05:33] May I ask why you think they are significantly bigger stories? I would like to hear your opinion on that.

Speaker2: [00:05:40] Well, because Qatar it... It's a country we trade with for about 1 billion kroner a year. We send some soccer players down there... Like ... What can you say, athletes who are mixed in ... image ... Yes, well, yes, I think that's basically it. And Søren Pape was the man he stood for, perhaps to be prime minister and have enormous influence on what would happen in this country in the next four years. So that makes it a slightly more significant story. Party support is, of course, also certainly important. So I also think that a factor of 5 and a factor of 10 - a slap in the face in relation to how many articles were written. These are high figures, yes.

Speaker1: [00:06:37] Thank you very much. I have asked your colleagues in other media in relation to - how shall we say - the news value of the story itself - that is, the interest in it among readers, which is also something I am investigating how the different media approach that part. For example, for Danmarks Radio - a story about circumvention of party support rules and that kind of thing. How high does it rank - compared to some of the others that were mentioned?

Speaker2: [00:07:05] In terms of interest? Yes, well, now... I think we... I don't know what your survey shows, but I almost don't know if there has been an article about it on dr.dk, but if there was, then I think that-- what works both on dr.dk and probably all other media as well, is if there are some, some clear protagonists, some villains, something like that. So I think that if we had done-- what was it the Ida Auken angle or Anders Samuelsen, or whatever else they did... Well, they would work really well. And Pape also works really well, because there's a clear protagonist. Qatar, I think, actually has slightly fewer readers, so I think-- I don't think you should see it as an opt-out, because it doesn't generate many clicks and readers and so on. But yes-- I think it could perform a little bit. You could say that the overall discussion about party funding... It is perhaps a little harder to sell. But that doesn't make it unimportant. Yes.

Speaker1: [00:08:10] Is it a difficult story to make?

Speaker2: [00:08:13] Obviously not. It seemed to be very easy for Frihedsbrevet. I mean, I can say... Well, it's not. I mean, it's not a story I want to sit and do on the Business and Economics desk, but obviously, it hasn't been difficult. But I think it's often something like that with stories like what I've just read about it and so on ... well, everyone knows that it's being cheated, right? Kind of in secret. It's like that, one, one. What can you say? A generally known secret. Those stories often just don't get made. So we have this Lizette Risgård, who has just quit as FH chairman, it was also something that everyone kind of knew, wasn't it? Nothing has really been done about it. It--it's very classic, I think, in some ways. But no, I don't think it's difficult to make.

Speaker1: [00:09:06] That was actually the question I had. I'm just going to stop the recording here.

Journalist F, Ekstra Bladet. Date of interview, 27-04-2023. Conducted via Zoom.

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist F

Danish original version:

Speaker 1: [00:00:02] Super godt.Okay - Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at starte med at spørge, om det er vigtigt, at dække sådan noget som partistøtte under en valgkamp, som den vi har haft i 2022 for eksempel?

Speaker 2: [00:00:21] Jamen, jeg synes, at det er vigtigt, at dække generelt. Så jeg ved ikke, om det er særlig vigtigt i en valgkamp. Men det er vigtigt, at dække generelt.

Speaker 1: [00:00:33] Synes du den dækning der er lige nu, den er stor nok i forhold til emnet?

Speaker 2: [00:00:41] Når du siger dækning, hvad mener du så?

Speaker 1: [00:00:43] Der mener jeg i forhold til, hvor mange artikler der bliver skrevet om det.

Speaker 2: [00:00:47] Altså generelt eller hos mit medie?

Speaker 1: [00:00:50] Generelt i mediebilledet, men også for Ekstra Bladets vedkommende.

Speaker 2: [00:00:53] Jeg har ikke-- Jamen, jeg vil nødig udtale mig om det generelle billede. Altså ikke meget ned i detaljerne. Men jeg syntes, at vi på Ekstra Bladet dækker det ofte og grundigt, og det mener jeg er proportionelt.

Speaker 1: [00:01:08] Ja. Grunden til jeg spørger er, at jeg i min undersøgelse har lavet en oversigt over hvor det er blevet dækket. Lad os tage udgangspunkt i den seneste valgkamp i 2022. Jeg har sammenlignet emnet med nogle andre, så at sige, store politiske skandaler, blandt andet med dækningen-- den politiske dækning af Qatar. Og med "politisk dækning," så mener jeg, at det ikke har noget at gøre med Ronaldos form, eller om det bliver Messis sidste VM og så videre. Men om det politiske palaver omkring DBU og kulturministerens rolle osv. Osv. Det er den ene og så den anden, som jeg har taget med, det er Søren Papes møgsager. De møgsager blev dækket 90 gange i de syv danske største medier. Det politiske spil omkring Qatar blev dækket 170 gang - på trods af at slutrunden ikke var gået i gang endnu, mens at partistøtten blandt andet med Frihedsbrevets afsløringer blev dækket 18 gangen. Ud fra et journalistisk, hvad skal man sige, kriterie - Synspunkt, Hvorfor tror du så, der er så stor forskel på dækningsgraden i de her emner?

Speaker 2: [00:02:12] Jamen, jeg syntes at-- jeg syntes jo dine-- umiddelbart at din at din afgrænsning er for smal, fordi hvis du-- Hvis du skal kunne lave en ordentlig vurdering af det,

så skal du se over en hel valgperiode og ikke under en valgkamp. Altså, du skal tænke på en valgkamp har jo en helt særlig dynamik. Den er jo meget båret på-- på-- på-- på hvad der lige dukker op af sager, og så bliver de dækket meget. Partistøtte er et mere universelt emne, som kan være relevant at dække - ikke nødvendigvis i en valgkamp, men også et år før et valg og 2 år før et valg. Det er faktisk sjældent, at man vil dække den slags i en valgkamp, fordi den-- der er ikke er en særlig krog til at dække det i en valgkamp. Da vil du jo ofte se på, hvad opstår der af sager der. Så jeg synes ikke ikke du kan bruge valgkampen som et-- et-- en særlig valid afgrænsning til det. Så jeg ville nok se lidt bredere på det, hvis jeg var dig.

Speaker 1: [00:03:03] Interessant. Hvorfor syntes du, at der ikke som sådan er en rigtig krog under en valgkamp til at dække det?

Speaker 2: [00:03:09] Jamen fordi-- fordi at deres valgkampe er ekstremt dagsordensbaseret Aktuelle dagsordener, som medier hopper på og går efter. Det er derfor, der blev skrevet så meget om Søren Pape, fordi det var en stor dagsorden under valget. Altså partistøttereglerne er, er, ikke altså det-- hvis det-- de eksisterer nu, og de eksisterer efter valget. Det vil sige, når medier skal-- du skal tænke på en valgkamp er utroligt kort, og man skal træffe nogle behårde prioriteringer, når man skal dække det som et medie. Altså, vi sidder fem mand her, og vi kan ikke dække alt. Så vil vi som sagt gå behårdt på dagsordenerne, og så kunne vi - kan du sige - så har vi heldigvis fire år mellem to valg, hvor vi kan dække alt det andet. Og i den periode er partistøtte noget, som vi ofte ser på. Men, men, men, men, men at bruge en valgkamp til det, da vil det ofte være andre ting. Og det er derfor jeg tror du ser så få hits på det der. Så jeg synes ikke, at man kan sige på baggrund af en valgkamp, at det bliver underprioriteret. Så der skal du simpelthen se det i et bredere perspektiv.

Speaker 1: [00:04:09] [Inaudible speech from someone in the background] Ja, eller ja, det er måske ok, at der er nogen i baggrunden. Tak for svar. Jeg kunne godt tænke mig--

Speaker 2: [00:04:21] Jeg sidder på et-- deler kontor med en anden, så det må du lige leve med.

Speaker 1: [00:04:24] Ja, selvfølgelig. Det er helt okay. Jeg skulle bare lige høre om vi lige skulle vente et kort sekund. Hvad med i forhold til - rent nyhedsrelevans - hvor ligger reglerne - eller partistøttereglerne, historierne om dem, og de afsløringer der, hvad-- ud fra en journalistisk prioritering - er det en interessant historie, for eksempel for et medie fra Ekstra Bladet som Ekstra Bladet, og i så fald hvorfor?

Speaker 2: [00:04:47] Det kan jeg jo. Jeg kan jo ikke. Jeg kan jo ikke sige generelt, om det er interessant. Ja, altså, jeg syntes jo, at sager, der vedrører økonomi og politik, synes, vi er interessante på Ekstra Bladet. Det handler om politikeres forbrug. Det handler om om offentlig støtte, gruppestøtte, partistøtte, andre ting. Så det er generelt interessant og nyhedsværdigt for os. Men du kan sige, at vi skriver jo ikke-- Vi skriver ikke bare om partistøtte for at skrive om partistøtte. Altså, for det skal have nyhedsværdigt, skal der være en specifik krog. For eksempel hvis de prøver at omgå partistøtten, eller hvis de prøver at ændre reglerne. Hvis der er noget mørklægning, altså nogle ting som er spektakulære, så så du kan sige hvornår er det nyhedsværdigt, og hvornår er det ikke nyhedsværdigt. Det vil jo være en konkret afvejning. Men men temaet er interessant for os.

Speaker 1: [00:05:36] Kan jeg få dig til at uddybe bare en lille smule, selvom det virker lidt banalt, hvorfor temaet er interessant?

Speaker 2: [00:05:41] Jamen, det er fordi, at penge i politik er for et medie som Ekstra Bladet ekstremt interessant. Fordi det er sådan noget, som kan være med til at-- Og, og, og kan man sige, at rykke ved magtstrukturer, kan være med til at definere en masse ting i forhold til, hvad politikere gør og ikke gør. Så penge er interessant - Altså pengepolitik er interessant generelt. Hvis du så samtidig har et-- inden for det spektrum - noget, hvor du kan sige, at der er en vis form for lukkethed og mørklægning, så gør det det for et medie som Ekstra Bladet endnu mere interessant. Så den-- kan du sige. Det er nogle ingredienser, som som vi synes er spændende at gå ind i på et tabloidmedie, og det er da også derfor, at vi skriver en del om partistøtte. Generelt.

Speaker 1: [00:06:29] Jeg har snakket med nogle andre journalister fra andre af de store danske medier, der har fortalt, at det er et emne der er enormt svært at bringe historier om, fordi der er så meget lukkethed omkring det, og at der skal være ret stærke beviser for, at man kan bringe nogle af de historier. Vil du tilskrive dig enig i den slags udtalelser og, hvad skal man sige, narrativ, at det er enormt svært non-transparent emne at kunne få lov at dække?

Speaker 2: [00:06:58] Ja, ja.. Ja, det er det. Der er nogle regler på området, der gør, at det kan være svært at få indsigt i, og det er klart, det sætter nogle begrænsninger.

Speaker 1: [00:07:10] Så den form for, hvad skal man sige, begrænsning, er det noget der gør, at der bliver skrevet mindre om emnet - i din optik?

Speaker 2: [00:07:17] Det ved jeg ikke om man kan sige generelt. Det tør jeg ikke-- Jeg kan ikke udtale mig på andre mediers vegne, men jeg kan sige hos os, er det jo dybest set noget der gør, at vi bliver endnu mere ihærdige for at få nogle ting frem. Så nej.

Speaker 1: [00:07:32] Det var faktisk det, Jeg havde et spørgsmål. Jeg stopper optagelsen.

English translated version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist F

Speaker 1: [00:00:02] Great. Okay - I'd like to start by asking if it's important to cover something like party funding during an election campaign, like the one we had in 2022 for example?

Speaker 2: [00:00:21] Well, I think it's important to cover in general. So I don't know if it's particularly important in an election campaign. But it's important to cover in general.

Speaker 1: [00:00:33] Do you think the coverage that's out there right now, is big enough in terms of the topic?

Speaker 2: [00:00:41] When you say coverage, what do you mean?

Speaker 1: [00:00:43] I mean in terms of how many articles are being written about it.

Speaker 2: [00:00:47] I mean in general or in my media?

Speaker 1: [00:00:50] In general in the media, but also for Ekstra Bladet.

Speaker 2: [00:00:53] I haven't-- Well, I'd rather not comment on the general picture. Not much into the details. But I think that we at Ekstra Bladet cover it often and thoroughly, and I think that's proportionate.

Speaker 1: [00:01:08] Yes. The reason I ask is that in my survey I have made an overview of how much it has been covered. Let's take the most recent election campaign in 2022 as a starting point. I compared it to some other, so to speak, major political scandals, including the coverage-- the political coverage of Qatar. And by "political coverage," I mean that it has nothing to do with Ronaldo's form, or whether this will be Messi's last World Cup, and so on. But about the political palaver around DBU and the role of the Minister of Culture, etc. Etc. It's one and then the other, which I have included, it's Søren Pape's shit storms. These issues were covered 90 times in the seven largest Danish media outlets. The political game around Qatar was covered 170 times - despite the fact that the tournament had not yet started, while the party support, among other things with the revelations of Frihedsbrevet, was covered 18 times. From a journalistic, shall we say, criterion - point of view, why do you think there is such a big difference in the degree of coverage of these topics?

Speaker 2: [00:02:12] Well, I think that-- I think that your-- I think that your-- your definition is too narrow, because if you-- If you want to be able to make a proper assessment of it, you have to look over an entire election period and not just during an election campaign. Well, you have to consider that an election campaign has a very special dynamic. It is very much based on-- on-- on-- on-- on whatever issues come up, and they are covered a lot. Party funding is a more universal topic that can be relevant to cover - not necessarily in an election campaign - but also one year before an election and two years before an election. It's actually rare that you want to cover it in an election campaign because it's-- there's not a special hook to cover it in an election campaign. You will often look at what kind of cases arise there. So I don't think you can use the election campaign as a-- a-- a very valid boundary for that. So I would probably look at it a little more broadly if I were you.

Speaker 1: [00:03:03] Interesting. Why do you think there's not really a proper hook during an election campaign to cover that?

Speaker 2: [00:03:09] Well, because-- because that their election campaigns are extremely agenda-based topical agendas that media jump on and go after. That's why so much was written about Søren Pape, because it was a big agenda during the election. So the party support rules are, are, are, not that-- if that-- they exist now, and they exist after the election. That is, when media have to-- you have to think about an election campaign is incredibly short, and you have to make some tough priorities when you have to cover it as a media. I mean, we're five people here, and we can't cover everything. So, as I said, we will go hard on the agendas, and then we could - you could say - fortunately we have four years between two elections where we can cover everything else. And in that period, party funding is something that we often look at. But, but, but, but, but, but, but, but, but using an election campaign for that, then it will often be other things. And that's why I think you see so few hits

on that. So I don't think you can say on the basis of an election campaign that it is under-prioritized. So you simply have to look at it in a broader perspective.

Speaker 1: [00:04:09] [Inaudible speech from someone in the background] Yes, or yes, it might be ok that there is someone in the background. Thank you for your answer. I would like to--

Speaker 2: [00:04:21] I'm in a-- share an office with someone else, so you'll just have to live with that.

Speaker 1: [00:04:24] Yes, of course. That's quite alright. I was just wondering if we could just wait for a second. What about in relation to - purely news relevance - where are the rules - or the party support rules, the stories about them, and the revelations there, what-- from a journalistic prioritization - is it an interesting story, for example for a media from Ekstra Bladet as Ekstra Bladet, and if so, why?

Speaker 2: [00:04:47] I can do that-- I can't. I can't say in general whether it's interesting. Yes, well, I think that matters relating to economics and politics are interesting to us at Ekstra Bladet. It's about politicians' spending. It's about public support, group support, party support, and other things. So it's generally interesting and newsworthy for us. But you could say that we don't write-- We don't just write about party funding for the sake of writing about party funding. So, for it to be newsworthy, there has to be a specific hook. For example, if they try to circumvent the party subsidy, or if they try to change the rules. If there is a cover-up, i.e. some things that are spectacular, then you can say when is it newsworthy and when is it not newsworthy. It will be a concrete balancing act. But the theme is interesting for us.

Speaker 1: [00:05:36] Can I get you to elaborate just a little bit, even if it seems a bit banal, why the theme is interesting?

Speaker 2: [00:05:41] Well, it's because money in politics is extremely interesting for a media like Ekstra Bladet. Because it's something that can help to-- And, and, and, and you could say, to change power structures, can help to define a lot of things in relation to what politicians do and don't do. So money is interesting - I mean, monetary policy is interesting in general. If you also have a - within that spectrum - something where you can say that there is a certain kind of closedness and secrecy, then it makes it even more interesting for a media like Ekstra Bladet. So it-- you could say. These are some ingredients that we think are exciting for a tabloid media, and that is also why we write a lot about party funding. In general.

Speaker 1: [00:06:29] I've talked to some other journalists from other major Danish media who have told me that it's a topic that is extremely difficult to bring stories about because there is so much secrecy around it, and that there must be pretty strong evidence for you to bring some of the stories. Would you agree with that kind of statement and, shall we say, narrative, that it's a very difficult non-transparent topic to be able to cover?

Speaker 2: [00:06:58] Yes, yes... Yes, it is. There are some rules in the area that make it difficult to gain insight into, and it is clear that it sets some limitations.

Speaker 1: [00:07:10] So that kind of, how shall we say, restriction, is that something that causes less to be written about the subject - in your view?

Speaker 2: [00:07:17] I don't know if you can say that in general. I don't dare-- I can't speak on behalf of other media, but I can say that for us, it's basically something that makes us even more persistent to get some things out. So no.

Speaker 1: [00:07:32] That's actually it, I had a question. I'm going to stop the recording.

Journalist G, Berlingske. Date of interview, 19-05-2023. Conducted via Google Meet.

Speaker 1: Journalist G

Speaker 2: August Merved

Danish original version:

Speaker 1: [00:00:01] Ja, jeg skriver lige til en kilde. To sekunder.

Speaker 2: [00:00:03] Det er i orden.

Speaker 2: [00:00:13] Sådan. Det kan godt være, at der bliver en del af det, jeg har sendt... Lige inden vi begyndte at snakke sammen, sendte jeg ti beskeder: "Hej, vi laver det her i dag. Har du tid?" Fordi det er sådan en lidt dum dag på nyhedsfronten.

Speaker 2: [00:00:24] Okay ja. Jeg er med på, at der kan være afbrydelser. Det er helt i orden. Ja, du må svare så meget du ved om det, men jeg kunne vildt godt tænke mig at høre

dit perspektiv på, hvad du tænker om den dækning der er af partistøtte i danske medier helt generelt?

Speaker 1: [00:00:42] Åh, det er et svært spørgsmål jo. Og det er et svært spørgsmål, fordi jeg ikke har overblikket over, hvad dækningen er, men Frihedsbrevet lavede nogle historier her for et lille halvt til et helt års tid siden, der var-- der var ret omfattende. Jeg tror måske det må have været en "Henrik Jensen" og... Og når man gør det på-- når man gør det kompetent, kan man komme rigtig, rigtig langt. Fordi det her er et af de områder, hvor der er meget, meget lidt gennemsigtighed i Danmark og hvor at... At vi må trods alt sige, at der er tale om direkte påvirkning. Måske kun økonomisk, men i princippet også holdningsmæssigt af de mennesker, der træffer beslutningerne. Er det noget vi kigger nok på? Tydeligvis ikke eftersom at det gav så meget genklang i de historier som Frihedsbrevet lavede. Er det noget vi kan kigge mere på? Måske, men spørgsmålet er også om vi har kræfterne der kan, fordi når det er så mørkelagt, som det er, så kræver det rigtig meget arbejde.

Speaker 2: [00:01:45] Kan jeg få dig til at uddybe, hvorfor det er et svært emne at dække?

Speaker 1: [00:01:49] Jamen, det er jo netop denne her lov om, at hvis at man giver mere end 20 000, så skal det være offentligt. Men så kan man bare dække sig ind under at være en erhvervsklub f.eks.. Og hvem sidder så i den erhvervsklubber eller den faglige klub som-- Der behøver de ikke at oplyse det, og når de ikke behøver at oplyse det, så kan man jo... Så skal man jo f.eks. kunne finde nogen, der har været til stede ved nogle møder for at kunne fortælle, hvem der er-- hvem der er de reelle bidragsydere. Og samtidig med det, så det der var vigtigt i Frihedsbrevets dækning, var jo også, at de kunne bevise hvem de bidragsydere var og bevise, at de har mødtes med de pågældende politikere, fordi så er vi lige pludselig ude i, at det ikke er en erhvervsklub, men enkeltpersoner, der dækker sig ind under en, ja, erhvervsklub eller landbrugsklub eller faglig klub. Man har mulighed for direkte at sige "jeg giver bidrag denne vej." Og det gør det meget svært at finde ud af, hvem det er, der har så direkte møder med ministeren eller med politikerne.

Speaker 2: [00:02:52] Hvad med i forhold, sådan, ren læserinteresse? Jeg kunne godt tænke mig høre dit perspektiv på det som Berlingske-journalist. Er det noget, læserne interesserer sig for? Er det noget, man som journalist på Berlingske syntes er interessant at skrive om?

Speaker 1: [00:03:03] Nu er jeg jo forsvarsjournalist, så man kan sige... Ja.. Men-- men i forhold til den måde, som vi bedriver medier, er det jo i hvert fald interessant...på det at man meget nemt kan sælge billetter på, så at sige på, at politikere dækker sig ind, dækker ryg, lever i det skjulte - den slags. Så hvis man kan vinkle det rigtigt eller vinkle det tabloidt nok,

så vil man nok godt kunne. Men fordi det er så komplekst, så kan vi godt risikere at tabe dem inden de når ned i bunden af historien. Og derfor er det også... Altså der er et formidlingsspørgsmål om på den ene side at være tabloid nok til at de kommer ind af døren og på den anden side være grundig nok til at de ikke misforstår, og tror, at der er tale om decideret korrupsion,- To sekunder, jeg skal lige hoste. Også fordi, at vi jo på Berlingske jo har en politik om at tilbageholde oplysninger - i hvert fald i de 3 første paragraffer, sådan som man får dem ned under... hvad hedder den.. betalingsmuren! Og det betyder jo, at når folk kun ser de første 3 linjer, så kan vi nogle gange, hvis vi ikke er meget opmærksomme, få folk til at tro ting, som er unuanceret - for at sige det mildt. Så er der læserinteresse i det? Ja, det er der, hvis man er i stand til at skrive det rigtigt. Jeg synes jo for eksempel sådan en som Henrik Jensen, ud over at være en rigtig dygtig researcher, også er en rigtig, rigtig dygtig formidler, og det hjælper meget.

Speaker 2: [00:04:37] Tak. Jeg har i mine undersøgelser til det her speciale lavet nogle optællinger under de seneste to valgkampperioder, over hvordan forskellige sager er blevet dækket. Jeg har taget udgangspunkt i Søren Pape. Jeg har taget udgangspunkt i Qatar - og det er det politiske spektrum af Qatar - altså ikke noget om, hvor mange mål Messi mon scorer, men rent politisk, sammenlignet med partistøtte. I 2019, der har jeg valgt at sammenligne-- Jeg har taget udgangspunkt i Rasmus Paludans sager. Nu skal tænke om jeg kan huske tallene korrekt, men Qatar fik 170 artikler dækket. Søren Pape var 90. Partistøtte, selv med Frihedsbrevets afsløringerne var 18. I 2019 blev det kun dækket en enkelt gang, altså partistøtten. Rasmus Paludan var oppe over i hvert fald 150 gange. Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at høre dit perspektiv på - hvorfor tror du, der er så stor forskel på dækningsgraden af de her politiske sager? Hvis du har... Ja, nogle tanker om det, vil jeg enormt gerne høre det.

Speaker 1: [00:05:43] Der er også en præmis, for det der, ikke også? Qatar er jo ikke bare en historie. Det er en historie om arbejdstagerrettigheder. Det er en historie om sport som politisk redskab. Det er en historie om rigtig mange ting. Paludan er også en historie om rigtig mange ting. Det at et spørgsmål om et nyt parti, det er et spørgsmål om sikkerhedspolitik. Det er et spørgsmål om, hvad politiets ressourcer, og derudover i øvrigt, trusler af journalister og alle mulige andre ting. Pape, også lidt, mange ting på en gang, hvorimod partistøtte er én ting. Det tror jeg er en meget vigtig faktor i det her og et præmis jeg er i hvert fald selv ville gå lidt længere ned i, inden jeg stillede den sådan op. Men hvis vi skal snakke om hvorfor at det ikke får så meget dækning, så kan man sige, at 18 artikler på en hel valgkamp. Det er ikke meget, men det er meget for en... For noget der i virkeligheden er meget teknisk. Og man kunne måske sammenligne den med hvor mange artikler får det, at man ikke kan søge aktindsigt i Folketinget overhovedet? Relativt få og det hedder edderbankme lige så bindegalt. Det har i hvert fald-- det er i hvert fald et udtryk for, for at vi har nogle nogle ting, der uden forklaring bliver hemmeligholdt i Danmark. Så hvis man stiller det sådan op, så er det jo noget, der rent faktisk bliver dækket, og noget som folk har mulighed for at læse. Men altså en artikel i 2019. Det er en skændsel.

Speaker 2: [00:07:19] Hvorfor synes du, at det er en skændsel, at der kun er en artikel under en valgkamp?

Speaker 1: [00:07:23] Fordi 2019 var en meget stor og meget beskidt valgkamp. Som jeg husker den i hvert fald, og hvor der var mange monetære interesser i at få et meget-- at få nogle meget specifikke udfald. Så der må jo have ligget rigtig, rigtig, rigtig mange penge ovre i partistøtten, som man-- som simpelthen ikke er blevet holdt øje med. To sekunder, jeg skal lige svare på en besked.

Speaker 2: [00:07:47] Selvfølgelig.

Speaker 1: [00:08:04] Så en artikel, det er simpelthen forrykt, imens at 18 artikler syntes jeg måske nok er indenfor skiven. Uden så til gengæld at kunne svare på hvor mange artikler, var der i alt om alle mulige andre ting, fordi jeg ikke rigtig køber præmissen om disse 3 emner Pape, Qatar og Paludan. Men... Fordi hvis man går ind i dem og siger "når men hvor mange af historierne om Søren Pape handlede så specifikt om hans ex-mand for eksempel. Det gjorde ret mange af dem. Men hvor mange af dem handlede så om hans kandidatur, og det gjorde så dermed også færre af dem. Hvis man stiller de to ting op over for hinanden, så vil man jo også kunne sige "nå men så var det måske i nærheden af hinanden, måske" Ja.

Speaker 2: [00:08:53] Tak. Interessant. Jeg tjekker lige igennem for mit næste spørgsmål. Her jeg skal lige se, hvad der giver mening. Ja, hvis jeg kan få dig til at dykke en lille smule mere ned i 2019, selvom det ligger nogle år tilbage - at en beskidt valgkamp med mange monetære interesser, hvorfor tror du så ikke, at det fik mere end en enkelt artikel?

Speaker 1: [00:09:31] Det handler om, at der var virkelig, virkelig mange emner i 2019, og at Paludan fx fyldte rigtig, rigtig, rigtig meget. Så mange af de kræfter, der var allokeret til at skrive om, hvad-- de løb i andre retninger. Og sådan er det jo også nogle gange nødt til at være, kan man sige. Nu har jeg selv siddet på avisen "Kommunen" i lange perioder som den eneste og derfor skulle dække alt, hvad der handlede om Christiansborgpolitik ud fra et kommunalt synspunkt. Jamen, så er der kun de kræfter, der er. På samme måde har... Altså Ekstra Bladet havde, da jeg sad på Borgen 4 adgange til Christiansborg på trods af, at de har massivt flere læsere end "Kommunen", der på det tidspunkt havde 3 adgange til Christiansborg. Så det er også et spørgsmål om, hvad er det for nogle kræfter man simpelthen har adgang til, og hvor mange timer kan de løbe? Fordi der er også et spørgsmål om-- nu siger du selv det her med, jamen, er det noget læserne vil læse? Ja, det er det. Men det er også noget, der tager længere tid end at tage ud til en demonstration med Rasmus Paludan. Det er også noget, der tager længere tid end at skrive, at der er møde i-- At der er krisemøde hos de Konservative. Fordi det netop skal undersøges grundigt.

Speaker 2: [00:10:47] Tak skal du have. Jeg har et sidste spørgsmål, og det er i forhold til at med at dække partistøtte under en valgkamp versus uden for en valgkampsperiode. Hvor tænker du relevansen er størst? Kan jeg få dig til at sige lidt om det?

Speaker 1: [00:11:02] Den syntes jeg da helt klart er størst, altså lige op til og under en valgkamp. Ja, det er der, der vil kunne blive givet nogle løfter i skyggen, som ikke kan gives ellers. I perioden mellem, der sidder man jo allerede på magten. Så er det rigtigt, at der jo selvfølgelig allerede det øjeblik, hvor et valg er vundet eller tabt, at nogen der gør klar til det næste. Men med de kampagnepenge man har brug for, kan findes mange steder, stadigvæk på det tidspunkt. Og hvorimod når det-- når det spiffer op til en valgkamp, at så begynder pengekasserne at være relativt få.

Speaker 2: [00:11:41] Det var faktisk det, jeg havde af spørgsmål. Er der noget du kunne tænke dig at tilføje til sidst? eller?

Speaker 1: [00:11:45] Må jeg læse dine resultater, når de er klar?

Speaker 2: [00:11:49] Ja, det kan vi godt finde ud af. Jeg stopper lige optagelsen.

English translated version:

Speaker 1: Journalist G

Speaker 2: August Merved

Speaker 1: [00:00:01] Yes, I'm just writing to a source. Two seconds.

Speaker 2: [00:00:03] That's okay.

Speaker 2: [00:00:13] There you go. There may well be a part of what I've sent... Just before we started talking, I sent ten messages: "Hey, we're doing this today. Do you have time?" Because it's kind of a dumb day on the news front.

Speaker 2: [00:00:24] Okay yeah. I understand that there may be interruptions. That's perfectly fine. Yes, you can answer as much as you know about it, but I would really like to hear your perspective on what you think about the coverage of party funding in the Danish media in general?

Speaker 1: [00:00:42] Oh, that's a difficult question. And it's a difficult question because I don't have an overview of what the coverage is, but Frihedsbrevet did some stories here about six months to a year ago that were--that were quite extensive. I think it might have been a "Henrik Jensen" and... And when you do it in-- when you do it competently, you can get really, really far. Because this is one of the areas where there is very, very little transparency in Denmark and where ... After all, we have to say that there is a direct impact. Perhaps only economically, but in principle also in terms of the attitudes of the people who make the decisions. Is this something we look at enough? Obviously not since it resonated so much in the stories that Frihedsbrevet did. Is it something we can look at more? Maybe, but the question is also whether we have the strength to do so, because when it's as obscured as it is, it requires a lot of work.

Speaker 2: [00:01:45] Can I ask you to elaborate on why this is a difficult topic to cover?

Speaker 1: [00:01:49] Well, it's this law that if you give more than 20 000, it has to be public. But then you can just hide under the guise of being a business club, for example, and then who sits in the business clubs or the professional club as ... They don't have to disclose it, and when they don't have to disclose it, then you can ... Then, for example, you have to be able to find someone who has been present at some meetings to be able to tell who are--who are the real contributors. And at the same time, what was important in Frihedsbrevet's coverage was that they could prove who the contributors were and prove that they had met with the politicians in question, because then we suddenly realize that it is not a business club, but individuals hiding under a, well, business club or agricultural club or professional club. You have the possibility to directly say "I give contributions this way." And that makes it very difficult to find out who it is that has such direct meetings with the minister or with the politicians.

Speaker 2: [00:02:52] What about in terms of, like, pure reader interest? I would like to hear your perspective on this as a Berlingske journalist. Is it something that readers are interested in? Is it something that you as a journalist at Berlingske find interesting to write about?

Speaker 1: [00:03:03] Now I am a defense journalist, so you could say... Yes... But... but in relation to the way we do media, it is certainly interesting... in that you can very easily sell tickets, so to speak, on the fact that politicians cover themselves, cover their backs, live in secret - that kind of thing. So if you can angle it right or angle it tabloid enough, you will probably be able to do it. But because it's so complex, we can risk losing them before they get to the bottom of the story. And that's why it's also... So there's a communication issue of, on the one hand, being tabloid enough to get them in the door and, on the other hand, being thorough enough that they don't misunderstand and think it's a case of outright corruption. Also because we at Berlingske have a policy of withholding information - at least in the first 3 paragraphs, as you get them down under ... what's it called... the paywall! And that means that when people only see the first three lines, we can sometimes, if we are not very attentive, make people believe things that are unbalanced - to put it mildly. So is there reader interest in that? Yes, there is, if you are able to write it right. I think, for example, someone like Henrik Jensen, in addition to being a really good researcher, is also a really, really good communicator, and that helps a lot.

Speaker 2: [00:04:37] Thank you. In my research for this thesis, I have made some counts during the last two election campaign periods of how different issues have been covered. I have taken Søren Pape as my starting point. I have taken Qatar as my starting point - and that is the political spectrum of Qatar - so not something about how many goals Messi might score, but purely political, compared to party support. In 2019, I have chosen to compare - I have taken Rasmus Paludan's cases as my starting point. Now think if I can remember the numbers correctly, but Qatar got 170 articles covered. Søren Pape was 90. Party support, even with Frihedsbrevet's revelations was 18. In 2019 it was only covered once, i.e. the party support. Rasmus Paludan was covered at least 150 times. I would like to hear your perspective on - why do you think there is such a big difference in the coverage of these political cases? If you have... Yes, any thoughts on that, I'd love to hear them.

Speaker 1: [00:05:43] There is also a premise for that, isn't there? Qatar is not just one story. It's a story about workers' rights. It's a story about sport as a political tool. It is a story about many things. Paludan is also a story about many things. It is a question of a new party, it is a question of security policy. It's a question of what police resources, and in addition to that, threats to journalists and all sorts of other things. Pape, also a little bit, many things at once, whereas party support is one thing. I think that's a very important factor in this and a premise I would at least go a little deeper into myself before I set it up like that. But if we're going to talk about why it doesn't get as much coverage, you could say that 18 articles on an entire election campaign. It's not much, but it's a lot for a ... For something that is in reality very technical. And you could perhaps compare it with how many articles are given to the fact that you can't apply for access to documents in the Parliament at all? Relatively few and it is called just as crazy. In any case, it has--it is in any case an expression of the fact that we have some things that are kept secret in Denmark without explanation. So if you put it that way, then it is something that is actually covered and something that people have the opportunity to read. But one article in 2019. It is a disgrace.

Speaker 2: [00:07:19] Why do you think it is a disgrace that there is only one article during an election campaign?

Speaker 1: [00:07:23] Because 2019 was a very big and very dirty election campaign. As I remember it at least, and where there were many monetary interests in getting a very-- to get some very specific outcomes. So there must have been a lot, a lot, a lot of money over in the party funding, which was simply not kept an eye on. One moment, I have to answer a message.

Speaker 2: [00:07:47] Of course.

Speaker 1: [00:08:04] So one article, that's simply insane, while 18 articles I think is maybe within the range. Without being able to answer how many articles there were in total about all sorts of other things, because I don't really buy the premise of these 3 topics Pape, Qatar and Paludan. But... Because if you go into them and say "well how many of the stories about Søren Pape were specifically about his ex-husband for example. Quite a lot of them did. But then how many of them were about his candidacy, and so fewer of them were. If you juxtapose the two things, then you could also say "well, maybe they were close to each other, maybe" Yes.

Speaker 2: [00:08:53] Thank you. That's interesting. I'm just checking through for my next question. Here I'm just going to see what makes sense. Yeah, if I can get you to dive a little bit more into 2019, even though it's a few years back - that a dirty election campaign with a lot of moneyed interests, why do you think it didn't get more than a single article?

Speaker 1: [00:09:31] It's about the fact that there were really, really many topics in 2019, and that Paludan, for example, was really, really, really important. So many of the forces that were allocated to writing about what-- they ran in other directions. And that's how it sometimes has to be, you could say. Now I myself have sat on the newspaper "Kommunen" for long periods as the only one and therefore had to cover everything that dealt with parliamentary politics from a municipal point of view. Well, then there are only the forces that are. In the same way ... Well, Ekstra Bladet had, when I was in Parliament, 4 accesses to

Christiansborg, despite the fact that they have massively more readers than "Kommunen", which at that time had 3 accesses to Christiansborg. So it's also a question of what kind of forces you simply have access to, and how many hours can they run? Because there is also a question of - now you say it yourself, is it something the readers want to read? Yes, it is. But it's also something that takes longer than going to a demonstration with Rasmus Paludan. It is also something that takes longer than writing that there is a meeting in-- That there is a crisis meeting at the Conservatives. Because it needs to be thoroughly investigated.

Speaker 2: [00:10:47] Thank you very much. I have one last question, and that is in relation to covering party funding during an election campaign versus outside of an election campaign period. Where do you think the relevance is greatest? Can I get you to say a little bit about that?

Speaker 1: [00:11:02] I think it's definitely the greatest, also just before and during an election campaign. Yes, that's when some promises can be made in the shadows that cannot be made otherwise. In the period between, you're already in power. So it is true, of course, that the moment an election is won or lost, someone is already preparing for the next one. But with the campaign money you need can be found in many places, still at that time. And whereas when it's-- when it's gearing up for an election campaign, that's when the coffers start to be relatively thin.

Speaker 2: [00:11:41] That was actually the question I had. Is there anything you would like to add at the end? or?

Speaker 1: [00:11:45] Can I read your results when they're ready?

Speaker 2: [00:11:49] Yes, we can do that. I'm just going to stop the recording.

Journalist H, Berlingske. Date of interview,
04-05-2023. Conducted via Facebook WhatsApp

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist H

Danish original version:

Speaker1: [00:00:00] Nu her. Sådan. Perfekt. Jamen, så kunne jeg godt tænke mig at starte med lige at spørge dig om partistøtte, fordi det kan jeg se, at det er noget, du har skrevet om før. Kan jeg få dig til, i grove træk, og beskriv den nuværende dækning af det.

Speaker2: [00:00:23] Uha, det var et godt spørgsmål. Jeg kan engang præcist huske, hvornår eller hvad jeg præcist har skrevet om partistøtte. Det har jeg nok gjort nogle gange i løbet af årene. Og du siger, jeg skal beskrive den dækning der er partistøtteregler? Jeg vil sige, det er ikke noget, der får vildt meget dækning i forhold til, hvad det måske burde. Men jeg synes dog, at de fleste medier, herunder Berlingske, under tiden har- har- har- lagt masser af spalteplads til- til emnet. Altså, i princippet er det et okay belyst emne.

Speaker1: [00:01:07] Må jeg spørge dig, hvordan det kan være, at du siger, at det godt kunne være-- det burde blive dækket mere?

Speaker2: [00:01:16] Jamen, jeg tror, at det er lidt det, at jeg tænker, at din -- det du-- dit-- altså, sådan, det er det du prøver at finde ud af. Men der er jo nogle emner, som som læserne interesserer sig mere for end andre. Og det er mit indtryk i hvertfald, at selvom vi har skrevet meget om partistøtte, og jeg har skrevet en del om partistøtte gennem årene, at det er ikke noget som har den helt store læserinteresse og nogen gange så så--. Eller man vil jo ofte gerne skrive til sine læsere og skrive om noget de interesserer sig for, og derfor ignorerer vi ikke partistøttehistorier. Og vi skriver også, syntes jeg, om dem når det er værd at gøre noget ved. Eller når det er værd-- når det er værd at dække. Men det er ikke altid art interessen er så markant.

Speaker1: [00:02:12] Må jeg spørge - Hvorfor tror du ikke, at interessen er så markant for læserne? Hvad er det i historien der, der gør den mindre interessant end andre emner for eksempel? Jeg kan for eksempel måske lige til spørgsmålet knytte nogen nogle-- Jeg har lavet nogle undersøgelser om det. Ganske vist med udgangspunkt i sidste valgkamp, hvor jeg tog Søren Papes sager, som jeg også nævnte i mailen. De blev dækket af de syv danske 7-- Største danske medier 90 gange, og med en anden sammenligning var VM i Qatar - ikke det fodboldmæssige. Altså med det mener jeg, at det ikke er noget om Ronaldos form eller Messis rekorder - mere om skal Kulturministeriet gøre noget, skal DBU gøre noget? Osv. Det blev dækket 170 gange, hvor partistøtten med Frihedsbrevets afsløringer blev dækket 18 gange. Det syntes jeg jo var en markant forskel. Og når du siger, at læserne måske synes, det er mindre interessant også, at så kan du se, hvilken vej jeg prøver at gå ned af? Hvordan kan det være, at der er denne her forskel, tænker du ud fra et journalistisk perspektiv?

Speaker2: [00:03:19] Det overrasker mig faktisk lidt, at det der med, hvorvidt vi fra politisk hold skal deltage i VM i Qatar, har fået så meget dækning, fordi det er vel-- Det var egentlig ikke mit eget indtryk, at det havde det. Men jeg tror, i forhold til når man ser på Pape, så synes jeg, det er meget naturligt, at han fik så meget dækning, fordi han gik ud og gerne ville være-- han meldte sig som statsministerkandidat og det affødte, at han blev ligesom grundigere tjekket, hvis man kan sige det. Altså, der blev-- Der blev skrevet langt flere

historier om ham, og han blev ligesom sådan trykprøvet i langt højere grad. Og han var også et interessant navn for læserne. Altså, der var bare interesse for Pape, både på hans i hans opstigning og i det fald han endte med at have i løbet af valgkampen. Qatar, Altså man kan sige, at grunden til at det så måske har fyldt meget, er, at det er-- Det tror jeg måske hænger sammen med, at regeringen og Kulturministeriet var så vævende i forhold til, hvornår de ligesom havde tænkt sig at sige, hvad de ville gøre, og at det var så tydeligt for for hele verden, men også for - og naturligvis også for en masse danskere, at der var nogle etiske problemstillinger i forhold til VM, som gjorde, at det var et ret interessant spørgsmål. Det kommer bare bag på mig, at det alligevel har fyldt fyldte mere end Pape. Var det ikke det, du sagde i din optælling af det, der havde fået endnu mere spaltepads end Pape? Ja, og partistøtte nu..

Speaker2: [00:04:58] Det er rigtig nok, at du nævnte Frihedsbrevets historie, og den kunne i princippet også godt have fået mere dækning. Det fortjente den måske i virkeligheden også, fordi det var over nogle-- Det var en ret god-- Det var nogle gode historier, de lavede, og det var en opsigtsvækkende og spændende måde, de gjorde det på. Jeg tror, der kan godt ligge noget i det her med hvilket medie Frihedsbrevet er. Det er et smallere medie, som lavede de her historier, og så den måde de gjorde det på, gjorde, at man ikke bare lige kunne gå ind som et andet medie måske og bare hoppe på og ligesom overtage dækningen, hvor de andre Pape og Qatar, det var på en eller anden måde en fælles dagsorden for alle medier, der var der. Og det var også en dagsorden, der var med-- hvad hedder det - bundet op på på- på- tiden, altså den var relevant i forhold til valgkampen. Den ene og i forhold VM den anden, mens partistøtte måske kom lidt mere som sådan en... Den var ikke bundet op på noget, der skulle ikke lige laves en øhm- Nogle nye regler for partistøtte. Som jeg husker det på det tidspunkt. Den var altså-- sådan-- så den var. Det var en god historie på de dage, det nu fyldte noget, men det var ikke sådan en, hvor man tænkte sådan "nu er vi stadig i det her loop, at vi skal stadig skrive om partistøtte i dag."

Speaker1: [00:06:22] Tak skal du have, kan jeg også få dig til at kommentere på valget før i 2019. Der lavede jeg en optælling, og der blev skrevet én enkelt gang om det. En enkelt artikel fra Jyllands-Posten. Hvorfor tror du, det fylder så lidt under valgkampe? -Partistøttereglerne som emne.

Speaker2: [00:06:43] Og ja, det er faktisk et virkelig godt spørgsmål. Altså, jeg tror, at noget af det, det er det, som jeg sagde til at starte med, at det har ikke kæmpe læserinteresse. Og det er det, tror jeg. Det kan vi jo mærke, og det kan de andre medier helt klart også. Det er også et emne, som-- altså selv om der er skrevet meget - min egen redaktør har skrevet en bog om partistøtte - så er det bare et-- Det er et emne, som der er ikke-- Det rykker ikke rigtig noget at skrive noget med det -- noget om det, fordi de partier, der har magten-- sådan - et flertal af de partier, som ligesom er magtpartierne, de har alligevel ikke tænkt sig at gøre noget ved det. Så det er tit den samme kritik, der kommer fra de små oppositionspartier eller Enhedslisten. Det er lidt ligesom, man ser med offentlighedsloven - det er altså ogs-- den er der skrevet rigtig meget om, men man kan også sige grunden til, at der nok ikke bliver

skrevet om den mere, det er bare fordi-- Man har sådan lidt en fornemmelse af, at der kommer bare ikke til at ske noget, fordi magtpartierne ikke har en interesse i det.

Speaker1: [00:07:53] Hvorfor tror du ikke, læserne er så interesserede i partistøtتهistorier?

Speaker2: [00:08:00] Jeg tror... Jeg tror i forhold til når du har sådan en Pape, der fylder noget, der har du jo en personlig historie også. Det er sådan knyttet op på noget, mens partistøtteregler tit er noget, som, som er sådan lidt mere systemiske og lidt mere nørdet "Christiansborgstof" end det er sådan en stor fælles dagsorden. Det er de færreste danskere, der på noget tidspunkt, tror jeg, er vågnet op og tænkt "gad vide hvad der nu sker med partistøttereglerne?" Altså, det har bare ikke sådan så stor bevågenhed.

Speaker1: [00:08:39] Tak. Hvad med fra et journalistisk perspektiv, er det en interessant historie at lave om partistøtteregler?

Speaker2: [00:08:49] Ja, det kommer an på så meget, vil jeg sige. Hvis der lige pludselig skulle vise sig et et, et flertal uden om regeringen for at ændre partistøttereglerne, kunne det være interessant, hvis der lige pludselig dukker en historie op, om en eller anden skandalehistorie om nogen, der har på den ene eller anden måde misbrugt reglerne, så er det interessant. Men det handler jo tit om, at der på en eller anden måde skal være en en ny krog eller ny årsag til at dykke ned i det. Og jeg tror, at der-- Jeg tænker ikke, der er nogen journalister, som vil sige nej til en god historie, bare fordi det handler om for eksempel partistøtte. Man kan sige, at Berlingske havde hele landbrugspakken for eksempel. Det handlede om sådan noget med, hvor meget forurening der var i jord, og det blev der skrevet, jeg ved ikke, hvor mange artikler om. Og man kan sige, at det var et ret usexet emne, men det var stadig noget, som var en spændende historie, som også endte med at få politiske konsekvenser. Så jeg tror... at man hvis-- Hvis der er den rigtige lejlighed, så er jeg slet ikke i tvivl om, at der nok skal være masser, der gerne vil skrive om partistøtte.

Speaker1: [00:10:03] Tak, Der er flere af dine kollegaer - ikke fra Berlingske dog, men fra andre medier, der har sagt, at det kan være en svær historie at skrive, fordi der er så meget lukkethed. Er det er et udsagn, du kan se dig selv enig i, i forbindelse med, at det simpelthen er bøvlet at få lavet en historie om det?

Speaker2: [00:10:24] Ah ja, jeg ved ikke... Det er nok lidt mere bøvlet end, det er at lave andre historier. Men jeg ved ikke, om jeg oplever, at der nødvendigvis er mere lukkethed, fordi man vil jo ofte kunne få nogle af dem, som er imod partistøttereglerne - de har jo formentlig adgang til mange af de samme informationer som dem, der ikke har tænkt sig at

ændre partistøtteregele, og de har også en interesse i, at ting kommer frem. Men jeg tror... Så, jeg ved ikke, hvor meget det holder én fra at lave det, jeg tror-- Men ja, men men. Dermed ikke sagt at jeg ikke godt kan se pointen. Det er ikke sådan en-- Det er ikke altid sådan en ligetil historie at lave, hvor du bare tænker "her er den den aktuelle krog. Sådan får jeg den. Sådan får jeg den skrevet." Og "her er den-- Her ligger den gode indledning på det her med partistøtte."

Speaker1: [00:11:18] Tak skal du have. Jeg ser lige, om der er et spørgsmål, jeg har sprunget over. Nej, jeg synes egentlig vi er kommet meget godt rundt. Er der noget du kunne tænke dig og lige sætte med som krog her til sidst?

Speaker2: [00:11:38] Nej, jeg tænker måske også det var... Det var meget, meget fint. I hvert fald hvis du kan bruge det. Det er jo mest det.

Speaker1: [00:11:45] Der er faktisk lige et enkelt spørgsmål, kan jeg se. Undskyld, det er det sidste. Ja, det var i forhold til at dække emnet under en valgkamp versus i valgkampsperioderne imellem. Hvad tænker du om det der? Grunden til jeg spørger, er jo fordi, at det er dér politikerne bruger mange penge eller allerflest penge under valgkampene. Så hvad tænker du om det? Hvornår er det-- altså vigtigst?

Speaker2: [00:12:13] Ja, altså hvornår det er vigtigst at skrive om partistøtte, eller hvornår er det vigtigst at skrive om Pape eller..?

Speaker1: [00:12:19] Nej, ved du hvad, lad mig spørge på en anden måde: Er det vigtigt at dække under en valgkamp for eksempel?

Speaker2: [00:12:26] Altså partistøtteregele?

Speaker1: [00:12:27] Ja, lige præcis.

Speaker2: [00:12:27] Det synes jeg, det ville være, hvis der ligger en historie, der er værd at dække. Jeg ved ikke, om det giver mening som svar. Men altså, hvis der er noget-- hvis altså-- hvis der dukker noget, som er... Man potentielt med rette kan kritisere nogle

magthavere for, under en valgkamp som relaterer sig til partistøtte, så ville jeg synes den var--, ligeså vigtig at lave dér som på alle mulige andre tidspunkter.

Speaker1: [00:12:57] Det var det jeg havde. Tak. Jeg stopper optagelsen nu.

English translated version:

Speaker 1: August Merved

Speaker 2: Journalist H

Speaker1: [00:00:00] Now here. There you go, there you go. That's perfect. Well, I'd like to start by asking you about party funding, because I can see that it's something you've written about before. Can I get you to, broadly speaking, describe the current coverage of that?

Speaker2: [00:00:23] Uha, that was a good question. I can remember exactly when or what exactly I have written about party funding. I've probably done that a few times over the years. And you're saying I should describe the coverage of party funding rules? I would say that it's not something that gets a lot of coverage compared to what it perhaps should. But I do think that most media, including Berlingske, have given plenty of column space to the subject. So, in principle, it's an okay topic.

Speaker1: [00:01:07] Can I ask you why you say that it could be-- it should be covered more?

Speaker2: [00:01:16] Well, I think it's a little bit that I think that your -- that you -- your -- your -- well, you know, that's what you're trying to find out. But there are some topics that readers are more interested in than others. And it is my impression that even though we have written a lot about party funding, and I have written a lot about party funding over the years, that it is not something that has a lot of reader interest and sometimes so-- . Or you often want to write to your readers and write about something they are interested in, and therefore we do not ignore party funding stories. And we also, I think, write about them when it's worth doing something about. Or when it's worth--when it's worth covering. But it's not always that kind of interest is so pronounced.

Speaker1: [00:02:12] Can I ask - Why do you think the interest is not so significant for readers? What is it about the story there that makes it less interesting than other topics, for example? I might, for example, just to add to the question, I might add some-- I've done some research on that. Admittedly based on the last election campaign, where I took Søren Pape's cases, which I also mentioned in the email. They were covered by the seven Danish media 90 times, and another comparison was the World Cup in Qatar - not the soccer one. By that I mean that it's not about Ronaldo's form or Messi's records - more about should the Ministry of Culture do something, should DBU do something? etc. It was covered 170 times, where the party support with Frihedsbrevet's revelations was covered 18 times. I thought that was a significant difference. And when you say that readers might find it less interesting as well, you can see which way I'm trying to go down? How is it that there is this difference, do you think, from a journalistic perspective?

Speaker2: [00:03:19] I'm actually a bit surprised that the issue of whether we should participate in the World Cup in Qatar from a political point of view has gotten so much coverage, because it's well-- I didn't really have the impression that it had. But I think, compared to when you look at Pape, I think it's very natural that he got so much coverage because he went out and wanted to be - he put himself forward as a candidate for prime minister and that led to him being more thoroughly checked, if you like. I mean, there were-- There were far more stories written about him, and he was sort of pressure tested to a much greater extent. And he was also an interesting name for the readers. So, there was just interest in Pape, both in his ascent and in the fall he ended up having during the election campaign. Qatar, Well, you could say that the reason why it may have taken up so much time is that it's-- I think it may be related to the fact that the government and the Ministry of Culture were so hesitant in relation to when they were going to say what they were going to do, and that it was so clear to the whole world, but also to - and of course also to a lot of Danes, that there were some ethical issues in relation to the World Cup, which made it a pretty interesting question. It just takes me by surprise that it has nevertheless been more important than Pape. Wasn't that what you said in your count of what had gotten even more column space than Pape? Yes, and party support now...

Speaker2: [00:04:58] It's true that you mentioned Frihedsbrevet's story, and in principle it could have had more coverage. Maybe it really deserved it, because it was over some-- It was a pretty good-- They did some good stories, and it was a sensational and exciting way of doing it. I think there may well be something in this about what kind of media Frihedsbrevet is. It's a narrower media that did these stories, and so the way they did it meant that you couldn't just go in as another media perhaps and just jump on and kind of take over the coverage, where the other Pape and Qatar, it was in some way a common agenda for all the media that were there. And it was also an agenda that was tied to - what is it called - tied to - to - to - to the time, so it was relevant in relation to the election campaign. One and in relation to the World Cup the other, while party support perhaps came a little more as such a ... It was not tied to anything, there was no need to make a um- Some new rules for party support. As I remember it at the time. So it was-- so-- so it was. It was a good story in the days when it was a big deal, but it wasn't one where you thought "we're still in this loop, we still have to write about party funding today."

Speaker1: [00:06:22] Thank you, can I also get you to comment on the election before in 2019. I did a count and there was one single article written about it. A single article from Jyllands-Posten. Why do you think it takes up so little space during election campaigns?
-The party support rules as a topic.

Speaker2: [00:06:43] And yes, that's actually a really good question. Well, I think that some of it, it's what I said at the beginning, that it doesn't have huge reader interest. And that's it, I think. We can feel that, and so can the other media. It's also a topic that-- even though a lot has been written - my own editor has written a book on party funding - it's just a-- It's a topic that there's not-- It doesn't really do any good to write anything about it-- anything about it, because the parties in power-- well, a majority of the parties, which are the parties in power, they're not going to do anything about it anyway. So it's often the same criticism that comes from the small opposition parties or Enhedslisten. It's a bit like what you see with the Freedom of Information Act - it's also-- it's been written about a lot, but you could also say that the reason why it's probably not written about anymore is just because-- There's a feeling that nothing will happen because the parties in power have no interest in it.

Speaker1: [00:07:53] Why do you think readers are not so interested in party funding stories?

Speaker2: [00:08:00] I think... I think in relation to when you have a Pape who is important, you have a personal story as well. It is linked to something, while party support rules are often something that is a little more systemic and a little more nerdy "Christiansborg stuff" than it is such a big common agenda. I don't think many Danes have ever woken up and thought "I wonder what's going to happen to the party support rules?" Well, it just doesn't have that much attention.

Speaker1: [00:08:39] Thank you. What about from a journalistic perspective, is it an interesting story to do about party funding rules?

Speaker2: [00:08:49] Well, it depends on so many things, I would say. If a majority outside the government were to suddenly emerge to change the party support rules, it could be interesting, if a story suddenly emerges about some scandalous story about someone who has in one way or another abused the rules, then it would be interesting. But it's often a matter of somehow finding a new hook or a new reason to delve into it. And I think that there-- I don't think there are any journalists who will turn down a good story just because it's about, for example, party funding. You could say that Berlingske had the whole agricultural package, for example. It was about something like how much pollution there was in the soil, and I don't know how many articles were written about that. And you could say that it was a rather unsexy topic, but it was still something that was an exciting story that also ended up

having political consequences. So I think... that if... If there is the right opportunity, I have no doubt that there will be plenty of people who will want to write about party funding.

Speaker1: [00:10:03] Thank you. Several of your colleagues - not from Berlingske, but from other media - have said that it can be a difficult story to write because there is so much closed-mindedness. Is that a statement you can see yourself agreeing with, in the context of it simply being a hassle to get a story about it?

Speaker2: [00:10:24] Ah yes, I don't know... It's probably a bit more of a hassle than it is to do other stories. But I don't know if I feel that there is necessarily more secrecy, because you will often be able to get some of those who are against the party support rules - they probably have access to much of the same information as those who do not intend to change the party support rules, and they also have an interest in things coming out. But I think ... So, I don't know how much it keeps you from doing what I think-- But yes, but but but but but. That's not to say that I don't see the point. It's not such a-- It's not always such a straightforward story to make, where you just think "here's the hook. This is how I'm going to get it. This is how I'm going to write it." And "here's the-- Here's the good introduction to this party funding thing."

Speaker1: [00:11:18] Thank you very much. I'll just see if there's a question I've skipped. No, I think we've actually gotten around very well. Is there anything you would like to add as a hook at the end?

Speaker2: [00:11:38] No, I think maybe it was ... It was very, very nice. At least if you can use it. That's mostly it.

Speaker1: [00:11:45] There is actually just one question, I see. Sorry, it's the last one. Yes, it was in relation to covering the topic during an election campaign versus in the election campaign periods in between. What do you think about that? The reason I'm asking is because that's when politicians spend a lot of money or the most money during election campaigns. So what do you think about that? When is it-- that is, the most important?

Speaker2: [00:12:13] Yes, when is it most important to write about party funding, or when is it most important to write about Pape or...?

Speaker1: [00:12:19] No, you know what, let me ask it another way: Is it important to cover during an election campaign for example?

Speaker2: [00:12:26] So, party support rules?

Speaker1: [00:12:27] Yes, exactly.

Speaker2: [00:12:27] I think it would be if there is a story worth covering. I don't know if that makes sense as an answer. But, you know, if there's something-- if there's-- if something comes up that's... You could potentially rightly criticize some people in power for, during an election campaign that relates to party support, then I would think it was--, as important to do there as at any other time.

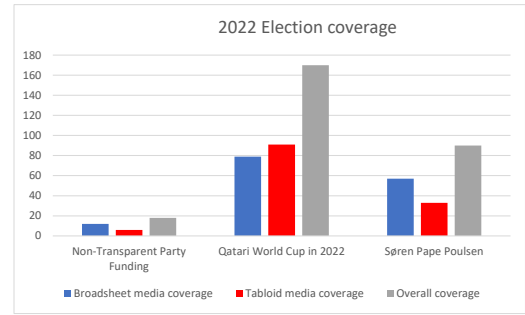
Speaker1: [00:12:57] That's what I had. Thank you, thank you very much. I'll stop the recording now.

Appendix 4 - by August Merved

This appendix shows a visual representation of the media coverage data gathered from Appendix 1, as well as the search results from Infomedia, contextualized. The visualized figures are also presented in the thesis text.

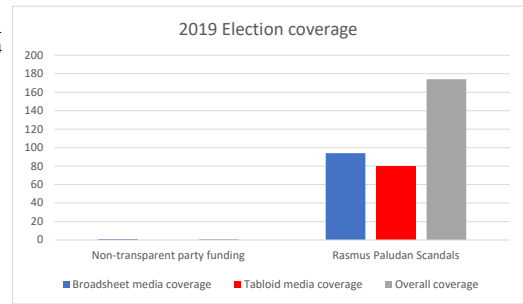
2022 election

Topic	Broadsheet media coverage	Tabloid media coverage	Overall coverage
Non-Transparent Party Funding	12	6	18
Qatari World Cup in 2022	79	91	170
Søren Pape Poulsen	57	33	90



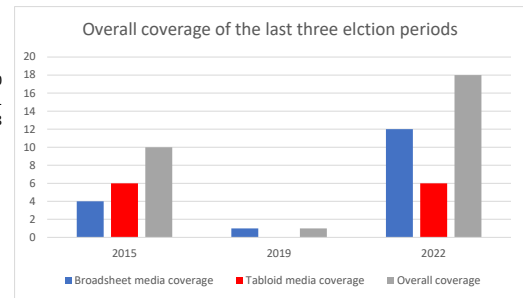
2019 election

Topic	Broadsheet media coverage	Tabloid media coverage	Overall coverage
Non-transparent party funding	1	0	1
Rasmus Paludan Scandals	94	80	174



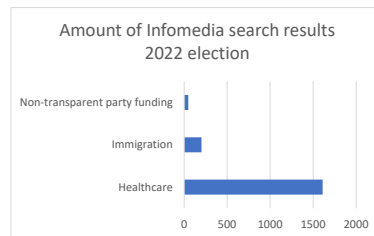
Overall coverage of three elction periods

Election period	Broadsheet media coverage	Tabloid media coverage	Overall coverage
2015	4	6	10
2019	1	0	1
2022	12	6	18



Comparison search coverage

Topic	Amount of Infomedia search results 2022 election
Healthcare	1611
Immigration	202
Non-transparent party funding	48



Topic	Amount of Infomedia search results 2019 election
Healthcare	1488
Immigration	698
Non-transparent party funding	60

