# Online Appendices

## A. (Automated) content analysis

### 1. Capturing visibility

The visibility of politicians and political parties is captured through the use of regular expressions with python. With regular expressions it is possible to find first names combined with last names as well as merely the last name in the text. Only the names are counted, not references to a name by, for example, indications of ‘he’ or ‘she’. Political parties are counted when they are mentioned in the text and not when they are mentioned in between brackets to identify the party a politician is working for, e.g. Mark Rutte (VVD). References to the government are not taken into account.

### 2. Codebook

**Coding individual politicians**

1. Indicate for each actor whether there is a predominantly negative tone towards the actor (-1), a balanced/ambivalent/neutral tone towards the actor (0) or predominantly positive tone towards the actor (+1). The coding should be done from the perspective of the politicians appearing in the article. Keep the following question in mind when coding the tone: Is this article good or bad news for the politicians?

Indications of a positive tone: depictions of achievements, portrayal of received compliments, supportive of actions by journalists or others.

Indications of a negative tone: depictions of failures or incompetence, portrayal of received criticism, questioning of actions by journalists or others.

Actor1\_Sentiment: …

 Actor2\_Sentiment: …

 Actor3\_Sentiment: …

 Actor4\_Sentiment: …

 Actor5\_Sentiment: …

2. Indicate for each actor with how many words the actor is quoted. During counting the text in-between quotation marks should be considered. In the following example the number of words is 4: “**I do not agree**”, said Rutte.

Actor1\_Quoted: …

 Actor2\_Quoted: …

 Actor3\_Quoted: …

 Actor4\_Quoted: …

 Actor5\_Quoted: …

3. Is the actor paraphrased? Paraphrased in this regard means that the article contains a reference to what the actor has said without quotation marks. Only the text written by the journalists should be considered. If an actor is paraphrased in a quote of another actor, this text should be ignored. Yes=1, No=0.

Actor1\_Paraphrased: …

 Actor2\_ Paraphrased: …

 Actor3\_ Paraphrased: …

 Actor4\_ Paraphrased: …

 Actor5\_ Paraphrased: …

**Coding parties**

4. Indicate the average tone towards a party. See coding individual politicians for information on sentiment. If a party is mentioned following a politicians’ name, it should not be regarded as a reference to a party (e.g. Rutte (**VVD**))

Party1\_Sentiment: …

 Party2\_Sentiment: …

 Party3\_Sentiment: …

 Party4\_Sentiment: …

 Party5\_Sentiment: …

**Coding subject**

5. Indicate for each article the most prominent subject that is discussed. Choose one off the topics in bold, the bullet points are clarifications of the specific questions and can be used as reference.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  **Foreign affairs*** Foreign policy/relationships
* European Union
* Development aid/war/terrorism/VN
* Foreign economy

 **Domestic affairs** * Royal Family
* Elections/democracy
* Political scandals

 **Security and justice*** Security/crime/
* Justice/lawsuits against politicians
* Immigration and integration/Refugee policy

 **Religion** * Rituals/Identity
* Discrimination on the basis of religion

 **Education, Culture and Science*** Education/schools
* Culture/art
* Science
 |  **Health and Sport** * Healthcare
* Euthanasia
* Sports

  **Social services** * Employment
* Labour market
* Pensions
* Emancipation of minority groups or women

 **Nature, environment, agriculture*** Climate change
* Animals
* Agriculture, Nature Management and Fisheries

 **Living and traffic*** Housing
* Schiphol
* Infrastructure/ public transport

 **Economy** * Domestic economy

 **Else** * No specific topic, for instance during interview
 |

## B. Results

### 1. Visibility

### Table 1

Multilevel mixed-effects negative binomial regression. Dependent variable: visibility of politicians

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 0 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| ***Politicians:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Contact |  | 12.544\*\*\* | 6.820\*\*\* | 6.787\*\*\* |
|  |  | (2.425) | (0.961) | (0.954) |
| Distance political orientation |  |  | 0.877\*\*\* | 0.877\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.017) | (0.017) |
| Party leader |  |  | 16.958\*\*\* | 16.631\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (1.252) | (1.227) |
| Gender (female) |  |  | 0.682\*\*\* | 0.681\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.041) | (0.041) |
| Spokesman of subject article |  |  | 15.127\*\*\* | 15.137\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (1.745) | (1.740) |
| Minister |  |  | 4.166\*\*\* | 4.129\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.288) | (0.284) |
| Experience in days(standardized) |  |  | 1.198\*\*\* | 1.198\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.029) | (0.029) |
| Niche party |  |  | 0.684\*\*\* | 0.686\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.073) | (0.073) |
| Government party |  |  | 1.416\*\*\* | 1.419\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.106) | (0.106) |
| ***Article:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Article length (standardized) |  |  |  | 1.183\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.048) |
| Broadsheet |  |  |  | 1.057 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.178) |
| Tabloid |  |  |  | 0.980 |
| ***Journalist:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Frequency of contact |  |  | 1.515\*\*\* | 1.550\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.177) | (0.164) |
|  |  |  |  | (0.129) |
| Constant | 0.032\*\*\* | 0.027\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* | 0.002\*\*\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| ***Random effects:*** |  |  |  |  |
| *Journalist level* |  |  |  |  |
| Variance component | 0.502\*\* | 0.571\*\* | 0.367\*\* | 0.292\*\* |
|  | (0.168) | (0.190) | (0.132) | (0.113) |
| *Article level* |  |  |  |  |
| Variance component | 0.059 | 0.125\*\* | 0.947\*\*\* | 0.917\*\*\* |
|  | (0.034) | (0.040) | (0.080) | (0.079) |
| LR test (chi) |  | 300.63 | 3698.73 | 65.32 |
| LR test (p) |  | p <0.001 | p <0.001 | p <0.001 |
| Observations | 203681 | 203681 | 203681 | 203681 |

Standard errors in parentheses

Note: Incidence Rate Ratios

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

### Table 2

Multilevel mixed-effects negative binomial regression. Dependent variable: visibility of parties

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 0 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| ***Parties:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Contact |  | 3.121\*\*\* | 1.862\*\*\* | 1.853\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.226) | (0.130) | (0.129) |
| Distance political orientation |  |  | 0.828\*\*\* | 0.827\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.013) | (0.013) |
| Government party |  |  | 2.330\*\*\* | 2.331\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.138) | (0.138) |
| Niche party |  |  | 1.297\*\*\* | 1.310\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.094) | (0.095) |
| Party size |  |  | 1.054\*\*\* | 1.054\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| ***Article:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Article length (standardized) |  |  |  | 1.388\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.050) |
| Broadsheet |  |  |  | 1.160 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.180) |
| Tabloid |  |  |  | 0.942 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.113) |
| ***Journalist:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Frequency of contact |  |  |  | 1.241 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.163) |
| Constant | 0.261\*\*\* | 0.225\*\*\* | 0.107\*\*\* | 0.054\*\*\* |
|  | (0.036) | (0.033) | (0.017) | (0.021) |
| ***Random effects:*** |  |  |  |  |
| *Journalist level* |  |  |  |  |
| Variance component | 0.331\*\* | 0.373\*\* | 0.398\*\* | 0.477\*\* |
|  | (0.123) | (0.136) | (0.147) | (0.183) |
| *Article level* |  |  |  |  |
| Variance component | 0.695\*\*\* | 0.730\*\*\* | 0.881\*\*\* | 0.763\*\*\* |
|  | (0.063) | (0.063) | (0.068) | (0.063) |
| LR test (chi) |  | 265.23 | 964.60 | 228.91 |
| LR test (p) |  | p <0.001 | p <0.001 | p <0.001 |
| Observations | 17710 | 17710 | 17710 | 17710 |

Standard errors in parentheses

Note: Incidence Rate Ratios

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

### Graph 1

Predicted count of visibility for political parties with and without contact prominent personal contact



### 2. Prominence

### Table 1

Multilevel ordinal regression. Dependent var: Prominence

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 0 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| ***Politicians:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Contact |  | 8.547\*\*\* | 3.657\*\*\* | 3.668\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.654) | (0.315) | (0.316) |
| Distance political orientation |  |  | 0.889\*\*\* | 0.890\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.017) | (0.017) |
| Party leader |  |  | 8.544\*\*\* | 8.545\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.560) | (0.560) |
| Gender (female) |  |  | 0.688\*\*\* | 0.689\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.045) | (0.045) |
| Spokesman of subject article |  |  | 8.819\*\*\* | 8.840\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.690) | (0.692) |
| Minister |  |  | 2.316\*\*\* | 2.317\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.152) | (0.152) |
| Experience in days(standardized) |  |  | 1.138\*\*\* | 1.138\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.027) | (0.027) |
| Government party |  |  | 1.703\*\*\* | 1.701\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.124) | (0.123) |
| Niche party |  |  | 1.015 | 1.013 |
|  |  |  | (0.117) | (0.117) |
| ***Article:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Article length (standardized) |  |  |  | 1.021 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.033) |
| Broadsheet |  |  |  | 0.848 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.111) |
| Tabloid |  |  |  | 0.862 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.084) |
| ***Journalist:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Frequency of contact |  |  |  | 1.442\*\*\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.156) |
| cut1 | 5.001\*\*\* | 5.119\*\*\* | 5.946\*\*\* | 6.829\*\*\* |
|  | (0.155) | (0.156) | (0.180) | (0.327) |
| cut2 | 5.949\*\*\* | 6.066\*\*\* | 6.917\*\*\* | 7.800\*\*\* |
|  | (0.158) | (0.159) | (0.183) | (0.329) |
| ***Random effects:*** |  |  |  |  |
| *Journalist level* |  |  |  |  |
| Variance component | 0.432\*\* | 0.436\*\* | 0.480\*\* | 0.315\* |
|  | (0.156) | (0.157) | (0.173) | (0.125) |
| *Article level* |  |  |  |  |
| Variance component | 0.156\*\*\* | 0.163\*\*\* | 0.194\*\*\* | 0.188\*\*\* |
|  | (0.037) | (0.038) | (0.041) | (0.040) |
| LR test (chi) |  | 499.16 | 2361.47 | 13.64 |
| LR test (p) |  | p <0.001 | p <0.001 | p <0.01 |
| Observations |  | 203681 | 203681 | 203681 |

Standard errors in parentheses

Note: Proportional odds

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

### 3. Tone

### Table 1

Multilevel ordinal regression. Dependent var: Tone

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 0 |  Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| ***Politicians:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Contact |  | 1.785\*\*\* | 1.696\*\*\* | 1.683\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.247) | (0.247) | (0.245) |
| Distance political orientation |  |  | 0.891\*\*\* | 0.892\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.028) | (0.028) |
| Party leader |  |  | 0.865 | 0.861 |
|  |  |  | (0.094) | (0.094) |
| Gender (female) |  |  | 1.380\*\* | 1.378\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.159) | (0.158) |
| Spokesman of subject article |  |  | 0.637\*\* | 0.633\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.090) | (0.090) |
| Minister |  |  | 0.964 | 0.961 |
|  |  |  | (0.113) | (0.113) |
| Experience in days(standardized) |  |  | 0.906\*\* | 0.907\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.034) | (0.034) |
| Government party |  |  | 0.731\* | 0.730\* |
|  |  |  | (0.093) | (0.093) |
| Niche party |  |  | 1.036 | 1.034 |
|  |  |  | (0.209) | (0.209) |
| ***Article***: |  |  |  |  |
| Article length (standardized) |  |  |  | 1.003 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.051) |
| Broadsheet |  |  |  | 1.129 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.185) |
| Tabloid |  |  |  | 0.820 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.133) |
| ***Journalist:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Frequency of contact |  |  |  | 0.933 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.076) |
| cut1 | -1.935\*\*\* | -1.872\*\*\* | -2.637\*\*\* | -2.806\*\*\* |
|  | (0.117) | (0.123) | (0.189) | (0.300) |
| cut2 | 1.418\*\*\* | 1.496\*\*\* | 0.865\*\*\* | 0.694\* |
|  | (0.110) | (0.118) | (0.170) | (0.288) |
| ***Random effects:*** |  |  |  |  |
| *Journalist level* |  |  |  |  |
| Variance component | 0.141 | 0.163 | 0.170 | 0.121 |
|  | (0.084) | (0.096) | (0.106) | (0.086) |
| *Article level* |  |  |  |  |
| Variance component | 0.549\*\*\* | 0.539\*\*\* | 0.636\*\*\* | 0.635\*\*\* |
|  | (0.129) | (0.128) | (0.141) | (0.141) |
| LR test (chi) |  | 17.64 | 94.64 | 3.12 |
| LR test (p) |  | p <0.001 | p <0.001 | p = 0.6515 |
| Observations |  | 2792 | 2792 | 2792 |

Standard errors in parentheses

Note:

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

### Table 2

Multilevel ordinal regression. Dependent var: Tone

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 0 | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 |
| ***Parties:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Contact |  | 1.250 | 1.292\* | 1.341\* |
|  |  | (0.156) | (0.163) | (0.171) |
| Distance political orientation |  |  | 0.956 | 0.962 |
|  |  |  | (0.032) | (0.032) |
| Government party |  |  | 0.724\* | 0.729\* |
|  |  |  | (0.091) | (0.092) |
| Party size |  |  | 0.977\*\*\* | 0.976\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| Niche party |  |  | 0.953 | 0.950 |
|  |  |  | (0.152) | (0.152) |
| ***Article:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Article length (standardized) |  |  |  | 0.928 |
|  |  |  |  | (0.061) |
| ***Journalist:*** |  |  |  |  |
| Frequency of contact |  |  |  | 0.901\* |
|  |  |  |  | (0.044) |
| cut1 | -2.604\*\*\* | -2.573\*\*\* | -3.325\*\*\* | -3.593\*\*\* |
|  | (0.094) | (0.099) | (0.144) | (0.193) |
| cut2 | 1.913\*\*\* | 1.952\*\*\* | 1.271\*\*\* | 1.004\*\*\* |
|  | (0.083) | (0.090) | (0.123) | (0.173) |
| ***Random effects:*** |  |  |  |  |
| *Journalist level* |  |  |  |  |
| Variance component | 0.003 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.012 |
|  | (0.023) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.027) |
| *Article level* |  |  |  |  |
| Variance component | 2.641\*\*\* | 2.676\*\*\* | 2.657\*\*\* | 2.650\*\*\* |
|  | (0.262) | (0.265) | (0.263) | (0.263) |
| LR test (chi) |  | 3.21 | 61.00 | 5.97 |
| LR test (p) |  | p =0.073 | p <0.001 | p=0.051 |
| Observations | 3285 | 3285 | 3285 | 3285 |

Standard errors in parentheses

Note:

\* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

### Graph 1

Predicted probabilities tone towards political parties in news articles

