

Appendix A: Sampling of news articles and codebook

Sampling of news articles

All textual content published by each of the 12 selected cases over a two-week period from May 24 to June 6, 2021, was manually accessed via the article archives available on the news outlets' websites. No collective article archive was available on 24NYT, why the article sample for this outlet was retrieved through the archives of each individual topical tag on the webpage. The articles from the category "Election in the U.S. 2024" and "other media – foreign media" were not included as these were links to American right-wing news sites such as Breitbart, Fox News, The Hill, and thus not content produced by 24NYT. NewSpeek did not have an article archive at the time of the sampling either, nor for topical categories. Therefore, the article sample for NewSpeek was collected through Facebook, including all articles linked to on their Facebook-page during the sampling period. The headlines, publication dates, and links to all content was collected in an Excel sheet. Initially, all content was coded for genre (see below). In the cases where the news outlets had published more than 30 news articles in the sampling period, a random selection of 30 news articles was selected for qualitative analysis. All the articles selected for qualitative analysis were manually downloaded.

In the article sample for NewSpeek, four articles were labeled "BLANDEDE BOLSJER" which loosely translates into a mixed bag of something. These articles are a list of links to other news sites and social media posts. As there is little or no accompanying text, these articles were coded as "other." Four of the articles in the sample from NewSpeek were reruns of articles from 24NYT. However, those articles were labeled as opinion pieces on 24NYT's webpage, but not labeled as opinion pieces on NewSpeek's webpage, despite the fact that they do have a topical category called "commentaries." In one article, the commentary is placed at the bottom of the article, marked as a writers comment on the news content, and in another article it is stated at the bottom of the article that it was originally published as a Facebook-post. However, none of the articles are clearly labeled as opinion pieces. Therefore, these were included in the news article sample for NewSpeek. Indblik had a news blog on which telegrams from the news wire Ritzau were posted. These were left out of the article sample. Some of the items published as articles turned out to be telegrams too, and these were not selected for qualitative textual analysis. FOLKETS is a shared media platform for 26 different "mikro media" (at the time of the sampling), but with overlaps between the content creators of the individual media, why it is considered one news site in this analysis. Three of the news articles from Solidaritet were published by "Critical Revue" [Kritisk Revy in Danish], a self-declared socialist web journal that according to its self-description produces 4-6 issues per year, but also publishes articles and comments on Solidaritet's webpage in the article section. This is comparable to the structure of FOLKETS, and the articles that were not labeled as opinion pieces have been included in the sample of news articles. In Solidaritet, one article was tagged as both an analysis and an article. This was included in the news article sample.

Genre sorting

News articles were defined as any article featuring one of 22 predefined political topics (see Appendix B) that were not tagged as opinion pieces and did not fit the description of "other." Opinion pieces were defined as content tagged as editorials, analysis, columns, and op-eds. All outlets had such topical categories or tags at the point of sampling. Other content was defined as reviews, explainers, guides, portraits, articles on sports, travelling, fashion or leisure activities, articles on culture that were not about culture politics, satire, cat videos, embedded videos with no supporting text other than a headline, and sponsored content. See also the codebook below.

Codebook

Analysis of structure		
Declaration of oppositional relationship with mainstream news media (criterion for being defined as alternative medium).	Open	Explicit statements of being alternative, different, anti-mainstream, revolutionary; inclusion of the words politically incorrect, controversial, provocative, free from censure, dedicated to press freedom or committed to truth (inspired by Heft et al. 2020). Statements of being a supplement or corrective to mainstream news media, allegations that mainstream

		news media are politically biased. Based in the "about us" section, mission statement or interviews given at the time of launching the news site.
Declaration of position on professional journalistic norms.	Open	Stance on professional journalistic norms reported in the "about us" section or mission statement on webpage or Facebook page.
Declaration of political stance.	Open	Political/ideological stance reported in the "about us" section or mission statement on webpage or Facebook page.
Political ties.	Open	Organizational: For instance by official statements in the "about us" section declaring collaboration, linking directly to webpages or social media profiles of political groups or parties, receiving economic support from political groups or parties, being launched by a political party, having political actors on the editorial board. Personal: Founders, editors, or content creators have ties to political parties or organizations, e.g. having run for or held positions in a political party. Note to what group or party the affiliation is.
Analysis of content		
News medium	Open	Write the name of the news medium that is coded.
Date of publishing	dd.mm.yy	Write the date, month and year of the publishing of the news article.
Headline	Open	Write the headline of the news article.
Link	Open	Insert hyperlink to article.
Genre	1: News article 2: Opinion 3: Other	News article: Any article on one of the 22 predefined news topical categories that is not declared an opinion piece (op-ed, letter to the editor, column, editorial, etc.) and does not fit the description of "other". Opinion: Any article declared an opinion piece through using tags and topical categories. Other: Reviews, explainers, guides, articles on sports, travelling, fashion or leisure activities, articles on culture that are not about culture politics, satire, cat videos, embedded videos published with no article text, links to podcasts, declared sponsored content.
News selection	See separate codebook for list of topics.	Each news article is coded with only one topical category. When an article touches upon more than one category, it is coded by the most dominant one. E.g. an article saying that immigrants are over-represented in crime statistics will be coded as immigration (rather than law and order).

<p>Explicit media criticism</p>	<p>1: Yes 2: No</p> <p>Copy paste examples for all articles for subsequent close-reading textual analysis.</p>	<p>Yes: Any critical mention of news media or journalists, either in general or specific, e.g. alleged media bias, alleged political activism, criticism of professional journalistic norms, criticism of the coverage of a specific news item.</p> <p>No: No critical mention of media or journalists, neither specific nor general.</p> <p>Articles whose primary topic is media criticism are coded in both that topical category under news selection and counted in the media criticism category.</p>
<p>Explicit political criticism.</p>	<p>1: Yes 2: No</p> <p>Copy paste examples for all articles for subsequent close-reading textual analysis.</p>	<p>Yes: Instances of criticism of politicians, political parties, the political system (incl. the judiciary system, civil servants), or authorities, which are not attributed to any source uttering the criticism. Examples could be speculation in motives behind political action; insinuating or explicitly calling out hypocrisy (e.g. by pointing out discrepancies between promises and actual actions); name-calling; comparing politicians to dictators; alleging politicians are stupid; claims that politicians support or otherwise are linked to Islamists; criticism that the government is imperious or unwilling to provide information or answer formal questions in parliament. Must be directed at Danish politician or authorities, or at international organizations Denmark holds membership of, e.g. UN, EU.</p> <p>No: No instances of the above.</p>
<p>Calls for action</p>	<p>1: Yes 2: No</p> <p>Copy paste examples for all articles for subsequent close-reading textual analysis.</p>	<p>Yes: Any call for action, e.g. advertising demonstrations, advocating signature of open letter or citizen law suggestions etc., advocating voting for a specific party. Note what the call for action is for/against.</p> <p>No: No calls for action in the article.</p> <p>An article whose primary topic is the call for action is coded topically according to the topic of the activity, e.g. an article whose primary topic is advertising a demonstration on climate is coded as climate in the topical category.</p>
<p>Degradation of specific groups</p>	<p>1: Yes 2: No</p> <p>Copy paste examples for all articles for subsequent close-reading textual analysis.</p>	<p>Yes: Degradation of one or more specific religious, ethnic, political or social group, or sexual minorities, e.g. by use of derogatory language, name-calling, stereotypes. Note what group.</p> <p>No: No instances of degradation.</p>

Commentary tone	1: Yes 2: No Copy paste examples for all articles for subsequent close-reading textual analysis.	Yes: Instances in which a commenting tone is used such as giving interpretation, using irony, expressing an opinion that is not attributed to any source. For example "The Danish Health Authorities information flyer is yet another example of the Islamization happening in Denmark" (Den Korte Avis, my translation). No: No instances of the above.
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