Framing by the Flock:

Collective Issue Definition and Advocacy Success

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Abstract

The framing of issues is part of the tool kit used by lobbyists in modern policymaking, yet the ways in which framing works to affect lobbying success across issues remain underexplored. Analyzing a new dataset of lobbying in the news on 50 policy issues in five European countries, we demonstrate that it is not individual but collective framing that matters: Emphasis frames that enjoy collective backing from lobbying camps of like-minded advocates affect an advocate's success, rather than frames being voiced by individual advocates themselves. Crucially, it matters for advocacy success whether the advocate's camp frames its policy goals on an issue in unity with 'one voice' and whether the actor's camp wins the contest of framing the issue vis-à-vis the opposing camp. Our results emphasize the need to consider the collective mechanisms behind the power of framing and have implications for future research on framing as an advocacy tool.

The framing of an issue is one potential pathway of understanding the outcomes of policy negotiations. Is the issue of nuclear power, for instance, essentially a matter of environmental benefits in contrast to coal, or a security issue due to the threat of accidents or even terror attacks? One might argue that how such emphasis frames (Entman, 1993: 53; Goffman, 1974: 21) come to dominate the debate in a country is a crucial explanatory factor in understanding why some countries are phasing out nuclear power while others are not. Advocates[i] who try to convince policy makers of a preferred policy outcome on an issue would surely like to tap into this potential power of frames. In fact framing can today be considered an important lobbying tool and the ability to frame an issue by defining the problem at stake may act 'as a weapon of advocacy' (Weiss, 1989: 117). Not surprisingly, the phenomenon of framing by non-state actors has therefore attracted a large literature of in depth qualitative studies (e.g. Baumgartner, De Boef, & Boydstun, 2008; Daviter, 2011; Dudley & Richardson, 1999; Sell & Prakash, 2004; Voltolini, 2016; Weiss, 1989) and also recently received greater attention from quantitative lobbying scholars (Boräng & Naurin, 2015; Dür, 2016; Eising, Rasch, & Rozbicka, 2015; Klüver & Mahoney, 2015; Klüver, Mahoney, & Opper, 2015). Still, the potential effects of framing have so far mainly been traced in studies of single or few issues, which tease out the complex processes of issue definition. Quantitative studies have largely failed to pick up these processes to show if and how framing matters for policy outcomes across issues and countries. Such an analysis is important to probe if there are generalizable patterns in whether and how framing plays a role in helping certain interests win out in the struggle over policy outcomes. The two main large-n analyses of frames in policy debates, namely Baumgartner, Berry, Hojnacki, Kimball, and Leech (2009) and Mahoney (2008) both stress that actors find it difficult to (re-)frame issues, because existing collective frames are hard to change. This article argues that the contrast between individual frames and collective framing, which emerges from the mix and contest of frames at a point in time (Baumgartner & Mahoney,

2008), is crucial for understanding and quantitatively tracing the effects of framing, but has, so far, hardly been bridged by theory and empirical testing.

The article connects the literatures on individual framing and collective issue definition by shedding light on framing by lobbying camps of advocates promoting the same policy outcome in the media. We add to the theory on framing that the camp level is crucial for understanding the competitive forces at play in trying to frame an issue and sway policy makers. Our expectation is that frames used by individual actors are unlikely to affect their preference attainment, but that the frames used by an actor's positional camp are more likely to matter. The reason is that, while individual frames are unlikely to reach and affect policy makers, those frames that get voiced by a positional camp are likely to be the ones that policy makers will perceive to be connected with this policy position. Furthermore, we address the question of *how* camp frames work to affect lobbying success. We hypothesize that in order to impact the public debate and reach policymakers with a frame, it is crucial to what extent a camp of likeminded advocates speaks in unity with one voice, meaning how consistently the issue is framed by a camp, as well as how frequently the camp promotes its dominant frame on the issue. Finally, we hypothesize that it matters for an advocate's likelihood to succeed whether the frame most strongly promoted by her camp also comes to dominate the debate at the issue level vis-a-vis the framing by the opposing camp.

To analyze these relationships a new dataset on framing by advocates in mainstream news media on a sample of 50 policy issues in five European countries (Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom) was generated. While the mechanisms we address may have more general applicability to many types of frames (cf. De Bruycker, 2016), we focus on emphasis frames in terms of 'what is at stake in an issue' (Daviter, 2011: 2) according to the advocates. Newspaper articles on the 50 issues were coded to capture whether actors refer to substantive priorities of policy making, such as Safety, Rights, Economy, or the Environment, when

advocating their preferred policy position. Based on existing framing research, we argue that problem-definition in terms of the tradeoffs between such political goods at stake is at heart of understanding policy conflicts and prioritization of interests across policies.

Our results suggest, firstly, that success through such emphasis framing is largely the result of a collective process at the camp level rather than of framing efforts by individual advocates. Whereas the use of individual emphasis framing has no significant association with preference attainment of the actor voicing the frame, framing activities by likeminded actors affect the success of the individual advocate. In the case of the emphasis frames assessed in this article, the effect is positive: Individual actors benefit when their camps promotes emphasis framing of the issue in the media arena. Yet, the positive effect of camp framing depends on how much the actor's camp frames the issue in unity, so advocates in camps that frame more consistently can benefit from higher preference attainment. In contrast, the mere frequency of how often the camp promotes its main frame on the issue is not significant. It seems, therefore, that frame consensus, rather than mere framing volume is important when it comes to collective framing. Additionally, we show how camp-level contest of frames relates to the issue level: Where the emphasis frame promoted most often by an actor's camp, also comes to dominate the issue debate of all advocates voicing competing positions, this increases an advocate's predicted chance of success.

These results on the effects of collective framing are relevant beyond the study of lobbying: Knowledge about how frames relate to advocacy success helps shed light on how certain arguments win the political struggle about 'who gets what, when, how' (Lasswell, 1950). Specifically, our analysis makes tangible how framing in the news media is essentially a team sport, where the success of individual advocates is dependent on aligning consistent framing strategies with other like-minded actors and successfully positioning these vis-à-vis the opposing camp. Insights into these dynamics are relevant for advocates wanting to improve their communication strategies, as

well as for scholars and citizens wishing to understand how the alignment of political arguments on an issue is related to political decisions.

From individual to issue: Camp-level framing as the missing link

In making some understandings of an issue more salient than others, frames can play crucial roles in problem-definition and solution-finding (Entman, 1993: 52; Goffman, 1974). As has been shown in qualitative studies, frames voiced in a political debate can be consequential, because 'problem definition exerts power in the policy process' (Weiss, 1989: 99), ultimately affecting who gets their way in terms of policy outcomes (Daviter, 2011). Framing can herein be seen both from a constructivist vantage point, in terms of how meanings arise through interactive processes, which determine the understanding of problems and hence shape the choice of policy solutions (Braun, 1999; Snow, 2004), as well as from a more rationalist view of framing as a strategic process that attempts to utilize cognitive or organizational biases to manipulate policy outcomes (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Riker, 1986; Schattschneider, 1960). Either way, the verdict of qualitative studies is that frames have the ability to affect how policy makers grasp and process complex policy choices and hence work in favor of certain interests over others. As Daviter (2011) shows in his study of European Union (EU) biotechnology policy, the emphasis framing of an issue will affect who policy makers consult and listen to. Similarly, Baumgartner and Jones (1993) have argued that policy framing affects how decision makers process and simplify the multiple dimensions of complex policy issues, thus biasing what types of information and interests are included. If, for instance, policy makers come to understand an issue, as an environmental rather than as an economic problem, this will affect who they consult and listen to, and, thus, influence who gets their way in the resulting policy outcomes. Yet, one can ask: how do these dynamics of framing work when it comes to affecting the lobbying success of individual advocates?

The latest quantitative studies on framing in the lobbying literature only begin to assess this. Some of the new research is dedicated to understanding the choice of frames (Eising et al., 2015; Klüver et al., 2015), which is shown to vary systematically across actor type and institutional venues. Regarding effects of frames, Dür (2016) shows that the issue frames used by groups have the potential to shape public opinion, but it remains to be shown if and how frames also relate to policy outcomes and preference attainment. Boräng and Naurin (2015) show that civil society groups are more likely than business to share frames with EU Commission officials. While one may assume that sharing the same frame makes a common policy position more likely, it is paramount to also test the relationship between frames and advocacy success directly. Klüver and Mahoney (2015) focus on the success of frames in shaping the outcome of legislative debates, but their contribution lies in testing a new computerized method to measure framing success. Overall, the latest quantitative literature on framing in politics is still far from being able to explain how frames and advocacy success are related. And importantly, it solely focusses on individual frames, whereas qualitative studies emphasize the importance of *collective* issue definition for determining how policy makers conceive of, and decide on, policy issues (e.g. Baumgartner et al., 2008; Daviter, 2011; Dudley & Richardson, 1999; Weiss, 1989). Both more theory and more empirical testing are needed to spell out how individual frames voiced by advocates come together and play out to their advantage or disadvantage. Such an approach can make a contribution relevant even outside the discipline of political science. As Cacciatore, Scheufele, and Iyengar (2016: 9) recently attested, 'the field of communication produces dozens of framing studies each year', yet would benefit from 'an overall refocusing on the concept, one that examines framing in terms of its original theoretical foundations and proposed mechanisms'.

Camp level frames

The theory put forth in this article holds that framing is crucially a collective process, but with effective consequences for individual advocates, depending on how individual frames on an issue come together. Baumgartner and Mahoney (2008) lay the foundation for this theory by connecting the literature on framing by individual advocates with the literature on issue definition (e.g. Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Riker, Calvert, Mueller, & Wilson, 1996; Ringe, 2005). They distinguish 'two faces of framing', namely the individual framing of an issue by an actor and collective framing, which emerges from the mix and contest of frames at a point in time. Their article calls for large empirical projects to assess the interactions between individual and collective framing. So far, however, much of the connective tissue in terms of theory linking these two levels remains thin and only implicit. As Baumgartner and Mahoney (2008: 443) argue, the 'key insight here is that in a social network, […], collective actions are principally determined by the communications networks among the whole, more than by the preferences of any single actor'. We argue in this article that the missing link in the evolving theory on framing is the camp level of likeminded advocates promoting the same policy outcome, which connect individual strategies to outcomes.

Advocacy camps pit the opposing sides on an issue against each other and try to pull policy makers in their preferred policy direction. Previous studies of lobbying success have shown that the strength of the camp in terms of numbers of actors or aggregate resources affect the likelihood of success for single actors in the camp (Baumgartner et al., 2009; Klüver, 2013; Mahoney & Baumgartner, 2015). As Klüver (2013: 64) argues, lobbying 'is not an individual endeavor, but a complex collective process involving multiple interest groups that are simultaneously trying to shift the policy outcome towards their ideal point'. The same, we argue, holds for framing processes: not just numbers of actors in a camp, but the arguments they collectively put forth for their desired policy outcome are expected to affect how appealing their goal is to policy makers. Importantly,

this is not a process that any one actor controls and it is not necessarily coordinated at all. The assumption is that there is interdependence, or a community of fate, between all advocates promoting the same policy outcome, because the appeal of their position to policy makers is affected by how all their voices come together to characterize the alternative outcomes on the issue. Therefore, we argue that frames voiced by individual advocates are only very indirectly linked to how a policy position is perceived in the public and by decision-makers, and that their effect only plays out in how frames voiced by the camp promoting the same position come together. As a consequence, individual frames are unlikely to exert an effect on lobbying success (Baumgartner et al., 2009; Mahoney, 2008). In contrast, we expect the set of frames voiced by a positional camp of advocates to impact the public discussion and perception of policy options, hence potentially shaping how decision-makers process information, who they consult and, ultimately, how they decide on an issue (cf. Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Daviter, 2011). For this reason, we expect that camp-level framing affects the likelihood of preference attainment for a single advocate in the camp.

While our reasoning could be applied to many different types of frames (see for an overview: De Bruycker, 2016), we focus on the effects of emphasis frames that attach a specific positively connoted policy priority or 'political good' to the policy position. This begins from an understanding of emphasis frames as verbal attempts by advocates to define 'what is at stake in an issue' (Daviter, 2011: 2). Such an understanding goes beyond the mere policy area of the issue, because it specifies what, according to the actor, is important to foster or protect, thus placing value to certain aspects of human activity. Most issues can be treated from several such normative vantage points which is why emphasis framing is applicable across policy issues and areas and, thus, suited for comparison across a large number of diverse issues. The issue of whether amnesty should be granted to immigrants who have illegally entered the country, can, for instance, be treated

emphasizing a *rights* perspective, stressing the rights and grievances of those who have fled war or persecution. Alternatively, emphasis can be placed on the (positive or negative) effects that legalizing immigrants has on the *economy* in terms of unemployment or economic growth. Others may emphasize *security* concerns connected to flows of migrants or their illegal status, while even others might stress effects on national *culture*. Given such emphasis framing stresses different but politically similarly important ends to cultivate, we expect these frames to be positively related to preference attainment when they come to be publically associated with a policy position, compared to when there is no emphasis framing of the priority at stake. Yet, whereas such an effect is unlikely to be achieved by individually voiced emphasis frames, ideas promoted by a camp have the potential to be associated with how potential policy change is perceived and thereby to be more likely to affect public perceptions and, ultimately, decision-makers. This results in the following first hypothesis:

H1: The emphasis frames used by the positional camp of an advocate are more likely to increase that advocate's likelihood of preference attainment than the individual emphasis frames used by the advocate.

Frame Dominance and Competition between Camps on an Issue

Additionally to arguing *that* camp framing matters for advocacy success, it is highly valuable to quantitatively assess hypotheses on *how* it does so. We assess three related potential ways linked to how dominant camp frames, meaning the frames voiced most prominently by an actor's camp, are promoted and compete with the those of the opposing camp. At heart of these mechanisms lies the argument that it is important that a frame, meaning in our case the political priority emphasized, is cognitively connected to a specific policy position in the public arena and perception of

policymakers. This association should be affected by the frame that is most often promoted by a positional camp, which we call the *dominant camp frame.*

Firstly, we argue that the unity with which the camp promotes its dominant frame should affect how likely it is to reach policy makers with the 'message' of the dominant policy priority at stake. We argue that framing with one voice as a camp, meaning using consistent emphasis framing, should be conducive to sending a strong message. Indeed, Nelson and Yackee (2012) have shown that it matters for the success of advocates in active lobbying coalitions whether they send a signal of consensus on the coalition's message. Similarly, frame consensus within a camp may increase effectiveness of reaching and convincing policymakers of a preferred outcome.

Secondly, one can argue that the frequency with which the dominant frame is used should increase the chances of successfully associating a political good with the preferred policy outcome. Both from a constructivist perceptive of shaping meaning through social interactions, and from a more rationalist view of framing as a strategic process of biasing or convincing decision-makers, the level of exposure to the dominant frame can be expected to matter for reaching relevant audiences including the general public and policymakers. Advocates in a camp should benefit more, the more often their most frequently used camp frame is spread. The stronger the presence of their dominant frame, the higher should be the likelihood to affect public and policymakers' perceptions with it. Therefore, we expect a higher frequency of use of the dominant camp frame to increase the likelihood of success for advocates in that camp. .

Thirdly and crucially, we argue that for the dominant camp frame to be most likely to positively affect public and political perceptions, it matters whether the dominant frame promoted by the camp level also comes to dominate the issue in relation to the dominant frame of the competing camp. As Dudley and Richardson (1999) show for the case of EU steel policy, competing advocacy coalitions try to impose their frames on the policy discourse on the issue in

general. They show how, over time, the balance of power in EU steel policy shifts as a free market frame becomes the dominant policy frame on the issue. In this way, issue definition (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Riker et al., 1996; Ringe, 2005; Weiss, 1989) can be seen as a contest between the frames of opposing advocacy camps. Boräng and Naurin (2015) use the concept of 'frame congruence' to denote whether (different actor types of) lobbyists voice the same frames as EU Commission officials. We argue that when we are interested in the mechanism of how publics and policy makers pick up and are affected by frames voiced by lobbyists, a collective notion of frame congruence at the issue level is relevant. If an actor's camp wins this battle of framing the issue in the media in contrast to the other camp, we expect policy makers to be more likely to be reached and affected by the emphasis frame, so preference attainment should be more likely for actors in that camp. Put differently, succeeding in seeing policy goals realized should be increased, if the safeguarding of the substantive priority, for instance the environment, the economy, or safety, that is associated with a policy position has come to dominate how the general issue is discussed by advocates in the media. Whether this is a conscious process of being convinced by the help of the issue frame, or a subconscious process of associating certain policy priorities more strongly with the issue, is not possible to distinguish. Yet, irrespective of this, we argue that the congruence between dominant camp and issue frames suggests how successful the camp was in positioning its substantive priority as most prevalent on the issue. So, whenever the opposing camps voice different dominant frames, we predict a higher likelihood of success for actors in the camp whose frame of what is at stake dominates the debate at the issue level. In contrast, where the two camps voice the same dominant frame, we do not expect an effect since none of the two sides enjoy a comparative advantage from having won the battle of framing at the issue level.

Hypotheses 2, 3 and 4 summarize these expectations on frame consensus, frequency of use of the dominant frame and camp-issue frame congruence, as three ways in which the emphasis framing by a camp affects issue perceptions and, ultimately, policy decisions and lobbying success.

H2: The more unity there is in the use of emphasis frames by an advocate's camp, the higher the likelihood of preference attainment for the advocate.

H3: The more frequently the dominant emphasis frame is used by an advocate's camp, the higher the likelihood of preference attainment for the advocate.

H4: Congruence between the emphasis frame used dominantly by an advocate's camp and the dominant emphasis frame at issue level increases the advocate's likelihood of preference attainment.

To sum up, Figure 1 illustrates the hypothesized relationships. It shows that individual frames voiced by advocates when promoting a policy position are only distantly related to how policy change and status quo are publically perceived, which sets the context for how policymakers weigh up the tradeoffs between different political outcomes, and ultimately decide. So, we argue that individual frames only have an indirect effect that is strongly moderated through how frames voiced by the camp of an advocates come together and compete with the opposing camp. As Figure 1 shows, the Dominant Frame at camp level results from the individual frames voiced by actors in the lobbying camp, depending on which emphasis frame (A-E) is voiced most often. Its effect on public perceptions are hypothesized to work through 1) the unity of camp framing, 2) the frequency of use of the dominant camp frame and 3) congruence between the dominant frames at the camp and issue

level. Where the dominant frame promoted by an advocate's camp is promoted more homogenously, more frequently and more competitively in relation to the other camp, all advocates in the camp should benefit from a higher likelihood that their collective emphasis frame is favorably taken into account by policy makers and resulting in a higher likelihood of preference attainment.

Figure 1: Illustration of camp framing relationships
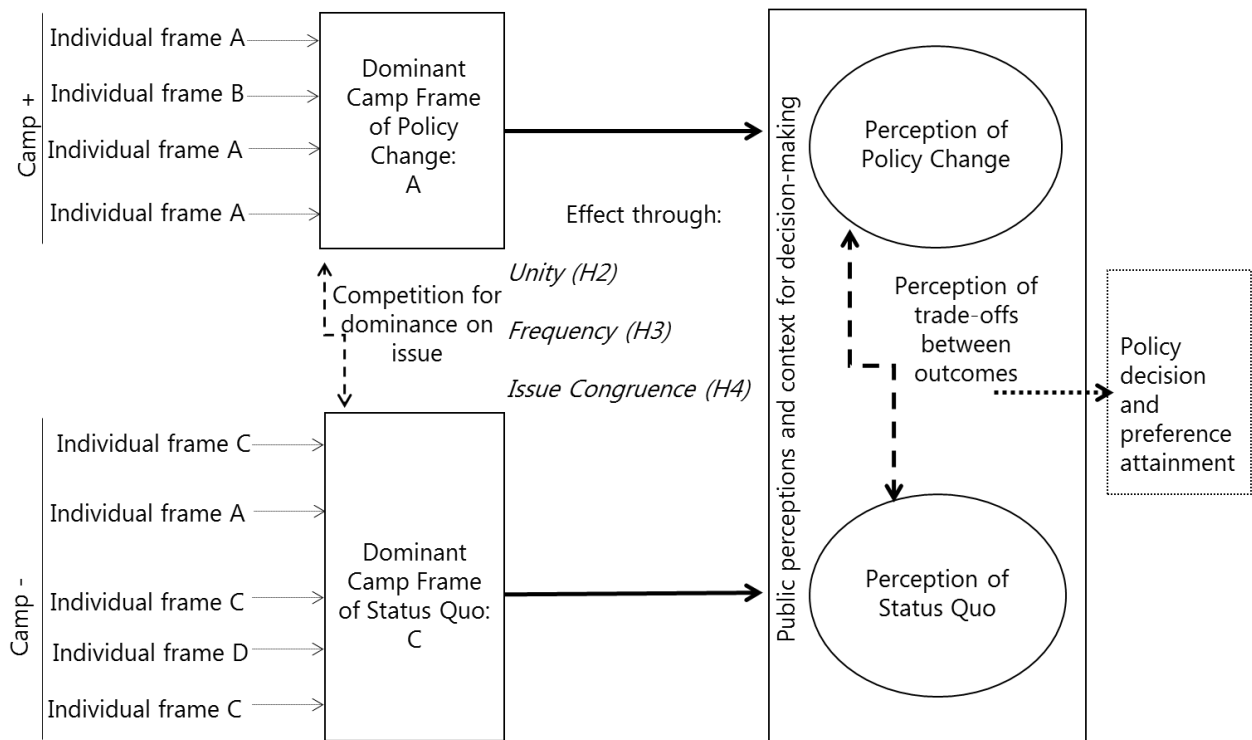
Research design

Unfortunately, experimental designs that have been used to assess the effects of frames on citizens (most famously: Tversky & Kahneman, 1981) cannot feasibly be applied to assess the effect of camp-level framing, because such collective frames develop from the mix of all existing narratives that compete for attention in the public domain. These cannot be randomly assigned and presented to policy makers in a controlled manner. Therefore, we focus on the correlation between framing and advocacy success across a large number of quasi-randomly selected issues on the public

agenda. While frames will be voiced and exchanged through many channels, including in hearings, consultations, face-to-face discussions, we herein focus on frames that are voiced by advocates in mainstream media, as a reflection of public debates to which policy makers are exposed. As De Bruycker (2016: 6) stresses, the news media is a good, but so far relatively neglected, venue to study collective advocacy frames. Importantly, we acknowledge that frames reported in mainstream newspapers are subject to a bias, because journalists and editors get to choose who and what they quote (Bennett, 1990). Yet, our reasoning is that this filtering is part of how collective framing works. Those positions and frames that make it into the mainstream media are likely to be the ones that crucially shape the characterization of an issue and of the competing positions on it. Policy makers are exposed to these frames in mainstream media and may be expected to take them as an indication of positions and arguments on a policy issue. While it would be ideal to assess and compare if the frames voiced in the main stream media are consistent with how advocates frame issues in other interactions with policy makers, this goes beyond the scope of this article.

To capture and analyze frames at the individual, camp and issue level, we opted for a coding of direct quotes by advocates in newspaper articles on a sample of 50 specific policy issues. 10 issues per country were selected as a stratified quasi-random sample in Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom (UK). These countries include variation in interest group systems, namely corporatist and pluralist (Schmitter, 1977) and worlds of welfare, namely liberal, conservative and social democratic (Esping-Andersen, 1990), which may affect the appeal of emphasis frames used.

Sampling of issues

The sample of policy issues started from the universe of national policy issues on which public opinion surveys were conducted in the timeframe between 2005-2010 and which measured the degree of public support for adopting specific policy changes to the status quo. This sampling is preferable to sampling only issues that are on the legislative agenda, because it means that the resulting sample of issues can vary in terms of the level of legislative action and phase in the policy cycle. Surely it can be argued that issues for which no public opinion polls exist will differ systematically from issues on which such data exists. For instance, an issue probably needs a minimum level of salience at one point in time for pollsters to ask about it. Yet, given that a similar threshold of salience is required for mainstream media to write about an issue (and cite different actors, their positions and their frames), it is appropriate for this study to select issues from the universe of issues that are on the public (pollster) agenda, and assess how collective frames voiced in the media affect preference attainment of active actors. The stratified quasi-random sample of issues from public opinion polls was selected in a way to vary the media salience of the issues measured by conducting a keyword search in a major national newspaper for each issue[ii]. Furthermore, the selection of issues includes variation in policy type (regulatory, distributive and redistributive), and the level of public support for policy change, as these issue dimensions may affect advocacy success. Stratifying the sample in this way ensures that findings generated are not just limited to certain types of issue structure such as salient, regulatory or distributive issues. A list of all sampled issues can be found in Online Appendix A.

Dependent variable: Success as preference attainment of the individual actor

Advocacy success of an actor is understood in terms of preference attainment, i.e. a binary variable noting whether the (lack of) policy change on an issue was in line with the position voiced by that advocate (Rasmussen, Mäder, & Reher, 2018). To identify the sample of actors and whether they supported or opposed policy change on the 50 policy issues, media coverage on each issue was coded by human coders. This strategy cannot necessarily be assumed to identify all actors active on the issue in all venues, but it is sufficient to assess the relationship of frames in the media and advocacy success.

Two media sources per country (center-left, center-right[iii]) were coded for a timeframe of up to four years after the public opinion item was asked. Where a policy change occurred earlier, this ended the observation period. The search terms to sample the articles, as well as the codebook used by the coders to identify actors and code positions can be accessed online[iv]. The coding was conservative in that only statements containing a position on the exact policy item were coded, while neutral or unclear statements were excluded from the analysis.

This data at the statement level was then aggregated to the level of an advocate within a policy issue, for which n=604. For each of these units of analysis a measure of preference attainment was created that relates the advocate's position to the policy outcome on an issue at the end of our observation period described above. 1 denotes preference attainment in cases where an advocate supported policy change that was implemented, or opposed a change that did not take place, whereas 0 refers to a scenario in which the final policy outcome runs counter to the actor's voiced preference. The policy outcomes on all issues were gathered by desk research and cross-validated by interviews with policy makers (on 82 per cent of the issues).

Independent variables

Our key independent variables measure frames used by advocates. To make our hypotheses on the workings of camp framing testable, our focus lies solely on generic emphasis frames, which are applicable across policy issues and areas and, thus, suited for comparison across a large number of diverse issues. The five different substantive frames included in our research are: Safety (incl. security concerns and health risks), Rights, Economy, Environment and Culture. These were selected based on categories in existing research (Klüver et al., 2015) to capture distinct understandings of what should be the major concern regarding a policy. These five categories proved to be applicable across the diverse issues with such emphasis frame present on 44 out of 50 issues at issue level[v].

Importantly, when coding the five frames in the newspaper articles, only direct quotations by actors were coded, in order to avoid that a frame was introduced by the journalist rather than the actor itself. The five frames were coded as mutually exclusive, in that for each quote by an actor, where position and attached frames were identified, at most one frame could be chosen, namely the one that is mentioned first by the speaker, unless there is clear priority verbally attached to a subsequent one. Frames were coded by four human coders in all articles that contained at least one position on an issue by an actor.

A detailed codebook[vi] including signaling words for each frame, as well as an interactive google docs file, where coders entered additional signaling words and other coding decisions facilitated intercoder-reliability. For illustrative purposes Online Appendix B provides examples of quotes from the UK sample, the respective coding and the signaling words used. An intercoder-reliablity test was performed on a sample of 30 quotes from the UK material[vii]. Krippendorff's alpha α (4 raters, 30 units) lies at $\alpha=0.78$ for the detailed coding in terms of a categorical framing variable at the quote level, taking 0 (no frame) or one of five values (Safety, Rights, Economy, Environment, Culture). This value lends confidence in the data generating process, because it is

very high in the spectrum of acceptable agreement and close to near perfect for Krippendorff's alpha (2004). As summarized in Table C.1 in Online Appendix C, 176 frames were coded in the analyzed newspaper articles. These 176 frames were used by 167 actors, so roughly 28 per cent of the actors active on the issue in the media voiced an emphasis frame as captured in our coding scheme.

From this framing data at the quote level we created a binary variable for each actor in the sample capturing whether any of the emphasis frames were while promoting a policy position – in favor or against policy change - on the issue. This variable on the *Use of individual emphasis frame* measures whether the advocate voiced any frame on the issue in the media (1), or not (0)[viii].

Regarding the camp-level frames we aggregated the frequency of use of individual emphasis frames (at the statement level) for each frame type by all actors with the same position (in favor or against policy change). From this we created, firstly, a binary variable on the *Use of camp emphasis frame* indicating whether the actor's camp promoted any of the five emphasis frames (1) or none (0).

Secondly, we computed the unity of framing by the camp in terms of a Herfindahl–Hirschman Index (HHI) of the use of the five emphasis frames. The HHI was originally used as a measure of market concentration but has, for instance, been used to measure bias in the types of interest groups represented (Rasmussen & Carroll, 2013: 453) . In the case of framing, the HHI can be applied to measure the concentration of frames by a camp in the five categories of emphasis frames. To derive it, the share of emphasis frames by camp members in each category out of all frames by the camp is computed and the squares of these shares are summed. The most diverse frame use by a camp (with equal shares of frames in all five categories) would approach 0.2 (1/5), whereas the most homogenous frames use in a camp would have a HHI of 1. Additionally, where no emphasis framing was used by an actor's camp, the HHI was set to 0, so in the full sample the

Unity of Camp Framing (HHI) ranges from 0 (no emphasis framing voice) to 1 (i.e. all actors in the camp use the same emphasis frame)[ix].

Thirdly, in order to assess the effects of dominant emphasis frames, meaning the substantial priority most often emphasized by the actor's camp, we identified the emphasis frame in each camp that displayed the highest frequency of use by the camp. Looking at dominance relative to the other frames, ensures that the central mechanism of collective framing is captured: To potentially affect how an issue is understood by policy makers and in the public, it should matter not just whether any frame is used, but whether a frame trumps other frames, and prevails as the frame associated with the position of the camp. For the frequency of use of the dominant frame by a camp, we used the log of the number of times the most frequently used frame was promoted by the camp. This supports an expectation that while higher frequency of use should stimulate preference attainment, we would expect decreasing returns as the number of frames increase. The *Frequency of Dominant Camp Frame* (log) ranges from 0 to 3.71[x].

Finally, we include the variable *Convergence Camp-Issue Frame* indicating congruence between the dominant camp and issue level frames. The latter is constructed by first identifying which of the emphasis frames was promoted on the issue most frequently by both camps and then relating this dominant issue frame to the most frequently used frame by the actor's camp. Where two or more frames have the same frequency of use, this was captured separately, both for the camp and issue level, and treated as a sixth type of multiple competing dominant frames[xi]. The variable *Convergence Camp-Issue Frame*, then compares the camp-level dominant frame to this dominant issue frame: where a different emphasis frame type is dominant in the advocate's camp than at the issue level there is non-congruence (0), and where the two camps voice different dominant emphasis frames and the advocate's camp has the same dominant frame as at the issue level there is

congruence (1). In the remaining cases both camps have the same dominant frame on the issue and no camp has won the framing battle (2).

Table C.4 in the Online Appendix shows summary statistics of all independent variables, as well as controls.

Control variables

Our models include a series of control variables. First, actor type may affect both frame use (Klüver et al., 2015) and lobbying success (e.g. Binderkrantz & Rasmussen, 2015; Dür, Bernhagen, & Marshall, 2015; Rasmussen, Mäder, & Reher, 2018). We distinguish four groups of lobbying advocates, namely, 1) interest associations representing public interest groups, identity and hobby organizations (non-economic interests), 2) organizations representing economic interests, namely business and occupational associations and firms, 3) trade unions who can be seen as fostering both economic and non-economic goals, and 4) institutional associations and experts[xii]. It is important to note that media access may vary for different group types (Binderkrantz, 2012), and given our issue-centered sampling of actors we only capture groups that have successfully entered the media arena. Yet, as Table C.3 in Online Appendix C summarizes, all four actor types are active in the coded media, with business actors being the largest of the four groups, although often expected to prefer insider strategies (Dür & Mateo, 2013). Moreover, for all four actor types, considerable shares of actors use emphasis framing when advocating their positions in the media, namely ranging between 20.3 percent (Experts and Institutional Associations) and 34.6 per cent (Trade Unions). And interestingly, all coded emphasis frames are used by economic and non-economic actor types, so frame use does not seem to be strictly endogenous to the underlying interests represented (cf. De Bruycker, 2016: 4).

Secondly, we control for the level of activity of the actor in the media debate by including the number of positional statements an actor made on an issue in the observation period. Because of a skewed distribution with a few outliers experiencing high degrees of activity, we used the log of this total count of positional statements. This measure controls for the alternative explanation that it is just intensity of media lobbying, rather than content of frames that matters[xiii]. Thirdly, to avoid a status quo bias affecting the analysis, we introduce a binary variable to capture whether or not the actor favors policy change or the status quo (Baumgartner et al., 2009). Fourthly, we control for the share of actors on the issue in the advocate's positional camp, which might be a source of bargaining leverage for an advocate (Baumgartner et al., 2009; Klüver, 2013; Mahoney & Baumgartner, 2015). Media salience of the issue is, fifthly, included as a control, since it affects lobbying strategies (Junk 2016) and expectably the numbers and types of frames voiced, as well as the likelihood of success for the single advocate (cf. Mahoney, 2007). Media salience equals the average number of articles on the issue per day over the duration of our observation period. Finally, fixed effects for countries control for unobserved heterogeneity between the five countries in our sample.

Analysis

We examine the impact of framing on preference attainment in a series of multi-level, logistic regressions with random intercepts for policy issues because preference attainment is likely to be affected by the issue on which an actor is active[xiv]. Models 1 and 2 assess the effect of the use of emphasis frames by individual advocates and by their positional camp in the media in the full sample of 604 advocates active on 50 issues. Both individual and camp use of emphasis framing are compared to the baseline of using none of the coded emphasis frames. Models 3 to 6 explore the ways in which camp frames work to affect lobbying success, by assessing the subset of all

observations where the actor's camp promoted emphasis frames in the media (n=510 advocates active on 44 issues). They test variation in the unity, relative frequency and issue congruence of the promoted camp frames while alleviating potential multicollinearity problems between these camp-level framing variables in the full sample[xv]. Model 7 goes back to the full sample to test whether the relationships traced in the subsample also hold in the full sample when controlling for whether the camp uses any emphasis frames.

Table 1. Logistic regression of preference attainment & use of emphasis frames (βs with SEs)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Use of Individual Emphasis Frame (bin)	0.02	-0.10	-0.18	-0.09	-0.14	-0.06	-0.13
	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.32)	(0.31)	(0.32)	(0.34)	(0.27)
Use of Camp Emphasis Frame (bin)		0.95*					-1.82*
		(0.39)					(0.92)
Unity of Camp Frame (HHI)			7.64***			8.67***	2.50*
			(1.47)			(2.46)	(1.18)
Freq. Dominant Camp Frame (log)				0.21		-2.05***	-0.13
				(0.36)		(0.62)	(0.31)
Convergence Camp-Issue Frame[a]							
Camp's Frame dominates Issue					2.75***	1.93+	1.53*
					(0.63)	(1.08)	(0.67)
Same Frame across Camps					1.88	2.21	0.58
					(1.35)	(1.76)	(0.67)
Controls							
Actor Type (B: Hobby, Iden. & Public)							
Business, Occupational & Firms	-1.07**	-1.05**	-1.39**	-1.18*	-1.42**	-1.57**	-1.27**
	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.53)	(0.50)	(0.51)	(0.56)	(0.39)
Trade Unions	-2.13***	-2.02***	-1.92**	-1.92**	-2.04**	-1.98**	-2.25***
	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.68)	(0.65)	(0.67)	(0.72)	(0.53)
Institutional associations & Experts	-0.49	-0.47	-0.61	-0.55	-0.52	-0.72	-0.58
	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.57)	(0.54)	(0.55)	(0.61)	(0.39)
Actor activity (log)	0.11	0.11	-0.04	0.03	-0.03	0.01	0.08
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.19)
Actor pro policy change	-2.27***	-2.37***	-3.48***	-2.03***	-3.27***	-3.10***	-3.35***
	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.48)	(0.40)	(0.48)	(0.54)	(0.39)
Relative camp size	3.58***	3.16***	6.06***	5.90***	7.21***	10.73***	3.59***
	(0.66)	(0.67)	(1.17)	(1.27)	(1.24)	(1.90)	(0.86)
Media salience	1.84+	1.63	7.09+	4.28	6.52	15.54*	2.13+
	(1.06)	(1.03)	(4.24)	(3.69)	(5.16)	(7.06)	(1.26)
Country (B: Germany)							
UK	-0.19	-0.10	-2.36	-1.54	-1.64	-1.95	-0.36
	(0.68)	(0.67)	(1.56)	(1.45)	(1.65)	(1.93)	(0.83)
Denmark	0.23	0.30	1.12	0.48	0.72	1.60	0.35
	(0.67)	(0.66)	(1.50)	(1.38)	(1.60)	(1.84)	(0.83)
Sweden	1.52*	1.46*	1.39	1.89	2.61	2.37	1.57+
	(0.75)	(0.74)	(1.64)	(1.52)	(1.80)	(2.07)	(0.93)
Netherlands	0.24	0.41	1.05	0.88	1.18	1.48	0.34
	(0.70)	(0.69)	(1.62)	(1.50)	(1.77)	(2.02)	(0.87)
Constant	-0.50	-0.97	-7.77***	-2.12+	-4.13*	-12.01***	-0.64
	(0.67)	(0.70)	(1.77)	(1.28)	(1.62)	(2.66)	(0.87)
Policy issue intercept variance	1.49**	1.41**	9.99*	8.35*	12.21*	18.97*	2.35*
	(0.57)	(0.54)	(4.11)	(3.60)	(5.27)	(8.72)	(0.96)
Number of Cases	604	604	510	510	510	510	604
Number of Issues	50	50	44	44	44	44	50
AIC	638	635	435	468	448	429	618

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

[a] Baseline: Non-Convergence of the dominant camp frame with the issue frame where the opposing camps promote different dominant frames

As expected, we find no evidence in Table 1 that emphasis framing of policy priorities at the individual level affects the likelihood of preference attainment. Model 1 shows that whether or not an individual advocate frames her position in terms of one of the five emphasis frames in the media has no significant effect on her lobbying success. This effect remains insignificant when we add the effect of camp emphasis framing in Models 2-7. As expected in Hypothesis 1, these models show that it matters for the success of the individual advocate, whether her positional camp promotes an emphasis frame in the media. Calculated based on Model 2 an advocate whose camp does not promote the coded emphasis frames in the media has a predicted probability of lobbying success of 43 per cent, whereas predicted success increases to 57 per cent for an advocate whose camp promotes emphasis frames in the media[xvi].

Models 2-6 assess for the subset of all observations where there was a camp emphasis frame, which characteristics make it more effective, thus testing Hypotheses 2 to 4. Given that the frequency of use of the dominant frame, its homogeneity and camp-issue congruence are not unrelated, the relationships are first tested individually, and then jointly, to show to what extent coefficient estimates stay stable. In these regressions, we find strong support for Hypothesis 2 that the unity of camp framing is positively associated with lobbying success of the advocate, as the effect holds both on its own (Model 3) and in combination with these other independent variables (Model 6) in the reduced sample. Calculated based on Model 6, as the Unity of Camp Emphasis Framing moves from its observed minimum in the subsample (Unity=0.375) to its observed maximum (Unity=1) predicted success of the advocate in the camp moves from 26 per cent to 60 per cent. A consistent framing message by the camp can thus have a substantial and highly significant ($p<0.001$ in Model 6) effect on preference attainment for individual advocates.

However, in contrast to the expectation in Hypothesis 3, the frequency of use of the camp's dominant frame does not have a significant positive effect. Model 4 suggests that there is no

significant effect of the frequency of use of the camp's dominant frame, whereas Model 6 even suggests that it has a significant negative effect (p<0.001). Model 6 might thus indicate that higher framing volume can even be a sign of trouble when holding frame unity and issue dominance vis-á-vis the other camp constant. Surely, the results do not give any evidence that higher dominant frame frequency by the actor's camp is beneficial for lobbying success in itself, so Hypothesis 3 is not supported.

In contrast, both Models 5 and 6 serve support for Hypothesis 4: It matters for lobbying success whether the camp's emphasis frame comes to dominate the issue vis-á-vis the opposing camp. Where there is camp-issue convergence, compared to non-convergence, actors in the camp are significantly more likely to attain policy preferences. In Model 5 this effect is very highly significant (p<0.001), whereas significance drops somewhat with the addition of the other framing variables (p=0.073 in Model 6). Estimated based on Model 6 the predicted probability of preference attainment for an actor increases from 39 per cent to 51 per cent where the camp level frame comes to dominate the issue vis-à-vis the opposing frame, compared to a scenario where a different frame dominates the issue. Where both camps promote the same dominant frame the predicted probability of success is not significantly different from the baseline of non-convergence between camp and issue frame.

After having examined our hypotheses in the subset of all observations where the actor's camp promoted emphasis frames in the media, Model 7 tests the robustness of the findings in the full sample. Given high correlations between some predictors in this Model, its coefficients need to be interpreted with greater care and are only meaningful when assessed jointly with Models 3-6 on the subsample. Importantly, this testing on the full sample supports Hypotheses 2 and 4, as well: Framing in unity and winning the framing of the issue in competition with the opposing camp makes lobbying success significantly more likely (both at p<0.05). The frequency of use of the

dominant frame has no significant effect, so Hypothesis 3 is again not supported. Finally, the effect of the mere presence of camp framing in Model 7 has no positive effect anymore as in Model 2, but now has a negative effect (p<0.5). Yet, given the discussed relatively high correlations between this variable and the camp framing characteristics in the full sample, this shift could be due to multicollinearity. What the presented analyses in Models 3-7 clearly add to Model 2 is that the precise characteristics of camp framing – in addition to its mere occurrence - are crucial for understanding lobbying success of individual actors.

Comparing the AIC on model fit across Models 1, 2 and 7 (with the same n=604) in fact indicates that both the addition of the use of emphasis framing by the actor's camp as a binary variable, as well as the addition of camp framing characteristics of unity, relative frequency and camp-issue congruence increase model fit (decreasing the AIC). In sum, these models suggest that there are important collective dynamics at the level of lobbying camps at work when it comes to framing issues in the media.

Turning to the control variables in the discussed models, we see a significant difference in predicted preference attainment between some of the actor types: Business, Occupational associations and Firms, as well as Trade Unions are significantly less likely to attain their preference than Hobby, Identity and Public Interest Groups (p<0.05 or below). This is in contrast to frequent discussions of a business bias (Schlozman, 1984), but in line with recent evidence by Dür et al. (2015) on EU lobbying which finds that business actors are often at a disadvantage compared to citizen interests. As expected, actors lobbying for change are less likely to be successful than when they aim at preserving the status quo in all the models (p<0.001). So while status quo challengers might have more access to the media (De Bruycker & Beyers, 2015), actually changing the status quo remains hard for active advocates. Also as expected, the predicted probability of success significantly increases (at p<0.001) as the relative size of an actor's camp increases. This is

in line with earlier findings by Klüver (2013) and Mahoney and Baumgartner (2015). What the results of our analysis add to this is that, holding the relative size of the camp constant, the framing by an actor's camp has an additional effect on the individual likelihood of preference attainment. Media salience only influences preference attainment in four of the seven models (at p<0.1 or below) and has a positive, rather than the negative effect sometimes expected in the literature (Mahoney, 2007). Finally, preference attainment varies little by country with the exception of Sweden displaying higher levels of preference attainment in three models (p<0.1 or below).

Robustness and additional explanation

The above findings add considerably to our understanding of how framing efforts of individual advocates play out via the camp level and through the struggle between camps to dominate issue definition. They are also robust to using different model specifications and operationalizations.

Firstly, our findings on the lack of an effect of individual frames are robust to a number of different operationalizations, namely in terms of the absolute or relative frequency of individual framing, as well as to including the specific type of emphasis frame (such as Environment, Economy, Safety) promoted by the individual advocate. According to Online Appendix E, none of these different operationalizations (Models E1-E3) reveal a significant effect of individual framing. Furthermore, while we found a significant effect when the dominant camp frame is consistent with the dominant issue frame, there is no similar effect for individually voiced frames. Individual advocates whose frame also dominates the issue do not experience higher preference attainment (Model E4). Neither does it matter whether the individual dominant frame is congruent with the advocate's camp (Model E5). So, while our results strongly suggest that frame coordination between advocates is important for lobbying success, it does not seem to be enough for an actor to simply promote the most popular emphasis frame voiced by her lobbying camp. As we showed, it

rather matters how the emphasis frames by all actors in the camp come together, so the promotion of frames becomes a complex strategic game where the choices of all actors in the camp should be interdependent in order to maximize the likelihood of preference attainment.

Secondly, we explored whether the interdependence between advocates in a camp – in terms of them being a community of fate that either loses or wins together – which is also at heart of our theoretical argument, biases the statistical results. While the multilevel models presented account for the nesting of advocates in issues, it does not consider nesting in camps. Due to the lack of variation in the dependent variable of binary advocacy success, it is not possible to add a third camp level, or to use clustered standard errors at the camp level. Yet, to attend to this valid concern of interdependence between advocates in the same (and opposing) camps, Table F.1 in the Online Appendix accounts for spatial autocorrelation, i.e. interdependence of advocates in and between camps by way of spatial filtering (Tiefelsdorf & Griffith, 2007)[xvii]. To do so, principal components estimated based on a matrix of camp membership of all actors on each issue are included as controls to absorb the variation that stems from the interdependence of outcomes for actors in and across camps. Importantly, our main findings are completely robust to this: Even when including the principal components in the analysis, framing by the camp of an actor (as a binary variable) has a significant positive effect on that actor's preference attainment ($p < 0.05$ in Model F2). Moreover, in these regressions we also find a highly significant positive effect of emphasis frame unity in the camp ($p < 0.01$ or below in Models F3, F6 and F7[xviii]) and of the convergence of issue and camp frame on preference attainment ($p < 0.001$ in Models F5, F6 and F7).

Thirdly, alternative operationalizations of frame unity and frequency of dominant frames by the camp keep our results intact, as Table D.1 in Online Appendix D shows. Where unity is measured as the share of all emphasis frames voiced by the actor's camp that are the dominant frame (rather than the HHI), unity still has an effect of similar size and significance ($p < 0.001$) in the

full and limited sample. Similarly, where frequency is measured relatively in terms of how often the actor's camp promoted the dominant frame relative to all frames by both camps on the issue, there is still no, or a negative effect of the relative frequency of dominant frame use by the camp[xix]. The effect of camp-issue congruence is robust to using these alternative operationalization, as well ($p<0.01$).

Finally, we tentatively test a further explanation in addition to framing unity by the camp and competitive processes of camp-issue congruence, namely the effect of the *type of dominant emphasis frame* by the actor's camp. It may affect lobbying success which of the emphasis frames of what is at stake, namely, Safety, Rights, Economy or the Environment or Culture, is prominently connected to the desired policy position through the framing efforts of the camp. Table G.1 in the Online Appendix indicates that there are, in fact, differences in how appealing the different dominant camp frames are, with dominant Economy and Environment emphasis frames at camp level being associated with significantly higher preference attainment (at $p<0.001$) than the baseline of none of these emphasis camp frames promoted by the camp. In contrast, a dominant Rights frame at camp level, as well as being in a camp that equally frequently promotes multiple competing frames rather than *one* dominant emphasis frame, are associated with significantly lower preference attainment than this baseline (at $p<0.05$ and $p<0.01$, respectively). However, to what extent these differences between the more and less successful emphasis frames are generalizable across issues outside the sample of 50 issues assessed in this article is not certain. There might, for instance, be interactions with sets of policy areas that reward certain of the emphasis frames more than others. On the other hand, one might argue that the perception of what are the most fitting policy areas an issue falls under, is at least partly affected by collective framing processes (cf. Daviter, 2011: 19). For these reasons, it is harder to draw generalizable conclusions on the appeal of specific types of emphasis frames, such as Economy versus Safety, across issues and policy areas.

In contrast, the framing characteristics analyzed in this article, namely the promotion of any emphasis frame by the camp in the media, framing unity, dominant frame frequency and camp-issue congruence, should to have broader applicability, because there is no reason to think that emphasis frames should work in these ways only in some policy areas. Moreover, the random intercepts for the 50 diverse issues assessed in the article control for unobserved heterogeneity in the political situation that might affect the success of camp frames.

Conclusion

Whether and how framing affects who prevails in political discussions is central to understanding some of the core questions of 'who gets what, when, how' (Lasswell, 1950) in politics. Advocates lobbying for or against policy change on an issue try to frame it in a way to bring about favored outcomes, yet existing studies show that these individual frames are typically ineffective (Baumgartner et al., 2009; Mahoney, 2008). Nonetheless, as this article has shown, this does not mean that framing is insignificant for understanding advocacy success. On the contrary, according to our results emphasis framing is highly significant for the success of advocacy efforts, yet it is collective framing at the camp level that matters rather than individual framing.

Based on existing qualitative work on framing, this article has formulated a theory on the mechanisms that underlie framing effects on advocacy success that links individual framing efforts by advocates to collective forces of issue definition. We hypothesized that emphasis framing by the advocate's camp is more likely to increase the likelihood for the actor to succeed than individual framing (H1) and that it matters how much the camp of an actor frames the issue in unity (H1), with what frequency it promotes its dominant frame (H3) and, finally, whether the frame dominantly promoted by the camp also comes to dominate the issue vis-à-vis the opposing camp (H4). By analyzing the promotion of five generic emphasis frames across a large number of diverse policy

issues in the media arena, we presented strong support for three of these hypotheses: Indeed, advocacy success of individual actors is crucially affected not by whether they themselves manage to attach an emphasis frame to their advocated policy position in the media, but by the collective framing efforts of the camp of actors lobbying for the same policy outcome as them. Furthermore, we showed that it matters for the individual advocate to what extent her camp frames the issue consistently with one voice, and whether the camp wins the struggle of defining the issue in relation to the opposing camp. In contrast, the frequency with which the camp promotes its dominant emphasis frame has no positive effect on actor's preference attainment.

We have thus provided clear evidence that not just lobbying in general, but framing, in particular, is 'a collective enterprise' (Klüver, 2013) in which the efforts of likeminded groups matter. We demonstrate that advocates are dependent, not only on the strength of the groups lobbying on the same side (Klüver, 2013; Mahoney & Baumgartner, 2015), but also on how likeminded groups communicate about the issue and whether this framing comes to prevail over the opposing camp. Importantly, this means that strategic framing by advocates must go beyond an actor's own communication, but include a strategy to collectively voice frames with other likeminded groups. Camp-level framing by the opposing positional sides on an issue is thus a relevant link between the individual and aggregate level of framing on policy issues that helps us understand how policy outcomes on an issue are collectively shaped by advocates. Yet, while camp size and camp resources may follow a simple logic of the more the merrier, camp-level framing is more complex in its effects, as we have shown. It seems to be camp unity and issue dominance, rather than framing quantity that matters for lobbying success. So, in the example of nuclear power we started out with, the consistency of the framing 'story' and the success of frames promoted by the pro or anti-nuclear lobby in dominating the issue debate in different countries may, according to

our results, be a part in the puzzle of understanding varying policy outcomes and advocacy success across countries.

In interpreting these results it needs to be acknowledged that we worked with a strict definition and operationalisation of preference attainment as a binary variable, which was enabled by a selection of issues from opinion polls that align in terms of binary outcomes. Consequently, we measure 'hard' success in terms of a predefined policy result, thus arguably putting the effects of framing to a hard test. Yet, it is also conceivable that framing works to achieve smaller successes in the desired policy direction, say for instance, side-deals or exceptions to general legislation, albeit an undesired policy passes. In this sense, our measure is likely to underestimate 'softer' framing successes, and results should be read in these 'hard' terms.

Moreover, as Boräng et al. (2014) show, analyzing the same data with different methods to capture frames can affect the number of frames identified, especially depending on the level of abstraction in the frames, so results need to be interpreted relative to the respective mode of coding and aggregation. We chose an empirical strategy of capturing five generic emphasis frames that have broad applicability across policy issues, and our analysis tapped into the ways of how the collective use of these emphasis frames at the camp level is related to lobbying success. There is certainly scope for extending our approach to consider additional types of frames, and the relationship between framing and advocacy success in venues beyond the media. Still, given our quasi-random sampling of fifty diverse issues in five countries and our focus on the characteristics of collective emphasis framing (rather than on differences between exact frames), our conclusions can hopefully inform more generally about relationships between advocacy success and collective emphasis framing. Based on these findings, future research could, for instance, assess more closely how the dominant frames of competing camps interact, as well as address how active cooperation between like-minded advocacy groups potentially helps them succeed by coordinating a framing

strategy. Our theory and findings underline the importance of expanding research of collective framing at the level of advocacy camps.

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[i] We define advocates as all interest groups (incl. business and occupational associations, trade unions, public, identity and hobby organisations), as well as firms, institutional organisations and experts actively and publically promoting a policy position on an issue.

[ii] Namely: Politiken in Denmark, German Süddeutsche Zeitung, the Guardian in the UK and Dagens Nyheter in Sweden, and the Dutch de Volkskrant.

[iii] Denmark: Politiken and Jyllands-Posten, Germany: Süddeutsche Zeitung and Frankfurther Allgemeine Zeitung, Netherlands: De Volkskrant and NRC Handelsblad, Sweden: Dagens Nyheter and Svenska Dagbladet; and the UK: The Guardian and The Telegraph.

[iv] Available at [link]

[v] Coders were instructed to identify additional priorities at stake outside these categories and raise these in supervision, yet this did not result in additional generic categories, because the five categories had a wide coverage regarding the arguments.

[vi] Available at [link].

[vii] These were selected from the UK material in a way to ensure that the selected quotes covered a diversity of frames.

[viii] Additionally, robustness checks using alternative operationalizations of individual framing are presented in Online Appendix E.

[ix] An alternative operationalization of frame unity as the share of all frames promoted by the camp that are of the dominant camp frame type is tested in Online Appendix D.

[x] An alternative relative measure of frequency in terms of how often the actor's camp promoted its dominant frame relative to all frames on the issue by both camps is tested in Online Appendix D.

[xi] Table C.2 in the Online Appendix summarizes how the dominant frames at camp and issue level are distributed across advocates and issues.

[xii] Experts are organizations or public figures in the possession of specialized knowledge (Schudson 2006: 499) and included as advocates where they expressed an explicit position on the specific issue in the media.

[xiii] Note that actor activity is only mildly correlated with the presence of framing (r=0.25) and removing this control does not change the findings indicating that the effects of actor activity and emphasis framing can be distinguished.

[xiv] The likelihood ratio statistic provides strong evidence that between issue variance is different from zero.

[xv] Hypotheses 2-4 are first tested on the reduced sample since in the full sample there are two high correlations of r>|0.6| between the variables of interest, namely the occurrence (binary) and the unity and frequency of camp framing (see Table C.5 in the Online Appendix C). This is the case because for all observations without camp framing in the full sample these characteristics are perfectly correlated. In contrast, in the reduced sample all pairwise correlations between different variables lie well below the threshold of |0.6| commonly taken as indicative of multicollinearity problems (see Table C.6). Additional multicollinearity tests calculating the variance inflation factors (VIFs) for our predictors in Models 6 and 7 based on an OLS regression demonstrate the same pattern of strongly alleviating potential multicollinearity in the reduced sample: The highest calculated VIFs in the full sample lies at 5.54, whereas it is 3.04 in the reduced sample.

[xvi] In the calculation of margins in this and subsequent estimates, the other variables are held constant at their observed values.

[xvii] Such an approach has, for example, been used to account for spatial dependence in patent citation data in Europe (Fischer & Griffith, 2008).

[xviii] Models F6 and F7 were estimated in multilevel linear models, instead of multi-level logistic models. While the predicted coefficients naturally differ, the linear model is both unbiased and consistent with a binary dependent variable (Beck, 2015; Wooldridge, 2013), and is a useful alternative in nested data structures where logistic regression can face problems. Whereas the logit model is asymptotically more efficient, average effects predicted in the linear model are still informative.

[xix] Note, however, that this measure of relative frequency is more highly correlated with other camp characteristics, such as convergence of camp and issue frame. Therefore, the absolute (logged) measure presented in the main analysis is more suited to separate out the effects of frequency of framing, issue dominance and framing unity in a camp.

Appendix. Selection of frames

Any capturing of frames aggregates complex social narratives, and there is no single right level of simplification and aggregation (Boräng et al., 2014). We opted for a level of abstraction that is sufficiently general to facilitate comparison across a large number of policy issues from different policy areas. After consulting existing work on generic frames in lobbying research (Klüver et al., 2015; Mahoney, 2008) and broader coding schemes in the analysis of claims making (de Wilde, Koopmans, & Zürn, 2014) we selected a total of five priority frames, which capture prominent priorities voiced by advocates. These are:

- SAFETY refers to the integrity of persons, states or other bodies from threats like violence, or risks to public or consumer health.

- RIGHTS captures the protection or promotion of human or other rights or alleviation of human suffering.

- ECONOMY is about fostering wealth, prosperity, economic growth or avoiding facing adverse economic effects.

- ENVIRONMENT captures conserving the environment or protecting the climate.

- CULTURE refers to conserving traditions, values and cultural heritage.

The first four categories overlap with existing schemes (Klüver et al., 2015), while we added Culture against the background of potentially increasing cultural conservatism in European countries.

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Online Appendices

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A. List of policy issues

Country	Policy issue
Denmark	Building of a bridge for vehicles and trains across the Kattegat
	Reducing mortgage interest deduction from 33% to 25%
	Granting asylum to families with children among rejected Iraqi asylum seekers
	Reducing the unemployment benefit period by half from four to two years
	Strengthening the control of the Danish agriculture in order to take action against the misuse of antibiotics
	Controlled delivery of heroin for particularly vulnerable drug addicts at special clinics as a pilot scheme
	Introducing differentiated VAT
	Making schools' average test results public
	Cutting the allowances paid to young people between 25 and 29 years by half
	Creation of an equal pay commission
Germany	Financial support of Arcandor through public money
	Guaranteeing a pension above the poverty line for pensioners who have paid contributions for many years
	Supplying citizens with consumption vouchers to boost the economy
	Establishing a wealth tax
	State control of electricity prices
	Banning of computer games that glorify violence
	Cutting the tax exemption for night, Sunday, and holiday supplements
	Cutting coal subsidies
	Making it illegal to carry out a paternity test without the consent of the mother
	Cutting social benefits
Netherlands	Allowing all illegal immigrants who have lived in the Netherlands for a long time to stay
	Raising the retirement age to 67
	Abolishing the mortgage interest
	Spending more money on development aid
	Obligating stores to be closed on Sunday
	Ban of smoking in restaurants
	Banning embryonic stem cell research
	Allowing more asylum seekers
	Banning euthanasia
	Building new nuclear power plants

Sweden	Permanent introduction of a congestion charge in Stockholm
	Reinstating the wealth tax, which was abolished in 2007 and meant that anyone with a fortune of 1.5 million paid 1.5% in taxes
	Rescuing Saab through government funds
	Banning the construction of minarets in Sweden
	Reducing third-world aid
	Introducing a language test for Swedish citizenship
	Restricting the right to free abortion
	Making household and domestic services tax deductible
	Allowing free download of all films and music from the Internet
	Increasing the old age retirement age
UK	Giving amnesty to illegal immigrants who have spent ten years in Britain without getting into trouble with the police
	Scrapping ID cards
	Requiring food manufacturers to reduce the fat/salt content in their products
	Introducing a graduate tax, where graduates would pay an extra income tax on their income after graduating
	Allowing a third runway to be built at Heathrow Airport
	Reducing corporation tax
	Increasing Air Passenger Duty, to be paid by people taking both short-haul and long-haul flights
	Subsidizing the building of new nuclear power stations
	Increasing the tax on large executive-style, estate, and 4x4 vehicles
	Downgrading 'ecstasy' from a class-A drug to a class-B drug

B. Selected examples to illustrate the coding scheme

Direct quote	Substantive frame
Ed Jessop, vice-president of the UK Faculty of Public Health: "This 'nudging' will take us so far, but further legislative measures in some areas, to ban transfats from all foods or to set minimum pricing for alcohol, are needed to protect the **public's health** and **save lives**;	Safety (public health, save lives)
Jonathan Ellis, director of advocacy at the Refugee Council: "Too many asylum seekers have been left living in limbo without a decision on their case for too long, **without any rights** to play their part in British society."	Rights (rights)
John Longworth, director general of the British Chamber of Commerce: "With public finances straitened and consumer spending depressed, all eyes are on the private sector to blaze a trail back to **prosperity**."	Economy (prosperity)

Note: The table provides examples of quotes from the UK sample, the respective coding and the signaling words to identify this (in bold and in brackets).

C. Descriptives

Table C.1 Frame use by individual advocates

Type of frame		Number of times of use in connection with policy position at statement level
Priority frames	Safety	30
	Rights	24
	Economy	98
	Environment	21
	Culture	3
	Total	**176**

Table C.2 Use of dominant frames at camp and issue level in full sample (N=604)

Type of frame		Dominant camp frame	Dominant issue frame
Priority frames	No frame	94	31 (6)
	Safety	56	73 (8)
	Rights	45	45 (6)
	Economy	279	352 (20)
	Environment	93	63 (5)
	Culture	13	0 (0)
	Competing	24	40 (5)
	Total Actors (camps/issues)	**604**	**604 (50)**

Note: Number of actors and number of issues (in parenthesis)

Table C.3 Percentage share of actor types that used different types of frames connected to advocated positions in full sample (N=604)

Type of emphasis frame		Hobby, Identity & Public	Business, Occupation & Firms	Trade Unions	Institutional Associations & Experts
Priority frames	Safety	7.69	4.19	5.13	4.35
	Rights	9.62	1.86	3.85	3.38
	Economy	2.88	22.79	28.21	11.59
	Environment	7.69	5.12	0.00	0.97
	Culture	1.92	0.47	0.00	0.00
	Use of any emphasis frame	27.88	32.09	34.62	20.29
Total number of actors on an issue		104	215	78	207

Table C.4 Summary statistics in full sample (N=604)

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Use of Individual Emphasis Frame	604	.28	.45	0	1
Use of Camp Emphasis Frame	604	.84	.36	0	1
Unity of Camp Frame (HHI)	604	.68	.35	0	1
Freq. Dominant Camp Frame (log)	604	1.35	1.04	0	3.71
Convergence Camp-Issue Frame					
Camp's Frame dominates Issue	604	.37	.48	0	1
Same Frame across Camps	604	.34	.48	0	1
Actor type (Bl: Hobby, Identity&Public)					
Business, Occupational & Firms	604	.36	.48	0	1
Trade Unions	604	.13	.34	0	1
Institutional Associations & Experts	604	.34	.48	0	1
Actor activity (log)	604	.34	.61	0	4.03
Actor pro policy change	604	.53	.50	0	1
Relative camp size	604	.62	.21	.07	1
Media salience	604	.13	.22	.003	1.65

Alternative operationalizations (for robustness checks)

Unity of Camp Frame (Share)	604	.73	.35	0	1
Relative Freq. Dominant Camp Frame	604	.51	.34	0	1

Table C.5 Spearman's rho correlations in full sample (N=604)

	Indiv. Frame (bin)	Camp Frame (bin)	Unity as HHI	Frequ-ency	Conv. =0	Conv. =1	Conv. =2	Actor Activity	Pro Change	Camp size	Media Salience
Individual	1										
Camp (bin)	0.27	1									
Unity as HHI	0.12	**0.66**	1								
Freq.	0.25	**0.64**	0.21	1							
Conv.=0	-0.12	-0.37	-0.54	-0.26	1						
Conv.=1	0.12	0.33	0.42	0.33	-0.48	1					
Conv.=2	-0.00	0.01	0.09	-0.08	-0.46	-0.56	1				
Activity	0.25	0.11	0.01	0.23	-0.01	0.10	-0.09	1			
Pro Change	0.06	0.09	0.25	0.20	-0.34	0.42	-0.10	0.11	1		
Camp Size	0.02	0.06	0.08	0.13	-0.33	0.24	0.07	-0.02	0.11	1	
Media S.	0.06	0.27	-0.08	0.50	0.18	0.07	-0.24	0.13	0.04	-0.25	1

Note: The Convergence variable is displayed in terms of three dummies (Conv.=0 (non-convergence),

Conv.=1(convergence) or Conv.=2(same in both camps)). Dummy variables for Actor Type omitted for space reasons.

R> |0.6| marked in bold

Table C.6 Spearman's correlations in reduced sample (N=510) where there is use of framing by the actor's camp, i.e. Use of Camp Emphasis Frame (bin) =1

	Indiv. Frame (bin)	Camp Frame (bin)	Unity as HHI	Frequ-ency	Conv. =0	Conv. =1	Conv. =2	Activity	Pro Change	Camp Size	Media Salience
Individual	1										
Camp (bin)	.	.									
Unity as HHI	-0.07	.	1								
Freq.	0.11	.	-0.36	1							
Conv.=0	-0.03	.	-0.48	-0.04	1						
Conv.=1	0.03	.	0.29	0.16	-0.46	1					
Conv.=2	-0.01	.	0.11	-0.13	-0.38	-0.65	1				
Activity	0.25	.	-0.09	0.23	0.01	0.08	-0.09	1			
Pro Change	0.04	.	0.28	0.20	-0.36	0.45	-0.16	0.11	1		
Camp Size	0.01	.	0.06	0.15	-0.21	0.27	-0.10	0.00	0.04	1	
Media S.	-0.01	.	-0.38	0.48	0.31	-0.01	-0.25	0.13	0.01	-0.25	1

Note: All pairwise correlations below R> |0.6|, except between the dummies making up the Convergence Variable.

D. Alternative Operationalizations: Unity and Frequency of Camp Frame

To check the robustness of the findings on Hypotheses H2 and H3, alternative operationalizations of Unity and Frequency were included and tested in different model specifications in the reduced and full sample. Specifically Models D1-D4 operationalize the Unity of camp frames as the share of all frames promoted by the camp that are of the dominant frame type and Frequency as a relative measure in terms of the frequency of use of the camp's dominant frame relative to all frames used by both camps on the issue.

Table D.1: Logistic regression of preference attainment & camp level frames (βs with SEs)

	(D1)	(D2)	(D3)	(D4)
Use of Individual Emphasis Frame (bin)	-0.19	-0.08	-0.04	-0.10
	(0.32)	(0.31)	(0.36)	(0.28)
Use of Camp Emphasis Frame (bin)				-3.47**
				(1.18)
Unity of Camp Frame (share dominant frame)	8.91***		13.24***	7.00***
	(1.66)		(2.94)	(1.75)
Relative Freq. Dominant Camp Frame		0.46	-10.65***	-4.39***
		(1.00)	(2.18)	(1.31)
Convergence Camp-Issue Frame				
Camp's Frame dominates Issue			3.13**	2.41**
			(1.13)	(0.74)
Same Frame across camps			0.34	0.29
			(1.65)	(0.69)
Controls				
Actor type (B: Hobby, Identity & Public)				
Business & Occupational associations & Firms	-1.31*	-1.17*	-1.61**	-1.39***
	(0.52)	(0.50)	(0.59)	(0.40)
Trade Unions	-1.95**	-1.90**	-2.14**	-2.38***
	(0.69)	(0.65)	(0.77)	(0.54)
Institutional associations & Experts	-0.58	-0.54	-0.76	-0.62
	(0.57)	(0.54)	(0.64)	(0.41)
log of number of statements by actor (pro and con)	-0.06	0.03	-0.04	0.06
	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.19)
Actor pro policy change	-3.51***	-2.00***	-2.81***	-3.47***
	(0.47)	(0.42)	(0.53)	(0.39)
Relative camp size	5.28***	5.96***	13.38***	4.93***
	(1.18)	(1.31)	(2.21)	(0.93)
Media salience	7.03+	4.78	6.25	1.91
	(4.15)	(3.80)	(5.12)	(1.28)
Country (B: Germany)				
UK	-2.39	-1.48	-3.03	-0.55
	(1.52)	(1.43)	(1.99)	(0.87)
Denmark	1.20	0.52	0.27	0.32
	(1.47)	(1.37)	(1.84)	(0.88)
Sweden	1.29	1.94	1.09	1.33
	(1.60)	(1.52)	(2.00)	(0.97)
Netherlands	0.81	0.88	0.51	0.27
	(1.58)	(1.49)	(2.00)	(0.92)
Constant	-8.59***	-2.30+	-11.88***	-1.28
	(1.83)	(1.26)	(2.50)	(0.91)
Policy issue intercept variance	9.26*	8.19*	18.45*	2.66**
	(3.80)	(3.58)	(8.85)	(0.96)
Number of Cases	510	510	510	604
Number of Issues	44	44	44	50
AIC	433	468	408	602

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

E. Alternative Operationalizations of Individual Framing

To check the robustness of the finding regarding Hypothesis H1 the following alternative operationalizations of individual framing were tested:

- the Frequency of Individual Emphasis Framing, as the log transformed count of the number of times an individual actor attaches a frame to her position (Model E1)

- the Relative Frequency of Individual Framing, which captures the count of individual emphasis frames used by the advocate on the issue relative to the total number of times the coded emphasis frames were used by both camps on the issue (Model E2)

- the Type of Individual Dominant Emphasis Frame in the five categories captured by the coding. This is a categorical variable that takes the category ('Safety', 'Rights', 'Economy', 'Environment', or of several equally frequently promoted 'Competing' frames). So, the variable denotes which emphasis frame is used most often by the advocate, compared to the baseline of using none of these emphasis frames (Model E3)

Furthermore, we test in Models E4 and E5 whether convergence of the individual dominant frame with 1) the dominant issue frame (i.e. most frequently used emphasis frame by both camps), or 2) the dominant camp frame (i.e. most frequently used emphasis frame by the actor's camp) have an effect on preference attainment. The only significant effect is for the category of 'No camp emphasis framing', which again supports our findings that it is the camp frame that matters.

Table E.1: Logistic regression of preference attainment & individual frames (βs with SEs)

	(E1)	(E2)	(E3)	(E4)	(E5)
Freq. Individual Emphasis Frame (log)	-0.07				
	(0.32)				
Relative Freq. of Individual Emphasis Frame		0.16			
		(0.67)			
Type of Individual Dominant Frame[a] (Bl: No Emphasis Frame)					
Safety			-0.68		
			(0.56)		
Rights			-1.07		
			(0.67)		
Economy			0.45		
			(0.33)		
Environment			0.35		
			(0.70)		
Competing			-2.52		
			(1.76)		
Use of 1ndividual Emphasis Frame				-0.52	-0.49
				(0.44)	(0.58)
Convergence Individual-Issue Frame					
Individual's Frame dominates Issue				0.71	
				(0.50)	
No framing of issue				-0.99	
				(0.88)	
Convergence Individual-Camp Frame					
Individual's Frame dominates Camp					0.45
					(0.59)
No framing by camp					-0.95*
					(0.40)
Controls					
Actor type (B: Hobby, Identity & Public)					
Business, Occupational & Firms	-1.06**	-1.06**	-1.22**	-1.13**	-1.04**
	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.39)	(0.38)	(0.37)
Trade Unions	-2.13***	-2.13***	-2.23***	-2.18***	-2.02***
	(0.49)	(0.49)	(0.50)	(0.50)	(0.49)
Institutional associations & Experts	-0.49	-0.48	-0.61	-0.53	-0.49
	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.38)	(0.37)	(0.37)
Actor activity (log)	0.14	0.11	0.11	0.10	0.11
	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Actor pro policy change	-2.27***	-2.27***	-2.34***	-2.33***	-2.39***
	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.25)	(0.26)
Relative camp size	3.58***	3.59***	3.52***	3.71***	3.17***
	(0.66)	(0.67)	(0.67)	(0.68)	(0.67)
Media salience	1.85+	1.85+	2.01+	1.72	1.65
	(1.06)	(1.06)	(1.09)	(1.06)	(1.03)

	(E1)	(E2)	(E3)	(E4)	(E5)
Continued					
Country (B: Germany)					
UK	-0.19	-0.19	-0.18	-0.18	-0.15
	(0.68)	(0.68)	(0.69)	(0.68)	(0.67)
Denmark	0.23	0.24	0.25	0.28	0.29
	(0.67)	(0.67)	(0.68)	(0.68)	(0.67)
Sweden	1.52*	1.53*	1.46+	1.54*	1.42+
	(0.75)	(0.75)	(0.76)	(0.75)	(0.74)
Netherlands	0.23	0.25	0.24	0.38	0.38
	(0.70)	(0.70)	(0.70)	(0.71)	(0.69)
Constant	-0.49	-0.52	-0.30	-0.45	0.01
	(0.67)	(0.67)	(0.68)	(0.67)	(0.70)
Policy issue intercept variance	1.50**	1.50**	1.50*	1.48**	1.42**
	(0.57)	(0.57)	(0.58)	(0.57)	(0.54)
Number of Cases	604	604	601	604	604
Number of Issues	50	50	50	50	50
AIC	638	638	636	639	636

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001
[a] Culture omitted because of too few observations, 3 cases dropped.

F. Robustness: Models including Principal components

To attend to and filter out spatial autocorrelation, principal components were estimated based on a 604x604 matrix capturing camp membership for each actor on an issue. Five Principal Components had eigenvalues above 1 and were, consequently, included in the analysis. The significance of especially Components 1-4 suggests they do capture (spatial) variation in preference attainment, for which they then control in the analysis.

Models F6 and F7 are estimated as multilevel linear models, because the full models in the multi-level logistic models did not converge (cf. Beck, 2015; Wooldridge, 2013).

Table F.1: Multilevel logistic and linear regression of preference attainment & frames with filtering for spatial autocorrelation (βs with SEs)

	(F1) Logistic	(F2) Logistic	(F3) Logistic	(F4) Logistic	(F5) Logistic	(F6) Linear	(F7) Linear
Use of Indiv. Emphasis Frame (bin)	-0.11	-0.31	-0.43	-0.27	-0.42	-0.01	-0.03
	(0.32)	(0.33)	(0.46)	(0.41)	(0.46)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Use of Camp Emphasis Frame (bin)		1.15*					-1.35***
		(0.47)					(0.18)
Unity of Camp Frame (HHI)			11.61***			0.70**	0.91***
			(2.68)			(0.22)	(0.22)
Freq. Dominant Camp Frame (log)				-1.57		-0.71***	0.13*
				(1.17)		(0.11)	(0.06)
Convergence Camp-Issue Frame							
Camp's Frame dominates Issue					5.76***	1.04***	0.56***
					(1.22)	(0.13)	(0.11)
Same Frame across camps					5.84*	1.03***	0.33**
					(2.30)	(0.25)	(0.13)
Controls							
Actor type (B: Hob, Id. & Public)							
Business, Occupational & Firms	-0.70	-0.60	-1.52*	-1.07	-0.53	-0.08*	-0.10*
	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.77)	(0.68)	(0.77)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Trade Unions	-1.54**	-1.42*	-1.18	-1.43+	-0.55	-0.12*	-0.18**
	(0.56)	(0.57)	(0.90)	(0.80)	(0.90)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Institutional assoc. & Experts	-0.10	-0.04	-0.30	0.06	0.40	-0.01	-0.04
	(0.43)	(0.44)	(0.77)	(0.69)	(0.78)	(0.03)	(0.04)

	(F1) Logistic	(F2) Logistic	(F3) Logistic	(F4) Logistic	(F5) Logistic	(F6) Linear	(F7) Linear
Continued							
Actor activity (log)	-0.08	-0.09	-0.33	-0.17	-0.40	-0.01	0.00
	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.43)	(0.37)	(0.44)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Actor pro policy change	-1.72***	-1.79***	-1.03*	0.30	-1.24*	-0.19***	-0.45***
	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.50)	(0.51)	(0.54)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Relative camp size	4.06***	4.12***	13.45*	10.41**	14.40**	1.66***	0.35***
	(1.18)	(1.20)	(5.36)	(3.64)	(5.23)	(0.15)	(0.10)
Media salience	1.11	0.85	14.26	7.26	14.47	0.33	0.54*
	(1.18)	(1.20)	(8.97)	(6.62)	(8.88)	(0.41)	(0.24)
Country (B: Germany)							
UK	-0.44	-0.36	-4.80*	-2.32	-3.34	-0.20	-0.22
	(0.84)	(0.85)	(2.41)	(1.92)	(2.36)	(0.31)	(0.18)
Denmark	-0.07	0.06	1.00	0.93	1.52	0.16	-0.03
	(0.80)	(0.82)	(1.96)	(1.72)	(2.08)	(0.31)	(0.17)
Sweden	1.40	1.37	0.71	2.04	2.95	0.14	0.04
	(0.89)	(0.91)	(2.39)	(1.87)	(2.34)	(0.31)	(0.17)
Netherlands	0.52	0.88	2.33	2.46	3.73	0.30	-0.11
	(0.85)	(0.89)	(2.53)	(2.06)	(2.91)	(0.33)	(0.17)
Principal Component 1	219636.83**	240239.08**	387600.74**	597568.99***	471549.13**	13.59***	6.07**
	(74202.96)	(77457.65)	(142403.62)	(152163.93)	(151379.66)	(3.95)	(2.25)
Principal Component 2	215195.25**	235026.23**	365793.76**	569235.93***	447401.06**	-8.12+	2.41
	(71257.96)	(74481.00)	(134524.35)	(144604.13)	(143510.78)	(4.63)	(2.56)
Principal Component 3	49941.83**	54414.11***	77464.99**	122264.55***	95926.20**	4.89***	1.21
	(15614.61)	(16381.95)	(28658.22)	(31135.31)	(30733.45)	(0.96)	(0.87)
Principal Component 4	-1385.19***	-1484.21***	-1625.98**	-2479.70***	-1981.94**	-1.67*	-4.29***
	(338.72)	(357.51)	(615.87)	(735.67)	(655.79)	(0.73)	(0.59)
Principal Component 5	2.73	4.97	-6.59	15.37	9.89	8.03***	-3.96***
	(16.89)	(17.48)	(33.67)	(46.82)	(34.81)	(1.76)	(0.79)
Constant	0.36	-0.21	-10.95***	1.37	-6.59*	-1.10***	0.63***
	(0.90)	(0.95)	(3.33)	(1.96)	(2.64)	(0.29)	(0.15)
Policy issue intercept variance	2.38*	2.49*	25.24	15.74	29.93	0.41*	0.13*
	(0.95)	(1.01)	(19.99)	(9.96)	(19.56)	(0.12)	(0.04)
Number of Cases	604	604	510	510	510	510	604
Number of Issues	50	50	44	44	44	44	50
AIC	492	488	301	335	302	143	475

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

G. Additional Explanation involving the Type of Dominant Emphasis Frame by the Camp

Model G1 includes the type of dominant emphasis frame promoted most frequently by the actor's camp as a categorical variable (compare: Online Appendix E for the dominant type of individual level framing).

Table G.1: Multilevel logistic and linear regression of preference attainment & camp level frames (βs with SEs)

	(G1)
Type of Dominant Camp Frame [a] (Baseline: No Emphasis Frame)	
Safety	0.52
	(0.66)
Rights	-1.76*
	(0.88)
Economy	2.72***
	(0.63)
Environment	3.30***
	(0.80)
Competing	-3.02**
	(0.95)
Controls	
Actor Type (B: Hobby, Identity& Public)	
Business, Occupational & Firms	-1.69***
	(0.48)
Trade Unions	-2.64***
	(0.59)
Institutional associations & Experts	-0.84+
	(0.46)
Actor Activity (log)	-0.05
	(0.22)
Actor pro policy change	-3.33***
	(0.36)
Relative camp size	2.66***
	(0.79)
Media salience	2.22
	(1.44)
Country (B: Germany)	
UK	-0.69
	(1.09)
Denmark	0.83
	(1.06)
Sweden	0.78
	(1.14)
Netherlands	-0.20
	(1.09)
Constant	0.11
	(0.96)
Policy issue intercept variance	4.31**
	(1.59)
Number of Cases	591
Number of Issues	50
AIC	564

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001
[a] Culture dominant frame omitted because of too few observations, 13 observations dropped

Bibliography

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