

Appendix 1

Table A1. Descriptive statistics of appearances of organized interests in the United Kingdom (top) and the Netherlands (bottom)

	Absolute numbers			Relative share		
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>
Corporations	191.29	100	454	0.39	0.34	0.46
Business associations	28.36	8	83	0.06	0.02	0.11
NGOs	171.14	75	437	0.34	0.28	0.41
(Professional)membership organizations	49.11	21	123	0.10	0.05	0.17
Research and think tanks	19.21	7	42	0.04	0.2	0.06
Groups of institutions and authorities	34.14	10	112	0.06	0.03	0.11
Unions	1.57	0	7	0.005	0	0.02
Corporations	422.28	151	713	0.59	0.37	0.71
Business associations	47.54	27	99	0.07	0.03	0.14
NGOs	23.29	6	48	0.03	0.01	0.07
(Professional)membership organizations	48.71	21	80	0.07	0.03	0.11
Research and think tanks	13.43	3	25	0.02	0.004	0.04
Groups of institutions and authorities	35.43	14	67	0.05	0.02	0.12
Unions	108.36	52	248	0.16	0.08	0.38

Note: numbers are aggregated at year level

Appendix 2

To enhance the robustness of our findings, we ran a time series analysis with macro developments as predictors in order to control for whether change in business appearance is dependent on these variables. In order to generate the best possible model fit several tests were conducted, including the KPSS-test and Dickey Fuller Test. For the Netherlands a model with 1 AR term, differencing and 0 MA terms has the best model fit. The variables of the United Kingdom are modeled with 2 AR terms, differencing and 0 MA terms.

Table A2. Time series model of degree of business interest appearances in the Netherlands as dependent variable

	Univariate model			Model 1		
	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>AIC</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>AIC</i>
Univariate model	-0.09	0.19	-85.08	-0.34	0.19	-80.58
Economy – GDP growth rate				0.01	0.005	-80.58
Political alignment of government				0.02†	0.01	-80.58
Government expenditure as percentage of GDP				-0.005	0.005	-80.58
Globalization – export in goods and services as percentage of GDP				0.002	0.003	-80.58

† p < 0.1; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001 (two-tailed test).

Table A3. Time series model of degree of business interest appearances in the United Kingdom as dependent variable

	Univariate model			Model 1		
	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>AIC</i>	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>S.E.</i>	<i>AIC</i>
Univariate model	-0.86	0.19	-100.63	-0.99***	0.18	-96.19
Economy – GDP growth rate				-0.002	0.18	-96.19
Political alignment of government				0.003	0.004	-96.19
Government expenditure as percentage of GDP				0.001	0.002	-96.19
Globalization – export in goods and services as percentage of GDP				-0.003	0.004	-96.19

† p < 0.1; * p < 0.05; ** p < 0.01; *** p < 0.001 (two-tailed test).

Appendix 3

Figure A1. Relative share of appearances of business associations in political news coverage in The Guardian and The Times

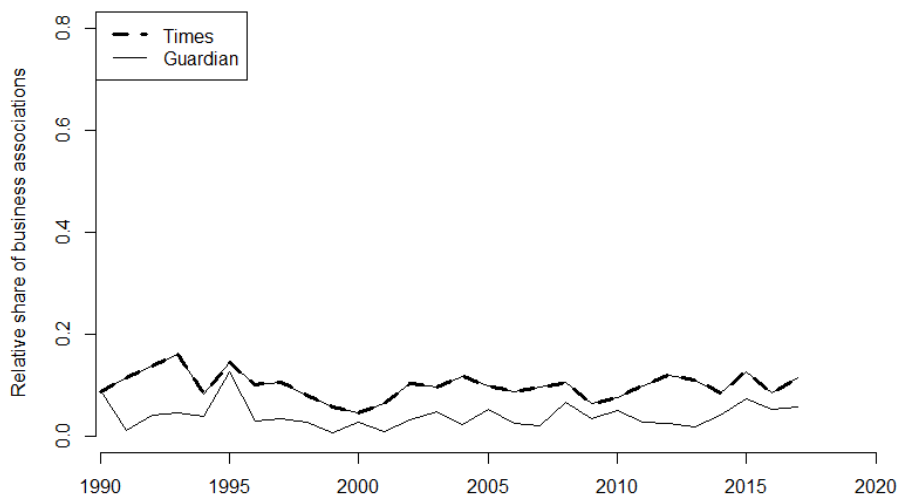


Figure A2. Relative share of appearances of business associations in political news coverage in Algemeen Dagblad and NRC Handelsblad

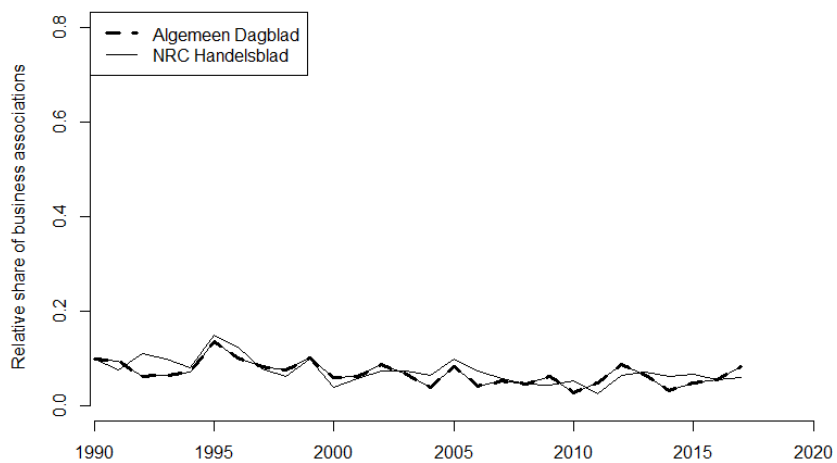


Figure A3. Relative share of appearances of business interests in political news coverage in The Guardian and The Times

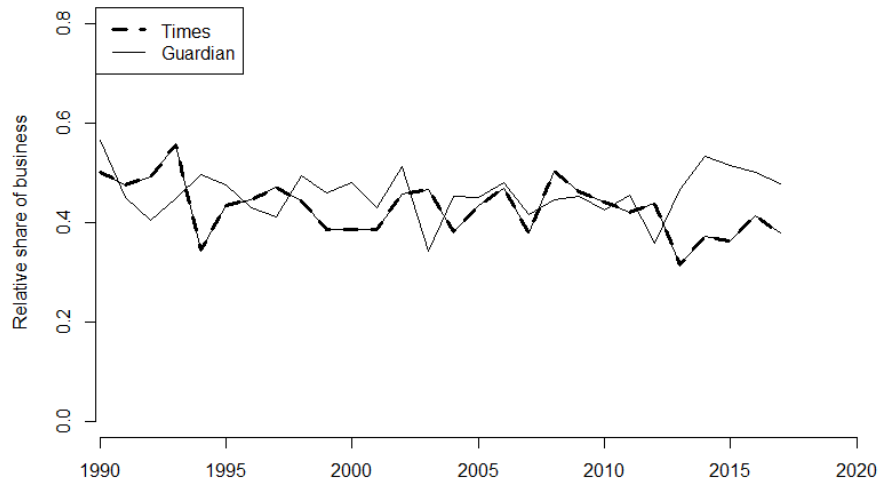


Figure A4. Relative share of appearances of business interests in political news coverage in Algemeen Dagblad and NRC Handelsblad

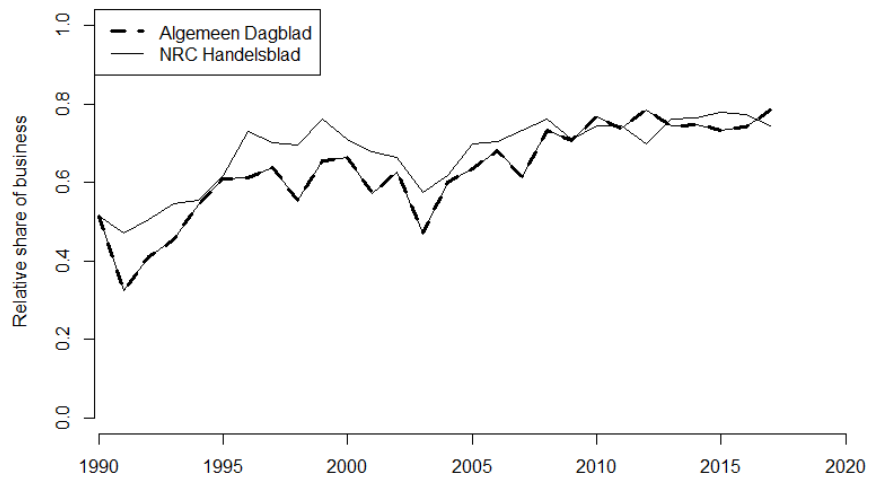


Figure A5. Relative share of appearances of all organized interests in political newspaper coverage in the UK

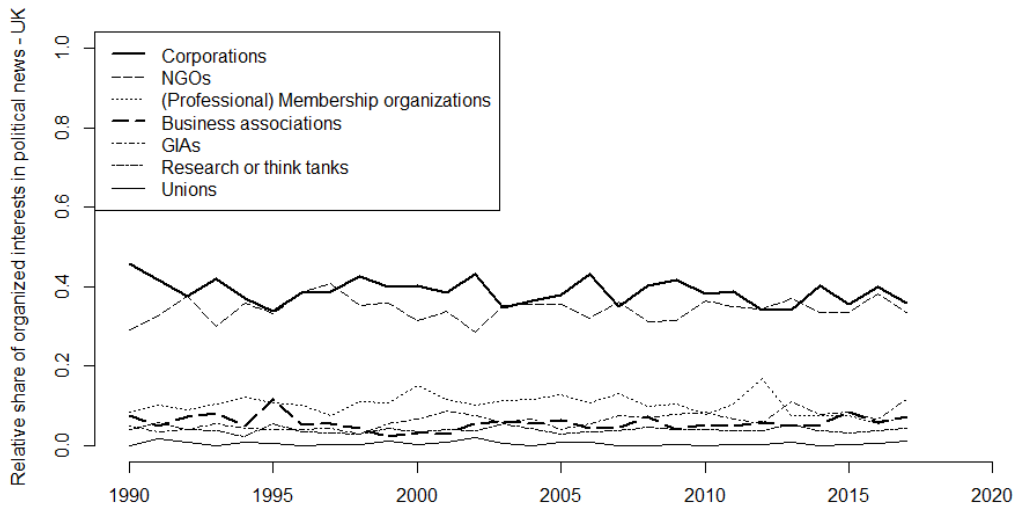
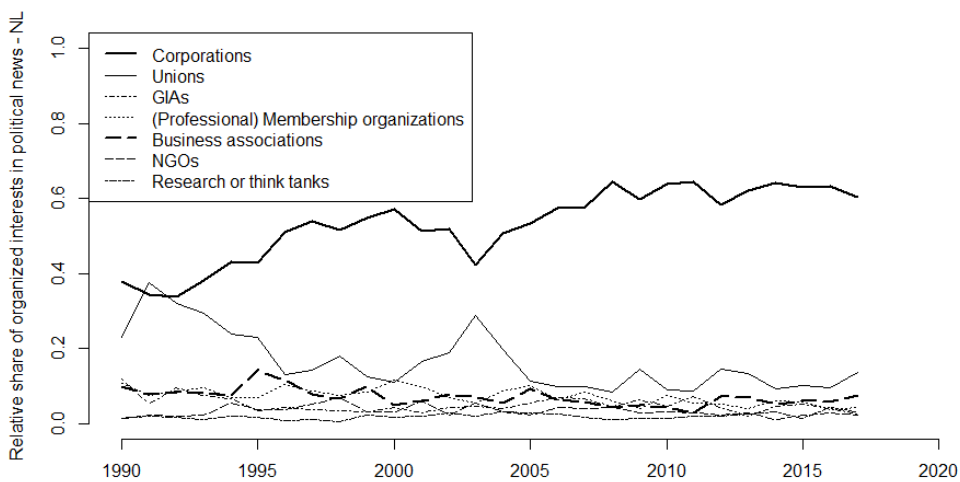


Figure A6. Relative share of appearances of all organized interests in political newspaper coverage in the Netherlands



APPENDIX 4

Download filters*

UK ATL2(“Whitehall” OR “Parliament” OR “House of Commons” OR “House of Lords” OR “Conservative Party” OR “Labour Party” OR “Liberal Democrats” OR “Libdems” OR “Scottish National Party” OR “Plaid Cymru” OR “UK Independence Party” OR “UKIP” OR “Green Party” OR “Ulster Unionist Party” OR “Nationalist Party” OR “Democratic Unionist Party” OR “DUP” OR “Vanguard Unionist Party” OR “Sinn Fein” OR “Social Democratic and Labour Party”)

NL ATL2(“Binnenhof” OR “Parlement” OR “Tweede Kamer” OR “Eerste Kamer” OR “Partij van de Arbeid” OR PvdA OR “Christen-Democratisch Appel ” OR “CDA” OR “Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie” OR “VVD” OR “Democraten 66” OR “D66” OR “GroenLinks” OR “Socialistische Partij” OR “Lijst Pim Fortuyn” OR “LPF” OR “Partij voor de Vrijheid” OR “PVV” OR “ChristenUnie”)

*It is important to note here that the query was kept very strict by including as few words as possible. This was done to limit the chances of non-political news articles ending up in the dataset. We furthermore controlled for articles that include random usage of parties or venues by including articles with at least two or more political words. The filter was validated by manually coding a sample of 200 articles (50 from each newspaper) of the selected political news articles generated by the query. In this way we verified whether the concerned articles indeed contained political news. In 90% of the cases both coders agreed that the random sample contained substantial political news articles. To estimate the reliability of the coding, two sets were independently coded, yielding a Krippendorff's alpha of .83. The set of articles consists of 150,136 Dutch and 200,577 British articles.

Information on databases and on cut-off points of number of employees of organized interests

The cut-off point for corporations was set at 250 staff, as large corporations are more inclined to represent themselves compared to smaller corporations; the odds that smaller corporations are ignored are therefore small. Also, this set represents a broad range of companies from different sectors. The cut-off point for the other organized interests was set at 50 to ensure that, on the one hand, these groups, which usually have lower numbers of employees, are captured, and on the other hand, to still have a relatively comparable set of organizations.

In both countries, it is required by law to register at these institutions when starting a company or group. Universities, colleges, museums, news outlets and broadcasters were excluded from the study, as including these could lead to bias in the results, since these actors can be mentioned as a source of information even if they do not necessarily speak on their own behalf.

Table A4. Scheme manual coding of context

Variable	Measurement	UK	NL
Source/activity	Yes=1, no=0	1=84%	1=77%
Statement/claim	Yes=1, no=0	1=26.9%	1=33.6%
Prominence	First paragraph=0, middle=1, last paragraph=2	0=1.9%, 1=90.8%, 1=7.3%	0=24.2%, 1=70.1%, 1=5.7%
Prominence I	Number of words of statement/claim.	Mean=80.5, min=2, max=333	Mean=114.7, min=2, max=1588
Sentiment*	Negative=-1, neutral=0, positive=1	-1=1.9%, 0=95.3%, 1=2.8%	-1=1.7%, 0=93.9%, 1=4.4%

Note: N= 1,568. To ensure the reliability of the coding scheme, two coders independently coded an identical set of 20 articles yielding Krippendorff's alphas from .77 to 1.

Results of manual coding and discussion

To make sure our results are robust, as mentioned previously, we manually coded a random sample of 600 news items. This is important, because it could be that political actors or journalists do not refer to business organizations as their source of information. Information provision is an important prerequisite to be considered as a lobby activity (see De Bruycker & Beyers, 2015). The results indicate, however, that most of the business groups appear in the political news as the source of information or when they are actively engaging in an activity within a political context. More precisely, in 84% of the cases in the UK, corporations were the source of information that was discussed or were actively engaging in an activity in a political context. In the Netherlands, this holds for 77% of the instances. A claim had been put forward in 26.9% of the cases in the UK, and in 33.6% of the instances in the Netherlands.

Also, we checked whether business organizations might have been the object of scrutiny, which would also not necessarily be associated with their lobbying activities. However, the sentiment of the coverage was neutral in 95% of the cases in the UK and in 93.9% of the

instances in the Netherlands. In short, these results indicate that if business organizations are mentioned in the political news sections, they are employed as the sources of information of either a journalist or a political actor also mentioned in the article, or they are mentioned as engaging in an activity in a political context. In other words, most of the presence of business groups in our sample can be interpreted as forms of (outsider) lobbying by interest organizations, a key assumption underlying our arguments.

***Examples of sentiment coding**

Negative

“ Take the association between the arms maker Heckler & Kock, which was criticised for arming Indonesia's Suharto dictatorship, and Blackwater, the US mercenary troupe lambasted after last year's Baghdad gunfight in which 17 civilians were killed.”

Published in The Guardian on February 28, 2008

Positive

“ There are isolated examples of successful lobbying, such as Capital Corporation's employment of Bell Pottinger to challenge the Budget casino tax increase.”

Published in The Times on July 10, 1998

Neutral

“ Microsoft is offering to send schools a free copy of its CD-Rom, Communications Tools For Schools, and is sponsoring a competition for the most inventive use of its products in election projects”

Published in The Times on March 18, 1997

Table A5. Scheme manual coding of results of automated query

Variable	Measurement
Number of organizations identified from query	Absolute number
Number of organizations missed from query	Absolute number
Number of organizations in query	Absolute number
Number of double organizations identified	Absolute number
Numbers of errors made within one document	Absolute number

Note: 150 documents and 387 organizations were coded. The reasons why there are missing, doubles or errors are discussed in the method section.

This endeavor indicated that the automated query missed 5.8% of the actors, often due to a different spelling used in the article compared to the register. 4.9% of the actors were identified twice, for example when a merger between two different companies happened over time. In 3.8% of the cases, an error occurred, for example when the name of an actor has a different meaning as well. In total, an error of 14.5% occurred.