

Appendix referring to *Political Equality and Substantive Representation by Interest Groups*

INTRODUCTION

This appendix includes analyses of agenda representation complementing the findings on policy representation in the main article. It also includes some more detailed information on the interest group and public opinions surveys that we rely on in our analyses.

ANALYSIS OF SUBSTANTIVE AGENDA REPRESENTATION

Agenda representation refers to the extent to which the lobbying activities performed by the interest groups are directed towards those policy areas that the public finds important. To measure the priorities of the public, we used the question; “in your view, what are the most important questions or problems facing society in Sweden today?”. The respondents could list up to three answers. Based on surveys from 2012-2014, in the views of the Swedes, the seven most important policy areas were the following (in descending order): Labor market/Employment, Education, Health care, Social policy (including child and elderly care), Migration/Integration, Environment and Economic issues (including both macroeconomic policies, business policies and personal financial matters) (Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet 2016). The analyses are based on comparisons between the agendas of the public, as well as different sections of the public, and the distribution of lobbying activities of the surveyed interest groups. The baseline for the comparison is the 16 policy areas where the largest amount of lobbying activities took place.¹

Figure A1 shows the overall congruence between the agenda priorities of the general public and the lobbying agenda. The scales were standardized (with means at zero) to facilitate the visual comparison: Above the horizontal line are those areas where a more than average amount of lobbying activities took place in the interest group community, while to the right of the

¹ 14 of these areas are also on the top 16 in the public opinion, as given by the aggregated SOM-survey for the years 2012-2014 (Göteborgs universitet, SOM-institutet, 2016). Two areas had a lower priority in the public opinion; culture/leisure (21st place) and consumer influence (28th place). The differences in absolute numbers are very small for the lowly ranked areas.

vertical line are those areas that were prioritized higher than average in the public opinion. A perfect match would imply that the policy areas were lined up along a diagonal from the lower left to the upper right corner.

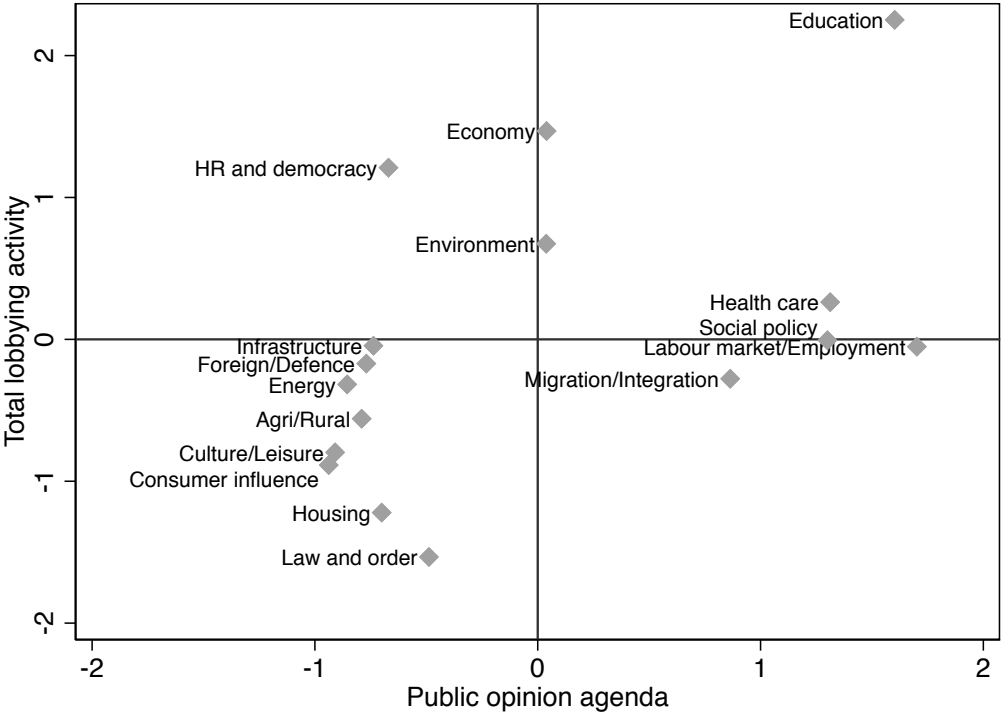


Figure A1. Substantive agenda representation with the public as a whole

The scatter plot indicates a correlation between the agendas of the public and the interest groups. Whether the match should be considered strong or weak is a matter of expectations ($r=0.46$, $p=0.07$). Clearly, the lobbying agenda is not detached from the priorities of the public as a whole, as found in the American case (Kimball et al 2012). However, there are differences. The area where there is strongest agreement concerning its high importance is education (this category includes both schools, universities and research). Both the lobbyists and the public put relatively less emphasis on questions relating to consumer influence, culture and leisure, agriculture and rural issues and housing.

The largest differences relate to questions regarding human rights and democracy, on the one hand, and labor market and employment, on the other hand. The former category, which includes questions such as gender equality, LGBT and non-discrimination of minorities, is a

much higher priority among the interest groups than in the public opinion. Thus, in this area there is more lobbying than “necessary”, compared to its priority in the public opinion. The same is true, although to a lesser extent, for economic issues, which is a broad category including both macroeconomic policy, taxes, regulations and policies directed towards business, and personal financial matters.

When it comes to issues relating to employment and the labor market, on the other hand, the opposite is the case. This area is very high on the public’s agenda, but only around average in terms of the amount of lobbying activities pursued. Differences are also found (in decreasing order) with respect to social policy, migration, health care, and law and order—all areas with a higher priority in the public compared to the lobbying agenda.

While the above shows the overall substantive agenda representation by interest groups, to address the question of bias we need to compare the representation of different sections of the public. Figure A2 shows the pairwise correlations between the lobbying agenda and eight different overlapping sections of the public: Men and women, rural and urban residents, lowly and highly educated citizens, and citizens with low and high incomes.²

² Urban is defined as living in one of the city areas of Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö, which was the case for 17% of the respondents to the survey. Rural refers to living in the countryside (“*glesbygd*”, 15% of the respondents). Low education is defined as having basic schooling at the most (not the gymnasium level), which was the case for 18% of the respondents to the survey. High education refers to having been involved in studies at the university level (without necessarily completing an exam), and includes 39% of the respondents. Low income refers to an annual gross household income of less than 200 000 SEK (ca €20 000), which was the case for 14% of the respondents of the survey. High income means having a household income of at least 900 000 SEK (€90 000), which was the case for 9% of the respondents.

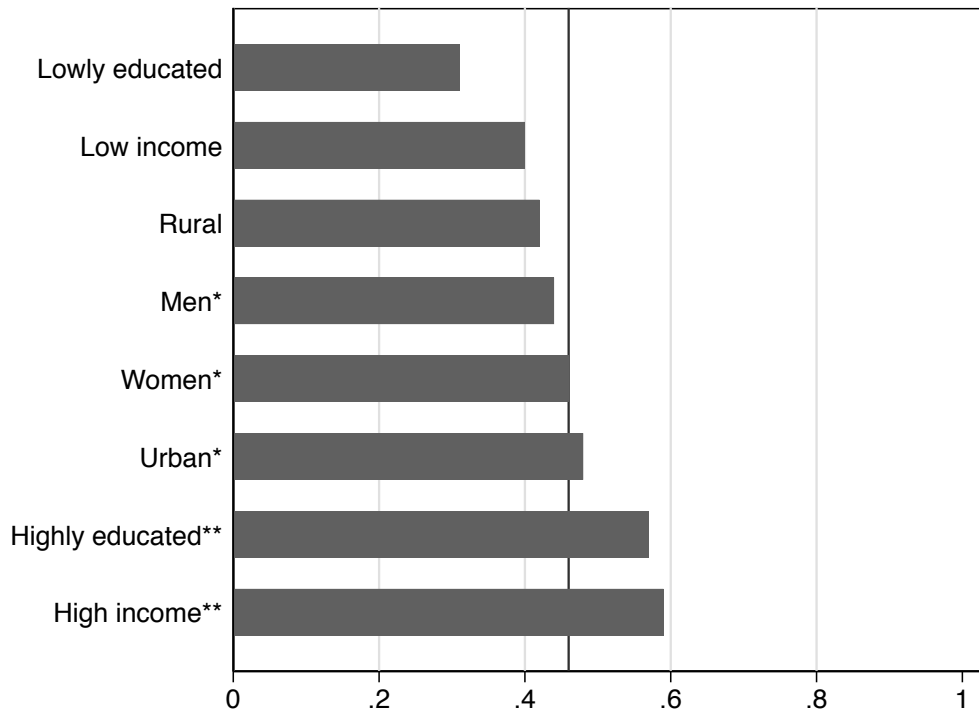


Figure A2. Substantive agenda representation with different sections of the public

Note: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$. Pairwise correlations. The line illustrates the correlation for all respondents (0.46).

Figure A2 indicates that there are real differences between different sections of the public, with respect to how well the lobbying agenda represents their priorities. Best represented are the highly educated ($r=0.57$) and people with a high income ($r=0.59$). The largest mismatch is found for the lowly educated ($r=0.31$), followed by those with a low income ($r=0.40$). The urban population is slightly better represented than average ($r=0.48$), while the rural population is slightly less well represented ($r=0.42$). There is little difference between men and women ($r=0.44$ vs. 0.46).

The insignificant difference between men and women in terms of agenda congruence is not due to lack of differences between the sexes regarding what the most important societal problems are, but these differences tend to even out when it comes to the lobbying activities. Women are better represented by the interest groups in the areas of migration, education (which are both higher priorities for women than for men) and employment and labor market issues (which is a higher priority for men). On the other hand, men are closer to the lobbying agenda when it

comes to the economy (highly prioritized by men), health care, and social policy (less of a priority for men compared to women).

The differences between the urban and rural populations are relatively small overall, with respect to agenda congruence with interest groups. The urban population is somewhat closer to the lobbying agenda when it comes to the environment and questions relating to human rights and democracy (perceived as more important in the cities than in the countryside), and with regards to social policy and health care (a higher priority for the rural population). Rural residents, on the other hand, are slightly closer to the priority order of the interest groups in the areas of migration and housing (which are lower priorities in the countryside compared to the cities), and with regard to questions relating to agriculture and rural issues (which, unsurprisingly, are a higher priority for the rural population).

Most strikingly, socio-economic status is clearly a source of bias for the substantive agenda representation of citizens by interest groups in Sweden, which again contrasts with previous research on the American case (Kimball et al 2012). In Figure A3, we operationalize socio-economic status as a combination of the respondent's level of educational attainment and family income (Schlozman, Verba and Brady 2012, 7). The figure compares the agenda congruence of lowly educated citizens with a low income, to highly educated citizens with a high income. The simple correlation between the 16 items is more than twice as strong for citizens with a high ($r=0.63$) compared to a low ($r=0.29$) socio-economic status. The largest differences refer to social policy and health care (which are a higher priority for citizens with a low income and less education), education and economic issues (which are prioritized by citizens with higher socio-economic status).

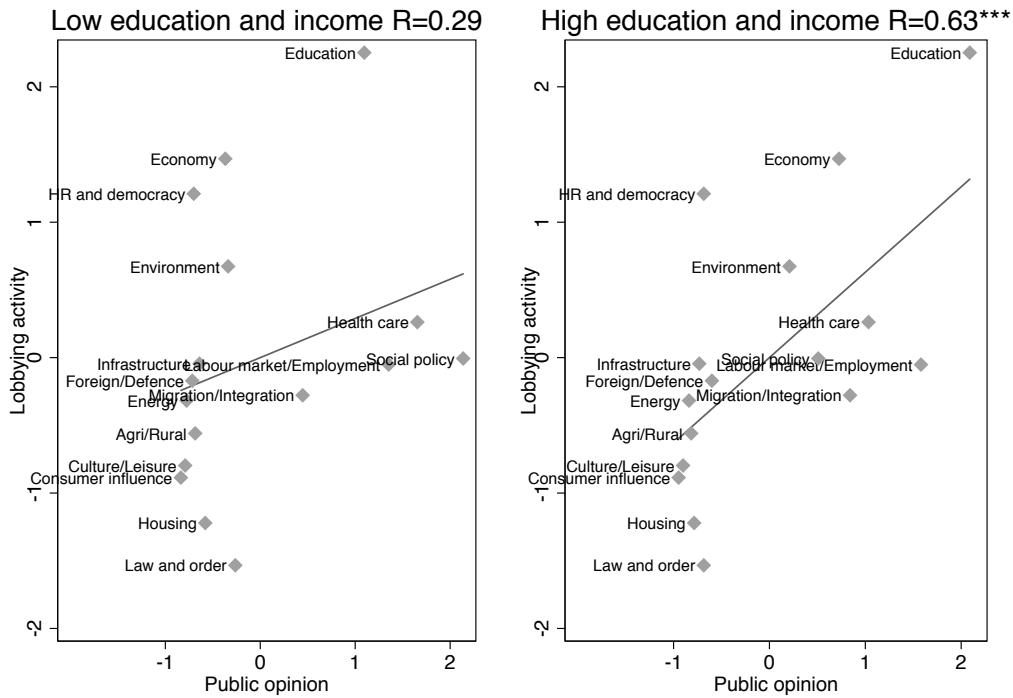


Figure A3. Substantive agenda representation for citizens with high and low socio-economic status

Note: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

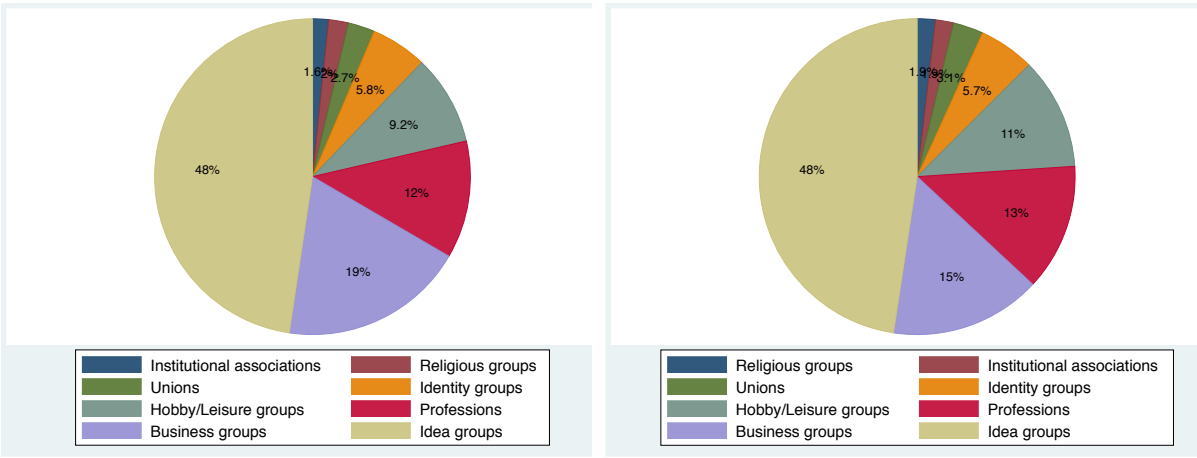
In sum, we find that the two areas that account for the largest part of the deviation between the lobbying efforts of interest groups and the priorities of the general public as a whole—human rights and democracy and labor market and employment issues—are not the main drivers of bias between the different social groups that we have analyzed here. Instead, in order for the Swedish interest group system to display a less distinct upper-class bias, in terms of differences in the agenda representation relating to socio-economic status, more lobbying efforts should be directed towards social policy and health policy, which are higher priorities among citizens with a low socio-economic status. For the same purpose, some of those lobbying resources could be redistributed from economic policies (including business related issues), and education and research. On the other hand, such a redistribution of the lobbying activities would possibly lead to increased bias between men and women (to the advantage of the latter).

INTEREST GROUP POPULATION AND SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Figure A4a and A4b illustrates the distribution of different types of interest groups found in the total population and the sample of groups that responded to the survey. This comparison between the overall population and those responding shows little bias in terms of group type.

Figure A4a. Population: 1534

Figure A4b. Responded to survey: 650 (42%)



MEASURING THE PUBLIC'S POLICY PRIORITIES AND POSITIONS

To establish the policy agenda and policy positions of the general public we use a number of public opinions surveys. The questions on policy positions that we include in our analyses are listed in Table A1 at the end of this Appendix.

Most of our public opinion data comes from the SOM institute, which has conducted surveys annually since 1986. Results from the SOM surveys explicitly aim to represent the views, opinions and habits of the adult Swedish population. Respondents are randomly selected from the Swedish tax agency register of all individuals aged 16-85 residing in the country. The surveys are conducted by means of postal questionnaires, but can also be answered online (for more information, see <https://www.gu.se/en/som-institute>).

For the years we use, the sample sizes and response rates were:

2011: 9 000 persons (response rate 57%)

2012: 12 000 persons (response rate 57%)

2013: 17 000 persons (response rate 53%)

2014: 13 600 persons (response rate 54%)

We also use survey data from The Swedish National Election Studies Program (SNES), which is part of the international cooperation *Comparative Studies of Electoral Systems*. We use the survey conducted in the election year 2014. Since the focus is on elections, the population is slightly narrower than for SOM: respondents have to be over 18 years old and have voting rights in Swedish elections. Surveys are conducted mainly face-to-face (for more information, see <https://www.gu.se/en/swedish-national-election-studies>). In 2014, 4000 persons were randomly selected from this population and the response rate was 56 %. Among young people (18-30), the response rate was 49 %, and among people with low income the response rate was 48 %. While low-income persons are thus underrepresented to some extent, the response rate in this group is not too far from the average.

The surveys we use provide the best data there is to measure Swedish public opinion on a wide range of issues, and these survey programs have high standards also in a comparative perspective. While there is a certain underrepresentation of individuals with low socio-economic status, we find it unlikely that our findings about representational bias are driven by this underrepresentation. We might, however, slightly underestimate the magnitude of the bias.

Public opinion data sources:

Berg, Linda och Oscarsson, Henrik. Swedish National Election Studies 2014. University of Gothenburg, Department of Political Science. Gothenburg, Sweden.

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COMPARING POLICY POSITIONS

Figure A5 compares the policy positions of interest groups and the public on 47 policy proposals. A difference to the right means that interest groups lobby against a proposal that the public favors, while a difference to the left means that the lobbying efforts are directed in favor of a proposal that the public, on average, is against. The numbers on the Y-axis refer to the policy questions listed in Table A1.

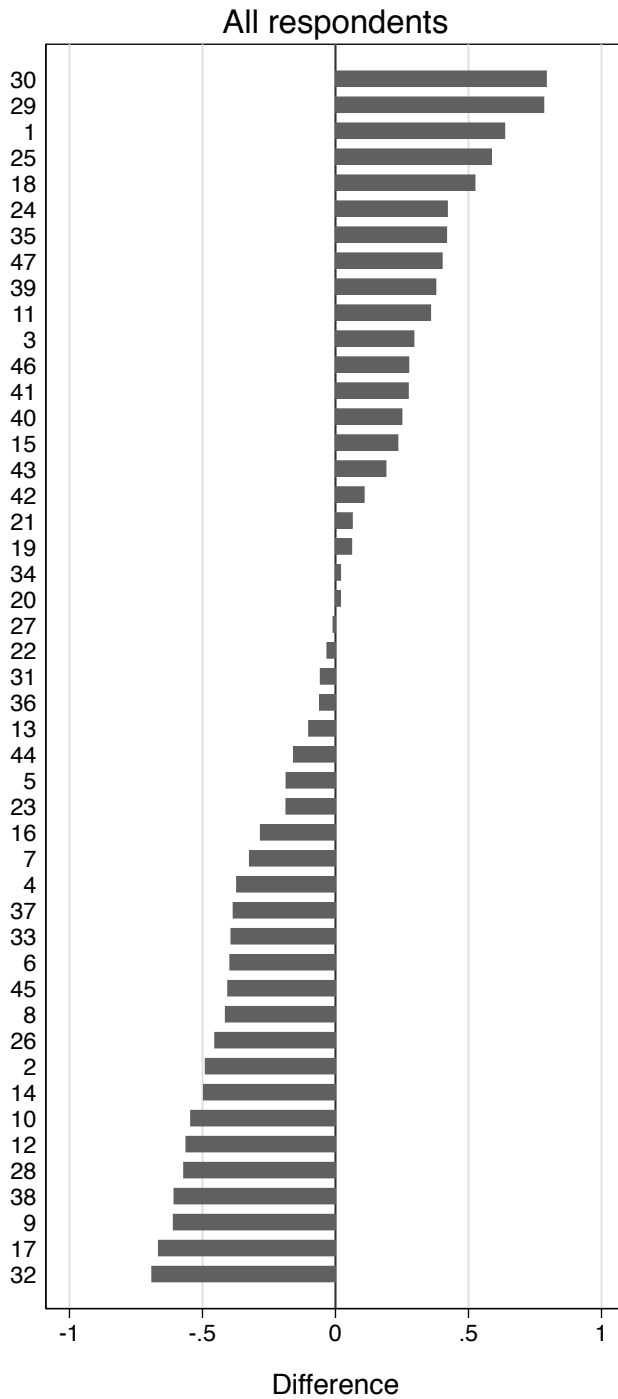


Figure A5. Differences in policy positions between lobbying activities and public opinion.

Table A1: Policy questions in public opinion surveys

	English translation ³	Original question in Swedish	Policy area	Source
1	Allow fewer refugees into Sweden	Ta emot färre flyktingar i Sverige	Migration/Integration	SNES 2014
2	Increase labour migration into Sweden	Öka arbetskraftsinvandringen till Sverige	Migration/Integration	SNES 2014
3	Promote a society that guards over traditional Swedish values	Satsa på ett samhälle som slår vakt om traditionellt svenska värden	Migration/Integration	SNES 2014
4	Promote a multi-cultural society with a high degree of tolerance towards people from other countries with different religions and customs	Satsa på ett mångkulturellt samhälle med stor tolerans gentemot människor från andra länder med andra religioner och levnadssätt	Migration/Integration	SNES 2014
5	Sweden should promote more free trade in the world	Sverige bör arbeta för ökad frihandel i hela världen	Economy	SNES 2014
6	Sweden should introduce the Euro as its currency	Sverige bör införa euro som valuta	Economy	SNES 2014
7	Reduce the public sector	Minska den offentliga sektorn	Economy	SNES 2014
8	Reduce taxes	Sänka skatterna	Economy	SNES 2014
9	Sell out public companies and business agencies to private buyers	Sälja statliga företag och affärsverk till privata köpare	Economy	SNES 2014
10	Promote a society with more of private enterprise and market economy	Satsa på ett samhälle med mer privat företagsamhet och marknadsekonomi	Economy	SNES 2014
11	Private profit should not be allowed in tax-financed health care and education	Vinstutdelning ska inte tillåtas inom skattefinansierad vård, skola och omsorg	Education/Health care	SNES 2014
12	Increase the carbon tax on gasoline	Höja koldioxidskatten på bensin	Environment	SNES 2014
13	Promote an environmentally friendly society even if that means low or no economic growth	Satsa på ett miljövänligt samhälle även om det innebär låg eller ingen ekonomisk tillväxt	Environment	SNES 2014
14	Conduct more health care through private actors	Bedriva mer av sjukvården i privat regi	Health care	SNES 2014
15	Reduce social benefits	Minska de sociala bidragen	Social policy (including family, elderly)	SNES 2014
16	Promote a society that strengthens the role of the family	Satsa på ett samhälle som stärker familjens ställning	Social policy (including family, elderly)	SNES 2014

³ Note: Respondents are asked to give their opinion about a number of proposals, or indicate how much they agree with a number of statements. Here, we report the wording of the proposals/statements.

17	Integration policy should help refugees and immigrants keep their national culture and traditions	Invandrapolitiken bör hjälpa flyktingar och invandrare att bevara sin nationella kultur och tradition	Migration/Integration	SuperSOM 2011-2013 ⁴
18	Integration policy should help refugees and immigrants to adjust to Swedish culture and traditions	Invandrapolitiken bör hjälpa flyktingar och invandrare att anpassa sig till svensk kultur och tradition	Migration/Integration	SuperSOM 2011-2013
19	Keep the nuclear power	Behålla kärnkraften	Environment	SuperSOM 2011-2013
20	Strengthen animals' rights	Stärka djurens rätt	Environment	SuperSOM 2011-2013
21	Promote wind power	Satsa på vindkraft	Environment	SuperSOM 2011-2013
22	Reduce income differences in society	Minska inkomstskillnaderna i samhället	Social policy (including family, elderly)	SuperSOM 2011-2013
23	Increase unemployment benefits	Höja arbetslöshetsersättningen (a-kassan)	Labour market	SuperSOM 2011-2013
24	Soften the labor market regulations	Mjuka upp arbetsrätten	Labour market	SuperSOM 2011-2013
25	Introduce six hours working days	Införa sex timmars arbetsdag	Labour market	SuperSOM 2011-2013
26	Increase wage differences	Öka löneskillnaderna	Labour market	SuperSOM 2011-2013
27	Let the state take over responsibility for the schools from the municipalities	Låta staten överta ansvaret för skolan från kommunerna	Education	SOM 2014
28	Promote charter schools more	Satsa mer på friskolor	Education	SOM 2014
29	Prevent profit seeking companies from running hospitals	Förhindra företag med vinstsyfte att driva sjukhus	Health care	SOM 2013
30	Limit the opportunities for health care companies to derive profit from their business	Begränsa vårdföretagens möjligheter att ta ut vinster från verksamheten	Health care	SOM 2013
31	Freedom of choice between different service providers within health care	Valfrihet mellan olika servicegivare inom sjukvården	Health care	SOM 2013

⁴ Combined dataset for SOM 2011-2013

32	Profit-making companies as an alternative to municipalities and regional authorities, within tax financed health care and education	Vinstdrivande företag som alternativ inom skattefinansierad vård, skola och omsorg, vid sidan av kommun och landsting	Education/Health care	SOM 2013
33	Civil society organizations as an alternative to municipalities and regional authorities, within tax financed health care and education	Ideella organisationer som alternativ inom skattefinansierad vård, skola och omsorg, vid sidan av kommun och landsting	Education/Health care	SOM 2013
34	Increase the teachers' wages	Höja lärarnas löner	Education	SOM 2013
35	Introduce apprenticeships for the youth	Införa en lärlingsutbildning för ungdomar	Education	SOM 2013
36	Freedom of choice between different service providers within the school system	Valfrihet mellan olika servicegivare inom skolan	Education	SOM 2013
37	Increase the number of wolves in Sweden	Öka antalet vargar i Sverige	Environment	SOM 2013
38	Increase the retirement age	Höja pensionsåldern	Social policy (including family, elderly)	SOM 2013
39	Freedom of choice between different service providers within child care	Valfrihet mellan olika servicegivare inom barnomsorgen	Social policy (including family, elderly)	SOM 2013
40	Freedom of choice between different service providers within elderly care	Valfrihet mellan olika servicegivare inom äldreomsorgen	Social policy (including family, elderly)	SOM 2013
41	The fees to different unemployment benefit funds should be the same	Avgiften till alla a-kassor ska vara lika	Labour market	SOM 2013
42	Introduce tougher regulations on hiring companies	Införa hårdare reglering av bemanningsföretag	Labour market	SOM 2013
43	Introduce lower starting wages for the youth	Införa lägre ingångslöner för ungdomar	Labour market	SOM 2013
44	Increase local and regional taxes rather than reduce the services	Höja kommunal- och landstingsskatten hellre än att minska servicen	Social policy (including family, elderly)	SOM 2012
45	Let private companies take responsibility for elderly care	Låta privata företag svara för äldreomsorgen	Social policy (including family, elderly)	SOM 2012
46	Abolish the tax reduction for household services	Avskaffa skatteavdraget för hushållsnära tjänster	Labour market	SOM 2012
47	Introduce a right to full time employment for part time employees through legislation	Lagstifta om rätt till heltid för deltidsanställda	Labour market	SOM 2012

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