

# **Revitalising Intra-Party Democracy through Digital Democratic Innovations:**

**– *The Case of Danish Political Party Alternativet* –**

by

Nikolai Gad Wøldike Sørensen

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School of Geography, Politics, and Sociology / Open Lab

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Supervisors:

Dr. Stephen Elstub

Dr. Sebastian Popa



## Abstract

In light of increasing concern about the democratic recession spreading across established representative democracies this PhD explores how digital democratic innovations are used in emerging political parties, to involve members and supporters directly in intra-party policy formation and decision-making. This is explored through a case study of Danish political party Alternativet, which constitutes a recent example of an emerging political party that claims to promote and practice new and inclusive ways of doing politics, experimenting with digital technologies for this purpose. In this respect the case of Alternativet illustrates a larger trend of what has been labelled *connective parties* (Bennett et al., 2017) or *movement parties* (Porta et al., 2017) by other authors. As with many of these parties, Alternativet experienced electoral success relatively quickly and has been represented in parliament since 2015, and in several local councils since 2017. Thus, Alternativet, like similar emerging parties, is an attempt to combine democratic innovations with party politics and traditional political institutions in liberal representative democracies. This is interesting considering how democratic innovations are often conceptualised in contrast to classic representative political institutions. Both democratic innovations and Internet technologies have promised, but struggled to deliver, an increase and deepening of citizen participation in democratic decision making. While they have demonstrated that they can engage citizens in political questions, it has been a particular challenge to turn engagement into impact on final political decisions. These decisions are usually taken in decision-making fora dominated by political parties, such as governments, parliaments and local councils. So connective parties, such as Alternativet, posses a potential ability to provide consequentiality to citizen participation by combining democratic innovations with party politics. However, so far insufficient attention has been given to the kind of (re-invigorated) democracy these parties promote, and what kind of participation the digital platforms they use facilitate. This thesis address exactly those questions.

The study employs a mixed methods approach, combining semi-structured interviews and participant observation with a party member survey. Interviews with key stakeholders in the party and participant observations during a two months visit at the party's national secretariat are used to explore how and why the party uses digital tools to engage party members and supporters in policy formation and decision-making. This includes the motivation to engage members actively in policy formation in the first place. Based on this, the thesis identifies four dimensions of intra-party democracy promoted by the party elite: An aggregative *crowd sourcing dimension*, a *deliberative dimension*, a *developmental dimension*, and a more

traditional *delegation dimension*. Each of the (many) digital platforms used in the party have affordances that speak to each of these dimensions. A survey distributed among party members and supporters is then used to explore the support for each of these four dimensions of intra-party democracy. This data indicates that support for intra-party democracy among the party supporters can reasonably be considered along the same four dimensions. These findings are significant for our understanding of the role both democratic innovations and political parties can play in revitalising democracy.



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## Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis presents a study of democratic innovations in the context of intra-party democracy. It does so through an in-depth case study of Danish political party Alternativet, which is a recent example of an emerging political party that claims to promote and practice new and inclusive ways of doing politics, experimenting with digital technologies for this purpose (Gad, 2020; Husted & Plesner, 2017).

In particular, the thesis will aim to describe the democratic ideals that underpins the kind of democratic renewal that Alternativet promotes, and what role digital technologies play in these ideals. The study was originally born out of considerations about how to ensure consequentiality of participation in democratic innovations. Democratic innovations have been promoted as a response to declining levels of participation in traditional political institutions (Smith, 2009), but formal decision making arenas such as parliaments, governments, and local councils are still dominated by political parties, who are in most cases not able to engage citizens and act as the crucial link between civil society and decision makers that they once was (Katz & Mair, 1995; Mair, 2013; Schattschneider, 1942). Bennet et al. (2017) argues that new – or at least stronger – preferences for participatory forms of political engagement have made room for a new type of parties with more horizontal organisations like Alternativet. They call these parties *connective parties* and based on a few examples – including the Danish Alternativet – describe how they experiment with participatory and inclusive party structures “...on the basis of technology-enabled organization(s), which offers the potential for organizational innovation at large scale.” (Bennett et al., 2017, p. 12)

While democratic innovations are typically either organised by government elites, inviting citizens to have a say, or by civil society organisations and social movements that stand outside of formal decision making arenas, political parties have a leg in both camps. This gives them a potential advantage in terms of making participation consequential – at least as long as they manage to get representatives elected to official decision making arenas (Teorell, 1999). This makes horizontally organised political parties with a strong focus on participatory policy making, interesting arenas to study from a democratic renewal point of view. However, if these parties are a response to a democratic crisis and emerging preferences for democratic renewal among the electorate (Bennett et al., 2017), it is not only relevant to ask what kind

democratic crisis they are responding to (Ercan & Gagnon, 2014), but also what kind of democratic response to this crisis they represent. So the aim of this thesis is to explore exactly that.

The next chapter will develop two research questions based on existing research, to guide the rest of the thesis, but the goal of the thesis is two-fold: 1) First, it aims to map out the democratic ideals that Alternativet's participatory practises are based on, and 2) it will explore the role of digital technologies in this context.

Alternativet is an extreme case in terms of participatory organised political parties, and thus it is an interesting case to learn more about the potentials and challenges of using political parties as vehicles for democratic renewal.

In order to answer these questions, the thesis will first look at the supply of participation options offered by political party Alternativet. It will take a look at the challenges as well as the possibilities of different democratic innovations and online participation platforms as they are experienced by the party elite, ie. those who have played a role in deciding which platforms to be used. And it will look at the different democratic dimensions, that are the focus of the party as well as how these relate to each other. This part of the study constitute the first two analytical chapters and it is based on semi-structured interviews with key-stakeholders in the party as well as participatory observations online and offline.

Secondly, the thesis will investigate what kind of participation is in demand among members and supporters of the party. Who wants which kinds of participation? And which democratic ideals underpin the demand for different types of participation on the demand side? These questions will be addressed through an online survey distributed to all members of Alternativet through the party's newsletter.

The main contribution of the thesis is the identification of four dimensions of intra-party democracy, which are first identified among the party elite in qualitative interviews. The party member survey is then used to confirm that these dimensions – in a slightly revised form – can also be identified among the general party membership. The four dimensions are named the crowd-sourcing dimension, the deliberative dimension, the developmental dimension, and the delegative dimension. These dimensions might be specific to the democratic culture in Alternativet, even though some of them shares aspects with common and popular models of democracy such as deliberative democracy, but the findings do suggest that intra-party democracy is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Especially attitudes towards intra-party democracy have primarily been treated as a one-dimensional concept previously (Baras et al.,

2012; B. Hansen & Saglie, 2005; L. Young & Cross, 2002). People were expected to be in favour of more or less, stronger or weaker intra-party democracy. But this study suggests that it might be more fruitful to treat preferences for intra-party democracy as a multi-dimensional concept, just like surveys of general democratic attitudes are increasingly doing too (Ferrin & Kriesi, 2016; Font et al., 2015; Landwehr & Steiner, 2017). In addition to this, the thesis will also demonstrate how attitudes towards intra-party democracy can actually explain some types of online party engagement and preferences for different online platforms in relation to policy formation.

### **1.1 Overview of thesis**

The thesis will proceed with a literature review first, which will further justify why intra-party democracy and innovative ways to engage citizens in party politics are relevant subjects to study in relation to making political participation consequential. It will offer different theoretical explanations of political disengagement and consider the strength and weaknesses of two suggested responses to this engagement in the form of democratic innovations and digital technologies respectively. Based on this, it is acknowledged that political parties might well have some responsibility for increasing political disengagement because of their offers – or lack thereof – for citizen participation within party organisations. But it is also suggested that even if that is the case, alternative ways to organise political parties should play an essential role in considerations of how to re-establish a deeper link between citizens and political decision making, and it goes on to illustrate some examples of how emerging political parties all across Europe are actually experimenting with alternative, horizontal, and more participatory ways to organise themselves. The literature review concludes by stating two research questions based on the reviewed literature, which will guide the rest of the thesis. After this, the methods chapter introduces the mixed methods research strategy employed to answer the research questions. After first describing and justifying the mixed methods approach chosen for an in-depth case study, the chapter will first describe how qualitative data in the form of semi-structured interviews and participatory observations were used to study the supply of participation opportunities and underlying democratic ideals in the Alternativet party. And then it will describe the quantitative survey methods used to study the demand for participation channels and underlying democratic ideals among party members in Alternativet. Having settled how the study was conducted, the thesis moves on to the first analytical chapter 4, whose purpose is two-fold. First of all the chapter acts as a thorough introduction to the case of Danish political party Alternativet, thus also offering a justification for the choice



of case. And secondly, the chapter will at the same time describe the party's formal policy formation processes and map out the many participatory spaces that this process offers. In this way the chapter also justifies the choice of case study because it describes exactly how Alternativet is a deviant case (Flyvbjerg, 2006) that develops its policies in an unusually participatory manner. The following chapter 5 continues to explore the supply of participation opportunities in the party mapping out the digital platforms used – and in some cases designed – by the party to support intra-party participation. In the process, the chapter also explores the intentions behind the design of online and offline participatory spaces, through findings from semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders in the party. This is where the four democratic dimensions that is one of core contributions of this thesis are first introduced.

The following two chapters turn the attention on the demand for different participation channels in the party among party members and supporters. First, chapter 6 develops a set of survey measures to test if support for different aspects of intra-party democracy among party members aligns along the same four dimensions that was identified in the elite interviews. It finds that party member attitudes can be considered along similar dimensions, but only after refining the exact definition of these dimensions somewhat. This chapter ends with a discussion of the differences and similarities in the four dimensions as they are observed among the party elite and the party members respectively. Then, chapter 7 uses the measures of support for the four dimensions of intra-party democracy to explain different types of online party engagements and preferences for different online party platforms. The chapter finds that some of the democratic dimensions are better at explaining preferences for and participation in online activities than others, and discuss whether this is due to different explanatory power of the different dimensions or due to better measurement tools for some of the dimensions.

Finally, the thesis will round off with a conclusion chapter that summarises all the findings and discuss the implications of these, before reflection on limitations of the study and avenue for future research.

## Chapter 2. Literature review

Both democratic innovations and new communication technologies have been suggested as solutions to address waning public participation and declining trust in democratic institutions, including political parties. However, both face a number of challenges in engaging citizens in democratic political processes. This chapter will describe these challenges and how emerging political parties are adopting both democratic innovations and new communication technologies to increase citizen participation in party politics. Doing this, it will also justify why it is relevant to take a closer look at intra-party democracy in emerging political parties such as Danish political party Alternativet, whose self-proclaimed purpose is to re-invigorate democracy. In the following chapter the case of Alternativet, which is the focus of this thesis, will be introduced in more detail.

Political parties are one of the most important political institutions in modern liberal democracies and constitute one of the primary links between civil society and decision makers both locally and nationally (Schattschneider, 1942). Political parties still dominate governments and parliamentary politics in European democracies despite having lost much of the connections with civil society that previously allowed them to act as a link between decision makers and citizens (Katz & Mair, 1995). Yet, political parties have mostly been analysed as the causes of democratic malaise rather than possible solutions to democratic disillusionment (Mair, 2005, 2013; Schmitter, 2001), and thus insufficient attention has been given to the potential role political parties could play in democratic innovation.

First, this chapter will explain why it is necessary to consider ways to develop and enhance democracy at all. Next, different approaches that have been taken to address this democratic malaise will be considered, and in particular the role of digital technologies. As we shall see, political parties rarely play a role in imaginations of how to reinvigorate democracy. However, the recent appearance of a new type of political party, that relies heavily on direct citizen participation in policy formation and decision making, is changing this view. If these parties can manage to effectively engage citizens, this could offer people an opportunity to participate in *consequential* political decision making through political parties, and thereby overcoming one of the principle critiques of democratic innovations. The final section of this chapter will deal with these questions.

## **2.1 Political Parties**

Since the main focus of this study is democratic innovations in the context of intra-party democracy, it is appropriate to start with a definition of what a political party is. Later, we will look at different ways political parties can organise and focus more specifically on one kind of political party. Political parties exist in almost all modern countries and they differ massively across different political systems, cultures, and political ideologies among other things. When reviewing a number of different attempts to define what a political party is, Robin T. Pettitt ends up with the following definition which is also adopted for this thesis:

“A political party is a group of people who, under a common label, fields candidates to popularly elected assemblies.” (Pettitt, 2014, p. 7)

The key characteristic of parties contrary to other political organisations and movements, thus, is that they field candidates for elections, which has a number of implications that makes this a suitable definition for this study. First of all, it excludes political organisations whose aim is to gain control of, or seek influence on, the governing of the state more broadly than running for elections. As we shall see, Alternativet and similar parties which are the focus of this thesis, either have roots in social movements or engage in typical social movement activities in addition to fielding candidates for elections. Consequently, they are in fact more than political parties by the definition adopted here, but what distinguishes them from otherwise similar social movements is that they field candidates for elections. And in many cases these parties have had success in getting candidates elected for public office, which is what enables them to constitute a link between civil society and formal political decision making arenas. Political parties, in this context, are inherently part of a representative democracy, which is important to note since many of the democratic innovations adopted by emerging political parties are in fact designed to engage citizens directly in decision making, thus circumventing elected representatives (Smith, 2009). So the main purpose of political parties is to field candidates for roles that democratic innovations were designed to replace – or at least supplement – with direct citizen participation<sup>1</sup>.

## **2.2 Democratic malaise**

Declining voter turn out and decreasing party memberships are often at the centre of concern for the state of democracy because elections and political parties have traditionally been

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<sup>1</sup> One limitation of this definition is that it excludes political parties in authoritarian states which do not hold elections although there are plenty of both current and historical examples of one-party states where authoritarian governments have been organised around political parties. But this is not a problem in the context of this thesis, where the focus is on the potential of parties to revive democratic participation in liberal democracies.

regarded as the main links between the public and those in power in liberal representative democracies (I. V. Biezen et al., 2012; Mair & van Biezen, 2001). According to Biezen et al. party memberships has diminished to such an extent that party members might no longer reasonably be regarded “...as constituting part of civil society – with which party membership has traditionally been associated – but rather as constituting the outer ring of an extended political class.” (I. V. Biezen et al., 2012, p. 39) While it is important to note a few recent exceptions to this development, such as a sudden and substantial increase in members of the UK Labour Party and the Scottish National Party (Audickas et al., 2018), and a general increase in party memberships in individual countries like South Korea (Koo, 2018), it is not yet clear if these are early signs of a turn of developments in party memberships or just a few anomalies, and in any case membership numbers still do not reach those of the immediate post World War II era. Another caveat to make is that it is the overall combined membership of all parties in each country that experience a downward trend, while individual parties both loose and gain members from year to year (Kölln, 2016).

These developments of declining participation in formal political institutions are often considered in the light of a broader state of general civic decline. Trust in politicians and traditional channels for democratic participation has been declining in a large number of democracies over the years (Foa & Mounk, 2016), but disagreement remains on questions such as what has caused these trends; whether they are a sign of a politically indifferent public or a more critical citizenship, that has found new ways to voice their political concerns; and not least, how closer links between political elites and citizens can be re-established. This section will cover different views on these issues before the following sections will look at different responses to these developments and in particular the potential role political parties and digital technology can play.

It should be noted here, though, that Denmark – which is the context for this thesis – is to a certain extent an exception to some of the civic decline trends. While party membership has also declined in Denmark, trust in public institutions have generally been relatively stable. Following the general trend across European democracies, party membership in Denmark has been in a steady decline since the 1980's (I. V. Biezen et al., 2012). With roughly 4% of the electorate being party members (in 2008), Denmark represent a very average European democracy in this regard. However, with regards to trust, surveys consistently show that both social trust and trust in political institutions are comparatively high and stable in Denmark (R. F. Andersen & Dinesen, 2017; Ferrin & Kriesi, 2014; Newton & Norris, 2000).

### **2.2.1 Civic Decline – Less Demand for Political Participation**

One of the most influential explanations of declining participation in formal political participation such as voting and party membership is that it is brought about by changing attitudes among the public who simply care less about politics than they used to. Robert Putnam's studies of social capital in the 1990's and 2000's have had an essential influence on this notion. Social capital, in Putnam's interpretation, is a mixture of generalised reciprocity, social trust and number of social ties. Putnam convincingly demonstrates how social capital in a society is strongly linked to the effectiveness of institutions in that society - including democratic institutions (R. D. Putnam et al., 1993). In his seminal book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* he, furthermore, uncovered a downward spiral of social capital in the United States since the 1960's and demonstrated a clear line from less social interaction – including joining fewer associations, spending less time with friends and family – to lower trust in government, lower voter turnout and lower conventional political involvement (R. D. Putnam, 2000)(Putnam, 2000)(Putnam, 2000). However, other studies have since demonstrated how social capital is in fact much more stable in other countries, which nonetheless also experience declines in formal political participation, thus indicating that social capital might not be the best explanation of political disengagement (Dalton, 2004, p. 69). Studies have consistently demonstrated how Denmark in particular constitutes a society where social capital has not weakened significantly despite similar trends of declining participation in formal political participation such as party memberships (R. F. Andersen & Dinesen, 2017; Torpe, 2003).

Furthermore, Putnam's explanation of civic decline has been criticised for verging on the edge of being tautological (Hay, 2007, p. 45). Political disenchantment and declining social capital can easily be imagined as two parts of a broader phenomenon of civic decline rather than two distinct concepts; one of which leads to the other. After all, it is difficult to establish a causal link, determining whether political disenchantment is caused by or leading to declining social capital.

### **2.2.2 Politics on Offer - the Supply Side of Political Participation**

Instead of exclusively focussing on citizens' attitudes and their responsiveness to political participation, Colin Hay suggests that the explanation for political disengagement is to be found in changing opportunities to participate in politics as defined by the political establishment – including political parties (Hay, 2007). Hay refers to this as the supply side of

political engagement, as opposed to the demand side, which has gained far the most attention in analyses of political disengagement according to him.

In order to understand his argument, it is first necessary to understand how he defines the political, politicisation, and de-politicisation. According to Hay, politics "...is the capacity for agency and deliberation in situations of genuine collective or social choice. (...) Politics is synonymous with contingency; its antonyms are fate and necessity." (Hay, 2007, p. 77)

Whether an issue is considered a political issue, thus, comes down to whether it is considered something that can and should be dealt with collectively in society. And de-politicisation is when questions that was once considered up for debate and collective action are relegated to the non-political realm of necessity or fate. Furthermore he also describes and hierarchically ranks three political spheres within which political questions can be considered: 1) the governmental sphere, 2) the public sphere, and 3) the private sphere. As well as removing a question altogether from any of these spheres to the non-political realm of necessity, which lies outside of the political spheres, relegating an issue from a higher ranking political sphere to a lower one also constitutes a form of de-politicisation where an issue becomes less politicised. Hay's point is that political disengagement can be considered a response to an increasing de-politicisation of ever more issues, which makes it pointless for people to participate in politics if politics is no longer able to deal with issues of relevance to them. Of course, issues can also be politicised, going from being a matter of fate or necessity to becoming an issue that needs consideration within one of the three political spheres. And Hay also acknowledges that some level of politicisation and de-politicisation has always happened as different questions have been put on and removed from the political agenda. For example, gender roles has been increasingly politicised over the past century, first within the private sphere in the home, then within the public sphere such as the workplace, and finally it has become a political question within the governmental sphere, where for instance how to split maternity leave between parents is now a matter of legislation in many countries. However, Hay finds that the past decades have seen more issues being de-politicised, especially from the governmental sphere, and he blames in particular the influence of public choice theory for this.

In order to increase efficiency and deal with increasingly complex societal challenges, public choice theory has prompted politicians as well as professional policy makers in government administrations, policy consultancies, advocacy organisations, and academia to promote the de-politicisation of ever larger areas of social life and thus rendered themselves irrelevant in

solving matters of concern to people (Hay, 2007, Chapter 3). This is evident in developments such as increasing privatisations of the public sector, central banks becoming independent from political control, and the removal of responsibilities from governmental to self-governed quasi-public authorities. All of which suggest that individual and de-centralised choices lead to better aggregated results for the whole of society than political collective decisions.

Influenced by such a discourse it is no wonder that people hate politics and thus the reason for increased political disenchantment is to be found in politics itself.

At the same time, globalisation is perceived to have removed issues from the control of national parliaments and onto global markets and transnational organisations, which operate more or less independent from political control (Hay, 2007, Chapter 4). And whether or not this perception is accurate (indeed according to Hay, it is not), it still comes to have a de-politicising effect as long as there is broad acceptance of the perception. In fact, Hay argues, the idea of globalisation is often used by politicians to demote questions from the governmental sphere, not just to a lower ranking political sphere, but to the realm of necessity and fate by invoking it “...as a non-negotiable external economic constraint from which follows a series of policy necessities – typically those associated with retaining or securing a competitive advantage in an interdependent world.” (Hay, 2007, p. 87)

Matthew Flinders similarly links political disenchantment to de-politicisation and he agrees with Hay’s analysis to the extent that “...the marketisation and commodification of the state played a key role in undermining public confidence in politics.” (M. Flinders, 2010, p. 317) However, whereas the main villain in Hay’s analysis is public choice theory, Flinders adds a number of other items to the list of problems for contemporary democracy such as mediatisation, electoral marketisation, populism, and political illiteracy (M. Flinders, 2010, 2016; M. V. Flinders, 2012). Hay touches on several of these issues too, most notably the marketisation of electoral competition, but he relates these back to the influence of public choice theory, claiming that political marketing and the treatment of voters as customers, is based on assumptions about human behaviour identical to those of public choice theory (Hay, 2007, p. 118). The influence of new communication technologies also plays a big part in Flinders’ analysis, but this subject will be dealt with in greater depth in the following section. But the main point of Hay’s and Flinder’s analysis is the same: The causes of political disengagement is to be found in the politics on offer (or rather not on offer), and not in a change in attitudes or interest in society among the populace.

Ironically, while Colin Hay convincingly argues that the explanation of political disengagement is to be found in the supply of opportunities for citizens to participate in politics, the main implication he draws from this is not that we need to reform the participation opportunities on offer. Instead, he only stretches his analysis to the implications for political analysis, which he suggests should pay more attention to the – often negative – assumptions it makes about politicians and other stakeholders, question these, and in the process potentially “...revise the narrowly instrumental conception of human nature that we currently project on to political actors” (Hay, 2007, p. 161). Flinders focuses less exclusively on the supply side of political participation, but nonetheless reaches a very similar conclusion, arguing “...in favour of a paradigm shift in the way we view and understand politics because there is a pressing need (...) to defend politics from those who seek to narrow and subvert the political realm and against those who have become politically decadent.” (M. Flinders, 2010, p. 314)

If political disengagement can be traced back to public choice theory and assumptions made in academic theories about the nature of politics, it is no doubt good to advocate a more nuanced academic approach to political analysis. But it is not enough if it does not translate into a change in how politicians and political parties regard themselves, how they behave, and not least what opportunities they offer to citizens to participate in politics. If the problem is really to be found on what Hay refers to as the supply side, it seems natural to take a closer look at the changing role of political parties since they are responsible for many of the offers to participate in politics within the governmental sphere (Mair, 2013, Chapter Introduction). They are both responsible for the offer to participate in party politics by becoming a party member and the political offers given to voters at elections.

Since the mid-1980's a specific set of parties, which are best described as anti-political-establishment parties according to Andreas Schedler, have entered the political arena and got increasingly influential (Schedler, 1996). These parties, he explains, “...accuse established parties of forming an exclusionary cartel, unresponsive and unaccountable, and they portray public officials as a homogeneous class of lazy, incompetent, self-enriching and power-driven villains.” (Schedler, 1996, p. 291) The rise of these parties is often interpreted as a response to disillusionment with the established political system, but the views of the establishment that these parties promote are exactly the kind of sentiments about politicians that Hay and Flinders argue have led to the damaging depoliticisation in recent decades. An important point to Schedler is that anti-political-establishment parties are not explicitly anti-democratic



although it is, according to him, a serious problem of credibility for them to make it clear that they only oppose the political elite and not the entire democratic system. More recently, Flinders has described the 2015 UK general election as set against a backdrop of an anti-politics debate (M. Flinders, 2015). Schedler makes a clear distinction between anti-political-establishment and outright anti-politics, which seeks to replace politics “...by operating principles of other societal spheres of action” (Schedler, 1996) such as divine power or a technocracy. Using Hay’s terminology, anti-establishment parties are thus not actually calling for more de-politicisation, they are not against politics and political solutions as such, although they do advance a notion of the political establishment that might have helped to fuel the de-politicisation agenda. Similarly, Flinders finds that what was, during the 2015 UK election, discussed as 'anti-political' was rarely really *anti-politics*. “They were anti-establishment and *pro-politics* – but *pro*-‘doing politics differently’.” (M. Flinders, 2015, p. 242) Nevertheless, he also finds that all the parties failed “...to specify in any level of detail what 'doing politics differently' would actually look like...” (M. Flinders, 2015, p. 252) and conclude that a gap “...appears to have grown between the governors and large sections of the governed.” (M. Flinders, 2015, p. 254) Anti-political sentiments can thus both be interpreted as a response to de-politicisation and a source of it, in that on the one hand it fuels the negative notions of the political establishment that has led to the perceived need to depoliticise issues, but on the other hand it also entails a call for new political solutions and a cry for a new kind of politics done differently.

### **2.2.3 What Democracy?**

This point is closely related to what some political scientists have called the “democracy-politics paradox” (Stoker & Evans, 2014). That is, despite the negative attitudes towards the political system which many citizens express across most democracies, they still support the basic idea of democracy. In other words, “...the issue in contemporary democracy for many citizens is not disappointment with the idea of democracy but its practice.” (Stoker & Evans, 2014, p. 26) In order to solve this conflict, Stoker and Evans suggest that we need a new and more refined notion of political alienation. An understanding that acknowledges the complexity of political alienation in more detail than David Easton's classic two-dimensional notion of political support as either being specific, meaning support of the current regime or authority; or diffuse, meaning support for the political institutions and underlying order of political life while not necessarily supporting the government currently in power (Easton, 1975). They argue that political alienation can take many other forms than lack of support for

democracy altogether or simple opposition to the current government. Russell J. Dalton agrees that political support is in fact a multi-dimensional phenomenon when he uses World Value Survey data to identify four different dimensions of it: Support for political institutions (confidence in parliament, legal system, and civil service among other things); support for current authorities (satisfaction with the current government); support for democratic ideals; and support for political community (i.e. the country in which citizens live) (Dalton, 2004, p. 59). In this way, he separates support for the specific current institutional arrangements of a democratic system and for more abstract democratic ideals, thus acknowledging that it is possible to want a different kind of democracy than what exists now without necessarily rejecting democracy itself.

But this begs the question what kind of democracy these dissatisfied democrats then want. Landwehr and Steiner argues that the idea of democracy that enjoys broad support is only the conceptual core of democracy, but that within this core there is still space for reasonable disagreement on different conceptions of democracy (Landwehr & Steiner, 2017). The conceptual core, according to them, consists of polyarchy and the rule of law, that is, that elections should be fair, media and the opposition should be free to criticise the government, and everyone should be treated the same in the eyes of the law. These criteria align well with the minimum requirements for democratic rule set out by Robert Dahl (Dahl, 1989) while equality before the law and free and fair elections are also the dimensions that most people perceive to be essential to democracy according to European Social Survey (ESS round 6) data on how European citizens view democracy (Ferrin & Kriesi, 2014, 2016). While most respondents agree that these dimensions are essential to democracy, ESS 2012 data also showed that many respondents found other dimensions to be equally important and compatible with these core dimensions (ibid), which supports Landwehr and Steiner's view that there is a conceptual core of democracy and then different conceptions of how democracy could and should look like within this core.

Others have also called for more systematic studies of citizens' preferences for different political processes, allowing for simultaneous comparisons of different democratic models, instead of focussing on one alternative to current democracy at the time (Bengtsson, 2012). Early explorations into citizens' preferences for alternative democratic arrangements tended to focus on one alternative to current democratic practices at the time. For example studying preferences for more direct democracy such as the use of referendums (Anderson & Goodyear-Grant, 2010; Bowler et al., 2007; Dalton et al., 2001; Donovan & Karp, 2006;

Gherghina & Geissel, 2018; Wojcieszak, 2014), preferences for and willingness to engage in deliberative democratic institutions (Jacobs et al., 2009; Neblo et al., 2010; Stoker & Hay, 2016), or even support for less participatory alternatives to traditional representative democracy (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2002). The latter of these, coined *Stealth Democracy* by Hibbing and Theiss-Morse, represent preferences for expert rule and less participation. And support for this alternative to traditional representative democracy have also been compared extensively with support for direct democracy (Bengtsson & Mattila, 2009; Coffé & Michels, 2014; Fernández-Martínez & Fábregas, 2018; Webb, 2013). More recently a growing literature has emerged that exploratively seeks to examine how citizens distinguish between different political process preferences (Bengtsson & Christensen, 2016; Font et al., 2015; Landwehr & Steiner, 2017)<sup>2</sup>. However, what all these studies have in common – both those focussing on specific democratic alternatives and those comparing different alternatives – is that they demonstrate a diversity of preferences among citizens. So it is clear that people have different expectations from democracy.

These different normative expectations of democracy could explain why, at least for a period, less people got engaged in traditional political institutions such as political parties and elections while still supporting democracy. But it could also explain a recent emergence of a new type of party with different democratic structures. So far, few studies have explored if there is any relationship between preferences for intra-party democracy among the general population and their support for political parties with horizontal organisations (a notable exception being (Close et al., 2017)), but such a relationship is interesting because it could not only explain the emergence of different party models. It could also contribute practical advice on how to enhance democratic participation. Later sections of the chapter will return to these questions, which will also be central to the rest of this thesis.

#### **2.2.4 Critical Citizens and New Channels of Political Participation**

It is worth noting, however, that not everyone interprets declining support for traditional democratic institutions, as a crisis for democracy. Indeed, Ronald Inglehart argues that what we see, is part of a larger shift of basic values among populations across post modern societies characterised by relatively high economic security and the safety net of a welfare state (Inglehart, 1997). This involves a shift in values from hard work to tolerance and imagination; from stressing the role of being a mother to valuing women's careers; from believing in the

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<sup>2</sup> (Dryzek & Berejikian, 1993) constitute an early and alternative approach to exploratively examine conceptions of democracy, using Q methodology to identify four discourses on democracy among individuals.

good of scientific and technological progress to being more concerned about the impact on the environment; as well as a number of other values. Generally, people in highly industrialised societies de-emphasise respect for authorities in favour of individual autonomy, which naturally leads to less engagement with traditional democratic institutions such as political parties which are based on coordinated collective action. But this individualisation should not be bemoaned according to Inglehart, because while it erodes respect for authorities it is exactly the same values that also increase support for democracy (Inglehart, 1999). In other words, “...declining levels of participation should not cause any concern about the future viability of democratic systems, as they are merely reflecting a transition from routine participation to a more reflexive and monitoring form of political involvement.” (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005, p. 164) Surveys of norms of citizenship show that engagement based norms are, if not replacing, then complementing traditional citizenship norms based on a notion of duty to participate (Dalton, 2008). That is, the notion of what it means to be a good citizen is changing from duty based norms such as obeying the law, voting in elections and serving in the military, to engagement norms such as forming one’s own opinion, supporting people who are worse off, and non-electoral political activities such as protests, and direct actions. This is consistent with studies exploring new channels of political participation, which suggest that the repertoire of opportunities to participate in (democratic) politics has widened far beyond voting in elections, becoming a party member and similar traditional political engagement (Theocharis & Deth, 2016). Protest activities such as demonstrating has become a major channel to voice concerns for many citizens, and to participants, such activities are perfectly compatible with a strong support for democracy (Norris et al., 2005). Other examples of emerging participation styles and methods include the signing and sharing of petitions; politically aware consumerism, where people take a political stance by boycotting or buying specific products; more loose and spontaneous participation in political campaigns online and offline among other things. These new channels of participation are very diverse, but Stolle and Hooghe summarise four attributes that characterise most of them (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005, pp. 160–163): 1) First of all, they tend to be loosely organised through flexible network structures rather than through hierarchical organisations with formal memberships, which can negotiate broad alliances on behalf of their members. Instead “...these grassroots associations opt for co-operation in flexible and horizontal networks that are better adapted to the needs of information-driven societies.” (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005, p. 160) Especially young people seem to be drawn to network based political participation (Loader et al., 2014). This is

a point that the following section on the role of new information and communication technologies will return to. 2) Secondly, the nature of the issues these new participation channels address are shifting towards more lifestyle oriented issues experienced in people's everyday lives rather than the big ideological – and often class-based – struggles that characterised the institutionalised politics of the industrialisation era. 3) Thirdly, mobilisation has changed from long-term commitments of members in political organisations to more spontaneous and irregular engagement that it is easy to shift in and out of. And lastly, 4) post-modern political engagement is more individual in nature than the collective action of unions and political parties. This does not mean that actions are not necessarily co-ordinated in some way, but “...most participants simply perform this act alone, at home before a computer screen, or in a supermarket.” (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005, p. 162)

Henrik Bang identifies a specific kind of activist that engage in these new modes of political participation, which he terms the *everyday maker* (H. Bang, 2005). The everyday maker possesses what Manuel Castells calls a project identity, which he opposes to a legitimising identity (Castells, 2004). A legitimising identity building is characteristic of the traditional political organisations and institutions “...which reproduce, albeit sometimes in a conflictive manner, the identity that rationalizes the sources of structural domination.” (Castells, 2004, p. 8) Here disagreement and discontent is articulated within established institutions (e.g. unions, churches, political parties), which is crucial to the legitimization of these institutions. But according to Castells, these institutions have increasingly lost meaning and legitimacy with the rise of the network society. And this loss of meaning has given space for a new kind of identity building: the project identity. Here the identity building that takes place in social engagements is “a project of a different life” (ibid, p. 10). The main goal is not explicitly to transform society, but rather to “...build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure.” (ibid, p. 8) In Bang's words, both expert citizens and everyday makers “...are project oriented and want to deal with common concerns concretely and personally rather than abstractly and ideologically. Everyday makers do not feel defined by the state; nor do they see themselves as apathetic or opposed to it.” (H. Bang, 2005, p. 11) So to the list of characteristics of emerging political participation methods, we can also add that they tend to neither be antagonistic or legitimizing in relation to established authorities, but are happy to cooperate with them if necessary and when it makes sense for them. Similarly to what Stolle and Hooghe found they are also

primarily concerned with lifestyle politics; that is, issues of concrete relevance to how they see their lives rather than broad ideologies of how to create a better society.

All of these theories about new forms of political participation clearly suggest a link between new participation channels and support for democracy. This is most clear in how Castells opposes legitimising identities to project identities, but it is also implied when Stolle and Hooghe talks about less ideological and more informally structured participation as well as in Bang's description of a practical willingness to collaborate with state powers despite no feeling of obligation to do so. All of this suggest that participants in these new forms of political engagement support citizen participation in politics and democracy overall, but might not be satisfied with the opportunities for engagement offered by traditional democratic institutions (including political parties). However, considering this observation, research has paid insufficient attention to links between participation in new forms of political participation and democratic values. We actually know very little about what participants in new political participation expect from democracy, besides that they are not satisfied with the current opportunities for participation.

## Overview of theoretical notions of political disengagement

### Societal shifts from...

	<i>...post-war era:</i>	<i>...to recent decades:</i>
Values: (Inglehart, 1999)	Modern: Material values and respect for authorities	Post-modern: Tolerance, ecology and individual autonomy
Citizenship norms: (Dalton, 2008)	Duty-based norms: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Obeying the law</li> <li>- Report a crime</li> <li>- Voting in elections</li> <li>- Serving in the military or jury</li> </ul>	Engagement-based norms: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Forming ones own opinion</li> <li>- Supporting people who are worse off</li> <li>- Be active in politics</li> <li>- Be active in voluntary groups</li> </ul>
Political participation: (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Formal hierarchical organisations</li> <li>2. Focus on ideological class based issues</li> <li>3. Long-term (class based) commitment</li> <li>4. A collective approach</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Horizontal and flexible networked organisational structure</li> <li>2. Focus on lifestyle politics addressing daily life issues</li> <li>3. Spontaneous and irregular ad hoc mobilization</li> <li>4. An individualised approach</li> </ol>

### Two views on the theoretical implications of these shifts...

Interpretation of societal changes:	Civic decline (R. D. Putnam, 2000)	Changing, but not declining political participation (Norris, 2002; Stolle & Hooghe, 2005)
Notions of political support:	Democratic vs. anti-democratic (Easton, 1975)	Legitimising identity vs. Anti-establishment (but pro-“doing politics differently”) / Project identity (pro-“doing politics yourself”) (Castells, 2004; M. Flinders, 2015)
The main focus of political participation: (Hay, 2007)	The governmental sphere.	The public and private sphere.

Table 1: Overview of theoretical explanations of political disengagement.

Table 1 above summarises the descriptions and explanations of political disengagement covered in this section, and split them roughly into two overall interpretations of the change in political engagement and the theoretical implications of these changes; each represented by

one of the table's two columns. On the one hand, there is a focus on decreasing engagement with traditional formal political institutions, coinciding with an erosion of duty-based citizenship norms and modernist values, which is interpreted as a sign of civic decline and waning support for democracy. On the other hand, a focus on new engagement based norms and post-modern values, emphasising individual autonomy, combined with an awareness of new ways in which people engage in politics, leads to a more positive interpretation of the situation where critical citizens are still strongly engaged in politics, but are only engaging on their own terms. Decreasing participation in elections, political parties, and other traditional democratic institutions, it follows, is not necessarily a sign of increasing political disenchantment or disapproval of democracy. On the contrary, it seems that support for democracy is bigger than ever before, and citizens do engage in politics in new and reflective ways, although traditional democratic institutions and the particular way that democracy is practised might not be living up to people's expectations.

However, despite strong support for democracy as a fundamental concept is widespread, a gap seems to have been established between the governors and the governed, no matter which of the two views are taken. Citizens' expectations are arguably increasing and, it seems, not currently met by the way democracy and politics is actually carried out. This gap between decision makers and the rest of society as well as changing expectations indicates a democratic deficit that needs to be addressed. The next sections will review some responses to this development and consider how they manage to address this democratic deficit, before turning back to the role of political parties in the last sections, to see how they might not only play a role as a cause of political disengagement, but also be part of a response.

### **2.3 Democratic innovations, and different spaces for participation**

While participation in politics through traditional channels has declined and trust in political institutions dropped (Mair & van Biezen, 2001; R. D. Putnam, 2000), a plethora of democratic innovations have emerged in attempts to counter these trends (Fung & Warren, 2011).

Graham Smith defines democratic innovations as "...institutions that have been specifically designed to increase and deepen citizen participation in the political decision-making process." (Smith, 2009, p. 1) Escobar and Elstub expands this definition by adding that democratic innovations can be processes as well as institutions, acknowledging the experimental non-institutionalised nature of many innovations, and replace 'decision-making' with 'governance processes' as the aim of democratic innovations in recognition that engaging citizens in policy making is just as important as decision making (Elstub & Escobar, 2019).



These two expansions are important if we are to talk about democratic innovations within political parties. Smith explicitly stress two aspects of focusing on institutions and decision-making; namely that he is not interested in any form of representative civic participation and that democratic innovation ought to be about direct citizen participation at strategic levels of government (Smith, 2009, pp. 2–3). Political parties, though, by definition involves some level of representative participation in decision making on strategic levels of government. As will be illustrated in this thesis, this still leaves room for innovative ways to engage citizens directly in policy formation and decision making within political parties, which despite not being institutionalised on a strategical level of government, still has the potential to have impact on this level through the party's elected representatives in local and national legislative assemblies and governments.

A great variety of democratic innovations has been identified (Fung & Warren, 2011; Smith, 2009), but despite their differences they generally share a couple of characteristics and challenges, that seem difficult to overcome.

Typically, democratic innovations are specifically designed to increase the democratic legitimacy of existing political institutions by offering citizens new channels to voice their concerns, influence decisions and participate in implementations of decisions (Smith, 2009). Thus, they are typically new institutions or processes initiated from the top by political elites. In Ricardo Blaug's words they are attempts to engineer public participation in the image of *incumbent democracy*; that is “...conceiving of democracy as an institutionalized and rule governed procedure...” and participation as “...primarily instrumental, subsuming ethical considerations into interests to be adjudicated and preferences to be aggregated.” (Blaug, 2002, p. 105) This might not sound very much in line with the ideals of deliberative and participatory theories of democracy that have inspired democratic innovations such as mini-publics and participatory budgeting, but too often these innovations are too easily co-opted by government elites to serve their needs for legitimisation rather than the original intentions behind them. Thus, Carole Pateman, for instance, criticises mini-publics for not being integrated properly into the overall system of democratic institutions and at worst being “...little more than focus groups, (and) useful legitimating devices for an already-decided policy.” (Pateman, 2012, p. 9) While she acknowledges that the original implementations of participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre and other Brazilian cities have had success with democratising a limited part of public budgets, on a larger scale “...most of the examples being called participatory budgeting fit very easily within existing authority structures, and

citizens are not participating, as a matter of right, in decisions about their city's or town's regular budget.” (Pateman, 2012, p. 14) In short, spaces for participation created with democratic innovations are often set up by authorities and this has consequences for the power relations within those spaces (Gaventa, 2006). Such spaces created by those in power are labelled *invited spaces* by John Gaventa and Andrea Cornwall (Cornwall, 2004; Gaventa, 2006). These can either be previously *closed spaces* – i.e. where decisions are made behind closed doors without any public participation – that an authority has opened up and invited citizens in to participate in, in an effort to increase legitimacy. Or, like in the case of many participatory budgeting events according to Pateman, spaces for participation that has been co-opted by authorities.

The problem with this kind of top-down initiated democratic reform is that it rarely succeeds in engaging the public at large (Davidson & Elstub, 2014). While it can be argued that “...citizens themselves have not been demanding enough (...) to render far-reaching institutional change a necessity in the eyes of political elites” (ibid, p. 381), Blaug argues that such initiatives will never work because “...indeed, they are not intended to work. Rather, their purpose is to adopt the appearance of democracy, to protect elite institutions from critical attack and to propagate the unreflective and deeply ideological assertion that democracy is a single political project to which all can be safely harnessed.” (Blaug, 2002, p. 113)

Blaug contrasts incumbent democracy to *critical democracy*, which primarily occurs at the periphery of and in resistance to elite governance. Here, participation is “...seen as a good in itself, (and) democracy becomes an experience rather than an institutional form.” (Blaug, 2002, p. 106) The main point of participation is not to legitimise, but rather to challenge established institutions and participation is perceived as empowering in itself. In this regard, it is in line with the educative, developmental side of Carole Pateman's notion of participatory democracy that sees participation as necessary to build capacity and skills to increase political efficacy (Pateman, 1970). These practices lead to *claimed spaces* for participation, created by less powerful actors outside of and separated from formal spheres of government (Gaventa, 2006). Here the participants are also the creators of the space for participation and the ones who decides which democratic mechanisms they want to utilise. These do not have to be innovative, of course, but there are several examples of how social movements such as the Spanish Indignados and Greek Aganaktismenoi have experimented with innovative democratic procedures in how they work internally (Prentoulis & Thomassen, 2013).

Bottom-up initiated claimed spaces for participation might, at least occasionally, manage to attract great numbers of people to take part in experimental procedures for collective decision making and thereby widen popular participation, most recently witnessed in movements such as Indignados and Occupy (Castañeda, 2014), but it also has its flaws. “By conceiving of participation as a micro-level process in which identities are created and dramatically displayed, it appears strangely disinterested in the realities of power politics.” (Blaug, 2002, p. 106) Lacking and at times even rejecting any connection with established government institutions, democratic experimentation at this level struggle to influence actual decision making.

In summary, democratic innovations tend to either be created from the top-down by government elites, engineering an incumbent democracy with invited spaces for participation, which struggle to engage people and often only lead to consultative impact, or be created from the bottom-up by civil society actors, engineering a critical democracy with claimed spaces for participation, which regularly manage to engage larger publics, but struggle to translate their participation into impact on formal politics. This is summarised in table 2 below. While decades of democratic innovations has taught us a lot about innovative ways to engage people in invited spaces as well as claimed spaces, both of them seem to struggle to bridge the gap between citizens and civil society on the one side and government on the other. Political parties are placed in an interesting position between incumbent and critical democracy, having strong links to government, but also having the potential to act as claimed spaces where party members can participate on their own terms. Thus there are good reasons to explore the potential of improving participation through democratic innovations within the context of party politics. But before turning to the role of political parties, the next section will take a look at the role of new communication technologies in democratic participation.

Democratic innovations	Spaces for participation	Types of democracy created	Key social arenas	Benefits	Challenges
Top-down initiated	Invited spaces	Incumbent Democracy	Governments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clear link to arenas for consequential decision making.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Power sharing and real impact.</li> <li>• Inclusion and truly open agendas.</li> <li>• Co-option</li> </ul>
Bottom-up initiated	Claimed spaces	Critical Democracy	Social movements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open agenda</li> <li>• Ability to engage large crowds</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Making participation consequential</li> </ul>

Table 2: Categorisation of democratic innovations according to who initiate them and their benefits and flaws.

## 2.4 The unfulfilled promises of the Internet

Recently, information and communication technologies (ICT's) have increasingly been associated with democratic challenges such as fake news (Vargo et al., 2017), echo chamber effects (Colleoni et al., 2014; Sunstein, 2004), and possible foreign digital inference in elections (Tenove et al., 2018). And there is clear evidence that social media can be engineered to alter political behaviour such as election turnouts (Bond et al., 2012), which justifies questioning whether these new technologies actually have a detrimental effect on democracy. But, at least until recently, the history of the Internet has been dominated by a more positive view on ICT's as "*liberation technologies*" that enables both the spread and enhancement of democracy (L. Diamond, 2010).

Especially during the early days of the Internet throughout the 1990's this new technology was often praised as a great enabler of democracy (Negroponte, 2000; Shapiro, 1999), that would not only be able to reinvigorate a fading democracy, but would actually have the ability to enhance democracy beyond representative liberal democracy, which according to this view is based on the limitations of 19<sup>th</sup> century technology (Budge, 1996; Grossman, 1996). It was believed, that these new technologies had "...the potential to deeply alter existing power relations and entrenched hierarchies by handing over political authority directly to the citizens. The democratic utopia of the ancient Greek agora was to be put into practice in

modern mass democracies with the help of new information and communication technologies.” (Lindner et al., 2016, p. 4)

While there has been a recent recognition of the potentially detrimental effect of new digitally networked communication technologies on democracy, techno-utopian solutions to these and other societal problems are still popular (Bastick, 2017). Especially the use of big data to make data-driven decisions is believed to “...potentially build a world without war or financial crashes, in which infectious disease is quickly detected and stopped, in which energy, water, and other resources are no longer wasted, and in which governments are part of the solution rather than part of the problem.” (Pentland, 2015, p. 47) In the same vain, it has even been suggested to replace politicians as human representatives with a selection of digital algorithms for citizens to elect to represent them in virtual decision making bodies (Hidalgo, 2018).

Howard Rheingold's book *The Virtual Community* from 1993 is a good example of this early techno-utopian optimism about the Internet (Rheingold, 2000). Based on his own experiences on the online network The WELL and other early Internet technologies like Usenet, internet relay chat (IRC), and mailing lists, Rheingold enthusiastically describes how it is perfectly possible to meet new people and create social ties online which are just as strong as traditional off-line relations. In addition to the tool-like aspect of online forums, he finds, that they have a place-like aspect as well. While the tool aspect refers to the use of communities to elicit useful information and support for specific purposes, virtual communities also act as places where people can meet and create personal bonds just like physical meeting places such as bars for instance. Today, it seems obvious that it is possible to create social bonds through online platforms. The popularity of online dating services is just one good example of this. However, numerous studies have also shown that we primarily use online communities to stay in touch with people we already know from our offline lives (Ellison et al., 2007; Reich et al., 2012; Subrahmanyam et al., 2008).

Putnam was also aware of the Internet to which access proliferated rapidly while he conducted his studies on declining social capital and he did consider both the potential advantages as well as disadvantages of the Internet to create community ties and build social capital, although he stress that at the time of writing *Bowling Alone* in 2000 it was still too early to conclude much about the long-term impacts of the Internet. He does, however recognise that “...neither the apocalyptic 'gloom and doom' prognosticators nor the utopian 'brave new virtual community' advocates are probably on target” (R. D. Putnam, 2000, p. 171), thus placing himself on a middle ground of being sceptically optimistic about the impact of the Internet

which seems to have become the dominant position in the debate since then. More importantly, though, he mentions two related points about the potential and possible impact of the internet. First of all “...social capital may turn out to be a prerequisite for, rather than a consequence of, effective computer-mediated communication.” (R. D. Putnam, 2000, p. 177) Rather than being an enabler, capable of including people on equal terms in an inclusive online community, it is worth considering if digital platforms really just reinforce existing social ties or if they give rise to a new digital divide between those with technological resources and those without (Dijk & Hacker, 2003; Norris, 2001). Secondly he reminds us that digital technologies are not the result of “...some mindless, external 'technological imperative'.” (R. D. Putnam, 2000, p. 180) They are the result of actions taken by people so the civic potential of digital media is really a matter of what we choose to do with these new technologies and whatever potential they might have, these new technologies will not *automatically* fix the problems of declining social capital and political engagement. On the other hand, “...it is hard to imagine solving our contemporary civic dilemmas without computer-mediated communication.” (R. D. Putnam, 2000, p. 180) Thus, it might be argued, it will be wise to look for mechanisms to off-set the civic decline in initiatives that manage to embed the use of ICT's in some of the existing democratic institutions such as political parties rather than look for a wholly new online virtual democracy.

In the search for such mechanisms, a whole field of studies on e-participation has emerged, assessing the mobilization effects of the Internet (Segesten & Bossetta, 2016), comparing online participation to offline participation (R. Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013), and exploring the potential of political campaigning through online media (Rohlinger et al., 2014), most commonly defining e-participation along the lines of “...Internet-based and/or Internet-facilitated political participation, either offered by government institutions or by non-governmental actors addressing public issues.” (Lindner et al., 2016, p. 4) Accordingly, the focus of these studies tend to be on invited spaces for participation (Gaventa, 2006) based on a notion of an incumbent democracy (Blaug, 2002), but similarly to their offline counterparts, studies show that such top-down initiatives to engage citizens online struggle to engage the public at large except from low-intensive and non-deliberative engagements such as e-petitions (Moss & Coleman, 2014).

However, it is worth noting that digital communication channels also allow new modes of political participation that it is important to take into account when assessing the political engagement of citizens (Theocharis & Deth, 2016). In addition to acts and actions aimed

directly at influencing politicians, latent political participation such as expressing an opinion, discussing politics, and mobilising calls for action play a larger role online than they have done offline (R. Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013). This is among other things the case because online media allow public expressions to be shared easily, so they can be seen by many people, and thus have a much larger potential for impact than private discussions and expressions of political views in a traditional offline setting (Segesten & Bossetta, 2016). But also because access to latent political participation such as reading political news and discussing politics has become more widespread online, which can contribute to political awareness and potentially lead to political actions in the traditional sense (Ekman & Amnå, 2012). Theocharis et al. have in several studies demonstrated that these types of expressive online participation constitute a new type of political participation that is distinctive from other traditional types of participation, both conceptually and in terms of who engage in these activities (Theocharis et al., 2019; Theocharis & Deth, 2016). So while the Internet might not have managed to revolutionise the supply side of democratic institutions as imagined by some early techno-utopians, it has definitely had an impact on the demand for channels to participate politically.

In contrast to the view that the democratic potential of the Internet primarily lies in reinvigorating traditional channels of political participation, is the view that the traditional approach to democracy has been challenged by the Internet to such an extent that it is not viable to just rely on revitalising the old democratic institutions (Dahlgren, 2005). The Internet, it is argued, caters specifically well for issue-politics or matters of concern (Dantec et al., 2015; DiSalvo et al., 2014) promoted by large professional interest groups or grass roots social movements, in other words claimed spaces for participation. The consequence of this being “...that electoral politics is often sidestepped, signalling a growing bifurcation between traditional parties and single-issue advocacy groups.” (Dahlgren, 2005, p. 154)

Similarly, Manuel Castells was early to recognise the risk of online political activism “...to bypass formal politics (and thus) undermine even further the institutions of democracy.” (Castells, 2004, p. 417) He does however, also see a potential in online participation “...if political representation and decision making could find a linkage with these new sources of inputs from concerned citizens, without yielding to a technologically savvy elite (...), thus allowing for electronic grassrootsing of democracy.” (Castells, 2004) So far, though, political representatives and decision makers seem to have had limited success linking with such inputs effectively. In a review of UK efforts to support e-democracy Coleman and Moss conclude

that “...online communicators are finding their way to politics even if political elites are not finding their way to them. However, from the perspective of democratic coordination, ways still need to be found to channel these energies and practices into effective venues and institutions; in short, to link civil society with the political sphere.” (Moss & Coleman, 2014, p. 423) So while there is plenty of political activism happening online, most of it never finds its way to any formal political institutions.

Moss and Coleman drew this conclusion six years ago in 2014, just a few years before this project began. However, in the meantime new political parties and movements have emerged across Europe which more or less explicitly attempts to bring this online activism into elections, parliaments and other formal political institutions. The next section will take a closer look at some of these parties, but it should be noted that traditional mainstream parties have also learned to use digital technologies for campaign purposes, even if they do not use them in the interactive sense to link civil society with the political sphere that Moss & Coleman imagined.

Jennifer Stromer-Galley has carefully studied the use of digital communication technologies in American electoral campaigns since the advent of the Internet in the late 1990's, and she describes how politicians were for a long time reluctant to utilise the interactive potential of new digital communication technologies, in fear of losing control over their political messages (Stromer-Galley, 2019). Since then, she describes, American political parties have learned how to utilise the networked activism that these technologies enable, without losing control over communication. To explain this phenomenon, she developed the concept of *controlled interactivity*, which describes how electoral campaigns in the US use digital communication technologies to engage a network of activists, but at the same time use the same technologies to control the political messages that these activists are sharing.

While digital technologies allow horizontal networks of peers to connect without a hierarchical organisation to facilitate communication (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013), the same technologies also allow centrally organised campaigns to collect unprecedented amounts of data about the activists in these networks, and pin-point messages to the parts of the network where they benefit their ends. So while digital technologies enable direct interactivity among activists, and between activists and political campaigns, these interactions also produce data and insights that can be leveraged to centralise control by those campaigns with the resources to do so. However, David Karpf has demonstrated in several studies how the impact of technology on election campaigns is often overstated. For instance he argues that the use of



email lists is different-in-degree rather than different-in-kind to established offline political campaigning methods such as postcards and photocopied flyers (Karpf, 2010a). And in another study he compares the impact of a youtube video and a tv appearance that both went viral during an election campaign, and concludes that the influence of technology “...is often overstated when academics and commentators focus on the technology in the absence of the organizations that use it.” (Karpf, 2010b).

So there are different views on the impact of the Internet on party politics, ranging from views that politicians do not connect properly with these technologies at all (Moss & Coleman, 2014), or that the impact of the technologies are overrated (Karpf, 2010a, 2010b), to the view that political parties have learned to utilise the tools to send controlled campaign messages without having to interact with citizens (Stromer-Galley, 2019). However, they all agree that these new technological tools have so far not managed to link political elites closer with citizens.

## **2.5 Intra-party democracy and connective parties**

Thus far the chapter has illustrated how democratic innovations generally struggle to simultaneously engage citizens at large and translate participation into real impact on government decisions. In short they rarely manage to (re)connect citizens with governments. This also holds true for most new forms of political participation emerging online despite the communicative potentials of digital media. Traditionally, political parties have been considered the most important institution to provide this link between governments and citizens in liberal democracies (Schattschneider, 1942). However, a long trend of declining numbers in membership (Mair & van Biezen, 2001) and more reliance on professional and state support (Katz & Mair, 1995; P. F. Whiteley, 2011), has weakened the political parties' ties with civil society.

In this section, it will be illustrated that over the past decade a number of new political parties have emerged across Europe, which constitute a new type of political party, referred to as “movement parties” (Porta et al., 2017) or “connective parties” (Bennett et al., 2017) in the literature. These parties promote as well as practice new ways of “doing politics”, emphasising the need to reconnect politics with citizens. In most cases the use of digital technologies plays a central role in how these parties practice and talk about increasing citizen engagement in politics. Beyond simply fielding candidates for elected assemblies, they have demonstrated some level of success in actually getting these candidates elected to public offices. While characteristics of these parties vary, they all have in common that they, at least

claim, to create their political program in collaboration with citizens through innovative approaches to inclusive policy formation and decision-making.

### **2.5.1 The evolution of party models**

The literature on party models often describes different types of political parties as models that have evolved and emerged consecutively over time in response to competition from each other and societal developments (Gallagher et al., 2006, Chapter 10). In one of the earliest and most influential accounts of this, Maurice Duverger describes how what he calls the cadre parties originating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century was challenged and ultimately replaced by mass parties in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Duverger, 1954). The cadre party's only members were its elected politicians who mainly collaborated under one name in order to promote their shared notion of the public interest within elected assemblies and they mainly relied on personal resources, status, and contacts when running for office. The mass party, on the other hand, emerged through a mobilisation of the originally disenfranchised masses who each contributed a bit of their time and money as members of the party in exchange for the party to represent their interests as a social group within society. Thus, the democratic legitimacy of party positions shifted from justifications of what was in the public interest to representing specific interests of different sections of society, and elected politicians went from being trustees to delegates. As universal suffrage expanded the mass party became superior to the cadre party in winning elections, and all parties adopted membership based organisations with formal intra-party democratic structures. However, on the one hand it was not in the interest of the traditional cadre parties to limit their appeal to the upper classes of society, which most often constituted a minority after the introduction of universal suffrage, and on the other hand the introduction of the welfare state – which itself in many cases was the result of the electoral success of mass parties – eroded the social boundaries that had defined the class differences which defined the interests of the mass party. As a consequence of this, what Kirchheimer coined the “catch-all party” emerged, which shifted focus from representing the interests of specific groups to having the most efficient policies to gain general advantages for most of the electorate (Krouwel, 2003). The “catch-all party” retained the membership based organisations, but with a main focus on gaining as many votes as possible rather than representing certain interests, party organisations were professionalised and the parliamentary party and party leadership began to dominate policy formation. Leaders of the “catch-all party” are primarily accountable to the electorate and the membership's main role is to support the policies developed by the leadership rather than influencing it. Finally, by the

1990's Katz and Mair argue that the catch-all party had evolved into what they call the cartel-party, which rely so heavily on state funds and are so used to be part of the system, that they have lost their links to civil society and become semi-state actors that represent different leaders from the same elite for the electorate to choose between (Katz & Mair, 1995). In the cartel-party, membership is somewhat blurred and often both supporters and formal members are invited to take part in ballots on party candidates and decisions, instead of relying on a more comprehensive intra-party structure of delegates and party congresses which require much more commitment from an engaged membership base.

This change in the role of party members is also likely to have influenced the increasing lack of interest in party membership among the general public. Paul F. Whiteley explores different explanations to why party membership has been decreasing by studying party memberships across a number of different democracies and finds that closer relationships between the state and political parties seem to have a negative effect on party membership while he does not find any evidence that new alternative ways to participate in politics is crowding out party activism (P. F. Whiteley, 2011). His explanation of this is twofold. On the one hand, as political parties become more reliant on economic support from the state they are equally less reliant on membership fees, giving them less of an incentive to recruit members. At the same time, stricter regulation of political parties – which often comes with the economic support – restricts the kind of voluntarism party members and party activists can engage in, thus making it less appealing to be a party member. As such, his results can be interpreted as evidence that the emergence of the cartel party has a direct responsibility for decreasing party memberships. It is worth noting, however, that there are also other factors in play and despite an overall decline of memberships in all political parties taken together, this is not the case for all individual parties. Kölln finds a link between the age of parties and their membership size with older parties experiencing larger decreases in memberships (Kölln, 2016). She reasons that this is related to the fact that more consolidated parties are less reliant on having a lot of grassroots members. This supports the life-cycle theory which states that parties goes through different life-phases or levels of institutionalisation which will explain their membership levels and the role they give to members, as the organisational needs change. New parties need an active base of grassroots for organisational purposes and to get their message out, whereas more consolidated parties have better access to media and other channels to reach potential voters (Kölln, 2016). But Kölln also concludes that further research is required on the level of individual parties and especially on possible structural explanations, since her

analysis finds several exceptions to the general trend of membership decline also among more consolidated parties.

One of the societal developments that has affected the emergence of each of these party models is the evolution of communication technologies. Katz and Mair briefly note how the emergence of television as an important channel of political communication catered well for the catch-all parties. On the one hand national televised programmes impelled politicians to appeal directly and universally to the whole electorate, and on the other hand the natural need for centralised state regulation of radio and television offered parties in power privileged access to these communication channels (Katz & Mair, 1995, pp. 13 & 15). On the other hand, the mass party tended to set up and mainly rely on their own channels of communication. This was made possible by the dominance of relatively cheap printed media, which allowed each party to communicate effectively to their own mass of members at a feasible cost. Likewise, we can imagine that the cadre party's reliance on interpersonal networks was facilitated by the early adoption of one-to-one communication channels such as the telegraph and telephone, which was, in the early days, restricted to the privileged and wealthy elite that also dominated the cadre party. In this light, it seems plausible to expect the emergence of networked many-to-many communication channels to also have an effect on possible ways parties can organise themselves.

### **2.5.2 Connective parties – a new party type?**

Through an examination of the demand for different organisational structures from party followers, (and the role of technology in meeting those demands), Bennett et al finds that a new party model has emerged which is enabled by new networked communication channels. They call these *connective parties*, which they define as:

“...organizations in which technology platforms and affordances are indistinguishable from, and replace, key components of brick and mortar organization and intra-party functions.” (Bennett et al., 2017, p. 12)

The argument goes that the top-down structure of the cartel-party has led to a feeling of disempowerment among certain parts of the electorate, which in turn means that “...substantial numbers of voters, primarily on the left, are developing preferences for horizontal models that favor direct, participatory, deliberative democracy – even in the electoral arena.” (Bennett et al., 2017, p. 2) Connective parties respond to this demand by building party organisations that – at least claim to – *do politics* in new and more inclusive ways, focusing on how to draw in peripheral input from citizens and supporters, and share authority on important decisions such

as agenda setting and candidate selection. Different connective parties put different emphasis on direct democratic procedures and formative deliberative procedures respectively, but they all share a commitment to a participatory ideal of policy formation, candidate selection, and decision making. And “to this end, the parties aim to build technology solutions to enable collaboration and decision-making at large scale and in combination with executive action.” (Bennett et al., 2017, p. 14) So contrary to how traditional parties have adopted social media and new technologies to campaign more effectively (Stromer-Galley, 2019), these technologies play a crucial part to the inner workings of the connective parties. In particular Bennett et al mentions four ways in which technologies play a crucial role:

1. General party communication (party websites, wikis, and blogs)
2. Social media (allowing members to leverage their personal social networks relatively independently from the central party)
3. Specialized applications for proposing, discussing, and decision-making
4. Central online platforms or ‘operating systems’ (which forms the fundamental organisational structure of the party while also bringing all the other platforms mentioned above together)

In Bennett et al’s account they describe four examples of connective parties, including the focus of this thesis: Danish political party *Alternativet* as well as the Italian *Five Star Movement* (M5S), Spanish *Podemos*, and Icelandic *Píratar*. These have all had some electoral success since they were founded, but these are just some of the most notable examples.

In Germany the Piraten Partei entered several local parliaments in 2011 and 2012 where they have experimented with innovative uses of social media and their own “Liquid Feedback” online platform to involve people in developing their policies (Litvinenko, 2012). Likewise, the Swedish Pirate Party has previously had some electoral success culminating with two seats in the European Parliament from 2009-2014. However, in both the Swedish and German cases attempts to implement internal democratic inclusion while managing real impact in legislative assemblies seems to have led to internal conflict, and consequently defections by high-profile members as well as masses of disillusioned activists (Bolleyer et al., 2015). In Iceland, the Pirate Party has better managed to sustain their electoral success with continuous representation in parliament since 2013, campaigning for more direct democracy and increased government transparency (Henley, 2016). Experimental use of digital technologies also play a central role in how the Icelandic Pirate Party wants to engage people in politics, exemplified by their own online voting platform <https://x.piratar.is>.

Similarly, Podemos in Spain has mixed a heavy use of social media with their own purpose-built new online platforms to both communicate political messages and mobilise activists to take part in policy formation and decision making (Sola-Morales, 2015). They run their own online community site called Plaza Podemos which provide various opportunities for party supporters to engage with the party online, of which the most notable is real-time group interviews of the party leaders, where people has been invited to “...pose questions, get answers, vote on questions and answers, and make comments.” (Sola-Morales, 2015, p. 148) Based on a very decentralised structure of over 1000 self-organised “circles” of activists with different geographical or topical focuses, activists in Podemos have also experimented with deploying various e-voting tools (Agora Voting), collaborative decision making platforms (Appgree and Loomio), collaborative text editing software (Titanpad, Google drive), online polling devices (Doodle), and online forums (reddit, Whatsapp groups) in new ways to co-create policies, elect candidates, and make decisions on various other matters. While the organisational model of Podemos might “...show the capacity for a more participatory, if somewhat ‘chaotic’, form of party organisation” (Dommett, 2016, p. 88), Katharine Dommett also notes how the party is dominated by charismatic political leaders and at times it is unclear whether attempts to reconnect with citizens are done “...to enhance participation or simply maximise electoral outcomes” (Dommett, 2016, p. 89).

The Five Star Movement in Italy is yet another example of a new electorally successful party that claims to allow citizens to participate in party affairs through the use of digital media, although it has been argued that in reality there is little room for discussion within the party and essentially it is ruled directly by its political leader Beppe Grillo (Miconi, 2015).

These parties might differ both politically and organisationally, but despite their differences they are all examples of parties that were founded on a few broadly defined core values and relying on some sort of innovative democratic process to let supporters or the public feed into the process of turning these core values into a concrete political program. As this thesis will illustrate, the Danish party Alternativet is another example of such a party; originally presenting a set of six core values, three political themes and a plan to crowdsource a political programme around these values, emphasising the creation of a “new political culture” as central to the project (Hindkjær, 2016).

In their original conception of the cartel party from the mid 1990’s, Katz and Mair describes how the rise of the cartel party had already prompted the emergence of new parties which promoted themselves on their “...assumed capacity to break up what they often refer to as the

‘cosy’ arrangements that exist between the established political alternatives.” (Katz & Mair, 1995, p. 24) In other words, they envisioned a reaction to the cartel party to be based on anti-establishment attitudes. Along these lines, electoral successes of new political parties are often explained as a result of protest voting, claiming that dissatisfied electorates have been willing to vote for them only to show their discontent with the established parties. Studies, though, indicate that protest voting accounts for only a small part of the votes gained by the Swedish Pirate Party (Erlingsson & Persson, 2011). In fact, the – at least temporary – rise in support for these parties might better be interpreted as indication of a real appetite for democratic renewal among the electorate. Arguing that new anti-establishment sentiments that surfaced during the 2015 UK general election are better interpreted as a desire for 'doing politics differently' rather than simply 'doing away with politics', Matthew Flinders argues that this “...also creates a huge opportunity for any political party with the capacity to see outside or beyond the established way of 'doing politics', to offer a new political framework or philosophy (...) that can close the gap that appears to have grown between the governors and large sections of the governed.” (M. Flinders, 2015, p. 254)

### **2.5.3 The normative role of party members**

The description of the evolution of different party models, the changing role of party members, and the role of communication technologies in relation to all this, is purely an empirical description. So before turning to an introduction of the Danish Alternativet party, which is the main subject of this case study, it is worth considering normative arguments of what the role of party members ought to be in a well functioning democracy.

This is not a subject that has attracted the most attention in normative theories of democracy. In fact, several of the scholars already introduced through their description of the evolution of different party models, have argued that the role of party members is not to make political parties themselves more democratic. Thus, Duverger thought that political parties which are internally democratically organised would mean “...that leadership at all levels be elective, that it be frequently renewed, collective in character, weak in authority...” and ultimately such parties “...is not well armed for the struggles of politics.” (Duverger, 1954 p. 134) Similarly, Schnattschneider found the idea that parties should be held accountable to their members rather than their voters detrimental to democracy because it would weaken the ability of parties to offer clear and consistent policy programs for the electorate to choose from. On the other hand, apart from a few notable exceptions (Macpherson, 1977, Chapter 5; Teorell, 1999; Wolkenstein, 2016), surprisingly few political theorists have argued for a strong

intra-party democracy (I. van Biezen & Saward, 2008). One of these exceptions are Jan Teorell, who finds that a deliberative model of democracy is the only one that can offer a strong argument for intra-party democracy. He develops four arguments in favour of a strong intra-party democracy based on the premises of deliberative democracy of which the first one is of particular significance to the argument developed here. This argument builds on the observation that "(p)olitical parties are particularly well suited to providing linkage from the deliberations of civil society, through the public and into the political sphere." (Teorell, 1999, p. 373) Exactly because political parties are both membership organisations based in civil society and the entities that constitute legislative and governmental arenas, they are potentially able to make deliberation taking place in civil society and the public sphere consequential in the governmental sphere.

Furthermore Teorell argues that political parties are better suited as deliberative arenas than other secondary associations of civil society which tend to focus on single issues and on building public pressure behind demands for these specific interests, whereas political parties have to consider all issues in relation to each other. Thirdly, it is important to acknowledge the substantial agenda setting power of political parties when considering their role in a deliberative democracy, Teorell argues. Political parties play a big role in setting the issue agenda of the public sphere, which can potentially hinder an open deliberative process of opinion formation. And "(t)hat is why agenda-setting proposals must in themselves be the result of democratic deliberations *within* the parties." (Teorell, 1999, p. 375) And finally, Teorell finds that even if intra-party democracy is not a central concern to deliberative democracy, it is also difficult to argue against it based on deliberative premises: "...how could we trust party representatives to consider the arguments put forward by opposing groups in the public sphere if they ignore the reasoning of their own members?" (p. 375)

Before concluding this literature review, it should also be noted that party members do not only play an important role from a democratic point of view. In addition to the benefits to democracy on a broader scale, Susan Scarrow also identifies a number of important roles members play in the functioning of (electorally competitive) political parties. Here she distinguishes between internal and external party benefits of members. Within the party, members constitute a resource for the party, providing volunteer labour, financial support, input to party debates, and a pool of candidates for elections. And outside of the party, they have an important role as ambassadors for the party, providing electoral support, communicating party messages, and enhancing the legitimacy of the party (Scharrow, 2014, p.



102). This illustrates why party members are beneficial to political parties, but what is in it for the members themselves? Patrick Seyd and Paul Whiteley's 'general incentives' model of membership participation combines rational-choice explanations of party activism with social-psychological and political context variables (Seyd & Whiteley, 1992). Basically the factors the model use to explain the level of party activism can be summed up as different benefits and costs of participation to the individual member as well as their perception of collective efficacy. These factors are combined with contextual political factors such as whether the member's party won or lost the last general election, and whether the party currently holds the majority in the member's local council. The underlying logic of this model, is that changes in how much party members engage in party activities depend on changes in these incentives, so in this sense the model includes both an aspect of demand and supply of participation opportunities.

The model has mainly been used to show how policy changes that are not in line with membership preferences and electoral success or failure affect how active party members are (Paul F. Whiteley & Seyd, 1998). But as Seyd and Whiteley also acknowledge themselves, parties are not completely helpless in regards to these dynamics. They can not control all aspects of members' incentives to be active in the party, but they can adjust the extent to which activism also leads to influence on political outcomes. Paradoxically, though, Susan Scarrow have shown how declines in party memberships have happened at the same time that opportunities for participation and influence in political parties have been increased in most parties (Scarrow, 2014). So considering the importance of party members from both a democratic and practical point of view, it is worth exploring emerging political parties that organise themselves and their intra-party democracy differently from traditional political parties.

## **2.6 Conclusion and Research Question**

In summary, this chapter has demonstrated how disengagement with formal political institutions is not necessarily a sign of waning interest in political matters, but can also be a result of an increasing demand for different opportunities to have one's voice heard in politics. On the one hand, traditional avenues for participation such as party membership have been transformed, rendering participation less meaningful to many participants who wants impact in exchange for their commitment (I. V. Biezen et al., 2012; Katz & Mair, 1995). At the same time, the rise of critical citizens (Inglehart, 1999) with engagement based civic attitudes

(Dalton, 2008) have led to preferences for new types of political participation, characterised by individual, networked engagements on an ad hoc basis (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005; Theocharis & Deth, 2016). However, this has created a gap between citizens and official decision making arenas such as parliaments, governments, and local councils, which are all still dominated by political parties.

Different institutional innovations have been suggested as a means to close this gap (Escobar & Elstub, 2019; Smith, 2009), but one of the big challenges for these democratic innovations has been to scale them up; both in terms of covering larger populations beyond the local level or mini-publics, as well as in terms of ensuring that citizen participation results in actual impact (Davidson & Elstub, 2014). This is not least the case for digital democratic innovations (Moss & Coleman, 2014) despite the ambitious democratic promises of the Internet (Lindner et al., 2016, p. 4). One characteristic of most democratic innovations is that they tend to be organised by the authorities in power, creating invited spaces for participation, where participants have limited control over the organisation of their participation, as opposed to claimed spaces initiated from the bottom-up by participants themselves (Cornwall, 2004; Gaventa, 2006).

Meanwhile across Europe, new horizontally organised political parties, demanding democratic renewal have emerged (Bennett et al., 2017; Porta et al., 2017). Beyond promoting the implementation of democratic innovations, these parties also attempt to take advantage of democratic innovations to organise themselves in a more participatory and inclusive manner. To the extent that these parties manage to include citizens in the organisation of policy formation and decision making, they can become claimed spaces for participation. Democratic theorists have increasingly acknowledged that democratic innovations “...must begin with some elements of existing social life” (I. M. Young, 1995, p. 207). Political parties could potentially be such an existing element that allows democratic innovation to be promoted within political institutions well known and easily understood by citizens.

If these emerging political parties – whether we call them connective parties (Bennett et al., 2017) or movement parties (Porta et al., 2017) – are a response to a democratic crises, it is relevant to ask not only what democracy and which crisis they are responding to (Ercan & Gagnon, 2014), but it is also relevant to ask what kind of response they represent. If they represent an opportunity to renew democracy, what kind of democracy are they actually advocating? Based on this observation, the aim of this thesis is to answer the following research question:

Looking at the Danish political party Alternativet as an example:

1. Which democratic ideals are emerging political parties like Alternativet that claim to promote democratic renewal based on?
2. And how does the use of digital technologies, to involve members and citizens in policy formation and decision making in these emerging political parties enable, challenge, shape and limit their notions of democratic participation?

The choice of Danish political party Alternativet will be justified in chapter 4 (see in particular section 4.4), which will also introduce this case in more depth, but for now it suffices to note that this study is an in-depth case study of the democratic values and practices promoted by an emerging *connective party*. Before turning to a detailed introduction of this party, the next chapter will describe the research strategy employed to answer this research question.

## **Chapter 3. Methods**

### **3.1 Introduction**

As the previous chapter concluded, this thesis constitutes an in-depth case study of intra-party democracy and party member engagement in the Danish political party Alternativet. This chapter will describe the research strategy used to explore this. Through a more in-depth introduction of the case of Alternativet the next chapter will then justify the choice of case. The next section will describe the overall research design, using mixed methods to do an in-depth case study, followed by a brief introduction to the methodological approach the project is based on. The two subsequent sections then each describe the qualitative and quantitative phases of the research respectively.

### **3.2 Case study using mixed methods**

The next chapter will illustrate how Alternativet is an example of a broader trend across Europe of emerging political parties that are claiming to not only offer new policies, but also a new way to be a political party and *do* (party) politics. These parties have been labelled connective parties (Bennett et al., 2017), or movement parties (Porta et al., 2017) and the goal of conducting an in depth case study of one of these is to contribute to the nascent body of research on this phenomenon. At the same time it will add knowledge about conceptions of and attitudes towards intra-party democracy by studying how these have developed within a party that is promoting more citizen participation in all aspects of democracy. In this sense this is a most likely case in terms of expectations about support for and implementation of more participatory intra-party institutions. In-depth single case studies, such as this one, play an essential role in building and refining theories about new phenomena even if they cannot by themselves be used to generate generalisable rule-based knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In order to answer the research question, I developed a mixed methods research design combining qualitative text analysis and semi-structured interviews with an online survey of party members and supporters in order to take advantage of the different strengths of each method. This section will briefly outline what is meant by mixed methods research and why it is appropriate for this study. Then it will go through the advantages of each method and finally outline how the methods feed into each other and together comprise a coherent approach to answer the research question.

Mixed methods research is a somewhat contested term and approach – although it has increasingly become more commonly applied across various fields over the past couple of

decades (Bryman, 2006) – so it is worth just making clear what I exactly mean by mixed methods research and what the implications of this are for the study. Following Bryman I understand mixed methods research as studies that combines quantitative and qualitative research – not just in the sense that it supplements qualitative data with quantitative data or vice versa, but in the sense that it combines different methodological approaches. I take a position on mixed methods that Bryman describes as *the technical version* in that I recognise “...that quantitative and qualitative research are each connected with distinctive epistemological and ontological assumptions, but the connections are not viewed as fixed and ineluctable.” (Bryman, 2012, p. 631) This approach focus on the different strengths of data collection and data analysis in qualitative and quantitative approaches respectively and insists that even if they are each usually associated with certain methodologies including certain epistemological assumptions the methods themselves does not naturally carry these assumptions with them. Thus it is possible to put a quantitative method, normally associated with a positivist epistemology, into the service of an overall qualitative research strategy with a constructionist epistemological approach, which is exactly what I intend to do.

So, in order to answer the research question I will first use two qualitative methods – analysis of relevant party documents and semi-structured interviews respectively – to initially map discourses on democratic participation and digital technology within the party. There are two main reasons for this.

First, these methods allow us to ask open ended questions. In my literature review, I argued that, Alternativet constitutes an example of a new kind of political party emerging across Europe (and this will be elaborated in the next chapter). As an example of a relatively new and academically unexplored phenomenon, I find, it makes most sense to apply an exploratory approach to what democratic participation means to these new parties and how it relates to their use of digital technologies, rather than assessing how well they fit into existing theoretical categories. Looking more inductively at what democratic participation actually means to those who take part in it, is a fairly rare approach to the study of democracy (with a few notable exceptions such as Dryzek & Berejikian, 1993), but there has been calls for more of this kind of research (Saward, 2003; Smith, 2009). For this purpose, we will need to ask open-ended questions which is a hallmark of qualitative research. By analysing online forums, key documents and interviewing key stakeholders we can ask open questions without having to predefine possible responses.

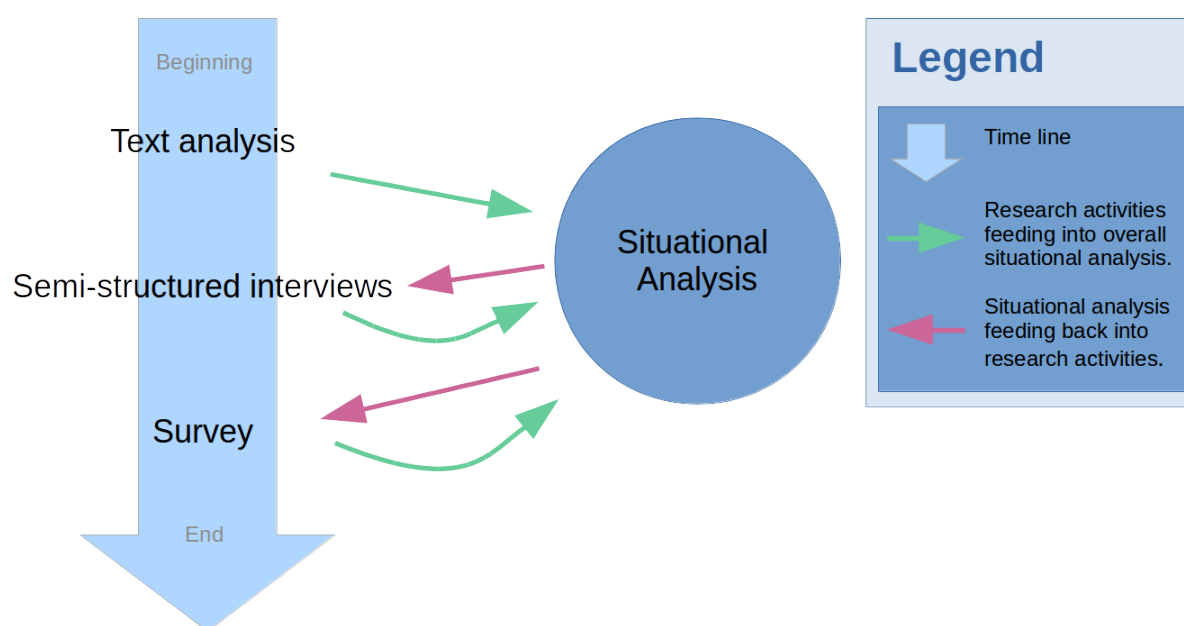
Secondly, notions of democratic participation and attitudes towards digital technology to facilitate such participation does not necessarily simply exist on the level of individuals. As Adele Clarke notes, “Individuals and groups of all sorts may and commonly do hold multiple and contradictory positions on the same issue.” (Clarke, 2005, p. 126) This requires methods of data collection that can capture this kind of heterogeneity and complexity. To deal with this, Clarke suggests a development of grounded theory that is supposed to “pull grounded theory around the postmodern turn” and follow Foucault beyond “the knowing subject”, focusing on positions in discourses instead of individual attitudes and actions. For this kind of analysis we will need “thick data” that manages to represent all the different aspects of various discourses that exists side by side in the party. Official party documents and online debate on social media as well as the party's own discussion forums supplemented with semi-structured interviews of key stakeholders in the party provide a rich source of such data.

While the qualitative methods of data collection are good at inductively providing exploratory and “thick” data, sampling sources for data collection to ensure that we get a broad picture of the variability across the whole party is a challenge. It was possible to identify key stakeholders in regards to how the party uses digital technologies for the semi-structured interviews, but these key stakeholders are likely to only represent a biased sample of the broader membership of the party, and hence also give a biased picture of the prevailing discourses in the party as a whole – and potentially miss out certain discourses altogether. This is especially true in an understudied case like Alternativet where very little is known about the members and supporters of the party, making it difficult to determine which variation it is relevant to be aware of when sampling participants. Alternativet completed a member survey in July 2014 including a lot of socio-economic variables and some information about how different members participate in the party, but at this point the party was only half a year old and had 1.120 members (Alternativet, n.d.-k). By the time I started collecting data for this thesis in 2016, the number of party members had surged to over 10.000 so those statistics was considered out of date and hardly useful in determining what the population of party members looked like at that point.

A strong advantage of quantitative surveys is their ability to give a fairly precise picture of the variability on specific issues across a whole population through random sampling. Thus, a quantitative survey was used to test to what extent members of the party generally identify with the discourses I map in my initial qualitative data analysis. Most importantly, the survey was able to capture the views of members and supporters of the party who are not represented

in the qualitative interviews with the party elite. In addition to mapping different discourses around digital technologies and citizen involvement, the survey also allowed me to identify correlations between attitudes towards various discourses and other characteristics such as socio-economics and actual – or self-reported – use of digital platforms, which is very relevant to the second part of the research question.

So to sum up, the quantitative survey method has the advantage of being able to generalise insights across all party members through random sampling which is useful when theory and existing knowledge about this particular research context is scarce and gives us few hints about where to look to get a varied cross-section of views and positions within the party. On the other hand survey methods are not good at inductively discovering new concepts and categories nor are they good at capturing discourses that cannot be ascribed to individual survey respondents. So to take advantage of the strengths of each method I applied two qualitative methods to data collection first and analysed these with the help of Clarke's postmodern development of Grounded Theory which she calls Situational Analysis. This is, epistemologically, a constructionist interpretation of grounded theory along the lines of Kathy Charmaz's version of Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2002) and this also constituted the basic epistemology of the whole project. The characteristics and benefits of Situational Analysis for this project will be elaborated in the next section. Based on the findings from these initial qualitative analyses, I developed a questionnaire for a survey among all party members. This process is depicted in the illustration below and each step of the process will be dealt with in more detail in the following sections.



**Illustration 1:** Overview of research design and how different steps relate to each other and the final outcome of the project. The thick blue arrow represents a time line. Green arrows indicate how each research activity will feed into the overall analysis while purple arrows indicate how the continuously ongoing analysis will feed into individual research activities.

As with grounded theory in general, situational analysis is supposed to be an ongoing process throughout the research project from start to finish. Even though this does not usually involve quantitative survey methods, the general idea of a map of discourses that is continuously updated based on findings throughout the data collection as well as the analytical phase of the project, was adopted as an approach to combine all the steps of my research design. As illustrated above all research activities fed into this analysis, while the analysis simultaneously informed each research activity. Thus, situational analysis was used as the foundational analytical framework of the whole project, and will for that reason be introduced in more detail in the following section.

### 3.3 Methodological framework: Situational Analysis

Situational Analysis is a development of grounded theory by Adele E. Clarke which intends to “...push grounded theory more fully around the postmodern turn...” (Clarke, 2005, p. xxi). While the past couple of decades has brought several more constructionist interpretations of grounded theory forward – most notably by Kathy Charmaz (Charmaz, 2002) – Clarke argues that many of these approaches still possess problematic positivist remnants. Situational Analysis is partly an attempt to address this issue, but more concretely it also provides



practical analytical tools to open up data and embrace varieties, complexities and heterogeneity in a systematic manner contrary to traditional grounded theory's predominant focus on similarities and singularity. This is very useful for a study like mine, which intends to identify the different notions of democratic participation within a political party. I am not interested in creating one theory that explains all notions of democratic participation within the party, but rather to describe the wide range of different notions that exists and how each of them relate to attitudes towards digital technologies.

Situational analysis is described in a number of publications and has been applied to studies across various fields, but the following description will mainly rely on Clarke's book *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory After the Postmodern Turn* (2005) in which she gives a coherent and substantial introduction to the methodology. Here, she describes the approach as supplemental to other grounded theory approaches. It provides three specific analytical tools to help open up the data after it has been coded according to traditional grounded theory guidelines. These are *situational maps*, *social worlds/arenas maps*, and *positional maps*. The purpose of all the maps are to lay out different aspects of the data in systematic ways to help the researcher see things in the data that we might not otherwise see, and to creatively develop categories and insights, which is relevant to our research question. Of specific interest to my study is the positional maps, which “...lay out the major positions taken, and *not* taken, in the data vis-à-vis particular axes of difference, concern, and controversy around issues in the situation of inquiry.” (Clarke, 2005, p. xxii) Laying out the major positions taken on democratic participation and digital technologies is central to my research question and thus these positional maps were central to analysing my interviews as well as the textual data.

While this positional map and the findings it provokes were used to create hypotheses and a questionnaire for the survey, the results of the survey were also considered in relation to the situational analysis and provoked important revisions of the positional map. In this way, the positional map and related insights from the survey, interviews and text analysis were all used to inform each other and in this way led to new insights that provoked revisions of the positional map – as well as adding new positions to the map on how the party ought to move towards these notions of democratic participation through the use of digital technology.

I used situational analysis and the tools it provides throughout the whole project and kept updating the positional maps based on the new data I gathered along the way. This is one of the other advantages of situational analysis for a project like this, that it allows for various data sources to feed into one analytic framework. Grounded theory has developed in various

directions, though, and now covers a range of different approaches only sharing the same starting point in Strauss and Glaser's original description of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), so let us just briefly take a look at what distinguishes situational analysis from traditional grounded theory.

The advantage of traditional grounded theory as well as its weakness is that it attempts to let the data “speak for itself”. This is great in the sense that it allows us to find unexpected things in the data and see things that might otherwise be invisible to us because we look at the data from our personal point of view which is often quite different from that of our participants which our research is supposed to represent. In other words, the research participants are represented more directly through the data. On the other side, by claiming that the data speaks for itself, grounded theorists also implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) discard their own role in creating their findings. Both in terms of creating the data to begin with, but also in terms of creating analytical categories based on the data. According to Clarke, not acknowledging the role of our own biases in data collection and analysis, potentially causes us to reproduce our own preconceptions in the outcomes of our research without knowing. Instead she argues that in addition to let the data speak “...we also need to *design* our research from the outset in order to explicitly gather data about theoretically and substantively underdeveloped areas that may lie in our situations of inquiry.” (Clarke, 2005, p. 76)

So, there is a number of good reasons that situational analysis was utilised for this study. First of all its focus on complexities and variation, and the positional maps in particular, is very suitable for a project where mapping different notions in an inductive, exploratory manner is a central concern. Secondly, it stresses the importance of taking the non-human serious in the analysis. This especially concerns taking discourses by themselves as separate from individual actors serious, but it also allows us to treat technologies separately from human actors in the analysis. Both of which I find useful in a study that concerns discourses on democratic participation and the role of digital technologies. Finally, it acknowledges the role of extant theory and a priori knowledge about the field in shaping the data collection as a useful tool to actively look for and discover new concepts that might otherwise be invisible to the researcher. This allowed me to actively use prior knowledge about both the party Alternativet and various democratic theory to direct the research.

### **3.4 Qualitative Data**

Three types of qualitative data were collected for the first phase of this study: The main part of it consists of interviews with 19 key stakeholders from the party elite, while analysis of

important text documents as well as participatory observations also played an important part in the study. Despite the different characteristics of these three types of data, they are described together in this section, because they were collected simultaneously, thus constituting a combined first phase of my research, and they were all analysed in the same way. Interviews were recorded and transcribed, and coded along with the key text documents from the party in a similar fashion, while participatory observations were recorded through field notes in a research diary that complimented the analysis and informed data collection along the way. This section first describes each of the types of data collected and then elaborates on how it was analysed.

### **3.4.1 Existing text data**

A rich source of information on notions of democratic participation and attitudes towards digital technology within the party already existed in the shape of publicly available documents and online forums. Members and other citizens were – and still are – actively engaged in discussions around how to make the party more inclusive on the party's social media accounts as well as their own online forum (<https://dialog.alternativet.dk/>) which is public and open for everyone to join, members and non-members alike. Besides, the party has a number of official documents on what their basic values are, what “a new political culture” means to them and what democratic debate should look like as well as the organisational statutes and party manifesto. And finally the party's website provides a lot of information about activities in the party that aims to make it more inclusive such as their “political laboratories” which are open for anyone to attend and contribute to shaping proposals for new policies.

With such a rich source of information readily available it was a good place to start the data collection. By analysing this material at the same time as preparing question guides for the semi-structured interviews, it was possible to qualify topics for the interviews better and make sure to ask into particular controversial issues that seems to be important in the party as well as include topics that might be suspiciously absent in the documents and websites analysed. With so much information available, a primary challenge was to sort this material and only sample the most relevant sources for the final analysis. Many constructionist grounded theorists suggest using Blumer's notion of *sensitizing concepts* in combination with extant theory – in this case mainly theories of democracy – to “suggest directions along which to look” (Blumer, 1969, pp. 147–148) when we sample data for our analysis. Contrary to prescriptive use of theory, sensitizing concepts are concepts that “...can operate to delineate

generic processes or analytic sites...” (Clarke, 2005, p. 77) by providing focus while leaving questions open. *Democratic participation* is one such concept which does not attempt to predefine what participation or democracy is, but provides direction for our research. Instead of choosing an a priori definition of what constitutes democratic participation my data collection focussed on searching for different notions of democratic participation in the data. Acknowledging that text sources and interviewees might not necessarily refer explicitly to democratic participation, concepts that have often been related to democratic participation in extant theory, was included and taken into account in the search for relevant data. Such concepts include *democracy*, “*new political culture*”, *inclusion*, *participation*, *conversation*, *debate* and so on.

The initial sources included in search for information on notions of democratic participation within the party included:

- Social media: The party's main Facebook and Twitter account (including retweets and replies to the party's Facebook posts)
- The party's own online forum <https://dialog.alternativet.dk/>
- The party's main website (which include blogs, minutes of meetings, and official party documents such as party statutes and manifestos)

From these sources a few documents were chosen to be coded and included in the more detailed analysis, which are described in the final subsection 3.4.3 on qualitative analysis in this chapter. These were:

- A description of the party's Debate Principles
- A description from the party website on “How We Do Politics”
- The original (very short) manifesto that the party was founded on
- A description of the core values the party is based on
- The statutes of the party

### **3.4.2 Semi-structured interviews**

As already mentioned, the main source of qualitative data is semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders in the party. A number of methodological choices regarding how these interviews were conducted are worth describing in more detail, so each of the following subsections will each deal with the challenges of conducting elite interviews, how the interviews were structured and facilitated, and finally how interviewees were sampled. All interviews were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed for analysis. Additionally,

thorough hand written notes were taken during the interviews, which were also used in the analysis as well as during the interviews to assist the facilitation of the interviews.

#### Elite interviewing

Semi-structured interviews are a good and commonly used method to access the experiences and viewpoints of party elites (See fx. Dommett, 2018; McAngus, 2016 for some recent examples). Looking beyond research on political parties, elite interviewing is also more generally a method with a long history in politics research (Aberbach & Rockman, 2002; R. Putnam, 1973; Richards, 1996). Richards describes the notion of an elite as “...a group of individuals, who hold, or have held, a privileged position in society and, as such, as far as a political scientist is concerned are likely to have had more influence on political outcomes than general members of the public.” (Richards, 1996, p. 199) When describing my interviewees as key stakeholders, that is exactly what I am referring to; individuals who are likely to have had more influence on the use of digital technologies to involve members and citizens in policy formation and decision making within Alternativet in particular, but also on the party's stance on democratic renewal and citizen participation in political decision making in general.

Richards lists a number of reasons to do elite interviews, most of which applies to this study. Often elites will have written about their views in publicly available resources already, but elite interviews can help in interpreting such documents and provide information not recorded elsewhere. In line with Richards the interviews of this study were supposed to provide “...an insight into the mind-set of the actor/s who have played a role in shaping the society in which we live and an interviewee's subjective analysis of a particular episode or situation...” (Richards, 1996, p. 200); in this case namely their subjective analysis of utilising digital technologies to enhance democratic participation in the party and their own role in shaping this.

In addition to the general benefits of using semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions in exploratory studies, Aberbach and Rockman mentions another benefit of using open-ended questions, which is specific to interviewing elites: “Elites especially (...) do not like being put in the straightjacket of close-ended questions. They prefer to articulate their views, explaining why they think what they think.” (Aberbach & Rockman, 2002, p. 674) In their experience, elite interviewees – in their case US congressmen and high-level government administrators – would more often than not reply to close-ended questions with new questions about what is meant by that question and why that would be of interest.

An example of an interesting theme, that elite interviews offered a great chance to unwrap, is how elected representatives see the ideal role of digital platforms in facilitating the link between themselves and the people they are elected to represent both inside and outside of the party; not least how and to what extent they actually rely on input from party members and other people provided through digital channels.

The main point of doing elite interviews was to get an insight into the interviewee's thoughts and notions on democratic participation and digital technology that has not been recorded elsewhere yet. However, some stakeholders – in particular elected politicians and other significant public figures – were likely to have written or given interviews about their thoughts on why and how the party should use the input from members and citizens in policy formation as well as what digital media might be useful for in their mind. In these cases it was important to be well aware of what they had written about the topic before interviewing them and the decisions made in the party, so that they would take the interviews serious and not just refer to what they have already said elsewhere. The interviews could then act as a useful tool to interpret written sources and explain in more detail how approaches to democratic participation have been implemented in the party according to them (Richards, 1996, p. 200). For this reason, interviewing elites required individual preparation and separate interview guides for each interview, instead of just planning to carry out the same interview with different stakeholders.

Regardless of the benefits of elite interviews one should always be aware of the risk of elites answering questions misleadingly to promote their own agenda. In Jeffrey Berry's word's open-ended questioning is "...the riskiest but potentially most valuable type of elite interviewing..." (Berry, 2002, p. 679). As the following analysis will demonstrate, interviews reported here include many self-critical statements, which can be taken as testament that interviewees have not (only) tried to present their party in an excessively positive light.

#### *Interview guide*

The interviews were carried out in a semi-structured format based on interview guides, inspired by Steinar Kvale's idea to include both research questions for the topics to be covered in the interview guide as well as suggestions for specific interview questions that contribute thematically to the knowledge production in the interview and dynamically to promote a good interview interaction (Kvale, 1996). Following Kvale, the interview guide was only meant to do what the name suggests – to specifically guide the interview, but not script it. The order of the topics were not necessarily followed rigorously and the formulation of the interview

questions would be changed according to the situation and thus it was a very suitable method for an exploratory, inductive study where themes that arose during the interview situation and was not anticipated beforehand could be followed.

As already described above, “letting the data speak for itself” is both one of the advantages and weaknesses of traditional grounded theory from a constructionist point of view. This, not least, relates to challenges in collecting the data, both in terms of sampling participants and conducting the interviews. The challenge is to find the right balance between letting the organisation and interviewees speak for themselves and directing the data collection through focused sampling of interviewees and facilitating the interview situation according to my interview guide.

The themes and suggested questions for the interview guides was partly based on insights learned from publicly available party documents and partly on the same sensitizing concepts that also guided the sampling of these documents; that is, extant theoretical concepts about democratic participation and the role of digital technology in democratic innovation.

Thus, interview guides were loosely followed to cover the following themes: notions of democracy; challenges in promoting participation; tensions between traditional representative institutions and experimentation with new approaches to politics; and the role of digital technologies in all this (see full interview guides in appendix). The interviews focussed on key stakeholders’ motivations for and experiences of using different digital tools to engage the public in policy formation.

#### Sampling interviewees

*Democratic participation* was used as a sensitizing concept guiding the sampling and interview guide by providing “...a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances.” (Blumer, 1969, p. 148) However, an important aspect of Blumer's notion of sensitizing concepts is that they are not static, but should be developed and refined over the course of the study (Hammersley, 2006, p. 410). In line with this, I used my preconception of democratic participation, based on extant theory and prior knowledge about the party, to sample an initial list of interesting key stakeholders that I would like to interview. But then let the notion(s) of what democratic participation entails within the party, that emerged from the ongoing interviews, direct who else I needed to interview in the party to get a fuller picture of the concept. Thus, the sampling strategy was a mix of theoretically driven purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Concretely, an initial sample of interviewees were identified through publicly available sources and conversations with a gatekeeper in the organisation, and this

was then supplemented with snowball sampling of additional interviewees recommended by the initial interviewees. In this process, emphasis was put on ensuring a variety of views and roles within the party elite.

Following Richards' advice, each prospective participant was contacted approximately 3 weeks before the interview was planned, with personalised emails briefly describing my project and clearly explaining why I found their contribution to the study of particular importance (Richards, 1996).

In total, interviews were conducted with 19 key stakeholders in the party over the months of October and November 2016. The interviews were carried out as semi-structured conversations, either at the office of each interviewee or at the national secretariat of the party to secure a familiar and safe setting for the participants.

The final sample of interviewees includes members of staff in the party, activist volunteers, an MP, a local councillor, party candidates for upcoming local elections, and members holding various positions of trust within the party such as board members in the national organisation, as well as in local branches. Most interviewees had been members for relatively long and several had been involved in founding the party before it was officially launched, but a few had only joined the party within the past year. Reflecting where the key stakeholders of the party tends to be based, geographical variation is limited with only three interviewees living outside of the catchment area of the capital, Copenhagen. Likewise a certain gender bias in the sample, with 13 male, 5 female and one interviewee who did not identify as either male or female, also reflects a more general gender bias of key stakeholders and in particular of those involved with the use of digital technologies in the party.



### Overview of interview participants

**(all interviews took place between October and November 2016 in Denmark)**

Gender:	13 male; 5 female; and 1 who didn't identify with either gender.
Region of residence:	Greater Copenhagen area: 16; The rest of Denmark: 3
Time as member of the party:	Between 3 years (when the party was founded) to less than a year, with a few interviewees having been involved before the party was officially founded.
Roles in the party:	Party staff, activist volunteers, an MP, a local councillor, party candidates for local and national elections, national board members and board members of local party branches, developers of online platforms for the party (volunteers and staff).

Age and educational background was not registered, but most interviewees had completed longer educations and had established careers for at least some years. Notably a lot of interviewees had educational backgrounds in design and similar creative fields.

Table 3: Interviewees were promised to not be mentioned by name, so in order to protect their identity, only general roles and characteristics about the whole group are summarised here.

### 3.4.3 Qualitative analysis

Once relevant party documents were selected, interviews transcribed, and field notes written, each of these pieces of data first went through an initial open coding line-by-line and subsequently a more focused selective coding along the lines of traditional grounded theory analysis (Charmaz, 2002). The coding was done on a computer, using the RQDA software, which is a library running in R that provides a graphical interface to code text data using different colours for different codes and organise these codes in collective themes (HUANG, 2014).

Taking a constructionist approach to grounded theory I acknowledge that I was not just discovering codes and concepts in the data, but I was in fact defining what is going on in the data “...through the prism of [my] disciplinary

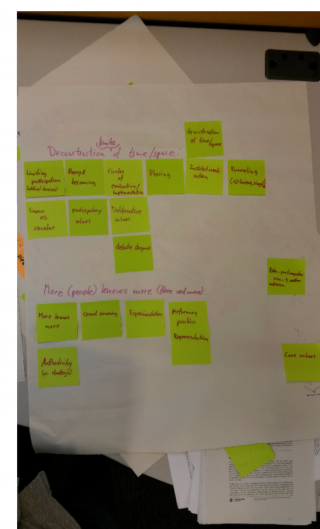
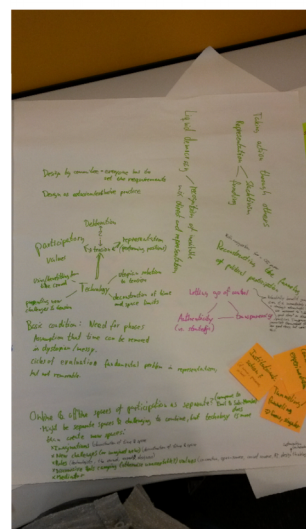
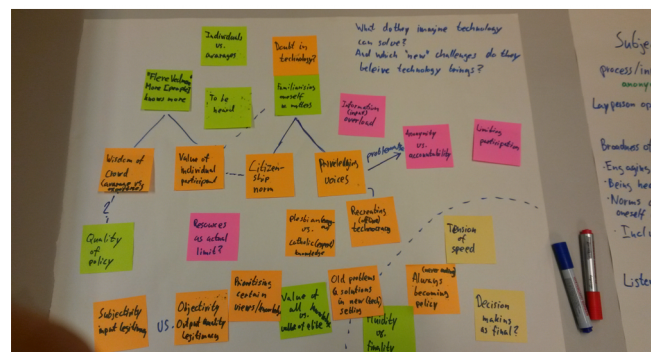
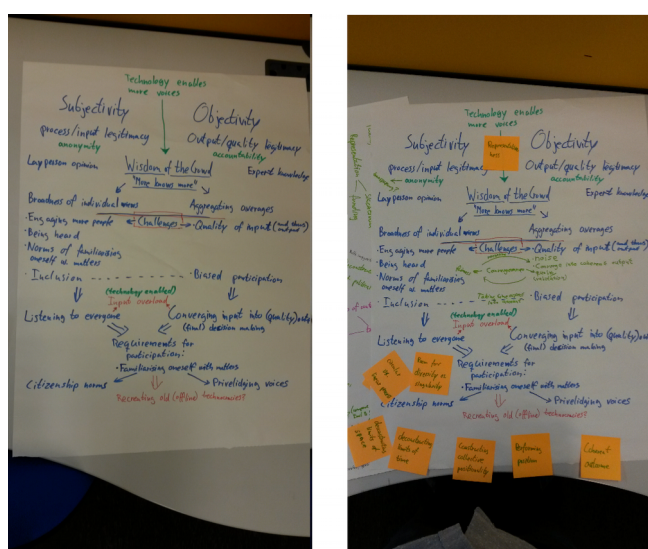


Illustration 2: Initial positional maps developed based on text analysis, first elite interviews, and field notes.

assumptions and theoretical perspectives.” (Charmaz, 2002, p. 683). Again Blumer's notion of sensitizing concepts and extant theory was a helpful tool to make these assumptions clear and reflect on if and how they help move the analysis forward in a useful direction. Based on these codes I developed my first version of a positional map according to Clarke's situational analysis, identifying which positions are taken – and not taken – in the data in relation to democratic participation and the use of digital platforms. Illustration 2 shows a few of these initial maps which consisted of important codes from the data on post-it notes which made it easy to move them around and adapt the map as I made sense of the initial findings.

An important point of any grounded theory approach is that analysis should not be considered a distinct phase of the research that only starts after data collection. The analytic process to creatively make sense of the data is an ongoing endeavour that ought to take place from the beginning of planning the research project. While the interview transcripts and selected text documents were coded and analysed in detail, field notes and participant observations were mainly used to inform the design of interview guides, sampling of additional interviewees and direction of the analysis. For that reason it was particularly important that transcription of interviews and reflections on analytical implications of the collected data started already while interviews were being carried out, so that more interviewees could be sampled purposefully, while I was still in the field. Memo writing is the typical tool used by grounded theorists to record such analytical reflections on emerging codes. These “...can range from loosely constructed “freewrites” about the codes to tightly reasoned analytic statements” (Charmaz, 2002, p. 687), but they are crucial in building codes that actually moves the analysis forward. In addition to the notes taken while interviewing participants, memo writing was incorporated into the field note diary, and these notes were then used to consider further interviewees to include in the study in order to ensure a wide sample that represented as much of the breadth of discourses on democratic participation within the party as possible.



**Illustration 3: Positional maps from a later phase of the analysis. Notice the detail compared to the initial maps and how post-it notes with codes from the data are no longer defining the map, but rather providing detail and context.**

As more data was coded and concepts started to materialise more clearly less drastic modifications were made to the positional map. This is reflected in illustration 3, depicting a couple of the later positional maps, which are much more detailed with lines and arrows in different colours used to indicate different

kinds of relationships between the emerging concepts. The flexibility of using post-it notes became less important at this stage as new data tended to add more detail to the map rather than fundamental revisions. The last step of the analysis was to transform the map into a written analysis, describing the identified concepts with quotes from the data. Chapter 5.2 presents four different dimensions of democratic ideals that were the result of this analysis, but the process also revealed other themes related to how digital tools are utilised for participatory purposes and not least the challenges related to this. These themes are presented in chapter 5.3.

### **3.5 Party member survey**

While the semi-structured interviews were a great method to study the supply of participation channels in the party and the party elites' rationales and reflections on offering these, I also wanted to incorporate the views of the party membership and the demand for participation opportunities among them in the case study. To do that a party membership survey was designed based on the findings from the qualitative first phase of the study.

The purpose of the survey was twofold. First, the survey was meant to measure how and who actually use the different digital channels of participation offered by the party. Secondly, the survey was meant to test to what extent the initial findings from the qualitative steps of the study also applied to the party members in general. This followed a traditional approach to quantitative surveying, where a hypothesis were developed about respondents' opinions on participating in party activities. This lead to a theoretical model of how different attitudes towards intra-party democracy are structured along four dimensions, identified in the elite interviews. These hypothesised attitudes were then operationalised into 32 variables, each represented by a close-ended questionnaire item, which will be described in more detail in chapter x. Finally, the hypothesis was tested, using confirmatory factor analysis, and exploratory factor analysis were used to refine a model of dimensions of intra-party democracy that better fit the attitudes of survey respondents. This approach might immediately seem inconsistent with the overall constructionist epistemology of the project. However, I would argue that it is possible to acknowledge that survey replies are situated in a particular setting which is constructed by the researcher, the participants and other contextual factors, but still see a value in such a method. The following section will elaborate this argument. Then two sections will describe ethical considerations and how the survey was distributed, followed by a description of the final survey sample and what it is actually a

sample of. Finally subsection 3.5.5 will describe how the survey was designed and data validated.

### **3.5.1 Quantitative survey in the context of an overall constructionist case study**

One consequence of a constructionist epistemology is that it does not make sense to generalise results beyond the particular research setting they were constructed in. Generalisability – or external validity – is often seen as a hallmark of good survey research on the other hand. Normally, this is ensured by random sampling which allows us to calculate the statistical significance of our results. However, first of all, external validity is always limited – self-selection issues, among other things, mean that samples are rarely perfectly unbiased. As will be clear from the following description of the survey sample, it can even be difficult to determine certain biases of respondents in this case since the party records very little information about all their members. And secondly, many of the things we measure in social sciences are time dependent, meaning that even if we measured the whole population we were interested in, our results would likely rarely be generalisable beyond the specific point in time they were measured. People change their minds and think differently about issues today than they did yesterday. But we still find it useful to make generalisations as we believe that findings in one case are still likely to also hold true for similar cases. On the other hand, I would argue, constructionist research will to some extent make similar arguments about why their research is relevant beyond the specific situation that they have studied.

Another important feature to much survey research is the internal validity and reliability of our measures; making sure that we are actually measuring what we think we are measuring and that these measures are not biased. While constructionists are also concerned about interpretations of their data and how they represent their research participants, from a constructionist point of view it is not unproblematic to compare replies to the same survey question between different respondents without taking into account the specific context in which each participant completed the survey. However, again, I will argue that these differences between classic qualitative and quantitative approaches are exaggerated (Bryman, 2012, Chapter 26) and that even if we acknowledge that when we develop questionnaires and write emails to participants we are actually constructing data in collaboration with our participants, these kind of studies can still yield useful insights.

The real art of doing survey research from a constructionist point of view is in avoiding to make objectivist claims based on the data. From a constructionist point of view it does not

make sense to claim that the survey data represents objective facts about a knowable world. Rather than claiming that my survey will give a snapshot of exactly what democratic participation really means to all party members, I will only claim that if you design a survey in the specific way I did and present it to Alternativet's members in the specific way I did you will be able to create a specific representation of these members' attitudes and notions to digitally facilitated party engagement. But even so, I will still claim that this specific representation is as relevant – despite for slightly different reasons – as the representations created by qualitative research methods. Thus, this quantitative representation of the party members and their attitudes in relation to the research question contributes to a fuller and more complete picture of the case. In this way, I take a very pragmatic approach to the epistemologies that most often underpins quantitative and qualitative methods respectively in order to combine the two meaningfully (Bryman, 2008).

### **3.5.2 Ethical considerations**

The original plan was to distribute an online survey to each party member individually, in order to ensure as much control over the sampling of respondents as possible. The party agreed to help distributing unique links to the survey through personalised emails to each party member. However this turned out to pose considerable ethical and legal challenges with regards to data privacy and use of the email addresses of party members, and in the end the survey was distributed with a generic link in the party newsletter and through closed Facebook groups for party members and supporters. This section will describe the ethical considerations that eventually led to a change of the distribution method, and how these concerns was dealt with in the end. The next section will describe the final sampling strategy and resulting sample of respondents.

The identity and contact information of party members is considered to be personal and sensitive data according the EU's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), so it was not possible for the party to let me access this information to send out links to the survey. Besides this would also have breached standard ethical guidelines for research since the members had not consented to give me access to this information about them. So in collaboration with the party it was planned to protect participants with 'double anonymity', inspired by how the MOPA project distributed their email-based survey to party members in Denmark (Kosiara-Pedersen & Møller Hansen, 2012). This involved setting up a procedure where the researchers would never access name and contact details of members, while the party would never get access to the survey replies by participants. It was planned to achieve this by hiring Danish

survey company Rambøll that Alternativet were already collaborating with to host the survey on their website. They would then set up their SurveyXact platform so that only I had access to design and edit the survey as well as the resulting data collected through the platform, while only Alternativet would have access to the distribution part of their platform where they could then make sure to send out the questionnaire to all their members. This was all negotiated and settled with Alternativet staff, Rambøll and the ethical approval board at Newcastle University. However, by the time the survey was ready to be sent out, Alternativet had gone through some considerable organisational changes which included a replacement of the head of staff as well as the main party contact I had collaborated through. Unfortunately this meant that the party were no longer willing to distribute individual survey invitations to members because of a new strategy to limit the information they send to their members. In order to still honour our agreement they offered to distribute a generic link to the survey through their newsletter.

The SurveyXact platform was still used to collect run the survey, but no Alternativet staff had any access to this or the resulting data, which was also made clear to participants prior to filling out the survey. The first page of the survey consisted of a consent form that participants had to agree to before they could move on to start the survey. This form provided a list of basic information about how what the data would be used for, how it would be stored, and who was running the survey as well as a link to an info sheet with further information. The consent form and info sheet promised respondents that the data would not be used to identify them. Even though none of the questions by themselves make it possible to identify respondents it is very likely possible to identify at least some respondents based on a combination of their answers. So the info sheet promised respondents that the final dataset will only be available upon request through the Newcastle University Data Catalogue for research purposes. See the full info sheet and consent form in appendix I and II.

### **3.5.3 Survey distribution and response rate**

The party's newsletter of 21<sup>st</sup> June 2018 included a short invitation to participate in the survey, including a link to the online survey. This newsletter was emailed to 9144 recipients, of which the vast majority are party members according to the party. The party was not able to tell exactly how many of these recipients are members, but all members receive the newsletter unless they specifically opt out, so it is fair to assume that the letter have reached most members. Other people are able to sign up for the newsletter on the party website, but according to the party staff, only few of the recipients are non-party members. The party

registered that 45,6% of 9144 recipients opened the newsletter, but only 375 clicks were registered on links in the newsletter. This number includes all the links in the newsletter and not only the link to the questionnaire, but roughly 200 respondents reached the online questionnaire website in the same period. So while the survey got comparatively more traction than other parts of the newsletter, these numbers indicate that the newsletter did not get much attention from most recipients. This is in accordance with experiences from a previous party member survey in Denmark where Kosiara et al in 2012 got a considerably lower response rate from members of one party where they were only able to distribute their survey through a newsletter, compared to other parties where they were able to send direct invitations in collaboration with the parties (6,1% response rate compared to ~25-35% among the other parties)(Kosiara-Pedersen & Møller Hansen, 2012).

To maximise the reach of the survey to party members, it was decided to promote it further through party specific social media channels. In particular 11 Facebook groups for party members and supporters were targeted for this purpose. First an encouragement to read more about the survey in the newsletter was posted in each of these groups on 29<sup>th</sup> June 2018<sup>3</sup> without including a direct link to the survey. The rationale behind this was to still limit access to the survey to actual party members, who had received the newsletter. However, since this only had a small effect on the response rate, it was decided to follow up with a post in each of the Facebook groups including a direct link to the survey in the beginning of October. This post was “bumped” to the top of the feed in each group twice by adding comments to the original post, reminding group members that it was still possible to answer the survey. Overall, the survey was available for several months between the original newsletter was sent out in the end of June 2018 and all the way until the last reminder in the beginning of 2019. Each time a reminder was posted in the Facebook groups a small increase in respondents were detected, but these increases got smaller and smaller. So the majority of respondents answered the survey in the late summer and fall of 2018. To ensure the anonymity of respondents date and time of each response were not recorded.

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<sup>3</sup> A couple of the groups required posts to be approved by a group administrator first, in which case the post was only publicised one or two days later (see also appendix)

### Number of survey respondents at different stages of data collection

	Total respondents:	Did not accept consent form:	Some replies:	Completed survey:
02.10.2018 (after initial newsletter distribution, but before posts in Facebook groups)	195	60	41	94
15.10.2018 (after first post in Facebook groups)	269	89	58	122
09.11.2018 (after 1 <sup>st</sup> reminder)	294	95	71	128
Final sample (after 2 <sup>nd</sup> reminder)	326	116	79	131

Table 4: Number of survey respondents after each step of distributing the survey link through different channels. "Did not accept consent form" covers respondents who accessed the survey website, but did not answer any questions. "Some replies" covers all respondents who answered some questions, but not all.

By the end, 326 people had accessed the questionnaire. However, only 131 respondents completed the full questionnaire and 116 did not accept the consent form, which was required to start the rest of the survey. Additionally, 79 respondents accepted the consent form and answered some of the questions, but not all. It varies widely how many questions respondents in this category answered. However, 52 of them dropped out before completing the first page of questions. These 52 along with the 116 who did not accept the consent form were removed from the dataset, which then consists of 158 respondents.

It is impossible to calculate a response rate since it is impossible to say how many people the facebook posts with the link reached. If we take the 9144 recipients of the newsletter as a base of the population I tried to reach, that gives a response rate of 1,73%, but this is not accurate since the social media posts can also have reached party members and supporters who are not recipients of the newsletter. This leads to the question of which population the sample can be said to be a sample of, which will be dealt with in the next section.

#### 3.5.4 Survey sample

Given that both newsletter recipients and Facebook group members could participate in the survey, I will refer to the respondents as a sample of members and supporters of Alternativet. Party membership have generally changed in character in recent years, with the line between enrolled members, affiliates, and supporters becoming increasingly blurred (Gauja, 2015; Scarrow, 2014). As shown by Kosiara-Pedersen and Kristiansen, this is also the case for the Alternativet party, which allows many ways for supporters to participate in and affiliate with the party beyond a traditional fee-paying membership (Kosiara-Pedersen & Kristiansen, 2016). In particular, they find that Alternativet provides ample opportunities to connect with



the party in 4 ways beyond the traditional membership: Through light affiliations by participating in events and workshops in the party (without being a formal member); through party-specific apps and online platforms; by subscribing to receive information from the party; and finally through their extensive use of social media. This makes it relevant to include more than the traditional party members in the survey. And it also makes the party newsletter (one way to subscribe to information) and Facebook groups very relevant venues to recruit respondents through.

As already mentioned most newsletter respondents are party members although anyone can sign up to the newsletter. The 11 Facebook groups chosen to promote the survey were all groups that are specifically targeted towards supporters and members of Alternativet, and in the most cases they were closed groups that required approval from the group admin to access. Each of the party's 10 regional branches have a Facebook group for their regional members and supporters where the survey link was posted. And in addition to these, the survey was also posted in a group called "Alternativet – A serious sustainable transition"<sup>4</sup>, which was described in several of the qualitative interviews as an "infamous" group where a lot of internal debate about Alternativet took place. This group was not administered by the party organisation and has since been renamed and no longer focus exclusively on Alternativet party politics. Thus including this group in the promotion of the survey can potentially have extended the invitation to people who are neither party members or consider themselves party supporters. But at the time of data collection this group was considered one of the most important fora for intra-party debate, so the post inviting participants to the survey specifically clarified that it was targeting Alternativet supporters. Table 5 below gives an overview of all the Facebook groups through which the survey was distributed. Each of the groups had between 250 and 10.000 members during the data collection period, but it is hard to say how many of these members have actually been presented with the link in their Facebook feed.

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<sup>4</sup> Author's translation from Danish: "Alternativet - En seriøs bæredygtig omstilling"

Distribution of survey link through Facebook groups							
FB-group name:	Private or closed Group	Group members	FB-group link	Advertising of newsletter	1 <sup>st</sup> direct link distribution	1 <sup>st</sup> reminder in comment	2 <sup>nd</sup> reminder in comment
Alternativet - En seriøs bæredygtig omstilling	Private	~10.000	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/384733191662984/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/384733191662984/</a>	29/06/18	16/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19
Alternativet København - Fællesskabet	Public	~4.000	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.kbh/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.kbh/</a>	29/06/18	12/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19
Alternativet Fyn - debatforum	Private	~750	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/AlternativetFyn/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/AlternativetFyn/</a>		11/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19
Alternativet - Aarhus (og omegn)	Private	~1.800	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/576906219064759/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/576906219064759/</a>	29/06/18	12/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19
Alternativet - Nordsjællands Storkreds	Public	~500	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/545948368856926/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/545948368856926/</a>	03/07/18	12/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19
Alternativet - Sjællands Storkreds	Private	~700	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/1423450931270824/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/1423450931270824/</a>	29/06/18	12/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19
Alternativet - KBH Omegn	Public	~500	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/AlternativetKBHOMegn/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/AlternativetKBHOMegn/</a>		12/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19
Alternativet i Vestjyllands Storkreds	Public	~300	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/462719773869205/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/462719773869205/</a>	29/06/18	12/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19
Alternativet - Sydjylland	Public	~350	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.sydjylland/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.sydjylland/</a>	29/06/18	12/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19
Alternativet - Bornholm	Private	~250	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/AlternativetBornholm/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/AlternativetBornholm/</a>		12/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19
Debatforum - Alternativet Nordjylland	Public	~650	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.nordjylland/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.nordjylland/</a>	29/06/18	12/10/18	08/11/18	01/02/19

Table 5: Overview of Facebook groups through which the survey was distributed and advertised to members and supporters of Alternativet. The number of members in each group is approximate averages over the data collection period. No significant changes in group sizes were noticed throughout the period.

As the table illustrates the “Alternativet – A serious sustainable transition” group was by far the biggest of the Facebook groups, and it also seemed to be the one with most activity in. So it is likely that relatively many respondents were recruited through this group, which had the least formal ties to Alternativet. However, based on the self-reporting of their membership

status in the survey it seems that most respondents in fact were formally members of the party. Table 6 shows that almost 97% of the respondents either were members or had previously been members of the party at the time they replied to the questionnaire. Only 5 respondents had never been a member while 2 respondents preferred not to answer this question. This indicates that the results mostly represents the attitudes of members rather than party supporters, but it also shows that the survey did in fact succeed in reaching beyond the formal members by including the views of some more informally affiliated supporters.

Formal party affiliation			
	Freq	Valid perc.	Cum. perc.
Currently member	146	93.59%	93.59%
Previously member	5	3.21%	96.79%
Never member	5	3.21%	100.00%
Missing values	2		
Total	158	100.00%	100.00%

*Table 6: Frequency table showing how many respondents report to be members of the party.*

But regardless of formal affiliation status both members and supporters can have different levels of attachment to the party. This can be measured in many ways. Table 7 and 8 shows for how long respondents had been members of the party and whether they had been elected or nominated for any official post in the party. Most respondents had been a member between 2 and 3 years out of the party's 5 year history with a mean membership length of 2,41 years. However, the sample includes respondents from all of the years the party had existed with relatively few that had been members from the very beginning as well as relatively few completely new members.

Length of party membership			
	Freq	Valid perc.	Cum. perc.
2013	7	4.83%	4.83%
2014	18	12.41%	17.24%
2015	39	26.90%	44.14%
2016	50	34.48%	78.62%
2017	26	17.93%	96.55%
2018	5	3.45%	100.00%
Missing values	13		
Total	158	100.00%	100.00%

*Table 7: Frequency table for length of membership for those respondents who are currently still members of the party. Mean length of membership = 2.41 years, median = 2 years, N = 145 (missing values include those respondents who have previously been a party member).*

This could be interpreted as likely to be representative of the whole party although there are no data available on membership numbers by year to compare to. But since the party was founded in late November, there was only one month of 2013 to recruit members in and the election campaigns up to the general election in 2015 and local elections in 2017 are likely to have been occasions for many new members. However, looking at how many respondents had been elected for different positions in the party it becomes clear that the sample is most likely biased towards more active and engaged members of the party. The sample includes 1 current MP and 9 general election party candidates that did not win a seat, as well as 17 local election candidates. Looking at internal party organisation no less than 27 and 9 respondents currently takes up a seat in a local or regional branch executive committees respectively. Additionally 2 respondents hold similar positions at the national level of the organisation. Altogether this means that over a fifth (22.15%) of the sample is made up of members who hold a position of trust in the party and as such can be considered part of or closer to the party elite than the party on the ground.

**Have you ever been elected or nominated for a post in any of the institutions below?**

		Elected today	Previously elected	Nominated, but not elected	Never nominated or elected	NA's	Total
Local party office	Freq	27	26	1	85	19	158
	%	17.09%	16.46%	0.63%	53.8%	12.03%	100.00%
Regional party office	Freq	9	16	2	110	21	158
	%	5.7%	10.13%	1.27%	69.62%	13.29%	100.00%
National party office	Freq	2	4	5	125	22	158
	%	1.27%	2.53%	3.16%	79.11%	13.92%	100.00%
Local or regional council	Freq	0	1	17	117	23	158
	%	0%	0.63%	10.76%	74.05%	14.56%	100.00%
Member of Parliament	Freq	1	0	9	123	25	158
	%	0.63%	0%	5.7%	77.85%	15.82%	100.00%
Any of the above*	Freq	35	31	9	66	17	158
	%	22.15%	19.62%	5.70%	41.77%	10.76%	100.00%

***Tabel 8: Frequencies and percentages of survey respondents who have been elected or nominated for different positions in the party.***

### 3.5.5 Questionnaire design

The questionnaire consisted of 187 questions divided thematically into 7 sections with each section being shown on one page of the questionnaire. Each page started with a very short text prompt about the questions in that section in order to set a similar context for all respondents, in an attempt to increase the reliability of measures (K. M. Hansen, 2003, p. 117).

Respondents were allowed to skip forward to the next section without answering all questions in an attempt to encourage completion of the questionnaire, although “don’t know” options were also provided for all close-ended questions so that respondents did not feel forced to make up an opinion if they did not have one on a subject.

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#### Survey questionnaire

##### sections

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Democratic ideals  
 Affiliation with party  
 Involvement in party  
 Online engagement  
 Party ideals  
 Political engagement  
 Personal information

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**Table 9: Overview of the sections of the survey questionnaire. Each section consisted of one page on the online survey website.**

The precise operationalisation of key variables will be discussed in subsequent chapters along with the analysis they are relevant to, since many of the concepts are based on – or heavily informed by – findings from the first qualitative phase of the research. However, as far as possible previous surveys measuring similar concepts were consulted so that questions could either be replicated directly if they worked well or adapted if necessary. In particular inspiration was found in previous party member surveys from Denmark (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2016a) and elsewhere (Haute & Gauja, 2015), previous surveys of general online political participation in Denmark (Rossi et al., 2016) and elsewhere (Theocharis & Deth, 2016), and not least in previous surveys of democratic process preferences in general (Ferrin & Kriesi, 2016; Font et al., 2015; Landwehr & Steiner, 2017; Neblo et al., 2010) and in relation to intra-party democracy in particular (Bengtsson, 2012; Close et al., 2017). Many of these surveys rely on questionnaires that have gone through extensive testing that would be beyond the scope of this project, so by reusing response scales and question designs from these the quality of the survey items and ultimately the collected data can be maximised.

### Pilot tests

In order to ensure the validity of the questionnaire a pilot test was done with three Alternativet members who each varied in terms of their engagement with the party, their age and experience. These pilot tests were carried out in the party's head office with one participant at the time. Participants were asked to fill out an initial draft of the questionnaire while thinking out loud about how they understood the questions and how they reasoned their answers. These participants understood most questions as intended, but their reasoning and their constructive feedback after filling out the survey led to a few changes in the final survey. First of all, it was clear that it would be good to shorten the survey. While one pilot test participant only took slightly above 10 min to complete it, the other two took considerably longer. Even though one of these participants emphasised that she found it very interesting and would have been happy to spend even longer time on the survey, it is questionable how many respondents would be able to set aside so much time for a survey. Additionally, the phrasing of some questions were changed and some of the questions that concerned specific institutions in Alternativet were adapted based on their feedback to ensure that regular party members, who spend less time than the party elite interviewed initially would recognise the institutions in question. For one question it is unclear whether this was successful. On a question about "The Members' Mandate" - Alternativet's custom name for balloting members on how the party should vote on a specific proposal in parliament – 68,53% (98 respondents) reported that they have never heard of it in the survey. Despite this being mentioned in most of the elite interviews as an innovative and important way that Alternativet is involving their members, it is only used relatively rarely, so it is impossible to say if most members really do not know about this or whether they are just not familiar enough with the name for it, and thus did not understand the question properly.

### Validating the data

Regardless of the amount of work put into developing the questionnaire, no survey is perfect so it is always a good idea to consider the quality of the collected data before any analysis takes place (Johnson & Reynolds, 2008, p. 314). Oppenheim suggests two tests to validate survey data: Range checks and internal consistency checks (Oppenheim, 1992, p. 279). Internal consistency refers to whether the values of one respondent on different variables are consistent with each other, and range checks refer to whether variables only take values that are meaningful and plausible. Most survey items consisted of close-ended questions with limited scales which are difficult to validate, since most possible combinations of these

questions are possible. But the survey also included a few open-ended numerical variables such as age, length of party membership, and number of party events attended in the last year, which can be tested for unrealistic outliers.

Range checks were performed on variables about the age of respondents, how much time they reported to spend on party activities, and how many party related activities they had participated in over the past year. One respondent had an extreme outlier value (1554) in regards to how many party events the person had attended in the last year. However, none of the remaining values for this respondents were outliers or inconsistent, so the value for party events attended last year was set to missing, while the rest of the responses were kept in the dataset, assuming that this was caused by a typo. However, this particular respondent had dropped out half way through the questionnaire and thus not answered some of the variables key to this study about attitudes towards intra-party democracy, so the respondent is not included in the majority of the analyses in this theses anyway.

Internal consistency was checked in relation to combinations of several values, which did not result in any unexpected observations. Of all the respondents who report to spend more than 30 hours a month on party activities, all except one report to either currently or previously have been elected to the board of a local party branch or the national executive committee of the party. The remaining respondent reports to have run as a general election candidate for the party. And all of these respondents report high levels of different kinds of specific activities in the party as well. So it seems reasonable to expect that these respondents would have higher values than the rest of the sample. However, one respondent reports to spend 250 hours per month on party activities which is considerably more than any other respondents and would amount to 8 hours 20 minutes every single day. This seems unrealistic, but considering the remaining responses from this participant, it is clear that it is a very engaged member, so the respondent has not been removed from the dataset, and the 250 hours are interpreted as an indication that this respondents perceives him or herself as extremely engaged with the party. Nonetheless this illustrates a reliability issue with this kind of self-reporting values since respondents are very unlikely to have estimated their engagement similarly. For that reason this variable was not included in any of the statistical models in the subsequent chapter, but only used to describe the sample of respondents.

#### Recoding variables

One advantage about online surveys is that it is possible to technically limit the type of answers respondents can provide to each question. For instance if only one answer is allowed,

it can be set up to prevent respondents from providing several answers, or it can be set up to only allow numerical values for fields about things like year of birth. These features were used to limit the possibility of respondents to provide invalid answers to the questions, however for a few of the questions that was supposed to only allow numerical answers this did not work. So in response to two questions – about how many party events respondents had attended in the last year and how much time they spend on party activities per month – several respondents manage to provide longer text answers such as “Many”, “More than 50. So more than I can remember” or “No idea. Probably more than 5”. These kind of variables that relies on respondents to self-report on activities are already known to suffer from risk of low validity since respondents are unlikely to accurately remember what they do and how often. Additionally they are also likely to estimate these matters very differently, leading to additional reliability issues. However, even though they might be inaccurate measures of how much each respondent objectively engage with the party, they were meant to give an idea about each respondents own perception of their party engagement. And for this purpose it is necessary to have a numerical value for each respondent in order to be able to compare them to each other. Values without any numerical values at all was set to missing, while replies such as “At least 20” that included a number as well as some text were recoded so that the first number that appeared in the response was recorded. This gives a slight bias towards underestimating the engagement for some respondents who provided a range of numbers such as “I guess between 10 and 20” which would be recorded as 10. The alternative approach would be to only include those respondents who simply provided a numerical value without additional text. By far most respondents did that for both variables, but given the overall small sample size it was deemed more important to include as much data as possible and accepting a slight potential bias in these numbers. Table 10 below gives an overview of how many values were recoded for each of the two variables.



### Recoding of text responses to numerical variables

		Variables:	
		Party related events attended in the past year	Monthly hours spend on party activities
Numerical responses	Freq	118	116
	%	74.68%	73.42%
Character responses (set to missing)	Freq	4	9
	%	2.53%	5.70%
Mixed responses (first numerical value in response extracted using regular expression)	Freq	13	12
	%	8.23%	7.59%
Missing	Freq	23	21
	%	14.56%	13.29%
Total	Freq	158	158
	%	100.00%	100.00%

Table 10: Overview of how many values were recoded from text responses to numerical values for the two variables about how many party related activities the respondents have attended and how much time they spend on party activities on average. Text characters with no numbers were set to missing and text replies including any numerical value were recoded to the first numerical value in the response.

## 3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has described the overall research design employed to answer the research question introduced in the previous chapter, and justified methodological choices made at each step of the process.

The research design is based on two overall phases, each focusing on different aspects of the research question, and each utilising different methods. Thus the project is based on a mixed methods research design integrating both qualitative and quantitative data in an in-depth single case study. The first step is based on qualitative methods and explores the supply of participation opportunities in Alternativet as well as the democratic ideals motivating the design of these participation institutions. This main data collected for this part of the research is a number of semi-structured interviews with members of the party elite, but analysis of party documents as well as participatory observation also constitute part of the first phase of the research design.

The second phase is based on a qualitative online survey distributed among party members and supporters, in order to study the demand for participation opportunities in Alternativet and

how this demand relate to attitudes toward intra-party democracy. The questionnaire used for the survey is original and developed based on the findings in the first phase of the research project, thus allowing me to develop an original model of dimensions of attitudes towards intra-party democracy. This model will then be used to explore how democratic attitudes relate to different types of online behaviour.

## **Chapter 4. An alternative approach to intra-party democracy: The Case of Alternativet**

This chapter will introduce the case of Danish political party Alternativet in more detail and give an overview of its unusually participatory intra-party democracy. The two first chapters argued that political parties are in a special position to link citizen participation in civil society to formal decision making arenas, and thus potentially make citizen participation consequential. However this requires two things: First that parties manage to engage citizens in policy formation and decision-making within the party, and secondly that internally participatory parties also manage to stay electorally competitive and gain influence in political arenas. This chapter will investigate the extent to which Alternativet manage each of these. While political parties have generally maintained and deepened their close ties to the state, they have struggled more to maintain a strong connection to citizens, who are less likely to become party members and feel less attached to political parties than ever before (Mair, 2013). The following sections will show that Alternativet is a special case in this regard. After a general description of the party in the first section, the second part of the chapter is devoted to describe the democratic innovations applied by Alternativet to engage members, supporters, and citizens in policy formation and decision making. This will demonstrate how Alternativet has deployed a variety of participatory processes and intra-party institutions that aims to “re-imagine and deepen the role of citizens” in the governance of the party, through “increased opportunities for participation, deliberation and influence” to paraphrase Elstub and Escobar’s definition of democratic innovations (Elstub & Escobar, 2019). In this sense, Alternativet is what Bent Flyvbjerg calls a *deviant case*, which “...can be especially problematic or especially good in a closely defined sense.” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 230) In terms of (re)-establishing a closer link between political parties and citizens, Alternativet’s use of democratic innovations merits further investigation for its potential to be especially good. After this, the third part of the chapter will describe the electoral history of Alternativet and briefly discuss its political impact. This is only done briefly as it is beyond the scope of this study to analyse the impact of the party in depth. But it is important to the relevance of the case that the party is able to translate citizen participation into political results at some level. The analysis in this chapter is partly based on previous studies – especially some of Emil Husted’s work on the organisation of Alternativet – but mainly on an original analysis of text documents and semi-structured interviews with the party elite. Elstub and Escobar’s typology

of democratic innovations is used as theoretical framework to describe the different participatory processes and institutions in Alternativet and will be introduced in the beginning of the second section.

#### **4.1 The Case of Alternativet**

The Danish political party Alternativet (Eng.: The Alternative) was launched publicly on 27th November 2013 by its founder, the independent member of parliament Uffe Elbæk who had two months earlier left his former party, for which he had also served as a minister (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2016c). This declaration of the party and the intention to field candidates for elections marks the first of four thresholds new parties will aim to reach in Mogens Pedersen's typology of party lifespans (M. N. Pedersen, 1982). According to Pedersen this is the minimum requirement for a definition of a political party and the only threshold that most new parties ever manage to reach. Despite much scepticism about the viability of the party among political experts, it quickly attracted a considerable following of members and supporters. By February 2015 the party had secured the 20.260 declarations of support from citizens, which are necessary to be eligible for general elections in Denmark (1/175 of all the votes cast in the previous election) (Søe, 2015). Achieving authorisation to nominate candidates in elections is the second threshold in Pedersen's framework. At the same time the number of party members grew from a handful at the launch to 7.000 in 2015 and over 10.000 in 2016, making it the fourth biggest party in the country in terms of membership (Folketingets Oplysning, 2019) <sup>5</sup>. In June 2015 the party competed in its first election, and won 4,8% of the votes, resulting in 9 seats in parliament (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2016b). Thus the party also reached the third of Pedersen's thresholds of gaining representation by winning seats in elections. All of these three thresholds were reached relatively quickly, only leaving the last threshold of relevance, which is much more difficult to operationalise. This illustrates that Alternativet quickly established itself as part of the Danish political landscape, but where it is placed in this landscape is a bit less clear. This section attempts to answer that question by first showing how the party has been described as both a green party, a radical left party, and something that does not fit into any existing boxes. And then describe the – rather vague – values and culture that the party is based on.

##### **4.1.1 Party family: Green party, left-wing or a non-ideological alternative?**

Alternativet's main political goal is environmental sustainability and a green transformation of society, while transforming the political culture and renewing democracy are also of central

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<sup>5</sup> More recent numbers are not publicly available as of May 2020.

concern to the party. In this sense it looks somewhat similar to traditional Green Parties (Kosiara-Pedersen & Little, 2016). A successful Green party never developed in Denmark prior to the emergence of Alternativet, despite environmental issues gaining early attention in Denmark and Danish citizens – together with Dutch citizens – regularly score the highest levels of environmental consciousness in surveys of European citizens (Rootes, 2006, p. 177). Andersen attributes this to the imperfect industrialisation of Denmark, which in turn means that the Social Democratic and left-wing parties have been less rooted in the structures of industrial society, thus making it easier for them to adopt post-industrial values, such as an environmental consciousness (J. G. Andersen, 1990). Rootes, on the other hand, explain the failure of Green parties to flourish in Denmark – and likewise in the Netherlands – with the state of political competition in both countries (Rootes, 2006, p. 177). According to this explanation, the highly proportional electoral systems in both countries and the resulting fragmented party systems have forced mainstream parties to be more open to environmental movements and allowed New Left parties from the 1960's to survive, which has left little room for a Green party in the party system. Whichever explanation is more accurate, they both agree that in Denmark the environmental agenda has been appropriated by the mainstream parties – mainly, but not exclusively on the left-wing – leaving no room for a specifically Green party despite the relatively strong environmental consciousness in Denmark. This begs the question what makes Alternativet different from previous failed attempts at creating a Green Party in Denmark. According to Wettergren & Soneryd (2017) Alternativet represents a more radical green agenda than other Danish parties, based on scepticism of economic growth altogether and demands for a complete reorientation of society in order to avoid a climate change catastrophe. They describe Alternativet as a party that “advocates a radical, but peaceful system change” based on environmental sustainability, thus making this the main driver for all their policies, which separates them from other environmentally conscious parties in Denmark (Wettergren & Soneryd, 2017). They find that this radically green position match sentiments that have gained popularity through the climate change movement of the 2000's and can thus explain how Alternativet have succeeded to find a place in the Danish party system, where previous attempts at creating a Danish Green Party has failed.

Green policies are definitely central to Alternativet, but the party is very keen to not place itself on the traditional left to right political scale. One interviewee for this study explained that they “...think it is really unhelpful to have this right and left wing division. Because we

try... It is more difficult than just saying it, but we would like to position ourselves a completely different place. We are not necessarily right or left wing. Because we are not based on ideology. We are green.” (interview 11) However, it can rightly be claimed, as Kosiara-Pedersen does, that Alternativet’s policies fit best with the parties left of centre in Danish politics (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2020, p. 1018). Similarly, Ken Spours mention Alternativet’s initial electoral successes as an example of how party politics can be turned more left, thus indicating that Alternativet is a left-wing party (Spours, 2016).

#### **4.1.2 A new political culture and six core values**

One reason that the party is so reluctant to be placed on an ideological right/left scale is that they, in addition to their green policies, aim to create what they call a *new political culture*. As the party name suggests they want to be an *alternative* to the established political system that *do* politics in a new and more inclusive way, which does not fit well with the idea of two opposing sides on a right/left scale. With this in mind, Christoffersen et al. group Alternativet together with Spanish Podemos, Italian 5 Star Movement, and Greek Syriza as untraditional political parties that points in the direction of a revitalisation of the link between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political participation (Christoffersen et al., 2015). Party founder Uffe Elbæk himself has also described Syriza, 5 Star Movement leader Beppe Grillo, and the social movements at the Tahrir Square and Occupy Wallstreet as examples of a “deep democratic revolution” which he considers Alternativet to also be part of (Elbæk & Lawson, 2014, p. 6).

This democratic revolution entails a new role for political parties as a mediator of different inputs from civil society rather than a promoter of a specific ideology. In a piece written for the British left-wing pressure group and think tank Compass, Alternativet’s founder Uffe Elbæk (in collaboration with British political commentator Neal Lawson) outlines his perception of what he calls the traditional political power, which he considers to be in irreversible decline because it is no longer able to deliver; neither in terms of solutions to the cross border problems faced by today’s society or in terms of offers for citizens to participate. In their own words “Traditional politics is being eroded from above and from below.” (Elbæk & Lawson, 2014, p. 5) The natural response to this, according to them, is a new networked political power that organises horizontally between citizens along the lines of social movements rather than through political representatives who deliver solutions from the top-down after being elected. In this context they imagine that “(t)he successful party will now act as the Bridge between the horizontal and the vertical.” And they believe that “In Denmark the

Alternativet is leading the way as a radical ‘open source’ party, reaching out to those political individuals and groups that are deeply involved in network-based politics but until now have been rightly disinterested in traditional ‘top-down party-politics’”. (Elbæk & Lawson, 2014, p. 7) And in this sense Alternativet fits a lot of characteristics of the *integral party* that Spours promotes as instrumental in turning the radical left-wing into an influential movement (Spours, 2016). Writing for the same political think tank, Compass, Indra Adnan describes the ideal 21<sup>st</sup> century party as an organisational hub at the centre of a network of activism, and heralds Alternativet’s leadership culture as an instructive example of how to do this (Adnan, 2016). She describes Alternativet’s rejection of a left or right wing ideology in relation to this notion of the party as the coordinating centre of a networked movement that feeds input into the party: “People are attracted by the headline of an ‘alternative’, guided by values rather than an ideology, which overly determines its scope or audience. This is not an anti-ideology stance, but neither is it defined by ideology – it is open.” (Adnan, 2016, p. 22) Alternativet’s participation in the COP21 climate summit in Paris in 2015 illustrates one way in which the party sees itself as a link between the “old” vertical politics and a new horizontal kind of politics based on networks of social movements. Alternativet were part of the official Danish delegation inside the summit, while also taking part in organising grass-roots activities outside through for instance the planned Climate March (which were eventually cancelled by French authorities) (Wettergren & Soneryd, 2017).

Alternativet promotes this *new political culture* in a variety of ways. In addition to promoting a renewal of democratic institutions through democratic innovations such as citizen initiatives and deliberative citizen assemblies, they also seek to contribute directly to a transformation of the political culture, organising themselves “...differently from the other parties by emphasising mobilisation through other kinds of affiliation than merely traditional party membership and supporting bottom-up processes (e.g., when deciding on the party programme and parliamentary questions).” (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2016c, p. 82) This is exemplified by the fact that when the party was officially launched it was presented without a fully developed political platform<sup>6</sup>. Instead a set of six core values (see table 11 below) and three main political themes – 1) a serious (environmentally) sustainable transformation, 2) a new political culture, and 3) entrepreneurship and social innovation – were presented along with an invitation to the public to contribute to the development of the party’s policies (Hindkjær, 2016).

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<sup>6</sup> See video from official launch of the party at (Poulsen, 2013)

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**The six core values of Alternativet:**

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1. **Courage.** Courage to look problems in the eye. But also courage about the future we share.
  2. **Generosity.** Everything which can be shared will be shared with anyone interested.
  3. **Transparency.** Everybody should be able to look over our shoulders. Both on good and on bad days.
  4. **Humility.** To the task. To those on whose shoulders we stand. And to those who will follow us.
  5. **Humour.** Without humour there can be no creativity. Without creativity there can be no good ideas. Without good ideas there can be no creative power. Without creative power there can be no results.
  6. **Empathy.** Putting yourself in other people's shoes. Looking at the world from that point of view. And creating win-win solutions for everyone.
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Table 11: Source: <https://alternativet.dk/en/politics/our-values>

Concrete party policies were then to be co-developed with the public at open workshops labelled *political laboratories* (commonly shortened to *PoLa*'s within the party) around the country before a coherent political program would be presented ahead of their first election campaign. This plan and the whole concept for the party was developed by a group of about 50 people over three months up to the launch – a process documented in a book by journalist Isabella Hindkjær who was invited by the party founders to do so in an attempt to ensure full transparency; one of the core values of the new party (Hindkjær, 2016).

One interviewee describes how they “...are not (an) ideologically based (party), but based on six values (...) And there are many things that are up for discussion in Alternativet, but something that is not up for discussion, that is the (core) values and the political direction.” (interview 11) It is clear that the core values listed in table 11 do not constitute an ideology from which policies can logically be derived. Instead “...they appear as universal ideals capable of crossing political boundaries” as Husted puts it in a study of exactly these values in Alternativet (Husted, 2018, p. 3). However he continues to note that “...as soon as they are brought to life in a specific organizational context, they acquire a much more particular meaning.” (ibid) In addition to the core values explicitly ‘espoused’ by the party, he also identifies two additional ‘attributed’ values that are not explicitly stated, but of equal importance within the organisation: *curiosity* and *trust*. He finds that all the values can be grouped into two categories with separate functions: ‘Vision values’ (*Courage, curiosity, and humour*), which encourage members to take initiative and pursue their own goals, and ‘humanity values’ (*Empathy, humility, generosity, and trust*), which function to allow a



diversity of views within the organisation and dis-encourage marginalisation of divergent views. This, according to his interpretation, allows Alternativet to retain a universal appeal, even as concrete policies are developed and particular political stances have to be decided on, in a process he calls ‘particularisation’ (Husted & Hansen, 2017).

## **4.2 Democratic innovations and policy formation in Alternativet**

So democratic renewal and *doing* politics in new and innovative ways is clearly an important part of the political programme that Alternativet is based on. This section will analyse the specific ways in which Alternativet actually put this into practice. Thus, the purpose of the section is to illustrate how Alternativet has deployed a variety of participatory processes and intra-party institutions that – to paraphrase Elstub and Escobar’s definition of democratic innovations – aims to “reimagine and deepen the role of citizens” in the governance of the party, through “increased opportunities for participation, deliberation and influence” (Elstub & Escobar, 2019).

First the section will describe the typology of democratic innovations suggested by Elstub & Escobar, which will be used to categorise the different participation channels within Alternativet. Then a short description of how the party’s policies are expressed and the overall process that led to the institutionalisation of the current policy formation procedures precedes an examination of each of the participatory channels.

### **4.2.1 Typologies of intra-party democratic innovations**

Elstub & Escobar define the “reimagining and deepening of the role of citizens in governance processes” as the ineliminable feature of democratic innovations that must be present for something to be considered a democratic innovation (Elstub & Escobar, 2019). In addition to this, they also specify four quasi-contingent features that varies between different types of democratic innovations and can be used to classify the innovations. These four features are inspired by Archon Fung’s Democracy Cube (Fung, 2006) and they are ‘participant selection’, ‘mode of participation’, ‘mode of decision-making’, and ‘extent of power and influence’, all of which are relevant to any democratic innovation, but can take different values. Elstub & Escobar suggest specific possible characteristics for each of the quasi-contingent features as illustrated in table 12, but they also acknowledge that often concrete democratic innovations are characterised by hybrids of these.

These quasi-contingent features of democratic innovations will be used as a theoretical framework to distinguish different participatory procedures in Alternativet from each other in the following sections. Each procedure will be described in depth over the following

subsections, but table 16 (on p. 96) provides an overview of all the participatory procedures covered and their characteristics.

The framework had to be adopted slightly to fit the participation channels in Alternativet covered in this analysis. Elstub and Escobar's four quasi-contingent features are all kept as the base of the framework, including the separation of 'mode of participation' from 'mode of decision making', which were combined into one dimension in Fung's original Democracy Cube framework. However, the options for mode of participation suggested by Elstub & Escobar do not fit the cases within Alternativet well, so they have been replaced with options, inspired by Fung's original 'mode of communication and decision'. This means that instead of Elstub & Escobar's 'observing', 'listening', 'voting', and 'discursive expression', the mode of participation here can either be (primarily) based on one of the following: 1) listening in the sense of participants passively receiving information; 2) the expression of preferences without a requirement to engage with the preferences of other participants; 3) development of preferences through learning, interaction, and reflection; or finally 4) deliberation where participants seek to influence one another through considered reason-giving. These categories are largely inspired by those of Fung's original modes of communication that does not include any decision making (Fung, 2006) and his own elaboration of how these are to be interpreted (Fung & Warren, 2011, p. 356). But they are mainly selected based on their empirical relevance of the cases in Alternativet.

Quasi-contingent features of democratic innovations					
<b>Participant Selection:</b>	Purposive selection	Election	Sortition	Self-selection	
<b>Alternative mode of participation:</b>	Listen (receive information)	Express preferences (passively answer questions)	Develop preferences (learning, interaction, and reflection)	Deliberation (seeking to influence one another through considered reason-giving)	
<b>Mode of decision making:</b>	No decision	Aggregation of preferences	Bargaining/negotiation	Deliberation	
<b>Extent of power and influence:</b>	Personal benefits	Advise & consult	Communicative influence	Co-governance	Direct authority

Table 12: Typology of democratic innovations: Quasi-contingent features in left column, and possible characteristics of each feature in the remaining columns, generally going from less to more inclusive/intense/influential from left to right. Inspired by (Elstub & Escobar, 2019; Fung, 2006).

Finally, Elstub & Escobar's definition also includes contextual features, which constrains when something can be considered a democratic innovation. Basically this means that the context in which a democratic procedure is employed determines whether it is *innovative* at all, i.e. whether it represents a new approach to deepen citizen participation (Elstub & Escobar, 2019, pp. 22–24). Some quasi-contingent features might make a participatory approach innovative in one context, but be very traditional in another. They suggest several contextual features to be aware of, but of main relevance to this study is the 'level of governance'. The level of governance for all the processes in this analysis is intra-party democracy, so the extent to which each process can be considered a democratic innovation relies on the *newness* of their quasi-contingent features in the context of internal party democracy and to which extent they deepen citizen participation compared to traditional intra-party democracy.

The analysis attempts to include all processes used to form Alternativet's policies, some of which are more likely than others to be considered democratic innovations. This inclusive approach was chosen to be able to compare all the processes and then subsequently discuss to what extent each of them are actually *innovative* in the context of intra-party democracy, and

whether their quasi-contingent features meaningfully deepen the role of citizens to an extent that can rightly be considered *democratic*.

#### **4.2.2 The expression of Alternativet's policies**

In order to assess the extent of power and influence of different participatory processes within the party it is necessary to clarify what might be influenced. In the case of intra-party democracy that could be specific party decisions such as choosing a party leader, but most relevant in terms of linking citizens to government is the influence of participatory activities on the party's policies. So this section will look at how Alternativet's official policies are actually expressed in order to clarify which documents members and supporters are engaged in forming and how influential they are on the policies pursued by Alternativet.

First of all, the party programme formally describes the official political priorities of Alternativet. However, it is worth noting that the party line is not only expressed in the party programme, but also in a number of other documents. Table 13 below gives an overview of different documents that express Alternativet's official policies. First of all the short manifesto and core values the party was originally founded upon as well as a set of debate dogmas are all incorporated into the organisational statutes (Alternivet, 2016, para. §2-3), which can only be changed by the General Assembly, where all party members are invited. Then there is the party programme, describing the party's official policies, which is adopted by the Political Forum as described below. But in addition to these, the party also has a so-called *political catalogue*, consisting of *policy visions* and *policy proposals*, and it regularly publishes *policy propositions*<sup>7</sup>.

Of all of these, the policy visions and policy proposals are the only ones, that are directly developed by the party members, so they will be covered in more detail in the following sections. But the main distinction between the two is that policy visions, on the one hand, are broad descriptions of the future Alternativet wants to promote within specific policy areas. They are political goals that "...are immediately out of reach, but within sight." (Alternivet, n.d., p. 7) Policy proposals, on the other hand, are concrete policy suggestions that can lead society closer to the visions.

The policy propositions are longer descriptions of policy proposals within one field which are released on the party's website and pushed to the press. These are usually based on the policy visions and proposals developed by members and adopted by the Political Forum, but written

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<sup>7</sup> Translated from Danish "politiske udspil" which does not translate directly to English, but means something along the lines of a political initiative, suggestion or proposition.

up by the party's staff<sup>8</sup>, which undoubtedly gives the party leadership some control over what is included in these propositions.

The next section will introduce the formal policy formation institutions in the party as described in the statutes and what influence these institutions have on the various policy documents covered here.

<b>List of different documents where Alternativet's policies are expressed</b>		
<b>Name of documents: (In Danish):</b>	<b>Developed by:</b>	<b>Adopted by:</b>
Manifest ( <i>Manifest</i> )*	Founders of the party	Written into the statutes of the party so changes can only be adopted by the General Assembly as changes to the statutes.
Core Values ( <i>Kerneværdier</i> )*	Founders of the party	
Debate dogmas ( <i>Debatdogmer</i> )*	Founders of the party	
Party programme (partiprogram)	Political Forum, involving “as far as possible, citizens, organisations, and members”. In reality based on policy visions.	Political Forum (Politisk Forum) (Original party programme was adopted by a Transitional Council until a formal party organisation was set up).
Political Catalogue (politisk katalog) (consist of the approved policy proposals)		
Policy vision (politisk vision)	Members (and supporters, experts, stakeholders)	Political Forum (Politisk Forum)
Policy proposal (politisk forslag)	Members (and supporters, experts, stakeholders)	Members
Policy propositions / suggestions ( <i>Politiske udspil</i> )	Parliamentary group (MP's and party secretariat in parliament) based on adopted policy visions, policy proposals, party programme, and additional consultations. <sup>8</sup>	Parliamentary group
Government Programme ( <i>Regeringsprogram</i> ) – More like a election manifesto describing what the party will do if it – unlikely – win a majority and can form the next government. * The Manifest, Core Values, and Debate Dogmas has all been incorporated into the statutes of the national organisation as the basic principles the party is based on along with a declaration to aim for as much diversity as possible within the organisation.		

Table 13: List of documents that express Alternativet's policies, including descriptions of who develops and adopts each of these documents. (original Danish names of documents in parenthesis)

<sup>8</sup> Most of the “udspil” does not describe how they were developed and there does not seem to be a formal procedure for developing these. However, findings here are based on the “process description” section of the following three “udspil”: <https://alternativet.dk/application/files/6515/2032/8023/baeredygtigtlandbrug.pdf>; [https://alternativet.dk/application/files/8015/3500/8655/tidnaervaerfrihed\\_alternativet.pdf](https://alternativet.dk/application/files/8015/3500/8655/tidnaervaerfrihed_alternativet.pdf); [https://alternativet.dk/application/files/8315/3001/5756/enandenverden\\_alternativet.pdf](https://alternativet.dk/application/files/8315/3001/5756/enandenverden_alternativet.pdf)

#### **4.2.3 Formal party organisation: Inclusive general assembly and Political Forum**

In order to describe policy formation procedures in Alternativet, it is necessary to understand a little bit about how the party is organised. A good place to look for this is the statutes of the party, so table 14 below presents an overview of the different organisational bodies within Alternativet as they are described in the statutes of the national party organisation (as of 2016) (Alternativet, 2016).

<b>List of organisational bodies in Alternativet (as of the 2016 statutes)</b> (Alternativet, 2016)		
<b>Name of body (In Danish):</b>	<b>Tasks and authority of body:</b>	<b>Recruitment for body:</b>
National Executive Committee ( <i>Hovedbestyrelsen</i> )	Responsible for the economy of the organisation (including budgeting and accounting), and the development of the organisation (as a political party as well as a political organisation more broadly). <i>Specific responsibilities also include:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establish partnerships with like-minded organisations.</li> <li>In collaboration with the Daily Political Leadership decide if elected politicians, defected from other parties, can join Alternativet.</li> <li>Can set up working groups and temporary committees.</li> </ul>	Consist of 9 members, who are all elected by the General Assembly every year (At least 4 men and 4 women) with special rules to advance a geographical diversity of the committee. All members can run for this committee except elected politicians who are not allowed to also sit on the NEC.
General Assembly ( <i>Landsmødet</i> )	The supreme authority of the organisation, which meets at least once a year. Elects the National Executive Committee, Political Leader, and other committee members; sets membership fees; approve annual accounts; and decides on changes to the statutes of the organisation.	All members of the party (who have paid membership fees for a minimum of 14 days) are invited and have the right to vote at the general assembly. On a case by case basis the National Executive Committee can allow non-attending members to vote digitally as well.
Party Leader ( <i>Politisk Leder</i> )	<i>No specific tasks or responsibilities detailed in statutes.</i>	Elected by the General Assembly, but has to be a member of the parliament (as long as the party has any seats in parliament)
The Political Leadership ( <i>Politisk Ledelse</i> )*	Is tasked with coordinating and knowledge sharing across the different elected assemblies.	Consists of the Political Leader and up to 15 publicly elected politicians from the party: Local councillors choose up to 6



		members among themselves, regional councillors up to 3, MP's up to 5, and MEP's choose 1 of them to be a member of The Political Leadership.
Daily Political Leadership ( <i>Daglig Politisk Ledelse</i> )	Determines the "day-to-day national party line" with reference to the party programme and the rest of the MP's.	Consists of the Political Leader and two other MP's appointed by the whole group of MP's.
Political Forum ( <i>Politisk Forum</i> )*	Develops and decides on the official party line, including any changes to the party programme and official policies of the party (only exception being the party stance on national referendums, which is decided by the General Assembly). Can also set up working groups to develop policy proposals in any area. However they are obliged to "as far as possible, involve citizens, organisations, and members" in their work.	Consists of 2 members from each of the regional party branches (of which one has to be a member of the executive committee of that branch), 2 from the national executive committee, and 2 from from the Political Leadership.
Additional important organisational bodies of the party, which has not been included here because they are not relevant to the policy formation process: Regional branches and local branches (including executive committees for each), The Ombudsmen Committee, The Conflict Mediation Council, and the Statutes Committee. (The later two has since 2018 been merged into the Dialogue Council)		

Table 14: Organisational bodies in Alternativet, defined in the party's statutes (as of 2016). \* The Political Leadership and Political Forum has since 2018 been merged together, so that there is now just the Political Forum, with more representatives from the party's publicly elected officials (Alternativet, 2018).

The supreme authority of the party lies with the general assembly, which meets at least once a year to elect the National Executive Committee and the party leader, and potentially decide on any changes to the statutes of the organisation. All members are invited and has one vote each at the general assembly, so participants are selected through self-selection, which Elstub and Escobar classify as having the potential to be most inclusive because it does not impose any formal restrictions to participation (Elstub & Escobar, 2019, p. 19). However, this inclusive approach brings other challenges that constraints the mode of participation, which in principle

is based on deliberation where all participants are offered the opportunity to address the assembly and influence each other through reason-giving. But as one interviewee notes: “At our annual general assembly, we are now about 1.000 people. And we would like to include 5.000, but then the problem is that sometimes we have the problem that there are more people who wants to contribute, than we really have time for and resources to administrate.”

(interview 3) So in reality the main mode of participation for most participants is restricted to listen to the information given by the organisers and a few other participants, and then expressing their opinion through voting, which also represents the main mode of decision making at the general assembly. Finally, in terms of the last quasi-contingent feature, the statutes actually give the general assembly very limited influence on the party line. While the general assembly has direct authority over certain decisions such as the choice of party leader and changes to the statutes, the influence over the party line is mainly communicative here. Decisions made at the general assembly gets a lot of attention within the party – and sometimes even in the public media – and is typically interpreted as representing the *real* standpoint of the party, and thus it is likely to influence other decision-making bodies in the party and limit what the party leadership are able to do on their own. So despite being unusually inclusive, the general assembly does not in reality provide members with a great deal of influence over the party policies.

But what is interesting to note is that the statutes actually do not specify in much detail how the party’s policies are to be formed or adopted. They state that day-to-day decisions on the party line is determined by the daily political leadership which consists of the party leader and two other MP’s. But apart from that they just describe that policy development is the responsibility of the *Political Forum*, which consists of delegates from different other organisational bodies which each decide themselves how to choose their delegates. These includes the National Executive Committee, the regional party branches (two from each, but one needs to be a member of the executive committee of the branch), and publicly elected politicians from the party. The Political Forum can hardly be considered an intra-party democratic innovation in the sense that instead of engaging members and supporters in governing the party, it delegates the responsibility of deciding the party’s official political programme to a small group of people, who are for the most part not directly elected by the members. This is a point that we will return to in the end of the chapter, but for the sake of comparison and because of the group’s direct authority over the party’s official policies, it is included in the analysis here.

Recruitment for Political Forum is based on the most exclusive mode of participant selection, purposive selection among the party elite, even if some regional branches might decide to give all their members a say on who one of the participants should be through open elections. In one interviewee's words, Political Forum represents "...a mix of all parts of Alternativet, which in the end democratically vote on whether a given new policy is adopted. Or, you could say, whether it should be included in our political programme." (interview 3) While this does not indicate a very participatory approach to policy formation, but in fact put the final decisions on the party's policies into the hands of a very small group of delegates, the statutes also state that this group is obliged to "...as far as possible, involve citizens, organisations, and members..." (Alternativet, 2016, para. §12(6)) in their work. So in this sense, the main mode of participation is prescribed as listening to input from the party members and supporters, however it is not specified how this is translated into decisions within the group, so it leaves a lot of room for other practices such as deliberation within the group.

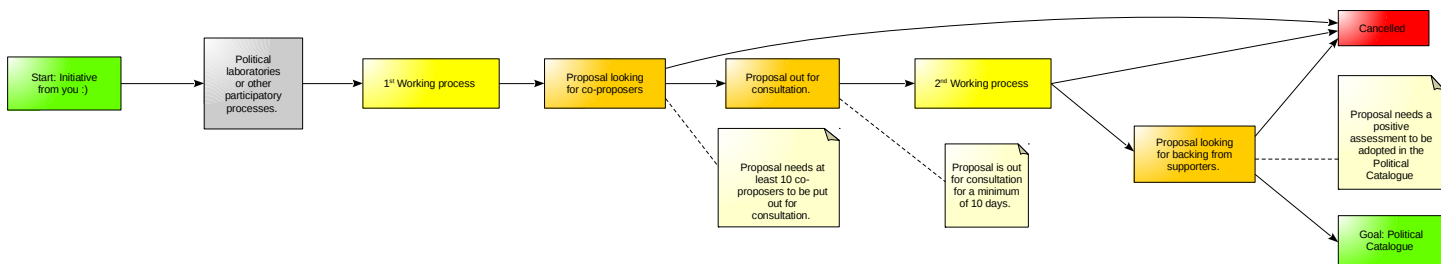
So formally, the ultimate responsibility for development, formation, and adoption of new party policies lies with the Political Forum. At the time of data collection the party also had an official *Political Leadership*, consisting of 16 people, which was chosen among the publicly elected politicians from the party, but this group has since been merged with Political Forum. The next section will briefly provide an overview of how the Political Forum has attempted to institutionalise the policy formation process, and the following sections will then describe each of the participatory innovations involved in this process in more detail.

#### **4.2.4 From universal to particular policies: Institutionalisation of the policy formation**

As described above, Alternativet was founded without a concrete political programme, but with a plan to crowdsource one. Since then a political programme has been put together, but the development of new policies is continuously ongoing. Partly because there are still many policy areas where the party has not established a position, but also because an integral part of the manifesto the party was founded on is to constantly involve members, citizens, and businesses in developing new solutions to the problems society face (Alternativet, 2016, para. §2). The policies in the current party programme have been developed through a large variety of different participatory processes. As briefly mentioned above the original party programme was developed in a highly inclusive manner through a series of *Political Laboratories* – a sort of workshops across the country – where all citizens were invited to help shape the politics of Alternativet. Husted has showed how this initial open project presented by Alternativet's

founders is comparable to radical social movements such as Occupy Wall Street, where political claims are expressed in a universal manner absorbing many different kinds of dissatisfactions with the current way democracy functions and current (lack of) political response to climate change (Husted & Hansen, 2017). However, being a political party, moving from protest to parliament, “...requires a positive articulation of political demands...” (ibid, p. 465), thus moving from universality to particular policies. As the party has matured and their policies become more particular, intra-party processes and procedures have become increasingly institutionalised. The following subsections will describe the organisation of Alternativet and in particular their attempt at institutionalising a participatory policy formation process that allows policy proposals to be initiated from the bottom-up.

These institutions, however, are continuously revised. “We are still not where would like to be in terms of policy development because in the best of all worlds...”, one interviewee explains, all policy proposals would be initiated from the bottom up. And continues: “That is not where we are yet. Sometimes we have been there, but we are not there consistently.” (interview 11) Living up to the ideals about making policy formation more participatory is a challenge and a learning process. Another interviewee explains: “...here we are learning (to walk), while we are running.” (interview 4) It is clear that the processes and institutions of intra-party democracy in Alternativet are in a state of continuous renewal, and they have also been adapted and developed in many directions over the course of this research project. So it is important to note that this section describes Alternativet’s policy formation processes as they were described in interviews and party documents at the end of 2016.



**Illustration 4: Translated version of illustration of policy formation procedures on AlleOs <https://alleos.alternativet.dk/catalog/add> (author’s own translation from Danish)**

At the time of data collection, a new overall structure for how policies are developed and adopted within the party had just been agreed on and was in the process of being implemented. Illustration 4 shows how the new policy formation procedure is presented on the party’s AlleOs website ([alleos.alternativet.dk/](https://alleos.alternativet.dk/)). As shown on the illustration, the first step in order to propose a policy for Alternativet is to gather a group of people who are also

interested in the policy area and then organise a series of participatory activities – typically this would be in the shape of Political Laboratories – where other members and interested stakeholders can participate in the co-creation of the initial proposal. Once a sufficient amount of participatory activities have been carried out, the working group will write up a coherent proposal that encapsulates ideas and outputs from the participatory activities in the 1<sup>st</sup> working process. This proposal is then uploaded to AlleOs where at least 10 party members need to sign up as co-proposers through their AlleOs account before the proposal is put out for consultation. During the consultation phase, which has to last for a minimum of 10 days, people can comment on the proposal and suggest changes. After the consultation is closed the working group is expected to incorporate feedback and possible amendments suggested during the consultation into a final version of the proposal, which is then put up on the AlleOs website where all party members are asked “...to assess (it) according to different factors...” (interview 14) and indicate whether they are willing to back the proposal overall. If the proposal is averagely scored positively on these criteria and at least 40 members have backed the proposal within 14 days, it will be adopted for the Political Catalogue (Alternativet, n.d.-i, p. 7).

The decision to split up the policy formation into two separate procedures for policy visions and policy proposals “...comes from Political Forum. Political Forum has a coordination subcommittee (...) where they have decided to split it up.” (interview 1)

One of the rationales behind the new policy formation procedure was to make it easier for members in the party to initiate new policy formation procedures so that they did not have to be initiated from the top. An MP describes how he “...really wants to involve everyone and make a sort of best practice model for how we develop policies because it is the entire core of our work in Alternativet. And get everyone to participate in developing the party line so it does not all come from in here (the parliament).” (interview 17) This aligns well with the participatory values in the party where “(i)deally, someone makes a suggestion, and then you start to discuss it and develop it into something more concrete.” (interview 2) And where no ideas are “...too crazy to be tested, if the members themselves take it up and get it started.” (interview 5) But there is also another reason to make it easier for members to initiate policy development because the party top simply realised that they did not have the resources to run participatory processes on all policy areas by themselves. A party MP describes the participatory development of new policies as “...an enormous procedure. (...) So it is enormously frustrating that I cannot just start it up. Now I have tried 2-3 times to start it,

where it has not happened because of lack of resources or my own lack of something. But now we have learned so much from the previous processes, that we know that, from the beginning, we need to get it away from here at Christiansborg (the Danish parliament). So we set the skeleton and make a structure that means it does not have to be driven from in here.” (interview 17) The MP’s “own lack of something” is also recognised as a good reason to outsource the policy formation procedure to the members by other interviewees: “...Political Forum does not have the prerequisites to sit and consider each individual concrete proposal. I mean they have to look at the general things; what do we want with education? Where would we like to go? So the overall goals and the the actual proposals on how to reach those goal, that will go in the Political Catalogue.” (interview 1) Put differently, the membership as a whole is better equipped to evaluate each policy proposal than the relative small group in Political Forum. So the new structure can be considered an attempt to broaden the participatory element of policy formation from an *invited space*, where the party leadership invites input, to a *claimed space* where members can take initiative to start a new policy proposal themselves (Gaventa, 2006).

On the other hand, other interviewees, who have been involved in putting the new procedure together, fear that it will require more resources from the party because the digitalisation of the procedure lowers the barrier to propose policy proposals for members, which in turn could result in a lot more policy proposals: “What is happening right now, is that we are about to rev up dramatically for the new way to make political laboratories. And that means we rev up dramatically getting things into the Political Catalogue through our digitalisation. And I predict that we will clog up before we are even started.” (interview 4) Whether the new procedures will actually require more or less resources depends to some extent on the design of digital platforms to support the procedure. But at least in one way the new procedure and online platform were designed to ease the pressure on the party organisation by engaging members in doing more of the “hard work” related to developing policies.

The following sections will cover each of the participatory steps in this process, starting with the political laboratories, which have played a central role in the party since the beginning, and then each of the orange boxes in illustration 4 from the AlleOs website, which represents all the steps where members are able to get involved in the process.

#### **4.2.5 Political Laboratories**

While the new structure involves members more directly in deciding which proposals should be adopted as official party policy, the initial creation of the proposals and visions is not

affected much by the new structure. This is the part of the process that is illustrated by a grey box in illustration 1, which is supposed to ensure that the proposals have been “co-created” with citizens through participatory processes. These activities are not pre-defined in any detail, but the final proposal needs to include a description of how the proposal was developed and this is part of what members are asked to consider before they back a proposal for the Political Catalogue. Typically, a working group develops a proposal after seeking input from party members, experts, citizens and other stakeholders through political laboratory policy workshops, and potentially other participatory activities. The Political Laboratories are central to policy development in the party. These can take many forms, so the term largely covers any kind of workshops where party supporters, the general public, experts and other stakeholders are invited to participate in policy formation for Alternativet.

But one thing that typically characterise the political laboratories, no matter how they are practically organised, is that they focus more on gathering ideas than agreeing on decisions. Or as a handbook on organising participatory events for internal use within the party phrase the approach taken at political laboratories: “We open the sky – today we are allowed to dream.” (Alternativet, n.d.-i, p. 9) So there is no mode of decision making involved in the political laboratories, because the aim is simply not to end up with a decision. One interviewee explains that the purpose of involving citizens, expert and other stakeholders in this early stage of policy formation is “...to include more points of views in the debate. And then you can filter out some of them later on...” (interviews 2) However the filtering is not part of this step of the process. So instead of a decision the outcome of the political laboratories is a list of ideas and challenges to be aware of in the further development of the policy proposal: “There are facilitators attending each of these laboratories. When it is over – it usually last for 3 or maybe sometimes 4 hours those laboratories – then they meet and put together all the ideas that have come forward.” (interview 3) A party activist, who had been involved in organising many political laboratories described the strategy when summing up the output from the each workshop like this: “well what I did, was to not sort anything out.” (interview 2) This strategy to be inclusive of all ideas supports Husted & Plesner’s conclusion that physical spaces – and primarily the political laboratories – in Alternativet underpin imagination and function to open up the political process, while subsequent steps, which tends to be organised online, are used to narrow down and fixate specific views (Husted & Plesner, 2017).

In terms of the mode of participation and the extent of influence, these are summed up well by a party employee. Describing what the role of members are in Alternativet, this interviewee explains that in addition to traditional party member functions such as acting as ambassadors of the party's political messages, it is also important that they "...participate in the policy guiding workshops (the political laboratories) where they (...) both develop their own political views and contribute to the development of the party's views through a lot of debates." (interview 7) So the function of the PoLa's is to develop preferences among the participants through activities where they learn, reflect, and interact with each other. In this sense the extent of influence is largely personal because participants gain new knowledge and develop their own understanding of a policy topic, but just as importantly the workshops are supposed to result in output that informs the party's policies. So the extent of influence is a hybrid of personal benefits and advise and consult.

The Political Laboratories represent the most inclusive form of participation in Alternativet, which is based on self-selection, not only among party members, but among any one that could be interested: "And I think it is very important that everyone can participate in our political laboratories, where we develop policies. It does not matter if you are a member. (...) So everyone is welcome, also if you come from another party." (interview 3) One interviewee even goes further claiming that "I have always felt that there should be more than 50% non-members to a political laboratory, before I think it is good." (interview 4) Elstub and Escobar correctly notes that experience have shown that self-selection tends to lead to biased participation because of socio-economic barriers among other things (Elstub & Escobar, 2019, p. 19). However, all interviewees emphasise that they make a big effort to overcome these kind of barriers to ensure a more representative inclusion: "And then it has to be possible – logistically somewhat feasible – for most Danes to take part. That means that you cannot just do five political laboratories in Copenhagen. There has to be some form of geographical dispersion, so people can take part." (interview 3) Many interviewees also showed interest in various kinds of online participation to lower barriers to participation and show concern about the cost of attending "...We also had a guideline previously that said, it was not allowed to cost anything to attend a PoLa or any event in Alternativet. That is something that is really important to me to stick to, although we are not always sticking completely to it any more." (interview 4)



#### **4.2.6 Co-proposing**

Once input has been gathered through political laboratories and possibly other participatory activities, the organisers will form an initial proposal, which is uploaded on the party's online platform AlleOs. Here, at least 10 members need to declare their support as co-proposers before the development of the policy can move on. Any member can do this through the AlleOs platform so participation is based on self-selection. In one sense this is a simple expression of preferences for or against the proposed policy, which are aggregated to determine whether the proposal should be developed further or cancelled. But in another sense, even though there are no formal obligations involved in signing up as a co-proposer, the title of *co-proposing* suggests expectations of a certain responsibility to participate actively in the further development of the proposal. This development is supposed to be based on input from the following consultation phase (and possibly input from the original Political Laboratories that did not make it into the initial proposal), so in this sense the main mode of participation is listening. And decision making is done through deliberation between the co-proposers during the process of writing up the final policy proposal. To the extent that co-proposers actually take part in the further development of the final policy proposal, their influence is a type of co-governance. If, on the other hand, this step of the process is considered to merely be a way to express support or not, it also gives participants a (limited) level of direct authority, since the policy will be cancelled if no or less than 10 members declare their support. However, the requirement of 10 members is set so low that this seems more like a hypothetical kind of influence, in that it will likely require less work to convince 10 members to declare their support than it does to organise political laboratories and write up a proposal in the first place.

#### **4.2.7 Policy consultation**

Once enough co-proposers have declared their support for a proposal, it enters a consultation phase, which has to last for a minimum of 10 days. Here all members are invited to comment on the initial proposal that the initiators of the proposal have developed, so that these comments can be incorporated into the final proposal. Thus this also offers a good opportunity for participants in the political laboratories to voice if they think that the organisers have missed something important from these workshops. The consultation can take many forms, but typically it primarily takes place on the party's online debate platform called Dialog ([dialog.alternativet.dk/](http://dialog.alternativet.dk/)).

Again, participation is based on self-selection, but at this step – as was the case with the initial political forums – non-party-members can also participate. It requires the creation of a profile on the party's online platforms, but this is not restricted to members and anyone are allowed to post comments on the Dialog debate platform. Participants can either choose to just submit their own comments on the proposal without further engagement, or they can engage in debates with other participants about the proposal. So the mode of participation is a hybrid of preference expression and deliberation. Submissions to the consultation only impact the proposal through advice to the working group that is finalising the policy proposal, so no decision has to be agreed on between participants in this phase.

#### **4.2.8 Policy assessment**

In the end, the final policy proposal, put together by the initiators and co-proposers, is uploaded to the AlleOs website where members are asked to assess the proposal. Up until this point there are no difference in the formal procedure to develop policy visions – the overall political goals of Alternativet – and policy proposals – concrete suggestions on how to fulfil the visions. But whereas all party policies had previously had to be approved by the Political Forum, in the new structure for policy formation, only policy visions need to be approved by the Political Forum before they are adopted as the party's official policy. Policy proposals, on the other hand, are decided on directly by party members. This is done through the member assessments of the proposals on the AlleOs platform. And this is really the crucial novelty in the new structure because “...previously the members have not had the possibility to directly vote on any policies really. Because both these visions and these proposals have been gathered in packages, which Political Forum has then had to consider. But now, Political Forum only has to consider the actual visionary part of it.” (interview 1) So members have direct authority through the policy assessments over which policy proposals are adopted for the Political Catalogue, even though this does not include the Policy Visions.

The idea behind this was not only to distribute more power to the members, but also to ease the burden on the Political Forum by leveraging the *wisdom of the crowd* instead of having the – often already busy – politicians and party leadership in Political Forum scrutinise every proposal before it was adopted. This also means that members are not simply asked to vote if they are for or against a proposal. Instead they are asked to assess to which degree they think each proposal lives up to the policy visions in the party programme, the manifesto, and core values that the party is founded upon. This is why it is not enough for a policy proposal to just get the backing from at least 40 members, but also needs to be assessed positively on a

number of criteria by members: “...so one of the questions, for instance, is something like ‘how well does this proposal align with our values?’ And then you can choose between ‘very well’ or ‘very badly’ for instance. So that kind of things, so it will be judged based on our set of values too. So that also means that (...) we can measure – because it is not just a yes/no – on (...) different parameters. Because people weigh them (the values) differently.” (interview 1) The exact criteria was still under development at the time of the interviews, but “(t)he plan is that when a concrete proposal for a policy has gathered the backing of 40 members, it will be incorporated into our Political Catalogue, where the members can then assess them based on parameters such as each of the three bottom lines<sup>9</sup>, and how important, what priority the proposal should have, and how well it aligns with the core values Alternativet is based on. And it is cool that we can get the members to assess it, so that we can also prioritise things.” (interview 14) Table 15 lists the criteria that was incorporated into the final platform, against which party members are asked to assess each policy proposal.

So the mode of participation in the policy assessment is purely an expression of preferences, without any possibility to engage with the preferences expressed by other participants. And decision making is based on aggregation of these preferences.

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#### Party members assessment of policy proposals

The concrete questions party members are asked to assess policy proposals against on the online party platform AlleOs:

- 
- Which effect does the proposal have on the social bottom line?
  - Which effect does the proposal have on the green bottom line?
  - Which effect does the proposal have on the economic bottom line?
  - How high do you think we should prioritise the proposal?
  - To what degree do you think the proposal is in line with what Alternativet is based on?
  - To what degree does the proposal solve the problem?
- 

Table 15: As of February 2019, these are the concrete questions party members are asked to assess a policy proposal against. Each question can be answered on 5-point scales. <https://alleos.alternativet.dk/catalog>

#### 4.2.9 Discussion

Table 16 below gives an overview of the participation channels covered in this section, and from this a few interesting observations can be made. First of all, Alternativet’s intra-party democracy makes use of a wide variety of participation forms. In fact all the different modes of participation, decision making, and influence described in Elstub & Escobar’s typology of democratic innovations are used in Alternativet. Secondly, we can see that all these avenues for participation are highly inclusive – mostly based on self-selection, but supplemented with

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<sup>9</sup> The “three bottom lines” refer to the initial manifesto the party was founded on, which mentions a green, a social, and an economic bottom line that all policies should be measured on.

different efforts to avoid too strong self-selection biases – except from the Political Forum. At the same time we can observe that Political Forum is also one of only two participation channels that have direct authority over party policies. So the least inclusive participation channel is also the one with the highest impact. The table also shows that members have direct authority over the adoption of policy proposals through their assessment of these. But this authority is only in relation to the policy proposals, but not the policy visions, the party programme or any other policy documents. So it is worth considering what the status of these policy proposals actually are in relation to all the other ways that the party's policies are expressed.

Intra-party democratic innovations in Alternativet					
Participation channel:	Inclusion / participant selection method	Mode of participation	Mode of decision-making	Extent of power and influence	Participation of non-party members?
<b>Political Laboratories (PoLa)</b>	Self-selection	Develop preferences	No decision.	Personal benefits + advise & consult.	Yes
<b>Political Forum (PoFo)</b>	Purposive selection	<i>Formally:</i> Listening  <i>Likely in reality:</i> Deliberation	Not specified, but most likely a combination of deliberation, bargaining, and aggregation of preferences.	Direct authority	No
<b>General assembly</b>	Self-selection	<i>Formally:</i> Deliberation  <i>But in practice limited to:</i> Listening & expressing preferences.	Aggregation of preferences, with some room for negotiation and deliberation.	Communicative influence	No
<b>Co-proposing policy</b>	Self-selection	<i>Mainly:</i> Listening  <i>Less:</i> Express preferences	<i>Mainly:</i> Deliberation  <i>Less:</i> Aggregation of preferences	<i>Mainly:</i> Co-governance  <i>Less:</i> Direct authority	No
<b>Policy consultation</b>	Self-selection	Express preferences and deliberation.	No decision.	Advice & consult	Yes
<b>Policy assessment</b>	Self-selection	Express preferences	Aggregation of preferences	Direct authority (over policy proposals)	No

Table 16: Overview of democratic innovations in Alternativet's intra-party democracy, and their quasi-contingent features.

The full collection of policy proposals adopted by members is called the *political catalogue*. The political propositions pushed to the press and the public by the party staff are usually made up of proposals from the political catalogue. As one party activist describes in an interview, the political catalogue gives “...a picture of what the party as a whole thinks, which can be tremendously useful for a party spokesperson in parliament, because they would like to, you could say, act to represent the whole party in it’s entirety. At the same time the MP spokesperson is able to bring some of the things from the political catalogue on to their agenda. Which means that it helps the spokesperson to create concrete policies. So they can pick and choose (from the political catalogue).” (interview 4) It is a bit unclear, however, exactly what status the policies in the Political Catalogue have. After explaining that only policy visions still have to be approved by Political Forum the same interviewee explains that “...you can also say that it is only real official party policy when it is approved by Political Forum. So what is in the Political Catalogue, does not represent the current party line.” (interview 4) Asked whether the Political Catalogue represents official party policy, another interviewee replies: “Yes, but not exactly. Not exactly, but it should be maybe. I mean I think it should be.” (interview 1) And continues: “But in reality, it is called the Political Catalogue, but before that it was called the Idea Catalogue. So actually it is a catalogue that the politicians at Christiansborg (the Danish parliament) or elsewhere can pick from. But it is not like they have to take these proposals. But they can do, and it also makes good sense for them and for the members if they do it.” (interview 1) So to sum up, the Policy Visions and Political Programme represent the formal party policy, while the political proposals in the Political Catalogue are concrete policy ideas developed and approved by the party membership, which elected politicians and others can use and take inspiration from, but they are not generally considered to represent the official party line.

So while policy development in Alternativet happens in an unusually participatory and inclusive manner, members and supporters do in fact not have direct authority over the official party line. Nonetheless, the many participatory policy formation institutions in the party do provide other routes to influence the party policies.

To end this section, a brief note about the extent to which all these participation channels can rightfully be considered democratic innovations is pertinent. As mentioned in section 4.2.1, whether something is a democratic innovation depends on whether the quasi-contingent features of a participation method is new in a specific context – in this case in the context of

intra-party democracy. In this sense most of the participation opportunities in Alternativet, covered in table 16 can be considered democratic innovations. It is unusual, and thus innovative, to include members and not least non-members in public policy development workshops, and give members so many opportunities to influence how the output of these workshops are turned into final policies as Alternativet does. However, the general assembly and Political Forum sticks out as institutions you would expect to find in traditional parties as well. Almost all political parties (at least in a European context) have general assemblies or something similar, but they are usually only attended by delegates that are supposed to represent the party. So the self-selection mode of participant selection is an innovation that deepens the opportunities for participation in the case of Alternativet. Political Forum, on the other hand, is only innovative in relation to its “listening” mode of participation. This is the ideal mode of participation as described in the party statutes and in interviews conducted for this study, but a critical sense is warranted here. Ideals are easy to promote, but harder to live by, and it seems likely that in reality Political Forum is as much – if not primarily – characterised by deliberation between its members, based on their own views, as it is exclusively focussed on listening to what the members think.

Before moving on to the chapter conclusion, the next section will cover the electoral history and political impact of Alternativet in national and local politics, which is a crucial element to making citizen participation consequential through party politics.

### **4.3 Electoral success, political impact, and consequentiality**

Alternativet was chosen as the case for this study because they experiment with new ways to engage members and supporters in policy formation and decision making, as illustrated in the previous section of this chapter. However, in order to function as a link between citizen participation and government, it is necessary for the party to 1) gain representation in formal decision making bodies through elections, and 2) gain influence within these fora.

As already mentioned Alternativet quickly reached three out of the four thresholds in Mogens Pedersen’s typology of party lifespans (M. N. Pedersen, 1982). The party quickly gained electoral success after it was founded, but has struggled to sustain this success in recent elections. Competing in its first national election Alternativet won 4,8% of the votes and nine parliamentary seats in the 2015 general election<sup>10</sup>, only three months after reaching the second of Pedersen’s thresholds by gathering the signatures necessary to stand for election (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2016b). This exceeded every expectation with observers discussing whether the

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<sup>10</sup> After MP Pernille Schnoor left the Social Democratic Party in favour of Alternativet on 24<sup>th</sup> April 2016, Alternativet had 10 representatives in parliament until the 2019 election.

party would even be able to pass the electoral threshold of 2 percent at the beginning of the election campaign (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2016b). Subsequently the party has also won seats in local and regional councils as well as two mayor posts. However, in the latest general election of June 2019, the party lost half of its seats in parliament and only gained support from 3.0 per cent of the voters, resulting in 5 seats (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2020). This was despite the party's most important issue also being one of the main themes of the election, which was labelled a 'climate election' by many observers (ibid). Up to and following this election, several media scandals and internal disagreements about how to handle these afflicted the party. These media stories included revelations that some MP's had been flying extensively for holiday trips despite advocating less flying in order to decrease climate gas emissions, and an excessive 'partying culture' among certain staff and politicians, exemplified by an invitation for all staff to contribute to a 'dick-pic collage' to celebrate the anniversary of their favourite bar (ibid). By the end of 2019 party founder Uffe Elbæk decided to step down as party leader and allow the party members to select a new party leader through an open primary. After a process that was initially used to showcase Alternativet's strong intra-party democracy with debates between party leader candidates taking place all across the country and several rounds of voting, which got extensive media coverage, party members elected the former MP and co-founder Josefine Fock as new leader. Fock had previously left the party's parliamentary group during some of the internal disagreements in the party's first term, and no longer had a seat in parliament. All the party's current MPs had supported a different candidate and, within a few weeks, criticism of the new leader was leaked to the media, ultimately resulting in four out of the party's five MP's choosing to leave the party, but keeping their seats in parliament as independents, leaving Alternativet with only one MP by March 2020 (Ritzau, 2020).

So in terms of the first point introduced in the beginning of this section, Alternativet has demonstrated mixed abilities to win elections and gain seats in representative fora. Data collection for this study began while the party had only had successful election experiences and no major scandals had hit the party yet, and ended before the party's parliamentary group was decimated to one MP. It should be noted, though, that the party is still represented by 19 locally elected politicians in local and regional councils, including two mayors (as of May 2020).

One thing is to gain representation in political assemblies, but another is to actually achieve influence over decisions made in these. This relates to the fourth threshold in Pedersen's party



life-span model, which describes when parties become relevant, ie. when they are not only represented in parliament, but also play a relevant role in political decision-making. As Pedersen recognises himself, this threshold is much more difficult to operationalise even if it is perhaps the theoretically most interesting one (M. N. Pedersen, 1982, p. 7). Müller-Rommel simply operationalise the relevance threshold as entering a government coalition (Müller-Rommel, 2002), but this seems like an oversimplification of the concept of relevance. There are many possibilities to gain influence outside of governments, especially in a political system like the Danish which is typically characterised by minority governments.

A study of permanent opposition parties in Europe – ie. parties that have never entered government – showed that during their first term in parliament Alternativet was the party that voted second least in favour of government bills (supporting only 68.9% of the bills suggested by the then government, only above the Enhedslisten party who supported 49.7% and just less than the Socialistisk Folkeparti who supported 69.4%) (Christiansen, 2018). This places them squarely in opposition to the centre-right government at the time among the most left leaning parties in parliament. This centre-right government was replaced by a new centre-left government after the 2019 general election. However, Alternativet had refused to pick a side between the two blocks of parties that make up the main contenders for a majority in the Danish parliament before the election, instead proposing their own leader as candidate for Prime Minister (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2019). Unfortunately for Alternativet, the Social Democrats were able to form a minority government based on support from the two left wing parties Enhedslisten and Socialistisk Folkeparti (SF) together with the social liberal centre party Radikale Venstre, which meant that Alternativet's five seats did not give them any influence over the government formation (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2020). Consequently they are generally considered to still be in opposition to the government. The strong tradition in Denmark of minority governments, relying on ad hoc majorities in Denmark still leaves considerable room for Alternativet to participate in political negotiations as an opposition party, despite a tendency for Danish minority governments to increasingly rely on permanent support parties (Christiansen & Damgaard, 2008).

This is illustrated by a list of political results that Alternativet maintains on their website<sup>11</sup>, which includes all parliamentary settlements that Alternativet is part of<sup>12</sup>, as well as a list of

<sup>11</sup> <https://alternativet.dk/politik/politiske-resultater>

<sup>12</sup> So-called “political settlements” (Danish: “politiske forlig”) are a long standing, informal, but central institution in the Danish parliament (H. H. Pedersen, 2011). These settlements are “...negotiated, non-legally binding agreements, which commit the conciliation parties concerned to try to implement and maintain the political measures contained in the agreement as long as the agreement is valid.” (Christiansen, 2008, p. 55) These settlements mean that the outcome of many parliamentary votes are given beforehand because they

motions put forward by Alternativet (often in collaboration with other parties). It is beyond the scope of this study to judge how much influence a relatively small party like Alternativet has had on each of these agreements, but a few enacted policies sticks out as key issues for Alternativet: As a result of a proposal by Alternativet in collaboration with left-wing party Enhedslisten trans-sexuality is no longer officially categorised as an illness in Denmark, and an experimental scheme, legalising medical cannabis has been enacted with strong support from Alternativet. Most notably, however, is the introduction of a Citizen Initiative that allows all Danish citizens to propose decisions, which the parliament then has to discuss and vote on if they reach support from at least 50.000 citizens. This was supported by all, but the two biggest parties in parliament, but it was a key issue for Alternativet and a similar scheme was previously suggested by Uffe Elbæk before he founded Alternativet while he was an independent MP.

So while it might be a stretch to call it a “kind *revolution*” as one of the party’s own mottos goes, then Alternativet has managed to show – at least until recently – a capability to compete in elections and make a mark on some policies both locally and nationally. However, at the time of writing the initial electoral success of the party seems to have faded. As many studies based on Pedersen’s typology of new parties have shown, party life-cycles can take many forms, making it difficult to predict Alternativet’s future prospects. When the first Green parties emerged in the 1980’s some scholars predicted that they would be a temporary phenomenon in parliamentary politics (Alber, 1989; Bürklin, 1987), while others for instance predicted that the Green Party would become the fourth big party in German politics (Müller-Rommel, 1989). While this turned out to be true in Germany, green parties elsewhere have fared very differently since then (Müller-Rommel, 2002). In the final chapter we will return to this question, and in particular reflect on the extent to which Alternativet’s inclusive policy formation might have a negative or positive impact on their electoral performance.

#### **4.4 Why Alternativet?**

As mentioned in the literature review, when Katz & Mair originally developed their cartel party model, they also envisioned how the dominance of this party type would open up room for another type of party that explicitly positions itself in opposition to the ‘cosy’ political establishment of the cartel parties (Katz & Mair, 1995). This was based on the logic that the cartel parties’ weak links with civil society and elitist nature would lead to dissatisfaction with democracy among at least certain parts of the electorate, which could then be picked up by

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have already been negotiated in these agreements. So it is a necessary condition for Alternativet to be part of these if they are to have any influence on decision making in many policy areas.

new parties that brand themselves as more democratic. This type of party preference based, not (only) on the substantial political positions of parties, but also on the way parties organise themselves, is exactly what Bennet et al. identify two decades later, and inspires them to develop the “connective party” model (Bennett et al., 2017). So based on this logic, we would expect the rise of connective parties to coincide with high levels of dissatisfaction with democracy and low levels of trust in established democratic institutions. Out of Bennett et al.’s four examples of connective parties, three of them live up to this expectation. The Spanish Podemos, Italian Five Star Movement, and Icelandic Píratar all emerged in the aftermath of political crises in countries hit hard by the financial crisis in the late 2000’s. In contrast, the Danish context in which Alternativet emerged, is characterised by relatively high and stable levels of trust in democratic institutions as illustrated in the literature review (R. F. Andersen & Dinesen, 2017; Ferrin & Kriesi, 2014; Newton & Norris, 2000; Torpe, 2003). Nonetheless, Alternativet constitute the fourth example Bennett et al. use to illustrate real-life connective parties. This thesis will explore in more depth the extent to which Alternativet is actually a good example of a connective party, but as this chapter has already illustrated, it is a party that definitely deploys new participation mechanisms in an attempt to engage citizens more directly in policy formation and decision making, which clearly distinguish them from cartel parties. Compared to more established and electorally successful connective parties such as Podemos and the Five Star Movement, Alternativet is an understudied case.

Alternativet is rarely included in studies of connective or movement parties, and with the exception of Husted’s work (Husted, 2017, 2018; Husted & Hansen, 2017; Husted & Plesner, 2017) and a study of Alternativet’s membership (Kosiara-Pedersen & Kristiansen, 2016) relatively little focus has been given to the organisation of Alternativet. Considering the specific context of Denmark as a country where trust in political institutions are high, in contrast to other connective parties, it is relevant to consider in more depth the motivations and democratic attitudes of both participants and party elites in this context.

Mosca and Quaranta shows that people who participate in protests against the political establishment are indeed more likely to vote for connective parties in Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal (Mosca & Quaranta, 2017). However, in a similar context to the Danish, Erlingsson & Persson have shown how voters for the Swedish Pirate Party was mainly motivated by the policy issues of the Pirates rather than a dissatisfaction with established parties (Erlingsson & Persson, 2011). They do not consider the impact of the party’s organisation and participatory intra-party democracy on support though, so it is very relevant to consider the attitudes

towards citizen participation and intra-party democracy among supporters of connective parties in societies where support is not so likely to be fuelled by protest-voting based on dissatisfaction with the established parties. And for this purpose, Alternativet constitute an ideal case, as a party that has relatively quickly gained representation in both parliament and local councils in a context of a high political trust and satisfaction with democracy.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have seen how Alternativet is a party with a very strong Green agenda that has managed to win seats in both parliament and local councils; something that previous attempts to create a Danish Green party has struggled to accomplish, despite an environmentally conscious population. One explanation of Alternativet's success might be that they are not only a Green party, but also a party that represents an alternative to the usual way of doing politics with a strong focus on democratic renewal. In this regard Husted might be right when he claims that Alternativet developed "...as a reaction to the unsustainable program of neoliberalism and the 'old political culture' characterized by spin and tactics." (Husted, 2018) As the final lines of the manifesto, Alternativet was founded upon, states: "Another way of looking at democracy, growth, work, responsibility and quality of life. That is The Alternative." And this alternative way of looking at democracy is what makes Alternativet an interesting case in relation to the potential of political parties to make citizen participation in politics meaningful and consequential.

The key thing that makes Alternativet an interesting case for this study is that they claim to combine party politics with citizen participation, not just advocating the implementation of democratic innovations in national and local government, but also applying democratic innovations to their own intra-party democracy. This is what gives them the potential to re-establish the link between citizens and government that has been heralded as a crucial function of political parties. But this requires that they manage to engage citizens in policy formation on the one hand, and simultaneously stay electorally competitive and gain influence in official decision-making arenas, so they can help translate input from citizens into political outcomes.

By analysing the opportunities for participation in policy formation in Alternativet, this chapter illustrates that the party does indeed offer an unusual amount of opportunities to engage not only party members, but also citizens more broadly in policy formation. By applying an adapted version of Elstub and Escobar's typology for democratic innovation to the various participation channels in the party it is also clear that these opportunities are

innovative and diverse in terms of their mode of participation (ranging from listening over expressing and developing preferences to deliberation), their methods of decision making (ranging from aggregation of preferences over bargaining to deliberation, as well as participation opportunities that does not involve any decision-making), and the way participation influences final party policies. However, the analysis also illustrates how influence of participation on the final official party policies to a large extent rely on gatekeeping by the party leadership in the shape of the Political Forum, which essentially has to approve all official policies. Nonetheless, Alternativet offer greater opportunities for participation in policy making than most parties, which makes them what Flyvbjerg calls a *deviant case*, that can provide valuable insights into the advantages as well as challenges in relation to enhancing democracy and making it more participatory through party politics (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Alternativet's two terms in parliament and one term in some local and regional councils give relatively little data to base any general conclusions about their potential influence on; especially in terms of generalising the extent to which their influence or lack of influence might be caused by their participatory approach to policy making. Nevertheless, a potential weakness of the case is that Alternativet is not really connected to government and only play a marginal role in legislative arenas and thus have not been able to ensure a great deal of consequentialism of the citizen participation they have facilitated. However, the party has managed to sustain parliamentary representation over two elections, even though they have lost a relatively large part of their initial support and also been plagued by internal disagreements as the party grew older, which has cost them most of their seats in parliament and a lot of potential influence.

Husted and Hansen concludes that Alternativet has managed "...to maintain a degree of universality in the face of rapid particularization..." by finding "...a way to mask or displace the very existence of a gap (between universality and particularisation), which ultimately prevents it from collapsing into one organizational form." (Husted & Hansen, 2017, p. 473) But they stop short of explaining how Alternativet does that. One explanation could be that many of the party supporters that disagree with certain policies can accept these and still support the party because of the way the policies were developed and decided on. The real particularisation from these supporters point of view might not be the policy outcomes, but the institutionalisation of an inclusive participatory procedure to form and agree on policies. The party's members and supporters support a renewal of democracy and a new way to

engage in democracy is exactly what they have got with Alternativet's particular institutionalised policy formation processes. Another question is, of course, how participatory and inclusive these processes actually are in reality and perhaps this can explain a lot of the disagreement that has subsequently surfaced in the party. Another explanation would be that Husted and Hansen were too quick with their conclusion, and that Alternativet actually did not manage to maintain any degree of universality, but that it took time for voters and supporters to realise this. This could explain the crises the party has experienced since the study for this thesis was conducted, but if it is the case it also means that the potential for political parties to re-establish a link between citizens and government might be limited. In the final chapter we will return to this point and consider to what extent the inclusive policy formation and decision making in Alternativet is – at least partly – the reason the party has struggled to reach the final threshold of becoming a relevant party in Pedersen's terminology.

## **Chapter 5. Supply of (digital) participation channels within Alternativet**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the supply of opportunities by Alternativet for citizens to participate in policy formation and decision making with a particular focus on digital participation channels. As well as mapping out the opportunities for participation provided by the party, it will also deal with the more complex issue of which dimensions of democracy the party is trying to promote when it claims to advance a “new political culture”. And how different digital participation channels address different democratic dimensions.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Alternativet seeks to promote a more participatory notion of democracy. However, this still leaves room for many interpretations of what citizen participation should ideally look like, why it is important, and what the end goal of involving citizens is. As the chapter will show, many democratic themes are central to the party and how they attempt to engage citizens in political change, such as transparency, deliberation, and empowerment among others. While it would be easy to just list all of these themes, this would not do much justice to the tensions between different democratic values, which can be difficult to accommodate simultaneously. So, based on Alternativet’s experiences of utilising different democratic innovations within the party, this chapter will group democratic themes together in a number of democratic dimensions, which each involve a specific justification for involving citizens, a specific mechanism and type of public engagement, and each have their own challenges, concerns, and implications for the design of democratic innovations.

The chapter starts by describing four different democratic dimensions identified in the party: A crowdsourcing dimension, a deliberative dimension, a developmental dimension, and a delegative dimension. Then the chapter moves on to provide an overview of the digital participation channels provided by the party. Here, participation channels include digital platforms that address the formal intra-party democracy of Alternativet as well as democratic innovations the party has experimented with, or uses informally, to engage supporters in informing decisions and policies adopted by the party. Throughout the presentation of these digital participation channels each section will also examine how the affordances of each online platform nurtures the different democratic dimensions identified. Finally, the chapter will round off with a discussion of how individual democratic innovations and participation channels address the concerns of different democratic dimensions of the party.

The chapter is mainly based on interviews with key stakeholders in the party and to a lesser extent on participatory observations and key party documents. Key stakeholders are defined as people who have had an impact on how the party involves members, supporters, and other citizens in policy formation and decision making, and as such the views of these key stakeholders are taken to represent the views of the party. Their reasoning behind decisions to implement a specific democratic innovation, and their experiences of using specific democratic tools, are what will be referred to as *the party's* reasoning and *the party's* experiences, since the decisions of these key stakeholders are what characterise the party.

## 5.2 Democratic Dimensions in Alternativet

In the previous chapters Alternativet has been presented as an example of a new kind of emerging party, for whom advocating democratic reform is not only a means to promote other policy goals, but for whom democratic renewal and reinvigorating how politics is *done* is a political goal in itself (Bennett et al., 2017). However, democracy is a contested concept (Gallie, 1956; Held, 2006, Chapter Introduction), so it is relevant to ask what kind of democratic renewal Alternativet is promoting (Ercan & Gagnon, 2014; Gagnon, 2018). Not surprisingly, values of inclusion and participatory notions of democracy are prevalent in interviews with the party elite of Alternativet. After all, the case of Alternativet was chosen because of their participatory approach to policy formation and decision making. One interviewee explained that the main benefit of “crowdsourcing” their politics is: “...to make sure that as many people as possible, who want to participate in the process, are allowed to do so.” (interview 2) The importance of inclusion in the sense of involving as many people as possible is also well illustrated by a catch phrase that has become a slogan for the party: “More (people) know more”<sup>13</sup>.

But, besides the ubiquitous focus on participation, several interpretations of what this participation should look like and why it is important emerge in the interviews. Relatively little is known about the notions of democracy among political elites, but these multidimensional attitudes identified among key stakeholders in Alternativet contrasts one of few previous findings. In the early 1970's Putnam found “...relatively low overlap among five basic models...” (R. Putnam, 1973, p. 182) of democracy among Italian and British politicians. The politicians he interviewed for the most part only held one of these five conceptions of democracy. This is not the case in Alternativet and thus the following

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<sup>13</sup> Author's translation from Danish of “flere ved mere”



description of the democratic values underpinning participation channels supplied by Alternativet will adopt a multidimensional conception of democracy.

The lack of previous studies of democratic notions prevailing within party elites means that we will have to look elsewhere for a definition of democratic dimensions. One place to look is measurements of democracy indexes of states where there has been a call for more multidimensional approaches (Coppedge, 2002; Munck & Verkuilen, 2002). The Variety of Democracy (V-Dem) project suggests a multidimensional approach to conceptualising democracy in their attempt to build a universal measurement of democratic regimes. Instead of proposing “...any particular definition of democracy (at large)...” they propose “...to capture various possible conceptions of democracy without making judgements about how they might be combined.” (Coppedge et al., 2011, p. 255) Similarly, Leonardo Morlino’s conceptualisation of democratic quality suggests a multidimensional perception of democracy. He identifies five different democratic dimensions and argues that each of them can be present in different models of democracy to different degrees (Morlino, 2004). Contrary to conceiving different notions of democracy as coherent and contrasting models (Held, 2006), each of these democratic dimensions are not mutually exclusive within a polity, but can be combined in different configurations to constitute different kinds of democracy.

A multidimensional conception of democracy is not only applicable to the study of regimes, but also to democratic attitudes. Recent studies of citizens attitudes towards democracy and democratic institutions has demonstrated that as well as supporting a core concept of liberal democracy, citizens also embrace different additional conceptions of what makes an ideal democracy (Ferrin & Kriesi, 2016) and they show preferences for different democratic decision making processes as complementary to each other rather than contradictory on one dimension (Font et al., 2015): “Some citizens may support representation while also favouring some direct citizen engagement (or vice versa), especially if these two processes are compared with alternative forms of governance (e.g. expert-based).” (Font et al., 2015, p. 165)

When mapping out discourses on democratic notions among key stakeholders in Alternativet, several dimensions similarly emerge. The V-Dem project argues that their democratic dimensions are “...logically distinct and – at least for some theorists – independently valuable...” (Coppedge et al., 2011, p. 255) and that “...contradictions are implicit in democracy’s multidimensional character.” (ibid. 257) So with inspiration from the above, a democratic dimension is defined for the purpose of this description as a set of coherent democratic values that are valuable in their own right, but also compatible – at least in the

eyes of the interviewees – with each other. In particular, the interviews reveal several distinct justifications of why interviewees find it important to involve people in politics, so each dimension consists of a main justification for citizen participation and a primary mechanism of how participation should work. Understanding and distinguishing between these justifications are important in order to understand the party's experiences and challenges of using technology to support participation. What is perceived as a challenge depends on what one wants to achieve by involving members and citizens in policy formation, and ultimately different motivations to support participation leads to different implications for design of participatory platforms.

I identify three distinct justifications for participatory processes in the party, which will each constitute the basis of one democratic dimension. In addition to these, a more traditional dimension based on delegation and representation also plays an important role. It is important to stress that in most cases several dimensions are present in each interview so they do not (necessarily) indicate a division between different fractions of the party.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning another democratic value, in addition to inclusion, which plays a central role, across all of the democratic dimensions, to the kind of *new political culture* the party claims to promote. Transparency is one of the six core values that the party was founded on, and it is also a prevalent theme in all the interviews. One of the party's MP's explains that he sits in parliament "...in order to cultivate the new political culture. So the transparency. Everything I do needs to be transparent." (interview 17) Another interviewee describes how "...transparency is one of (his) favourites out of all the core values, exactly because in order to understand why, we have ended up on a concrete political proposal, then I think it is important that you can see how we got there." (interview 2) This has significant implications for how they conduct participatory policy formation and decision making, which will become clearer in subsequent sections where the digital platforms of the party are introduced. One interviewee describes how he experiences a lot of internal discussions about transparency in relation to how it might affect the way the media depicts the party and ultimately the party's electoral competitiveness, but he thinks these discussions "...always end up where we say, well we will have to follow our values." (interview 6) Transparency is a democratic value that is prevalent across all the democratic dimensions described below.

### **5.2.1 The Crowd-sourcing Dimension**

The first justification identified in the interviews, will be referred to as the *crowdsourcing* justification, because it focuses on how mass participation should ensure better policy

outcomes by harvesting the aggregated wisdom of the crowd. This is what most interviewees mean when they use the catch phrase “more (people) know more” or talk about “crowdsourcing politics”: “...when we say in Alternativet that more people know more, then it is not just something, we say. Then it is because it is relevant. The more input you get, the better decisions you can make, because then the data to base it on is better.” (interview 1)

Here the motivation for including people is primarily concerned with the output of the policy process whereas the other justifications, as we will see, are more concerned with the process. In this sense, the justification broadly follows an epistemic conception of democracy, which is concerned with how democratic decision making provides the best evidence about an underlying general will in the population, i.e. the outcome of the process (Cohen, 1986).

While there are many different views on which processes best ensure an epistemic quality of democracy, the crowdsourcing dimension identified here focus on improving policies and decisions by aggregating input and viewpoints from as many people as possible. One interviewee explains how he thinks it is important that members are asked to assess policy proposals “...so that those (proposals) which have over – I don’t know – x percentage of support or something, that should be the official party policy.” (interview 1) Another interviewee believes that if “...we have these two opposing points of views, then those who has a majority is of course the ones, that the party should support as a whole. (...) And concretely that should take place through ballots on Dialog (the party’s online membership platform).” (interview 2) It is important to note here, though, that this is not how party policies are currently decided, but as the following sections will describe, different digital tools are nonetheless used to aggregate the views of party members in different ways.

The crowdsourcing democratic dimension was constructed from six codings that was identified during the initial open coding of the qualitative data. Reflecting the content of the interview extracts they label, these codes were named: “Direct membership decision making”, “Direct democracy”, “More (people) knows more”, “Majority democracy”, “Expert knowledge/science (importance of)”, and “Sorting/filtering input (to political process)”. The last coding is not only relevant to the crowdsourcing dimension, but interviewees explain how they believe, that using the aggregated views of the crowd, is especially useful in sorting and filtering all the input to a policy formation process, so that only the best ideas that resonates with the party values end up in final policies: “It is really, really difficult to write something together for just 10 people. But if there are 1000 people, who have read something and all indicated if they think it is good or bad, then we have a fairly good indication of whether it is

good or bad. That means we can really use the crowd to sort and qualify and say, ‘This is in the right direction.’” (interview 7)

Participation according to the crowdsourcing dimension is ideally quick and easily done individually by each participant. In this sense the dimension is closely related to a notion of “the wisdom of the crowd”, which claims that a big crowd of unskilled people, each performing small tasks, can produce better outcomes than a few very skilled individuals under the right circumstances (Pentland, 2015; Surowiecki, 2004). The most simple version of this line of thought goes all the way back to 18<sup>th</sup> century mathematician and philosopher Marquis de Condorcet’s Jury Theorem which states that if each individual of a group are just slightly more likely to be right about an issue than wrong, then a majority decision will be more likely to also get it right, the larger the group is (Cohen, 1986; List & Goodin, 2001). While group preferences can be aggregated in many different ways once there are more than two options to choose from (for example, a simple plurality vote, pairwise comparisons, or ranking of all options), interviewees are generally not very particular about their process preferences here, but as the following section will show different methods are used by the party to aggregate the views of party members on their online platforms. List & Goodin have demonstrated that under the right circumstances many aggregation mechanisms have epistemic qualities that increase with the number of people involved in the decision making in line with Condorcet’s more simple Jury Theorem (List & Goodin, 2001). As Benjamin Barber already noted 20 years ago, many developers of new communication technologies seems to be “Taking their cue from the eighteenth century Frenchman Condorcet, (...) compos(ing) odes to the emancipatory, democratic powers of the startling new technologies...” (Barber, 1997, p. 220) so it is perhaps not surprising that this democratic dimension is also most strongly advocated in interviews with the more technologically savvy parts of the party elite such as developers of the party’s online platforms and politicians/activists preoccupied with IT policies.

### **5.2.2 The Deliberative Dimension**

The second democratic dimension, I label the *deliberative dimension*, because it is based on a notion that ideally political procedures should be deliberative. This represents the view that participation in political processes is important because that is where participants’ opinions are developed and shaped by learning more about the issue and gaining a better understanding of each other’s views. One interviewee explains how a “...constructive dialogues is one, where you enter the dialogue with an open mind (...) It is one, where you do not start with a list of final answers, but actually enter the debate in order to learn something, and in the hope

that together you can potentially come up with a better solution.” (interview 3) Another interviewee elaborates how the new political culture Alternativet wants to promote is about not starting “...from a point of saying that I need to figure out how I can capitalise from the things you say wrong. But instead how I can get smarter from the things, you say. And where we do not agree. So an open attitude to ‘I do not agree with you, but I would like to hear why you think the way you do.’ (...) I think that is very important.” (interview 5) These interview comments do not only relate to intra-party dialogue, but also to how the party would ideally like to interact with other political parties and stakeholders. These descriptions fit very well with a broad definition of deliberation as “... a particular kind of communicative process in which individuals reflect upon their own views in the light of what others have to say...” (Dryzek & Dunleavy, 2009, p. 215)

The deliberative dimension was constructed from 7 codes in the initial coding of the data: “Getting acquainted/familiarising oneself with policy subjects”, “Deliberative opinion formation”, “Facilitation (importance of)”, “Maintaining a civil tone”, “Importance of dialogue”, “Listening (importance of)”, and “Resource intensive facilitation”. The importance of these themes is not only clear in interviews with the party elite, but can also be traced in both the core values that the party was founded upon and six debate principles that Alternativet has adopted as part of their statutes to guide the kind of new political culture they want to promote (see table 17). Like the core values, the interviewees often refer to these debate principles and they are promoted throughout the organisation both on physical posters and on their online platforms.

Out of the core values *empathy* sticks out as most essential to the deliberative dimension. One interviewee explains that: “...*especially concerning the new political culture, which is based on empathy, meaning to listen to – you want to listen to other people, you want to listen more than you speak.*” (interview 5) This notion of listening as an essential part of empathy is also reiterated explicitly in the second of the six debate principles (see table 1), which states that “we will always listen more than we speak...”. This principle as well as the fifth debate principle about being curious both emphasise the importance of paying an interest in and reflect on the views of one's opponent; something that is often considered a key part of democratic deliberation (Goodin & Niemeyer, 2003). And this is precisely how *empathy* is interpreted by the interviewees. Empathy in a political debate, to them, means to “...actually listen to what the opponent – or the other debater – says. Actually listen and reflect on what is said, and reply based on that.” (interview 3)

**The six debate principles of Alternativet:**

- We will openly discuss both the advantages and the disadvantages of a certain argument or line of action.
- We will listen more than we speak, and we will meet our political opponents on their own ground.
- We will emphasize the core set of values that guide our arguments.
- We will acknowledge when we have no answer to a question or when we make mistakes.
- We will be curious about each and every person with whom we are debating.
- We will argue openly and factually as to how The Alternative's political vision can be realized.

**Table 17: Source - <https://alternativet.dk/en/politics/debate-principles>**

The first, third, and last debate principles all encourage offering reasons for one's opinion rather than just taking a position, which is crucial in a deliberative process where "...individuals sincerely weigh the merits of competing arguments in discussions together." (Fishkin, 2011, p. 33) Describing what characterise a good discussion, one interviewee said that "It has to be rational. It should be based on logical claims and... preferably supported by sources. (...) There are topics where it is not necessary, topics which are more subjective. (...) But generally that quickly becomes vague claims or emotional claims, which derails the actual conversation." (interview 2) All in all, Husted and Plesner rightly argue that the debate principles resembles a set of "...almost Habermasian rules of engagement for political debate within The Alternative." (Husted & Plesner, 2017)

Similarly to the crowdsourcing dimension, there is also an epistemic aspect of the deliberative dimension in that qualifying each participant's opinions should also lead to increased quality of the final policy outcomes that they can produce. As one interviewee notes, when participants present their perspectives and experiences to each other and consider them together "...it is also possible, that relevant views or perspectives can emerge, which would not have emerged otherwise." (interview 2) Thus, the deliberative procedure itself is crucial in formulating and developing better policies, because the process guarantees that every aspect has been considered. So while interviewees believe that deliberation will create better policy output, the main justification for encouraging deliberation is procedural; it is the process that justifies the outcomes. The outcomes are considered better *because* they are the result of deliberation. Hereby the interviewees align with deliberative democrats Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson who claimed that "(t)he moral authority of collective judgements about policy depends in part on the moral quality of the process by which citizens collectively reach those judgements." (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996, p. 4) These policies are considered to be

better because they have gone through this procedure, it is not the procedure that is better because of the policies it produce. Contrary to this view, the crowdsourcing dimension described above, is justified solely through the quality of the output and only concerned with aggregating the a priori knowledge of the crowd in order to reach the best outcome. It is not concerned with the development of each individual's understanding of the subject, but only justifies mass participation through the increased quality that *harvesting* the wisdom of the crowd can lead to.

### **5.2.3 The Developmental Dimension**

The developmental dimension stresses the importance of party supporters in creating political change through their day-to-day individual actions. According to this view the political goals of the party cannot be achieved through parliamentary politics alone, but need to be supported by a movement of people that can change norms of behaviour. For instance party supporters can make a difference by acting more environmentally friendly in different aspects of their lives, and through their role as consumers. Here, the party's most crucial role is to facilitate this kind of direct action, and empower party supporters to make a difference by themselves. A senior member of staff in the party explains that "What counts is the action. I mean political results can both be some form of legislation, but it can also be an action, that changes a statistic, which moves society in the right direction. (...) Imagine if you could get a couple of thousand members to do something... plant a tree. Whatever. We have actually done that. Encouraged our members to plant a tree. And that means we can make a difference." (interview 11)

In this sense, the developmental dimension of democratic participation is less about traditional party politics where political change is brought about through elections and political representation in decision making bodies, but more about engaging people directly in creating political change through their personal actions. According to one interviewee the democratic change that Alternativet works for, focus on "...all those things that are close to people, where they can actually act. Because people start to want a place where they can actually act. And by creating more of these spaces (...), which ordinary people can step into, then they start to vote with their wallet. They start to vote with their feet. They start to vote simply. Figuratively speaking of course." (interview 18) This kind of political expressions aligns well with new forms of political participation, which have gained popularity in recent decades, such as political consumerism, volunteering, networked collective action, and political creativity (Theocharis & Deth, 2016). These forms of participation are usually considered to be distinct

from electoral and party politics, and several interviewees also describe how they see Alternativet as more of a political project than a political party. However, interviews also reveal a notion of an interdependence between parliamentary politics and citizen action, where interviewees see an important linking role for a party like Alternativet.

On the one hand, an MP notes that “...there is really a lot of good skills and knowledge out there, and people who have tried things themselves, or have an opinion, or have seen a really cool project somewhere, which they would like to pursue. (...) So the citizens are the knowledge bank for the politicians and that is what we need to use best. So that the politicians can get to a point where they actually just mediate the cool knowledge and skills and good ideas of the citizens.” (interview 5) Thus, the role of political parties and their elected representatives becomes to empower citizens so that “...we begin to have a population which can act politically without having to enter a polling station. Without having to run for a local council. Without all those structures that have been allowed to dominate for years.” (interview 18) It is important, however, for the same interviewee to emphasise that this democratic empowerment is not about undermining existing democratic institutions, but it does pose a new challenge about “...how to create new structures, where we can create a link between these empowered, actionable spaces and the established democratic system, so that we do not get two parallel systems. (...) So this really conceptually challenge what democracy is.” (interview 18) As such, Alternativet’s effort to combine these individualised, networked modes of political participation with party politics fits nicely with Castell’s *project identity* and Bang’s *everyday maker* political activists, both of which are neither in opposition to or allied with traditional political ideologies, but happy to collaborate with them when it makes sense to their own personal (political) projects (H. P. Bang & Eva, 1999; Castells, 2004). On the other hand, another reason it is considered important to engage people directly in political action, is that “...people feel they have more ownership of the policy, if they have been involved in the process.” (interview 2) Accordingly, there is also an element of educating people to become active citizens, to this democratic dimension, which is perhaps best described by an interviewee explaining why he think it is important to give people the opportunity to participate in politics through the party: “The more people you give the opportunity to participate in something, the more will those people also become interested in it, and at some point engage themselves in it. Either by voting, perhaps at some point by becoming a candidate, perhaps by participating in the development of some policies. But it is about ownership. We give ownership to the members...” (interview 10) By focussing on the



development of individual democratic citizens through participation, this democratic dimension have some commonalities with Carol Pateman's version of participatory democracy (Pateman, 1970).

The developmental democratic dimension was built from the following five inductively identified codes in the interview analysis: "Co-creation"; "Co-ownership/empowerment of participants"; "Supporting passive members"; "Social aspects of participation"; and "Volunteer activism (importance/promotion of)". The naming of the dimension is inspired by David Held's distinction between *developmental democracy/republicanism* and *protective democracy/republicanism* (Held, 2006). Held uses these terms to describe ancient and early modern models of democracy, of which the key features diverge significantly from the democratic changes promoted by Alternativet. But the general sentiment in his developmental models, that see participation as intrinsically valuable and necessary to develop citizenry and fulfil individual capacities, resonates well with the developmental democratic dimension identified in Alternativet.

#### **5.2.4 The Delegation / Representative Dimension**

Finally, there is a more traditional delegation dimension to the intra-party democracy of Alternativet, where democratic legitimacy is based on elected delegates that can be held accountable by those who delegated decision making power to them. In one sense delegates play a relatively small role in Alternativet where all members are invited to participate in the annual congress and membership ballots on important political decisions are common.

However, the party still involves a few elected bodies to whom a lot of power are, in fact, delegated in relation to having a final say on the party's policies. As described in chapter 4, the Political Forum plays a central role in forming the political direction of Alternativet and this body consists of delegates from the rest of the party, most of which are not directly elected among the party membership. One very active activist and candidate for the party explains that when it comes to the *policy visions* which constitute the party's official political platform "...then it needs to pass by the Political Forum, which consists of representatives from the whole country. And that is a slightly more centralist way, which also makes sense, because the party needs a... direction, and a form and expression, and all that kind of things." (interview 4)

Whether more or less power is actually delegated to central organisational bodies in Alternativet compared to other parties is beyond the scope of this study to evaluate. But it is worth noting that while this kind of delegation is seen as necessary and justifiable by

interviewees, it is not considered to be the ideal way to make decisions democratically. The same interviewee defends the delegation of power because it is difficult to ensure a coherent direction for the party “...if all of us have to patchwork it together. But the security against all of it being run over, is that it consists of representatives, who have been democratically elected in the different branches. So that is why it is a good space to place the supreme mandate for policy visions and the overall political direction for us.” (interview 4) A centrally placed member of staff in the party acknowledge that the participatory aspect of policy making in Alternativet is biggest in the early phases of developing a new policy: “I mean you start by opening it up completely for everyone, and then it actually just gets smaller and smaller.” (interview 3) He then goes on to justify this process against their otherwise participatory ideals by contrasting them to other political parties: “But it never gets so small that it ends up just being Uffe Elbæk (the party leader), who makes the decision. It will never be like that. Or the national executive committee or however that kind of things are decided in other parties.” (interview 3)

In this sense the delegation dimension is different from the other three democratic dimensions because it does not so much constitute a democratic ideal, but a current practice that is acknowledged and justified by interviewees. A necessary evil to some extent. In addition to the party’s statutes and other documents that describe the party’s organisational structure, the delegation / representation dimension is based on the following two codes from the interview analysis: “Delegation of power (within party)” and “delegation of policy formation”. Additionally, being a political party, running candidates for elections to representative institutions such as parliament and local councils, a representative democratic dimension is inherently part of how they do politics more broadly – even if they consider this model of democracy somewhat imperfect or at the very least in need of supplementary participatory institutions.

### **5.2.5 Summary**

Table 18 below summarises the main attributes, differences and commonalities between the four democratic dimensions identified in Alternativet. As shown above, the democratic justification of each dimension differs from each other. The crowdsourcing dimension is justified on epistemic grounds, i.e. based on the quality of the output, whereas for the deliberative dimension the process where each participant listens, reflects and debate issues is considered valuable in itself. And in the developmental dimension the focus is on participants taking action on their own while both learning by doing and creating change in the process.

The justification of the delegation dimension is also described as procedural here since it is the process of electing and monitoring delegates and representatives that makes it possible to hold them accountable, which is the main mechanism through which this dimension functions.

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Main focus of justification</i>	<i>Mechanism</i>	<i>Pace</i>	<i>Type of part.</i>	<i>Key characteristics</i>
Crowdsourcing	Output	Aggregation of views	Quick	Individual	Direct participation by the many.
Deliberative	Procedural	Development of views	Slow	Collective	Listening and acknowledging different views; consider all sides of argument.
Developmental	Action	Empowerment/direct action		Collective/individual (networked)	Coordination and mobilisation of collective action.
Delegation / representation	Procedural	Accountability	Medium	Collective	Election of delegates; holding them accountable.

Table 18: Overview over four democratic dimensions, including descriptions of their main characteristics.

Two other key attributes that vary among the dimensions are also worth noting. First of all the pace of participation in each dimension and secondly whether participation consists of individual or collective actions. Whereas participation in the crowdsourcing dimension is quick and can be done individually by each participant on their own, the deliberative dimension requires longer and deeper engagement by participants where they will have to interact with each other collectively and this will inevitably make the process slower. The developmental dimension, on the other hand, can both consist of quick or long-term engagements done by participants individually or in close collaboration with each other. The key to successful democratic participation in this dimension is the networked mobilisation and coordination of these actions. Lastly the delegation dimension on the one hand consists of quick individual actions in the process of delegating decision making power which is usually done through a simple vote, and then on the other hand a more long term – but not necessarily

very demanding – activity of monitoring delegates in order to hold them accountable to their actions.

It is worth stressing again that these different dimensions are all seen as perfectly compatible with each other in the eyes of the interviewees and has only been constructed here to clarify the democratic ideals within Alternativet. To some extent the deliberative and developmental democratic dimensions can be summed up to encompass much of what Benjamin Barber advocated as *Strong Democracy* which also entailed “listening no less than speaking” (the deliberative dimension), but simultaneously intended to move “out of the domain of pure reflection into the world of action” (the developmental dimension) (Barber, 1984, p. 174). But this does not mean that Alternativet seeks to replace existing democratic institutions, which is also indicated by the presence of the delegation/representative dimension. Rather they are looking to improve democracy through reform and new ways to work within existing structures to make sure that the direct actions of politically aware individuals “...become something, that leads into the common space. We have to make policies differently in parliament and locally. So we simply have to create different democratic possibilities through the structures we have got. That is perfectly possible without changing our constitution for instance.” (interview 18)

### **5.3 Democratic affordances and digital participation channels in Alternativet**

In the literature review chapter it was described how Bennet et al. classifies Alternativet as an example of what they call connective parties, which are characterised by replacing “...such core operations as agenda setting and candidate selection with a mix of in-person assemblies coordinated through technology platforms and affordances.” (Bennett et al., 2017, p. 2)

Alternivet provides several digital platforms for supporters to engage with the party in various ways. These include a social media-like platform where supporters can create profiles, set up teams to engage in activism, create and sign up for events, and rate concrete policy proposals against a number of criteria ([alleos.alternativet.dk](http://alleos.alternativet.dk)), an online forum to suggest and debate policy proposals ([dialog.alternativet.dk](http://dialog.alternativet.dk)), their own wiki ([wiki.alternativet.dk](http://wiki.alternativet.dk)), and a mobile app where supporters can provide quick real-time feedback on various topics ([alternativet.appgree.com](http://alternativet.appgree.com)) among other things. Several of these platforms play a central role in how the party develop new policies. Additionally party supporters also engage with each other and the party through traditional social media; most notably Facebook, but also through Instagram and Twitter.

This section will present the primary online spaces where supporters can participate in intra-party matters in Alternativet, and describe the democratic affordances they offer for members to participate in intra-party politics. As Benjamin Barber notes “(t)here is a potential relationship not between technology and democracy, but between certain specific features of technology and distinctive features of the several models of democracy.” (Barber, 2001, p. 44) So it is relevant to not only consider which kind of democratic renewal Alternativet is trying to promote, but also how different online participation channels utilised by the party nurtures different democratic dimensions. In the following, features of each online platform that nurture each of the democratic dimensions identified in the previous section will be referred to as the platforms’ *democratic affordances*.

It is necessary here to clarify exactly how affordances are to be understood in relation to this analysis. In this thesis, James J. Gibson’s notion of affordances is adopted, as simply referring to the possible actions an environment allows an actor to perform in relation to the capabilities of this actor (J. J. Gibson, 2015, p. 119); in this case, the possibilities offered by different online platforms to members of Alternativet, to engage in intra-party democratic processes. An important property of this definition is that affordances here only refer to the existence of possibilities to participate regardless of users’ perception of these possibilities. There is a degree of disagreement in the literature around the role of perception in affordances, with Donald Norman on one end, defining affordances as perceived properties of a design (Norman, 1988), and William Gaver on the other end, separating affordances from the perceptual information a designed artefact provides as to how it can be used (Gaver, 1991). The perceived democratic functionalities of a medium does not necessarily reflect the actual functionalities this medium provides, so by distinguishing between the two, Gaver argues that, it is possible to identify false affordances (ie. false expectations about the functionality of a medium) and hidden affordances (ie. real functionalities of a medium that users do not realise are there). This chapter is partly based on how each medium is intended to work as described in interviews by key stakeholders in the party, and partly on online observation of the mediums, so it is not taking into consideration how users perceive the online platforms. This is an interesting question on it’s own, which will be dealt with in subsequent chapters, but the analysis presented here only deals with intended democratic functionalities of the platforms. Thus, this chapter rests on Gibson’s original definition of affordances as the possibilities *offered* by the environment to an individual; in this case, the possibilities for participation in Alternativet’s intra-party democracy *offered* by different online platforms to party supporters.

Of all the online spaces that allow members to participate in Alternativet, some are made available by the party organisation and others are set up by members themselves. The latter category mainly consist of Facebook groups, of which one in particular has gained a lot of traction among supporters of Alternativet without any support or official acknowledgement from the party elite. In fact, key stakeholder interviews reveal that the party elite would rather move participation away from these groups onto other platforms, that can be better or easier facilitated. The following online spaces will be covered here in turn:

- AlleOs<sup>14</sup> (<https://alleos.alternativet.dk>)
- Dialog (<https://dialog.alternativet.dk>)
- Appgree ([alternativet.appgree.com](http://alternativet.appgree.com))
- Pol.is
- Facebook groups
- Online votes: “medlemsmandatet” and candidate selection
- Live streaming of party meetings (in particular parliamentary group meetings)

Some of these spaces are designed and developed by the party themselves, others are based on existing software that the party has bought access to, and yet others are based on free-to-use online services such as Youtube and Facebook. It is also worth noting here, that studying these online spaces are like studying a moving target, as the party is developing new online spaces and moving on to new platforms very rapidly, so this is only a description of the online participation spaces available to party activists at the end of the year 2016 when data collection took place.

### **5.3.1 AlleOs**

AlleOs is the name of the main online participation platform run by Alternativet. It is a website (<https://alleos.alternativet.dk>) which includes a number of features for both party members and supporters unique to this platform, while also attempting to gather all other online participation spaces offered by Alternativet in one place. All party members by default have an account to log on to this platform and all membership administration is done through this platform. When someone joins the party “...then their profile account are (automatically) created on AlleOs.” (interview 1) Non-member supporters of the party are also able to create

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<sup>14</sup> “Alle Os” translates to “All of us”

an account on this platform although they will have limited access to certain functionalities such as voting for policies which is reserved for party members only.

In addition to its own features the AlleOs platform provides links to the party's online discussion forum Dialog, the party's Appgree service, and Pol.is, which will each be covered separately below. These platforms are more or less tightly integrated with AlleOs, and all of them rely on the same user database for which members can edit their profile through AlleOs. It also provides links to a few additional online tools, which will not be described in any detail, such as the party's collaborative wiki, and a party handbook with practical information for members about how the party is organised and functions. These will not be described here because they do not appear to play a crucial role as channels for democratic participation in the party.

The unique functionalities of AlleOs, that will be described here include membership administration, groups, communication tools, events, and finally management of the policy proposal process. Each of these afford different actions by the users and will be dealt with each in turn. However, the policy proposal process is so central to the democratic structure of Alternativet and also involves several other online tools so it will be dealt with separately in the following subsection.

First, the platform allows users to administer their membership of the party, including everything from simple information such as their name, address, contact details, and membership status (including payment of membership fees), to more in-depth information about themselves, such as which skills and resources they possess, how active they wish to be in the party, and what political areas they have an interest in (Alternativet, n.d.-d). One developer of the website describes how the main goal of the website originally was to make a "skills and resource system" to make it possible – for the party as well as individual members – to identify other members with specific skills and interests (interview 1). This is also why each member have a profile page that is visible to other users, where they can choose to present their skills and political interests along with a description of themselves. And a lot of members seem to make use of this opportunity to present themselves to other members of the party. Finally, the profile structure of AlleOs also allows users to specify in very precise details how much information they want to receive from the party, through which channels (including email, phone, sms and even carrier pigeons although the last option seems to be more of a joke than a real option), and what kind of information they are interested in (Alternativet, n.d.-c). This allows the party to target information towards those who are

actually interested in it or needs it so that for instance “...when there is a Political Laboratory or something, or when there is a proposal about something, which needs consideration, then we will inform those with an interest.” (interview 1) This is useful because it has turned out to be “...necessary to try to limit the stream of information. Because it is simply overwhelming. (...) I mean right now many proposals are made about all kinds of subjects. And you don’t see the ones you are interested in unless you get that specific information about it. So that is a challenge, but it is a challenge that will be solved now (by AlleOs).” (interview 1)

It is possible for any user to search for other members based on all the information they have provided filtered by their political interests, profile settings, education, talents, location, and through a free text search of their profile descriptions. As of 6<sup>th</sup> February 2019 the site has 1886 users who have made their profiles visible for any Internet user and 2816 users who have made their profile visible for other users of AlleOs. Of these 2294 are members of the party as of this date<sup>15</sup>.

In this sense, AlleOs is what Bennett et al. coins a party ‘operating system’; an online platform that “...organise the key technology outlays...” (Bennett et al., 2017, p. 15) of a party and “...replace key components of brick and mortar organization and intra-party functions.” (ibid, p. 12)

Another important feature of AlleOs is the Teams. Any member of the party can set up a Team and invite other users to join this Team (non-party-member users of the platform cannot do this) (Alternativet, n.d.-f). A number of default Teams also exist, for which membership is determined by the structure of the party. So for instance there is a group for MP’s, a group for the national executive committee of the party, the executive committee of each local branch and so on. These teams play an important part in how the party is organised since they are the main central database of who holds which positions of trust in the party and if a member is registered as the chairman, treasurer or similar position of a local branch it gives them certain privileges to take out membership lists and publish information about the local branch through AlleOs (Alternativet, n.d.-g).

In addition to administer different roles in the party, the Teams also include communication tools that allow members of each Team to communicate with each other internally in the group, and to communicate as a group with the rest of the party. Each team has a team page on the AlleOs website, which the team can choose to make visible or not to other users. This page

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<sup>15</sup> These numbers were achieved by retrieving a list of all AlleOs users at <https://alleos.alternativet.dk/search/initial/last> on 6<sup>th</sup> February 2019 and filter in the list based on whether users are members of the party or not. This was first done without being logged in to the platform and then after logging in, to compare results. So these numbers are available to for any Internet user to retrieve.



includes the Team name, a Team profile picture, a description of the team, a list of members of the Team, and potentially an address, email, and telephone number to get in touch with the team if relevant. Each team also has a “wall” which is a team chat that can either be only accessible to the team members to communicate internally, or made accessible to any AlleOs user (party members and non-members alike) to communicate with the team, or made visible to any users, but only allow members of the Team to write on the wall (Alternativet, n.d.-h). Finally, it is possible to start a conversation with team members by sending a direct message to all team members (which then functions as a closed chat).

This direct message functionality is also available for a user to write to any other user on the platform or start a group chat with several other users (up to 100) (Alternativet, n.d.-a). It is unclear how popular this channel of communication is compared to other digital communication tools, but in combination with all the available information about each member’s roles and interests it is potentially a powerful tool for party members to get in touch with any other party member (who have made their AlleOs profile visible to other members) that they might have an interest in getting in touch with.

Finally, AlleOs also includes an event feature, which consist of a list of all events planned in Alternativet, and the option to sign up for one of these events or create a new event by any user on AlleOs (Alternativet, n.d.-e). Along with a system for users to register their attendance in an event, the system also allows creators of events to limit who can sign up based on which Teams they are a member of, which local branch of the party they belong to or whether they are members of the party or not. Each event has a page on the site including a description of the event along with a long list of other event details. Based on these details, AlleOs also suggests relevant events for each user.

The AlleOs developers “...build the system to be as transparent as possible, and then you can always close down for certain things afterwards. At least you should not start by closing down for somebody.” (interview 1) So in general all information is visible to any Internet user without having to log in to the platform. However, it is possible for users to set their own privacy settings about how much information about themselves they want to be available for different groups (Alternativet, n.d.-b). So they can choose between “private”, meaning that only the administrators of the site can see anything about the person, “Member transparency”, meaning that only members of the party can see anything about the user, “User transparency”, meaning that all users with a profile on the website can find and read about the person, or finally “open”, which means that any Internet user can find and see information about the

person. The default setting is private, but on the website users are encouraged to choose a more open option with a highlighted message box saying “Transparency is one of our core values in Alternativet. We hope that you will contribute to create an open and visible *AlleOs*, by making your profile accessible.”<sup>16</sup> A developer of *AlleOs* reasons: “We really try to get the members to be transparent (...) because *AlleOs* was made as a skills and resource system to begin with. So the goal was actually that you should be able to find anyone with certain skills. But you cannot find anyone if they cannot be found.” (interview 1) On the other hand there is also privacy concerns to take into consideration and as a default “(a)t least it needs to be in a way so that not anyone can find out that you are a member of Alternativet (...) and then there is also privacy legislation and all sorts of things,” (interview 1) , which is why the default setting of a new profile is “private”. But “...that is why we try to all the time push people by telling them to consider if they want to be more transparent and that kind of things.” (interview 1)

The same principle of encouragement to openness, but possibilities to be private also applies to groups which can be set to be visible to everyone or only to a limited group of people. Likewise “the wall” of each group can be set to be visible and open for every user to post on or only accessible to members of the group. However, if a member of the group has set their profile to be private, their name will not show up anywhere within the group either.

### **5.3.2 Policy formation on *AlleOs***

The *AlleOs* platform was built by party activists with several purposes in mind. As described above it is designed to support both administrative procedures and to build connections between members and supporters of the party. So when the party revised their policy formation processes to make it easier for members to initiate the development of new policies independently from the party leadership, it was a natural choice to use *AlleOs* to support these new processes too. Until then most policy formation had taken place offline, and any online elements had been limited to recruiting participants through social media and consulting members through online discussions: “There have not yet been – as far as I know at least – there has not yet been a proposal, which started on Dialog, which then ended as official policy. Everything until now has been based on physical Political Laboratories, which has then been put up on Dialog for further discussion. The other process with everything from

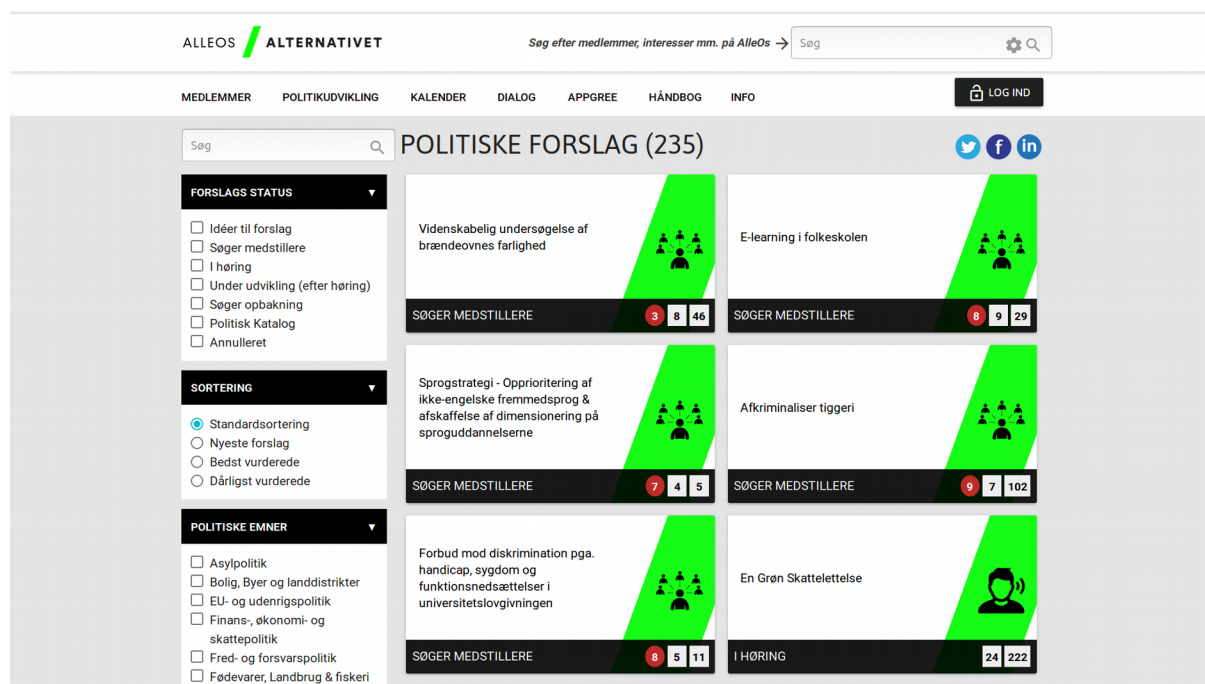
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<sup>16</sup> Translated by author from Danish. Taken from the “Change profile” page at <https://alleos.alternativet.dk/profile/> which is only accessible with an account on the website.

start to end happening online has not existed yet as far as I know.” (interview 2) It had all been “physical meetings and then do something digital afterwards...” (interview 15)

The new policy formation structure had only just been agreed on at the time of data collection so it has been implemented continuously since then in the shape of concrete updates to AlleOs and concrete changes to decision making procedures. So many of the screen shots included here will be of a later date to illustrate how the ideas described in the interviews have since been implemented concretely. No doubt, ideas and concepts as they were described by interviewees in 2016, have had to be revised along the way of developing each update to the platform, but the basic principle of the structure for these processes has remained the same until this day, the beginning of 2019. Asked about how many people engage with the online processes that he had just described, interviewee 1 explained that – at the time of the interview – “... there are no one who does that right now, because it has not gone live yet.” (interview 1) He continues to reflect that this had actually already taken half a year. “It has just taken a long time to implement it.” (interview 1)

So the new policy formation procedures and AlleOs was designed in parallel to fit with each other and AlleOs is where to find the most up-to-date version of the Political Catalogue, including proposals that has been adopted, proposals that has been cancelled, and proposals in any phase of still being developed. The Political Catalogue “...is available both on Dialog, where you can debate it, and then on AlleOs – where you can sort them according to your interests, other political interests, or how they have been assessed (by other members). So it’s just available in there.” (interview 1) See also illustration 5 with a screen shot of the list of policy proposals in the Political Catalogue on AlleOs.



**Illustration 5: Screen shot from 4th December 2017 of page on the AlleOs website listing policy proposals in Alternativet. On the left side column it is possible to filter the listed proposals based on their status (including the options: "Ideas for proposals", "Seeking co-authors", "In hearing", "Under development", "Seeking support", "Political Catalogue", "Cancelled") or their political theme, and sort them based on newest proposals, best rated, or worst rated proposals.**

New proposals are also created and started up through the AlleOs platform where any party member can submit a new proposal or an idea for a new proposal, which will then be listed on the platform as a proposal looking for co-proposers or an idea for a proposal looking for other members to help develop the proposal further through Political Laboratories and other participatory activities. "All the political proposals, that have to go through the process, will be created on AlleOs and then a thread will automatically be created on Dialog as well." (interview 1) When a proposal is submitted to the platform "...it has to follow a template, which will make sure that all the proposals have the same form. And then it will be a lot easier to base things on it." (interview 1) This is supposed to help ensure that "...in the future, the proposals that come in, will always have to be concrete (...and...) they will have a formal appearance, so people kind of know, okay, this is something official happening here. (interview 1)

The AlleOs platform is also where members can sign up as co-proposers before the proposal is put out for consultation – if it gets at least 10 co-proposers – and where members can assess proposals and indicate if they back the proposal to be adopted for the Political Catalogue after the consultation. Input to the consultation phase itself mostly happens on Dialog and through

the pol.is tool which will each be described individually in following sections. Both the discussion thread on Dialog about the proposal and the pol.is input to the proposal are embedded on the proposal page on AlleOs, though, so all information about the proposal is gathered here (See illustration 6 of two examples of proposals in the Political Catalogue on AlleOs).

The image displays two screenshots of the AlleOs platform, showing policy proposals as they are presented on the Political Catalogue. The left column shows a proposal titled "MERE DYREVELFÆRD" (More Animal Welfare) with a "SAMLET SCORE" (Overall Score) of 82%. The right column shows a proposal titled "MINDRE UDLEDNING AF CO2-UDLEDNING VIA MINDRE TRANSPORT" (Less CO2 emissions via less transport) with a "SAMLET SCORE" of 86%. Both screenshots show a "FORSLAGSTEKST" (Proposal Text) and a "HVLKEN UDFORDRING FORSLAGET SKAL LØSE" (Which challenge the proposal should solve) section. The left screenshot also shows a "KOMMENTARER FRA DIALOG" (Comments from Dialog) section at the bottom.

**Illustration 6: Two examples of policy proposals as they are presented on AlleOs once they have been adopted for the Political Catalogue. The left column shows first a summary of how the proposal has been rated by members, below that a list of the co-proposers of the proposal are, and at the bottom a list of names of all the members who have backed the adoption of the proposal for the Political Catalogue. The main column first shows the beginning of the proposal itself, which can be expanded to show the full proposal by clicking on the grey button and under this some statistics about how members have assessed the proposal and – if logged in as a member – the possibility to rate the proposal. At the bottom of the page is a summary of the discussion thread on Dialog about the proposal along with a link to this thread.**

It is worth noting that even after proposals are adopted for the Political Catalogue, it is still possible for members to discuss and rank the proposals against the three bottom lines and other evaluation criteria, so proposals can gain a negative ranking even after they have been adopted for the political forum. And these rankings as well as the ongoing discussions about proposals are openly accessible to any Internet user without logging into the platform. This means that anyone can follow the internal discussions about the party's policies "...on an ongoing basis. And what people think about all the different proposals. Both during the development, but also at the moment." (interview 2) And this transparency is a deliberate design choice "...because we do not want to hide how – I mean it needs to be as transparent as possible, what the members of Alternativet think about the different parts of the party's policies. At least I think so." (interview 2) Apart from the fact that transparency is one of the core values the party was based on, which are also incorporated into the statutes of the party, there are also some concrete reasons that interviewees think it is good to keep these discussions open to the public. Comparing to online discussions elsewhere on the Internet where participation is often anonymous and without consequences, one developer of AlleOs emphasises how, on AlleOs "...your name will be visible on the proposal. So you will, to a larger degree, be held responsible for the content of the proposal. But the voting (and rankings) themselves are anonymous." (interview 1) According to the developer this is meant to deter participants from submitting and backing proposals that are too absurd, and in this way secure a minimum quality of the proposals going through the process. Another developer in the party believes that the transparency can help the party "...achieve better policies by illustrating where people disagree, and where people totally agree..." (interview 2), which he also think "...is better for the MP's, (because) they can see, when they make decisions, if there is big (support) or if the members are divided." (interview 2) But ultimately all interviewees generally express that they "...fundamentally just think you need to have full insight in – yeah for other parties, I think it is okay that they see where people (within Alternativet) disagree." (interview 2)

Whether the functionalities of AlleOs are there to support the policy formation processes or to replace them is something that divides interviewees more. "I think, for me personally, Political Forum is just a kind of temporary solution that exists out of necessity. Because if we can get the digital to work properly, well then there is no reason to have Political Forum..." (interview 1) According to this interviewee Political Forum slows down the policy development by only meeting four times a year, which is a problem because the elected

politicians often need to know what the party line is on a subject with much shorter notice. So one of the goals of digitalising the policy formation process is also to increase the pace of policy formation while retaining a participatory element. And then “the entire process in principle might as well take place digitally, if it is possible to ensure the same quality of the output. So until we can ensure that, Political Forum exists. When we can do that, then I do not think (Political Forum) is something that will exist any longer.” (interview 14)

So to sum up, the digitalisation of the policy formation procedure is motivated by a wish to enhance transparency, increase the speed of policy formation, streamline the format of policy proposals, and not least give agency to members to initiate new policy proposals. But on the other hand it introduces new challenges of ensuring the quality of policy proposals, and questions about how much decision making it is desirable to leave with the (online) membership.

### **5.3.3 Dialog**

Dialog is the name of the party’s online forum, which is Danish for *dialogue*, and the idea of promoting dialogue rather than other kinds of communication has also been central to the design of the forum according to one interviewee (interview 1). The forum is based on the open source software Discourse<sup>17</sup>, which has been tweaked and appropriated by party activists to fit with the party’s needs, values, and the AlleOs website. Thus, even though the forum is hosted on a separate domain ([www.dialog.alternativet.dk](http://www.dialog.alternativet.dk)) from the AlleOs website the two platforms are tightly integrated so that the same user accounts are used on both platforms and threads and posts from Dialog is embedded into the AlleOs website where relevant. For instance when a new policy proposal is created on AlleOs, a discussion thread is automatically created on Dialog concerning this proposal and a summary of posts from this thread is also embedded on the proposal page in AlleOs.

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<sup>17</sup> <https://www.discourse.org/>

Velkommen til Alternativet Dialog! Du er meget velkommen til at deltage i samtalerne her - om du er medlem af Alternativet eller ej. Du skal oprette dig som bruger og du bør læse vores [retningslinjer](#).

alle kategorier | alle mærker | **Kategorier** | Seneste

Kategori	Emner	Seneste
<b>Landsmøde 2017</b> Kategori til Landsmøde 2017.	2	<b>K</b> Årsmøde i Alternativet, Københavns Omegn Københavns Omegn årsmøde, nyhedsbrev 13t
<b>Alles Folkemøde 2017</b> Denne kategori handler om Alles Folkemøde i 2017.	0	<b>L</b> Opstillingsmøde og medlemsindstillinger Lokalforening Svendborg nyhedsbrev 13t
<b>Udvikling af konkrete politiske forslag</b> Forslag under udvikling   Forslag i høring Forslag der søger 50 medlemmers ... Politisk Katalog (vær med til at vurd...	178	<b>A</b> Handicappolitisk vision efter POLA i Aarhus Socialpolitik og Mønsterbrydning 15t
<b>Udvikling af politiske visioner</b> Visioner i høring   Visioner der afventer behandling i P... Visioner under udvikling   Vedtagne visioner	22	<b>A</b> Åbenhed om frihandelsaftaler Forslag i høring 18t
<b>Politikområder</b> Her kan du diskutere forskellige politikområder. Klik på det emne DU brænder for...	377	<b>A</b> Et mere gennemsligt EU Forslag i høring 18t
Natur, Miljø & Resurser   Kunst & Kultur Socialpolitik og Mønsterbrydning   Integration og Arbejdsmarked Freds- og Forsvarspolitik   Bolig, Byer & Landdistrikter IT og Digitale Frihedsrettigheder   Skole, Uddannelse og Forskning Finans-, Økonomi- og Skattepolitik   Asylpolitik   Ny Politisk Kultur Transport   Iværksætteri, Erhverv og Handel   Religion og Kirke Sundhed, Livskvalitet og Familielev   Retspolitik EU- og Udenrigspolitik   Fødevarer, Landbrug & Fiskeri Indenrigspolitik og Offentlig Sektor   Principper & Værdier Kvoter - Politisk laboratorierum   Medlemskab af EU i 2017		<b>A</b> Strammere betingelser for partistøtte Forslag i høring 18t
		<b>A</b> Åbenhed om bidrag til partierne Forslag i høring 18t
		<b>A</b> Karensperiode for ministre og topembedsfolk Forslag i høring 18t
		<b>A</b> Lobbyregister for politikere og ministre Forslag i høring 18t

**Illustration 7: Screenshot of the landing page for [www.dialog.alternativet.dk](http://www.dialog.alternativet.dk) on 7th April 2017. On the left column is a list of categories with different threads and on the right column a list of threads with the most recent activity.**

Before choosing to base their forum on the Discourse software the party also tried to use other software to facilitate online discussion. One interviewee, who are deeply involved in the development of the party's online platforms, describe how they tried to use software called Loomio, but that this was too focussed on getting participants to reach a decision (interview 1). When comparing the Discourse software that Dialog is built on with Loomio, the same interviewee, reasoned "...well, we also tested this system that Dialog is built on at the same time. That takes the dialogue as a starting point, and then you could say, we build on top of that. While the other one (Loomio) has another purpose. So the goal is actually to make some sort of hybrid between Loomio and then this Discourse." (interview 1)

Promoting a better dialogue mainly focus on encouraging participants to read each other's posts before posting their own views. Special features of Discourse that are meant to do this includes a feature that offers a summary of very long threads, automatically picking a smaller selection of the most significant posts in the thread, so that participants do not have to read through the whole thread to be up to date. The Discourse software also gives an overview of long threads by clearly indicating how many posts there are in the thread and an estimate of how much time it will take to read the whole thread. And it offers an overview on the top of



all threads summarising how many likes posts in the thread has got, the most frequent posters in the thread, a list of popular links included (and clicked on) in posts, and a time line of all posts which can be used to quickly navigate through the thread. This is supposed to address one of the biggest challenges in facilitating online deliberation according to one interviewee, which “...is to get people to read. And then listen. (...) Because, you could say, typically in a discussion forum, like Facebook for example, it is important to be first. If you are not first in a debate or a conversation, then it is almost impossible to become part of it. You just end up in the bottom and no one will ever read it. So the challenge is how to ensure that people read.”

(interview 1) Another way to prompt users to read what other members have said before posting their own opinion is that if you enter a new discussion topic and “...just start to write immediately, then a pop-up message will occur and say ‘Oops, have you read what is already written at all?’” (interview 14) These different functionalities of Dialog, meant to foster better online discussion within the party, is the reason that “...one of the things we would like, is to get people from Facebook over on Dialog, where it is a bit easier to control the discussion and make sure that it is productive.” (interview 2) Like Facebook, Dialog also allows users to “tag” each other’s names in posts, but since all members automatically have an account on AlleOs and Dialog this also means that members can tag any other member (including MP’s and the party leadership) who will then receive a notification about the post they have been tagged in.

One challenge that all online discussion platforms face is moderation and Dialog is no different, but the Discourse software has “...a lot of functionality built in, which makes it easier to moderate...” (interview 2), although at the time of data collection they had for the most part not been used yet. As already implied above, the platform records a lot of statistics about users’ engagement with the platform such as how much they read, write, and like content, as well as how much other people like and engage with the content each user produce. This data can be used “...to organically make users moderators. So if they contribute very actively and get a lot of likes and that kind of stuff, post a lot of posts that people like, then they can automatically be made moderators. So in that way you can make a sort of community, which becomes self-moderating in some way.” (interview 2) At the time of data collection not much moderation was done though since

Another way that the data about how users engage with the platform can be used to encourage good behaviour is by rewarding users who behave well on the platform. This can also be used to encourage more participation on the platform. This was not implemented yet at the time of

data collection, but one developer "...imagines that there will be some sort of gamification in it, where you get medals and trophies and that kind of thing. (...) So some kind of digital reward. A kind of reward that will be displayed on your profile." (interview 1) He also stresses, however, that it is important that these rewards do not have any real consequences for what members are able to do on the platform or in the party, and that people "...are still aware that it is just for fun." (interview 1)

However, the biggest challenge the party faces with regards to Dialog is to get people to use it. According to one interviewee from the party leadership, "(i)t is really, really, difficult to motivate people to it. (...) I mean I don't use it. It is too confusing, and it takes too long time for me to take part in it. And laziness. I mean basically it is laziness." (interview 8) And one of the developers of the online platform agrees: "...there are these usability challenges with Dialog. That it is a bit confusing for people to use. (...) So, yes, concretely the biggest problem with Dialog is that people don't use it. (...) There are about 60 to 100 daily visitors, and about 10-20 posts are written each day. (...) So it is relatively small compared to (Alternativet groups on) Facebook, where you can easily have 100 posts in an hour..." (interview 1) As already mentioned, moving intra-party discussions away from Facebook was one of the main motivations behind setting up a separate discussion forum on Dialog, so it is obviously a disadvantage "...that there will probably always be fewer people on Dialog than there will be on Facebook. I mean we probably involve fewer people on Dialog." (interview 2) Despite this, the same interviewee concludes that on Dialog "... on the other hand I think it will be a better and more productive conversation, so in that way we get more out of it." (interview 2)

#### **5.3.4 Appgree**

Appgree is an app used to collect feedback or input on a subject from respondents by asking open-ended questions and then allow participants to provide one short written answer each and rank each others' answers, so that an algorithm can quickly and easily boil down thousands of answers/suggestions to the few most popular ones. The system can be set up in different ways, but usually participants are first presented with other participants' answers and required to rank a certain number of these before they are allowed to provide their own written answer. Based on previous rankings, the algorithm selects which answers need to be ranked by more people, and present these to participants first. Using statistical models the app then calculates which answers are most likely to be the most popular if all users in a group had rated all answers. (see more here: <http://www.appgree.com/appgree/en/how-it-works/#2>) As

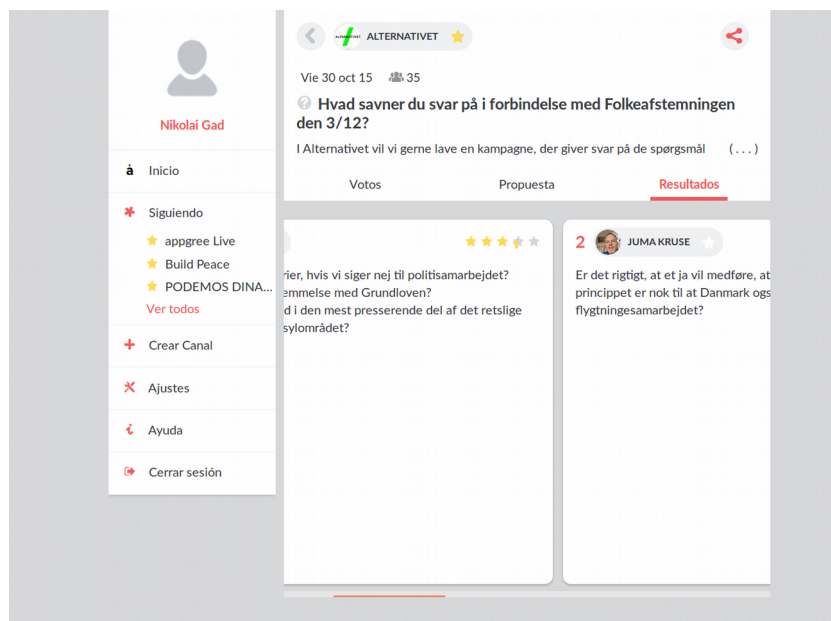
such, this can be used for collective decision making among large groups of people, using the crowd to not only collect opinions and ideas, but also to filter, analyse and sort these opinions and ideas through crowd evaluations of the input. This has many use cases, such as feedback gathering and opinion polling, but has also been used for decision making in several political movements and parties across Europe. In fact, the app was introduced to Alternativet by a party activist who was inspired by how the app had been used by Spanish political party Podemos after conversations with Podemos members on a trip to Spain (interview 14).

Appgree used to offer a free version as well as a paid version and Alternativet's first experiences with the app was when a party activist set up a channel for the party on the free version where anyone could sign up and participate (interview 14). Since then, the party has subscribed to the paid version which means they can set up channels that is only available to party members, so that they can collect opinions and views on an issue from party members. For party members to participate, they still need to either download the Appgree app or login separately to the Alternativet channel on the Appgree website, since it has not been possible for Alternativet to integrate the app with AlleOs and the rest of the party's online platforms. If members have the app and set it up correctly they will receive a notification every time Alternativet sends out a new question. However, the fact that they need to download the app and set up a separate Appgree account have turned out to be a major barrier to participation: "There are some barriers in Appgree. I mean it would be great if it was our own app and it was just called Alternativet. (...) Then more people would use it. If it was integrated with the others. With Dialog. And AlleOs." (interview 14) "It would be great if you just had one login. It is that thing about number of clicks you are away from the things. You get a new phone and then you lose Appgree. And then maybe you won't get it installed again. (...) you lose the app. Then you have to download it again and remember what your login is and stuff like that." (interview 14)

Appgree is – and has been – used for several different purposes in Alternativet. Besides being available to the party top as a tool to poll the opinions of the party membership at any point they might need it, one of the most noticeable and regular uses is for the monthly prime minister's question in parliament. Here all party leaders are allowed to ask the prime minister three questions which he then has to answer in parliament, and "One of the three questions from Uffe (the Alternativet party leader) is chosen through Appgree." (interview 14) Other uses of the app includes everything from choosing which songs should be played at party events to setting up a special channel where each of the party's general election

candidates in turn asks a question to members as a warm up to the election campaign. Interestingly, the app has also been used for decision making and opinion sharing in smaller forums where all participants are physically present, even though this is the opposite of the crowdsourcing of opinions that the app was designed for. One example of this is how it was used at a pre-election hustling at a school to let all attending students suggest a question for the candidates and rate each other's questions: "There was four of the young people out of about 20-25 attendants I think. (...) there was four of them who said anything. Two of them were serious and two were sort of jokers, who just said some kind of bullshit to everything right. But then when we used Appgree live during the meeting, well then all of them suddenly had a voice. And then we could see that those two jokers, (...) their responses went all the way down right. And then we could ask the questions that had the biggest support to the candidates, which was good and serious questions. So the group suddenly became a lot more intelligent than it appeared when we just talked to them." (interview 14) So in this sense the app is not just used to collect opinions from and make decisions among large crowds, but also to ensure inclusion by giving an equal voice to everyone in a physical forum. Another example of that, is how they "...also use Appgree for some things internally in Political Forum." (interview 14)

The paid version of the app also allows local branches of the party to set up channels that is only available to members from their local constituencies. However, at the time of data collection initial trials of using the app on local branch levels had only just begun.



**Illustration 8: Screenshot from Alternativet's initial experiment with using the free version of Appgree (the current use of Appgree is closed to only members and since any screenshot would involve names of users this would also reveal the identity of party members, which would violate the GDDP)**

**At the top of the screen can be seen the question asked in relation to an upcoming Danish national referendum in 2015: “What do you miss an answer to in relation to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dec referendum? Alternativet would like to make a campaign that answers questions regarding...” Below this are three taps that can be chosen to either rate other answers, propose your own answer, or see the results of the most popular answers. At the bottom of the screen the most popular answers are shown together with information about their average rating.**

One interviewee who has played an instrumental role in the party's use of Appgree describes several advantages of the app, highlighting three: First of all the app results in “...a meaningful answer, which is condensed, and where you actually (...) get an answer that is useful.” (interview 14). Secondly, the app gives everyone an equal voice: “...everyone has one voice. So no one takes up more space. You can only give one proposal per person. And then usually rate up to seven, which I usually set it to, so you can rate seven different other replies.” (interview 14) And lastly, it makes participation simple and manageable for participants. “...you are only asked to rate seven other replies and then give your own. And that is it. (...) And you do not have to do more work even if there is a thousand other users. It is still just seven, you have to rank, and one reply you give.” (interview 14) This is important, according to the interviewee, because it can often be difficult for users to manage too much information online.

In addition to these three advantages, the same interviewee also stress how the app produces output that is not only meaningful and condensed, but also of higher quality, because it “harvest the wisdom of the crowd”. Talking about the use of Appgree to choose a question for the prime minister’s question hour, one interviewees explains: “And there is a couple of questions competing on the first place right now right. But some of those questions that score low, you can see, they are then the questions of less high quality.” After reading out loud a few examples of questions that has got a low rating, he continues: “That is not something we should use one of our questions on the podium for. There is probably somebody else. We can easily figure out what the prime minister thinks (about that). So that would be a question of low quality right. (...) So you can say that high quality is something that people do not think would be asked otherwise.” (interview 14)

Not everyone is convinced that Appgree is the perfect decision making tool for Alternativet though. One interviewee do not believe Appgree is “the right model” because he is afraid of the quick speed of participation leading to people “not thinking properly about what they are answering” (interview 3), but still concludes that “...there is a need for getting something like that. That is, something that can work quicker and can include as many people as possible at once.” (interviewee 3)

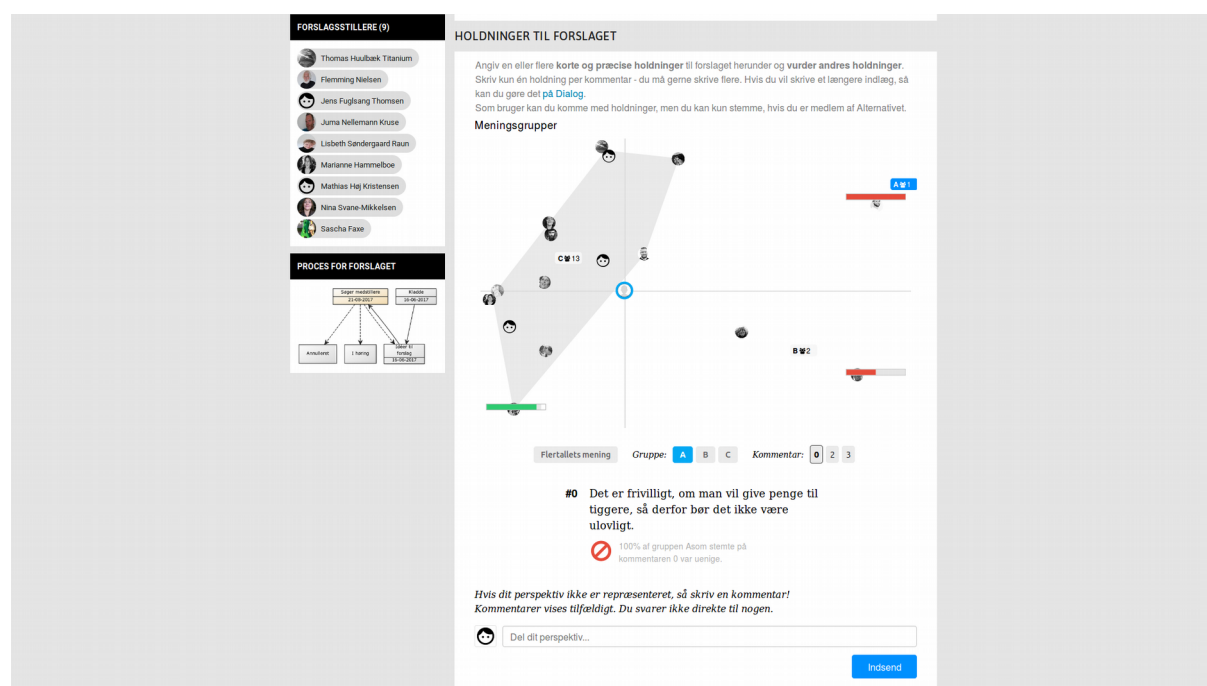
### **5.3.5 Pol.is**

Shortly after the research interviews were conducted, Alternativet implemented a new digital tool, that was only under consideration while the original data collection took place. This tool is called Pol.is and has many similarities with Appgree in terms of it’s democratic affordances. However, it played a slightly different role in how it was used by Alternativet. Since then, the party have stopped using the tool again, due to concerns about the new General Data Protection Regulation introduced by EU.

Pol.is is partly open source software developed by a company of the same name, which allows organisations to set up their own implementation of the tool, or pay the Polis company to run the programme as a service that can then be embedded on the organisation’s own website. So this is not a tool developed by Alternativet’s own activists or staff, although it has been appropriated by them to fit into AlleOs.

Polis themselves describe the tool as “an AI powered sentiment gathering platform”. Similarly to Appgree, Pol.is allows users to provide answers to an open ended question and rank how much they agree with other answers. However, instead of calculating which answers are most likely to be most popular like Appgree does, Pol.is visually represents how respondents

cluster in different groups who tend to agree on which answers they support and which they do not. This is represented in a two dimensional coordinate system as shown in figure x, where users can see different opinion groups, how many respondents belong to each, how much respondents in each group tend to agree, and most importantly which answers they tend to agree on. In this way it is supposed to give a good overview of different opinions on a subject, which is easy and intuitive to read.



**Illustration 9: Screen shot from December 2017 of pol.is embedded on a page for a policy proposal on the AlleOs website. On the top is a very short introduction to the tool saying: "Please specify one or more short and precise opinions on the proposal below, and assess others' opinions. Write only one opinion per comment - you are welcome to write more than one. If you want to write a longer post, you can do that on Dialog. Any user can submit an opinion, but you can only vote, if you are a member of Alternativet." Underneath is a coordinate system that visualises different clusters of opinions and below that a set of buttons that allows the user to choose one group to see which answers they agree/or disagree with or a specific answer to see which groups tend to agree/disagree with this answer. On the bottom is a text field that allows any user to submit their own opinion on the proposal.**

More interesting here, is how the tool was used in Alternativet. Here, the tool was tightly integrated with the AlleOs platform, where it was used to gather opinions and views on policy proposals, as part of the policy formation procedure. As described above, before a proposal for a policy can be adopted as the party's official policy, it has to go through a number of phases including a consultation phase and a phase where the proposal is looking for the backing of supporters in the party. During these phases as well as after the proposal has been adopted for the Political Catalogue, the proposal is presented on a page on AlleOs. And on this page pol.is was embedded so that members could share their opinions about the proposal and indicate which opinions they agree with. Pol.is would then provide an illustration of how members

opinions about the proposal clustered together in different groups of opinions. As such the tool was used to gather information about different stances the membership would take on a proposal. In the consultation phase this could be used to develop the proposal further and once the proposal had been adopted for the Political Catalogue it would provide another way for members to evaluate and assess the proposal.

### **5.3.6 Facebook groups**

Social media is actively used in many ways both for mobilisation and getting input to policies in Alternativet, but Facebook groups in particular have become a very active place for intra-party discussions between party members and supporters, so they are worth mentioning separately. One interviewee explains that “...the place where most members and most people are heard – or not heard, but at least give their opinion – that is on the infamous Facebook group ‘Alternativet - En seriøs bæredygtig omstilling’<sup>18</sup>.” (interview 2) This group “...was originally created (...) more or less when the party was launched or shortly after, I think. It has never been an official Alternativet group, but it was a group, that was started by some members, I think. (...) It is just a place for people interested in Alternativet, who can discuss different issues.” (interview 2) This group is just one out of many very active groups on Facebook where members and supporters of the party engage in discussions, information sharing, and mobilisation of activists for party activities. The ‘Alternativet – En seriøs bæredygtig omstilling’ group is the largest and it has consistently had around 9.000 members since data collection began in 2016 and until 2019. The group is not only open to party members, but compared to 10-11.000 party members altogether it is reasonable to believe that a good share of these members are represented in the group.

However, according to most interviewees, Facebook does not provide a good space for intra-party dialogue so they “...have always struggled with the fact that everything has taken place on Facebook. And we are still struggling with that.” (interview 15) This critique rests on two main problems with Facebook groups. First, it does not support moderation “...well enough in relation to a polite tone, and in relation to ensuring that, what is said, is factual and well-founded.” (interview 2) And second, it is designed to encourage users to keep creating more content – in this case adding their views to the discussion – rather than listening to what has already been said. This results partly in certain views being over-represented because “...those, who yell the loudest and keeps going, they can (...) just keep insisting on some opinion.”

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<sup>18</sup> ‘Alternativet - En seriøs bæredygtig omstilling’ translates to ‘The Alternative – A serious sustainable transition’, but as of March 2019 the Facebook group’s name has been changed to just ‘Bæredygtig omstilling’, translating to ‘Sustainable transition’.



(interview 14) And partly it results in a lack of overview where important information disappears “...because a Facebook post, if it does not get a lot of *likes* in the beginning, then it just disappears. Then it is not even certain that it will appear on others’ feed.” (interview 14) We will return to these challenges later, but it is important to stress that these reservations toward discussions on social media are targeted very specifically at intra-party debates taking place in Facebook groups, and not at Facebook and social media in general. One interviewee who has been involved in setting up and running the party’s official social media presence sees a lot of potential in social media for a party like Alternativet: “The reason we are by far the biggest (Danish party) on most social media, even though we have only existed as a party in parliament for one year, that is because we are almost the only party that engage in a dialogue with citizens on social media.” (interview 3) The party is very actively using Facebook to engage supporters in both promoting and developing the party. Despite how Facebook groups are perceived as a bad platform for political debates, there are even “...a couple of examples (...) of using a Facebook group...” during the policy formation process in combination with physical participatory activities to “...continuously upload new versions of a proposal and get input from people.” (interview 7) Additionally the party is also very keen to use Facebook and other social media to increase transparency through live streaming, which will be described below. But for now it is just important to note that Facebook groups are a central digital participation channel in the party despite a lack of approval from the party elite.

### **5.3.7 Online voting**

According to the party leadership Alternativet “...had a strategy for at least two years now about digitalising democratic processes in the organisation, where (...) digital voting is the actual physical part of it.” (interview 8) So online voting plays an important part in how the party wants to develop their intra-party democracy. Online voting is used to give party members a direct impact on decision making in mainly two ways in Alternativet. First of all, it is used to allow members to participate remotely in decision making at important meetings such as the annual General Assembly and candidate selection meetings. And secondly, it is used to delegate decisions on important policy decisions directly to members in what the party calls the *Medlemsmandatet*, which translates to *the membership mandate*.

#### Online voting at meetings

As described in the previous chapter all party members are invited and has the right to vote at the General Assembly where the National Executive Committee and Political Leader is elected among other things. At the time of data collection online voting had been “...used at

the Annual General Assembly last year and then now we are also rolling it out on the local level.” (interview 8) During data collection a local party branch was selecting candidates for a high profile upcoming local council election. Following the statutes of the local branch and the national party at the time, candidates were to be selected at a meeting open to all members of the branch. However, this particular branch had been allowed to experiment with supplementing the votes from participants at the meeting with online votes, allowing branch members to follow the meeting from home and vote from home. Members participating physically at the meeting could choose themselves if they wanted to vote on paper ballots or through their smart phone. No matter if votes were given by paper ballots or online, voting were restricted time wise to follow the agenda of the meeting. The online voting procedure was managed by a third party company, which the party has contracted to facilitate live online voting procedures on an ongoing basis for meetings, because the plan at the time of data collection was to make this a standard procedure for all kinds of meetings in Alternativet. As one interviewee explained, it is possible to “...do a lot of things to make sure (decision making) is not just for the few. And that is something we need to cultivate. And digital voting is just a very natural part of that. It is just one element, that also needs to be there.” (interview 10)

The main motivation for allowing members to vote without physically attending the meeting was to increase the inclusion of members in deciding who should represent the party. In one interviewee’s words, “(i)t is about bringing the democratic processes into people’s everyday lives, where they are constantly navigating in the digital, where there is this kind of accessibility. It is one of the big challenges, we face, which the democratic system just hasn’t kept up with. (...) So I damn well understand, that many people does not manage to go down and vote when there is a ballot, because it just doesn’t fit with the way you otherwise navigate. The way you participate.” (interview 8) So it is about increasing the turn out and breaking down barriers for people to participate in decision making in the party and avoiding that “...people, every time they get involved in anything, need to go to the party office one evening, where you sit with baby bottles and kids, or you are working, or whatever it might be. There can really be many good reasons. (Because) then you are not part of it. Then you are ruled out of it.” (interview 10)

Prior to the local branch candidate selection meeting, the question of allowing online voting or not had caused “...some critique, or scepticism...” (interview 6) internally in the party branch. There were many concerns, “(b)ut the primary discussion was about, whether the

election of candidates could be taken over in a coup by maybe 100 people who joined the party 14 days prior to the vote, and then just sit at home – 100 Chinese people or something like that.” (interview 6) Or if “...the most known candidates would get an advantage.” (interview 6) Other worries concerned the security and usability of the platform, making sure that the results of the vote could be saved and documented retrospectively even after the contract with the platform provider expires, and finally how to ensure that people would vote on an informed basis. This last point is related to the fact that these votes are synchronous interactions in the sense that everyone votes simultaneously, but the information given about candidates and motions voted on is asynchronous. Candidates at the meeting were allowed a fixed time to present themselves to the meeting participants, and while these speeches were also video streamed online, members sitting at home would not have to listen to these, or be able to participate in discussions about motions taking place at the physical meeting before deciding what to vote.

#### The Medlemsmandatet

The Medlemsmandatet is an opportunity for the parliamentary group of Alternativet to, “...under special circumstances, choose to ask the (party) members for help to make a decision.” (Alternativet, n.d.-j) In most cases Alternativet’s MP’s decide what to vote in parliament as a group, but if they cannot agree they can either decide that each MP is free to vote what they want or enact the “Medlemsmandatet” where the membership is asked to decide the matter through a direct online vote. It is up to the party’s MP’s themselves when and if they want to use this opportunity, and the decision is only binding if at least 10% of all members participate in the vote. In the words of the party website, this gives the parliamentary group the opportunity “...to pass their mandate on to the members.” (Alternativet, n.d.-j)

According to the party website the Medlemsmandat has been in use since 2017, but it was already mentioned in interviews at the end of 2016 as a more informal way of asking the membership for guidance in non-binding votes. At that time members were balloted through emails with unique links to a third party survey platform where they could indicate their view on the proposal to be voted on in parliament. Then balloted members can either choose between “yes”, “no”, or “don’t know” about a proposal, and if more than 50% of those who vote choose one of these options the party MP’s will vote either for, against or abstain from voting on the proposal respectively.

An important distinction between the Medlemsmandat and online voting at meetings is that Medlemsmandatet gives members a longer period to vote and debate the proposal. Usually voting is open for up to a month and both synchronous and asynchronous online debates are set up on Dialog about the proposal, during the period where voting is open.

### **5.3.8 Live streaming**

Live streaming of different intra-party activities through social media such as Youtube and Facebook plays a big role in Alternativet. According to one MP, they almost “...worship live streaming...” (interview 17) in the party. As described above, live streaming is used at important meetings in combination with online votes, so that people are “...able to sit at home, when they could not be there physically and still attend. Also with the live stream.” (interview 6) This way, live streaming contributes to enhancing inclusion at these meetings even though the live streaming itself only allows a one-way channel of communication about what happens at the meetings.

But the use of public live streaming also plays an important role in ensuring transparency, which is one of the six core values the party is based on (Alternativet, 2018). Most notably here, the party has made their “...parliamentary group meetings public by live streaming the group meetings, where (they) make political decisions.” (interview 3) And a senior employee of the party stresses that this includes the whole decision making process at the meetings: “And when we end the meetings, they are over. That is to say it is not like we sit and talk more afterwards or anything like that. That is really our parliamentary group meetings and when we are done with them and the public has seen it, then we go down (to the parliament chamber) and vote on what we have talked about.” (interview 3) This is important to interviewees from the party leadership “...because part of that is the transparency...” (interview 3) and “...this thing about opening parliament up.” (interview 5) One interviewee recognises that this kind of communication “...is partly only one-way, because we show what is going on in here.” (interview 3) However, during live streams of the meetings (usually through Facebook) viewers can submit “...questions to the live stream, which we then collect and pick out some of. We cannot take all of them because there are really a lot. But we pick some of them, and then we make a video subsequently with either the party leader or other MP’s...” (interview 5) where they answer the questions. So while the live streaming is mainly used to create transparency around MP’s considerations, it also serves to some limited degree to allow viewers and members to hold their MP’s accountable through direct questions and suggestions about their decisions.

The party MP's have learned, though, that ensuring transparency is not as simple as just turning a camera on. One MP describes how he also "...live streams (his) meetings with experts and ministers." (interview 17) Which, he recalls, "...was a bit of a challenge to overcome for many of them. (...) And we have to admit, it was also a challenge to overcome for us. We just had to learn how to be authentic still, even though there is a camera on. We are getting better and better at that." (interview 17)

#### 5.4 Conclusion: Online affordances and democratic dimensions

The previous sections have illustrated how different online platforms, used within Alternativet affords a list of different online participation activities available to party supporters. Each of these affordances can be related to one of the four dimensions of intra-party democracy identified in the first part of this chapter. Table 19 provides an overview of how online platforms and their specific affordances relate to each of the democratic dimensions.

<i><b>Democratic dimension</b></i>	<i><b>Online Platforms</b></i>	<i><b>Democratic affordances</b></i>
Crowdsourcing	Appgree; Pol.is; AlleOs; Medlemsmandatet (Dialog; Facebook)	Aggregative input; one-click actions; up/down voting; support policy proposals; validate policies for the Political Catalogue; online ballots/surveys (" <i>liking</i> " posts in online forums).
Developmental	AlleOs & Facebook	Event functionalities; group memberships; direct communication channels; templates for new policy proposals and support for finding policy co-authors.
Deliberative	Dialog; Facebook groups; (live streaming of meetings)	Posting comments on policies; commenting on other people's posts; posting links as evidence; online chat
Delegation	Online voting platforms; live streaming of meetings; AlleOs	Online voting for delegate nominations; Q&A with elected representatives; transparency of delegates' actions through online streaming and meeting minutes.

Table 19: Overview of online platforms, their democratic affordances, grouped by their relations to the four dimensions of intra-party democracy.

The crowd-sourcing dimension's focus on aggregating the "wisdom of the crowd" through quick inputs favours one-click online actions that can be used to count and aggregate participants' stance on an issue. Several of Alternativet's online platforms are specifically designed for this purpose. In particular Appgree and Polis allow participants to up- or down

vote each other's suggestions in order to find a common ground by aggregating these votes. But also the more directly consequential engagements, such as voting in the Medlemsmandatet online ballot and validating policy proposals on pre-defined scales against a number of criteria on AlleOs, are concrete examples of the type of activities that fit with the crowd-sourcing dimension of democracy. Finally, using the *like* functions to indicate agreement with what other people post on Facebook and Dialog also constitute a type of aggregative one-click online engagement.

The AlleOs platform is specifically designed to support party members in initiating collective action on their own by providing a place where like-minded party supporters can find each other. And this type of citizen initiated collective action is precisely the type of engagement favoured by the developmental dimension of democracy. The platform also provides communication tools, knowledge sharing features and event organisation functionalities, which can all be used to support the coordination of collective action. Many of these affordances are also available on Facebook, and both Facebook and AlleOs gives members the opportunity to set up groups with like-minded members to share information and coordinate action.

Online deliberation within the party is mainly facilitated by the party's own debate forum Dialog and the many party related Facebook groups, set up by members. Both of these platforms affords posting political proposals and commenting on these posts. They also provide options to substantiate reasons with links to evidence that supports arguments, which can potentially increase the quality of arguments (Wilhelm, 2000, Chapter 5; Wright & Street, 2007).

Finally, the delegative dimension of intra-party democracy is supported by online affordances that allow members to vote online in nominations of election candidates, the selection of party leader, and elections for other important posts in the party organisation. Another important aspect of the delegative dimension is that party members can hold delegates accountable, which requires insights into the decisions and actions taken by the delegates. Online livestreaming of the party MP's internal group meetings as well as the availability of meeting resumes on AlleOs affords the kind of transparency that is necessary to hold delegates accountable.

## **Chapter 6. Demand for intra-party democracy in Alternativet**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter developed four dimensions of intra-party democracy, based on the party elite's views and values. This chapter will explore support for these intra-party democratic dimensions among the general party membership and party supporters. In that sense, this chapter describes the demand for intra-party democracy among members and supporters, whereas the previous chapter described the intra-party democracy supplied by the party elite. This description of party supporters' views on and support for intra-party democracy is based on findings from an online survey, distributed through Alternativet's newsletter and closed social media groups as described in chapter 3. While the ambitions in Alternativet to create a "new political culture" goes beyond intra-party democracy, the focus of this chapter will be on party members' preferences for intra-party procedures. As described in the previous chapters, Alternativet perceives themselves as a laboratory for the democratic changes they would like to promote more broadly in society, so in that sense the two questions are related, although it is necessary to keep in mind that they are essentially different. So for instance support for direct democracy within the party organisation, should not be interpreted as evidence that party members also support direct democracy more broadly.

The next section will briefly review existing research on support for intra-party democracy among party members, and demonstrate how the approach taken here differs from previous research by studying intra-party democracy as a multi-dimensional concept. This is followed by a thorough description of the survey items used to measure the four different dimensions of intra-party democracy. It is important to describe these in detail, partly because they are novel measures, developed specifically for this study, and partly because the assemblage of variables also constitute the hypothesised model of how attitudes toward intra-party democracy are structured. A short report of descriptive statistics of these survey items then follows before a confirmatory factor analysis tests how well the data fits the theoretical model. After this, the results of an exploratory factor analysis are used to develop an optimised model where each intra-party democratic dimension is redefined to correspond better with the data. In total three models are presented: The original theoretical model, an adapted model where some variables are reassigned to other dimensions, and then finally an optimised model where survey items that do not follow the model are removed. Then support for each of the dimensions is

analysed, and finally, the three models are compared and the implications of the resulting dimensions are discussed.

## 6.2 Dimensions of support for intra-party democracy

Based on the theoretical model developed in the previous chapter it is hypothesised that perceptions of ideal intra-party democracy (in the context of the *Alternativet* party) can be separated along four dimensions: a crowd-sourcing, a deliberative, a developmental, and a delegative dimension. Through a brief review of previous research, this section will illustrate that such a multi-dimensional approach differs from existing studies of support for intra-party democracy, which have tended to treat this as a uni-dimensional concept.

Previous surveys have found mixed evidence of support for a strong intra-party democracy among party members. Surveying Belgian voters, Close and Kelbel find that party membership as well as party activism condition the support for more inclusive candidate selection processes within parties (Close & Kelbel, 2019). Surveying only party members, Bernardi et al find that newer party members are more supportive of open primaries than older members in the Italian Democratic Party, and that the least active party members are the most supportive (Bernardi et al., 2017). They explain this as an effect of open primaries taking away the privilege of delegates and other particularly active party members and giving more influence to less engaged members and party supporters. Similarly, Sanches et al. finds that members of Portuguese left wing parties tends to evaluate existing intra-party democracy more positively the more active they are in the party (Sanches et al., 2018). Whereas Bernardi et al and Close and Kelbel both survey support for alternative candidate selection procedures varying from less to more inclusive, Sanches et al. mainly measure support for the current level of intra-party democracy, interpreting dissatisfaction as support for a stronger intra-party democracy. However, they all conceptualise support for intra-party democracy uni-dimensionally as something respondents can prefer more or less of. Similarly to Sanches, Baras et al. also construct one unidimensional measure of support for more or less intra-party democracy based on an index of several survey items (Baras et al., 2012). An often used alternative is to contrast delegatory intra-party democracy with direct democratic intra-party procedures (B. Hansen & Saglie, 2005; Saglie & Heidar, 2004; L. Young & Cross, 2002). But while this approach more clearly distinguishes between two different *types* of intra-party democracy instead of distinguishing between more or less intra-party democracy, the approach is still unidimensional in the sense of two contrasting end points that support can fall in



between. Thus, this thesis takes a novel approach by attempting to measure intra-party democracy as a multi-dimensional concept.

However, as already illustrated in previous chapters, perceiving democracy in general as a multi-dimensional phenomenon is not novel (see for instance Coppedge et al., 2011; Gagnon, 2018; Morlino, 2004). Surveys, measuring preferences for different kinds of democratic decision making processes, have become a popular tool to investigate what distinguishes different dimensions of democratic conceptions as well as support for these dimensions (Ferrin & Kriesi, 2014; Font et al., 2015; Landwehr & Steiner, 2017). By measuring several aspects of democracy with many survey items, dimension reduction techniques such as factor analysis can be used to identify underlying latent dimensions based on the covariances of the survey items. The purpose of factor analysis is to derive underlying but unobservable factors from the observable variables that – in this case – is measured through a survey. Thus the unobservable factors are independent variables causing the observed dependent variables in the dataset (King, 1986, p. 682). The limiting factor in terms of identifying these underlying democratic dimensions is of course the choice of observable survey items to be included in the survey. Since the factor analysis identify dimensions based on these observable variables, the selection and phrasing of survey items essentially determines – or at least limits – which dimensions we might find.

Some of the most common democratic dimensions identified in previous studies include direct democracy, representative democracy, deliberative and participatory democracy, and expert rule (Bengtsson & Christensen, 2016; Font et al., 2015; Landwehr & Steiner, 2017). Åsa Bengtsson reasons that the lack of variety in the study of democratic process preferences can be explained by the difficulty for study participants to envisage and thus form opinions on democratic procedures, that are radically different from the democratic system they are familiar with (Bengtsson, 2012). If this is true, parties like Alternativet, which experiments with different forms of democratic decision making, are a perfect testing ground to study support for different democratic ideals. Here, participants are already familiar with radically different democratic decision making procedures, and thus it is not necessary to rely on survey prompts to explain imagined procedures.

Consequently, it is crucial how survey items about intra-party is worded and not least which items are included in the analysis. For this reason the next section will describe in detail how three batteries of 31 survey items in total were constructed to measure support for different aspects of intra-party democracy in Alternativet. These survey items aim to fully cover all

aspects of the four dimensions of intra-party democracy that was identified in the qualitative interviews with the party elite. Thus, this will also be a thorough description of the theoretical model of the crowd-sourcing, deliberative, developmental, and delegative dimensions of intra-party democracy that the respondents' attitudes are hypothesised to follow.

### **6.3 Measuring preferences for intra-party democracy**

Three batteries of questions about the ideal party organisation, the role of elected politicians, and the role of party members were used to measure preferences for intra-party democracy. Questions in all three batteries were constructed as statements with response options on a 5 point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" (see table 20-23 for specific statements used). 8 variables refer to the delegation dimension (DELEGAT), 9 to the deliberation (DELIB), 8 to the developmental (DEVEL), and finally 6 to the crowd-sourcing democratic dimension (CROWD).

The questions were split into three batteries for two reasons. First, this allowed the relatively large number of questions (31 in total) to be split into three different pages, making it more manageable for respondents. Secondly, each of the batteries referred to one of three key elements in intra-party democracy: the organisational structure of the party, the role of the party's elected politicians, and the role of members in Alternativet<sup>19</sup>, roughly mirroring Katz and Mair's three faces of party organisations: the party in public office, the party on the ground, and the party central office (Katz & Mair, 1993). This distinction draws from "Project MOPA: Modern Party Membership - Danish party member survey 2012", which included a battery of questions "about being a party member" and "about the party's organisation" (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2016a). Only three of the statements from these batteries were reused with the exact same wording as in the MOPA project. However, the MOPA project has already demonstrated that the general question structure and measurement scales work well when surveying Danish party members.

Since the main purpose of this survey is to test the support for the four dimensions of intra-party democracy, identified among the party elite, it is crucial that all relevant aspects of these four dimensions are covered suitably in the survey. So the following four subsections will describe the survey items used to cover all aspects of each of the four dimensions fully. The

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<sup>19</sup> The exact wording of the questions headlining each battery was:

"In the following there are some statements about the party's organisation. We would like to know if you agree or disagree."

"In the following there are some statements about the role of the party's elected politicians (such as members of parliament or city councillors). We would like to know if you agree or disagree."

"In the following there are some statements about the role of members in Alternativet. We would like to know if you agree or disagree."

analysis will then reveal to what extent all of these aspects are actually relevant to the four dimensions according to respondents.

Previous surveys on attitudes towards intra-party democracy have either focussed on evaluations of current intra-party processes (fx. Sanches et al., 2018), on normative statements about the ideal intra-party democracy (fx. Baras et al., 2012), or in most cases a mix of both (fx. B. Hansen & Saglie, 2005; Saglie & Heidar, 2004; L. Young & Cross, 2002). It can be difficult to distinguish between these since support for alternative kinds of intra-party democracy could easily be interpreted as dissatisfaction with the current intra-party democracy and vice versa. But satisfaction with current practices and preferences for different normative alternatives are not necessarily contradictory. It is possible to imagine that members are *satisfied* with the current intra-party democracy, even though their personal preferences differ from the current practices if they could determine by themselves how the party should be organised. Young & Cross recognise the methodological problem in combining a measure of preferences and satisfaction when they acknowledge that they are comparing support for an observed party type to support for an imagined ideal type that does not exist (L. Young & Cross, 2002, p. 678). So the survey developed for this thesis, attempts to focus as much as possible on normative statements only in order to distinguish the *kind* of intra-party Alternativet members want rather than measuring how happy they are with the current level of intra-party democracy. But at the same time I acknowledge that it is impossible to separate these two concepts completely.

### **6.3.1 Crowd-sourcing dimension**

Table 20 gives an overview of all the statements used to measure support for the crowd-sourcing dimension of intra-party democracy. As described in the previous chapter, this dimension has some similarities with direct democracy in that it involves giving the crowd of members direct influence on the party through ballots and open primaries. Scholars have identified a general trend towards this kind of plebiscitary intra-party democracy among political parties for a while (Seyd, 1999). And perhaps for that reason, this aspect of intra-party democracy is the one that has mostly been included in previous surveys of party members, where it is often presented as a stronger alternative to weaker traditional intra-party democracy (Bernardi et al., 2017; B. Hansen & Saglie, 2005, 2005; L. Young & Cross, 2002). Two variables measure this plebiscitary aspect of the crowd-sourcing dimension: The Crowd\_MajorityDecisions variable states that members should always have the final say on important decisions, and Crowd\_FollowMajority states that it is more important for party

politicians to follow what the majority in the party agrees on rather than their own personal beliefs.

However, the crowd-sourcing dimension as identified among the party elite in Alternativet, includes more than direct democracy in the sense of giving members a direct vote on important party decisions. It also incorporates an epistemic notion that the quality of policy outcomes will – at least on average – improve when more people are involved in deciding on them. The *crowd* knows better than individuals simply because the aggregated opinions of many people, according to this view, is less likely to be influenced by personal interests and other biases. Questions reflecting this aspect of the crowd-sourcing dimension includes Crowd\_BetterPolicies, which directly links crowd input to the quality of policy outputs, and Crowd\_Evaluate which measures the epistemic value of crowd evaluations of policy proposals.

Finally the battery of questions, developed to measure the support for the crowd-sourcing dimension, includes variables that focus on the role of the party leadership in relation to ensuring the crowd-sourcing dimension of intra-party democracy. Both Crowd\_InputPartyLine and Crowd\_InputVoting stresses the responsibility of the party leadership to get input from the members on all important decisions; Crowd\_InputPartyLine in relation to deciding the party line in general, and Crowd\_InputVoting specifically in relation to what elected politicians from the party should vote in parliament and local councils.

**Crowd-sourcing dimension of intra-party democracy**

(Scale: 1. Strongly agree; 2. Tend to agree; 3. Neither agree or disagree; 4. Tend to disagree; 5. Tend to disagree)

Statements:	Variable name:
<b>Statements about the party's organisation:</b>	
• The more members who provide input to Alternativet's policies, the better the party policies will be.	Crowd_BetterPolicies
• The best way to choose which proposals should be part of Alternativet's official party line, is by having as many members as possible evaluate them.	Crowd_Evaluate
• A majority of the members should have the final word in important decisions for the party.	Crowd_MajorityDecisions
• It is the responsibility of the party leadership to get input from as many members as possible about what the party line should be.	Crowd_InputPartyLine
<b>Statements about the role of the party's elected politicians (such as members of parliament or city councillors):</b>	
• Elected politicians should always follow what most people in the party agree on, even if they do not agree personally.	Crowd_FollowMajority
• It is the responsibility of Alternativet's elected politicians to get as much input from members as possible on decisions they make in parliament or local councils.	Crowd_InputVoting

Table 20: Survey items measuring support for the crowd-sourcing dimension of intra-party democracy. Scale: 1. Strongly agree; 2. Tend to agree; 3. Neither agree or disagree; 4. Tend to disagree; 5. Tend to disagree

**6.3.2 Deliberative dimension**

While intra-party deliberation has received increasing attention recently (Barberà & Rodríguez-Teruel, 2020; Gad, 2020; Gherghina et al., 2020; Gherghina & Stoiciu, 2020; Vodová & Voda, 2020; Wolkenstein, 2016) still few party member surveys have included measures of support for intra-party democracy based on deliberation. However, we can draw on some of the many experiences from surveys measuring support for deliberative democracy among the general population instead. Neblo et al. investigates citizens' willingness to deliberate and include four so called *sunshine values* (Neblo et al., 2010), which are positive rewordings of Hibbing and Theiss-Morse's stealth democracy (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2002). Of these, at least two are explicitly pro-deliberative, focusing on the importance of elected officials and citizens respectively to discuss, debate and compromise with an open mind. Landwehr and Steiner use factor analysis to show that four survey items, representing deliberative values such as focusing on the common good, the importance of understanding other people's opinions, and dialogue in policy formation, constitute a separate dimension of German citizens' conception of democracy (Landwehr & Steiner, 2017). And Close et al. demonstrates a correlation between Belgian citizens' preferences for candidate selection procedures in political parties and deliberative democratic values based on a simple Likert scale question about basing political decisions on debates among citizens (Close et al., 2017).

Other studies of citizen conceptions of democracy have included deliberative aspects under a broader participatory conception, often opposed to representative and expert based process preferences. For instance Bengtsson and Christensen include survey items about the importance of promoting citizen participation in political discussions and organising public debates on policy issues in their participatory index (Bengtsson & Christensen, 2016).

<b>Deliberative dimension of intra-party democracy</b>	
Statements:	Variable name:
<b>Statements about the party's organisation:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is important that the party offers a place where members can discuss politics.</li> <li>The party members are a diverse group of people with many different views.</li> <li>It is important that people are exposed to different views in Alternativet.</li> </ul>	Delib_OrgDiscuss Delib_DiverseGroup Delib_ExposedViews
<b>Statements about the role of the party's elected politicians (such as members of parliament or city councillors):</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The most important role of elected politicians is to listen to different arguments and make up their own mind based on this.</li> <li>It is important that Alternativet's politicians make space to discuss politics with the party members.</li> </ul>	Delib_PolitListen Delib_PolitDiscuss
<b>Statements about the role of members in Alternativet:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is important that party members discuss political issues before a decision is taken.</li> <li>It is important that members participate in political laboratories.</li> <li>It is important that party members listen to and make an effort to understand each other.</li> <li>Party members should always focus on what is in the interest of the common good.</li> </ul>	Delib_MembersDiscus s Delib_PoLa Delib_MembersListen Delib_CommonGood

Table 21: Survey items measuring support for the deliberative dimension of intra-party democracy. Scale: 1. Strongly agree; 2. Tend to agree; 3. Neither agree or disagree; 4. Tend to disagree; 5. Tend to disagree

The 9 variables used to measure support for the deliberative dimension are outlined in table 21. These variables cover typical deliberative values such as the importance of being exposed to different views (Delib\_ExposedViews and Delib\_DiverseGroup), focusing on the common good (Delib\_CommonGood), and engaging in an exchange of views and arguments. Given the importance of the latter to any notion of deliberation, this aspect is measured both in relation to members engaging in political discussions between each other in general (Delib\_OrgDiscuss) and in relation to specific party decisions (Delib\_MembersDiscuss), as well as discussions between members and the party's elected politicians (Delib\_PolitDiscussions). These are all aspects of deliberation that mirrors what other attempts at measuring deliberation have covered (Mutz, 2006; Neblo et al., 2010; Steiner et al., 2005). Similarly, given the emphasis put on the importance of listening to each other in both Alternativet's official debate principles and the elite interviews as well as in the literature on deliberation (Goodin & Niemeyer, 2003), this aspect is measured with two variables, focusing on listening and reflection by politicians (Delib\_PolitListen) and members respectively (Delib\_MembersListen). Finally, the survey included a variable that specifies the

importance of Alternativet’s “Political Laboratories” (PoLa), which are here considered to be the main institutionalisation of face-to-face deliberative practices in the party (Husted & Plesner, 2017).

### 6.3.3 Developmental dimension

Out of the four dimensions of intra-party democracy included in this analysis, the developmental dimension is probably the least studied dimension in previous surveys of attitudes towards intra-party democracy. As described in the previous chapter, this dimension is reflected by an ambition for Alternativet to be more than a political party, that pursues influence through political representation. An ambition to also create a social movement, where citizens themselves lead political change through their collective actions and individual behaviours. In this sense, it is almost questionable whether it qualifies as an aspect of *intra-party* democracy, but it is included as such here since it is an important part of how the party wants to engage members and supporters in creating political change, even if it is a bit more unclear how this engagement affects the party line or other important party decisions.

Developmental dimension of intra-party democracy	
Statements:	Variable name:
<b>Statements about the party’s organisation:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The party members are part of a movement of like-minded.</li> <li>Important changes in society can only happen when politicians and citizens work together.</li> <li>Alternativet is a good place to learn how to make a difference in society.</li> <li>Alternativet is a good place to find like-minded people to make a difference with.</li> <li>The best way Alternativet can achieve societal changes is through members changing their day-to-day lifestyle in accordance with Alternativet’s policies.</li> </ul>	Devel_Like_minded Devel_PolCitizensCollaboration Devel_LearnEfficacy Devel_PracticeEfficacy Devel_Lifestyle
<b>Statements about the role of the party’s elected politicians (such as members of parliament or city councillors):</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The best way Alternativet’s elected politicians can promote change is by supporting the citizens’ own initiatives.</li> <li>The best way Alternativet’s elected politicians can promote change is by removing barriers to the citizens’ own initiatives.</li> </ul>	Devel_SupportCitizens Devel_RemoveBarriers
<b>Statements about the role of members in Alternativet:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ordinary party members play a crucial role in reaching Alternativet’s political goals through their consumption habits.</li> </ul>	Devel_Consumption

Table 22: Survey items measuring support for the developmental dimension of intra-party democracy. Scale: 1. Strongly agree; 2. Tend to agree; 3. Neither agree or disagree; 4. Tend to disagree; 5. Tend to disagree

According to the ideal of the developmental dimension, democratic change happens through voluntary action by citizens from the bottom up. The importance of individualistic action by party members and supporters are measured through two variables, focusing on consumerism (Devel\_Consumption) and political lifestyle choices (Devel\_Lifestyle) respectively. These

represent the aspect of the developmental dimension that is the least related to traditional intra-party democracy, but these types of actions have become part of the standard repertoire of political participation by many citizens (Theocharis et al., 2019; Theocharis & Deth, 2016). The variables Devel\_PolCitizensCollaboration, Devel\_SupportCitizens, and Devel\_RemoveBarriers focus on the relation between the parliamentary party and the party on the ground in relation to creating political change through bottom-up citizen initiatives. As described in the previous chapter an important aspect of the developmental dimension is a collaboration between the party elite and the parliamentary party on one side, and party supporters on the ground on the other. Devel\_PolCitizensCollaboration describes this general principle, while Devel\_SupportCitizens and Devel\_RemoveBarriers give concrete examples of how the parliamentary party's most important role is to support citizen initiatives and remove possible barriers to citizen initiated political solutions.

Another important aspect of the developmental dimension follows a classic feature of participatory democracy which values participation for its ability to educate participants on how to be active citizens (Pateman, 1970). Three variables from the survey reflect this efficacy aspect of the developmental dimension, all of which focus on the organisational structure of the party: Devel\_LearnEfficacy measures whether respondents think that the party is a good place to learn how to make a difference, and Devel\_PracticeEfficacy measures to what extent Alternativet has managed to build a community where members can work together to make a difference. And finally, the Devel\_Like\_minded variable is a question that was replicated from the MOPA survey, which measures the extent to which the party has managed to build a community of like-minded people. These variables all reflect Manuel Castell's notion of social movements based on a project identity, but adapted to the context of a political party that aims to create or build on such an identity (Castells, 2004).

#### **6.3.4 Delegative dimension**

The delegative dimension basically represents the intra-party democracy of the traditional mass party model, where important decisions on things such as the party manifestos and candidate selections are delegated to representative organisational bodies within the party (Duverger, 1954). Some previous studies have used survey batteries with several questions to measure support for this kind of *delegatory* (B. Hansen & Saglie, 2005; Saglie & Heidar, 2004) or *representational* (L. Young & Cross, 2002) intra-party democracy, while other studies have just distinguished between delegates/party leadership and party members in relation to



preferences for specific decision making procedures such as candidate selection (Bernardi et al., 2017; Close et al., 2017; Close & Kelbel, 2019).

The Delegat\_Congress and Delegat\_LeadershipTooPowerful variables are directly replicates of questions from the MOPA survey (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2016a). The Delegat\_LeadershipTooPowerful measures opposition to the delegative dimension rather than support and is expected to inversely correlate with the rest of the delegative dimension variables. Delegat\_Congress is about delegating decision making power to the annual party congress. It should be noted here, however, that the party congress of Alternativet does not consist of party delegates in the traditional sense, since all party members are invited to participate in the annual party congress. It is still included in the delegative dimension here since it is assumed that the party elite and the most engaged party members are most likely to participate in and thus dominate the congress. Even though the party has experimented with ways to engage members at the congress from a distance through online voting and streaming, it is still only a small fraction of the members that actually participate. But to ensure that the notion of delegating power away from the members is properly captured the Delegat\_Leadership variable was added, which is similarly phrased, but emphasising delegation of decision making power to the party leadership rather than the congress.

<b>Delegative dimension of intra-party democracy</b>	
Statements:	Variable name:
<b>Statements about the party's organisation:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The party congress should have the final say in important decisions.</li> <li>The party leadership should have the final say in important decisions.</li> <li>Today, it is a problem for the party that the leadership is too powerful.</li> <li>The party leadership takes the opinion of members too much into account when making decisions.</li> </ul>	Delegat_Congress Delegat_Leadership Delegat_LeadershipTooPowerful Delegat_MembersOpinionTooMuch
<b>Statements about the role of the party's elected politicians (such as members of parliament or city councillors):</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Elected politicians' most important job is to stick to what they promised before they were elected.</li> </ul>	Delegat_Promise
<b>Statements about the role of members in Alternativet:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The most important role of party members is to select candidates to represent Alternativet in elections.</li> <li>The most important role of party members is to select the party leadership.</li> <li>The most important role of party members is to elect members of the Political Forum so they can decide on the party's policies.</li> </ul>	Delegat_SelectCandidates Delegat_SelectLeadership Delegat_SelectPoFo

Table 23: Survey items measuring support for the delegative dimension of intra-party democracy. Scale: 1. Strongly agree; 2. Tend to agree; 3. Neither agree or disagree; 4. Tend to disagree; 5. Tend to disagree

The Delegat\_SelectCandidates, Delegat\_SelectLeadership, and Delegat\_SelectPoFo are all about the importance of electing delegates for different levels of decision making in the party. The selection of party candidates through direct primaries is usually considered to be an

example of direct intra-party democracy (Bernardi et al., 2017; Close et al., 2017; Close & Kelbel, 2019), but here it is included in the delegative dimension because of Alternativet's emphasis on direct participation in the policy formation process and direct decision making rather than just participating in the selection of the candidates who will then be responsible for developing the party line. My argument is that instead of perceiving candidate selections an outcome in itself, which members can have direct influence on, party candidates should be considered delegates because of the large influence they have in forming the party line – especially if they manage to obtain the seat they are running for. For party members who want to influence the party line, selecting candidates is like selecting delegates to talk on their behalves. Finally, the selection of members to the Political Forum is also included (Delegat\_SelectPoFo), since this is the institution where the party line is officially decided on according to the statutes of the party. In that sense it can be considered the most important delegation of power within Alternativet – even if it is perhaps not getting the most attention among party members.

The Delegat\_Promise variable describes elected officials as delegates that ought to follow the mandate that has been delegated to them. This variable is supposed to contrast the Delib\_PolitListen variable from the deliberative dimension that describes elected politicians as trustees who are trusted to make up their own mind. In this regard, the Crowd\_FollowMajority variable also describe elected politicians as delegates that ought to always follow the mandate given to them by the party. The difference between the delegative dimension and the crowd-sourcing dimension is who decides what that mandate should be. In the crowd-sourcing dimension, the mandate ought to be directed by the majority of party members, whereas the delegative dimension puts more emphasis on the promise given to voters (as well as the members who nominated them in the first place). Previous party member surveys show that preferences for the party leadership to listen more to voters over members tends to correlate with preferences for delegative types of intra-party democracy (Baras et al., 2012; B. Hansen & Saglie, 2005; Saglie & Heidar, 2004). In this sense, the delegative dimension follows the traditional logic of representative democracy where elected officials are given a mandate for a given period, which they can then be held accountable to. In many party member surveys, this kind of delegative intra-party democracy is opposed to more direct forms of democracy (Baras et al., 2012; B. Hansen & Saglie, 2005; L. Young & Cross, 2002) where party members directly elect the leadership or select party candidates in open primaries (Bernardi et al., 2017; Close & Kelbel, 2019). Thus, this delegative dimension

is often interpreted as a “weaker” intra-party democracy than the other more participatory dimensions. This is also in line with how the party elite of Alternativet described the delegation of decision making power to elected bodies within the party as a necessary evil rather than a participatory ideal.

## **6.4 Findings**

### **6.4.1 Support for different aspects of intra-party democracy in Alternativet**

Figure 1 illustrates how support for all the dimensions of intra-party democracy are generally high among survey participants. In 17 out of the 31 variables over 75% of the sample “tend to” or “strongly agree” with the statements and for all but two variables (Delegat\_LeadershipTooPowerful and Delegat\_MembersOpinionTooMuch) less than half of the sample “tend to disagree” or “strongly disagree” with statements about the ideal intra-party democracy.

For most questions over 50% “tend to agree” or “strongly agree”. However, support for the delegative dimension tends to be slightly less pronounced which is not surprising, but in accordance with the elite interviews presented in the previous chapter. Here, the delegation of decision making power through elections to decision making bodies within the party was often presented as an inconvenient necessity to ensure democratic legitimacy of organisationally effective decision making rather than a democratic ideal. It is worth noting here though, that based on the factor analysis described below two of the delegation variables was reassigned to reflect other democratic dimensions in the final model, and one of the deliberative variables with high support was reassigned to reflect part of the delegative dimension in one of the models presented in the following sections. When these changes are taken into account the picture of relatively weaker support for the delegation variables is a bit muddier.

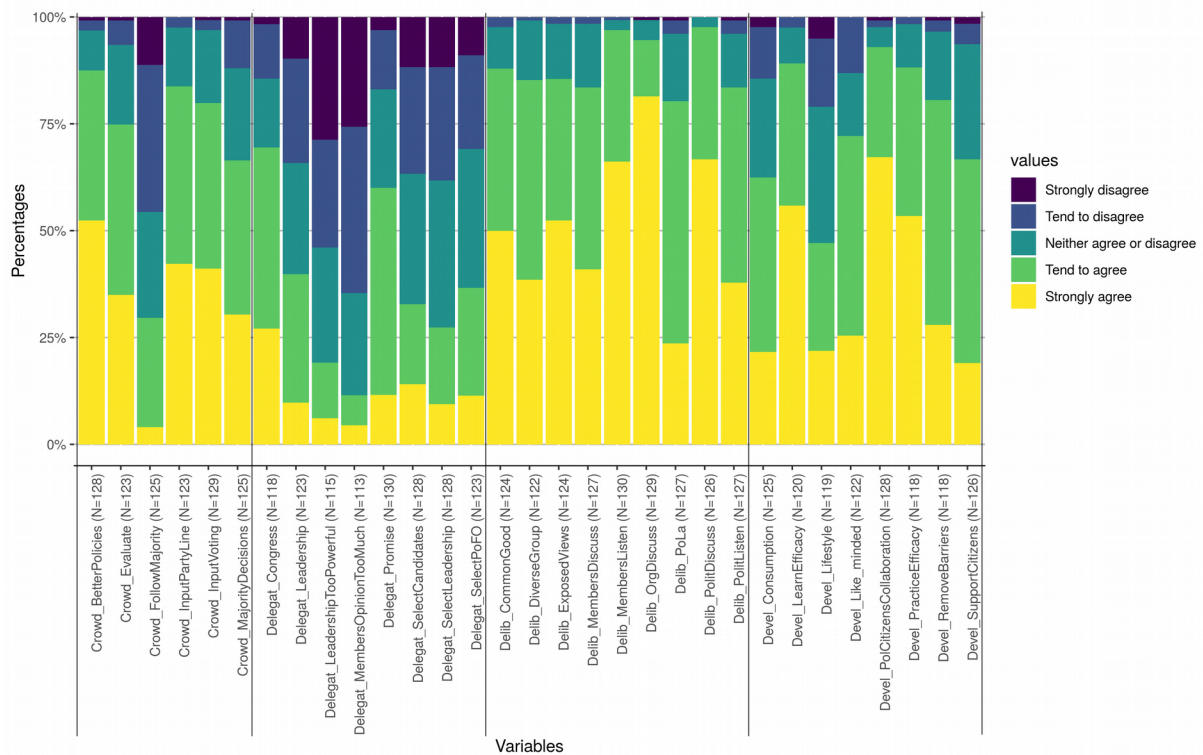


Figure 1: Stacked bar chart illustrating aggregated responses to each of the questions about intra-party democracy preferences ordered by democratic dimensions. Missing values differ between each variable, so number of responses for each variable are indicated in parentheses for each variable.

#### 6.4.2 Testing the theoretical model of four dimensions of intra-party democracy

Together the variables described above constitute an initial theoretical model of party member attitudes towards intra-party democracy. In this model attitudes are structured along the four dimensions identified in the previous chapter: crowd-sourcing, deliberative, developmental, and delegative dimensions. To test if the attitudes of survey respondents actually align with these four dimensions, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was performed, where each variable was set to only load on the one underlying factor, the variable is theorised to reflect. Each underlying factor (ie. each dimension of intra-party democracy) was allowed to correlate with each other, since they are all dimensions of the same overall concept of intra-party democracy. So generally it is reasonable to expect that supporters of more intra-party democracy will tend to score high on all or several of the dimensions as opposed to supporters of a more top-down controlled party organisation.

Fit statistics of originally theorised model of dimensions of intra-party democracy			
CFI	TLI	RMSEA	P-value of RMSEA ( $\leq 0,05$ )
0.515	0.473	0.104	0.000

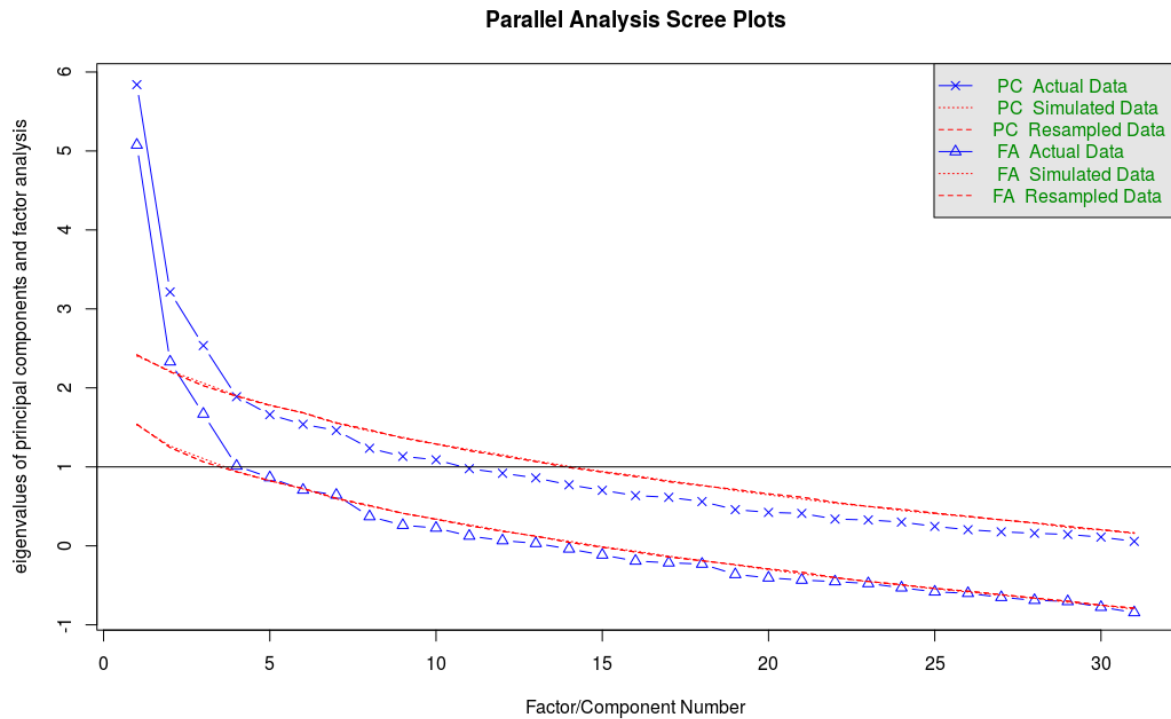
Table 24: Fit statistics of original theorised model, running a Confirmatory Factor Analysis, using the Lavaan package in R.  $N = 76$  (out of 158 respondents in whole dataset).

The CFA analysis results in rather poor fit measures as illustrated in table 24: A Comparative Fit Index (CFI) of 0.52, a Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) of 0.47, and a Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) of 0.10. This could either mean that party members' views actually do not follow the four dimensions of intra-party democracy theorised, or it could be caused by poor measurements of one or more of the dimensions. Certain survey items might not reflect each of the theoretical dimensions of intra-party democracy well; either because the question is badly phrased so that respondents misunderstand it, or because it covers an aspect of intra-party democracy that respondents do not associate with the theorised dimension. So instead of rejecting the theoretical framework altogether, the next step will be to try to specify a model that reflects the empirical structure better, while also taking into account the theoretical considerations.

#### 6.4.3 Re-evaluating dimensions of demand for intra-party democracy

In order to specify a model of the dimensions of intra-party democracy that fits better with the data exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was performed to investigate: 1) Which dimensions each question actually corresponds best with, 2) whether any of the variables should be left out of the analysis, and 3) to which extend a four factor model is actually the best way to describe party members views on intra-party democracy. First, this section will briefly discuss whether it is reasonable to model attitudes towards intra-party democracy along four dimensions, and then move on to explore a four factor model.

Parallel analysis with weighted least squares suggest 3 or 4 factors depending on the random seed (see scree plots in illustration 10 below). Parallel analysis with other factor methods tend to suggest 3 factors as does a screeplot based on Principal Component Analysis. Kaiser's rule of including all components with eigenvalues above 1 suggests 8 factors. Altogether, this could indicate that actually attitudes to intra-party democracy among respondents is better described as falling along three dimensions rather than four. However, EFA with a three factor model did not yield any theoretically meaningful results, so the theorised four factor model based on findings from qualitative elite interviews were kept.



**Illustration 10: Parallel Analysis including all intra-party democracy variables, showing both eigenvalues for both principal components and principal axis factors. Factor method: Weighted least squares. Suggested number of factors: 4, suggested number of components: 3.**

Table 25 below shows the results of a factor analysis, using promax rotation, which is an oblique method, meaning that the factors are allowed to correlate with each other. This is a reasonable assumption to make in this case where all factors indicate preferences for different dimensions of democracy. As indicated above support for all these dimensions are generally high among the respondents and it seems plausible that support for one dimension of intra-party democracy will correlate with other dimensions of intra-party democracy. However, the same factor analysis was also computed, using the orthogonal rotation method *varimax* as well as another commonly used oblique rotation method *direct oblimin*, and in all three cases the overall results are very similar (see appendix).

Factor loadings above 0,3 are highlighted in bold in the table and for variables which does not load above 0,3 on any of the factors the highest loading is highlighted in bold and cursive. From this, it is clear that most variables tend to load high on one – or in a few cases a couple of – factors, and they roughly follow the hypothesised pattern, so that crowd-sourcing dimension variables load high on factor 1, delegative dimension variables load high on factor 2, deliberative dimension variables on factor 3, and developmental dimension variables on factor 4. However, there are a some notable exceptions to this.

Exploratory Factor Analysis					
	<i>Crowd</i>	<i>Delegative</i>	<i>Deliberative</i>	<i>Development</i>	<i>Unique.</i>
<i>Crowd-sourcing variables:</i>					
Crowd_BetterPolicies	<b>0.57</b>	-0.02	-0.11	0.10	0.69
Crowd_Evaluate	<b>0.82</b>	0.03	-0.28	-0.09	0.48
Crowd_FollowMajority	<b>0.47</b>	0.19	-0.15	-0.09	0.77
Crowd_InputPartyLine	<b>0.65</b>	-0.02	0.06	-0.04	0.55
Crowd_InputVoting	<b>0.56</b>	0.08	0.02	0.00	0.65
Crowd_MajorityDecisions	<b>0.77</b>	-0.16	-0.03	-0.05	0.48
<i>Delegative variables:</i>					
Delegat_Congress	0.10	<b>0.36</b>	0.08	0.02	0.82
Delegat_Leadership	<b>-0.36</b>	0.21	-0.11	0.00	0.81
Delegat_LeadershipTooPowerful	<b>0.58</b>	-0.11	-0.14	-0.19	0.74
Delegat_MembersOpinionTooMuc	-0.15	0.10	<b>-0.42</b>	0.05	0.75
<i>Deliberative variables:</i>					
Delegat_Promise	<b>0.34</b>	<b>0.42</b>	-0.02	-0.19	0.69
Delegat_SelectCandidates	-0.16	<b>0.84</b>	0.16	-0.06	0.34
Delegat_SelectLeadership	-0.04	<b>0.88</b>	-0.02	-0.09	0.26
Delegat_SelectPoFo	0.05	<b>0.75</b>	0.02	0.00	0.42
<i>Developmental variables:</i>					
Devel_CommonGood	-0.23	<b>0.38</b>	<b>0.52</b>	0.14	0.58
Devel_DiverseGroup	0.23	-0.02	<b>0.29</b>	-0.18	0.83
Devel_ExposedViews	0.24	-0.12	0.20	<b>0.25</b>	0.74
Devel_MembersDiscuss	<b>0.42</b>	-0.08	<b>0.32</b>	-0.01	0.61
Devel_MembersListen	-0.27	0.15	<b>0.81</b>	0.05	0.43
Devel_OrgDiscuss	-0.06	-0.15	<b>0.53</b>	-0.19	0.75
Devel_PoLa	0.29	-0.06	<b>0.38</b>	0.04	0.65
Devel_PolitDiscuss	0.24	<b>0.25</b>	0.18	0.03	0.77
Devel_PolitListen	-0.18	<b>0.25</b>	0.03	0.02	0.93
<i>SS loadings:</i>					
Devel_Consumption	0.16	0.19	-0.13	<b>0.22</b>	0.86
Devel_LearnEfficacy	-0.15	0.04	0.05	<b>0.88</b>	0.22
Devel_Lifestyle	<b>0.32</b>	0.16	<b>-0.33</b>	0.29	0.75
Devel_Like_minded	0.03	-0.03	0.11	<b>0.28</b>	0.88
Devel_PolCitizensCollaboration	0.16	-0.05	0.17	<b>0.26</b>	0.81
Devel_PracticeEfficacy	-0.06	-0.21	-0.05	<b>0.91</b>	0.29
Devel_RemoveBarriers	<b>0.45</b>	0.16	0.10	0.11	0.62
Devel_SupportCitizens	<b>0.54</b>	-0.06	0.11	0.04	0.63
Prop. of total variance explained:	0.14	0.10	0.07	0.07	
<i>Dimension correlations:</i>					
Crowd-sourcing	1.00				
Delegative	0.26	1.00			
Deliberative	0.30	0.22	1.00		
Developmental	0.35	0.05	0.47	1.00	

**Table 25: Maximum likelihood factor analysis conducted with promax oblique rotation (Chi2: 458,83 with 347 degrees of freedom,  $p < 0,005$ ).  $N = 76$ . Loadings above 0,3 is highlighted in bold and for variables with no factor loadings above 0,3 the highest loading is highlighted in bold and italic.**

The crowd-sourcing dimension is the one that stands out the clearest with all crowd-sourcing variables loading above 0,5 on factor 1. But a few other variables also loads high on this. In particular, the developmental variables Devel\_SupportCitizens and Devel\_RemoveBarriers as well as the Delegat\_LeadershipTooPowerful loads noticeably higher on this factor than any

other. The latter of these were hypothesised to reflect opposition to the delegative dimension, and thus should have loaded strongly, but negatively with the delegative dimension. While it does have a negative loading on this factor, it has a much stronger positive loading on the crowd-sourcing dimension, which fits well with the theoretical model, since a strong leadership to a large degree contrasts a strong direct voice for members in decision making. Thus, the *Delegat\_LeadershipTooPowerful* variable can be reassigned to the crowd-sourcing dimension without compromising the original theory. Both of the developmental variables, with high loadings on the crowd-sourcing dimension, are related to politicians' role in supporting citizen initiatives. Citizen initiatives are central to the developmental dimension, but the phrasing of these questions could also be interpreted as citizen participation in a more shallow sense than the developmental dimension values, and more along the lines of the quick, individual types of participation that can be easily aggregated to form a crowd-sourced output. This could explain why these variables only load high on the crowd-sourcing variable. On the other hand, these variables are the only two that measures the role of the party's elected politicians in relation to the developmental dimension, so from a theoretical point of view, they can be said to play a crucial part of this dimension. Other variables that loads high on the crowd-sourcing dimension are *Delegat\_Leadership* (negatively), *Delegat\_Promise*, *Delib\_MembersDiscuss*, and *Devel\_Lifestyle*. However, all of these variables also have high loadings on the factors they are expected to reflect, and they tend to represent aspects of those dimensions that overlap somewhat with the crowd-sourcing dimension.

The delegative dimension also stands out relatively clear with the highest loadings of all but three of the delegative variables belonging to the second factor. As already described it makes good sense theoretically to reassign the *Delegat\_LeadershipTooPowerful* as reflecting the crowd-sourcing dimension. Thus, most of the delegative variables load high on factor 2, although, interestingly, the questionnaire item about delegating decision making power to the party leadership (*Delegat\_Leadership*) loads higher – but negatively – with the crowd sourcing factor. This makes sense since it indicates that respondents who support the crowd sourcing dimension are more hostile to delegating power to the party leadership than supporters of the delegative dimension are supporting it. Considering that this might be the most extreme form of delegating power this should not come as a surprise. Similarly, it is not surprising that the statement about politicians sticking to what they promised before being elected loads high on both the crowd sourcing dimension and the delegative dimension. It is an essential part of delegating power that the delegates stick to their mandate, but turning the



aggregated wisdom of the crowd into action – as valued by the crowd sourcing dimension – through a political party also requires that elected delegates stick to the mandate they have been given by the crowd. Lastly, the *Delegat\_MembersOpinionTooMuch* variable does load positively with the delegative dimension as expected, but it loads much stronger – although negatively – with the deliberative dimension. This also makes sense from our expectations since members' opinion cannot be taken too much into account if deliberation within the party is to be consequential.

For the most part the deliberative variables have high loadings on the third factor, but three of these generally does not load high on any variables (*Delib\_ExposedViews*, *Delib\_PolitDiscuss*, *Delib\_PolitListen*). The importance of discussing political issues internally in the party before a decision is made (*Delib\_MembersDiscuss*) is both important to supporters of the deliberative factor 3 and supporters of the crowds sourcing factor 1. In a way, this indicates that respondents do not see aggregative processes of crowd sourcing as opposed to deliberation.

In general, the deliberative and especially the developmental dimensions stand out less clearly than the crowd-sourcing and delegative dimension in the factor analysis. Only two variables have really high loadings on factor 4 (*Devel\_LearnEfficacy* and *Devel\_PracticeEfficacy*), both of which relate to the mobilising potential of participation in Alternativet. This is a key part of the developmental dimension, but variables about the importance of direct action by members in fulfilling Alternativet's political goals (*Devel\_Lifestyle* and *Devel\_Consumption*) has equally low loadings on all factors, while the two variables about the importance of collective action (*Devel\_Like\_minded* and *Devel\_PolCitizensCollaboration*) both have loadings below 0,3 on factor 4 despite this being the factor they load the highest on.

Overall, the variables that loads high on other factors than expected tends to be variables that reflect overlapping aspects between the four dimensions, and as such the findings can to a large degree be explained within the original theoretical framework. However, the unexpected loadings can help sharpen the definition of the four dimensions of intra-party democracy; partly by clarifying which dimension to associate overlapping aspects with, and partly by defining which survey items are best at measuring each dimension.

There are two caveats to be made about the whole factor model though. First of all it is based on a relatively small data sample of only 76 respondents who answered all of the questions about intra-party democracy (out of only 158 respondents in total). And secondly, the four factors together only accounts for 37,9 percent of the total variance of all the intra-party

democracy variables, so most of the variation can, in fact, not be explained by four latent variables. This is also confirmed by an exact fit index test which yields a chi2 value of 458,83, corresponding to a very low p-value < 0,001. That indicates that we can reject the null hypothesis that 4 factors are enough to account for all the variance of the 31 variables and that the discrepancy between the covariate matrix predicted by the model and the actual covariance in the data is too big to be random. The exact fit index has been criticised for being vulnerable to large sample sizes, which tend to overstate the significance of factor models (Russel, 2002), but that is hardly a concern with the very small sample size here.

This does not come as a surprise as we have already seen from the CFA how the data fit this original theoretical model poorly. But the EFA has already revealed how some variables can actually better be considered to reflect other dimensions of intra-party democracy than originally intended. So a slightly adapted model was developed based on this.

In this model, three variables are reassigned to other dimensions than they were originally hypothesised to account for (see table 28 for an overview of all the variables included in the adapted model). The *Delegat\_LeadershipTooPowerful* variable was originally imagined to be a negative indication of support for the delegative dimension, so that if respondents disagree with the statement that the party leadership is too powerful, they would be supporting a delegative dimension of intra-party democracy. However, it makes equally theoretical sense that agreeing with this statements is an indication of support for the crowdsourcing dimension, so in the adapted model it has been reassigned to this dimension. In a similar vein, *Delegat\_MembersOpinionTooMuch* was originally conceived as an indication of the delegative dimension, but since it is referring to not taking the *opinions* of members into account it makes sense that it is actually more related to the deliberative dimension where listening to each other's opinions is crucial. Lastly, the *Delib\_PolitListen* variable was supposed to indicate support for the deliberative dimension by describing politicians as trustees who are committed to listen to input, but are free to reflect on this input before making a decision, as opposed to delegates who act according to their mandate. However, this distinction does not seem to be clear to respondents. The variable does not load high on any of the factors, but it still loads considerably higher on the second factor, so the variable has been added to the delegative index instead of the deliberative. This makes theoretical sense because it refers to the role of *elected politicians*, who constitute one of the main groups of delegates in the party.

Fit statistics of adapted theorised model of dimensions of intra-party democracy			
CFI	TLI	RMSEA	P-value of RMSEA ( $\leq$ 0,05)
0.549	0.510	0.100	0.000

Table 26: Fit statistics of adapted theorised model, running a Confirmatory Factor Analysis, using the Lavaan package in R.  $N = 76$  (out of 158 respondents in whole dataset).

Table 26 above illustrates how confirmatory factor analysis of this adapted model, yield slightly improved fit indices, compared to the original theoretical model. But an acceptable fit of the model to the data should result in an RMSEA as close to zero as possible, and the CFI and TLI of an acceptable model fit should be as close to 1 as possible and at least above 0.7, so overall the data still fits the model rather poorly.

Another way to consider the suitability of the model, is to study the internal consistency of each dimension by looking at their Cronbach alpha values. Table 27 shows the Cronbach alpha values for each dimension in both the originally theorised model and the adapted model (as well as an optimised model that will be introduced in the following section). Here, we can see that all the dimensions except the deliberative dimension are actually somewhat coherent in the original theoretical model, indicated by Cronbach alphas over or close to 0.70. By reassigning three of the variables the Cronbach alpha of the deliberative dimension improves considerably while the delegative dimension also improves slightly in the adapted model. Cronbach alpha values of 0.7 or above are generally considered to represent an acceptable level of reliability for a constructed measure, but for exploratory purposes as this one, some argue that values as low as 0.6 should also suffice (Hair et al., 2009). While some argues that larger values are better, others have argued that values above 0.9 just indicates that some values are likely redundant.

All in all, we can conclude that while the adapted model still fits the data rather poorly overall, reassigning the variables to the dimensions they best reflect, have created coherent dimensions that still also makes sense within the broader theoretical framework.

Cronbach Alpha for each IPA index			
<i>Dimensions of IPD:</i>	<i>Original model:</i>	<i>Adapted model:</i>	<i>Optimised model:</i>
Crowd-sourcing	0.71	0.70	0.70
No. of variables	6	7	7
Deliberative	0.57	0.65	0.62
No. of variables	9	9	6
Developmental	0.72	0.72	0.68
No. of variables	8	8	3
Delegative	0.67	0.72	0.78
No. of variables	8	7	5

*Table 27: Cronbach alpha for indices of each dimension of intra-party democracy in all three models.*

#### **6.4.4 Optimised model of dimensions of intra-party democracy**

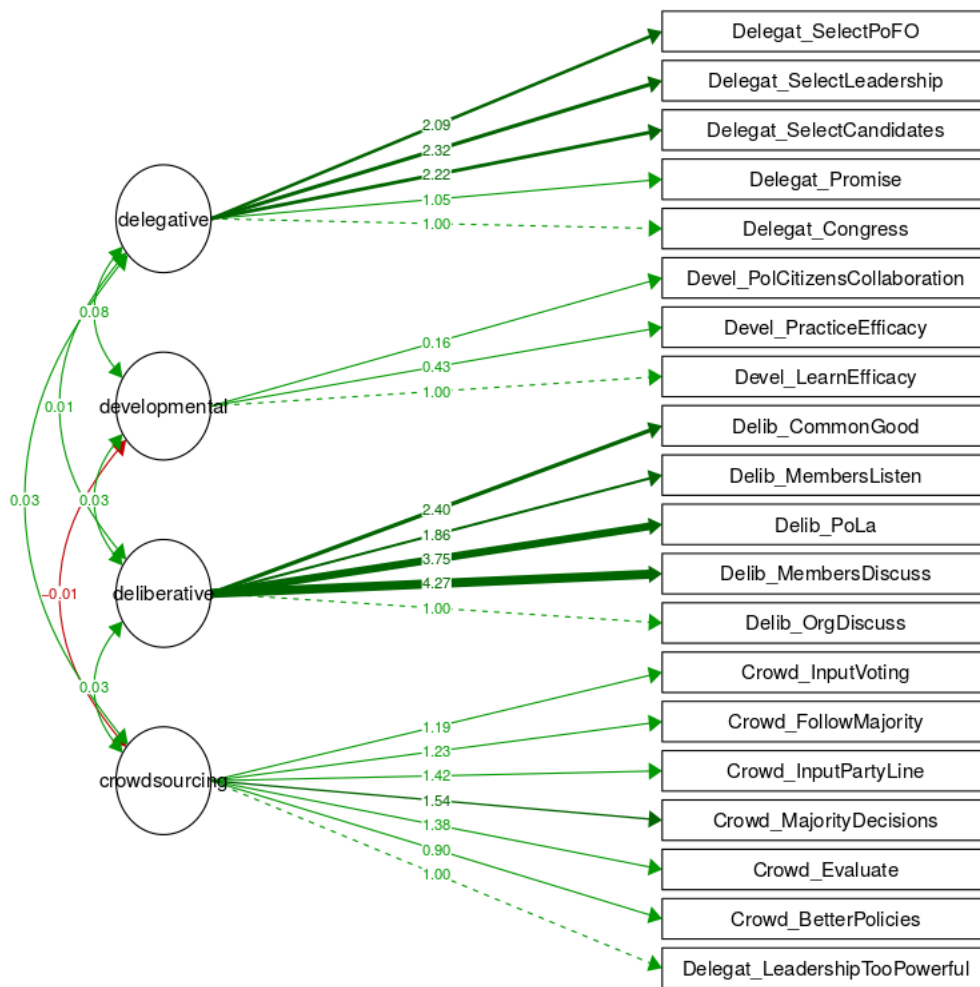
The adapted model presented in the previous section reassigns three variables from the dimensions they were expected to reflect to other dimensions of intra-party democracy, since they were theoretically overlapping and had higher loadings on these dimensions. However, the overall fit of the model is still poor, and several other variables either do not load high on any dimensions or load high on several. So it is worth considering if all of these variables should actually be included in a measure of attitudes towards intra-party democracy at all. The question items for the survey battery were developed with the intent to cover as much of the theoretical concept of intra-party democracy as possible, but some of the variables might either not fit well with this concept or they might be poorly designed, which could be indicated by a lot of missing values. This section will present an optimised model of attitudes towards intra-party democracy where variables are removed that seem to be poor measures of the concepts of interest. Table 28 provides an overview of the variables included in this optimised model as well as fit statistics of the model, and illustration 11 shows path diagram for the model, including correlations between observed and latent variables.

Variables included in each model:			
<i>Dimensions of IPD:</i>	<i>Original model:</i>	<i>Adapted model:</i>	<i>Optimised model:</i>
Crowd-sourcing	Crowd_BetterPolicies	Delegat_LeadershipTooPowerful	Delegat_LeadershipTooPowerful
	Crowd_Evaluate		
	Crowd_MajorityDecisions	Crowd_BetterPolicies	Crowd_BetterPolicies
	Crowd_InputPartyLine	Crowd_Evaluate	Crowd_Evaluate
	Crowd_FollowMajority	Crowd_MajorityDecisions	Crowd_MajorityDecisions
	Crowd_InputVoting	Crowd_InputPartyLine	Crowd_InputPartyLine
Deliberative		Crowd_FollowMajority	Crowd_FollowMajority
		Crowd_InputVoting	Crowd_InputVoting
	Delib_OrgDiscuss	Delib_OrgDiscuss	Delib_OrgDiscuss
	Delib_DiverseGroup	Delegat_MembersOpinionTo	Delib_MembersDiscuss
	Delib_ExposedViews	oMuch (reversed)	Delib_PoLa
	Delib_PolitListen	Delib_DiverseGroup	Delib_MembersListen
	Delib_PolitDiscuss	Delib_ExposedViews	Delib_CommonGood
	Delib_MembersDiscuss	Delib_PolitDiscuss	Delegat_MembersOpinionTo
	Delib_PoLa	Delib_MembersDiscuss	oMuch (reversed)
Developmental		Delib_MembersListen	
		Delib_CommonGood	
	Devel_Like_minded	Devel_Like_minded	Devel_LearnEfficacy
	Devel_PolCitizensCollaboration	Devel_PolCitizensCollaboration	Devel_PracticeEfficacy
	Devel_LearnEfficacy	Devel_LearnEfficacy	Devel_PolCitizensCollaboration
	Devel_PracticeEfficacy	Devel_PracticeEfficacy	
	Devel_Lifestyle	Devel_Lifestyle	
	Devel_SupportCitizens	Devel_SupportCitizens	
Delegative	Devel_RemoveBarriers	Devel_RemoveBarriers	
	Devel_Consumption	Devel_Consumption	
	Delegat_Congress	Delegat_Congress	Delegat_Congress
	Delegat_Leadership	Delegat_Leadership	Delegat_Promis
	Delegat_LeadershipTooPowerful	Delegat_Promise	Delegat_SelectCandidates
		Delib_PolitListen	Delegat_SelectLeadership
	Delegat_MembersOpinionTo	Delegat_SelectCandidates	Delegat_SelectPoFO
	oMuch	Delegat_SelectLeadership	
	Delegat_Promise	Delegat_SelectPoFO	
	Delegat_SelectCandidates		
	Delegat_SelectLeadership		
	Delegat_SelectPoFO		
Fit statistics of all three models			
<i>Fit indices:</i>	<i>Original model:</i>	<i>Adapted model:</i>	<i>Optimised model:</i>

CFI	0.515	0.549	0.807
TLI	0.473	0.510	0.779
RMSEA	0.104	0.100	0.077
P-value of RMSEA ( $\leq 0,05$ )	0.000	0.000	0.017
N	76	76	83

**Table 28: Overview of the three models developed to measure support for four dimensions of intra-party democracy, including variables included in each model and fit indices from CFA.**

The first step in this process is to remove variables with many missing variables. Many missing values on a variable can be a sign of a poorly designed survey question that respondents found it difficult to answer because they did not understand it properly. Furthermore, as noted above, the EFA and CFA of both the original and adapted models are only based on 76 respondents out of 158 respondents in total. This is because these analyses only include respondents that have no missing values on any of the variables included in the model. So just one variable with a lot of missing values will remove a lot of data from the whole model. The number of missing values for the intra-party democracy variables varies between 28 and 45 (see appendix for an overview over missing values of all the variables). That is almost up to a third of the respondents not answering certain questions. Secondly, all variables with loadings below 0.3 were completely removed from the optimised model, so that it only includes variables that actually seem to measure the same concept for each dimension.



**Illustration 11: Path Diagram of optimised model of four dimensions of intra-party democracy (CFA). Dashed lines are fixed parameters. Darker/thicker lines indicate stronger correlations.**

The crowd-sourcing dimension is kept the same as in the adapted model with all the original variables plus the Delegat\_LeadershipTooPowerful variable, since these all have high loadings on one factor, and the Cronbach alpha indicates that they are all fairly consistent with each other. The three variables Delib\_DiverseGroup, Delib\_ExposedViews, and Delib\_PolitDiscuss are removed from the deliberative dimension. None of these variables had loadings above 0.30 on any of the factors and they had equally high loadings on several factors, which means that they are not useful in distinguishing between different dimensions of intra-party democracy. Moreover, they are not essential to the deliberative dimension in the sense that the dimension still makes sense with the remaining variables.

Five variables are removed from the developmental dimension. Devel\_Like\_minded and Devel\_Consumption did not have loadings above 0.3 on any factors while Devel\_Lifestyle had equally semi-high loadings on all factors except the delegative dimension, so all of these variables were removed from the optimised model. Devel\_SupportCitizens and Devel\_RemoveBarriers were removed because respondents clearly associate them more with the crowd-sourcing dimension.

Finally, Delegat\_Leadership and Delib\_PolitListen were removed from the delegative dimension. As already noted Delegat\_Leadership loads positively on the delegative dimension as expected, but it is much more strongly, but negatively associated with the crowd-sourcing dimension. While this makes sense theoretically, it turns out to not improve the fit of the overall model to add this variable to the crowd-sourcing dimension. It also worsens the Cronbach alpha of the crowd-sourcing index, indicating that it is not that consistent with this dimension after all, so instead it is removed altogether from the optimised model. The Delib\_PolitListen was reassigned to the delegative dimension in the adapted model because it has a slightly higher loading on this dimension than the deliberative dimension as expected; however the loading is still below 0.3 so it is removed from the optimised model.

As can be seen in table 28 the optimised model includes a few more observations than the original and adapted theoretical models, but not a lot more. Even though variables with a lot of missing variables are removed from the optimised model, respondents tends to have missing values on very different combinations of the intra-party democracy variables, so there are still relatively few respondents that have answered all the remaining questions in the optimised model. Fortunately, this also indicates that there is no systematic pattern in which respondents are left out of the analysis because of missing values.

Finally, the fit indices of the optimised model are considerably improved compared to the original theoretical model as well as the adapted one. With CFI and TLI indices above or close to 0.80 and a statistically significant RMSEA close to 0.05, this model fits the data adequately. Going back to table 27, we see that all the resulting dimensions of the optimised model contain variables that are reasonably consistent with Cronbach alpha's close to 0.70. So the optimised model shows that respondents' attitudes towards intra-party democracy can, indeed, be separated along the four dimensions originally theorised, although each of these dimensions look a bit differently than originally expected.



#### 6.4.5 Support for four dimensions of intra-party democracy

Based on the optimised model presented above, summary indices were built for each dimension of intra-party democracy in order to measure support for each of these. The indices are calculated as each respondent's mean value of all the variables included in each dimension (see table 28 above). This approach was chosen over using predicted values from the confirmatory factor analysis for two reasons. First of all, the resulting scales using the means are similar to the original 5-point Likert scale used to measure each variable, so the support is more intuitively interpretable. Secondly, confirmatory factor analysis only includes observations without missing values on any variables in the analysis, whereas using the mean only requires respondents to have answered at least one of the questions relating to each dimension. With the relatively small sample that this analysis is based on, the benefit of keeping more data in the analysis outweighs the potential downsides of using incomplete observations to calculate the indices. The main potential downside is that the indices can be skewed by many missing values on specific variables so the indices will be biased towards the remaining variables. However, as illustrated in table 29 most observations do not have any missing values on each index and relatively few have missing values on more than a few variables in each index. So the risk of biasing the indices by including all observations with at least one underlying value for each index can be considered small.

Frequency of respondents with missing values on different numbers of variables in each index.									
No. of missing values on index	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	No. of variables in index
<i>Frequencies:</i>									
Crowd-sourcing	102	20	2	5	0	2	0	27	7
Deliberative	102	22	7	0	0	0	27		6
Developmental	115	7	7	29					3
Delegative	113	13	2	1	2	27			5

**Table 29: Frequency table illustrating how many respondents have missing values on different numbers of the variables included in each index. Last column illustrate how many variables are included in each index.**

Figure 2 and table 30 illustrate the support for each of the dimensions of intra-party democracy with a boxplot and descriptive statistics respectively. It is clear, that as expected there are generally high support for all dimensions of intra-party democracy. All indices have mean values above 3, which would correspond to the neutral position of “neither agree or disagree” on the Likert scale, used to measure the observable variables the indices are based

on. For the crowd-sourcing and developmental dimensions three quarters of all respondents score above this neutral position in their support (as illustrated by the 1<sup>st</sup> quartile) and for the deliberative dimension none of the respondents score below this neutral level. Contrary to this, we can see that despite a mean value slightly above this neutral position, scores on the delegative dimension is much more varied. The support for this dimension is almost normally distributed with as many respondents scoring values below 3 as above, which means that party members are almost as likely to oppose this dimension of intra-party democracy as they are to support it.

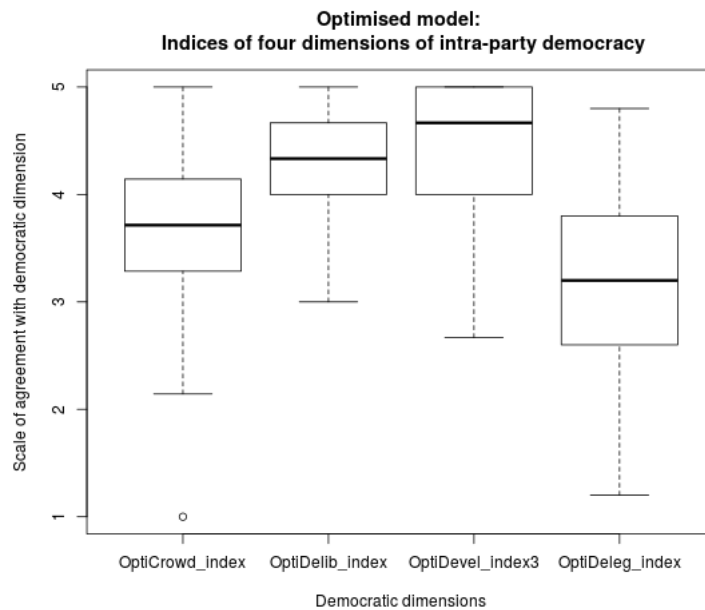


Figure 2: Boxplot of indices for each of the intra-party democracy dimensions included in the optimised model. Each index is a mean of values on all variables included in the index.

Dependent sample t-tests show that the mean of differences between values on all indices are statistically significant (all p-values < 0.001 - see table 30). So despite the relatively small sample size, we can confidently conclude that there are different levels of support for each dimension among party members of Alternativet. The developmental dimension is the most popular ( $M = 4.47$ ,  $SD = 0.59$ ), together with the deliberative dimension ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = 0.46$ ) which enjoys slightly lower support on average, but in return has a lower variance. The crowd-sourcing dimension is the third most popular ( $M = 3.70$ ,  $SD = 0.62$ ) and the delegative dimension has the least support with almost as many respondents opposing this dimension of intra-party democracy as supporting it ( $M = 3.24$ ,  $SD = 0.80$ ). These are the two

dimension that most closely resemble a direct and representative intra-party democracy, which have been included in most previous studies of support for intra-party democracy.

**Indices of four dimensions of intra-party democracy  
(optimised model)**

	Crowd-sourcing	Deliberative	Developmental	Delegative
Min.	1,000	3,000	2,667	1,200
1st Qu.	3,286	4,000	4,000	2,600
Median	3,714	4,333	4,667	3,200
Mean	3,695	4,289	4,472	3,241
3rd Qu.	4,143	4,667	5,000	3,800
Max.	5,000	5,000	5,000	4,800
Standard deviation	0,622	0,459	0,586	0,801
Missing values	27	27	29	27
N	131	131	129	131
<i>Mean of differences between indices:</i>				
	-0.59***			
Deliberative	$t(130) = -10.02$			
	-0.78***			
Developmental	$t(128) = -11.23$			
	-0.19***			
	$t(128) = -3.61$			
	0.45***			
Delegative	1.05***			
	1.23***			
	$t(131) = 5.83$	$t(130) = 13.54$	$t(128) = 15.35$	

**Table 30: Descriptive statistics of indices for the four dimensions of intra-party democracy. Each index is calculated as the mean value of all variables included in the index. Mean of differences between each index include dependent sample t-tests with degrees of freedom in parentheses. \*\*\* p-value < 0.001**

## 6.5 Conclusion: Dimensions of intra-party democracy in final model

Considering that one of the key goals of Alternativet is to establish a “new political culture” and offer alternative ways for people to engage in a participatory democracy, it is interesting to what degree the membership shares democratic values with the party elite. The findings from this chapter shows, that party members attitudes towards intra-party democracy do indeed fit with a model that mirrors the same four dimensions of intra-party democracy identified among the party elite in qualitative interviews. However, the model had to be adapted slightly to fit the data, with some aspects of each dimension not aligning as expected. So it is worth going through each of the four dimensions to consider how the party members’ view on these dimensions differ from the party elite’s.

In the optimised model, the crowd-sourcing dimension consists of all the same variables that it was hypothesised to consist of in the theoretical model, plus the *deleget\_LeadershipTooPowerful* variable. Thus, it is the dimension where there is the least difference between the original and optimised model, indicating that the perception of this dimension of democracy is relatively similar among party grassroots and the party elite. The additional variable *delegat\_LeadershipTooPowerful* was originally theorised to be negatively correlated with the delegative dimension. As illustrated in the beginning of this chapter, studies of support for intra-party democracy often oppose delegation to more direct forms of intra-party democracy (Baras et al., 2012; B. Hansen & Saglie, 2005; L. Young & Cross, 2002), so it makes good sense that this variable is in fact a better indicator of support for a latent crowd-sourcing dimension than the delegative dimension. At least to the extent that the crowd-sourcing dimension is equated with a plebiscitary kind of direct intra-party democracy. While this is clearly an important aspect of the crowd-sourcing dimension, it is not all there is to this dimension. The *Crowd\_MajorityDecisions* and *Crowd\_FollowMajority* variables were included in this dimension to reflect a plebiscitary aspect of the dimension, but importantly the party elite discourse combined this with an epistemic aspect, directly linking mass participation to policy quality. The *Crowd\_BetterPolicies* and *Crowd\_Evaluate* was included to cover this aspect, so it is interesting that both of these have high loadings (in fact *Crowd\_Evaluate* loads the highest of all variable on this factor) on the crowd-sourcing latent variable. This confirms that not only theoretically, but also empirically it is meaningful to categorise plebiscitary and epistemic aspects of direct democracy together – at least in the context of the internal organisation of the Alternativet party.

Turning to the deliberative dimension, a few more variables from the original model had to be removed from the optimised model to fit data. However, with 5 out of the 9 nine hypothesised aspects of deliberation still included in the optimised model, the remaining variables cover enough of the substantial elements in deliberation to still represent a deliberative dimension. This includes exchanging opinions (*Delib\_OrgDiscuss*, *Delib\_MemberDiscuss*, and *Delib\_PoLa*), listening to each other (*Delib\_MemberListen*), and a focus on the common good (*Delib\_CommonGood*). Furthermore, reversed *Delegat\_membersOpinionTooMuch* variable was also found to fit with this dimension. In it's reversed form, this variable represents the view that members' opinion cannot be taken too much into account when decisions are made, so this variable adds an emphasis on the importance of consequentiality of deliberation to the dimension. So while supporters of this dimension value the process of deliberation in itself, it

is also important to them that the opinions they voice while deliberating actually feeds into final decisions. This is an important aspect of deliberation to be aware of when measuring support for deliberation, and in line with Neblo et al. who found that citizens are more willing to participate in deliberation if decision makers are also taking part (Neblo et al., 2010), thus indicating that the potential impact of deliberating is an important aspect for potential deliberators.

The developmental dimension is the one, where the optimised model differs the most from the original model based on the elite interviews. Out of the eight variables included in the original model only three were kept in the optimised model, and substantial aspects of the developmental dimension as described in the previous chapter had to be removed to create an optimised model that fit the data. Thus, the focus on individual political actions directly aimed at political change such as consumerism (Devel\_Consumption) and political everyday lifestyle choices (Devel\_Lifestyle) that was central to the original developmental dimension did not align clearly with any of the latent variables in the exploratory factor analysis. The Devel\_RemoveBarriers and Devel\_supportCitizens variables, which focused on the role of politicians in supporting individual citizen action, likewise, did not align with the developmental factor. Together these variables largely represent the type of political activist that Henrik Bang named the *Everyday maker* who wants to make a difference, but want to do so on their own terms – in collaboration with authorities if necessary, but who do not feel ideologically attached to one way of doing things (H. Bang, 2005). Support for this type of networked activism does not seem to align with any underlying attitudes toward intra-party democracy among the party grass-roots.

What is left of the developmental dimension, is the efficacy variables (Devel\_LearnEfficacy and Devel\_PracticeEfficacy) and the Devel\_PolCitizensCollaboration variable. The efficacy variables represent the educational aspect of participatory democracy as described by Carole Pateman, where citizen engagement is important for participants to develop into empowered citizens (Pateman, 1970). And the Devel\_PolCitizensCollaboration variable represents the view that collaboration with citizens are essential for politicians to implement actual political change, thus retaining a little bit of the activist aspect, but only in relation to collaboration between citizens and political authorities. So personal engagement in addressing political challenges is also central to the way party members perceive the developmental dimension of intra-party democracy. But, for them, the collective aspect of working together in the party and in society seems to be more important than the individualist aspect of doing things on

your own. This view is not in itself incompatible with an individual oriented everyday maker, who posses what Castells call a project identity that is neither antagonistic towards authorities or legitimising of authorities, but pragmatically working together with authorities when it is useful for their own political project (Castells, 2004). However, from party activists' point of view collaboration between politicians and citizens seems to be of actual importance to a developmental dimension of democracy.

Finally, the delegative dimension, substantially cover roughly the same aspects in the original and optimised model, although some of the hypothesised variables were removed or re-assigned to other dimensions in the optimised model. As already mentioned the Delegat\_LeadershipTooPowerful variable turned out to align better with the crowd-sourcing dimension, while a reversed Delegat\_MembersOpinionTooMuch aligned more with the deliberative dimension. In both cases the variables correlate with the crowd-sourcing and deliberative dimensions in the opposite direction than they were expected to relate to the delegate dimension. This does not come as a surprise since previous studies have treated delegation based intra-party democracy as a contrast to stronger and more participatory intra-party democracies (Baras et al., 2012; B. Hansen & Saglie, 2005; L. Young & Cross, 2002). Out of the remaining delegative variables from the original model, the only one not retained in the optimised model is the Delegat\_Leadership, which indicate that the leadership should have the final say in important decisions, and thus perhaps representing the least participatory aspect of all the survey items included in the analysis. But even without this the remaining delegative variables cover the main theoretical aspects of a delegative dimension, such as the important role of members in selecting delegates (Delegat\_SelectCandidates, Delegat\_SelectLeadership, and Delegat\_SelectPoFo), letting congress delegates have the last word, and for delegates to keep what they promised. Thus, the delegative dimension of intra-party democracy as perceived by the party elite and party activists are substantially similar. So to sum up, three out of the four dimensions of intra-party democracy include all the characteristics hypothesised, while the developmental dimension had to be adjusted slightly to fit the model. A developmental dimension can still be detected among the party members, but they perceive this dimension slightly different from how it was described by the party elite in the qualitative interviews. Interestingly, the party members' perception of the dimension can be interpreted as less "radical" than that described by the party elite. The party elite described how citizens ought to be the main drivers of change, while the elected politicians main role should only be to support citizens in taking initiative – for instance to live more climate

friendly – but the party members’ perception of this dimension is more similar to traditional political activism. This finding can be said to contrast May’s Law of curvilinear disparity, which states that party activists tend to have the most radical views, while the party elite is more moderate because it is predominantly concerned with maximising electoral support (May, 1973). However, this should not come as a big surprise. First of all, May’s Law refers to ideological stances and not support for intra-party democracy. And secondly, while many studies have tested May’s Law of curvilinear disparity, they have resulted in mixed evidence. For example Pippa Norris finds that British party elites are more ideologically extreme than both mid-level party activists and inactive party members (Norris, 1995).

Support for all these dimensions of intra-party democracy are generally high, except for the delegative dimension, for which support varies widely among the respondents. This aligns well with the attitudes expressed in elite interviews, where the delegative dimension was mostly described as a necessity rather than an ideal. So with the caveat that some of the dimensions had to be a bit more narrowly defined to fit the attitudes of the general membership, we can conclude that on the question of strength and type of intra-party democracy, Alternativet’s membership and party elite are largely in agreement. They are generally very supportive of a strong participatory intra-party democracy, but their ideals in this regard nonetheless deviate along three separate dimensions: a crowd-sourcing, a deliberative, and a developmental dimension. And despite more division in the support for a delegative intra-party democracy, there is not an overall strong opposition to this kind of intra-party democracy either. With an approximately normal distribution of attitudes towards this dimension centering around the middle value of 3, representing a “neither agree or disagree” response, there seems to be a general acceptance that delegation should play a role in the party’s internal organisation. This is interesting in light of how previous party member surveys have contrasted delegation based intra-party democracy with direct types of democracy, as proxies for weaker versus stronger intra-party democracies (Baras et al., 2012; B. Hansen & Saglie, 2005; L. Young & Cross, 2002). The results of this study suggests that these two dimensions are complementary in the eyes of Alternativet’s party members, and thus future studies should consider carefully if it is meaningful to contrast them as opposing concepts.

## **Chapter 7. Demand for online participation in Alternativet**

### **7.1 Introduction**

Chapter 4 described how the intra-party democracy of Alternativet offers several innovative channels for members and supporters to participate in policy formation and decision making and chapter 5 illustrated how a lot of these participation channels are supported by or directly facilitated through different online platforms. This chapter will take a closer look at the demand among party members and supporters for these online participation channels. It will consider both the actual use of different online party platforms and the attitudes towards these. In particular it will examine any connections between the attitudes towards intra-party democracy, covered in the previous chapter, and demand for online participation; thus also functioning as a proof of concept for the model of democratic dimensions developed in that chapter.

First, the next section will describe the expected relationship between the four dimensions of intra-party democracy described in the previous chapter and online participation in the party. The following section will expand on how online participation was measured in the survey and in the process describe four different types of online participation that the analysis will distinguish between. Then the analytical models and resulting findings are presented before the chapter is rounded off with a short discussion and sub conclusion.

### **7.2 Hypotheses**

Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) enable types of political participation that is distinct from traditional types of political participation. Yannis Theocharis and Jan van Deth have demonstrated that digitally networked participation such as expressing political opinions, sharing political messages and encouraging political action through online social media constitute an emerging type of political participation that differs from traditional political activities such as voting, protesting, and volunteering (Theocharis & Deth, 2016) as well as life style politics (Theocharis et al., 2019). Gibson and Cantijoch similarly finds that while some online activities follow very similar participation patterns to their offline counterparts, the Internet also allows completely new ways people to express themselves politically (R. Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013). So it is very relevant to also consider the potential effect of ICT in the context of intra-party participation.

But relatively few studies have looked particularly at how online media is used by party members and supporters to participate in political parties. One exception to this is Kosiara-



Pedersen's comparison of online and offline participants in Danish political parties (K. Pedersen, 2006). She finds that opportunities for online participation within parties have a limited effect on who participates compared to traditional party engagement, but also notes that her analysis is based on data from 2000, when the application of digital technologies for intra-party democratic engagement was still a relatively new phenomenon. Thus the online activities included in her analysis are limited to receiving emails from the party, visiting the party website, and participating in electronic debates. Other studies have explored online participation within political parties such as the German Green Party (Gerl et al., 2018), the Austrian People's Party (Schmidhuber et al., 2019), and all the Norwegian and Danish parties (K. Pedersen & Saglie, 2005), but they all focus on the intensity of online participation and do not distinguish between different ways to participate online. Taking a slightly different approach to explore the potential of digital innovations to broaden participation in party politics, Thuermer et al. use survey questions about how much members of the German Green Party *think* they will participate in yet to be implemented new online avenues for participation in the party (Thuermer et al., 2018). And they find that online technologies seem unlikely to bridge traditional gaps in participation. However, their focus is also on how many and who participates rather than what type of participation party members engage in online. In this sense, much research on online engagement within political parties share a focus that has also dominated much research on general online participation. Namely a focus on the effect of Internet technologies on who participates in politics. This focus includes questions such as whether opportunities for online participation bridge or exacerbate existing divisions in political participation (Norris, 2001); whether the Internet is creating a new divide between digitally literate super participants and less technology savvy individuals (Dijk & Hacker, 2003); and whether online participation is most likely to replace or supplement traditional political participation (Jensen, 2013). As such, online participation has largely been treated as a singular category of activities, contrasted with offline "traditional" participation. However, scholars have increasingly argued that online political participation should be regarded as a multifaceted concept, and demonstrated empirically how online participation both mirror traditional types of participation (R. Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013) and enable completely new types of participation (Theocharis et al., 2019). This diversity in different types of online participation should also be taken into account when studying online participation specific to political parties. So this analysis will take a different approach than previous studies of online intra-party participation, and distinguish between four types of

online participation, which are each expected to relate to the four dimensions of intra-party democracy identified in the previous chapters.

There are a few examples of previous survey studies that distinguish between different kinds of online intra-party participation. For example, Lusoli and Ward (2004) distinguish between party members' use of 8 different features on websites of the British Labour Party and Liberal Democrats (Lusoli & Ward, 2004). However at that time, party websites were still in a relatively early stage of development with limited functionalities, so their study only includes a couple of interactive features (such as providing feedback to the party by email, and renewing party membership online), with most of the 8 survey items focussing on accessing different types of information on the party website. As chapter 5 illustrated, the online platforms in Alternativet offer a much wider range of opportunities for party supporters to interact with the party and each other. So a new set of survey items were developed for this study to capture the use of all the different ways to take part in the intra-party democracy of Alternativet online. The next section will describe each of these activities in detail and also describe how they constitute four overall types of online participation:

- One-click engagements, used to aggregate participants' opinions (such as "liking", voting, online polling)
- Online deliberation
- Online mobilisation of collective action
- Online accountability (transparency and sanction/reward mechanisms)

Each of these types of online participation corresponds to the ideals of each of the four dimensions of intra-party democracy developed in the previous chapters. The crowd-sourcing dimension emphasise the importance of aggregation of opinions, not only for decision making, but also for improving the quality of input to the policy process. So low effort online engagements such as liking a post on social media to give it more exposure fits well with the sentiments of this dimension. Likewise, the deliberative dimension obviously favours engagement in online deliberation, while the developmental dimension's focus on direct action by party supporters (and citizens) requires a lot of coordination, which different online platforms provide tools to facilitate. For instance, both Facebook and the party's own platform AlleOs provide event organisation tools and group communication features, and the party also provides several information sharing platforms, which are useful resources for peer assistance. Finally, the delegative dimension of intra-party democracy entails that delegates need to be held accountable through observation of their actions and sanction or reward mechanisms; the

latter of which usually happens through re-election or de-selection. While most delegates and election candidates were selected at physical nomination meetings at the time of data collection, the party was experimenting a lot with online voting systems for this purpose. Besides, in the qualitative interviews the party elite frequently mentioned increased transparency as a potentially useful advantage of Internet technologies. And to hold delegates accountable, it is crucial that there is transparency about their actions, so potential sanctions are based on an informed basis. So staying informed about the actions of party delegates through online video streams and by reading meeting summaries online are activities in accordance with the ideals of the delegative dimension of intra-party democracy. The next section will elaborate on the characteristics of these four types of online participation, but it should be clear from this short description that we can reasonably expect attitudes towards intra-party democracy to influence engagement in these four different types of participation. So the first hypothesis states that:

**H1:** Attitudes towards intra-party democracy affects engagement in specific types of online party participation so that:

- a) One-click engagements that automatically aggregate participants' opinions (such as "liking", voting, online polling) are mostly preferred by supporters of the crowd-sourcing dimensions of intra-party democracy.
- b) Online debate forums that allow participants to present arguments and weigh them against each other are mostly preferred by supporters of the deliberative dimension of intra-party democracy.
- c) Online functionalities that support mobilisation for direct action (such as events and groups on AlleOs and Facebook as well as direct communication channels between members) are mostly preferred by supporters of the developmental dimension of intra-party democracy.
- d) Online activities that aims at electing party delegates and keeping them accountable are associated with positive attitudes towards a delegative intra-party democracy.

Not all of the online platforms in use within Alternativet provides opportunities to engage in all of these four types of activities. Some platforms are designed to specifically support one of these types of participation while others facilitate several different types of participation. For instance the Appgree smartphone app is specifically designed to gather opinions through advanced online polling, so this platform only allows low effort, quick interactions that are meant to aggregate opinions, whereas the party's online forum Dialog is designed specifically

to promote good deliberation. So the second hypothesis focus on preferences for different online platforms. In particular, on the extent to which each platform is considered to improve or weaken intra-party democracy (see chapter 5 for a full description of each online platform).

**H2:** Support for different dimensions of intra-party democracy is related to preferences for different online platforms so that:

- a) Supporters of the crowd-sourcing dimension of intra-party democracy are more likely to think that Appgree, Medlemsmandatet, and Polis improves political decisions.
- b) Supporters of the deliberative dimension of intra-party democracy are more likely to think that the party's online debate forum Dialog and party related Facebook groups improve political decisions.
- c) Supporters of the delegative dimension of intra-party democracy are more likely to think that AlleOs, and to a lesser extent Dialog and Facebook improves political decision making.
- d) Supporters of the delegative dimension are more likely to think that Medlemsmandatet weakens political decisions.

The next section will describe considerations on how to measure engagement in party related online activities as well as preferences for different party platforms. And in the process it will also expand on the characteristics of the four types of online participation, thus justifying the hypotheses further.

### **7.3 Measuring online participation**

The survey included three item batteries with questions about online engagement within the party. The first battery asked about the familiarity of 9 different online platforms used in the party, the second about how respondents use these platforms, and finally the third battery concerned preferences for different platforms for the purpose of intra-party democracy. Additionally, respondents were also asked if they prefer to discuss politics online or offline. Not surprisingly, a majority of respondents prefer to discuss politics face-to-face with people in the real world (82,1%), but a notable minority of 17,9% actually prefer political discussion via online channels (n=134).

#### **7.3.1 Familiarity with online party platforms**

It cannot be assumed that all party members are familiar with or have any experience with all the online platforms used within Alternativet. So the first item battery about online participation concerned familiarity with all the online platforms, relevant to the intra-party

democracy of the party. The familiarity of the platforms were measured with an ordinal 6-point scale as described in table 31. This scale with precise descriptions of each response option, allowed the subsequent pages of the questionnaire about online participation to be filtered, so that each respondent was only presented with questions about platforms they were actually familiar with.

For each of the following digital platforms, please indicate if you...
(Tick one box in each row)
1. ...have never heard about it.
2. ...have heard of it, but never used it yourself.
3. ...have tried to use it a few times.
4. ...uses it rarely.
5. ...uses it regularly.
6. ...uses it often.

Table 31: Response options for questionnaire battery about familiarity with different online platforms.

The selection of platforms were based on the qualitative interviews, and included both platforms run by the party itself and commercial platforms such as Facebook, where a lot of intra-party discussions and organisation takes place (see chapter 5 for more details about this and descriptions of each platform). The online platforms, included in the questionnaire were:

- Facebook
- Dialog (dialog.alternativet.dk)
- Alternativet's Appgree
- The official Facebook page of Alternativet
- Facebook groups related to Alternativet
- "Medlemsmandatet"
- AlleOs (alleos.alternativet.dk)
- Pol.is (integrated with AlleOs)
- Alternativet's wiki (wiki.alternativet.dk)

Arguably, some of these do not constitute a *platform* in and of themselves; however an inclusive approach were taken to cover all kinds of online participation that is relevant to Alternativet's intra-party democracy. This is for instance the case with Pol.is, which is actually a feature that is integrated within AlleOs. But since the affordances of this feature aligns so well with the traits of the crowd-sourcing democratic dimension, as described in the party elite interviews, it is of special interest to this study. The same goes for the "Medlemsmandatet", which can better be characterised as an intra-party institution that is

facilitated through online ballots rather than a specific online platform. Additionally, to allow filtering of subsequent questions about the use of and preference for specific features, it was necessary to know if the respondent were familiar with these. That is also why Facebook as a general platform is included in addition to the more relevant categories of Alternativet related Facebook groups and the official party page.

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Median	Pctl(75)	Max
Facebook	145	5.324	1.224	1.000	5.000	6.000	6.000	6.000
Dialog (dialog.alternativet.dk)	145	2.890	1.313	1.000	2.000	3.000	4.000	6.000
Alternativet's Appgree	144	2.250	1.271	1.000	1.000	2.000	3.000	6.000
The official Facebook page of Alternativet	145	3.952	1.287	1.000	3.000	4.000	5.000	6.000
Facebook groups related to Alternativet	145	4.069	1.678	1.000	3.000	5.000	5.000	6.000
"Medlemsmandatet"	143	1.643	1.110	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000	6.000
AlleOs (alleos.alternativet.dk)	143	3.587	1.426	1.000	2.000	4.000	5.000	6.000
Pol.is (on AlleOs)	144	1.840	1.101	1.000	1.000	1.000	3.000	6.000
Alternativet's Wiki (wiki.alternativet.dk)	146	1.952	1.356	1.000	1.000	1.000	3.000	6.000

Table 32: Descriptive statistics of variables describing familiarity and intensity of use of online intra-party platforms.

Facebook is the most used platform with over half of respondents stating that they use this platform often, and less than a quarter using it less than regularly. In line with this, Alternativet related Facebook groups and the party's official Facebook page also top the table of most used platforms with more than 25% and 50% respectively of respondents using each of these platforms regularly. This could be an effect of promoting the survey through party related Facebook groups, although far most respondents accessed the survey through links from the party newsletter. However, recent research has shown that Facebook has become an essential part of everyday live among the Danish population, and that Facebook is also the most common place for the Danish population to discuss politics online with strangers with 10,0% of the population stating that they do this often in one survey (Rossi et al., 2016). So in that light it is not surprising that Facebook is the most used of all the platforms. The same survey also shows that social media are mainly used to read content indicating that 31% of the population read content on Facebook daily (Rossi et al., 2016, p. 3). Out of the party's own online platforms, AlleOs is the one that most respondents are familiar with over half of respondents also using it sometimes (at least "rarely"). After this comes the party debate forum Dialog, which most respondents have tried to use at least once, while for all of the remaining platforms, less than half of respondents have any experience of using them. This picture confirms perceptions from the party elite interviews that most online intra-party engagement takes place on Facebook rather than the party's own platforms.

### 7.3.2 Participation on online party platforms

While the familiarity variables shed light on how often participants use each online platform, it does not describe what these platforms are used for. As described above online participation can take as many different forms and shapes as offline participation can (R. Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013), and for this analysis we are particularly interested in four types of online participation: one-click aggregative engagement, online deliberation, online mobilisation, and accountability activities. But each online platform allows several of these types of participation and each type of participation can take place across several of the platforms. So summary indices are used to obtain single measures of engagement in each of the four types of participation. These indices are based on engagement in specific activities on specific platforms. The following four subsections will describe the variables included in each of these four indices, and then a fifth section reflects on how to build these indices.

Most of these online participation variables belonged to the same questionnaire battery on online participation, but some were part of a battery on general party engagement. All questions from the online participation battery were measured on a 7 point scale, ranging from “never” to “very often”. For four variables (*Medlemsmandatet\_Vote*, *MpsLivestream\_Watch*, *Appgree\_Write*, and *Appgree\_AgreeDisagree*) the extreme end-point of the scale was described as “everytime I get the chance” instead of “very often” because these activities are only occasionally available to party members, while all the other activities can be initiated by the members themselves. Variables from the battery on general party activism, were measured on a 5 point scale, ranging from “never” to “over 10 times”, because these batteries were partly replicates of previous party member surveys in Denmark which used this scale (Kosiara-Pedersen & Møller Hansen, 2012).

#### One-click engagements to aggregate opinions

As described in chapter 5, Alternativet’s online platforms and intra-party institutions allow party members to express their opinion in several ways that can be used to aggregate these opinions in an attempt to harvest the “wisdom of the crowd”. This includes formal institutions such as the *Medlemsmandatet* where the party MPs ask members how they should vote on specific proposals in parliament through an online ballot, and signing up as a supporter of a policy proposal to have it adopted for the Political Catalogue. Both of these types of actions aggregate votes *for* or *against* a concrete proposal and have direct impact on deciding the party’s policies. But member opinions are also aggregated in less consequential ways through online tools such as Appgree and Pol.is, both of which attempts to efficiently narrow down a

few viewpoints that summarise what most members think about a specific topic by collecting short written inputs and ask other members to assess these inputs by indicating whether they agree or not. While these tools are also used to aggregate opinions, the outcome of participation through these do not have any direct impact on party policies. Instead they are mainly used as consultative tools and to guide intra-party debate on specific topics. Table 33 below lists all the survey items, used to measure these types of aggregative one-click online engagements in the party. Single measures are used to measure how often each respondent use their vote for the Medlemsmandat ballots and how often they sign up as supporters of policy proposals (Medlemsmandatet\_Vote and PartyPart\_SupportAlleOs). And for each of the platforms Appgree and Polis, one question measured how often respondents post an opinion (Polis\_Write and Appgree\_Write) and another question how often they indicate their agreement/disagreement with opinions posted by other participants (Polis\_AgreeDisagree and Appgree\_AgreeDisagree).

### Party related aggregative “one-click” online engagements

Question wording:

\*The following questions concern how you use [platform]. How often do you carry out each of the following activities on [platform]? (7 point scale ranging from "never" to "very often")

\*\*How often do you carry out each of the following activities online?

\*\*\*Within the last year, how often have you participated in the activities listed below?

Statements:	Variable name:	n:
<b>The party's own platforms:</b>		
• Like other people's posts and comments on dialog.alternativet.dk	Dialog_Like	81 *
• Indicate my view on a political proposal through pol.is on AlleOs.	Polis_Write	37 *
• Consider other people's views, indicated through pol.is on AlleOs.	Polis_AgreeDisagree	37 *
• Use my vote in connection with the "Medlemsmandatet".	Medlemsmandatet_Vote	27 **
• Answer questions through Appgree.	Appgree_Write	61 **
• Report your agreement or disagreement with other people's answers through Appgree.	Appgree_AgreeDisagree	61 **
• Supported a policy proposal for the party on the party's AlleOs platform.	PartyPart_SupportAlleOs	142 ***
<b>Party related Facebook groups :</b>		
• Like other people's posts in one of Alternativet's Facebook groups.	FBGr_Like	105 *

Table 33: Survey items measuring “one-click” engagements that aggregate opinions through activities on party related online platforms. Scales used to measure each question: \* a 7 point scale ranging from "never" to "very often"; \*\* a 7 point scale ranging from “never” to “Every time I get the chance”; \*\*\* a 5 point scale ranging from “Never” to “Over 10 times”.

Lastly, one-click engagements also include using the *like* button to indicate agreement with what other people post on online forums. It is possible to do this on the party's online forum Dialog as well as in party related Facebook groups, so the variables Dialog\_Like and FBGr\_Like measures how often respondents use each of these functionalities. Contrary to the



other one-click activities, here the purpose of liking something posted on Dialog or in a Facebook group is not explicitly to aggregate the overall opinion of party members. In fact, some scholars argue that this kind of activity should be regarded as expressive acts aimed at creating a political identity rather than acts aimed at influencing a decision (Marichal, 2013). However, for every *like* a post gets the more likely it is to be shown to readers either on their Facebook timeline or in the summaries of discussions on Dialog, and thus I argue that these activities in fact do have real impact on online debates within the party. Additionally, the number of likes can also be used as an indicator of how popular a certain viewpoint is, and thus it can also be used as a consultative tool to gauge the general sentiment of party members in a similar vein as the Appgree and Polis tools.

#### Online deliberation

Eight variables measured four different aspects of deliberative online activities on two different platforms. These are all listed in table 34 below. First of all, for any deliberation to take place it requires that participants express their views in an open forum where other participants can respond to it in a discursive fashion. This was measured by asking how often respondents write posts on either the party's online forum Dialog or in one of the party's internal Facebook groups (FBGr\_Write and Dialog\_Write). Deliberation, however, not only requires that deliberators express their own views, but also that they listen to, reflect on, and engage with the views of other deliberators (Goodin & Niemeyer, 2003). While the reflection is difficult to measure, listening was measured in the survey by asking how often respondents read and follow posts by other party members on different platforms (FBGr\_read and Dialog\_Read). And engagement with the views of other participants were measured through how often respondents comment on other people's posts (FBGr\_Comment and Dialog\_Comment). Two of the online platforms allow these types of participation: The party's own online forum Dialog and the many very active party related Facebook groups.

**Deliberative online activities**

Question wording:

*\*The following questions concern how you use [platform]. How often do you carry out each of the following activities on [platform]? (7 point scale ranging from "never" to "very often")*

Statements:	Variable name:	n:
<b>The party's online discussion forum Dialog:</b>		
• Write my own post on dialog.alternativet.dk	Dialog_Write	81 *
• Share something from elsewhere on the Internet on dialog.alternativet.dk	Dialog_Share	81 *
• Comment other people's posts on dialog.alternativet.dk	Dialog_Comment	80 *
• Read other people's posts on dialog.alternativet.dk	Dialog_Read	81 *
<b>Party related Facebook groups :</b>		
• Write my own post in one of Alternativet's Facebook groups.	FBGr_Write	140 *
• Share something from elsewhere on the Internet in one of Alternativet's Facebook groups.	FBGr_Share	140 *
• Comment other people's posts in one of Alternativet's Facebook groups.	FBGr_Comment	140 *
• Read other people's posts and comments in one of Alternativet's Facebook groups.	FBGr_Read	139 *

Table 34: Survey items measuring deliberative activities on party related online platforms. Each item measured on a 7 point scale ranging from "never" to "very often".

Another important element of deliberative forms of communication is to provide justifications for one's arguments. One way to do this in an online debate could be to link to evidence, examples, or other online material that substantiates the argument being made. So two variables were included in the online deliberation indices, indicating how often respondents share content from elsewhere on the Internet on Dialog and in party related Facebook groups respectively. It could be argued that people share content for other purposes than justifying a point. For instance shared content can be used as part of simple calls for action rather than as part of responses to a debate. However, previous studies have found that while political campaign groups often do this, it is relatively rare among social media posts by citizens. In fact, Segesten and Bossetta's results of an analysis of tweets related to the 2015 UK general election, shows that only a very small minority of tweets by citizens and civic actors containing shared content also included calls for actions (Segesten & Bossetta, 2016). It is also clear from my data that sharing content on both Dialog and in party related Facebook groups tend to be positively correlated with writing, reading and commenting on posts on each of these media respectively. As illustrated in table 35 correlation coefficients between sharing content and other activities on each of the two media are all positive and statistically significant, ranging between moderately and strongly correlated. Sharing content on one platform, however, does not seem to correlate with activities on the other platform, which could indicate that respondents tend to either use one or the other platform, but not both.

	<i>FBGr_Share</i>	<i>Dialog_Share</i>
FBGr_Write	0.75**	0.15
FBGr_Comment	0.73**	0.13
FBGr_Read	0.45**	0.13
Dialog_Write	0.26*	0.41**
Dialog_Comment	0.38**	0.65**
Dialog_Read	0.12	0.53**

**Table 35: Pearson's correlation coefficients between sharing content and other activities on party debate forum Dialog and party related Facebook groups respectively.  $n=66-130$ ; \*\*  $p<0,01$ ; \*  $p<0,05$**

#### Online mobilisation activities

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the developmental dimension of intra-party democracy is mainly emphasising the importance of collective action in collaboration with politicians, where party supporters come together and directly participate in changing society. For this type of collective action to be successful, a degree of coordination between participants are necessary. And in fact, as described by the party elite in chapter 5, a lot of the party's online platforms are designed with exactly this type of coordination in mind. In particular the AlleOs party platform includes a lot of features that are designed specifically to ease collaboration between party members, including communication tools, tools for knowledge and experience sharing, and event organisation.

Table 36 below lists all the survey items that measured specific actions related to mobilising party related collective action through different communication technologies. These include party specific online platforms as well as a few general communication tools that seem to play an important role in coordinating activism in Alternativet such as email, phones, and not least Facebook, which according to the elite interviews still play a crucial role in organising events within the party despite efforts to move this type of organisation over to AlleOs.

All these activities can be grouped into four categories that each play an important role in coordinating collective action. First, both Facebook and AlleOs features event organisation tools, so respondents were asked how often they use these tools to organise events (AlleOs\_OrgEvent, FB\_OrgEvent), keep up to date with party related events (AlleOs\_Calendar), and to sign up to participate in events (AlleOs\_AttEvent, FB\_AttEvent). Secondly, it was measured how often they make calls for action on the party's debate forum Dialog (Dialog\_Mobilise) and Facebook (FB\_Mobilise, FBGr\_Mobilise) respectively. Third, the use of tools for knowledge sharing between peers were measured by asking how often respondents use the online party handbook on AlleOs (AlleOs\_ReadHandbook) or the party wiki (Wiki\_Read). And fourth, the coordination of collective action, crucially depends on good communication between participants, so respondents were also asked how often they use

different electronic means of communication to contact other party members, including party specific communication tools such as AlleOs's messenger feature (AlleOs\_Messenger) and more general communication tools (FB\_Messenger, Email\_Write, Phone\_Call, Sms\_Write). Finally, a variable measured if respondents were members of none, one, or several "teams" on AlleOs, which involves a number of electronic tools for group coordination.

### Party related online mobilisation activities

Question wording:

*\*The following questions concern how you use [platform]. How often do you carry out each of the following activities on [platform]? (7 point scale ranging from "never" to "very often")*

*\*\*\*\*\*AlleOs has a functionality where you can create and join "teams". Are you a member of any teams on AlleOs?*

Statements:	Variable name:	n:
<b>The party's own platforms:</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Encourage other members to support a policy proposal or political candidate on dialog.alternativet.dk</li> </ul>	Dialog_Mobilise	81 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Organise an event on AlleOs.</li> </ul>	AlleOs_OrgEvent	103 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sign up for events on AlleOs.</li> </ul>	AlleOs_AttEvent	103 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Read in Alternativet's Party Handbook on AlleOs.</li> </ul>	AlleOs_ReadHandbo	101 *
	ok	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Use AlleOs's messenger function to contact other members of Alternativet.</li> </ul>	AlleOs_Messenger	103 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Check the calendar on AlleOs.</li> </ul>	AlleOs_Calendar	103 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Read in Alternativet's online wiki (wiki.alternativet.dk)</li> </ul>	Wiki_Read	38 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>AlleOs has a functionality where you can create and join "teams". Are you a member of any teams on AlleOs?</li> </ul>	AlleOs_Teams	103 *****
<b>Party related use of Facebook:</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Encourage friends on Facebook to support Alternativet.</li> </ul>	FB_Mobilise	130 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Organise a facebook event, related to Alternativet.</li> </ul>	FB_OrgEvent	130 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sign up for a facebook event, related to Alternativet.</li> </ul>	FB_AttEvent	128 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Use Facebook's Messenger function to contact other members of Alternativet.</li> </ul>	FB_Messenger	130 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Encourage members of one of Alternativet's Facebook groups to support a policy proposal or a political candidate within Alternativet.</li> </ul>	FBGr_Mobilise	105 *
<b>General communication technologies:</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Use email to contact other members of Alternativet.</li> </ul>	Email_Write	140 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Call other members of Alternativet when you need to contact them.</li> </ul>	Phone_Call	140 *
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Use sms to contact other members of Alternativet.</li> </ul>	Sms_Write	138 *

Table 36: Survey items measuring party related online mobilisation activities. Scales used to measure each question: \* a 7 point scale ranging from "never" to "very often"; \*\*\*\*\* "1. No", "2. Yes, one single team", "3. Yes, more than one team"

### Keeping party representatives accountable through online activities

The last type of online participation is a group of activities that contribute to keeping party delegates accountable. There are two sides to accountability: First of all, accountability requires knowledge about how delegates act in order to be able to judge them, and for this transparency is key. And secondly, accountability requires a mechanism where delegates can be sanctioned or rewarded based on their actions (Schedler, 1999). Digital tools were heralded

in the elite interviews for its potential to increase transparency of political decision making. The most notable example of how the party attempts to use digital tools to increase transparency of decision making in the top of the party, is their use of live-streaming of internal meetings. In general the party is keen to live-stream a lot of events and meetings for party members to follow, but the most institutionalised example of this, is the group meetings among the party's parliamentarians. These meetings are always live-streamed on social media, where viewers can also post questions to the group in real time. So the first variable in the online accountability index is a survey item that asked respondents how often they watch these live streamings (MpsLivestream\_Watch).

The sanction/reward side of accountability was measured as whether respondents voted online for the nomination of party candidates in the 2017 local elections, which had been held recently at the time of data collection (Online\_Vote). This variable is a recoded dichotomous variable based on a question about voting for the nomination of candidates at all, online, or offline. Participants who participated in a nomination meeting could still choose if they wanted to vote electronically, using their smart phone or via a paper ballot, so the variable is a relatively valid measure of preference for online voting, even for those who participated in nomination meetings<sup>20</sup>.

### Accountability online activities

(Online activities that contribute to holding party representatives accountable)

Question wording:

**\*\*How often do you carry out each of the following activities online?**

Statements:	Variable name:	n:
<b>Transparency of party representatives:</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Watch the livestreaming of Alternativet's MP's group meetings. **</li> </ul>	MpsLivestream_Watch	140 **
<b>Electing party representatives:</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recoded values of original question: Did you participate in the nomination of the candidate for the local election 2017 within your electoral district? ****</li> </ul>	Online_Vote	143 ****

Table 37: Survey items measuring online activities that contribute to holding party representatives accountable to the party members. Scales used to measure each question: \*\* a 7 point scale ranging from "never" to "Every time I get the chance"; \*\*\*\* "Yes, I participated in a nomination meeting", "Yes, I participated in an online vote without being present at a nomination meeting", "no".

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted here, that not every local party branch actually allowed members to vote online, so some party members only had the possibility to participate in a traditional physical nomination meetings, which might bias this measure slightly.

### Online participation indices

There are a couple of crucial decisions to consider when constructing individual indices for each of these four types of online participation. Namely, how to mathematically best summarise how much each respondent engage in each type of activity, and how to deal with respondents who are not familiar with or ever used a specific platform.

The first of these points concerns the conceptualisation of the four types of online participation and whether the individual online activities that makes up these types are supplementary or complementary to each other. Is it enough to do one activity to be classified as doing a lot of one of the four types of participation? Or does it require engagement in several specific activities to rightly justify that a respondent engage a lot in a specific type of action? In other words, should someone who engages a lot with one specific activity be ranked as more actively pursuing one of the four types of participation than someone who are moderately engaged with several specific actions related to this type of participation? This is a theoretical question about the concepts that has consequences for whether the indices should be calculated as the mean or maximum value of all the survey items belonging to each of the four types of participation.

Both mean and maximum based indices were calculated for this analysis, but all results presented here are based on mean values. This decision is grounded on a theoretical understanding of the four types of participation as complex concepts that require a mix of different specific activities. For instance, just posting a lot of comments on an online forum without reading what other participants write hardly qualifies as engagement in deliberation. And likewise it is not enough to only make a lot of calls for action or organise events online to mobilise collective action among party supporters. A combination of these and the other actions categorised as online mobilisation is required before we can consider a respondent to be highly engaged in this type of participation. Appendix VI includes results of all the analyses in this chapter, using the maximum value based indices instead of the mean based ones. However, the results are very similar and the main conclusions would be identical no matter which indices are used. To accommodate that not all variables were originally measured on the same scale, all variables were normalised to scales ranging from 0-1 before indices were build. So all variables are weighted equally in the indices.

The second point were dealt with by only presenting questions about use of specific online platforms to respondents who had indicated in previous questions that they were familiar with and had at least minimum experience using the platform in question. So for instance questions

about reading and posting comments on Dialog were only presented to respondents who indicated that they are users of Dialog. This means that respondents have missing values for survey items about specific activities on platforms they are not familiar with instead of being coded as “never” performing that activity. This makes an important difference when constructing the indices because these were calculated as means or maximum values of the non-missing items related to each type of online activity. That means that if a respondent deliberates a lot on Dialog, but are not using Facebook at all, this respondent will still be coded as a high deliberator because the missing values for Facebook deliberation are not considered when calculating the mean. So non-familiarity with or non-use of a specific platform does not affect the indices, which is important since the goal here is to understand what they do on the online platforms they do use, whether they use one or many platforms to aggregate opinions, deliberate, mobilise and keep delegates accountable respectively.

Table 38 lists descriptive statistics for the resulting four means based indices. This shows that the indices have relatively few missing values out of the whole sample of 158 respondents. This is in large part due to the construction of the indices across all platforms where each type of participation is possible, so it does not matter which platforms each participant uses to engage in each type of activity. It also shows that aggregative one-click online engagements are the most popular type of online engagement with the highest mean and median scores of 0.26 and 0.25 respectively. Respondents engage almost as much in online deliberation within the party, but use online tools slightly less for mobilisation purposes, and they engage the least in online activities that help keep party delegates accountable. The spread of values are similar for all four indices with standard deviations around 0.2, but it is worth noting that none of the respondents score the maximum possible value of 1 for online deliberation or mobilisation.

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Median	Pctl(75)	Max	Cronbach Alpha	No. of var.
oneClickAggr_afford_index	146	0.263	0.191	0.000	0.133	0.250	0.394	1.000	0.48	8
delib_afford_index	119	0.245	0.176	0.000	0.125	0.229	0.375	0.708	0.79	8
mobil_afford_index	141	0.191	0.183	0.000	0.037	0.131	0.333	0.812	0.90	16
accoun_afford_index	147	0.175	0.213	0.000	0.000	0.083	0.250	1.000	0.09	2

**Table 38: Descriptive statistics of the means based indices for four different types of online actions.**

Descriptive statistics of indices, based on maximum values are available in appendix XI. As expected all descriptive statistics such as mean and median are higher for the maximum based indices compared to means based indices. But the difference between mean and median of

each index seems to be similar for maximum and means based indices, indicating that their distributions are somewhat similar except values are shifted a bit upwards for the maximum based indices. Appendix XII also shows the results of the main regression analyses from this chapter, using the maximum based indices as dependent variables instead of the means based. And this shows that results are very similar with main conclusions about connections between democratic dimensions and types of online participation being identical.

### 7.3.3 Preferences for online party platforms

In addition to survey items about familiarity and use of online platforms, it is also relevant to consider what respondents actually think about these. So the survey included a final item battery about attitudes towards the use of online party platforms to facilitate intra-party democracy. In particular, respondents were asked what they think about political decisions being considered on different online platforms with response options ranging from “Platform weakens political decisions” to “Platform improves political decisions” on a 7 point scale. Instead of asking about *discussing* or *debating* political decisions the question was worded about *considering* political proposals in order to include platforms and features that do not allow actual debate, but other ways of expressing opinions towards a decision such as voting, supporting, or assessing political proposals.

<b>Platform preference variables</b>		
<i>Survey question: What do you think about political decisions, being considered on each of the following platforms?</i>		
<i>Variable name:</i>	<i>Platforms:</i>	<i>n:</i>
PlatPref_FB	Facebook	126
PlatPref_Dialog	Dialog (dialog.alternativet.dk)	76
PlatPref_Appgree	Alternativet's Appgree	57
PlatPref_FBGroops	Fabook groups related to Alternativet	104
PlatPref_Medlemsmandatet	Medlemsmandatet	28
PlatPref_AlleOs	AlleOs (alleos.alternativet.dk)	100
	Pol.is on AlleOs (Pol.is is the name of the diagram, which is shown below all	
PlatPref_Polls	political proposals on AlleOs where different opinions towards the proposal are grouped according to who indicated that they agree or disagree)	36

Table 39: Overview of variables measuring preferences for using different online platforms for intra-party political debate. Survey question was worded: “What do you think about political decisions, being considered on each of the following platforms? (Tick one box in each row)”. Variables were measured on a 7 point scale ranging from “1. Platform weakens political decisions” to “7. Platform improves political decisions”.

Table 39 lists all the platforms that respondents were asked to assess in terms of suitability for considering political decisions. The list includes all the platforms from the familiarity battery, except the party's official Facebook page and the party wiki, since neither of these are designed to consider political decisions. While it is possible to comment on posts from the party's official Facebook page this is mostly used for external communication and not for



internal debate within the party, and the wiki is supposed to work as a crowd-sourced reference book about practicalities within the party rather than policy debate.

Table 40 shows descriptive statistics of the platform preference variables. It is worth noting here that the number of respondents vary considerably from 126 for the Facebook question to only 28 responses about Medlemsmandatet. This is mainly due to the filtering of questions based on familiarity with platforms. So among, those who are familiar with each platform we can see that they are all favoured relatively similarly with means ranging between 4,2 and 5. AlleOs is the most favoured platform to consider political decisions on and Facebook the least favoured, which mirrors the sentiments of the party elite expressed in the qualitative interviews. AlleOs was specifically designed to administer the party's participatory policy formation processes, and the party's IT and communications teams described great efforts to move internal discussions to the party's own platforms, and away from Facebook, which they considered inadequate for good political debates. So from that point of view, it is good news that apart from Appgree, the party's own platforms are generally considered to work better than Facebook by respondents.

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Median	Pctl(75)	Max
PlatPref_FB	126	4.262	1.902	1.000	3.000	4.000	6.000	7.000
PlatPref_Dialog	76	4.566	1.611	1.000	4.000	5.000	6.000	7.000
PlatPref_Appgree	57	4.298	1.679	1.000	3.000	4.000	6.000	7.000
PlatPref_FBGroups	104	4.442	1.789	1.000	3.000	4.000	6.000	7.000
PlatPref_Medlemsmandatet	28	4.750	1.669	2.000	4.000	4.500	6.250	7.000
PlatPref_AlleOs	100	5.060	1.347	1.000	4.000	5.000	6.000	7.000
PlatPref_Polls	36	4.556	1.557	1.000	4.000	5.000	6.000	7.000

Table 40: Descriptive statistics of preferences for using different online platforms to consider political decisions. All scales ranging from "1. Platform weakens political decisions" to "7. Platform improves political decisions".

## 7.4 Specification of models / control variables

All models include three groups of control variables, which are the same for both the models explaining platform preferences and the models explaining engagement in the four different types of online participation. These are socio-economic control variables, political capital, and barriers to traditional political participation.

The analysis included three socio-economic variables: Age, gender, and education, all of which are known to be related to different types of traditional political participation (Norris et al., 2005). So it is reasonable to expect them to potentially also influence online intra-party participation. Likewise general political interest and trust in political leaders are also typical predictors of political participation (Webb, 2013), so the analysis also includes variables

describing these (political interest on a scale from 0 to 10, and trust in political leaders on a scale from 1 to 10). A similar survey study of party members in the Austrian People's Party found that self-efficacy is also positively associated with online participation in that party (Schmidhuber et al., 2019), but since support for the developmental dimension of intra-party democracy is partly based on the importance of party members to initiate and lead political initiatives themselves, there is a big overlap between efficacy and this dimension. So efficacy was not included as a separate control variable. In addition to these measures of general political capital, a variable measuring general party engagement was included. This was done to isolate the effect of democratic attitudes on the type of online participation from the effect these attitudes might have on general engagement in the party. However, this concept is not easily measured. The survey included several questions to measure different aspects of the strength of affiliation with the party, such as length of membership, average monthly time spent on party activities, number of party events attended in the last year, and experience with different positions of trust in the party. Out of these, the average number of party events attended in the last year turned out to be the best to distinguish between more and less active party members. Since the party was only just under 5 years old at the time of data collection, variance of the length of party membership was relatively small and thus not suitable to distinguish between respondents ( $\text{var} = 1.36$ ;  $\text{sd} = 1.16$ ). Average time spent on party activities, on the contrary, varied a lot ( $\text{var} = 574.89$ ;  $\text{sd} = 23.98$ ) with values between 0 and 250 hours. While this might be accurate, it is also likely to represent very different perceptions of time among respondents or be strongly correlated with being a full time employee for the party. So attendance in party events was chosen as the least biased indicator of general party engagement.

Finally, the models include four barriers to traditional participation: Number of children under 5 years, being in employment, living in an urban/rural area, and a variable where respondents agree or disagree that they find it tiring to participate in party activities after a workday. These were chosen based on assumptions that they pose different barriers to traditional face-to-face participation that is (allegedly) eased by online means of participation. In particular online participation's tendency to transcend place and time should theoretically make it easier for people living remotely or with little time flexibility to participate through online platforms. Thus, it is expected that these barriers might have a positive effect on online participation, since respondents who experience these barriers will prefer online participation to traditional

participation that often requires time-specific physical presence. Table 32 below lists some descriptive statistics of these control variables.

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Median	Pctl(75)	Max
age	128	50.711	15.626	18.000	41.000	53.000	61.250	83.000
Gender	129	0.589	0.494	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Education	131	3.916	1.216	1.000	4.000	4.000	5.000	6.000
PolitInterest	131	9.046	1.723	4.000	8.000	9.000	11.000	11.000
TrustPolLeaders	131	4.672	2.312	0.000	3.000	5.000	6.500	9.000
PartyEventsLastYear	118	21.619	142.917	0.000	1.000	3.000	10.000	1,554.000
Children_0_5	99	0.182	0.460	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	2.000
Occupation	131	1.427	0.497	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000	2.000
UrbanRural	128	1.539	0.500	1.000	1.000	2.000	2.000	2.000
TiringAfterWorkDay	120	2.683	1.216	1.000	2.000	2.500	4.000	5.000

Table 41: Descriptive statistics for control variables.

## 7.5 Findings

The findings are divided into two parts. One part presents a model estimating the relationships between support for intra-party democracy and platform preferences (hypothesis 2), while the second part presents a model explaining relations between support for intra-party democracy and the four types of online participation (hypothesis 1).

### 7.5.1 Platform preferences and dimensions of intra-party democracy

To exclusively measure opinions about platforms based on experiences with the platform, the survey only presented platform preference questions to respondents with at least a minimum experience of using the platform in question. This ensures that the measure is based on respondents' own perceptions of the functionality of each platform instead of the platform's reputation. However, it also introduces a potential selection bias, since only a non-random selection of respondents were actually able to answer the question. The problem here is that we cannot know how respondents who do not know a platform would assess that platform if they did know about it, so it is problematic to extend any results about platform preferences based on linear regression beyond those who are familiar with the platform. In order to take this into account, Heckman 2-step selection models were developed to test if there is a connection between attitudes towards intra-party democracy and preferences for using each different online platform. These models take potential selection biases into account by modelling predictors of selection (ie. familiarity of online platforms) and outcomes (ie. preferences for these platforms) together (Toomet & Henningsen, 2008). Thus the Heckman selection models consists of two parts: A selection equation, which in this case is based on a probit model, that explains whether a respondent is familiar with each online platform or not.

And secondly, an outcome equation, that explains preferences for using each online platform to consider political decisions (taking the selection into account). Table 42 shows the resulting models. The top half of the table lists coefficients for the selection equations and the lower half shows the outcome equations.

**Heckman 2 step sample selection model: Platform preferences****Probit selection***Dependent variables:***equation:**

Familiarity with...

	FB	Dialog	Appgree	FBGroups	Medlemsma ndatet	AlleOs	Polls
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
age	-0.062 (0.056)	0.001 (0.013)	-0.041*** (0.014)	-0.049** (0.021)	-0.014 (0.014)	-0.045* (0.024)	-0.0004 (0.013)
Gender	0.484 (0.696)	-0.274 (0.310)	-0.528 (0.322)	0.010 (0.399)	-0.516 (0.325)	-0.512 (0.432)	-0.134 (0.304)
Children_0_5	-1.210 (1.001)	-0.329 (0.344)	-0.495 (0.352)	-0.999** (0.436)	-0.047 (0.359)	-0.724 (0.473)	-0.093 (0.370)
Not working	0.208 (0.812)	-0.412 (0.328)	-0.893** (0.364)	-0.097 (0.432)	-0.627 (0.390)	0.134 (0.441)	0.080 (0.324)
Rural (as opposed to urban)	-5.372 (964.538)	-0.100 (0.304)	-0.023 (0.316)	-0.225 (0.376)	-0.362 (0.326)	-0.066 (0.388)	-0.131 (0.312)
TiringAfterWorkDay	0.016 (0.364)	0.017 (0.132)	0.050 (0.136)	0.231 (0.175)	0.084 (0.137)	0.002 (0.166)	0.172 (0.133)
Constant	10.161 (964.545)	0.651 (0.763)	2.681*** (0.825)	3.250** (1.256)	0.388 (0.791)	3.820*** (1.410)	-0.866 (0.733)

*Dependent variables:***Output equations:**

Preferences for...

	FB	Dialog	Appgree	FBGroups	Medlemsma ndatet	AlleOs	Polls
OptiCrowd_index	0.423 (0.489)	-0.391 (0.407)	-1.409** (0.535)	0.212 (0.416)	1.967*** (0.448)	-0.136 (0.310)	-0.493 (0.706)
OptiDelib_index	1.612** (0.660)	0.532 (0.572)	1.294** (0.591)	1.249** (0.575)	-0.517 (0.907)	0.874* (0.442)	-0.740 (2.102)
OptiDevel_index	-0.511 (0.450)	0.899* (0.459)	-0.182 (0.456)	-0.050 (0.403)	1.050 (0.667)	0.323 (0.319)	1.060 (1.244)
OptiDeleg_index	-0.001 (0.293)	-0.003 (0.278)	-0.165 (0.295)	0.462 (0.287)	0.391 (0.387)	0.245 (0.212)	0.225 (0.514)
age	-0.010 (0.023)	0.024 (0.021)	-0.012 (0.031)	-0.008 (0.022)	0.016 (0.039)	-0.015 (0.023)	0.023 (0.048)
Gender	0.462 (0.637)	-0.040 (0.623)	-0.916 (0.704)	0.284 (0.530)	-1.059 (1.152)	-0.065 (0.500)	-0.631 (1.433)
Education	0.024 (0.236)	0.302 (0.200)	0.321 (0.204)	0.055 (0.195)	0.378 (0.269)	0.097 (0.157)	-0.155 (0.859)
PartyEventsLastYearNum	-0.011 (0.015)	-0.004 (0.013)	-0.001 (0.015)	-0.019 (0.015)	-0.117*** (0.036)	-0.013 (0.010)	-0.006 (0.030)
Political Interest	0.044 (0.145)	-0.261* (0.138)	-0.061 (0.189)	-0.067 (0.147)	-0.189 (0.124)	-0.256** (0.122)	-0.001 (0.256)
TrustPolLeaders	-0.015 (0.129)	-0.024 (0.090)	-0.014 (0.118)	-0.018 (0.109)	0.368** (0.169)	0.033 (0.082)	-0.277 (0.190)
Constant	-2.431 (3.384)	-1.251 (3.577)	4.233 (3.305)	-2.526 (3.039)	-10.195* (5.660)	1.828 (2.298)	-1.115 (11.655)
Observations	71	77	78	75	82	72	82
rho	2.222	1.080	1.137	1.010	1.147	1.349	1.151

Inverse Mills Ratio	5.359** (2.089)	2.221 (2.109)	2.646** (1.260)	1.958 (1.309)	2.979 (2.054)	2.432 (1.860)	5.582 (4.619)
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Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

**Table 42: Heckman 2-step selection models with dependent variables of selection equations describing familiarity with online party platforms. And dependent variables of outcome equations describing preferences for considering political decisions on each online platform (7 point scale from “1. Platform weakens political decisions” to “7. Platform improves political decisions”).**

The selection equations include socio-economic variables and measures of barriers to traditional offline participation that could potentially be eased by moving participation online. This covers having small children, finding party work tiring after a days work, and living in rural areas, which typically means longer transportation time to participate in physical party activities. The output equations include support for each of the four dimensions of intra-party democracy, socio-economic variables, a measure of general party engagement, and measures of trust in politicians and general political interest.

Most interesting here is of course the outcome equation, but it is worth noting that familiarity with each platform is primarily significantly related to age, so that the older respondents are, the less likely they are to be familiar with Appgree, AlleOs and Facebook groups related to Alternativet. Besides, respondents without a job are less likely to use Appgree and respondents with many young kids less likely to be engaged in party related Facebook groups. This is somewhat to be expected since Appgree provides a convenient and low effort way for party members with less time on their hands to participate, while party related Facebook groups tend to be dominated by threads of long debates, requiring a more consistent effort than respondents with young kids might be able to engage in.

The output equations show that support for each of the four different dimensions of intra-party democracy is indeed significantly related to preferences for several of the online platforms; however not in all cases as expected. First of all, support for the crowd-sourcing dimension of intra-party democracy is positively related to preferences for the Medlemsmandatet as expected, but more surprisingly it is negatively related to preferences to use Appgree. The crowd-sourcing dimension favours aggregative democratic processes and majoritarian decision making, so it makes good sense that supporters of this view also think the Medlemsmandatet – which is basically an online ballot on specific party positions – improves political decisions. On the other hand the crowd-sourcing dimension also involves an epistemic element, emphasising how the aggregation of views should be used to find *better* solutions, which is exactly what Appgree is designed to do through crowd evaluations of

different policy suggestions. So it is interesting that in fact strong supporters of the crowd-sourcing dimension tend to think that Appgree is more likely to weaken political decisions than party members who are less supportive of this dimension of intra-party democracy. Conversely, preferences for using Appgree is positively related to the deliberative dimension of intra-party democracy, which is similarly surprising, since Appgree does not even provide an opportunity for participants to comment on each other's proposals., and thus hardly allows any kind of deliberation. Less surprisingly, the deliberative dimension is also positively related to preferences for using Facebook and Facebook groups to consider political proposals, both of which are platforms that rely heavily on exchange of arguments. And it has a statistically significant positive relationship with preferences for using AlleOs as well. But it is worth noting that even though the party's online debate forum is designed specifically to encourage deliberation, there is no statistically significant relation between support for deliberative values and preferences for using Dialog, although the coefficient is positive as expected. Finally, even though the last two platforms do not have a statistically significant relationship with the deliberative dimension both Medlemsmandatet and Polis have negative coefficients, which is to be expected since they are both based on aggregating views contrary to exchanging views in a deliberative manner.

Support for the developmental dimension of intra-party democracy is only significantly related to the preference of using Dialog. Even though this goes against the hypotheses, it can be interpreted in a meaningful way, since the party online forum is not only used to deliberate politics, but also to coordinate party activities and collective action, which is the main focus of the developmental dimension. On the other hand, the positive coefficient for the AlleOs platform is not significant, so it is not possible to establish that developmental views on intra-party democracy also leads to preferences for the platform that was designed as a tool to support collective actions initiated by the membership itself.

The delegative dimension does not significantly relate to preferences for any of the online platforms. This does not come as a surprise since the main focus of this dimension is the importance of delegating decision-making power to party delegates, which cannot be done through any of these platforms. While Alternativet does allow online voting in many election processes, such as selecting party candidates, it is not done consistently in all local party branches and there is not a specific online platform used for this purpose. However, keeping delegates accountable is also an important aspect of the delegative dimension, which requires some transparency in what delegates do. Several of the online platforms are at least partly

used to increase transparency of decision making by party delegates. For instance, the party's parliamentary group meetings are usually live-streamed to members through Facebook, and minutes of meetings in the Political Forum and local branch executive committees are posted on AlleOs and in local party branch Facebook groups. However, preferences for treating political decisions on any of these platforms is not significantly related to the delegative dimension, although the coefficient for both Facebook groups and AlleOs is at least positive. There are two possible explanations of this lack of connection between support for delegation and preferences for these platforms. First, it could be explained by the wording of the question, referring to the effect of "considering a political decision" on a political platform, whereas participation according to the delegative dimension should primarily consist of selecting delegates rather than participating directly in considerations of political decisions. On the other hand, any actual connection could also be diluted by other functions associated with each platform. While minutes of closed meetings are shared in Facebook groups this is not the main function of these groups, and likewise AlleOs is not primarily used for this purpose either.

The last of these points is a general problem in measuring preferences for using specific online platforms for participatory decision making, since each platform possess many different functionalities and affordances. So with these measures it is impossible to tell exactly which functionalities on each platform respondents believe improves or weakens political discussions and decisions. Another weakness of only looking at preferences is that people are often not aware of what they really want. Even if respondents believe that it can improve a political decision to consider it on a specific online platform, that does not make any difference if they do not also choose to actually participate on this platform. To address these two issues, the analysis will now turn to the survey items measuring how often respondents engage in specific online actions across all of the platforms.

### **7.5.2 Intra-party democracy support and types of online participation.**

Since the four different types of online participation are measured across different platforms and there are relatively few missing values for each index, these types of participation are modelled using ordinary least square linear regression<sup>21</sup>. Table 43 lists the results of these models.

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<sup>21</sup> See appendix for Heckman 2 step selection models, taking into account whether respondents are familiar with any of the platforms included in each participation index. This is not possible to calculate for the accountability index, though, since the survey did not include familiarity questions about all the platforms (online voting for candidate nominations, and online streaming of MP internal meetings) in this index.



	Dependent variable:			
	slack_afford_index (1)	delib_afford_index (2)	mobil_afford_index (3)	accoun_afford_index (4)
OptiCrowd_index	-0.035 (0.037)	-0.046 (0.041)	-0.003 (0.034)	0.069 (0.053)
OptiDelib_index	0.065 (0.050)	0.107* (0.057)	-0.011 (0.045)	0.053 (0.071)
OptiDevel_index3	-0.001 (0.037)	-0.011 (0.043)	0.072** (0.034)	0.090* (0.053)
OptiDeleg_index	-0.003 (0.025)	0.050* (0.028)	-0.003 (0.023)	0.004 (0.035)
age	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.003* (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)
Gender	0.021 (0.039)	0.041 (0.043)	0.020 (0.035)	0.010 (0.055)
as.numeric(EducationSimple)	-0.021 (0.016)	-0.014 (0.019)	-0.030** (0.015)	-0.013 (0.023)
Children_0_5	-0.019 (0.041)	-0.065 (0.048)	-0.118*** (0.038)	0.064 (0.059)
factor(Occupied, ordered = FALSE)Not working	0.021 (0.041)	-0.018 (0.047)	-0.011 (0.038)	0.029 (0.058)
UrbanRuralRural	0.032 (0.040)	-0.036 (0.045)	-0.020 (0.037)	-0.086 (0.057)
TiringAfterWorkDay	-0.040** (0.018)	0.006 (0.020)	0.022 (0.016)	-0.043* (0.025)
PartyEventsLastYearNum	0.003** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)
PolitInterest	0.045*** (0.012)	0.029* (0.015)	0.019* (0.011)	0.015 (0.017)
TrustPolLeaders	-0.016* (0.009)	-0.024** (0.010)	-0.006 (0.008)	-0.002 (0.012)
Constant	0.017 (0.262)	-0.210 (0.307)	-0.040 (0.238)	-0.602 (0.370)
Observations	73	66	73	73
R <sup>2</sup>	0.354	0.361	0.564	0.294
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.198	0.186	0.459	0.124

Table 43: Ordinary least squares linear regression models, explaining engagement in four different types of online participation within the party. Dependent variables are means based indices ranging from 0 to 1. Table entries are unstandardized linear regression coefficients with standard error in prostheses. Statistical significance is indicated by \* $p < 0.1$ ; \*\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.01$

The first column of this table shows the regression model, explaining low effort one-click online engagements that aggregate the views of participants. None of the democratic dimensions are significantly related to this type of online participation, so there is no

indication that attitudes towards intra-party democracy affect this kind of participation. More active party members are more likely to engage in this type of activities, even if the effect is moderate. For each party event respondents participated in over the last year, they on average move 0.003 up on the 0-1 scale of how often they engage in one-click aggregative activities. Higher general interest in politics also have a positive effect on these activities, while trust in political leaders have a negative effect. Since these activities give a very direct voice to the party membership – most clearly through the Medlemsmandat, but also through supporting policy proposals on AlleOS – it should not come as a surprise that lack of trust in political leaders is associated with a stronger engagement in this type of online activities. Interestingly, though, the Heckman selection models from the previous section showed that lack of trust in political leaders actually lead to less preference for the Medlemsmandatet. So while lack of political trust leads more people to participate in the Medlemsmandat ballots, this lack of trust does not mean that they actually believe that this type of participation also works to improve decisions. Finally, the table shows that respondents who find party work tiring are less likely to engage in one-click online activities, which is more surprising since these activities generally require a minimal effort compared to other types of party engagement, so it was expected that people with little time on their hands for party work, would be more likely to engage in this type of participation.

The next column lists the regression coefficients explaining engagement in online intra-party deliberation. Here, the hypothesis is confirmed in that support for a deliberative intra-party democracy is significantly related to engagement in intra-party deliberation on online platforms. And the regression coefficient of 0,107 also indicates a substantial relation. Since the support for democratic dimensions are measured on a 5 point scale, this means that an increase from a minimum to a maximum level of support for a deliberative intra-party democracy corresponds to a 0,5 increase on the 0-1 point scale of how often respondents actually engage in party related online deliberation. So when it comes to deliberative values, party members seem to put action behind their words in the online world and actually engage in reading and commenting on each other's opinions if they say they value deliberation. More surprisingly, online deliberation is also significantly and positively related to the delegative dimension of intra-party democracy, albeit on a smaller scale. The more respondents support a delegative intra-party democracy, the more they tend to engage in online intra-party deliberation as well. This can be interpreted as a sign that those who find it important to delegate power within the party also find it important to supplement this with a strong debate

among the party membership to be able to make party delegates responsive and keep them accountable to the mandate they have been given by members. Finally, online deliberation is, similarly to the one-click aggregative actions, positively related to general party activism and general political interest, but negatively with trust in political leaders.

The model, explaining engagement in party related online mobilisation efforts, are shown in column three. This shows that only support for the developmental dimension of intra-party democracy is significantly related to online mobilisation efforts, which supports the hypothesis. This means that supporters of bottom-up initiated collective action as a means for political change also tends to engage more in coordinating this type of collective action online. Not surprisingly, this type of online activity is also related with higher participation in party events and higher general political interest. This type of participation is the most demanding out of the four types included here, in that it requires a consistent effort over a longer period. So it is not surprising that party members with young kids are less likely to engage in it. But interestingly, younger party members and party members with lower educational levels are more likely to take part in mobilising action online than older members and higher educated members.

The model in the last column describes involvement in online activities that can be used to keep party officials accountable. There are relatively few ways to do this online though, so this model mainly describes following live streams of meetings among the party elite, and online voting to select party candidates for local elections. This might also be why there does not seem to be any relationship between engaging in these activities and supporting a delegative intra-party democracy, which the hypothesis expected there to be. Not only is the coefficient not statistically significant, but it is also estimated to be very close to zero. On the other hand these online activities are positively related to the developmental dimension of intra-party democracy. So supporters of a strongly participatory intra-party democracy based on membership initiated projects are most likely to follow live streams of meetings among the party's parliamentarians, and vote online for party candidate nominations. Besides people who find party work tiring are less likely to engage in online activities to hold party officials accountable, but apart from that none of the control variables have a statistically significant impact.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

So overall, the hypotheses about intra-party democratic attitudes and types of online participation is supported for online deliberation and online mobilisation efforts. However, the

analysis finds no proof of a connection between support for the crowd-sourcing dimension of intra-party democracy and engagement in online participation. And instead of a connection between support for a delegation based intra-party democracy and using online tools to keep delegates accountable, only the developmental dimension of intra-party democracy seems to have an impact on participation in this type of online participation.

With regards to the expressed preferences for treating political decisions on each of the different platforms the results are also mixed, but follow a similar pattern. Even though not all the preferences for treating political decisions on different platforms follow the hypothesised pattern of relations with preferences for intra-party democracy they generally makes sense. Except from one case, all the identified statistically significant relationships between platform preferences and support for democratic dimensions make sense, even though not all of the expected relationships were significant. However, this could be due to the relatively small sample size as well as because there are no relations. The exception that does not follow the expected pattern is preferences for using the Appgree platform, which turns out to be negatively related to support for the crowd-sourcing dimension of intra-party democracy and positively related to support for a deliberative intra-party democracy. This can either be interpreted as prove against the theoretical assumption that attitudes towards intra-party democracy explains preferences for online party platforms. Or it can be interpreted as an indication that respondents do not find that Appgree works the way it is intended to work. This interpretation would mean that supporters of aggregating opinions to quickly find a commonly shared ground, do in fact not believe that this app does a very good job of doing that even though they support the idea in principle. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the crowd sourcing dimension is positively related to preferences for Medlemsmandatet as expected, and that Appgree was overall the least favoured of all the platforms by all respondents. This could mean that respondents in fact do not find that this platform works very well, and that is why supporters of the crowdsourcing dimension prefer Appgree the least because they are the ones that care the most about the fact that it does not work.

So the two dimensions of intra-party democracy that sticks out as most clearly explaining online participation are the deliberative dimension and the developmental dimensions. Both of these dimensions are related to platform preferences as well as actual online participation in the way predicted by the hypotheses. So support for a deliberative intra-party democracy is related to engagement in online deliberation as well as positive assessments of online platforms that allow deliberation, and developmental intra-party attitudes are related to online

mobilisation efforts. On the other hand, while the crowd-sourcing dimension was able to predict positive sentiments for the Medlemsmandatet online ballots, it was related to negative notions of the Appgree platform, and it was not able to explain any type of actual online participation. The delegative dimension comes out as the weakest concept to predict online participation as well as attitudes towards online participation platforms. This dimension was only moderately related to online deliberation. This can potentially be explained by the lack of opportunities to use online tools to vote for party delegates online, which is the primary type of participation associated with this dimension. That also has methodological consequences because it makes it more difficult to measure engagement in and preferences for this type of online participation. None of the online platforms are dedicated to this type of participation and the index of specific online actions related to the type of participation is made up of only two variables. Furthermore one of these actions – voting online for party candidate nominations in the last local elections – were only available to party members in certain constituencies, so this measure could be considerably biased. Based on these considerations it would be premature to use the present results to reject that keeping party delegates accountable, using online tools, might be explained by attitudes towards a delegative dimension of intra-party democracy. Instead, further research is needed to explore this aspect of the hypotheses.

Lastly, a few general limitations of this analysis should be mentioned before rounding the chapter off. First of all, the relatively small sample size is a potential problem, that could hide weak or moderate relationships, which we would need a bigger sample to detect. Considering that several of the hypothesised relationships between democratic attitudes and platform preferences as well as online behaviour are statistically significant even with this small sample size, this might not be the biggest issue, although it would be interesting to see if some of the insignificant relationships would still have the hypothesised direction if the sample size was increased to detect these more accurately. A more serious limitation stems from the recruitment of respondents which was not completely random and could have led to a biased sample. There is no way to test the representativeness of the sample since the party collects very little data about party members, so there are no aggregated statistics of the whole population in question to compare the sample to. However, considering that survey links were distributed through the party newsletter and the study was promoted on party related Facebook groups, it is likely that users of these platforms are over-represented in the final sample. So measures of Facebook activity and preferences for Facebook might be exaggerated

somewhat in this study compared to the real population of all party members. On the other hand, the Medlemsmandatet online ballot was the least used platform in the sample with over half of respondents reporting that they never heard about it, despite the Medlemsmandat ballots being distributed through the same mailing list (excluding non-members) as the newsletter, through which most respondents were recruited to the survey. Either this indicates that the Medlemsmandat really is little known to most members or it means that those members who like to use their vote in these ballots for some reason were less likely to accept the invitation for the survey. There are both circumstances weighing for and against this latter option. The similarities between responding to an online survey and voting in an online ballot (the SurveyXact platform used to host the survey is even the same platform that the party use to host the Medlemsmandat ballots) weighs against this. On the other hand, support for the crowd-sourcing dimension was hypothesised to coincide with preferences for quick one-click engagement types and if that hypothesis is in fact true, it is likely that supporters of this dimension were most likely to drop out of the relatively long survey questionnaire. If this is the case, that would invalidate findings about support for the crowd-sourcing dimension, and thus could also explain why this dimension was found to have so little explanatory power in all of the models.

Finally, many of the survey measures could pose a potential limitation in the interpretation of the results, since they were developed specifically for this study and thus could benefit from further validation. This includes some of the main variables of interest such as measures of support for the four dimensions of intra-party democracy and online participation. Pilot tests of the survey was carried out to limit misinterpretations of the questions, but comparisons with previously used survey items could strengthen the validity of the measures.

## Chapter 8. Conclusion

Over the previous chapters this thesis has aimed to describe which democratic ideals underlie the kind of democratic renewal promoted by the Danish political party Alternativet, and what role digital technologies play in these ideals as well as in the realisation of the ideals through the functioning of the party's intra-party democracy. The case of Alternativet was chosen as an example of an emerging political party that not only promotes democratic reform very explicitly, but also attempts to incarnate this democratic renewal by *doing* party politics differently, and making party politics more participatory (Husted & Plesner, 2017). Bennet et al. (2017) argues that new – or at least stronger – preferences for participatory forms of political engagement have estranged a large group of voters from traditionally organised political parties and made room for a new type of parties with more horizontal organisations like Alternativet. They call these parties *connective parties* and based on a few examples – including the Danish Alternativet – describe how they experiment with participatory and inclusive party structures “...on the basis of technology-enabled organization(s), which offers the potential for organizational innovation at large scale.” (Bennett et al., 2017, p. 12) The previous chapters confirm that Alternativet indeed experiments with new and more participatory ways of organising party politics and also rely heavily on digital infrastructures in their organisation. However, this thesis goes a step further, and attempts to map the underlying democratic ideals that fuels the participatory ambitions of Alternativet. If connective parties like Alternativet are a response to a democratic crisis and emerging preferences for democratic renewal among the electorate (Bennett et al., 2017), it is not only relevant to ask what kind democratic crisis they are responding to (Ercan & Gagnon, 2014), but also what kind of democratic response to this crisis they represent. So in order to explore that, this thesis has been based around two overall research questions: 1) Which democratic ideals are Alternativet based on? And 2) how do these ideals relate to the use of digital tools to engage party members and supporters in policy formation and decision making? Thus, the analysis covers both democratic attitudes and practices within the party to give a full picture of the *kind* of renewed intra-party democracy Alternativet represents.

These questions were approached from two angles: An angle focusing on the supply of participation channels in the party, covered in chapter 4 and 5, and another angle focussing on the demand for participation opportunities, covered in chapter 6 and 7. The intra-party democracy on offer versus the intra-party democracy wanted by party supporters. First, the

supply of participation opportunities in Alternativet was identified. This was supplemented with an analysis of the democratic ideals underpinning the intentions of the party elite in offering these opportunities; thereby identifying four distinct democratic dimensions present in the discourse of the party elite. This part of the study build on semi-structured interviews with the party elite, participatory observations during a 2 months visit at the party's national office, and official party documents, which were all analysed inductively, using the analytical method Situational Analysis, inspired by grounded theory (Clarke, 2005). And secondly, to examine the demand for participation opportunities, party members and supporters were invited to answer an online questionnaire developed for the purpose. This was distributed through the party's official newsletter as well as party related social media groups. The results were analysed, using confirmatory and exploratory factor analysis to detect and refine the democratic dimensions identified among the party elite. And subsequently relationships between support for each of these dimensions and different types of online participation in the party were modelled using linear regression and Heckman selection models, thus demonstrating the explanatory power of the democratic dimensions.

The first section of this conclusion chapter will revisit all the findings of the previous chapters and relate them back to the theory introduced in the literature review. The following section will then reflect on the broader implications of these findings. In particular, these reflections will consider to what extent the case of Alternativet illustrates any potential for political parties to re-invigorate political participation and make it more consequential, which has been the main motivation throughout this thesis to study Alternativet's intra-party democracy. This is followed by considerations of the limitations of the study and future avenues of research the study suggests.

## **8.1 Summary of findings**

### ***8.1.1 Spaces for participation in Alternativet***

The first step of the analysis presented in this thesis was to map out the formal and less formal channels for participation in policy formation and decision making in Alternativet. Chapter 4 listed these spaces and covered their characteristics. Using Elstub and Escobar's scheme for classifying democratic innovations, the chapter demonstrated how the party does offer an unusual amount of participation opportunities to party members as well as citizens more broadly. The policy formation processes of the party allow any party member to initiate the development of new policies; with the only requirement being that the process of developing the policy should be open and inclusive, which is typically achieved by organising open



policy workshops, known as Political Laboratories within the party. These Political Laboratories have become a trademark of the inclusive approach to policy formation in Alternativet, any party member or supporter can organise them and they can take almost any shape imaginable. However, the Political Laboratories are just one out of many spaces for participation in Alternativet. By applying an adapted version of Elstub and Escobar's typology for democratic innovations to the various participation channels in the party the chapter showed that these different spaces varied in terms of their mode of participation (ranging from listening over expressing and developing preferences to deliberation), their methods of decision making (ranging from aggregation of preferences over bargaining to deliberation, as well as participation opportunities that does not involve any decision-making), and the way they influence the final policies. This analysis led to the conclusion that, while there are many inclusive spaces for participation in the party, influence and impact on what becomes official party policies in the end rely to a large extent on gatekeeping by the party leadership in the shape of the Political Forum, which essentially has to approve all official policies.

Many of these inclusive spaces for participation in Alternativet constitute new opportunities for citizens to engage in party politics, which are different from previous opportunities to participate in traditional party politics. And many of these new avenues for engagement in party politics share several characteristics with new forms of political participation as described in section 2.2.4. In many ways the opportunities for citizen engagement offered by Alternativet blur the border between what is usually considered formal and informal political participation. For example Ekman & Amnå categorise political boycotting/buycotting of certain products and signing petitions as extra-parliamentary political participation in contrast to party activities which they categorise as a type of formal political participation (Ekman & Amnå, 2012). This categorisation is common in the literature on political participation, but the case of Alternativet problematise this distinction when they combine traditional party activities like selecting candidates for public office and election campaigning with encouragements for citizens to stop flying, eat less meat, and plant more trees. While Alternativet is not the first party to support specific political life-styles and extra-parliamentary political activities, it is unusual for a political party to claim that this kind of informal collective action is as important to the party as electoral success. At the same time, the more formally institutionalised channels for citizen participation within Alternativet share many characteristics with other emerging types of political participation which according to Stolle & Hooghe tend to be based on horizontal, flexible networks, spontaneous ad hoc

mobilisation, and individualised engagement (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005). In Alternativet, it does not require long-term commitment to a hierarchical organisational structure to have a say on the party's political programme. In Alternativet's "political laboratory" workshops both non-members and party members of every rank participate as equals – at least in principle. As demonstrated in chapter 4, not all input to the process has an equal chance of making it into the final party programs, which also raises the question to what extent Alternativet's crowd-sourced political program is just a cheap alternative to carefully selected focus groups, used by more professionalised parties to fine-tune their party programs. However, Alternativet's policy formation procedures allow most citizens to engage on a very ad hoc basis in political activities within the framing of a political party by either organising or participating in political workshops, discussing politics on some of their many online platforms (open to party members as well as non-members) or by simply voting on how the party should vote in parliament.

As described in section 2.2.4 scholars seem to theorise a connection between new types of political participation and expectations from democracy, even though studies have paid relatively little attention to the democratic values underpinning various types of political participation. Similarly, it is reasonable to expect that citizens engaged in new types of party politics will hold certain democratic values. We can refer to this as the *demand* for participation opportunities and democratic values. At the same time, we can also imagine how specific democratic values underpin the *supply* of participation opportunities. This is both the case in relation to the participation opportunities offered by democratic institutions in general and those offered by intra-party institutions in particular. On the general level, the literature on democratic innovations is abundant with discussions of how normative democratic values can be realised in real-life institutions (O'Flynn, 2019). However, this literature has largely neglected the potential to institutionalise different democratic ideals through different types of intra-party democracy, and which democratic values practitioners who design democratic innovations actually hold. So there is an incomplete understanding of the relationship between participation in party politics and democratic ideals, which the rest of this thesis focused on. Chapter 5 mapped out the different online platforms that the party rely on, to support their participatory ambitions. Focussing on the intentions behind the choice and design of these online platforms the analysis identified four dimensions of intra-party democracy that steer the development of online participation tools and institutions. Considering the centrality of these democratic dimensions in the whole thesis, they will each be described in more detail

one at the time below. After identifying the four dimensions in the discourse of the party elite through semi-structured interviews, a survey was developed to measure support for these democratic dimensions among the party members more broadly. In the analysis of this survey data, the dimensions were refined further, but broadly speaking the data showed that support for intra-party democracy among party members is distributed along four similar dimensions. This is in itself noteworthy. Many theories exist that tries to explain and predict the different incentives and values of different party levels (May, 1973; Norris, 1995). For example it can be argued that very active party members lose influence when intra-party democracy is opened up to include party supporters regardless of their level of engagement with the party (Bernardi et al., 2017). Thus we could expect that the most engaged members would be the least in favour of a more inclusive intra-party democracy, but the data collected for this thesis does not support this expectation. Such sentiments were informally observed while visiting the party office during data collection, when for instance party members who were very active in an election campaign occasionally reflected on the fairness in letting members who never sat their foot at a party meeting vote online for party candidates in an upcoming local election. However, this type of reflections were an exception from the norm, where interviewees and the party in general heralded the inclusion of as many people as possible in decision making. This is not so surprising after all, considering that the party is founded on the idea that crowds make better decisions than individuals, but it is a noteworthy finding that is somewhat in contrast with previous studies (Bernardi et al., 2017). It should be noted here, though, that this study was not designed to compare the level of support for different types of intra-party democracy between different strata of the party, but rather to map out and compare the existence of different democratic values.

### ***8.1.2 The Crowd-sourcing Dimension of Intra-party Democracy***

The crowd-sourcing dimension takes its name from the concept of “harvesting the wisdom of the crowd” (Surowiecki, 2004) because this dimension justifies an inclusive approach to decision making and policy evaluations on the basis that the aggregated knowledge of many people has a better chance of getting it “right” than few individuals taking a decision on their own. As such the dimension is related to direct democracy, which also allows opinions to be aggregated through votes. But it combines this plebiscitary aspect with an epistemic aspect, preoccupied with creating institutions that promote quick and easy input from many participants, which can feed constructively into a process of aggregation that increases output. For instance, the party has implemented a feature on their AlleOs online platform, where party

members are asked to continually evaluate policy proposals in the party's *Policy Catalogue* (a collection of policy proposals developed by party members) against a set number of specific criteria, and the aggregated results of these ongoing evaluations are supposed to give an up-to-date score of how well the policy aligns with the party's broader goals.

The party member survey identified a clear dimension of attitudes towards intra-party democracy that included variables, covering all the essential aspects of the dimension as it was defined among the party elite. Thus, it can be concluded that both the party elite and party members find it meaningful to combine support for aggregative democratic processes with an epistemic perspective.

### **8.1.3 The Deliberative Dimension of Intra-party Democracy**

The deliberative dimension represents classic values of deliberative democracy such as basing decisions on considered judgement of different arguments (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996). Deliberative values play a central role in the rhetoric about the “new political culture”, that the party wants to promote. In place of an ideology, the party is built on 6 so-called core values, and 6 debate dogmas, which together constitute classic notions of good deliberation. For instance, they focus on listening and reflecting (Goodin & Niemeyer, 2003), and sincerity (Fishkin, 2011) as important deeds in political communication. A big theme brought up in many of the interviews with key stakeholders in the party concerned how to promote good deliberation when designing spaces for participation both online and offline. Promoting good deliberation within the party as well as when communicating with the media, the electorate, and not least other political parties is a challenge that the party have struggled with (Gad, 2020).

Broadly speaking, the deliberative dimension identified in the party members' attitudes, consist of the same elements as those promoted by the party elite. However, an additional variable that was not intended to measure support for deliberation also turned out to align very clearly with attitudes in favour of a deliberative intra-party democracy. This variable consisted of disagreement with the statement that “members' opinions are taken too much into account” in important decisions for the party, thus adding the notion that consequentiality is also important to deliberation. Talking to each other with an open mind, listening sincerely, and reflecting on different ideas are all valued deeds among most party members, but supporters of this type of engagement in the party also finds it equally important that the opinions they have shared, listened to, and reflected on are taken into account in final decision making.

#### **8.1.4 The Developmental Dimension of Intra-party Democracy**

The developmental dimension of democracy is perhaps the most untraditional of the four dimensions identified, especially in the context of intra-party democracy. This dimension has a lot in common with participatory democracy in the variant, advocated by Carole Pateman, in which participation in civic matters is valuable in itself, because it empowers participants to make a difference (Pateman, 1970). But the type of participation, described in interviews with key stakeholders in the party is more akin to new types of political participation that are performed individually, but coordinated through networked horizontal organisations rather than traditional hierarchical orders (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005). However, on this aspect of the dimension, the party member survey did not support that this kind of individual political action, exemplified by consumerism and lifestyle politics belong to a broader developmental dimension of democracy. In the survey, support for these types of political activities did not coincide with support for the view that personal involvement in political changes are important. Instead, the survey identified a developmental dimension of attitudes towards intra-party democracy among party members, which focus on the collective efficacy facilitated by a party like Alternativet, and the importance of politicians and citizens working together. The focus in both cases, though, is on the personal engagement in creating political change, rather than feeding opinions into a process of collective decision making. From a developmental point of view, a strong intra-party democracy means an organisation that enables and facilitates collective action between the members, and supports members in taking part in political solutions. And the party is serious about reaching their political goals through this kind of engagement of it's members. The design of the party's main online platform AlleOs is specifically designed to support connections between like-minded members in order to facilitate collective action among the members.

#### **8.1.5 The Delegative Dimension of Intra-party Democracy**

Finally, the delegative dimension is most similar to traditional organisations of intra-party democracy, based on delegating responsibility for decision making to a group of elected representatives, who can then be held account for their decision by the party members. The party elite mostly described this as a necessary dimension of a functioning party organisation, that can respond to a political climate where decisions need to be made with short notice to gain impact and stay electorally competitive. But they did not describe this as an ideal form of intra-party democracy, which they would like to be more participatory. On this point, the party

elite is in accordance with party members, who also showed the least support for this dimension of intra-party democracy out of the four dimensions.

### **8.1.6 Online participation and support for democratic dimensions**

The last chapter of the thesis utilised the measurements of support for the four dimensions of intra-party democracy to explain preferences for and participation in online party activism. The chapter hypothesised that attitudes toward intra-party democracy can explain preferences for different online platforms, which each have affordances that cater for different types of online behaviour related to each of the four democratic dimensions. In this sense, the analysis also functioned as a proof of concept of the model of democratic dimensions. Chapter 5 already established that different party platforms cater to aspects of different democratic dimensions, so it strengthens the validity of the model of intra-party democratic attitudes if these attitudes can be shown to be linked to online behaviour as expected.

This analysis gave mixed results. Most clearly, support for deliberative and developmental dimensions, were each related to both preferences for and actual participation in online deliberation and online mobilisation activities as expected. The analysis found no evidence of a relationship between crowd-sourcing attitudes and any type of online participation. And support for this dimension as well as the delegative dimension and preferences for specific platforms did not follow the expected patterns. Preferences for platforms generally makes sense within theoretical framework, except preferences for using Appgree, which is negatively related to crowd-sourcing, but positively to deliberative values. This, however, is overall also the least favoured platform, so could mean that platform just does not work as intended, in the respondents' opinion.

## **8.2 Implications**

This thesis has provided an in-depth look at and understanding of the intra-party democracy and channels for participation in Alternativet. But the motivation to do this, as described in the beginning of the thesis was to explore the potential for political parties to re-construct a link between civil society and formal decision making forums by engaging people in consequential political participation. In order to demonstrate this potential a party needs to balance two requirements. On the one hand it needs to actually create some inclusive spaces for participation and institutions that give members, party activists, and citizens a real say on the party's policies. And on the other hand, it also needs to stay electorally competitive and parliamentarily relevant, so it can translate citizen inputs into impact on final political decisions. So in order to go back to this question, the following two sections will reflect on

the implications of my findings for each of these two requirements. Finally, a section will reflect on the extent to which Alternativet actually constitutes a good example of a connective party and which functions such parties perform.

### **8.2.1 Creating claimed spaces for intra-party participation**

In the literature review chapter political parties was justified as an interesting context for democratic innovations because they possess the possibility to host *claimed spaces* for participation, created and organised from the bottom-up by participants themselves (Gaventa, 2006), while also acting as a link to government, which strengthen the potential for impact of participation. But this begs the question, to which extent Alternativet has managed to actually create or at least allow room for such claimed spaces within their organisation. The contrast to claimed participatory spaces are *invited space* set up by those in power, inviting those affected by a decision to participate in developing the decision (Cornwall, 2004; Gaventa, 2006). So in the context of intra-party democracy, claimed spaces are those channels for participation that allows any party member or supporter to initiate discussions and set the agenda for developing policy proposals, while invited spaces are those participation channels where the party elite – it's elected MP's and local councillors, and the party leadership – takes the initiative to ask for input from party members/supporters.

The overview of democratic innovations within Alternativet presented in chapter 4 and the description of supply of online participation channels in chapter 5, showed that Alternativet contains both claimed and invited spaces for participation. The intention with the party's approach to policy formation is that any party member can start the process of developing a new policy by organising so-called Political Laboratories and put together a working group to develop a concrete proposal based on input from other party members. And the AlleOs online platform was build particularly to support this process, while the online party forum Dialog also allows any party supporter to initiate new online debates on policy proposals. So the Political Laboratories and the whole policy formation process is intended to constitute claimed spaces for participation, and the party attempts to support claimed spaces through their design of online platforms.

The developmental dimension of intra-party democracy in particular represents support for a type of participation based on claimed spaces where participation is self-organised and survey responses from party supporters confirms that supporters of this view are also most likely to find the online platforms designed to support this type of participation useful: The more strongly respondents support the developmental dimension of intra-party democracy the more

likely they are to find that Dialog improves political decision-making and they are also much more likely to actually use the functionalities on AlleOs and other platforms designed to facilitate bottom-up initiated mobilisation.

On the other hand, other channels for participation are more strictly controlled by the party-top. The most clear example of this, is the Medlemsmandatet email ballot, which are initiated by the party's MP's to ask members what they should vote on a particular decision in parliament. Appgree is another example of a platform where the platform administrator sets the agenda, by deciding which questions members are consulted on. Both of these institutions are built on a logic of aggregating pre-existing opinions among party supporters and thus fit well with the crowd-sourcing dimension of intra-party democracy. This could indicate that the crowd-sourcing dimension of intra-party democracy and its focus on short one-click aggregative interactions caters better for invited participatory spaces than creating space for claimed spaces.

Looking beyond the party specific platforms, though, Facebook also offers the opportunity for members to set up their own polls. There does, however, seem to be a relation between claimed/invited spaces and the consequentiality of participation.

### ***8.2.2 The political sustainability of inclusive and transparent intra-party democracy***

This thesis started by arguing that Alternativet is a relevant case to study the potential of political parties to make citizen participation consequential in political decision making. This is because Alternativet claims to be particularly concerned with making party politics more inclusive by engaging more citizens in policy formation. Most of this thesis has been concerned with the extent to which the party lives up to this claim and in what manner it (attempts to) do so.

However, in order to make citizen participation consequential, it is just as important that the party manage to translate input from citizens into impact on actual political decisions taken in parliament and other official decision making arenas. Chapter 4.3 briefly touched on this issue, but it deserves a more elaborate discussion based on the findings in this thesis.

For this purpose, it is relevant to consider Mogens Pedersen's typology of minor parties and party lifespans, which was also briefly introduced in chapter 4 (M. N. Pedersen, 1982). This typology is based on four thresholds that parties strive to overcome in order to achieve political impact: declaration (of party), authorisation (to nominate candidates in elections), representation (in parliament), and relevance (in relation to governing and political decision



making). At the time of writing Alternativet has overcome three of these. The declaration of the party happened when the organisation was officially founded in 2013 and the founders declared their intention to run for parliament at a press briefing. In 2015 the party was authorised to nominate candidates for the next general election after having collected the required number of signatures, and finally they reached the third threshold when they gained representation in the general election later that year. The fourth threshold is arguably more difficult to operationalise, but this is really the crucial threshold in relation to a political party's ability to ensure consequentiality of participation in its policy formation. However, depending on how we define relevance of a political party, it is questionable to what degree Alternativet has ever reached this threshold, and certainly the party seems to have descended below it since all but one of its MP's left the party.

In this regard, there are two interesting questions to consider about Alternativet's future. First, how likely are they to retain their success and stay beyond the threshold of representation. As Pedersen as well as subsequent studies of minor parties and their life cycles observe, it is very rare – although not unheard of – for minor parties to regain representation once they lose it (Müller-Rommel, 2002; M. N. Pedersen, 1982). The life cycle curve of most parties seems to be unimodal: They peak once and then fade away, either slowly or quickly, but only few parties manage to return to relevance once they have started to fade below the representation threshold. Secondly, it is worth considering what chances Alternativet has to reach the threshold of relevance. To take an example with a lot of similarities to Alternativet, several party scholars expected Green parties to be a temporary phenomenon when they emerged in the 1980's (Alber, 1989; Bürklin, 1987), but as we now know they have become a permanent part of many European party systems and even entered governments in several countries since then (Müller-Rommel, 2002).

Looking only at the history of European Green parties, Müller-Rommel finds that “there are more differences than similarities in the development of Green parties in government...” (Müller-Rommel, 2002, p. 5), making it challenging to predict Alternativet's future. However, he still identifies three general patterns based on the number of years it took Green parties between reaching each of Pedersen's thresholds. None of these patterns involve a quick route to relevance, in that all Green parties who have made it into government either had long experiences of running in elections before gaining representation, had many years of parliamentary experience before entering government, or both. Alternativet falls in the category of parties which quickly gained representation in parliament, so if they follow the

pattern of (other) Green parties which also won seats in their first election, they can expect many years of governmental irrelevance inside parliament before gaining considerable influence.

Interestingly, Müller-Rommel also notes that the life-span curve of Green parties tend to be unimodal, meaning that they generally do not manage well to come back if they loose representation, although this observation is based on very few examples (Müller-Rommel, 2002, p. 5). However, a few caveats needs to be made before relating Alternativet's future prospects to Müller-Rommel's analysis. First of all, despite the many parallels with Green parties, Alternativet does not present themselves as a classic Green party, as already discussed in chapter 4. Secondly, Müller-Rommel's operationalisation of relevance as entering government can be contested. In his original presentation of the typology, Pedersen admits that the threshold of relevance is the hardest to operationalise, although it is perhaps also the most important threshold (M. N. Pedersen, 1982, p. 7). Certainly, in relation to making citizen participation in party politics consequential, this threshold is crucial, so even if Alternativet is unlikely to become part of government any time soon, it is worth considering if they have managed to have impact in any other ways, thus making them relevant.

Lucardie identifies three conditions that influence the likely success of new political parties: They need a relevant political project, resources, and a favourable political opportunity structure (Lucardie, 2000). Of the resources he refers specifically to party members, funds, and publicity as important, and he argues that these are most important in the early phases of a new political party before it reaches the threshold of representation. As illustrated in chapter 4 Alternativet's membership grew very quickly in the first years of the party's existence and they got a lot of publicity from day one because of the founder and party leader's background as a former minister and known politician. So Lucardie's argument fits well with the case of Alternativet here. Many resources in the beginning seemed to benefit Alternativet, but interestingly according to his argument it is less crucial for the party that it has now lost most of it's former members as well as the well known founder and party leader Uffe Elbæk. Instead, the two other conditions – a relevant political project and political opportunity structure – matter more in the long run, so the question is whether Alternativet has managed to build a relevant political project in the minds of the electorate and to what extent the political opportunity structure is currently beneficial to the party. These two points are highly interlinked with each other. A relevant political project can only lead to electoral success if it fills a gap that other parties are not already competing for. In a systematic study of the

variation in the success of Green parties Grant and Tilly show that the electorate's salience to environmental policies are only beneficial for older Green parties, which have had a chance to establish themselves as "issue owners" of the environmental agenda (Grant & Tilley, 2018). In fact they find that for young Green parties high public salience to the environment have a negative effect on their success, because it incentivises mainstream parties to undermine Green parties by adopting environmental policies themselves. This finding fits well with explanations of why a Green party has never developed in Denmark despite an environmentally conscious population (Rootes, 2006). This means that Alternativet is in a particularly vulnerable position as a young party focusing at climate politics at a time when this has become a strategic focus for almost all other Danish political parties.

This point is exacerbated by the fact that Alternativet insists on not wanting to place themselves in relation to any traditional political spectrum, but insist on being a non-ideological alternative. Chapter 4 illustrated how this is an integral part of the party's identity and their radically inclusive approach to intra-party democracy, insisting that their political programme is not an ideological, but a crowdsourced project. This observation implies something fundamental about the type of party Alternativet is trying to be, but also illustrates the relevance of considering whether Alternativet can best be characterised as a challenger party, contesting established parties for already mobilised voters, or a mobilising party, attempting to leverage new cleavages by mobilising new parts of the electorate who has previously felt unrepresented (Rochon, 1985). As this thesis has illustrated, there is no doubt that Alternativet presents itself as a mobilising party that rejects the normal way of doing things and insists that there is an appetite for a different kind of politics that they want to represent. Paul Lucardie notes how, "[q]uite often, the people preparing a new party claim to do away with all outdated ideologies and to represent only certain interests or advocate certain issues." (Lucardie, 2000, p. 176) This is most definitely also true of Alternativet, whose main premise is to be an alternative to the existing ideological approach to politics. However, Lucardie goes on to observe that even simple, pragmatic solutions to political problems that might be presented as non-ideological often "... implies ideas about the role of the state and the economic order." (ibid). At the end of the day Alternativet is in competition with other parties, no matter how much they do not like to frame their way of doing politics in competitive terms. And for the voters who only have one vote to give to one party, it might not be easy to see the relevant political project, when the party insists on being a more or less empty shell which will be filled with crowdsourced policies.

Whether or not Alternativet has a relevant political program and the political opportunity structure leaves space for it, they can only mobilise voters if they manage to communicate this political program to the voters. And in this regard, the interviews with the party elite revealed some interesting challenges that seem to be directly linked to the party's open and transparent policy formation. Interviewees described how the transparent policy formation pose a challenge to clearly communicate their party line to the electorate. First of all, an inclusive deliberative process will necessarily involve a multitude of different opinions and ideas. But when it comes to the approved policies that defines the party line, it is a problem for the party if "...we begin to sound schizophrenic. Then it will be difficult for the voters to see us as a coherent unit." (interview 4) When communicating the party's policies externally to the media and electorate, it is important to be coherent, but this can be difficult when everything is transparent and both media and political opponents have full access to all the different opinions voiced within the party.

Secondly, a leading party member explains how it is difficult to get time to explain the party's policies in the media, with requirements of newsworthiness and of communicating policies in short punchlines. And this becomes even harder in the context of transparent deliberative policy formation. "If someone has taken our concept and run with it, well then there is not much newsworthiness over it any more. Or if we have just had a long thorough discussion on social media about it." (interview 15) Ironically, in his defence for intra-party deliberation Teorell notes that the strong agenda setting power of political parties demands that their agendas are themselves a result of democratic deliberation within the parties (Teorell, 1999). But it seems, in the case of Alternativet, that this agenda setting power is actually weakened by intra-party deliberation.

This implies that perhaps intra-party deliberation posses a trade-off between transparency and political impact. That does not necessarily mean that open intra-party deliberation is incompatible with influential parties, but it is an argument for structuring intra-party deliberation a bit more strictly. In their discussion of *deliberative negotiation*, Warren & Mansbridge argue that the inability to act collectively is undemocratic in itself and thus it can be justified to limit transparency if that can increase the consequentiality of deliberation between political actors (Warren & Mansbridge, 2013). In such situations they suggest that "One possible solution might be to have the records of confidential meetings made public at a later date." (ibid:111) Similarly, intra-party deliberation on an issue could be made public only after a resolution on the issue has been reached within the party. This would not

necessarily help to increase the quality of deliberation within Alternativet, but could potentially alleviate challenges of demonstrating unity and communicating a clear policy stance to the electorate as well as ease collaborations with other political parties, without violating core values of intra-party transparency.

### **8.2.3 The functions of connective parties and Alternativet**

The analysis in this thesis has mainly focussed on the role of political parties in providing a link between civil society and political decision-making arenas, but political parties also perform other functions. So this section will briefly reflect on the findings in relation to whether and how Alternativet fulfil other purposes than engaging citizens in policy formation, and to what extent these findings are representative for connective parties in general.

Sartori claims that party typologies can roughly be based on three different types of criteria: historical, organisational, or functional criteria (Sartori, 2005). The connective party type as described by Bennett et al, is mainly defined by its organisation, which is formed as a network facilitated by digital technologies, and an inclusive intra-party democracy (Bennett et al., 2017). So can we say anything about the functions fulfilled by connective parties too, based on the example of Alternativet? Sartori identifies eight party functions “...of major importance...” (Sartori, 2005, p. 23): Participation, electioneering, integration, aggregation, conflict resolution, recruitment, policy-making and expression. He explicitly acknowledges that this list is incomplete, but argue that these are the most important functions of parties in Western pluralistic democracies. Sartori’s theory of party functions is particularly useful here, because it is meant as a typology to categorise parties, thus acknowledging that not all parties perform all the functions, but actually we can classify and distinguish between parties based on their functions (Sartori, 2005, p. 21). So we can use this framework to evaluate which of these functions Alternativet – and potentially connective parties more generally – perform (well) and which ones they struggle with.

Participation refers to political parties as an arena for citizens to engage in politics and provide input to the political process through participation. This function is exactly what this thesis has mainly been concerned with, and it seems reasonable to conclude that Alternativet excel at this function, even if there might be room for improvement in terms of how citizen inputs are translated into policies and political decisions. However, in terms of providing opportunities for participation in its own right, Alternativet can definitely be classified as a participatory party. Considering that this is a central element in Bennett et al’s definition of connective

parties, it is also reasonable to expect Alternativet to represent a typical connective party in this regard.

Electioneering, on the other hand concerns influence in the opposite direction of participation. It refers to the party's role as an 'opinion-maker' that mobilise specific political issues in the electorate. While Alternativet has a clear stand on climate politics, interviews with the party elite revealed how their inclusive policy formation processes pose a challenge to communicate clear messages to the electorate, as described in the previous section. This tension between open and transparent policy formation processes and the ability to communicate clear and media-friendly political messages is linked to one of the core definitions of connective parties, and as such seems likely to be a general challenge for this type of parties.

Integration refers to how a political party can function as a mechanism to integrate different opinions, groups of society, and identities into a coherent polity. Considering the relatively high level of social capital and homogeneous Danish population, this function is probably less important in the Danish context. Aggregation, on the other hand, is central to the functioning of most parties in that it refers to the party as an opinion broker and its ability to represent interests in decision making fora. This function is also crucial in relation to making citizen participation within the party consequential. As described in chapter 4, Alternativet has been in opposition to first a centre-right government and since also in opposition to a centre-left government leaving it out of most influence. However, this does not mean that it is not able to represent the interests of its voters, but Alternativet has made it difficult for themselves to do so by positioning themselves in opposition to almost all other parties in parliament. Sartori describes Conflict resolution as a combination of the aggregative and integration functions, resulting in the ability of parties to act as a bridge between opposing groups in society.

*Recruitment* is another important function that refers to parties as pools of candidates for public office and a filtering mechanism through their candidate nomination processes. On the one hand, Alternativet managed to attract a big party membership during their first years of existence, which would indicate a strong pool of potential candidates, but on the other hand, they also managed to lose most of those members with record speed once the party faced continuous internal turmoil. Whether this internal turmoil was caused by the characteristics of a connective party or a result of a young party becoming successful before it had a chance to establish a stable party organisation is somewhat beyond the scope of this study to conclude on. But it is worth noting that several other connective parties have experienced similar internal conflict and deflecting disillusioned members as a result thereof, which could indicate

that this is a general challenge for connective parties (Bolleyer et al., 2015). Additionally, the party's founding leader left the party in response to the recruitment of his successor, who was elected in an open primary among all party members, and he has later stated that he now believes the bottom-up approach to party politics was a utopian idea that is bound to fail (Korsgaard, 2020). Thus there are some indications that connective parties have problems sustaining the recruitment function in the long run, even if they manage to attract many potential political candidates in the early phases of their life-cycle.

The second last of Sartori's party functions, *policy-making*, refers to how parties often function as the originators of new policies. They can fulfil this function in many ways and policies do not need to be formed in participatory forums like they are in Alternativet. But notwithstanding any other potential weaknesses of the inclusive policy formation procedures in Alternativet, it has proven to be a very efficient mechanism to create a high number of very detailed – and often very original – policy proposals. Alternativet's crowd-sourced policy-making has resulted in by far the longest and most comprehensive party programme in Danish politics. This high output of policy proposals might lead to other challenges, but as a *policy-making machine* the Alternativet party functions very efficiently. And since many of the policy proposals are initiated by networked groups of party supporters from across the country, and based on input from even more people through physical workshops as well as online crowd-sourcing tools, this process to a high degree represents an example of 'connective action' (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012), which distinguish it from other minor political parties, that usually do not have the resources to develop so many policy proposals.

Finally, the *expression* function refers to how parties express the opinions of citizens to the state and thus link civil society with representative democratic institutions. Thus this function is closely related to the aggregation function; however it is not so much concerned with how parties mediate different interests among each other, but just the ability of the party to express the concerns of society. However, the challenges faced by Alternativet in this regard are similar to those described in the relation to the electioneering function. In the elite interviews, party officials described how it poses a special challenge to express coherent and consistent political messages when all the policy formation processes within the party takes place in public, and there is a lack of central control over the political communication of the party. In contrast to the controlled interactivity, described by Jennifer Stromer-Galley, connective parties like Alternativet benefit from engaging a lot of resourceful volunteer campaigners and party activists through their truly interactive online networks. This enables them to perform

participation, policy formation, and to some extent (at least temporarily) recruitment functions to an extent that emerging and minor parties would normally not have the resources for. On the other hand, the lack of control over political messages which controlled interactivity offers, means that they struggle to perform other party functions such as electioneering, aggregation, and expression, which are all crucial to the survival of political parties.

### **8.3 Reflections on limitations**

As explained in the chapter conclusions of chapter 6 and 7 there are several methodological limitations in relation to the survey data. Both the sample size and the sampling method introduce potential weaknesses that should be taken into consideration when considering the results. The relatively small sample size means that small differences in support for different dimensions of democracy and weak or moderate relationships between support for these dimensions and online party engagement might not be detected in this study, which could change the overall conclusions, since several of the hypothesised relationships are not statistically significant. For that reason, it is important to stress that the lack of evidence for a relationship in this study should not by any means be interpreted as proof that there is no relationship. The other limitation related to the sample stems from the recruitment of survey respondents through some of the same online platforms that the survey is supposed to measure engagement with. In particular, the party newsletter mailing list used to distribute the survey is the same list used to distribute the Medlemsmandat ballots to party members. The party related Facebook groups, through which the survey was promoted, are also the same Facebook groups that the survey measures engagement with, and general digital literacy and Internet access are prerequisites for responding to the survey as well as using any of the platforms, measured in the survey. On the one hand, the potential bias in the sample caused by this, pose a serious limitation to the study, because the hypotheses tested all relate to relationships between usage of these platforms and democratic attitudes. So if the hypotheses are true, and users of certain platforms are more likely to support certain dimensions of intra-party democracy, the recruitment method could cause a bias not only in the aggregated measures of online participation, but also in the measures of support for each of the democratic dimensions. Such a bias on both the dependent and the main independent variables of interest would make it impossible to reliably test the hypotheses. However, the data actually shows that out of all the platforms included in the survey questionnaire, familiarity with the Medlemsmandat ballot is the lowest, despite this being distributed through the same channels as the survey questionnaire. If the selection bias was strong we would have at least



expected that most respondents were familiar with this institution for online participation, but that is not the case.

Using factor analysis also involves a general limitation. The latent variables identified are dependent on the observable variables designed in the survey, which essentially limits which latent variables we can potentially identify. So the choice of observable variables is essential. In this case these choices were based on a thorough qualitative, inductive first step of the research design, which informed the choice of variables and which dimensions I expected to find.

Another weakness of the study is the lack of generalisability beyond the case of Alternativet. This is a general and unavoidable weakness of single case studies. However, this is trade-off between depth and breadth. It would not have been possible to go into so much depth about the organisation of the intra-party democracy, participation in online party platforms, and democratic preferences in a large N study.

Finally, by studying the supply of participation opportunities through elite interviews, I risk only capturing the invited spaces for participation since elite initiated participation is by definition not a claimed space. Since claimed spaces for participation are those possibilities for participation that are created by the participants themselves, the suppliers of these spaces can be said to also be the demanders, and thus the distinction between supply and demand should be considered critically.

#### **8.4 Future research**

The limitations of the project, suggest some obvious avenues for future research in relation to the potential of political parties – and connective parties in particular – to re-establish a link between citizens and formal democratic institutions.

First of all, as mentioned above, the nature of a single case study makes it difficult to generalise conclusions more broadly to connective parties, emerging minor parties or just political parties in general. Thus, it would be interesting to test some of the findings from this thesis on more cases. For instance it would be interesting to explore if other connective parties perform the same functions as Alternativet, and compare their intra-party organisations.

Another interesting future study would be to test if the dimensions of intra-party democracy identified in this project are unique to Alternativet, or if they can also be identified in other political parties. Whether that is the case or not, the findings from this study suggest that it can be fruitful to consider intra-party democracy preferences as a multi-dimensional

phenomenon, instead of measuring it on one dimension of stronger or weaker intra-party democracy, which has hitherto been the norm.

This study was naturally limited in terms of studying the long-term trajectory of Alternativet because the party is still not very old. Thus it would be interesting to repeat some of the interviews or maybe even the survey at a later stage to assess how the intra-party democracy of connective parties – and minor parties in general – evolve over time.

Finally, the study of party activism and online participation was mainly based on self-reporting by research participants in both qualitative interviews and the membership survey. So it would be interesting to extend this research design in the future to observe actual behaviour on online party platforms – perhaps linking this type of data with survey responses on democratic attitudes to get a better understanding between the expressed demand for participation opportunities and actual participation. This type of research would also allow a more detailed measurement of different types of online behaviour. This thesis has illustrated that democratic preferences can be linked to different types of online behaviour such as liking a comment, posting original content, or responding to other users' comments. But there are some cognitive limitations for survey respondents when self-reporting on very specific – and often mundane – online activities. Automatic measurements of actual online behaviour would not only ensure more reliable measures, but also allow more detailed measures as well as changes in behaviour over time. Especially when it comes to text based online activities, there are a lot of potential to also analyse the text itself. For instance it would be interesting to measure how often party members refer to the debate dogmas of Alternativet in online debates, under which circumstances they do so, and to what extent they live up to their own deliberative dogmas online.

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## **Appendices**

- I. Semi-structured interview guides
  - A) Danish version
  - B) English translation
- II. Information sheet for interview participants
  - A) Danish version
  - B) English translation
- III. Consent forms for interviews (Danish and English versions)
  - A) Danish version
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- IV. Survey questionnaire (only Danish version)
- V. Information sheet for survey participants
  - A) Danish version
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- VI. Invitation email to participate in survey
  - A) Original invitation email - Danish version
  - B) Original invitation email - English translation
  - C) First reminder email – Danish version
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  - E) Second reminder email – Danish version
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- VII. Consent form for survey participants (also included on first page of questionnaire)
  - A) Danish version
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- VIII. Appendix to chapter 6: Demand for intra-party democracy in Alternativet
  - A) Results of exploratory factor analysis with different rotation methods
  - B) Missing values for each intra-party democracy variable
  - C) Descriptive statistics and comparisons of intra-party indices
- IX. Appendix to chapter 7: Demand for online participation in Alternativet
  - A) Logistic regression models, predicting familiarity or not with each online platform
  - B) Descriptive statistics of maximum based indices
  - C) OLS regression models, predicting four different types of online participation

- D) Heckman 2-step selection models, predicting four different types of online participation
- E) OLS regression models, predicting preferences for each online platform (for intra-party policy formation)
- X. Survey distribution through party related Facebook groups

# Appendix I-A

## Interviewguide – Alternativet

*Mange tak fordi du vil tage dig tid til at snakke med mig. Jeg vil gerne snakke med dig om dine syn på involvering af medlemmer og befolkning i Jeres politikudvikling i Alternativet og Jeres brug af digitale teknologier til det formål. Lad mig understrege at jeg ikke leder efter bestemte svar og jeg er her ikke for at bedømme dine svar, men fordi vi er interesseret i at lære om Jeres holdninger og erfaringer, så andre også kan lære af dem. Du kan forlade interviewet når som helst og hvis du føler dig utilpas med nogle af mine spørgsmål kan vi til hver en tid springe dem over eller stoppe interviewet. Jeg vil optage interviewet og transskribere hvad du siger, men citerer og referencer til det, du siger, vil blive anonymiseret hvis du foretrækker det, og du er velkommen til at bede om en kopi af transskriptionen når den er lavet.*

### Research Questions

Prompt:

- What is their notion of democratic participation?

### Interview Questions

Kan du kort beskrive med dine egne ord hvordan du ser din egen rolle i partiet?

Som jeg nævnte da jeg kontaktede dig, er jeg mest interesseret i at snakke med dig fordi du har været involveret i... (udviklingen af AlleOs/at afvikle nogle politiske laboratorier/udvikle Jeres tilgang til inklusion etc.) ...men har du på andre måder været involveret i at forme den måde medlemmer og borgere generelt bliver involveret i politikudvikling og beslutningstagning i Alternativet?

*Okay, så først vil jeg stille nogle meget generelle spørgsmål om politisk deltagelse og demokrati og derefter vil jeg gå videre til nogle mere konkrete spørgsmål om de ting du har været involveret i, men du er selvfølgelig meget velkommen til at relatere dine svar til dine konkrete erfaringer.*

Hvad synes du er den vigtigste rolle for “almindelige medlemmer” i partiet?

Hvorfor mener du at det er vigtigt at...

- involvere medlemmer i beslutningstagning?
- involvere ”almindelige mennesker” i politikudvikling?

Efter din mening, hvordan ser den ideelle model for at fastlægge partiets politik ud?

Det her med at der er brug for en ”ny politisk kultur” lader til at være en central del af Alternativet. Kunne du sige lidt om hvad du forstår ved det? Hvad mener du er galt med den eksisterende politiske kultur? Og hvordan ønsker du at en ”ny politisk kultur” ser ud?

Hvad vil det sige for dig at udvikle politik ved hjælp af crowd-sourcing? Og hvad er fordelene ved det?

- What is their experiences with democratic participation within the party?

Nu har vi snakket en del om... platform/inddragelsestilgang/metode ..., men kan du umiddelbart komme i tanke om andre måder hvor medlemmer og borgere mere generelt bliver inddraget i partiet som du synes virker rigtig godt eller muligvis ser nogle specielle udfordringer i?

Hvordan har du personligt og partiet i det hele taget brugt digitale teknologier til at involvere medlemmer i politikudvikling og beslutningstagning i Alternativet?

Hvilken erfaringer har du gjort dig med digitale medier til det formål?

- Udfordringer?

- Fordele?

- Ulemper? (uoverkommelige?)

- Which challenges do they face in regards to facilitating democratic participation within the party?

Hvilke udfordringer er de største du har mødt i forhold til at involvere medlemmer i partiet?

Hvilken barrierer ser du for inkluderende medlems- og borgerdeltagelse i partiet?

Og hvordan har du selv forsøgt at adressere disse udfordringer?

Hvordan så du gerne at de udfordringer blev imødekommet?

- How does this work together with representative politics in elected forums where the party is represented?

Hvordan oplever du at resultaterne af de her forskellige deltagelsesformer finder vej til de folkevalgte forsamlinger hvor beslutninger officielt tages (i det repræsentative demokrati) – som f.eks. folketinget eller byråd?

Prompt: Debatdogmer

*I har de her 6 debatdogmer i Alternativet, som jeg er sikker på du er bekendt med. Så jeg har lige et par spørgsmål om hvordan de relaterer til de ting du har lavet i partiet og dine erfaringer.*

1. Vi vil gøre opmærksom på både fordele og ulemper
2. Vi vil lytte mere, end vi vil tale, og vi vil møde vores politiske modstandere der, hvor de er
3. Vi vil fremhæve de værdier, som ligger bag vores

Kan du give nogle eksempler på hvor Jeres debatdogmer kommer til udtryk?

Hvad betyder Jeres debatdogmer for dig personligt? Og hvordan bruger du dem i dit virke i Alternativet?

argumenter

4. Vi vil indrømme, når vi ikke kan svare på et spørgsmål og indrømme, hvis vi har taget fejl
5. Vi vil være nysgerrige overfor alle dem, vi samtaler og debatterer med
6. Vi vil åbent og sagligt argumentere for, hvordan Alternativets politiske visioner kan nås

Hvilke debatdogmer synes det er sværest at leve op til/facilitere?

Prompt: Kerneværdier

*I har også 6 kerneværdier i partiet, som jeg ligeledes godt kunne tænke mig at blive lidt klogere på, især i forhold til dine erfaringer.*

Mod

Generøsitet

Gennemsigtighed

Ydmyghed

Humor

Empati

Vil du sige at Jeres seks kerneværdier har indflydelse på hvordan I inddrager medlemmer og borgere I den måde I laver politik på? Hvordan?

//

I skriver om Jeres seks kerneværdier at de “skal være konstante pejlemærker, synlige i det daglige politiske arbejde”, så jeg kunne godt tænke mig at høre hvordan du personligt synes de kommer til udtryk i hvordan I inddrager medlemmer og befolkning når I udvikler politik?

Transparens (Kerneverdi)

Hvordan kommer værdien om gennemsigtighed til udtryk i dit arbejde for partiet? Hvordan giver I ”alle mulighed for at se Jer over skulderen – både på gode og dårlige dage”? Og hvilke udfordringer har du mødt ift. at leve op til denne værdi?

Empati (Kerneverdi)

Om en anden af Jeres kerneværdier, empati, skriver I, at I vil “skabe løsninger, hvor alle vinder” baseret på “at sætte sig i den andens sted og se verden derfra”.

Hvor vigtig er denne værdi for dig, og hvad er de største udfordringer ift. at leve op til det?

Hvordan forsøger I konkret at ”sætte Jer i den andens sted og se verden derfra”?

Hvordan fremmer I denne form for empati?

Er denne værdi noget I selv stræber efter at imødekomme eller er det også noget I arbejder for at fremme i samfundet mere i det hele taget?

Prompt: Politiske Laboratorier

Hvad er dine erfaringer med politiske laboratorier?



Kan du kort forklare hvad Jeres politiske laboratorier er, og hvilken rolle du mener de bør spille i partiets politikudvikling?

På Jeres hjemmeside skriver I om de politiske laboratorier at I “...mener, det skal være åbenlyst, at det nytter noget at være aktiv borger, og at vi alle gennem engagement kan være med til at skabe bedre løsninger for samfundet.” Hvordan synes du at de politiske laboratorier bedst bidrager til dette? / Kan du uddybe hvordan de politiske laboratorier bidrager til at det nytter at være aktiv?

Hvad har de største udfordringer været ift. at skabe politiske laboratorier som lever op til dette mål?

Hvorfor politiske laboratorier? Hvilke udfordringer ved det? Hvordan har I taklet dem? Hvad synes du kendetegner et succesfuldt politisk laboratorium?

Hvordan formår de politiske laboratorier mere konkret at føre til resultater, der ”er gennemarbejdet og både bygger på viden og argumenterede synspunkter, som kan føre til brugbar politik”? (citater fra hjemmeside)

Prompt: Partiprogram

*I har en sektion i Jeres partiprogram om en ”ny politisk kultur” med et par punkter, som muligvis relaterer til nogle af de ting, du har været involveret i. Så dem har jeg også lige et par spørgsmål om.*

”Vi mener, det skal være åbenlyst, at det nytter noget at være aktiv borger, og at vi alle gennem engagement kan være med til at skabe bedre løsninger for samfundet.”

Hvordan synes du mere konkret at Alternativet bidrager til at fremme dette?

Hvilken udfordringer har du mødt i forhold til at fremme dette?

”2.1.2 Mediedeklaration: (...) Borgere, politiske kommentatorer og andre interesserede vil derfor altid kunne læse om vores bevæggrunde for at fortælle en historie til et bestemt medie eller en bestemt journalist på en bestemt måde. Lidt populært kan man sige, at Alternativet også laver spin – vi fortæller bare åbent om det.”

Hvordan kommer dette konkret til udtryk?

Hvilke udfordringer?

”2.1.3 Åbenhed i Processen: Alternativet vil indgå i politiske forhandlinger med det klare mål at inddrage borgerne i hele processen og fortælle, hvordan de enkelte forhandlingsresultater er opnået.”

Kan du forklare med dine egne ord hvordan du synes dette skal forstås?

Kunne du kort forklare hvordan I stræber efter at leve op til dette?

Hvordan vil du beskrive de største udfordringer for at leve op til denne åbenhed?

Evt spørge ind til bevæggrunde bag Alternativets forslag til videreudvikling af demokratiet:

2.2.1 Fuld åbenhed om partistøtten

2.2.2 Mulighed for borgerdrevne lovforslag

2.2.3 Center for Demokrati, Politikudvikling og Borgerinddragelse

# Appendix I-B

## Interview guide – Alternativet

*Thank you very much for taking your time to talk to me. I will ask you a few questions on your views regarding involving members and citizens in policy formation and decision making in Alternativet and the use of digital technology for this purpose. Let me stress that I am not looking for any particular answers and I am not here to judge your views, but because we are sincerely interested in describing your views and experiences so that we and others can learn from them. You can leave the interview at any time and if you do not feel comfortable answering any of my questions we can move on or stop the interview at any time. I will be recording the interview and transcribing what you say, but any references to what you said will be anonymised if you wish, and you are welcome to request a copy of the transcript when it is done.*

### Research Questions

Prompt:

- What is their notion of democratic participation?

### Interview Questions

Could you briefly describe in your own words, how you see your role within the party? (might not be appropriate to ask all interviewees – for instance MP's, but a good opening question to get them talking might still be an adaptation of this question, asking them to describe what they personally think their most important contribution to the party is)

As I mentioned when contacting you, I am interested in talking to you because you have been involved with... (building a digital platform/running political laboratory/developing approach to inclusion etc.) ...but have you in any other ways been involved in shaping the way members and citizens are involved in policy formation and decision making within Alternativet?

*Okay, so first I would like to talk about your views on some general issue around political participation and democracy, and then we can move on to talk more concretely about some of the specific activities you have been involved with in the party, but you are, of course, very welcome to relate your answers to your concrete experiences.*

What do you think is the most important role of “ordinary members” within the party?

Why do you think it is important to...

- involve members in decision making?
- involve “ordinary citizens” in policy formation?

According to you, how does the ideal model for determining the party policy look like?

This need for a “new political culture” seems to be very central to Alternativet. Could you say a few words

about what that means to you? What do you think is wrong with the existing political culture? And what would you like a “new political culture” to look like?

What does it mean, to you, to develop policies through “crowd-sourcing”? And what is the advantage of it?

- What is their experiences with democratic participation within the party?

Now, we talked a lot about... [specific platform/engagement method/perspective] ..., but can you, immediately think of other ways where members and citizens are involved in the party, that you think work really well or that you see specific challenges in?

How have you personally, and the party in general used digital technologies to involve members in decision making and forming the party's policies?

What are your experiences using digital technologies for this purpose?

- Challenges?

- Advantages?

- Disadvantages? (insuperable?)

- Which challenges do they face in regards to facilitating democratic participation within the party?

What are the biggest challenges you have faced in terms of including members?

Which barriers do you see to inclusive participation within the party?

And how have you tried to address these challenges?

How would you like these challenges to be addressed ?

- How does this work together with representative politics in elected forums where the party is represented?

How do you experience that the results of all these different engagement mechanisms find their way to elected assemblies where decisions are formally taken (in our representative democracy) – such as the parliament or local councils?

Prompt: Debate dogmas

*You have these six debate dogmas in Alternativet, which I am sure you are very familiar with. So I just have a few questions on how they relate to some of the things you have done and your experiences.*

1. We will draw attention to both advantages and disadvantages.

Can you give some examples on how your debate dogmas manifests (in your work)?

2. We will listen more than we will speak and we will meet our political opponents where they are.
3. We will highlight the values behind our arguments.
4. We will admit it when we cannot answer a question and admit if we are wrong.
5. We will be curious to all of those we talk to and debate with.
6. We will openly and factually argue how Alternativet's political visions can be accomplished.

Prompt: Core Values

Courage  
Generosity  
Transparency  
Humility  
Humour  
Empathy

Transparency (core value)

Empathy (core value)

What do these debate dogmas mean to you personally? And how do you use them in your work in Alternativet?

Which debate dogmas do you find is the hardest to live up to/facilitate?

*You also have 6 core values in the party, which I would also like to learn more about, especially in relation to your experiences.*

Would you say that your six core values influence how you involve members and citizens in the way you do politics? How?

//

You write about your six core values that they “should be constant pointers of direction, visible in the day-to-day political work”, so I would like to hear how you personally think they are expressed in how you involve members and citizens when you develop policies?

How is the value of transparency reflected in what you do for the party?

How do you give “everyone the opportunity to watch over your shoulder – on good days as well as bad days”?

And which challenges have you encountered in terms of living up to this value?

On another core value, empathy, you write that you will “create solutions where everybody wins” based on “putting yourself in the other's shoe and see the world from their point of view”.

How important is this value to you, and what are the biggest challenges to live up to this?

How do you concretely try to “put yourself in the other's shoe and see the world from their point of view”?

How do you advance/facilitate/promote this kind of empathy?

Is this value something you strive to live up to or do you also strive to promote this in society generally?

Prompt: Political Laboratories

What experiences do you have with Political Laboratories?

Can you briefly explain what your Political Laboratories are, and which role you think they should have in policy formation within the party?

On your website, you write about the Political Laboratories that you “...think it should be obvious that it matters to be an active citizen, and that we all, through engagement, can take part in creating better solutions for society.” How do you think the Political Laboratories contributes to this? / Can you elaborate how the Political Laboratories contributes to making it matter to be actively engaged?

What has been the biggest challenge in creating political laboratories that live up to this goal?

Why political laboratories? Which challenges? How have you dealt with these? What do you think characterise a successful political laboratory?

How does the political laboratories concretely lead to results that “are thoroughly worked through and builds on both knowledge and reasoned views, that can lead to useful policies”? (citation from website)

Prompt: Party program/manifesto

*You have a section in your party manifesto about a “new political culture” with a couple of points that might be relevant to some of the things you have been involved in. So I also have a couple of questions about them.*

“We believe it should be obvious that it matters to be an active citizen, and that we all, through engagement, can take part in creating better solutions for society.”

How do you think that Alternativet, concretely, contributes to promote this?

Which challenges have you encountered in relation to promoting this?

“2.1.2 Media declaration: (...) Citizens, political commentators and other interested people will, thus, always be able to read about our motives to tell a story to a specific medium or a specific journalist in a specific way. In popular terms you might say that Alternativet also spins – we just talk openly about it.” How is this expressed?

Which challenges?

”2.1.3 Openness in the Process: Alternativet will take part in political negotiations with a clear goal of

including citizens in the whole process and tell how each negotiated result is achieved.”

Can you explain with your own words how you think this is to be understood?

Could you explain how you strive to live up to this?

How would you describe the biggest challenges to live up to this openness?

Possibly ask about motives behind Alternativet's proposals for democratic reforms/development:

2.2.1 Full transparency on party funding

2.2.2 Citizens' Initiative possibility

2.2.3 Centre for Democracy, Policy development and Citizen Engagement

# Appendix II-A



## Digital Partipolitik fra Neden

### Projekt informationsark

Tak for din interesse i vores forskningsprojekt. Før du tager stilling til om du vil deltage i projektet vil vi gerne have at du læser dette informationsark om projektet og din deltagelse grundigt igennem. Tag din tid, til at beslutte om du vil deltage og spørg endelig hvis du har nogle spørgsmål eller bare gerne vil vide mere om noget. Du kan på hvilket som helst tidspunkt beslutte at du vil alligevel ikke vil deltage. Informer os blot om dette og vi vil stoppe interviewet omgående eller udelade dit interview fra vores videre analyse.

### **Hvad handler forskningsprojektet om?**

Formålet med dette forskningsprojekt er at undersøge muligheder for at bruge digitale teknologier til at involvere partimedlemmer og vælgere mere direkte i politikudvikling og beslutningstagning i politiske partier. Mere specifikt, forsøger projektet at identificere måder hvorpå digitale medier bliver brugt til at involvere partimedlemmer og almindelige borgere i partipolitik såvel som hvilken form for demokratisk deltagelse sådanne digitale platforme fremmer. Herudover vil projektet udforske muligheder for at designe nye digitale værktøjer, der bedre faciliterer involvering af medlemmer i politikudvikling og beslutningstagning.

### **Hvad vil din deltagelse i projektet involvere?**

Den del af forskningsprojektet du er inviteret til at tage del i er et såkaldt *semi-struktureret* interview. Det indebærer en uformel samtale med en interviewer om dine syn på de emner vi er interesseret i. Det står dig frit for at fortælle intervieweren hvis der er spørgsmål du ikke har lyst til at svare på. Vi forventer at interviewet vil tage 30-60 minutter afhængig af hvor meget tid du har.

### **Hvilken slags information vil vi indsamle om din deltagelse?**

Interviewet vil blive optaget og intervieweren vil muligvis tage håndskrevne noter undervejs i interviewet. Lydoptagelserne vil efterfølgende blive transskriberet. Hvis du gerne vil have en kopi af transskriptionen, så bed endelig intervieweren om det eller kontakt mig på email adressen nedenfor.

### **Hvad vil der ske med den information vi indsamler?**

Alt indsamlet data og information vil blive gemt sikkert og kun delt med relevante forskere, for at beskytte dit privatliv og sikkerhed. Offentliggjort data vil blive anonymiseret og ingen data vil blive tilskrevet identificerbare personer i den endelige fremstilling af undersøgelsen, medmindre de pågældende deltagere udtrykkeligt har samtykket til at blive identificeret i hver enkelt tilfælde.

Hvis du har nogle spørgsmål, klager, eller bare gerne vil vide mere om vores forskning er du meget velkommen til at kontakte mig på:

Nikolai Gad W Sørensen  
(n.g.w.sorensen1@ncl.ac.uk)



# Appendix II-B



## Digitalising Party Politics from Below

### Project information sheet

Thank you for your interest in our research project. Before you choose to take part we would like you to read this information about the project and your participation carefully. Take your time to decide if you would like to participate or not and feel free to ask if you have any questions or just want more information about anything. You can, at any time, decide to end your participation in the study. Just let us know and we will stop the research activity immediately.

#### **What is the purpose of the project?**

The aim of this research project is to explore possibilities for the use of digital technology to involve party members and citizens directly in policy formation and decision making in political parties. More specifically the project seeks to identify different ways in which digital media are used to involve party members and ordinary citizens in party politics as well as what kind of democratic participation such digital platforms are used to enhance. In addition to this, the project will also explore opportunities for designing digital tools that better meet the needs of political parties that want to involve members more directly in policy formation and decision making.

#### **What does your participation in the project involve?**

The part of the research project you are invited to take part in is a so called *semi-structured* interview. This entails an informal conversation with an interviewer about your views on topics we are interested in. You are free to tell the interviewer if you do not want to answer any of his questions. We expect the interview to take 30-60 minutes depending on how much time you have.

#### **What information will we collect about your participation?**

The interview will be audio recorded and the interviewer might take handwritten notes along the way. The audio recordings will subsequently be transcribed. If you wish a copy of the transcript please let the interviewer know or contact me on the email below.

#### **What will happen to the information we collect?**

No identifiable personal details will be stored alongside the audio recordings unless you choose to mention such identifiable information when you talk. As we are very concerned about protecting your privacy, no comments or data will be attributed to you personally in the final presentation of the study and during the study the data will only be available to the group conducting the research.

If you have any questions, complaints, or just wants to know more about the research feel free to contact me:

Nikolai Gad W Sørensen  
(n.g.w.sorensen1@ncl.ac.uk)

# Appendix III-A



## Samtykkeformular for deltagere

Jeg acceptere at deltage i forskningsprojektet: ***'Digitalising Party Politics from Below'*** der udføres af Nikolai Gad Sørensen som del af et PhD projekt på Newcastle University.

- Jeg har læst og forstået informationsarket om min deltagelse. ☐
- Jeg har haft mulighed for at stille spørgsmål og få svar på alle de spørgsmål jeg har om projektet. ☐
- Jeg er indforstået med at jeg vil blive lydoptaget under min deltagelse i studiet. ☐
- Jeg er indforstået med at data indsamlet til dette projekt vil blive gemt et sikkert sted på Newcastle University. ☐
- Jeg er indforstået med at den indsamlede data kun vil blive brugt til forskningsformål. ☐
- Jeg er indforstået med at jeg ikke vil blive nævnt med navn i nogle dokumenter eller fremstillinger af forskningen. ☐
- Jeg er indforstået med at jeg kan trække min deltagelse i projektet tilbage på hvilket som helst tidspunkt uden at give nogen forklaring. ☐
- Tilbagetrækning fra projektet vil ikke have nogen effekt på services jeg modtager nu eller potentielt vil modtage i fremtiden. ☐

Deltagers underskrift .....

Navn (blokbogstaver) .....Dato.....

Fødselsdato: .....

Køn: Male    Female

Adresse:

.....

.....

..... Postnummer .....

Interviewers underskrift .....

Navn (blokbogstaver).....

# Appendix III-B



## Consent form for participants

I agree to participate in the study: ***‘Digitalising Party Politics from Below’***  
being carried out by Nikolai Gad Sørensen as part of a PhD project at  
Newcastle University.

- I have read and understood the information sheet about taking part. ☐
- I have had the opportunity to ask and receive answers to any questions I had about the study. ☐
- I understand that I will be potentially be audio recorded during this study. ☐
- I understand that the data collected for this study will be stored in a secure location at Newcastle University. ☐
- I understand that the data will be used only for research purposes. ☐
- I understand that I will not be mentioned by name on any documents or in any presentations about the research. ☐
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without needing to give a reason. ☐
- Withdrawing from the study will not affect any services I am receiving now or might receive in the future. ☐

Signature of participant.....

Name (in capitals) .....Date.....

Date of Birth: .....

Gender: Male ☐ Female ☐

Address:

.....

.....

..... Postcode .....

Signature of team member.....

Name (in capitals).....

Tak fordi du vil deltage i vores undersøgelse om, inddragende politikudvikling i Alternativet. Spørgeskemaet består af 7 dele. Nogle dele handler om simple ting som dit engagement i partiet, mens to sider handler om dine holdninger til politik og demokrati, som måske godt kan tage lidt længere tid at svare på.

## Samtykkeformular for deltagere

Inden du starter undersøgelsen bedes du venligst angive nedenfor at du accepterer at deltage i forskningsprojektet **'Digitalising Party Politics from Below'**, som udføres af PhD Nikolai Gad som del af et forskningsprojekt på Newcastle University. Din besvarelse vil ikke tage mere end 15-20 minutter.

Læs mere i informationsarket, som kan findes [her](#).

- Jeg har modtaget et informationsark med uddybende oplysninger om projektet.
- Jeg er indforstået med at data vil blive indsamlet af Rambøll på vegne af forskere fra Newcastle University.
- Jeg er indforstået med at Rambøll kun deler mine besvarelser med forskerne bag undersøgelsen, men derimod aldrig vil videregive mit navn og kontaktoplysninger til hverken forskerne eller andre.
- Jeg er indforstået med at alt data vil blive slettet fra Rambøll's platform når data indsamlingen er overstået, og derefter blive gemt (uden navne og kontaktinformationer) et sikkert sted på Newcastle University.
- Jeg er indforstået med at den indsamlede data kun vil blive brugt til forskningsformål.
- Jeg er indforstået med at jeg ikke vil blive nævnt med navn i nogle dokumenter eller fremstillinger af forskningen.
- Jeg er indforstået med at jeg kan trække min deltagelse i projektet tilbage på hvilket som helst tidspunkt i løbet af min besvarelse af spørgeskemaet uden at give nogen forklaring.

Hvis du ikke ønsker at svare på enkelte spørgsmål, er du velkommen til at undlade disse og gå videre i spørgeskemaet.

 Acceptér

## 1 - Demokratiske idealer

Først nogle spørgsmål om demokrati. Vi er interesseret i hvad du synes er vigtigt for demokratiet generelt og ikke hvordan du synes demokratiet i øjeblikket fungerer i Danmark. Der er ingen rigtige eller forkerte svar, så du skal bare fortælle, hvad du mener.

Hvor vigtigt mener du, det er for demokratiet *generelt*... (sæt ét kryds i hver række)

0 Slet ikke vigtigt for demokratiet generelt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Særdeles vigtigt for demokratiet	Ved ikke
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...at nationale valg er frie og retfærdige?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...at vælgerne diskuterer politik med folk, de kender, før de beslutter, hvordan de vil stemme?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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...at regeringspartier bliver straffet ved valget, når de har gjort det dårligt?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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...at politikerne tager højde for andre europæiske regerings mening, før de træffer beslutninger?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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...at regeringen ændrer den planlagte politik for at tage hensyn til, hvad de fleste mener?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...at borgere er aktive i frivillige organisationer?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
...at borgere er aktive i politik?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I det følgende er der nogle udsagn om politikere generelt. Vi vil gerne vide, om du er enig eller uenig. (sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Helt uenig	Overvejende uenig	Hverken eller	Overvejende enig	Helt enig	Ved ikke
Åbenhed overfor andre folks syn, og en villighed til at gå på kompromis er vigtigt i et land så mangfoldigt som vores.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er vigtigt, at folkevalgte politikere diskuterer og debatterer ting grundigt før der foretages vigtige politiske ændringer.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I et demokrati som vores er der nogle vigtige forskelle mellem hvordan det offentlige bør drives og hvordan et privat firma bør administreres.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er vigtigt, at folk og deres valgte repræsentanter får det sidste ord om hvordan det offentlige drives, fremfor at lade det være op til uvalgte eksperter.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Valgte politikere ville hjælpe landet mere hvis de ville stoppe med at snakke og bare gøre noget ved de vigtige problemer.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det, der kaldes "kompromis" i politik, betyder i virkeligheden bare at sælge ud af sine principper.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det offentlige ville fungere bedre hvis beslutninger blev overladt til ikke-valgte succesfulde forretningsfolk.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det offentlige ville fungere bedre hvis beslutninger blev overladt til ikke-valgte, uafhængige eksperter i stedet for politikere eller folket.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## 2 - Tilknytning til partiet

I det følgende har vi nogle spørgsmål om din tilknytning til Alternativet.

Er du medlem af Alternativet?

☐ Ja - I hvilket år blev du første gang medlem af Alternativet? \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Nej, jeg er ikke medlem, men jeg har tidligere været medlem.

☐ Nej, jeg har aldrig været medlem af Alternativet.

Hvor nært føler du dig knyttet til partiet?

☐ Meget nært

☐ Ret nært

☐ Ikke særlig nært

☐ Overhovedet ikke nært

☐ Ved ikke

Der kan være flere forskellige årsager til at melde sig ind i et politisk parti. Da du meldte dig ind i partiet, hvad var da dine væsentligste grunde? (Sæt gerne flere kryds, dog maksimalt fire)

- ☐ Partiets leder
- ☐ Partiets ideologi (dvs. hvad partiet står for)
- ☐ Partiets konkrete landspolitik
- ☐ Partiets konkrete lokalpolitik
- ☐ Behov for større modspil til nogle af de øvrige partier
- ☐ Påvirkning fra kollegaer
- ☐ Påvirkning fra familie
- ☐ Påvirkning fra venner
- ☐ Påvirkning fra fagforening, erhvervsorganisation eller lignende
- ☐ For at få mere information om politik
- ☐ Ønske om at gøre politisk karriere
- ☐ Ønske om at få indflydelse på partiets politik
- ☐ Mulighed for at kunne deltage i partiets øvrige arrangementer (kulturelle, selskabelige osv.)
- ☐ For at støtte partiet
- ☐ For at støtte folkestyret
- ☐ Partiets lokale leder eller borgmester
- ☐ Andet: \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Ved ikke

Har du været medlem af andre partier/et andet parti?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nej
- ☐ Ønsker ikke at oplyse

Hvilke partier/hvilket parti?

- ☐ Socialdemokraterne
- ☐ Radikale
- ☐ Konservative
- ☐ Socialistisk Folkeparti
- ☐ Liberal Alliance
- ☐ Kristendemokraterne/Kristeligt Folkeparti
- ☐ Dansk Folkeparti
- ☐ Venstre
- ☐ Enhedslisten
- ☐ Centrumdemokraterne
- ☐ DKP, Danmarks Kommunistiske Parti
- ☐ Danmarks Retsforbund
- ☐ Fremskridtspartiet
- ☐ Erhvervspartiet
- ☐ Fælles Kurs
- ☐ Venstresocialisterne
- ☐ Ny Alliance

☐ Andet, angiv venligst: \_\_\_\_\_

Har nogle af de følgende været medlem af et parti? (sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Nej, ikke så vidt jeg ved	Ja	Ønsker ikke at oplyse
Din far	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Din mor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Din samlever, hvis du er gift, registreret eller samboende	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Var der andre tæt på dig såsom familie, venner, kollegaer, der var medlem af partiet, da du meldte dig ind?

- ☐ Ja  
☐ Nej  
☐ Ved ikke

### 3 - Aktivitet i partiet

I det følgende vil vi spørge ind til hvor meget og hvordan du er aktiv i partiet.

Har du nogensinde været til et politisk arrangement i Alternativet? (inklusiv Politiske Laboratorier, opstillingsmøder eller andre events med politisk indhold)

- ☐ Ja  
☐ Nej

Hvor mange gange har du inden for det seneste år været til et politisk arrangement i Alternativet (alle former for møder)?

\_\_\_\_\_

Hvor mange timer bruger du gennemsnitligt på partiaktiviteter på en måned?

\_\_\_\_\_

Har du været valgt eller opstillet til nedenstående organer? (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Indvalgt i dag	Tidligere indvalgt	Opstillet, men ikke indvalgt	Aldrig opstillet eller indvalgt
Tillidspost i din lokalforening (f.eks. lokalforeningsbestyrelsen, bydelsforeningsbestyrelsen eller lignende)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tillidspost i din storkreds (f.eks. storkredsbestyrelsen)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tillidspost i partiet på nationalt niveau (f.eks. Hovedbestyrelsen, Ombudsrådet, Konfliktmæglingrådet, Politisk Forum eller	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



Vedtægtsudvalget osv.)?

Kommunalbestyrelse (byråd) eller Regionsråd?

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Folketinget?

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Hvor ofte har du deltaget i nedenfor anførte aktiviteter inden for det seneste år? (sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Aldrig	1 gang	2-5 gange	6-10 gange	Over 10 gange
Uddelt partimateriale	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Skrevet læserbrev om partiets politik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Været med til at formulere politiske forslag til vedtagelse i partiet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Været medstiller på et politisk forslag i partiet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Givet din opbakning til et politisk forslag på AlleOs (Alternativets online platform alleos.alternativet.dk)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rekrutteret nye partimedlemmer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Diskuteret partiets politik med folk, der ikke er medlemmer af partiet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Diskuteret partiets politik på hjemmesider, blogs og lignende uden for partiet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Taget kontakt til en af partiets repræsentanter i kommunalbestyrelsen (byrådet)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Taget kontakt til en af partiets repræsentanter i Folketinget	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deltaget i din lokalforenings årlige generalforsamling/årsmøde	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deltaget i partiets Landsmøde	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deltaget i sociale og kulturelle arrangementer i partiet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Planlagt og/eller afviklet et Politisk Laboratorium (PoLa) i Alternativet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deltaget i et Politisk Laboratorium (PoLa) i Alternativet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Deltog du i valget af kandidater til Kommunalvalget i 2017 i din lokalforening?

☐ Ja, jeg deltog i et opstillingsmøde

☐ Ja, jeg deltog i en digital afstemning uden at være til stede på et opstillingsmøde

☐ Ja jeg deltog på anden vis, angiv venligst: \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Nej

☐ Ved ikke

I det følgende er der nogle udsagn om det, at være medlem af Alternativet. Vi vil gerne vide, om du er enig eller uenig i dem. (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Helt uenig	Overvejende uenig	Hverken eller	Overvejende enig	Helt enig	Ved ikke
De mest aktive er også dem, der har mest indflydelse på udformningen af partiets politik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det kan være trættende at gå til partimøde efter en dags arbejde	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Partiaktiviteter tager ofte tid fra familien

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

At være aktivt partimedlem er en god måde at få nye venner på

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

## 4 - Online Engagement

Følgende spørgsmål omhandler hvor du er engageret i Alternativet online.

For hver af de følgende digitale platforme angiv venligst om du...  
(sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	...aldrig har hørt om den.	...har hørt om den, men aldrig brugt den selv.	...har prøvet at bruge den enkelte gange.	...bruger den sjældent.	...bruger den jævnligt.	...bruger den ofte.
Facebook	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Dialog (dialog.alternativet.dk)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alternativets Appgree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alternativets officielle Facebook side	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En eller flere Facebookgrupper relateret til Alternativet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Medlemsmandatet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
AlleOs (alleos.alternativet.dk)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pol.is på AlleOs (Pol.is er navnet på det diagram, der vises under alle politiske forslag på AlleOs hvor forskellige holdninger til forslaget grupperes efter hvem, der har angivet at de er enige eller uenige).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alternativets Wiki (wiki.alternativet.dk)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## 4 - Online Engagement

Følgende spørgsmål omhandler hvordan du er engageret i Alternativet på forskellige online platforme.

Følgende spørgsmål omhandler hvordan du bruger Facebook. Hvor ofte udfører du hver af følgende aktiviteter på Facebook? (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Aldrig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Meget ofte 7
Skriver mit eget opslag om Alternativets politik på Facebook.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Læser og følger med i opslag om Alternativets politik på Facebook.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deler andres opslag om Alternativets politik på Facebook.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kommenterer på andres opslag om Alternativets politik på Facebook.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Liker andres opslag om Alternativets politik på Facebook.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Opfordrer venner på Facebook til at støtte Alternativet.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Organiserer en facebook begivenhed, der er relateret til Alternativet.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Deltager i en facebook begivenhed, der er relateret til Alternativet.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Bruger Facebooks Messenger funktion til at kontakte andre medlemmer i Alternativet.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Følgende spørgsmål omhandler hvordan du bruger Alternativets facebookgrupper. Hvor ofte udfører du hver af følgende aktiviteter i en Alternativet gruppe på Facebook? (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

Aldrig 1 2 3 4 5 6 Meget ofte 7

Skriver mit eget opslag i en af Alternativets Facebook grupper.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Deler noget fra andre steder på Internettet i en af Alternativets Facebook grupper.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Kommenterer på andres opslag i en af Alternativets Facebook grupper.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Liker andres opslag i en af Alternativets Facebook grupper.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Læser andres opslag og kommentarer i en af Alternativets Facebook grupper.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Opfordrer medlemmer i en af Alternativets Facebook grupper til at støtte et politisk forslag eller en politisk kandidat i Alternativet.

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Følgende spørgsmål omhandler hvordan du bruger dialog.alternativet.dk . Hvor ofte udfører du hver af følgende aktiviteter på Dialog? (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

Aldrig 1 2 3 4 5 6 Meget ofte 7

Skriver mit eget indlæg på dialog.alternativet.dk

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Deler noget fra andre steder på Internettet på dialog.alternativet.dk

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Kommenterer på andres indlæg på dialog.alternativet.dk

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Liker andres indlæg på dialog.alternativet.dk

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Læser andres indlæg på dialog.alternativet.dk

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Opfordrer andre medlemmer til at støtte et politisk forslag eller en politisk kandidat på dialog.alternativet.dk

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Følgende spørgsmål omhandler hvordan du bruger AlleOs. Hvor ofte udfører du hver af følgende aktiviteter på AlleOs? (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

Aldrig 1 2 3 4 5 6 Meget ofte 7

Organiserer et event på AlleOs

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Tilmelder dig events på AlleOs

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Læser i Alternativets Håndbog på AlleOs

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Bruger AlleOs's samtale funktion til at kontakte andre medlemmer i Alternativet

Tjekker kalenderen på AlleOs

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Følgende spørgsmål omhandler hvordan du bruger forskellige kommunikationskanaler. Hvor ofte udfører du hver af følgende aktiviteter? (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Aldrig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Meget ofte
Læser i Alternativets wiki (wiki.alternativet.dk)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Angiver min holdning om et politisk forslag via pol.is på AlleOs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vurderer andres holdninger angivet via pol.is på AlleOs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bruger email til at kontakte andre medlemmer i Alternativet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ringer til andre medlemmer i Alternativet når der er brug for at kontakte dem.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Bruger sms til kontakte andre medlemmer i Alternativet.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Hvor ofte udfører du hver af følgende aktiviteter online? (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Aldrig	1	2	3	4	5	6	Hver gang jeg har muligheden
Bruger min stemme i forbindelse med Medlemsmandatet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Følger med i livestreaming af Alternativets Folketingspolitikeres gruppemøder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Svarer på spørgsmål via Appgree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Melder mig enig eller uenig i andres svar via Appgree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

AlleOs har en funktion hvor du kan oprette og melde dig ind i "teams". Er du medlem af nogle teams på AlleOs?

☐ Nej

☐ Ja, et enkelt team

☐ Ja, flere teams

Hvor foretrækker du *generelt* at diskutere politik med andre medlemmer af Alternativet?

☐ Via online kanaler.

☐ Ansigt-til-ansigt i den virkelige verden.

Hvad mener du om, at politiske beslutninger i Alternativet bliver behandlet på hver af følgende platforme? (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Platform svækker politiske beslutninger	1	2	3	4	5	6	Platform styrker politiske beslutninger
Facebook	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Dialog (dialog.alternativet.dk)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alternativets Appgree	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Facebookgrupper relateret til Alternativet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Medlemsmandatet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
AlleOs (alleos.alternativet.dk)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pol.is på AlleOs (Pol.is er navnet på det diagram, der vises under alle politiske forslag på AlleOs hvor forskellige holdninger til forslaget grupperes efter hvem, der har angivet at de er enige eller uenige).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## 5 - Parti idealer

De følgende spørgsmål handler om hvordan du synes Alternativet bør fungere. Vi er interesseret i din umiddelbare holdning, så det er helt i orden hvis du ikke har en holdning til alle disse emner.

Disse spørgsmål kan godt tage lidt lang tid at komme igennem, men herefter bliver spørgsmålene lettere igen.

I det følgende er der nogle udsagn om partiets organisering. Vi vil gerne vide, om du er enig eller uenig. (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Helt uenig	Overvejende uenig	Hverken eller	Overvejende enig	Helt enig	Ved ikke
Partiets Landsmøde bør have det sidste ord i alle væsentlige beslutninger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partiledelsen bør have det sidste ord i vigtige beslutninger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er vigtigt at partiet tilbyder et sted hvor medlemmer kan diskutere politik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er et problem for partiet i dag, at dets ledelse er for stærk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partiets medlemmer indgår i en bevægelse af ligesindede	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partiledelsen tager for meget hensyn til, hvad medlemmerne mener, når der skal træffes en beslutning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partiet består af en mangfoldig gruppe af mennesker med mange forskellige meninger	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jo flere medlemmer, der giver input til Alternativets politik, desto bedre bliver partiets politik.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Den bedste måde at udvælge hvilke forslag, der skal være en del af Alternativets endelige politik, er ved at have så mange medlemmer som muligt til at evaluere dem.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Et flertal af medlemmerne bør have det sidste ord i vigtige beslutninger for partiet.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Virkelige forandringer i samfundet kan kun ske, når politikere og borgere arbejder sammen.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Alternativet er et godt sted at lære hvordan man kan gøre en forskel for samfundet.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alternativet er et godt sted at finde ligesindede, til at gøre en forskel sammen med.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er vigtigt, at folk bliver eksponeret for forskellige holdninger i Alternativet.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er partiledelsens ansvar at få input fra så mange medlemmer som muligt om hvad, partiets politik skal være.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Den bedste måde Alternativet kan opnå samfundsforandringer på, er ved at partimedlemmerne ændrer deres daglige livsstil i henhold til Alternativets politik.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I det følgende er der nogle udsagn om partiets valgte politikeres rolle (såsom Folketings- eller byrådsmedlemmer). Vi vil gerne vide om du er enig eller uenig. (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Helt uenig	Overvejende uenig	Hverken eller	Overvejende enig	Helt enig	Ved ikke
Valgte politikeres vigtigste job, er at holde sig til det, de lovede før de blev valgt.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Valgte politikere bør altid følge det, de fleste i partiet bliver enige om, uanset om de personligt er enige.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Den vigtigste rolle for valgte politikere er, at lytte til forskellige argumenter og beslutte sig selv baseret på disse.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er Alternativets valgte politikeres ansvar, at få input fra så mange medlemmer som muligt, til beslutninger de skal tage i Folketinget og byråd.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Den bedste måde Alternativets valgte politikere kan fremme forandring på, er ved at støtte borgernes egne initiativer.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Den bedste måde Alternativets valgte politikere kan fremme forandring på, er ved at fjerne barrierer for borgeres egne initiativer.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er vigtigt, at Alternativets politikere skaber plads til at diskutere politik med partimedlemmerne.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I det følgende er der nogle udsagn om medlemmers rolle i Alternativet. Vi vil gerne vide, om du er enig eller uenig i dem. (Sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Helt uenig	Overvejende uenig	Hverken eller	Overvejende enig	Helt enig	Ved ikke
Almindelige partimedlemmers forbrugsvaner spiller en afgørende rolle i at opnå Alternativets politiske mål.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er vigtigt, at partimedlemmer diskuterer politiske emner før en beslutning tages.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det er vigtigt, at partimedlemmer deltager i politiske laboratorier.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Det er vigtigt, at partimedlemmer lytter til og prøver at forstå hinanden.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partimedlemmer bør altid fokusere på, hvad der er til det fælles bedste.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partimedlemmers væsentligste rolle er, at vælge hvilken kandidat, der skal gå til valg for Alternativet.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partimedlemmers væsentligste rolle er, at vælge Alternativets ledelse.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Partimedlemmers væsentligste rolle er, at vælge medlemmer til Politisk Forum, hvor de kan beslutte Alternativets endelige politik.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## 6 - Politisk Engagement

Så er vi ved at nå til vejs ende, men først vil vi gerne stille nogle spørgsmål om dit generelle politiske engagement.

Hvor interesseret vil du sige, at du er i politik?

0.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	Ved ikke
Slet ikke interesseret										Meget interesseret	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Hvor ofte har du inden for det seneste år foretaget følgende:

	Aldrig	En gang	To gange	Tre eller flere gange
Deltaget i en demonstration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deltaget i en Facebook-gruppe om en bestemt sag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Boycottet virksomheder, producenter eller produkter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kontaktet en politiker for at fremme en sag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kontaktet medierne for at fremme en sag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Skrevet under på en underskriftsindsamling (online eller på papir)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Udført frivilligt arbejde	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Er du medlem af en af nedenstående organisationer?

	Ja	Nej, men har været	Nej, har aldrig været
Fagforening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politisk organisation (udover Alternativet, f.eks. miljø-, humanitær-, menneskerettigheds- eller fredsorganisation)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Interesseorganisation (f.eks. beboer- eller grundejerforening, forældre-, patient-, pensionist-, eller forbrugerorganisation)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fritids- eller kulturel forening (f.eks. sportsklub, kor, friluftaktivitetsklub)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anden frivillig forening	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Hvor stor tillid har du personligt til hver af de følgende institutioner?

0.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
Slet ingen tillid										Fuld tillid
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Vore politiske ledere

Offentlige embedsmænd

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Fortæl venligst hvor godt hvert af nedenstående udsagn beskriver dig. (sæt ét kryds i hver række)

	Helt uenig	Overvejende uenig	Hverken eller	Overvejende enig	Helt enig	Ved ikke
Det er meget vigtigt for mig, at have klare holdninger.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg foretrækker ofte, at være neutral i forhold til komplekse problemer.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jeg finder det ubehageligt, når folk diskuterer politik.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politikerne tager gennemgående for lidt hensyn til, hvad borgere som jeg mener.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Borgere som jeg har ikke indflydelse på Folketingets og regeringens beslutninger.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## 7 - Personlige oplysninger

Og til sidst har vi nogle spørgsmål om dig.

I politik tales der ofte om venstre og højre. Hvor vil du placere dig selv?

0. Venstre 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. Højre Ved ikke

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Er du for tiden erhvervsmæssigt beskæftiget?

- ☐ Ja, lønmodtager (herunder lærling), fuld tid
- ☐ Ja, lønmodtager (herunder lærling), deltid
- ☐ Ja, selvstændig
- ☐ Ja, medhjælpende ægtefælle
- ☐ Nej, studerende/skoleelev/under uddannelse
- ☐ Nej, husmoder uden anden indkomst
- ☐ Nej, førtidspensionist
- ☐ Nej, på efterløn
- ☐ Nej, pensionist i øvrigt (folkepension, tjenestemandspension m.v.)
- ☐ Nej, arbejdsløs på dagpenge
- ☐ Nej, arbejdsløs på kontanthjælp
- ☐ Nej, arbejdsløs under aktivering
- ☐ Nej, langtidssyggemeldt
- ☐ Nej, på barsels- eller forældreorlov (ikke arbejdsløs)
- ☐ Nej, aftjener værnepligt
- ☐ Ude af erhverv i øvrigt eller andet

Er du privat ansat, offentligt ansat eller selvstændig?



- ☐ Privat ansat
- ☐ Offentlig ansat
- ☐ Selvstændig erhvervsdrivende
- ☐ Ikke ansat/ude af erhverv
- ☐ Ved ikke

Er din etniske baggrund dansk?

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nej - angiv venligst etnisk baggrund: \_\_\_\_\_

Hvad er den højeste uddannelse, du har gennemført?

- ☐ Ingen skolegang, Børnehaveklasse. 1.-5. klasse
- ☐ Folkeskole 6.-8. klasse
- ☐ 9. - 10. klasse
- ☐ Gymnasielle uddannelser, studentereksamen, HF, HHX, HTX
- ☐ Kort erhvervsuddannelse under 1-2 års varighed (f.eks. AMU Arbejdsmarkedsuddannelser, Basisår på Erhvervsfaglige uddannelser)
- ☐ Faglig uddannelse (håndværk, handel, landbrug mv. - f.eks. Faglærte, Social- og sundhedsassistent-uddannelsen og tilsvarende)
- ☐ Kort videregående uddannelse af op til 2-3 års varighed (f.eks. Erhvervsakademiuddannelser, datamatiker, tandplejer, byggetekniker, installatør, HD)
- ☐ Mellemlang videregående uddannelse af 3-4 års varighed (f.eks. professionsbacheloror som diplomingeniør, sygeplejerske, skolelærer, pædagog, journalist, HA eller universitetsbacheloror)
- ☐ Lang videregående uddannelse - kandidatuddannelse af 5.-6. års varighed (f.eks. Cand.mag., cand.jur., cand.polyt. etc.)
- ☐ Forskeruddannelse. Ph.d., doktor
- ☐ Andet
- ☐ Ved ikke

Hvilket år er du født?

- ☐ 2017
- ☐ 2016
- ☐ 2015
- ☐ 2014
- ☐ 2013
- ☐ 2012
- ☐ 2011
- ☐ 2010
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- ☐ 1900

Hvad er dit køn?

- ☐ Kvinde
- ☐ Mand
- ☐ Andet, angiv hvis du ønsker: \_\_\_\_\_

I hvilken kommune bor du?

- ☐ Bor i udlandet
- ☐ Albertslund
- ☐ Allerød
- ☐ Assens
- ☐ Ballerup
- ☐ Billund
- ☐ Bornholm
- ☐ Brøndby
- ☐ Brønderslev
- ☐ Dragør
- ☐ Egedal
- ☐ Esbjerg
- ☐ Fanø
- ☐ Favrskov
- ☐ Faxe
- ☐ Fredensborg
- ☐ Fredericia

- ☐ Frederiksberg
- ☐ Frederikshavn
- ☐ Frederikssund
- ☐ Furesø
- ☐ Faaborg-Midtfyn
- ☐ Gentofte
- ☐ Gladsaxe
- ☐ Glostrup
- ☐ Greve
- ☐ Gribskov
- ☐ Guldborgsund
- ☐ Haderslev
- ☐ Halsnæs
- ☐ Hedensted
- ☐ Helsingør
- ☐ Herlev
- ☐ Herning
- ☐ Hillerød
- ☐ Hjørring
- ☐ Holbæk
- ☐ Holstebro
- ☐ Horsens
- ☐ Hvidovre
- ☐ Høje-Taastrup
- ☐ Hørsholm
- ☐ Ikast-Brande
- ☐ Ishøj
- ☐ Jammerbugt
- ☐ Kalundborg
- ☐ Kerteminde
- ☐ Kolding
- ☐ København
- ☐ Køge
- ☐ Langeland
- ☐ Lejre
- ☐ Lemvig
- ☐ Lolland
- ☐ Lyngby-Taarbæk
- ☐ Læsø
- ☐ Mariagerfjord
- ☐ Middelfart
- ☐ Morsø
- ☐ Norddjurs

- ☐ Nordfyn
- ☐ Nyborg
- ☐ Næstved
- ☐ Odder
- ☐ Odense
- ☐ Odsherred
- ☐ Randers
- ☐ Rebild
- ☐ Ringkøbing-Skjern
- ☐ Ringsted
- ☐ Roskilde
- ☐ Rudersdal
- ☐ Rødovre
- ☐ Samsø
- ☐ Silkeborg
- ☐ Skanderborg
- ☐ Skive
- ☐ Slagelse
- ☐ Solrød
- ☐ Sorø
- ☐ Stevns
- ☐ Struer
- ☐ Svendborg
- ☐ Syddjurs
- ☐ Sønderborg
- ☐ Thisted
- ☐ Tønder
- ☐ Tårnby
- ☐ Vallensbæk
- ☐ Varde
- ☐ Vejen
- ☐ Vejle
- ☐ Vesthimmerland
- ☐ Viborg
- ☐ Vordingborg
- ☐ Ærø
- ☐ Aabenraa
- ☐ Aalborg
- ☐ Aarhus

Hvor mange hjemmeboende børn, inklusiv din samlevers børn, har du?

I alderen 0-5 år?

\_\_\_\_\_

I alderen 6-15 år?

\_\_\_\_\_

I alderen 16-19 år?

\_\_\_\_\_

Over 20 år?

\_\_\_\_\_

Hvad er din ægteskabelige status?

☐ Enlig (single)

☐ Gift/registreret partnerskab/samlevende (papirløst samliv)

☐ I fast forhold, men ikke samlevende

☐ Enke/enkemand

# Appendix V-A



## Partimedlemsundersøgelse i Alternativet

### Projekt informationsark

Tak fordi din interesse i vores undersøgelse. Her kan du læse lidt uddybende information om vores forskningsprojekt og hvad din deltagelse indebærer. Hvis du har yderligere spørgsmål skal du være velkommen til at kontakte os på nedenstående email adresse.

#### **Hvad handler forskningsprojektet om?**

Denne spørgeskemaundersøgelse er en del af et 3 år langt forskningsprojekt, der gennemføres af PhD kandidat Nikolai Gad ved Newcastle University. Formålet med hele projektet er, at udforske hvordan digitale medier kan bruges til at styrke almindelige partimedlemmers rolle i politiske partier. En af de vigtigste opgaver for politiske partier er, at fungere som bindeled mellem magthavere og civilsamfundet, og der spiller partimedlemmerne en afgørende rolle. Derfor er vi interesseret i hvordan Alternativets medlemmer allerede deltager i politikudvikling, hvem der deltager hvordan, og hvad der afholder nogen fra at deltage. Og det skal dette spørgeskema gøre os klogere på, samtidig med at vores resultater kan hjælpe Alternativet med at evaluere den måde, partiet udvikler politik på nu.

Til sidst skal hele projektet munde ud i en række bud på nye digitale løsninger, som kan understøtte almindelige medlemmers involvering i udvikling af partipolitik. Disse vil forhåbentlig også komme Alternativet til gode.

#### **Hvad vil din deltagelse i projektet indebære?**

Den del af forskningsprojektet du er inviteret til at deltage i, er en online spørgeskemaundersøgelse. Det indebærer at svare på en række spørgsmål på et website, som du kan tilgå ved at følge linket i din email invitation. Besvarelsen vil tage omkring 15-20 minutter.

#### **Hvad vil der ske med den information vi indsamler?**

Partimedlemsskab og din politiske overbevisning er en privat sag og det tager vi meget seriøst. Du er derfor sikret gennem en 'dobbel anonymitet', hvor forskerne ikke får adgang til dit navn og dine kontaktoplysninger, mens partiet ikke har adgang til dine besvarelser.

Dine svar vil blive indsamlet ved hjælp af software platformen SurveyXact, som administreres af Rambøll. Alternativets Landssekretariat har givet Rambøll lov til at udsende invitationer til alle partiets medlemmer via denne platform på samme måde som når partiet bruger 'Medlemsmandatet' til at spørge om medlemmernes holdning til et emne.

Dine svar vil dog kun være tilgængelige for forskerne bag undersøgelsen fra Newcastle University. Så snart dataindsamlingen er færdig vil alt data blive slettet fra SurveyXact platformen og et anonymt datasæt vil blive gemt et sikkert sted på Newcastle University for yderligere analyse. Når hele projektet er overstået, vil det anonyme datasæt blive gjort tilgængeligt efter anmodning via Newcastle University Data Catalogue (<https://rdm.ncl.ac.uk/>) udelukkende for forskningsformål.

Et resumé af alles svar (men ikke dine personlige svar) på hvert spørgsmål vil blive delt med Alternativet og gjort offentligt tilgængelig efter projektets afslutning.



### **Hvordan kan du trække din beslutning om at deltage tilbage?**

Hvis du fortryder at deltage i undersøgelsen og ønsker at tilbagekalde dine svar kan du ganske enkelt klikke på knappen i bunden af skærmen, der siger ”Afslut og ryd svar” og forlade websitet. Efter afslutning af hele spørgeskemaet er det dog ikke længere muligt at tilbagekalde dine svar, da dine svar er gemt anonymt og derfor ikke kan identificeres for at blive slettet.

### **Hvem står bag undersøgelsen?**

Undersøgelsen gennemføres af PhD kandidat Nikolai Gad ved Newcastle University i samarbejde med andre forskere fra samme universitet. Alternativet har stillet kontaktoplysninger på deres medlemmer til rådighed for undersøgelsen. Rambøll Management er ansvarlig for indsamlingen af svar, mens forskergruppen på Newcastle University alene er ansvarlige for behandling og analysering af data efter den er blevet indsamlet.

Hvis du har nogle spørgsmål, kommentarer, eller bare gerne vil vide mere om vores forskning er du meget velkommen til at kontakte os:

Nikolai Gad, PhD candidate  
(n.g.w.sorensen1@ncl.ac.uk)

Stephen Elstub, Lecturer & supervisor  
(stephen.elstub@ncl.ac.uk)

Open Lab/School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University

# Appendix V-B



## Party member survey in Alternativet

### Project info sheet

Thank you for your interest in our research project. In this sheet you can read a bit more details about the project and what your participation involves. If you have any further questions, you are very welcome to contact us on the email address below.

#### **What is the purpose of the research?**

This survey is part of a three year long research project, which is carried out by PhD candidate Nikolai Gad from Newcastle University. The purpose of the project is, to explore how digital media can be used to strengthen the role of ordinary members in political parties. One of the most important roles for political parties is, to function as a link between government and civil society, and here party members play a crucial role. That is why, we are interested in how Alternativet's members already participate in policy development, who participates how, and what keeps some from participating. While this survey will teach us about these things, it can also help Alternativet to evaluate the way, the party is currently developing policies.

In the end the project will result in a number of suggestions on digital solutions, to support the involvement of ordinary party members in policy formation within political parties. Hopefully, these will also benefit Alternativet.

#### **What does your participation in the project involve?**

The part of the research project you are invited to take part in is an online survey. It entails replying to a number of questions on a website that you will access by following the link provided in your email invite. The survey will take about 15-20 minutes to complete.

#### **What will happen to the information we collect?**

Your party membership and political views are a private matter and we take that very serious. That is why, you will be protected through 'double anonymity', where the researchers will not access your name and contact details, while the party do not get access to your survey replies.

Your replies will be collected through the software platform SuveryXact, which is administered by Rambøll. Alternativet's National Secretary has allowed Rambøll to send out invitations to all members of the party, in the same way as when the party uses the 'Membership-mandate' to ask members about their view on a matter.

However, your replies will only be accessible to the research team from Newcastle University. Once data collection is finalised all data will be removed from the surveyXact platform and an anonymous dataset will be stored on a secure location at Newcastle University for further analysis. Once the whole project is finished the anonymous dataset will be available upon request through the Newcastle University Data Catalogue (<https://rdm.ncl.ac.uk/>) for research purposes only.

A summary of all responses (but not your individual responses) for each question will be shared with Alternativet and made publicly available after the project.

**How you can withdraw from the study?**

If you want to withdraw from the study during your participation in the survey you can simply click the button on the bottom of the screen saying “Exit and clear survey”, and leave the website. After submitting your replies withdrawal is no longer possible as the replies are stored anonymously and thus it is not possible for us to identify your replies to remove them from the study.

**Who is conducting the survey?**

The survey is conducted by PhD candidate Nikolai Gad at Newcastle University in collaboration with other researchers from the same university. Alternativet has provided contact information on their members for the study. Rambøll Management is responsible for collecting your replies, while the research team at Newcastle University is solely responsible for management and analysis of data after it has been collected.

If you have any questions, comments, or just want to know more about the research feel free to contact us:

Nikolai Gad, PhD candidate  
(n.g.w.sorensen1@ncl.ac.uk)

Stephen Elstub, Lecturer & supervisor  
(stephen.elstub@ncl.ac.uk)

Open Lab/School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University

## Invitation til partimedlemsundersøgelse

### Spørgeskemaundersøgelse blandt Alternativets medlemmer.

Kære medlem af Alternativet

Partimedlemmer spiller en afgørende rolle for, at partier kan fungere som bindeled mellem magthavere og civilsamfundet. Derfor er vi en gruppe forskere fra Newcastle University, der har sat os for, at undersøge hvordan partimedlemmer bedre kan inddrages i politikudvikling. I den forbindelse har Alternativets Landssekretariat hjulpet os med, at sende dette spørgeskema ud til alle partiets medlemmer. Rambøll står for indsamlingen svar, mens forskergruppen på Newcastle University alene er ansvarlige for behandling og analysering af data efter den er blevet indsamlet.

Det er afgørende for kvaliteten af undersøgelsens resultater, at så mange medlemmer som muligt svarer på spørgeskemaet. Vi vil derfor være meget taknemmelige hvis du vil bruge 15-20 min på at besvare skemaet, så vi kan få et retvisende billede af Alternativets medlemmer.

#### **Formål**

Formålet med undersøgelsen er, at blive klogere på hvordan Alternativets medlemmer allerede deltager i politikudvikling, hvem der deltager hvordan, og hvad der afholder nogen fra at deltage. På den måde skal undersøgelsen gøre os klogere, og samtidig hjælpe Alternativet med at evaluere og evt. forny den måde, der udvikles politik på i Alternativet.

#### **Anonymitet**

Dine politiske overbevisninger er en privat sag og det tager vi meget seriøst. Du er derfor sikret gennem 'dobbelt anonymitet' hvor Rambøll udesender spørgeskemaet og indsamler dine svar, som de derefter videregiver til os. På den måde får vi ikke adgang til hverken dit navn eller kontaktoplysninger, mens partiet ikke vil få adgang til dine besvarelser. Dette kan du læse mere om i det vedhæftede informationsark.

På den sidste side af spørgeskemaet kan du se, hvor du kan finde resultater fra undersøgelsen.

Hvis du har spørgsmål eller kommentarer til undersøgelsen, er du velkommen til at kontakte Nikolai Gad på nedenstående email adresse.

Start spørgeskemaet her: <link>

Sidste frist for besvarelse er xx/xx-2017

På forhånd tak for din deltagelse. Hilsen

Nikolai Gad, PhD candidate  
(n.g.w.sorensen1@ncl.ac.uk)

Open Lab/School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University

Stephen Elstub, Lecturer & supervisor  
(stephen.elstub@ncl.ac.uk)

## Invitation to party member survey

### Survey among members of Alternativet

Dear member of Alternativet

Party members play a crucial role for political parties to function as a link between governments and civil society. That is why, we are a group of researchers from Newcastle University, who have decided to examine how party members can get more involved in policy formation. For this purpose, Alternativet's National Secretariat has helped us, send this questionnaire to all members of the party. Rambøll will collect questionnaire replies while the research team at Newcastle University is solely responsible for management and analysis of data after it has been collected.

It is crucial for the quality of the survey results, that as many members as possible reply to the questionnaire. So we would be very grateful if you can spend 15-20 min. answering the questionnaire, so we can get an accurate impression of the members of Alternativet.

#### **The purpose**

The purpose of the survey is, to learn more about how members of Alternativet already participate in policy formation, who participates how, and what keeps some from participating. This way, the survey will teach us new things, and at the same time help Alternativet evaluate and possibly renew the way policies are currently developed in the party.

#### **Anonymity**

Your political views are a private matter and we take that very serious. That is why, you will be protected through 'double anonymity' where Rambøll sends out the questionnaire and collects your replies, which they then pass on to us. This way, we do not get access to your name or contact details, while the party will never see your replies. You can read more about this in the info sheet attached.

On the last page of the questionnaire you can see where to find the results of the survey.

If you have any questions or comments about the survey, you are very welcome to contact PhD candidate Nikolai Gad by email on the address below.

Start the questionnaire here: <link>

Last chance to reply will be xx/xx-2017

Thank you in advance for your participation. Regards,

Nikolai Gad, PhD candidate  
(n.g.w.sorensen1@ncl.ac.uk)

Open Lab/School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University

Stephen Elstub, Lecturer & supervisor  
(stephen.elstub@ncl.ac.uk)

## Reminder om partimedlemsundersøgelse

### Første reminder om deltagelse i spørgeskemaundersøgelse blandt Alternativets medlemmer.

Kære medlem af Alternativet

For tre uger siden sendte vi dig et spørgeskema om din oplevelse af at være medlem af Alternativet. Vi har allerede modtaget rigtig mange svar, men for at få et retvisende billede af Alternativets medlemmer er det meget vigtigt for os og for Alternativet, at få dit svar med. Vi har fuld forståelse for, at du har travlt med mange andre ting, men vi håber at du kan undvære 15-20 min til at svare på vores spørgsmål.

Klik her for at starte eller vende tilbage til spørgeskemaet: <link>

Spørgeskemaet vil være tilgængeligt indtil d. xx.xx-2017 og du kan altid gemme det og vende tilbage senere hvis du ikke har tid til at svare på det hele på en gang.

Hverken vi eller Alternativet kan se hvem der har svaret på skemaet, eller hvem, der har svaret hvad. Alternativet har stillet kontaktoplysninger på deres medlemmer til rådighed for undersøgelsen. Rambøll Management står for indsamlingen svar, mens forskergruppen på Newcastle University alene er ansvarlige for behandling og analysering af data efter den er blevet indsamlet.

Med venlig hilsen

Nikolai Gad, PhD candidate  
(n.g.w.sorensen1@ncl.ac.uk)

Stephen Elstub, Lecturer & supervisor  
(stephen.elstub@ncl.ac.uk)

Open Lab/School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University

# Appendix VI-D



## Reminder about party member survey

### First reminder about participating in survey among members of Alternativet.

Dear member of Alternativet

Three weeks ago we sent you a questionnaire about your experience of being a member of Alternativet. We have already received many replies, but in order to get an accurate picture of the members of Alternativet, it is very important, for us and for Alternativet, that we also get your answers. We fully understand that you are busy with many other things, but we hope you can spare 15-20 min to answer our questions.

Click here to start or return to the survey: <link>

The survey will be accessible until the xx.xx-2017, and you can save your replies at any time and return later if you do not have time to answer all the questions at once.

Nor we or Alternativet can see who have replied to the survey, or who replied what to each question. Alternativet has provided contact information on their members for the study. Rambøll Management is responsible for collecting your replies, and the research team at Newcastle University is solely responsible for management and analysis of data after it has been collected.

Kind regards,

Nikolai Gad, PhD candidate  
(n.g.w.sorensen1@ncl.ac.uk)

Stephen Elstub, Lecturer & supervisor  
(stephen.elstub@ncl.ac.uk)

Open Lab/School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University

## Reminder om partimedlemsundersøgelse

### Anden reminder om deltagelse i spørgeskemaundersøgelse blandt Alternativets medlemmer.

Kære medlem af Alternativet

For seks uger siden sendte vi dig et spørgeskema om din oplevelse af at være medlem af Alternativet. Vi har allerede modtaget rigtig mange svar, men for at få et retvisende billede af Alternativets medlemmer er det meget vigtigt for os og for Alternativet, at få dit svar med. Vi har fuld forståelse for, at du har travlt med mange andre ting, men vi håber at du kan undvære 15-20 min til at svare på vores spørgsmål. Uanset hvor aktiv eller passiv du er i partiet, er vi meget interesseret i dine svar.

Klik her for at starte eller vende tilbage til spørgeskemaet: <link>

Spørgeskemaet vil være tilgængeligt indtil d. xx.xx-2017 og du kan altid gemme det og vende tilbage senere hvis du ikke har tid til at svare på det hele på en gang.

Hverken vi eller Alternativet kan se hvem der har svaret på skemaet, eller hvem, der har svaret hvad på hvert spørgsmål. Alternativet har stillet kontaktoplysninger på deres medlemmer til rådighed for undersøgelsen. Rambøll Management står for indsamlingen svar, mens forskergruppen på Newcastle University alene er ansvarlige for behandling og analysering af data efter den er blevet indsamlet.

Med venlig hilsen

Nikolai Gad, PhD candidate  
(n.g.w.sorensen1@ncl.ac.uk)

Stephen Elstub, Lecturer & supervisor  
(stephen.elstub@ncl.ac.uk)

Open Lab/School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University



## Reminder about party member survey

### Second reminder about participating in survey among members of Alternativet.

Dear member of Alternativet

Six weeks ago we sent you a questionnaire about your experience of being a member of Alternativet. We have already received many replies, but in order to get an accurate picture of the members of Alternativet, it is very important, for us and for Alternativet, that we also get your answers. We fully understand that you are busy with many other things, but we hope you can spare 15-20 min to answer our questions. Regardless of how active or passive you are in the party, we are very interested in your replies.

Click here to start or return to the survey: <link>

The survey will be accessible until the xx.xx-2017, and you can save your replies at any time and return later if you do not have time to answer all the questions at once.

Nor we or Alternativet can see who have replied to the survey, or who replied what to each question. Alternativet has provided contact information on their members for the study. Rambøll Management is responsible for collecting your replies, and the research team at Newcastle University is solely responsible for management and analysis of data after it has been collected.

Kind regards,

Nikolai Gad, PhD candidate  
(n.g.w.sorensen1@ncl.ac.uk)

Stephen Elstub, Lecturer & supervisor  
(stephen.elstub@ncl.ac.uk)

Open Lab/School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University

# Appendix VII-A



Denne samtykkeformular vil blive vist før respondenter er i stand til at starte spørgeskemaundersøgelsen. Eftersom alt data vil blive indsamlet anonymt, vil vi ikke bede deltagere om at "underskrive" denne formular med navn og adresse, da det åbenlyst ville bryde deres anonymitet.

## Samtykkeformular for deltagere

Tak for at du vil deltage i vores spørgeskemaundersøgelse. Inden du starter undersøgelsen bedes du venligst angive nedenfor at du accepterer at deltage i forskningsprojektet '**Digitalising Party Politics from Below**', som udføres af Nikolai Gad som del af et forskningsprojekt på Newcastle University. Din besvarelse vil ikke tage mere end 15-20 minutter og du kan lade efterlade ethvert spørgsmål ubesvaret hvis du ikke har lyst til at besvare det.

Læs mere i informationsarket, som var vedhæftet din email invitation, og i øvrigt kan findes [her](#). Hvis du er under 18 år, opfordrer vi dig til at læse infoarket igennem med en voksen, som du stoler på.

- Jeg har modtaget et informationsark med uddybende oplysninger om projektet.
- Jeg er indforstået med at data vil blive indsamlet af Rambøll på vegne af forskere fra Newcastle University.
- Jeg er indforstået med at Rambøll kun deler mine besvarelser med forskerne bag undersøgelsen, men derimod aldrig vil videregive mit navn og kontaktoplysninger til hverken forskerne eller andre.
- Jeg er indforstået med at alt data vil blive slettet fra Rambøll's platform når data indsamlingen er overstået, og derefter blive gemt (uden navne og kontaktinformationer) et sikkert sted på Newcastle University.
- Jeg er indforstået med at den indsamlede data kun vil blive brugt til forskningsformål.
- Jeg er indforstået med at jeg ikke vil blive nævnt med navn i nogle dokumenter eller fremstillinger af forskningen.
- Jeg er indforstået med at jeg kan trække min deltagelse i projektet tilbage på hvilket som helst tidspunkt i løbet af min besvarelse af spørgeskemaet uden at give nogen forklaring.

Accepter

# Appendix VII-B



This consent form will be presented to potential survey respondents before they are able to access the survey itself. As all data collected through the survey will be anonymous name and contact details will not be recorded as part of this consent form since that would breach the anonymity.

## Consent form for participants

Thank you for taking part in our survey. Before starting the survey please indicate below that you agree to take part in the research project

**“Digitalising Party Politics from Below”** being carried out by Nikolai Gad as part of a PhD project at Newcastle University. Your participation will not take more than 15-20 min. and you can leave any questions blank if you feel uncomfortable answering them.

Read more in the project information sheet which was attached to your email invitation and can be found [here](#). If you are under 18 years of age we encourage you to go through the attached info sheet with an adult you trust.

- I have received an information sheet about taking part.
- I understand that data will be collected by Rambøll on behalf of researchers from Newcastle University.
- I understand that Rambøll will share my responses with the research team only, but never pass my name and contact information on to neither the researchers or anyone else.
- I understand that all data will be removed from Rambøll's platform once data collection is finalised, and a dataset (without names and contact information) will be stored in a secure location at Newcastle University.
- I understand that the data will be used only for research purposes.
- I understand that I will not be mentioned by name on any documents or in any presentations about the research.
- I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time during the completion of the survey without needing to give a reason.

Accept

## **Appendix VIII**

# **Appendix to chapter 6: Demand for intra-party democracy in Alternativet**

**Factor analysis tables**

# Appendix VIII-A

## Factor analysis with promax rotation (oblique)

```
fit <- factanal(na.omit(dataset[, newIntraVars]), 4, rotation = "promax")
tab <- cbind(fit$loadings[, 1:4], fit$uniquenesses)
colnames(tab)[5] <- "Uniqueness"
kable(tab, format = "markdown", digits = 2)
```

	Crowd	Delegative	Deliberative	Development.	Unique.
Crowd_BetterPolicies	<b>0.57</b>	-0.02	-0.11	0.10	0.69
Crowd_Evaluate	<b>0.82</b>	0.03	-0.28	-0.09	0.48
Crowd_FollowMajority	<b>0.47</b>	0.19	-0.15	-0.09	0.77
Crowd_InputPartyLine	<b>0.65</b>	-0.02	0.06	-0.04	0.55
Crowd_InputVoting	<b>0.56</b>	0.08	0.02	0.00	0.65
Crowd_MajorityDecisions	<b>0.77</b>	-0.16	-0.03	-0.05	0.48
Delegat_Congress	0.10	<b>0.36</b>	0.08	0.02	0.82
Delegat_Leadership	<b>-0.36</b>	0.21	-0.11	0.00	0.81
Delegat_LeadershipTooPowerful	<b>0.58</b>	-0.11	-0.14	-0.19	0.74
Delegat_MembersOpinionTooMuch	-0.15	0.10	<b>-0.42</b>	0.05	0.75
Delegat_Promise	<b>0.34</b>	<b>0.42</b>	-0.02	-0.19	0.69
Delegat_SelectCandidates	-0.16	<b>0.84</b>	0.16	-0.06	0.34
Delegat_SelectLeadership	-0.04	<b>0.88</b>	-0.02	-0.09	0.26
Delegat_SelectPoFo	0.05	<b>0.75</b>	0.02	0.00	0.42
Delib_CommonGood	-0.23	<b>0.38</b>	<b>0.52</b>	0.14	0.58
Delib_DiverseGroup	0.23	-0.02	<b>0.29</b>	-0.18	0.83
Delib_ExposedViews	0.24	-0.12	0.20	<b>0.25</b>	0.74
Delib_MembersDiscuss	<b>0.42</b>	-0.08	<b>0.32</b>	-0.01	0.61
Delib_MembersListen	-0.27	0.15	<b>0.81</b>	0.05	0.43
Delib_OrgDiscuss	-0.06	-0.15	<b>0.53</b>	-0.19	0.75
Delib_PoLa	0.29	-0.06	<b>0.38</b>	0.04	0.65
Delib_PolitDiscuss	0.24	<b>0.25</b>	0.18	0.03	0.77
Delib_PolitListen	-0.18	<b>0.25</b>	0.03	0.02	0.93
Devel_Consumption	0.16	0.19	-0.13	<b>0.22</b>	0.86
Devel_LearnEfficacy	-0.15	0.04	0.05	<b>0.88</b>	0.22
Devel_Lifestyle	<b>0.32</b>	0.16	<b>-0.33</b>	0.29	0.75
Devel_Like_minded	0.03	-0.03	0.11	<b>0.28</b>	0.88
Devel_PolCitizensCollaboration	0.16	-0.05	0.17	<b>0.26</b>	0.81
Devel_PracticeEfficacy	-0.06	-0.21	-0.05	<b>0.91</b>	0.29
Devel_RemoveBarriers	<b>0.45</b>	0.16	0.10	0.11	0.62
Devel_SupportCitizens	<b>0.54</b>	-0.06	0.11	0.04	0.63
SS loadings:	4.44	2.97	2.17	2.17	
Prop. of total variance explained:	0.14	0.10	0.07	0.07	
Dimension correlations:					
Crowd-sourcing	1.00				
Delegative	0.26	1.00			
Deliberative	0.30	0.22	1.00		

	Crowd	Delegative	Deliberative	Development.	Unique.
Developmental	0.35	0.05	0.47	1.00	

### Factor analysis with direct oblimin rotation (oblique)

```
fit <- factanal(na.omit(dataset[, newIntraVars]), 4, rotation = "oblimin")
tab <- cbind(fit$loadings[, 1:4], fit$uniquenesses)
colnames(tab)[5] <- "Uniqueness"
kable(tab, format = "markdown", digits = 2)
```

	Crowd	Delegative	Development.	Deliberative	Uniqueness
Crowd_BetterPolicies	<b>0.54</b>	0.03	0.12	-0.08	0.69
Crowd_Evaluate	<b>0.71</b>	0.08	-0.05	-0.22	0.48
Crowd_FollowMajority	<b>0.41</b>	0.21	-0.06	-0.12	0.77
Crowd_InputPartyLine	<b>0.65</b>	0.01	0.00	0.09	0.55
Crowd_InputVoting	<b>0.55</b>	0.11	0.04	0.04	0.65
Crowd_MajorityDecisions	<b>0.73</b>	-0.11	-0.02	0.01	0.48
Delegat_Congress	0.14	<b>0.36</b>	0.04	0.06	0.82
Delegat_Leadership	<b>-0.37</b>	0.19	-0.02	-0.12	0.81
Delegat_LeadershipTooPowerful	<b>0.50</b>	-0.08	-0.17	-0.10	0.74
Delegat_MembersOpinionTooMuch	-0.26	0.11	0.02	<b>-0.39</b>	0.75
Delegat_Promise	<b>0.33</b>	<b>0.42</b>	-0.14	-0.02	0.69
Delegat_SelectCandidates	-0.08	<b>0.81</b>	-0.01	0.11	0.34
Delegat_SelectLeadership	-0.01	<b>0.86</b>	-0.05	-0.05	0.26
Delegat_SelectPoFo	0.09	<b>0.74</b>	0.04	-0.01	0.42
Delib_CommonGood	-0.04	<b>0.36</b>	0.17	<b>0.45</b>	0.58
Delib_DiverseGroup	0.29	-0.03	-0.14	<b>0.27</b>	0.83
Delib_ExposedViews	<b>0.30</b>	-0.09	0.26	0.19	0.74
Delib_MembersDiscuss	<b>0.49</b>	-0.07	0.02	<b>0.31</b>	0.61
Delib_MembersListen	-0.03	0.11	0.09	<b>0.72</b>	0.43
Delib_OrgDiscuss	0.06	-0.19	-0.17	<b>0.48</b>	0.75
Delib_PoLa	<b>0.39</b>	-0.05	0.07	<b>0.36</b>	0.65
Delib_PolitDiscuss	<b>0.29</b>	0.26	0.06	0.16	0.77
Delib_PolitListen	-0.15	<b>0.23</b>	0.02	0.01	0.93
Devel_Consumption	0.15	<b>0.22</b>	<b>0.22</b>	-0.12	0.86
Devel_LearnEfficacy	-0.03	0.10	<b>0.85</b>	0.04	0.22
Devel_Lifestyle	0.26	0.22	<b>0.29</b>	<b>-0.29</b>	0.75
Devel_Like_minded	0.09	-0.01	<b>0.28</b>	0.11	0.88
Devel_PolCitizensCollaboration	0.23	-0.03	<b>0.27</b>	0.16	0.81
Devel_PracticeEfficacy	0.01	-0.14	<b>0.86</b>	-0.04	0.29
Devel_RemoveBarriers	<b>0.49</b>	0.19	0.15	0.11	0.62
Devel_SupportCitizens	<b>0.56</b>	-0.03	0.07	0.13	0.63
SS loadings:	4.20	2.86	2.01	1.76	
Prop. of total variance explained:	0.14	0.09	0.06	0.06	
Dimension correlations:					
Crowd-sourcing	1.00				
Delegative	0.11	1.00			
Deliberative	-0.11	-0.12	1.00		
Developmental	0.16	0.06	-0.25	1.00	





### Factor analysis with varimax rotation (orthogonal)

```
fit <- factanal(na.omit(dataset[, newIntraVars]), 4, rotation = "varimax")
tab <- cbind(fit$loadings[, 1:4], fit$uniquenesses)
colnames(tab)[5] <- "Uniqueness"
kable(tab, format = "markdown", digits = 2)
```

	Crowd	Delegative	Development.	Deliberative	Uniqueness
Crowd_BetterPolicies	<b>0.52</b>	0.07	0.17	0.03	0.69
Crowd_Evaluate	<b>0.71</b>	0.10	-0.01	-0.09	0.48
Crowd_FollowMajority	<b>0.42</b>	0.22	-0.03	-0.06	0.77
Crowd_InputPartyLine	<b>0.63</b>	0.07	0.11	0.20	0.55
Crowd_InputVoting	<b>0.54</b>	0.16	0.12	0.13	0.65
Crowd_MajorityDecisions	<b>0.70</b>	-0.06	0.08	0.15	0.48
Delegat_Congress	0.15	<b>0.38</b>	0.09	0.06	0.82
Delegat_Leadership	<b>-0.34</b>	0.14	-0.09	-0.20	0.81
Delegat_LeadershipTooPowerful	<b>0.49</b>	-0.07	-0.13	0.00	0.74
Delegat_MembersOpinionTooMuch	-0.22	0.04	-0.10	<b>-0.43</b>	0.75
Delegat_Promise	<b>0.34</b>	<b>0.43</b>	-0.09	0.02	0.69
Delegat_SelectCandidates	-0.06	<b>0.81</b>	0.03	0.03	0.34
Delegat_SelectLeadership	0.03	<b>0.85</b>	-0.03	-0.11	0.26
Delegat_SelectPoFo	0.11	<b>0.75</b>	0.07	-0.04	0.42
Delib_CommonGood	-0.06	<b>0.42</b>	0.27	<b>0.40</b>	0.58
Delib_DiverseGroup	0.27	0.01	-0.04	<b>0.32</b>	0.83
Delib_ExposedViews	0.27	-0.02	<b>0.34</b>	0.25	0.74
Delib_MembersDiscuss	<b>0.46</b>	0.01	0.16	<b>0.40</b>	0.61
Delib_MembersListen	-0.07	0.20	0.25	<b>0.68</b>	0.43
Delib_OrgDiscuss	0.02	-0.14	-0.05	<b>0.48</b>	0.75
Delib_PoLa	<b>0.35</b>	0.03	0.20	<b>0.43</b>	0.65
Delib_PolitDiscuss	0.28	<b>0.31</b>	0.15	0.20	0.77
Delib_PolitListen	-0.14	<b>0.22</b>	0.01	-0.03	0.93
Devel_Consumption	0.16	<b>0.24</b>	0.22	-0.10	0.86
Devel_LearnEfficacy	-0.05	0.18	<b>0.86</b>	0.05	0.22
Devel_Lifestyle	<b>0.27</b>	0.23	0.26	-0.24	0.75
Devel_Like_minded	0.07	0.04	<b>0.31</b>	0.12	0.88
Devel_PolCitizensCollaboration	0.20	0.03	<b>0.33</b>	0.21	0.81
Devel_PracticeEfficacy	-0.02	-0.06	<b>0.84</b>	-0.01	0.29
Devel_RemoveBarriers	<b>0.47</b>	0.25	0.24	0.18	0.62
Devel_SupportCitizens	<b>0.53</b>	0.04	0.18	0.23	0.63
SS loadings:	<b>3.92</b>	2.99	2.33	1.96	
Prop. of total variance explained:	<b>0.13</b>	0.10	0.08	0.06	

Since varimax is an orthogonal rotation method, it keeps all the factors uncorrelated, which is why correlation coefficients are not included.

# Appendix VIII-B

## *Missing values for each intra-party democracy variable*

	Missing values
Crowd_BetterPolicies	30
Crowd_Evaluate	35
Crowd_FollowMajority	33
Crowd_InputPartyLine	35
Crowd_InputVoting	29
Crowd_MajorityDecisions	33
Delegat_Congress	40
Delegat_Leadership	35
Delegat_LeadershipTooPowerful	43
Delegat_MembersOpinionTooMuch	45
Delegat_Promise	28
Delegat_SelectCandidates	30
Delegat_SelectLeadership	30
Delegat_SelectPoFO	35
Delib_CommonGood	34
Delib_DiverseGroup	36
Delib_ExposedViews	34
Delib_MembersDiscuss	31
Delib_MembersListen	28
Delib_OrgDiscuss	29
Delib_PoLa	31
Delib_PolitDiscuss	32
Delib_PolitListen	31
Devel_Consumption	33
Devel_LearnEfficacy	38
Devel_Lifestyle	39
Devel_Like_minded	36
Devel_PolCitizensCollaboration	30
Devel_PracticeEfficacy	40
Devel_RemoveBarriers	40
Devel_SupportCitizens	32

# Appendix VIII-C

## Descriptive statistics and comparisons of intra-party indices

Indices of four dimensions of intra-party democracy (optimised model)				
	Crowd-sourcing	Deliberative	Developmental	Delegative
Min.	1,000	3,000	2,667	1,200
1st Qu.	3,286	4,000	4,000	2,600
Median	3,714	4,333	4,667	3,200
Mean	3,695	4,289	4,472	3,241
3rd Qu.	4,143	4,667	5,000	3,800
Max.	5,000	5,000	5,000	4,800
Standard deviation	0,622	0,459	0,586	0,801
Missing values	27	27	29	27
N	131	131	129	131

Table 1: Descriptive statistics of indices for the four dimensions of intra-party democracy. Each index is calculated as the mean value of all variables included in the index.

Mean of differences between intra-party democracy indices				
	Crowd-sourcing	Deliberative	Developmental	Delegative
Crowd-sourcing				
Deliberative	-0.59** <i>t(130) = -10.02</i> <i>p &lt; 0.0001</i>			
Developmental	-0.78** <i>t(128) = -11.23</i> <i>p &lt; 0.0001</i>	-0.19** <i>t(128) = -3.61</i> <i>p = 0.00044</i>		
Delegative	0.45** <i>t(131) = 5.83</i> <i>p = 0.00000004</i>	1.05** <i>t(130) = 13.54</i> <i>p &lt; 0.0001</i>	1.23** <i>t(128) = 15.35</i> <i>p &lt; 0.0001</i>	

Mean of differences between each intra-party democracy dimension index. t values in italic and degrees of freedom in parentheses. \*\* p-value < 0.05

# Appendix IX

## Appendix to chapter 7: Demand for online participation in Alternativet

### Logistic regression models, predicting familiarity or not with each online platform

	FB	Dialog	Appgre e	FBPage	FBGr	Medlem smanda t	AlleOs	Polis	Wiki	AnyFB	AnyFB MinusP age	PartyPl at	AnyPlat	FBGrDi alog	slackPl ats	mobilPl ats
0. non-users:	11	61	81	25	35	115	37	106	107	11	11	19	3	22	11	3
1. users:	134	84	63	120	110	28	106	38	39	135	135	127	143	124	135	143

Table 1: Frequency table, showing number of users and non-users of each platform from the sample.

Dependent variable:																
	FB	Dialog	Appgre e	FBPage	FBGr	Medle msman dat	AlleOs	Polis	Wiki	AnyFB	PartyPl at	AnyPla t	FBGrD ialog	slackPl ats	mobilPl ats	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	
age	-0.10 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.09** (0.04)	-0.005 (0.02)	-0.04** (0.02)	-0.08 (0.10)	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.03 (0.12)	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.07 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.12)	
Gender	0.29 (1.68)	-0.62 (0.51)	-0.79 (0.52)	-0.27 (0.81)	0.10 (0.69)	-0.83 (0.58)	-0.85 (0.76)	-0.16 (0.52)	-0.18 (0.51)	0.22 (1.76)	-0.67 (0.82)	0.62 (2.14)	-0.24 (0.80)	-0.61 (0.89)	0.62 (2.14)	
Education	-1.55 (1.46)	0.26 (0.22)	0.18 (0.23)	-0.58 (0.45)	-0.21 (0.33)	-0.28 (0.24)	-0.05 (0.33)	-0.33 (0.22)	-0.09 (0.22)	-1.70 (1.51)	-0.18 (0.38)	0.11 (1.53)	0.07 (0.35)	-0.06 (0.38)	0.11 (1.53)	
Children_0_5	-1.77 (1.76)	-0.53 (0.55)	-0.71 (0.58)	-0.56 (1.13)	-1.83** (0.78)	-0.04 (0.60)	-1.40* (0.83)	-0.19 (0.62)	-0.53 (0.57)	-1.55 (1.73)	-1.58* (0.89)	-1.72 (2.02)	-1.32 (0.83)	-1.46 (0.90)	-1.72 (2.02)	
Not working	-0.46 (1.57)	-0.51 (0.54)	-1.11* (0.58)	-1.04 (0.77)	-0.16 (0.74)	-1.26* (0.75)	0.36 (0.76)	0.11 (0.54)	-0.45 (0.57)	-0.31 (1.63)	0.24 (0.84)	19.75 (7,610.78)	-0.21 (0.84)	0.16 (0.96)	19.75 (7,610.78)	
Urban/Rural	-19.12 (3,905.71)	-0.25 (0.49)	-0.25 (0.50)	-1.03 (0.84)	-0.43 (0.66)	-0.60 (0.58)	-0.13 (0.68)	-0.30 (0.53)	-0.002 (0.51)	-19.20 (3,903.69)	-0.10 (0.75)	-20.61 (5,802.45)	-0.10 (0.76)	0.12 (0.80)	-20.61 (5,802.45)	
Tiring After Work Day	0.16 (0.63)	0.08 (0.21)	0.21 (0.22)	0.18 (0.33)	0.45 (0.30)	0.17 (0.25)	0.04 (0.28)	0.35 (0.22)	0.32 (0.22)	0.24 (0.62)	0.01 (0.31)	-0.97 (1.26)	0.26 (0.34)	0.36 (0.37)	-0.97 (1.26)	
Constant	33.82 (3,905.73)	0.44 (1.39)	3.43** (1.56)	9.15*** (3.40)	6.90** (2.73)	1.64 (1.60)	7.42** (2.96)	-0.01 (1.39)	1.26 (1.44)	33.70 (3,903.71)	7.92** (3.32)	27.44 (5,802.46)	4.83* (2.75)	5.75* (3.29)	27.44 (5,802.46)	
Observations	82	82	83	83	83	82	81	83	83	83	83	83	83	83	83	
Log Likelihood	-8.42	-51.08	-49.58	-26.34	-32.79	-39.79	-31.67	-47.96	-49.50	-8.67	-27.48	-5.99	-26.57	-24.18	-5.99	
Akaike Inf. Crit.	32.84	118.17	115.16	68.69	81.57	95.59	79.34	111.92	115.00	33.34	70.96	27.97	69.15	64.35	27.97	

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 2: Logistic regression models, predicting if a respondent is a user of each online platform. DV recoded from familiarity variable (see explanation below). \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

DV recoded from familiarity variable so that:

Recoded value:	Original value:
0. Non-user	...have never heard about it.
	...have heard of it, but never used it yourself.
1. Platform user	...have tried to use it a few times.
	...uses it rarely.
	..uses it regularly.
	...uses it often.

Explanation of Dependent variables:

- AnyFB: Facebook, Facebook Page, or Facebook groups.
- PartyPlat: Dialog, Appgree, Medlemsmandatet, AlleOs, Polis, or Wiki.
- FBGrDialog: Facebook groups or Dialog (platforms with deliberative affordances).
- slackPlats: Dialog, Appgree, Medlemsmandatet, AlleOs, Facebook groups, or Polis.
- mobilPlats: FB, FB groups, Dialog, AlleOs, or Wiki.

## ***Descriptive statistics of maximum based indices***

Indices of different types of online behaviour based on max values instead of mean values of variables, included in each index.

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Median	Pctl(75)	Max
slack_afford_maxIndex	146	0.546	0.346	0.000	0.333	0.500	0.833	1.000
delib_afford_maxIndex	119	0.581	0.336	0.000	0.333	0.500	1.000	1.000
mobil_afford_maxIndex	141	0.548	0.368	0.000	0.167	0.500	1.000	1.000
accoun_afford_maxIndex	147	0.311	0.335	0.000	0.000	0.167	0.500	1.000

# OLS regression models, predicting four different types of online participation

## Means based indices

	Dependent variable:							
	slack_afford_index		delib_afford_index		mobil_afford_index		accoun_afford_index	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
OptiCrowd_index	0.009 (0.026)	-0.035 (0.037)	0.025 (0.027)	-0.046 (0.041)	0.051* (0.027)	-0.003 (0.034)	0.097*** (0.030)	0.069 (0.053)
OptiDelib_index	0.034 (0.037)	0.065 (0.050)	0.011 (0.039)	0.107* (0.057)	-0.007 (0.039)	-0.011 (0.045)	-0.001 (0.043)	0.053 (0.071)
OptiDevel_index3	0.043 (0.029)	-0.001 (0.037)	0.021 (0.030)	-0.011 (0.043)	0.052* (0.030)	0.072** (0.034)	0.065* (0.033)	0.090* (0.053)
OptiDeleg_index	-0.012 (0.020)	-0.003 (0.025)	0.005 (0.021)	0.050* (0.028)	-0.021 (0.021)	-0.003 (0.023)	0.011 (0.023)	0.004 (0.035)
age		-0.002 (0.002)		-0.001 (0.002)		-0.003* (0.001)		-0.001 (0.002)
Gender		0.021 (0.039)		0.041 (0.043)		0.020 (0.035)		0.010 (0.055)
as.numeric(EducationSimple)		-0.021 (0.016)		-0.014 (0.019)		-0.030** (0.015)		-0.013 (0.023)
Children_0_5		-0.019 (0.041)		-0.065 (0.048)		-0.118*** (0.038)		0.064 (0.059)
factor(Occupied, ordered = FALSE)Not working		0.021 (0.041)		-0.018 (0.047)		-0.011 (0.038)		0.029 (0.058)
UrbanRuralRural		0.032 (0.040)		-0.036 (0.045)		-0.020 (0.037)		-0.086 (0.057)
TiringAfterWorkDay		-0.040** (0.018)		0.006 (0.020)		0.022 (0.016)		-0.043* (0.025)
PartyEventsLastYearNum		0.003** (0.001)		0.004*** (0.001)		0.008*** (0.001)		-0.001 (0.002)
PolitInterest		0.045*** (0.012)		0.029* (0.015)		0.019* (0.011)		0.015 (0.017)
TrustPolLeaders		-0.016* (0.009)		-0.024** (0.010)		-0.006 (0.008)		-0.002 (0.012)
Constant	-0.078 (0.172)	0.017 (0.262)	-0.011 (0.182)	-0.210 (0.307)	-0.132 (0.177)	-0.040 (0.238)	-0.506** (0.197)	-0.602 (0.370)
Observations	128	73	108	66	129	73	129	73
R <sup>2</sup>	0.041	0.354	0.023	0.361	0.058	0.564	0.135	0.294
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.010	0.198	-0.015	0.186	0.028	0.459	0.108	0.124
Residual Std. Error	0.175 (df = 123)	0.146 (df = 58)	0.170 (df = 103)	0.155 (df = 51)	0.181 (df = 124)	0.133 (df = 58)	0.202 (df = 124)	0.207 (df = 58)
F Statistic	1.314 (df = 4; 123)	2.273** (df = 14; 58)	0.599 (df = 4; 103)	2.061** (df = 14; 51)	1.926 (df = 4; 124)	5.360*** (df = 14; 58)	4.858*** (df = 4; 124)	1.725* (df = 14; 58)

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 3: Ordinary least squares linear regression models, explaining engagement in four different types of online participation within the party. Dependent variables are means based indices ranging from 0 to 1. Table entries are unstandardized linear regression coefficients with standard error in prostheses. Statistical significance is indicated by \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

## Maximum based indices:

	Dependent variable:							
	slack_afford_maxInde		delib_afford_maxInde		mobil_afford_maxInd		accoun_afford_maxInde	
	x (1)	x (2)	x (3)	x (4)	ex (5)	ex (6)	x (7)	x (8)
OptiCrowd_index	0.097* (0.050)	-0.001 (0.075)	0.047 (0.052)	-0.066 (0.073)	0.136** (0.054)	0.019 (0.073)	0.133*** (0.048)	0.108 (0.085)
OptiDelib_index	0.055 (0.072)	0.052 (0.100)	0.067 (0.076)	0.283*** (0.102)	0.033 (0.077)	0.063 (0.098)	0.035 (0.069)	0.095 (0.113)
OptiDevel_index3	0.040 (0.056)	0.023 (0.075)	0.006 (0.058)	-0.092 (0.076)	0.048 (0.060)	0.119 (0.073)	0.105* (0.054)	0.143* (0.085)
OptiDeleg_index	-0.056 (0.038)	0.012 (0.050)	0.013 (0.041)	0.106** (0.051)	-0.032 (0.041)	0.041 (0.048)	0.016 (0.037)	-0.006 (0.056)
age		-0.005 (0.003)		-0.001 (0.003)		-0.005 (0.003)		-0.002 (0.004)
Gender		0.016 (0.078)		0.143* (0.077)		0.004 (0.076)		0.075 (0.088)
as.numeric(EducationSimple)		-0.053 (0.032)		-0.026 (0.034)		-0.048 (0.031)		-0.006 (0.037)
Children_0_5		-0.141* (0.083)		-0.039 (0.085)		-0.204** (0.081)		0.107 (0.094)
factor(Occupied, ordered = FALSE)Not working		0.014 (0.083)		-0.107 (0.084)		0.057 (0.081)		0.033 (0.094)
UrbanRuralRural		0.0004 (0.081)		-0.033 (0.081)		-0.044 (0.079)		-0.138 (0.092)
TiringAfterWorkDay		-0.063* (0.035)		-0.038 (0.035)		-0.033 (0.034)		-0.056 (0.040)
PartyEventsLastYearNum		0.009*** (0.003)		0.008*** (0.003)		0.013*** (0.003)		-0.002 (0.003)
PolitInterest		0.061** (0.025)		0.058** (0.027)		0.052** (0.024)		0.020 (0.028)
TrustPolLeaders		-0.027 (0.018)		-0.035* (0.018)		-0.027 (0.017)		-0.0004 (0.020)
Constant	-0.040 (0.330)	0.403 (0.527)	0.041 (0.353)	-0.554 (0.550)	-0.206 (0.356)	-0.300 (0.511)	-0.850*** (0.316)	-0.999* (0.595)
Observations	128	73	108	66	129	73	129	73
R <sup>2</sup>	0.058	0.360	0.025	0.437	0.067	0.480	0.128	0.280
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.027	0.205	-0.013	0.282	0.037	0.354	0.100	0.107
Residual Std. Error	0.336 (df = 123)	0.294 (df = 58)	0.330 (df = 103)	0.278 (df = 51)	0.364 (df = 124)	0.285 (df = 58)	0.323 (df = 124)	0.332 (df = 58)
F Statistic	1.889 (df = 4; 123)	2.328** (df = 14; 58)	0.667 (df = 4; 103)	2.828*** (df = 14; 51)	2.218* (df = 4; 124)	3.820*** (df = 14; 58)	4.546*** (df = 4; 124)	1.613 (df = 14; 58)

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 4: Ordinary least squares linear regression models, explaining engagement in four different types of online participation within the party. Dependent variables are maximum value based indices ranging from 0 to 1. Table entries are unstandardized linear regression coefficients with standard error in prostheses. Statistical significance is indicated by \*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

## Heckman 2-step selection models, predicting four different types of online participation

Means based indices:

Heckman 2 step sample selection model: Types of online participation (means based indices)			
Probit selection equation:	Dependent variables:		
	Familiarity with plaforms related to...		
	slackPlats_dummy (1)	FBGrDialog_dummy (2)	mobilPlats_dummy (3)
age	-0.033 (0.025)	-0.028 (0.021)	-0.013 (0.059)
Gender	-0.325 (0.474)	-0.159 (0.435)	0.078 (0.951)
Children_0_5	-0.739 (0.487)	-0.672 (0.456)	-0.929 (1.034)
factor(Occupied, ordered = FALSE)Not working	0.098 (0.512)	-0.140 (0.460)	5.265 (1,345.489)
UrbanRuralRural	0.066 (0.427)	-0.038 (0.412)	-6.363 (984.252)
TiringAfterWorkDay	0.155 (0.195)	0.106 (0.184)	-0.522 (0.573)
Constant	2.896* (1.467)	2.697** (1.267)	10.359 (984.261)
Output equations:	Dependent variable:		
	slack_afford_index (1)	delib_afford_index (2)	mobil_afford_index (3)
OptiCrowd_index	-0.023 (0.031)	-0.040 (0.034)	0.008 (0.032)
OptiDelib_index	0.107** (0.046)	0.105* (0.054)	0.019 (0.045)
OptiDevel_index3	-0.017 (0.031)	-0.022 (0.038)	0.079** (0.032)
OptiDeleg_index	-0.007 (0.022)	0.046* (0.026)	0.015 (0.022)
age	-0.003* (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	-0.0001 (0.001)
Gender	0.021 (0.049)	0.050 (0.061)	0.027 (0.036)
as.numeric(EducationSimple)	-0.014 (0.016)	-0.015 (0.018)	-0.021 (0.015)
PartyEventsLastYearNum	0.002 (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)
PolitInterest	0.024** (0.012)	0.032** (0.015)	0.021** (0.010)
TrustPolLeaders	-0.015* (0.008)	-0.023** (0.009)	-0.011 (0.008)
Constant	-0.014 (0.243)	-0.260 (0.283)	-0.432* (0.232)
Observations	75	75	73
rho	1.524	-1.562	-1.710
Inverse Mills Ratio	0.303 (0.220)	-0.399 (0.299)	-0.240 (0.169)

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01



## Maximum based indices:

### Heckman 2 step sample selection model: Types of online participation (maximum based indices)

Probit selection equation:	Dependent variables: Familiarity with plaforms related to...		
	slackPlats_dummy	FBGrDialog_dummy	mobilPlats_dummy
	(1)	(2)	(3)
age	-0.033 (0.025)	-0.028 (0.021)	-0.013 (0.059)
Gender	-0.325 (0.474)	-0.159 (0.435)	0.078 (0.951)
Children_0_5	-0.739 (0.487)	-0.672 (0.456)	-0.929 (1.034)
factor(Occupied, ordered = FALSE)Not working	0.098 (0.512)	-0.140 (0.460)	5.265 (1,345.489)
UrbanRuralRural	0.066 (0.427)	-0.038 (0.412)	-6.363 (984.252)
TiringAfterWorkDay	0.155 (0.195)	0.106 (0.184)	-0.522 (0.573)
Constant	2.896* (1.467)	2.697** (1.267)	10.359 (984.261)
Output equataions:	Dependent variable:		
	slack_afford_maxIndex	delib_afford_maxIndex	mobil_afford_maxIndex
	(1)	(2)	(3)
OptiCrowd_index	0.040 (0.060)	-0.054 (0.064)	0.073 (0.063)
OptiDelib_index	0.139* (0.083)	0.278*** (0.090)	0.170* (0.087)
OptiDevel_index3	-0.027 (0.057)	-0.109* (0.063)	0.088 (0.063)
OptiDeleg_index	-0.0004 (0.041)	0.068 (0.044)	0.056 (0.042)
age	-0.004* (0.002)	0.0003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)
Gender	0.058 (0.066)	0.150* (0.076)	0.016 (0.069)
as.numeric(EducationSimple)	-0.043 (0.029)	-0.028 (0.031)	-0.029 (0.029)
PartyEventsLastYearNum	0.006*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.012*** (0.002)
PolitInterest	0.025 (0.020)	0.052** (0.022)	0.046** (0.020)
TrustPolLeaders	-0.025 (0.015)	-0.031* (0.016)	-0.033** (0.016)
Constant	0.215 (0.449)	-0.482 (0.488)	-1.137** (0.452)
Observations	75	75	73
rho	0.452	-0.911	-1.324
Inverse Mills Ratio	0.110 (0.308)	-0.265 (0.380)	-0.351 (0.340)

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

## OLS regression models, predicting preferences for each online platform (for intra-party policy formation):

Dependent variable:														
get(Plat_pref[i])														
	FB	Dialog	Appgre e	FBGrou ps	Medlem smandat et	AlleOs	Polls	FB	Dialog	Appgre e	FBGrou ps	Medlem smandat et	AlleOs	Polls
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
OptiCrowd_index	-0.031 (0.300)	-0.436 (0.315)	-1.055** (0.462)	-0.062 (0.295)	1.170* (0.604)	-0.174 (0.261)	-0.135 (0.520)	0.470 (0.508)	-0.485 (0.517)	-1.148* (0.662)	0.301 (0.478)	2.460** (0.663)	-0.132 (0.365)	-1.063 (0.750)
OptiDelib_index	0.640 (0.434)	0.457 (0.481)	0.971 (0.585)	0.580 (0.436)	0.392 (0.745)	0.309 (0.334)	0.318 (0.838)	1.615** (0.670)	0.577 (0.745)	1.711** (0.691)	1.373** (0.656)	0.189 (0.834)	0.904* (0.479)	-2.215 (1.574)
OptiDevel_index3	0.189 (0.342)	0.727** (0.339)	-0.051 (0.432)	0.543 (0.344)	0.778 (0.708)	0.431 (0.269)	0.233 (0.643)	-0.464 (0.493)	0.973 (0.596)	-0.552 (0.504)	-0.224 (0.481)	0.229 (0.658)	0.382 (0.394)	0.660 (0.956)
OptiDeleg_index	0.093 (0.235)	0.061 (0.221)	0.292 (0.274)	0.213 (0.233)	0.543 (0.334)	0.214 (0.180)	0.286 (0.430)	-0.113 (0.340)	-0.128 (0.339)	0.059 (0.338)	0.237 (0.330)	-0.686 (0.495)	0.286 (0.242)	0.562 (0.463)
age								0.025 (0.022)	0.023 (0.020)	0.061** (0.023)	0.026 (0.021)	0.160** (0.050)	0.020 (0.015)	-0.020 (0.028)
Gender								0.222 (0.523)	0.226 (0.513)	-0.118 (0.559)	0.210 (0.508)	-0.102 (0.429)	0.257 (0.365)	0.168 (0.627)
Education								0.096 (0.217)	0.274 (0.238)	0.345 (0.219)	0.086 (0.209)	0.499 (0.250)	0.091 (0.156)	-0.879 (0.801)
Children_0_5								1.311** (0.559)	0.225 (0.659)	1.738** (0.600)	1.139** (0.543)	0.981 (0.561)	0.778* (0.421)	-1.529 (0.857)
Not working								1.053* (0.566)	0.762 (0.572)	0.656 (0.646)	0.774 (0.580)	3.859** (1.127)	0.114 (0.405)	-1.278 (0.728)
UrbanRuralRural								0.527 (0.541)	-0.081 (0.586)	-0.117 (0.525)	0.353 (0.522)	1.473* (0.661)	-0.025 (0.415)	1.133 (0.711)
TiringAfterWork Day								-0.014 (0.237)	0.094 (0.232)	-0.445* (0.225)	0.084 (0.228)	0.429 (0.244)	-0.063 (0.173)	-0.680 (0.459)
PartyEventsLastY earNum								-0.011 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.016)	-0.009 (0.017)	-0.021 (0.016)	- 0.212** (0.044)	-0.014 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.031)
PolitInterest								-0.049 (0.169)	-0.297 (0.179)	-0.169 (0.209)	-0.133 (0.174)	-0.084 (0.195)	-0.284** (0.135)	0.222 (0.247)
TrustPolLeaders								0.010 (0.123)	-0.026 (0.114)	-0.010 (0.127)	0.016 (0.120)	0.798** (0.216)	0.041 (0.089)	-0.192 (0.228)
Constant	0.453 (2.011)	0.867 (1.959)	3.570 (2.990)	-0.995 (2.176)	-6.439 (4.000)	1.755 (1.617)	1.654 (3.320)	-4.103 (3.775)	0.231 (3.731)	1.999 (3.831)	-3.429 (3.465)	- 17.033* (5.468)	0.323 (2.653)	18.636* (9.167)

Observations	114	70	54	94	24	92	35	68	48	40	60	19	59	24
R <sup>2</sup>	0.035	0.134	0.122	0.074	0.340	0.075	0.043	0.227	0.334	0.511	0.268	0.965	0.279	0.731
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	-0.0004	0.081	0.050	0.032	0.201	0.033	-0.084	0.023	0.051	0.237	0.040	0.844	0.049	0.313
Residual Std. Error	1.928 (df = 109)	1.507 (df = 65)	1.622 (df = 49)	1.753 (df = 89)	1.460 (df = 19)	1.340 (df = 87)	1.625 (df = 30)	1.910 (df = 53)	1.473 (df = 33)	1.394 (df = 25)	1.706 (df = 45)	0.662 (df = 4)	1.260 (df = 44)	1.118 (df = 9)
F Statistic	0.990 (df = 4; 109)	2.525** (df = 4; 65)	1.700 (df = 4; 49)	1.769 (df = 4; 89)	2.444* (df = 4; 19)	1.765 (df = 4; 87)	0.338 (df = 4; 30)	1.113 (df = 14; 53)	1.181 (df = 14; 33)	1.867* (df = 14; 25)	1.176 (df = 14; 45)	7.932** (df = 14; 4)	1.214 (df = 14; 44)	1.748 (df = 14; 9)
<i>Note:</i>												*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01		

# Appendix X

Ark1

## Survey distribution overview

FB-group name:	FB-group link	Advertising of newsletter:	1st direct link distribution			Reminder in comment		Reminder in comment	
		Date:	Date:	Text version:	Accepted date (if moderate d):	Date:	Text:	Date:	Text:
Alternativet - En seriøs bæredygtig omstilling	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/384733191662984/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/384733191662984/</a>	x 29/06/18	15/10/18	Ver4	16/10/18	08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2
Alternativet København - Fællesskabet	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.kbh/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.kbh/</a>	x 29/06/18	12/10/18	Ver4	12/10/18	08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2
Alternativet Fyn - debatforum	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/AlternativetFyn/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/AlternativetFyn/</a>		11/10/18	Ver3		08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2
Alternativet - Aarhus (og omegn)	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/576906219064759/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/576906219064759/</a>	x 29/06/18	12/10/18	Ver4		08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2
Alternativet - Nordsjællands Storkreds	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/545948368856926/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/545948368856926/</a>	x 03/07/18	12/10/18	Ver4		08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2
Alternativet - Sjællands Storkreds	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/1423450931270824/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/1423450931270824/</a>	x 29/06/18	12/10/18	Ver4		08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2
Alternativet - KBH Omegn	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/AlternativetKBHOMegn/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/AlternativetKBHOMegn/</a>		12/10/18	Ver4	12/10/18	08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2
Alternativet i Vestjyllands Storkreds	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/462719773869205/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/462719773869205/</a>	x 29/06/18	12/10/18	Ver4		08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2
Alternativet - Sydjylland	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.sydjylland/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.sydjylland/</a>	x 29/06/18	12/10/18	Ver4		08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2
Alternativet - Bornholm	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/Alternativet.Bornholm/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/Alternativet.Bornholm/</a>		12/10/18	Ver4		08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2
Debatforum - Alternativet Nordjylland	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.nordjylland/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/alternativet.nordjylland/</a>	x 29/06/18	12/10/18	Ver4		08/11/18	Reminder 1	01/02/19	Reminder 2