Who gets into the papers?

Party campaign messages and the media

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Online Appendix

**Online Appendix A: Cheating detection software**

We use the Software WCopyfind (version 4.1.4) developed by Lou Bloomfield (2014). This software allows users to compare documents (in our case: press releases and media reports) and detect similarities between texts. Results are presented in a tabular format and similarities in both texts are shown in a side-by-side format with similarities highlighted in color.

We use the following settings to run the software to identify successful press releases. First, we ignore punctuation, numbers, and capitalization, and set the language to Austrian-German. For each matching phrase, we also allow for one imperfection, meaning that one word in the matching phrase may actually differ (e.g. 'in the election' vs. 'in the next election'). This accounts for minor editing changes by journalists. Because we aim to detect all potentially relevant press release-media report matches, we set the shortest phrases to match to '3'. This means that if a phrase such as 'in the election' appears in both the press release and the media report, it is conserved as a match. This results in over 20,000 matches detected by the software.

To further reduce the number of matches, we use additional information from the AUTNES manual content analysis of media coverage in the 2013 general election (Eberl et al. 2015). These data contain the information, which politicians appear as active speakers in the headline, subtitle, or first paragraph of a media report. Using this information, we identify those press releases whether the author of a press release meets this condition in the matches of the cheating detection software (N=500). These are matches that are likely to be successful, because we know from the manual content analysis that the politician sending the press release was present in the media report. This sample is coded by two coders to distinguish between successful and unsuccessful press releases (see the definition in the manuscript).

Figure A.1: Success in manual coding by similarity in cheating detection software
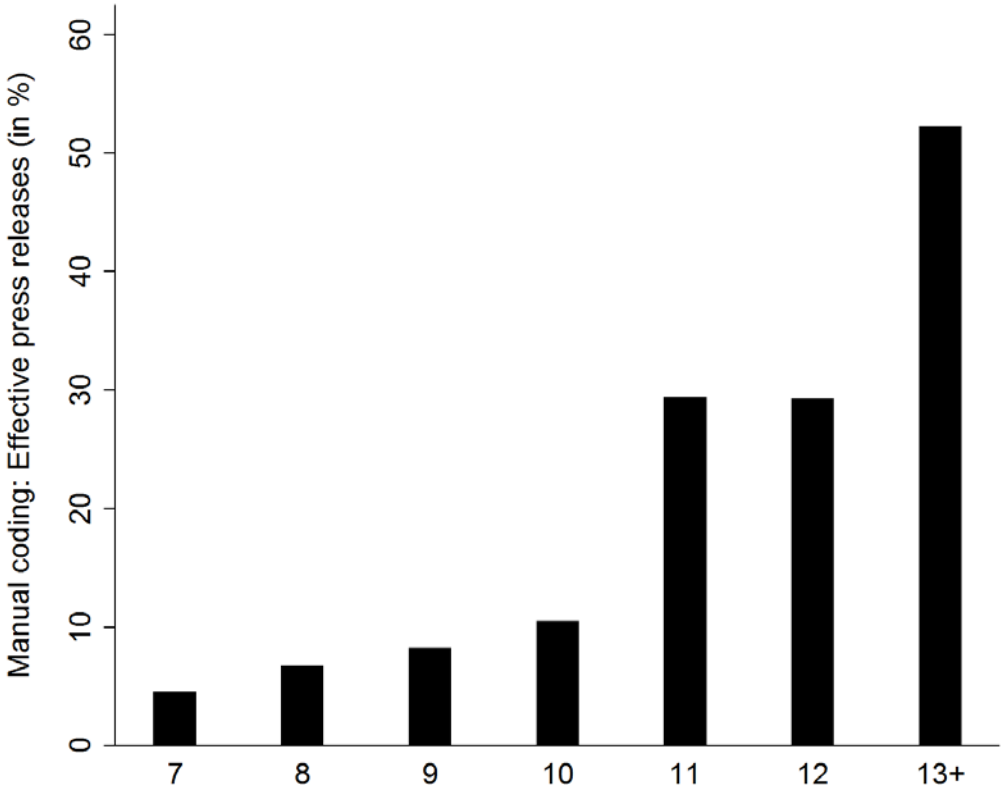
Note: Bars denote the average share of successful press releases identified in the manual coding process. The numbers below each bar denote the similarity score of each group as identified in the cheating detection software. For example, the press release-media report dyads in-group '7' share a phrase with seven words (or two matches phrases, one with three and one with four words). Note that the group with '13+' perfect matches contains dyads with 13 or more perfect matches.

The second, much larger sample contains the remaining matches detected by the software. We sort these matches by similarity, using the total number of perfect matches (identified by WCopyfind) as a yardstick. The total number of perfect matches indicates the sum of perfect matches in a press release-media report pair. For example, a score of '6' indicates that both documents share a phrase of six words that is perfectly identical (or two phrases of three words that are identical). We decided to start the manual coding with those chunks of pairs where the similarity is

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highest and stop the coding process when the share of successful press releases falls below a certain threshold.

Ultimately, we decided on a threshold of seven hits. To settle on this number, we proceeded as follows. First, we examined the results of this coding process as shown in Figure A.1. If the cheating detection software detects (sum of) strings of thirteen or more words, human coders classify one in two of these press releases as successful. The lower the similarity between the texts (as identified in the cheating detection software), the lower the share of successful press releases identified by human coders. We stopped the manual coding process after dyads with seven perfect matches (N=1,382) as at that point the share of successful press releases is 4.5 per cent (i.e. 23 in 507 dyads were coded as successful). Assuming that the share of positive matches in the manual coding is even lower as the similarity decreases even further, we deemed it unreasonable and unnecessary to continue the manual coding process.

References:
Bloomfield, Louis. 2014. ''WCopyFind.'' Software. Release 4.1.4.
        http://plagiarism.phys.virginia.edu/Wsoftware.html (accessed May 1, 2015).
Eberl, Jakob-Moritz, Ramona Vonbun, Martin Haselmayer, Carina Jacobi, Katharina
        Kleinen-von Königslöw, Klaus Schönbach and Hajo Boomgaarden (2015).
        AUTNES Manual Content Analysis of the 2013 Austrian National Election
        Coverage. Version 1.4. Vienna: University of Vienna.

Online Appendix B: Examples (extracts) of successful press releases

Table B.1: Examples (extracts) of successful press releases (English translation)

Press release	Media Report
Fekter: SPÖ endangers middle class and prosperity […] 'The SPÖ endangers the middle class and prosperity.' […] Regarding the Social Democrats' plans for [prosperity, author's note] taxes, Fekter notes: 'Michael Spindelegger and the ÖVP want prosperity for all. In contrast, the SPÖ only aims to punish the people's diligence and performance.' […] (7.9.2013) http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20 130907_OTS0045/fekter-spoe-gefaehrdet-akut-mittelstand-und-wohlstand	**ÖVP rails against SPÖ tax proposals** 'The SPÖ only aims to punish the people's diligence and performance', said Finance minister Maria Fekter (ÖVP) on Saturday in a comment on the SPÖ's tax proposals. Several ÖVP politicians rejected those *Faymann taxes*, the overall theme being: prosperity and the middle class are endangered by property taxes. […] (*Kurier*, 8.9.2013)
FPÖ-Kickl: Discussion on death penalty is ludicrous […] 'The discussion started by Frank Stronach to bring death penalty back into use is ludicrous and off target', Herbert Kickl stressed, reacting to statements by the party leader of Team Stronach. 'If the death penalty is one of Team Stronach's values, then good night', Kick said. (5.9.2013) http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20 130905_OTS0161/fpoe-kickl-todesstrafen-diskussion-ist-nur-skurril	**Death penalty: Revolt against Stronach's "Yes"** […] All other parties clearly rejected [Stronach's] idea. For Minister of Justice Beatrix Karl (ÖVP) such a discussion was superfluous. […] The SPÖ spokesman for Justice, Hannes Jarolim, sees Stronach's proposal in opposition to values in the European society. And for the FPÖ the discussion is ludicrous. 'If the death penalty is one of Team Stronach's values, then good night', party chairman Herbert Kickl said. […] (*Die Presse*, 6.9.2013)

Table B.2: Examples (extracts) of successful press releases (German original)

Press release	Media Report
Fekter: SPÖ gefährdet akut Mittelstand und Wohlstand […] „Die SPÖ gefährdet akut den Mittelstand und den Wohlstand. […] Zu den Besteuerungsplänen der Sozialisten unterstreicht Fekter: „Michael Spindelegger und die ÖVP wollen Wohlstand für alle. Der SPÖ geht es nur darum, Leistung und Fleiß zu bestrafen." […] (7.9.2013) http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20 130907_OTS0045/fekter-spoe-gefaehrdet-akut-mittelstand-und-wohlstand	**ÖVP wettert erneut gegen SP-Steuerpläne** „Der SPÖ geht es nur darum, Leistung und Fleiß zu bestrafen", sagte ÖVP-Finanzminister Maria Fekter am Samstag zu den Steuerplänen der SPÖ. Mehrere VP-Mandatare meldeten sich gegen die Faymann-Steuern zu Wort, der rote Faden: Wohl- und Mittelstand seien durch Vermögenssteuern gefährdet. […] (*Kurier*, 8.9.2013)
FPÖ-Kickl: Todesstrafen-Diskussion ist nur skurril […] „Die von Frank Stronach angefangenen Diskussion um die Wiedereinführung der Todesstrafe ist skurril und geht am Thema vorbei", betonte der freiheitliche Generalsekretär NAbg. Herbert Kickl in einer Reaktion auf diesbezügliche Aussagen des Team-Stronach Chefs. „Wenn die Todesstrafe einer der Werte des Team Stronach ist, dann Gute Nacht", so Kickl. […] (5.9.2013) http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20 130905_OTS0161/fpoe-kickl-todesstrafen-diskussion-ist-nur-skurril	**Todesstrafe: Revolte gegen Stronachs Ja** […] Entsprechend eindeutig fiel auch die Ablehnung der anderen Parteien aus. Justizministerin Beatrix Karl (ÖVP) erklärte, darüber erübrige sich jede Diskussion. […] Für SPÖ-Justizsprecher Hannes Jarolim steht Stronach konträr zu den Werten der europäischen Gesellschaft. Und für die FPÖ ist die Diskussion skurril. „Wenn die Todesstrafe einer der Werte des Teams Stronach ist, dann gute Nacht", so Generalsekretär Herbert Kickl. […] (*Die Presse*, 6.9.2013)

Online Appendix C: Analysis based on a reduced sample of press releases

Some of the press releases we analyse are from party actors such as MEPs or members of government at the regional level; these actors did not directly compete in the federal election. These party actors are usually important members of their party and may use press releases to endorse their party's (top) candidates. Yet, to test the robustness of our results, we re-ran the logistic regression model (Model 1, Table 1 in the manuscript) based on a reduced sample of party actors. The table below shows the "full sample" model presented in the paper (Model 1) next to a model based on the party elite (party leaders, members of government, party chairpersons, and MPs; Model 2). The key results in both models are very similar.

Table C.1: Explaining success of party press releases – reduced sample (logistic regression model)

	(1) Full sample	(2) Party elite
Media issue importance	0.0383***	0.0474***
	(0.010)	(0.012)
Voter issue importance	-0.0246	-0.0328
	(0.018)	(0.023)
Party issue importance	-0.0185	0.00326
	(0.017)	(0.017)
Party system issue importance	0.103+	0.127+
	(0.054)	(0.072)
Control variables		
In government	0.0150	0.440+
	(0.194)	(0.254)
Sender (Ref: MP)		
National government	1.559***	1.258***
	(0.296)	(0.260)
Party leader	1.438***	1.463***
	(0.282)	(0.286)
Party chairperson	0.750+	0.643
	(0.400)	(0.409)
State government	1.482***	
	(0.298)	
Party organization	0.651**	
	(0.237)	
Other party actor	-0.333	
	(0.347)	
External event	-0.263	-0.127
	(0.167)	(0.168)
Press conference summary	0.996***	1.121**
	(0.296)	(0.400)
Text length	0.00272***	0.00346***
	(0.0005)	(0.0006)
Time PR sent	-0.000752	-0.000987
	(0.0006)	(0.0008)
Constant	-2.437***	-2.911***
	(0.481)	(0.665)
Observations	1613	878
Log Likelihood	-609.9	-352.1

Standard errors in parentheses; $^{+}$ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Online Appendix D: Analysis using the media agenda at t-1

According to Hypothesis 1, parties are more successful in getting the media's attention if press releases focus on issues that are already salient in the media. In the manuscript, we study whether the (print) media agenda at day t affects the success of party press releases published on the same day. We do so because only very few press releases are published before 8 a.m. and because press releases are most likely to respond to the most recent news. Yet, to test the robustness of our results, we also re-ran the analysis using the media issue agenda of the day before (*t-1*) to test Hypothesis 1. This reduces the sample as we do not have data for the first day of the election campaign. Yet, the results of this analysis (Model 2 in Table D.1) are very similar to the ones presented in the manuscript (reproduced in Model 1 in Table D.1).

Table D.1: Explaining success of party press releases – media agenda from t-1 (logistic regression model)

	(1) Media issue agenda (t)	(2) Media issue agenda (t-1)
Media issue importance	**0.0383*****	**0.0517*****
	(0.010)	**(0.010)**
Voter issue importance	-0.0246	-0.0198
	(0.018)	(0.017)
Party issue importance	-0.0185	-0.0227
	(0.017)	(0.014)
Party system issue importance	0.103[+]	0.125[+]
	(0.054)	(0.075)
Control variables		
In government	0.0150	0.0495
	(0.194)	(0.191)
Sender (Ref: MP)		
National government	1.559***	1.707***
	(0.296)	(0.285)
Party leader	1.438***	1.514***
	(0.282)	(0.285)
Party chairperson	0.750[+]	0.714*
	(0.400)	(0.351)
State government	1.482***	1.519***
	(0.298)	(0.299)
Party organization	0.651**	0.710**
	(0.237)	(0.243)
Other party actor	-0.333	-0.333
	(0.347)	(0.347)
External event	-0.263	-0.340[+]
	(0.167)	(0.191)
Press conference summary	0.996***	0.953**
	(0.296)	(0.304)
Text length	0.00272***	0.00272***
	(0.0005)	(0.0005)
Time PR sent	-0.000752	-0.000779
	(0.0006)	(0.0006)
Constant	-2.437***	-2.578***
	(0.481)	(0.487)
Observations	1613	1573
Log Likelihood	-609.9	-588.6

Standard errors in parentheses; $^{+}p < 0.1$, $^{*}p < 0.05$, $^{**}p < 0.01$, $^{***}p < 0.001$

Online Appendix E: The issue agenda in party press releases

In the manuscript, we study how successful parties are in getting the media's attention for their press releases. Our findings suggest that party press releases are more successful in making the news if they deal with issues that are high on the media agenda. Yet, we do not study whether parties actually follow that strategy. Therefore, we might ask: do parties use press releases to repeat their core messages (e.g. those expressed in their manifesto) or do they address particularly those issues that are important in the news?

To answer this question, we change the dependent variable and analyse the issues parties address in their press releases. Previous research (e.g. Elmelund-Præstekær 2011) shows that the party issue agenda differs widely across different communication channels (e.g. manifestos and press releases). It is therefore reasonable to expect that the parties' ideal issue agenda (laid out in the manifesto) is only one potential source for the issue agenda in party press releases.

The dependent variable in the analysis to follow is party issue emphasis in press releases, measured using the 18 issue categories we use in the manuscript. We use two key independent variables. First, we measure the party issue agenda in manifestos as the relative emphasis of these 18 issue areas in the respective party's manifesto. Second, we use the media issue agenda at the previous day to test whether issues addressed in press releases follow the media. This variable captures the share of media reports of the eight newspapers mentioned in the manuscript, assuming that each report contributes equally to the media issue agenda. As we do not have data for the first day of the election campaign, the sample consists of 1,573 press releases (instead of the 1,613 press releases that we use in the manuscript).

As the dependent variable is categorical, we use a conditional choice model to predict the probability p_{ij} that a party j focuses on issue i given the party's emphasis of issue i in the manifesto (*manifesto agenda$_{ij}$*), and the media agenda at the previous day (media agenda$_{i,t-1}$). The linear utility of party j to address issue i is thus given by

$$U_{ij} = a_1 \cdot \textit{manifesto agenda}_{ij} + a_2 \cdot \textit{media agenda}_{i,t-1}$$

We estimate this model for all parties (pooled sample), and for each party separately.

The results are shown in Table E.1.

Table E.1: Explaining issue emphasis in party press releases (conditional logistic regression models)

	(1) Pooled model	(2) SPÖ	(3) ÖVP	(4) FPÖ	(5) Greens	(6) BZÖ	(7) TS
manifesto agenda$_{ij}$	0.0352***	0.0707***	0.0405**	0.0112	0.0136	0.00924	0.0626**
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.025)	(0.015)	(0.021)
media agenda$_{i,t-1}$	0.0550***	0.00498	0.0333***	0.0867***	0.0620***	0.0694***	0.0617***
	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Observations (press releases)	1,573	441	332	463	132	95	110
Log Likelihood	-4412.2	-1219.4	-945.4	-1264.3	-370.2	-264.1	-300.6

Standard errors in parentheses
$^+ p < 0.1$, $^* p < 0.05$, $^{**} p < 0.01$, $^{***} p < 0.001$

The results of the pooled model suggest that both the manifesto and media issue agenda affect the parties' issue agenda in press releases. (These findings differ from Brandenburg [2002], who does not find an effect for the media issue agenda.) The marginal effect of the media agenda is somewhat larger than that of the manifesto agenda: increasing media issue salience from 1.2 to 8.6 percent (i.e. the interquartile range) increases the probability that a press release deals with that issue by 9.6 percentage points. In contrast, an increase in manifesto issue importance by the interquartile range (i.e. from 1.8 to 8.0 percent) increase the probability that a press release deals with that issue by 5.1 percentage points. This suggests that parties aim to address their 'best' issues, but they also react to issues that are important in the news.

Analysing the data by party (models 2 to 7) provides further insights: for the two government parties, SPÖ and ÖVP, the manifesto agenda is at least as important as the media's issue agenda. The Social Democrats (the chancellor's party) are particularly likely to address issues in its press releases that fit its manifesto agenda, while there is no significant

effect of the media. In contrast, opposition parties (models 4 to 7) tend to react to the media issue agenda, while the effect of their respective manifesto issue agenda is not statistically significant at conventional levels. The only exception is the *Team Stronach* (Model 7) which responds to its own manifesto agenda and the media.

In sum, these results suggest that the issues parties address in their press releases are not simply those that are important in their manifestos. Rather, parties also respond to the dynamics of the campaign, and in particular to the important news of the day. The response to the media is stronger for opposition than for government parties, probably because these parties cater to the media's interests in order to increase their chances of making the news.

In combination with the results presented in the manuscript, these findings provide further evidence that political actors adapt their behaviour to the media issue agenda. The issues raised in party press releases are partly influenced by the media agenda (see the analysis above), and political actors that emphasize issues that are highly salient in the media are more likely to get their press releases covered in the news. At least for Austria, this 'mediatization' (Strömbäck 2008) seems to be particularly relevant for opposition parties and lower-rank politicians. Opposition parties are more likely to emphasize issues that are also high on the media agenda (see the analysis above), and doing so increases their chances to get their messages from press releases in the news. In contrast, government parties are less likely to respond to the media. They might be able to compensate for this lack of news value as messages by party members with public office (e.g. cabinet members) are more likely to make the news.

References:
Brandenburg, Heinz. 2002. Who Follows Whom?: The Impact of Parties on Media Agenda Formation in the 1997 British General Election Campaign. *International Journal of Press/Politics* 7(3):34-54.
Strömbäck, Jasper. 2008. Four phases of mediatization: An analysis of the mediatization of politics. *International Journal of Press/Politics* 13(3):228-46.

Online Appendix F: Analysis including the party system's issue importance (t-1)

We argue that parties are more successful in getting the media's attention if press releases focus on issues that are already salient in the media (Hypothesis 1). However, the media issue agenda is itself target of the parties' desire to make their issues salient in the journalists' (and ultimately, the voters') minds. The crucial question is whether the media issue agendas 's effect is independent of the parties' issue input.

In the manuscript, we account for the parties' issue agenda as expressed in their party manifestos. Yet, the media may also respond to issues raised by parties in the campaign. We therefore include an additional variable, the lagged value of *party system issue importance*, to test whether the effect of *Media issue importance* disappears once we control for several party inputs on its agenda. This reduces the sample as we do not have data for the first day of the election campaign (N = 40).

Table F.1 shows the results of this robustness check. Model 1 shows the results for the model presented in the manuscript, Model 2 is the same model based on a sample excluding the first day of the campaign. Model 3 shows the regression results when we also control for the party system issue importance on the previous day (t-1).

The results in Models 2 and 3 are very similar to the ones presented in the manuscript. In particular, the effect of the media's issue agenda is positive and statistically significant at conventional levels. This supports our previous findings of an independent effect for the media's issue concerns.

Table F.1: Explaining success of party press releases – party system issue importance from t-1 (logistic regression model)

	(1) Full sample	(2) Paper model (w/o Day 1)	(3) Party system issue salience (t-1)
Media issue importance	**0.0383*****	**0.0385*****	**0.0415*****
	(0.010)	**(0.010)**	**(0.009)**
Voter issue importance	-0.0246	-0.0210	-0.0192
	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Party issue importance	-0.0185	-0.0211	-0.0215
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.016)
Party system issue importance	0.103[+]	0.101[+]	0.0992[+]
	(0.054)	(0.056)	(0.055)
Party system issue importance (t-1)			-0.0455
			(0.056)
Control variables			
In government	0.0150	0.00831	0.00731
	(0.194)	(0.193)	(0.194)
Sender (Ref: MP)			
National government	1.559***	1.660***	1.653***
	(0.296)	(0.284)	(0.281)
Party leader	1.438***	1.464***	1.460***
	(0.282)	(0.278)	(0.276)
Party chairperson	0.750[+]	0.689*	0.693*
	(0.400)	(0.339)	(0.340)
State government	1.482***	1.494***	1.491***
	(0.298)	(0.301)	(0.301)
Party organization	0.651**	0.681**	0.693**
	(0.237)	(0.233)	(0.238)
Other party actor	-0.333	-0.319	-0.315
	(0.347)	(0.340)	(0.339)
External event	-0.263	-0.338[+]	-0.337[+]
	(0.167)	(0.185)	(0.185)
Press conference summary	0.996***	0.993**	0.999***
	(0.296)	(0.304)	(0.300)
Text length	0.00272***	0.00269***	0.00269***
	(0.0005)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Time PR sent	-0.000752	-0.000729	-0.000747
	(0.0006)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	-2.437***	-2.444***	-2.406***
	(0.481)	(0.462)	(0.439)
Observations	1613	1573	1573
Log Likelihood	-609.9	-592.5	-592.3

Standard errors in parentheses; [+] $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$