**APPENDIX to the paper:**

***Election integrity across Europe: Who thinks elections are held fairly and why?***

**Appendix A: Descriptive statistics of all variables included in our models and complete regression results**

**Table A1**: Electoral integrity (election fairness) (DV) and fake news influence (MV) across ten countries

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Country** | **Election fairness** | **No fake news influence** |
| Czech Republic | 3.24 | 2.83 |
| Denmark | 3.89 | 3.22 |
| France | 3.14 | 2.88 |
| Germany | 3.51 | 3.02 |
| Greece | 3.80 | 2.55 |
| Hungary | 3.50 | 2.38 |
| Netherlands | 3.36 | 2.95 |
| Poland | 3.89 | 2.61 |
| Spain | 3.68 | 2.62 |
| Sweden | 3.87 | 2.92 |
| *Overall mean* | *3.56* | *2.80* |
| *SD* | *1.44* | *1.40* |

**Table A2**: Summary statistics for all explanatory/control variables (N=6643)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Mean/proportion** | **SD** | **Min** | **Max** |
| PEI index | 74.78 | 8.36 | 53.90 | 86.38 |
| Non-voter | 0.26 | 0.44 | 0 | 1 |
| EP winner | 0.14 | 0.35 | 0 | 1 |
| EP winner national | 0.18 | 0.38 | 0 | 1 |
| EU identity | -0.08 | 1.48 | -3 | 3 |
| EU negative affect | -0.71 | 1.62 | -3 | 3 |
| Political populism | 0.37 | 1.48 | -3 | 3 |
| Anti-media populism | 0.06 | 1.46 | -3 | 3 |
| Social media exposure | 5.60 | 7.47 | 0 | 42 |
| Newspaper exposure | 5.57 | 8.50 | 0 | 84 |
| TV exposure | 10.64 | 8.55 | 0 | 63 |
| Online news exposure | 14.65 | 18.56 | 0 | 154 |
| Interpersonal communication family | 2.37 | 1.78 | 0 | 6 |
| Interpersonal communication people online | 0.81 | 1.45 | 0 | 6 |
| Campaign exposure analog | 2.76 | 1.61 | 0 | 6 |
| Campaign exposure social media | 2.23 | 2.04 | 0 | 6 |
| Age | 48.94 | 14.70 | 17 | 87 |
| Female | 0.48 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Education | 4.38 | 1.82 | 1 | 7 |
| Left-right | 5.10 | 2.39 | 0 | 10 |
| Political knowledge | 3.47 | 1.55 | 0 | 6 |

**Table A3**: Explaining perceptions of election fairness (OLS models), complete model output

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (M1) | (M2) |
| *Country-level integrity* | 0.003 | 0.005 |
|  | (0.008) | (0.006) |
| *EP election winners* |  |  |
| Non-voters | -0.291\*\* | -0.208\*\* |
|  | (0.069) | (0.049) |
| EP winner | 0.123 | 0.049 |
|  | (0.056) | (0.052) |
| EP winner national | 0.227\*\* | 0.197\*\* |
|  | (0.062) | (0.042) |
| *EU attitudes* |  |  |
| Identity | 0.241\*\*\* | 0.213\*\*\* |
|  | (0.027) | (0.027) |
| Negative affect | -0.143\*\*\* | -0.152\*\*\* |
|  | (0.018) | (0.019) |
| *Populist attitudes* |  |  |
| Political | -0.080\*\* | -0.064\*\* |
|  | (0.019) | (0.019) |
| Anti-media | -0.169\*\*\* | -0.175\*\*\* |
|  | (0.022) | (0.020) |
| **Controls** |  |  |
| *General news exposure* |  |  |
| Social media |  | 0.001 |
|  |  | (0.003) |
| Newspaper |  | -0.002 |
|  |  | (0.003) |
| TV |  | 0.001 |
|  |  | (0.004) |
| Online news |  | 0.002 |
|  |  | (0.001) |
| *Interpersonal communication* |  |  |
| Family |  | 0.026 |
|  |  | (0.015) |
| People online |  | -0.043\*\* |
|  |  | (0.013) |
| *Campaign exposure* |  |  |
| Analog |  | 0.057\* |
|  |  | (0.018) |
| Social media |  | 0.006 |
|  |  | (0.011) |
| *Sociodemographics* |  |  |
| Age |  | -0.004 |
|  |  | (0.002) |
| Female |  | -0.172\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.028) |
| Education |  | 0.019\* |
|  |  | (0.008) |
| Left-right |  | 0.004 |
|  |  | (0.035) |
| Left-right squared |  | 0.002 |
|  |  | (0.003) |
| Political knowledge |  | 0.056\* |
|  |  | (0.018) |
| *Constant* | 3.309\*\*\* | 2.820\*\*\* |
|  | (0.609) | (0.523) |
| Observations | 6643 | 6643 |
| *R*2 | 0.247 | 0.269 |

Note: Clustered standard errors (by countries) in parentheses: \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001.

**Table A4**: Correlation matrix at individual level (Pearson)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variables | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) | (14) | (15) | (16) | (17) | (18) | (19) | (20) | (21) |
| (1) Electoral fairness | 1 |
| (2) No fake news influence | 0.126 | 1 |
| (3) EU identity | 0.362 | -0.039 | 1 |
| (4) EU negative affect | -0.372 | -0.083 | -0.472 | 1 |
| (5) Election winner | 0.12 | -0.008 | 0.176 | -0.119 | 1 |
| (6) Election winner (nat.) | 0.108 | 0.042 | 0.04 | 0.021 | 0.144 | 1 |
| (7) Political populism | -0.259 | -0.209 | -0.068 | 0.34 | -0.01 | -0.095 | 1 |
| (8) Anti-media populism | -0.298 | -0.314 | -0.09 | 0.336 | 0.012 | -0.028 | 0.525 | 1 |
| (9) Social media exposure | 0.027 | -0.1 | 0.151 | 0.068 | 0.056 | 0.042 | 0.107 | 0.148 | 1 |
| (10) Newspaper exposure | 0.061 | -0.049 | 0.16 | 0.04 | 0.059 | 0.053 | 0.01 | 0.057 | 0.489 | 1 |
| (11) TV exposure | 0.061 | 0.006 | 0.119 | 0.062 | 0.027 | 0.148 | 0.009 | -0.001 | 0.264 | 0.439 | 1 |
| (12) Online news exposure | 0.075 | -0.071 | 0.184 | 0.035 | 0.091 | 0.025 | 0.075 | 0.102 | 0.539 | 0.627 | 0.415 | 1 |
| (13) Interpersonal communication (family) | 0.137 | -0.079 | 0.24 | -0.027 | 0.123 | 0.086 | 0.032 | 0.068 | 0.279 | 0.248 | 0.232 | 0.331 | 1 |
| (14) Interpersonal communication (online) | 0.004 | -0.113 | 0.156 | 0.087 | 0.056 | 0.035 | 0.112 | 0.174 | 0.587 | 0.38 | 0.205 | 0.456 | 0.414 | 1 |
| (15) Campaign exposure (analogue) | 0.215 | -0.046 | 0.301 | -0.127 | 0.169 | 0.128 | -0.042 | -0.02 | 0.261 | 0.31 | 0.341 | 0.354 | 0.46 | 0.277 | 1 |
| (16) Campaign exposure (social media) | 0.086 | -0.115 | 0.189 | -0.047 | 0.099 | 0.045 | 0.084 | 0.108 | 0.508 | 0.212 | 0.091 | 0.334 | 0.32 | 0.442 | 0.44 | 1 |
| (17) Age | 0.032 | 0.024 | 0.095 | -0.045 | 0.07 | 0.067 | -0.034 | -0.001 | -0.261 | -0.07 | 0.209 | -0.062 | 0.089 | -0.135 | 0.141 | -0.178 | 1 |
| (18) Female | -0.07 | -0.017 | -0.015 | -0.049 | -0.032 | -0.029 | 0.017 | -0.037 | -0.031 | -0.058 | -0.023 | -0.056 | -0.022 | -0.05 | -0.084 | 0.028 | -0.07 | 1 |
| (19) Education | 0.138 | -0.029 | 0.176 | -0.171 | 0.086 | 0.01 | -0.077 | -0.011 | 0.093 | 0.069 | -0.098 | 0.099 | 0.142 | 0.078 | 0.162 | 0.127 | -0.117 | -0.007 | 1 |
| (20) Left-right | 0.001 | 0.025 | -0.081 | 0.149 | 0.153 | 0.135 | -0.024 | 0.062 | 0.076 | 0.067 | 0.072 | 0.071 | 0.038 | 0.064 | 0.047 | 0.034 | -0.035 | -0.04 | -0.017 | 1 |
| (21) Political knowledge | 0.185 | -0.021 | 0.159 | -0.132 | 0.126 | 0.076 | -0.092 | -0.026 | 0.002 | 0.022 | 0.036 | 0.098 | 0.243 | 0.05 | 0.273 | 0.141 | 0.164 | -0.178 | 0.248 | -0.024 | 1 |

**Table A5**: Correlation matrix at aggregate level (Pearson)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variables | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | (11) | (12) | (13) | (14) | (15) | (16) | (17) | (18) | (19) | (20) | (21) | (22) |
| (1) Electoral fairness | 1 |
| (2) No fake news influence | -0.043 | 1 |
| (3) Country-level integrity (PEI index) | 0.135 | 0.925 | 1 |
| (4) EU identity | 0.124 | -0.672 | -0.636 | 1 |
| (5) EU negative affect | -0.429 | 0.309 | 0.252 | -0.255 | 1 |
| (6) Election winner | 0.51 | -0.624 | -0.403 | 0.6 | -0.422 | 1 |
| (7) Election winner (nat.) | 0.512 | -0.636 | -0.495 | 0.667 | -0.36 | 0.507 | 1 |
| (8) Political populism | -0.256 | -0.735 | -0.752 | 0.741 | 0.238 | 0.447 | 0.315 | 1 |
| (9) Anti-media populism | -0.182 | -0.761 | -0.737 | 0.646 | 0.333 | 0.398 | 0.489 | 0.921 | 1 |
| (10) Social media exposure | 0.387 | -0.857 | -0.677 | 0.762 | -0.191 | 0.813 | 0.749 | 0.719 | 0.758 | 1 |
| (11) Newspaper exposure | 0.429 | -0.244 | 0.044 | 0.363 | -0.021 | 0.307 | 0.732 | 0.083 | 0.279 | 0.518 | 1 |
| (12) TV exposure | -0.107 | 0.132 | 0.297 | 0.124 | 0.452 | 0.063 | 0.073 | 0.159 | 0.221 | 0.076 | 0.506 | 1 |
| (13) Online news exposure | 0.125 | -0.477 | -0.302 | 0.228 | 0.33 | 0.465 | 0.119 | 0.602 | 0.599 | 0.658 | 0.258 | 0.084 | 1 |
| (14) Interpersonal communication (family) | 0.529 | -0.321 | -0.227 | 0.563 | -0.132 | 0.8 | 0.349 | 0.45 | 0.363 | 0.639 | 0.114 | -0.052 | 0.428 | 1 |
| (15) Interpersonal communication (online) | 0.308 | -0.775 | -0.664 | 0.785 | -0.116 | 0.814 | 0.537 | 0.808 | 0.744 | 0.937 | 0.267 | -0.007 | 0.701 | 0.771 | 1 |
| (16) Campaign exposure (analogue) | 0.576 | -0.385 | -0.165 | 0.464 | -0.485 | 0.827 | 0.327 | 0.235 | 0.098 | 0.633 | 0.264 | -0.196 | 0.499 | 0.758 | 0.684 | 1 |
| (17) Campaign exposure (social media) | 0.471 | -0.718 | -0.584 | 0.39 | -0.383 | 0.784 | 0.424 | 0.437 | 0.419 | 0.781 | 0.1 | -0.429 | 0.649 | 0.663 | 0.793 | 0.776 | 1 |
| (18) Age | -0.263 | 0.69 | 0.451 | -0.194 | 0.085 | -0.533 | -0.407 | -0.392 | -0.491 | -0.712 | -0.445 | -0.144 | -0.727 | -0.124 | -0.568 | -0.37 | -0.635 | 1 |
| (19) Female | -0.423 | -0.07 | -0.02 | 0.102 | -0.236 | -0.093 | -0.275 | 0.049 | -0.167 | -0.092 | -0.032 | -0.04 | 0.073 | -0.359 | -0.059 | 0.172 | -0.093 | -0.088 | 1 |
| (20) Education | 0.542 | -0.816 | -0.638 | 0.528 | -0.344 | 0.746 | 0.829 | 0.444 | 0.589 | 0.895 | 0.508 | -0.097 | 0.476 | 0.529 | 0.742 | 0.538 | 0.809 | -0.708 | -0.32 | 1 |
| (21) Left-right | -0.265 | -0.002 | 0.089 | -0.055 | 0.177 | 0.238 | -0.435 | 0.175 | 0.066 | 0.059 | -0.214 | -0.105 | 0.479 | 0.213 | 0.222 | 0.38 | 0.266 | -0.116 | 0.442 | -0.156 | 1 |
| (22) Political knowledge | 0.662 | -0.452 | -0.373 | 0.016 | -0.508 | 0.479 | 0.429 | -0.028 | 0.046 | 0.439 | 0.063 | -0.386 | 0.196 | 0.323 | 0.337 | 0.388 | 0.695 | -0.517 | -0.421 | 0.716 | -0.367 | 1 |



*Notes*: PEI index of electoral integrity, (0-100), imputed. The lower and upper bound of the 95% confidence interval for the country level are also displayed. The darker bars indicate the countries included in our empirical analysis.

**Figure A1**: PEI index of electoral integrity (European countries)

**Appendix B: Question wording and wave information for all used survey variables**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Variable** | **Operationalization** |
| Dependent variable | |
| *Election fairness perceptions* | *To what extent do you think that…*   * The European Parliament elections were held in a fair way?   [1 Not at all … 7 Very much]  ***[measured in final wave in Jul ‘19]*** |
| Moderating variable | | |
| *Fake news influence perceptions* | *To what extent do you think that…*   * Voters were influenced by (so-called) “fake news” in the EP 19 elections?   [1 Not at all … 7 Very much], reversed in analysis  ***[measured in final wave in Jul ‘19]*** | |
| Independent variables | |
| *EU identity* | *How much do you agree to the following statements:* (question and answer scales same for both EU attitudes)   * Being a citizen of the EU means a lot to me. * I share a common tradition, culture, and history with other Europeans. * The European flag means a lot to me.   Combined variable with 7-point answer scale with labels for 1 (fully disagree), 4 (neither agree nor disagree) and 7 (fully agree).  *Cronbach’s Alpha: 0.82*  ***[measured in pre-election wave in Apr ‘19]*** |
| *EU negative affect* | * I am angry about the EU * I feel threatened by the EU * I am disgusted with the EU   *Cronbach’s Alpha: 0.87*  ***[measured in pre-election wave in Apr ‘19]*** |
| *Election winners* | Filter question to distinguish voters from non-voters:  *In talking to people about the European Parliament elections we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote due to lack of time, illness or other reasons. Which of the following statements best describes you?*  [1. I did not vote in the European Parliament elections in May this year.]  [2. I thought about voting this time - but didn't.]  [3. I usually vote, but didn't this time.]  [4. I am sure, I did vote in the European Parliament elections in May this year.]  1-3 recoded into non-voter and respondents who answered 4 were asked for their party choice:  *Which party did you vote for in the European Parliament elections?*  [country specific party list]  [Other party: [open answer option]]  [I don’t know]  [I voted blank]  Recoded into respective winners at European and national levels.  ***[measured in post-election wave in May/Jun ‘19]*** |
| *Political populism* | *Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.*   * The ordinary people instead of politicians should make our most important policy decisions. * Politicians in the government are corrupt. * Politicians make decisions that harm the interests of the ordinary people.   Combined variable with 7-point answer scale with labels for 1 (fully disagree), 4 (neither agree nor disagree) and 7 (fully agree).  *Cronbach’s Alpha: 0.81*  ***[measured in pre-election wave in Apr ‘19]*** |
| *Anti-media populism* | *Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements.*   * The news media are an enemy of the ordinary people. * The news media are deliberately lying to the people. * The news media only serve their own interest.   Combined variable with 7-point answer scale with labels for 1 (fully disagree), 4 (neither agree nor disagree) and 7 (fully agree).  *Cronbach’s Alpha: 0.89*  ***[measured in final wave in Jul ‘19]*** |
| Control variables | |
| *General news exposure* | ***[all news exposure measured in post-election wave in May/Jun ‘19]*** |
| *Social media* | *How often do you encounter political news on the following platforms?*   * Facebook * Twitter * Instagram * Snapchat * YouTube * Reddit   7-point answer scale [0 days per week … 7 days per week]  *Sum score per respondent*  *Cronbach’s Alpha: 0.80* |
| *Newspaper* | *On how many days during a typical week do you read the following newspapers?*  [List of main country-specific newspapers]  [0 days per week … 7 days per week]  *Sum score per respondent* |
| *TV* | *On how many days during a typical week do you watch the following TV news programs?*  [List of main country-specific TV news programs]  [0 days per week … 7 days per week]  *Sum score per respondent* |
| *Online* | *And on how many days during a typical week do you read about politics on a website or news app from the following sources?*  [List of main country-specific online news sources]  [0 days per week … 7 days per week]  *Sum score per respondent* |
| *Interpersonal EU communication* | *How often do you discuss EU politics with …*   * your family and/or close friends? * people online (e.g., on social media)?   7-point answer scale ranging from 1 never to 7 very often.  ***[measured in post-election wave in May/Jun ‘19]*** |
| *Campaign exposure* | *How often did you do any of the following during the past weeks?*  7-point answer scale ranging from 1 Never to 7 Daily. |
| *Analogue* | Combined measure of three items:   * See something about the European Parliamentary elections on TV. * Read something about the European Parliamentary elections in a newspaper. * Hear something about the European Parliamentary elections on the radio.   *Cronbach’s Alpha: 0.78* |
| *Social media* | * See something about the European Parliamentary elections on social media, such as Facebook or Twitter.   ***[measured in post-election wave in May/Jun ‘19]*** |
| *Age* | Birth year recoded into age. |
| *Female* | Binary variable indicating female respondents (1). |
| *Education* | Country-specific educational attainment recoded into ES-ISCED code containing seven categories (recoding followed approach in European Social Survey). |
| *Left-right* | *In political matters people talk of “the left” and “the right”. What is your position? Please indicate your views using any number on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means “left” and 10 means “right”.*  [0 Left … 10 Right]  ***[measured in Dec’18/Jan’19 wave for DE, DK, ES, HU & NL; post-election May/Jun ’19 wave for CZ, FR, GR, PL & SE]*** |
| *Political knowledge* | * *Which party came out as the largest in the last national elections?*   [5 country-specific answer options + DK]   * *Who is the current minister of finance of [COUNTRY]?*   [5 country-specific answer options + DK]   * *How long is a government term in [COUNTRY]?*   [1. 3 years]  [2. 4 years]\*  [3. 5 years]\*  [4. 6 years]  [5. 8 years]  [6. Don’t know]   * *How many member states does the European Union have?*   [1. 25]  [2. 26]  [3. 27]  [4. 28]\*  [5. 29]  [6. Don’t know]   * *Who is currently the president of the European Commission?*   [1. Jean-Claude Juncker]\*  [2. Martin Schulz]  [3. Donald Tusk]  [4. José Manuel Barroso]  [5. Frans Timmermans]  [6. Don’t know]   * *Which policy area is addressed in an article that has been passed by the European Parliament at the end of March [2019]?*   [1. Parties’ campaign spending for the upcoming EP elections]  [2. Protection and use of copyrighted material on online platforms]\*  [3. Labelling of nutrition facts on breakfast cereals]  [4. Obligatory separation of plastic and paper garbage across the EU]  [5. Lifting restrictions for the use of streaming services across EU member states]  [6. Don’t know]  \*represent correct answers.  *Sum score of correct answers per respondent*  ***[all items measured in respective first waves and final item in Apr ‘19]*** |

**Appendix C: Robustness checks**

**Table C1**: Additional interaction models for populism (with winner/loser and PEI)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Election fairness (1) | Election fairness (2) | Election fairness (3) |
| *Country-level integrity* | 0.004 | 0.005 | 0.006 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| *EP election winners* |  |  |  |
| Non-voters | -0.236\*\*\* | -0.233\*\*\* | -0.204\*\* |
|  | (0.037) | (0.039) | (0.047) |
| EP winner | 0.025 | 0.044 | 0.060 |
|  | (0.059) | (0.046) | (0.054) |
| EP winner national | 0.186\*\* | 0.190\*\*\* | 0.200\*\*\* |
|  | (0.042) | (0.034) | (0.041) |
| *Populist attitudes* |  |  |  |
| Political | -0.087\*\* | -0.084\*\* | 0.106 |
|  | (0.019) | (0.024) | (0.107) |
| Anti-media | -0.185\*\*\* | -0.192\*\*\* | -0.126 |
|  | (0.020) | (0.020) | (0.323) |
| *Interactions with populism* |  |  |  |
| Political\*non-voters | 0.051 |  |  |
|  | (0.039) |  |  |
| Political\*EP winner | 0.063\* |  |  |
|  | (0.023) |  |  |
| Anti-media\*non-voters | 0.014 |  |  |
|  | (0.038) |  |  |
| Anti-media\*EP winner | 0.051 |  |  |
|  | (0.029) |  |  |
| Political\*non-voters |  | 0.050 |  |
|  |  | (0.039) |  |
| Political\*EP winner national |  | 0.034 |  |
|  |  | (0.046) |  |
| Anti-media\*non-voters |  | 0.022 |  |
|  |  | (0.036) |  |
| Anti-media\*EP winner national |  | 0.073\* |  |
|  |  | (0.025) |  |
| Political\* Country level integrity |  |  | -0.002 |
|  |  |  | (0.001) |
| Anti-media\* Country level integrity |  |  | -0.001 |
|  |  |  | (0.004) |
| *EU attitudes* |  |  |  |
| Identity | 0.212\*\*\* | 0.213\*\*\* | 0.214\*\*\* |
|  | (0.027) | (0.027) | (0.027) |
| Negative affect | -0.150\*\*\* | -0.154\*\*\* | -0.148\*\*\* |
|  | (0.020) | (0.018) | (0.018) |
| *Control variables* | ✔ | ✔ | ✔ |
| *Constant* | 2.899\*\*\* | 2.862\*\*\* | 2.721\*\*\* |
|  | (0.513) | (0.520) | (0.508) |
| Observations | 6643 | 6643 | 6643 |
| *R*2 | 0.270 | 0.271 | 0.269 |

Note: Clustered standard errors (by countries) in parentheses: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001.

**Table C2**: Multilevel regression model output

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | Election fairness |
|  | (1) |
| *Country-level integrity* | 0.003 |
|  | (0.007) |
| *EP election winners* |  |
| Non-voters | -0.183\*\*\* |
|  | (0.040) |
| EP winner | 0.015 |
|  | (0.047) |
| EP winner national | 0.176\*\*\* |
|  | (0.042) |
| *EU attitudes* |  |
| Identity | 0.209\*\*\* |
|  | (0.013) |
| Negative affect | -0.158\*\*\* |
|  | (0.012) |
| *Populist attitudes* |  |
| Political | -0.070\*\*\* |
|  | (0.013) |
| Anti-media | -0.187\*\*\* |
|  | (0.013) |
| **Controls** |  |
| *General news exposure* |  |
| Social media | 0.001 |
|  | (0.003) |
| Newspaper | -0.002 |
|  | (0.003) |
| TV | 0.003 |
|  | (0.002) |
| Online news | 0.001 |
|  | (0.001) |
| *Interpersonal communication* |  |
| Family | 0.024\* |
|  | (0.011) |
| People online | -0.040\*\* |
|  | (0.014) |
| *Campaign exposure* |  |
| Analog | 0.059\*\*\* |
|  | (0.013) |
| Social media | -0.002 |
|  | (0.010) |
| *Sociodemographics* |  |
| Age | -0.003\* |
|  | (0.001) |
| Female | -0.167\*\*\* |
|  | (0.031) |
| Education | 0.005 |
|  | (0.009) |
| Left-right | 0.016 |
|  | (0.022) |
| Left-right squared | 0.001 |
|  | (0.002) |
| Political knowledge | 0.049\*\*\* |
|  | (0.011) |
| *Constant* | 3.037\*\*\* |
|  | (0.548) |
| *Random-effects* |  |
| Variance: Country | 0.037 |
| Variance: Residual | 1.494 |
| Observations | 6643 |
| Log likelihood | -10773.183 |

Note: Standard errors in parentheses; \* *p* < 0.05, \*\* *p* < 0.01, \*\*\* *p* < 0.001

**Table C3**: Ordinal logistic regression model output

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  | Election fairness |
|  | (1) |
| *Country-level integrity* | 0.007 |
|  | (0.010) |
| *EP election winners* |  |
| Non-voters | -0.311\*\*\* |
|  | (0.064) |
| EP winner | 0.072 |
|  | (0.082) |
| EP winner national | 0.279\*\*\* |
|  | (0.062) |
| *EU attitudes* |  |
| Identity | 0.329\*\*\* |
|  | (0.041) |
| Negative affect | -0.235\*\*\* |
|  | (0.031) |
| *Populist attitudes* |  |
| Political | -0.092\*\* |
|  | (0.030) |
| Anti-media | -0.271\*\*\* |
|  | (0.038) |
| **Controls** |  |
| *General news exposure* |  |
| Social media | 0.002 |
|  | (0.005) |
| Newspaper | -0.005 |
|  | (0.004) |
| TV | 0.002 |
|  | (0.005) |
| Online news | 0.004 |
|  | (0.003) |
| *Interpersonal communication* |  |
| Family | 0.055\*\* |
|  | (0.020) |
| People online | -0.068\*\*\* |
|  | (0.019) |
| *Campaign exposure* |  |
| Analog | 0.093\*\*\* |
|  | (0.025) |
| Social media | 0.004 |
|  | (0.018) |
| *Sociodemographics* |  |
| Age | -0.006 |
|  | (0.003) |
| Female | -0.284\*\*\* |
|  | (0.046) |
| Education | 0.026\* |
|  | (0.012) |
| Left-right | -0.028 |
|  | (0.053) |
| Left-right squared | 0.006 |
|  | (0.005) |
| Political knowledge | 0.088\*\*\* |
|  | (0.026) |
| cut1 | -2.480\*\* |
|  | (0.858) |
| cut2 | -1.811\* |
|  | (0.874) |
| cut3 | -0.775 |
|  | (0.881) |
| cut4 | 1.060 |
|  | (0.858) |
| cut5 | 2.373\*\* |
|  | (0.830) |
| cut6 | 3.967\*\*\* |
|  | (0.790) |
| Observations | 6643 |
| *Pseudo R*2 | 0.097 |

Note: Clustered standard errors (by countries) in parentheses: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

**Table C4**: OLS regression models with alternative country-level integrity measures

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Election fairness  (1) | Election fairness  (2) | Election fairness  (3) | Election fairness  (4) | Election fairness  (5) |
| *Alternative country-level integrity measures* | |  |  |  |  |
| PEI procedural fairness | 0.010 |  |  |  |  |
|  | (0.005) |  |  |  |  |
| PEI media coverage |  | 0.002 |  |  |  |
|  |  | (0.005) |  |  |  |
| Press freedom |  |  | 0.005 |  |  |
|  |  |  | (0.008) |  |  |
| Corruption |  |  |  | -0.003 |  |
|  |  |  |  | (0.005) |  |
| Nr EP elections |  |  |  |  | -0.001 |
|  |  |  |  |  | (0.027) |
| *EP election winners* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Non-voters | -0.192\*\* | -0.210\*\* | -0.222\*\* | -0.222\*\* | -0.215\*\* |
|  | (0.050) | (0.051) | (0.051) | (0.050) | (0.054) |
| EP winner | 0.055 | 0.048 | 0.036 | 0.037 | 0.045 |
|  | (0.053) | (0.052) | (0.050) | (0.047) | (0.059) |
| EP winner national | 0.207\*\* | 0.192\*\* | 0.174\*\* | 0.173\*\* | 0.185\*\* |
|  | (0.046) | (0.044) | (0.038) | (0.037) | (0.046) |
| *EU attitudes* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Identity | 0.214\*\*\* | 0.211\*\*\* | 0.202\*\*\* | 0.204\*\*\* | 0.209\*\*\* |
|  | (0.029) | (0.027) | (0.024) | (0.026) | (0.028) |
| Negative affect | -0.158\*\*\* | -0.151\*\*\* | -0.149\*\*\* | -0.148\*\*\* | -0.149\*\*\* |
|  | (0.018) | (0.019) | (0.020) | (0.020) | (0.019) |
| *Populist attitudes* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Political | -0.058\*\* | -0.068\*\* | -0.079\*\* | -0.078\*\* | -0.072\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.020) | (0.023) | (0.020) | (0.018) |
| Anti-media | -0.176\*\*\* | -0.178\*\*\* | -0.185\*\*\* | -0.185\*\*\* | -0.180\*\*\* |
|  | (0.023) | (0.021) | (0.020) | (0.017) | (0.025) |
| **Controls** |  |  |  |  |  |
| *General news exposure* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Social media | 0.001 | 0.000 | -0.000 | -0.000 | 0.000 |
|  | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| Newspaper | -0.003 | -0.002 | -0.001 | -0.001 | -0.001 |
|  | (0.003) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.003) |
| TV | 0.000 | 0.001 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.002 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Online news | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.002 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| *Interpersonal communication* | |  |  |  |  |
| Family | 0.024 | 0.026 | 0.027 | 0.028 | 0.027 |
|  | (0.015) | (0.015) | (0.014) | (0.015) | (0.014) |
| People online | -0.041\*\* | -0.044\*\* | -0.046\*\* | -0.045\* | -0.045\* |
|  | (0.011) | (0.012) | (0.014) | (0.014) | (0.014) |
| *Campaign exposure* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Analog | 0.061\*\* | 0.058\* | 0.058\* | 0.058\*\* | 0.058\* |
|  | (0.018) | (0.019) | (0.019) | (0.018) | (0.020) |
| Social media | 0.007 | 0.005 | 0.004 | 0.003 | 0.004 |
|  | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.011) | (0.010) | (0.012) |
| *Sociodemographics* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.004 |
|  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.002) |
| Female | -0.168\*\*\* | -0.172\*\*\* | -0.173\*\*\* | -0.173\*\*\* | -0.173\*\*\* |
|  | (0.027) | (0.028) | (0.028) | (0.028) | (0.027) |
| Education | 0.019 | 0.018 | 0.013 | 0.013 | 0.016 |
|  | (0.009) | (0.009) | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.010) |
| Left-right | 0.005 | 0.003 | 0.003 | 0.002 | 0.002 |
|  | (0.034) | (0.035) | (0.035) | (0.035) | (0.036) |
| Left-right squared | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.002 | 0.002 |
|  | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| Political knowledge | 0.057\* | 0.055\* | 0.055\* | 0.053\* | 0.054\* |
|  | (0.018) | (0.018) | (0.017) | (0.017) | (0.018) |
| *Constant* | 2.290\*\*\* | 3.099\*\*\* | 3.140\*\*\* | 3.433\*\*\* | 3.226\*\*\* |
|  | (0.393) | (0.361) | (0.158) | (0.406) | (0.211) |
| Observations | 6643 | 6643 | 6643 | 6643 | 6643 |
| *R*2 | 0.271 | 0.269 | 0.269 | 0.269 | 0.268 |

Note: Clustered standard errors (by countries) in parentheses: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

**Table C5**: OLS regression models with alternative winner/loser measures

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Election fairness  (1) | Election fairness  (2) | Election fairness  (3) |
| *Country-level integrity* | 0.005 | 0.005 | 0.005 |
|  | (0.007) | (0.006) | (0.006) |
| *EP election winners* |  |  |  |
| ∆ national vote share | 0.477 |  |  |
| (excluding non-voters) | (0.333) |  |  |
| ∆ national vote share |  | 0.779 | 0.297 |
| (including non-voters with “0”) |  | (0.410) | (0.247) |
| Non-voters |  |  | -0.211\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.057) |
| EP winner |  |  | 0.070 |
|  |  |  | (0.053) |
| EP winner national |  |  | 0.180\*\*\* |
|  |  |  | (0.035) |
| *Populist attitudes* |  |  |  |
| Political | -0.088\*\* | -0.075\*\* | -0.068\*\* |
|  | (0.021) | (0.019) | (0.018) |
| Anti-media | -0.171\*\*\* | -0.174\*\*\* | -0.174\*\*\* |
|  | (0.017) | (0.019) | (0.019) |
| *EU attitudes* |  |  |  |
| Identity | 0.206\*\*\* | 0.215\*\*\* | 0.210\*\*\* |
|  | (0.038) | (0.030) | (0.027) |
| Negative affect | -0.141\*\* | -0.147\*\*\* | -0.148\*\*\* |
|  | (0.033) | (0.021) | (0.020) |
| *Control variables* | ✔ | ✔ | ✔ |
| *Constant* | 3.023\*\*\* | 2.704\*\*\* | 2.831\*\*\* |
|  | (0.545) | (0.493) | (0.506) |
| Observations | 4595 | 6355 | 6355 |
| *R*2 | 0.248 | 0.259 | 0.267 |

Note: Clustered standard errors (by countries) in parentheses: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

**Table C6**: Multilevel setup for mediation model

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | (M1)  DV: No fake news influence | (M2)  DV: Election fairness |
| *Country-level integrity* | 0.006 | 0.002 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.008) |
| *EP election winners* |  |  |
| Non-voters | 0.021 | -0.184\*\* |
|  | (0.042) | (0.040) |
| EP winner | 0.034 | 0.012 |
|  | (0.050) | (0.047) |
| EP winner national | 0.120\*\* | 0.169\*\* |
|  | (0.046) | (0.042) |
| *EU attitudes* |  |  |
| Identity | -0.063\*\* | 0.212\*\* |
|  | (0.014) | (0.013) |
| Negative affect | -0.029\* | -0.157\*\* |
|  | (0.013) | (0.012) |
| *Populist attitudes* |  |  |
| Political | -0.052\*\* | -0.067\*\* |
|  | (0.014) | (0.013) |
| Anti-media | -0.272\*\* | -0.172\*\* |
|  | (0.014) | (0.013) |
| *No fake news influence* |  | 0.055\*\* |
|  |  | (0.011) |
| *Control variables* | ✔ | ✔ |
| *Constant* | 2.389\*\* | 2.909\*\* |
|  | (0.447) | (0.607) |
| Observations | 6643 | 6643 |
| Log Likelihood | -11324.450 | -10853.020 |

Note: Standard errors in parentheses: \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001



**Figure C1**: Coefficients based on full model (M2) by excluding one country at a time

Note: For DE, GR and HU the EP winner parties are the same on the national and EU levels, that is, the coefficients were omitted for one of the two variables, i.e. EP winner national.

**Figure C2**: Country-specific coefficients for full model (M2)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|  |  |

**Figure C3**: Sensitivity analysis for mediation models

No fake news influence

-0.003\*\* (indirect)

Political populism

Election

fairness

-0.067\*\*\* (direct)

Proportion mediated: 4.0%\*\*

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

Note: Quasi-Bayesian confidence intervals (MCMC 95%, 10'000 simulations) do not include zero for the indirect path (CI [-0.005, -0.001]), which is thus statistically significant.

**Figure C4**: Mediation results for political populism

No fake news influence

-0.015\*\*\* (indirect)

Anti-media populism

Election

fairness

-0.172\*\*\* (direct)

Proportion mediated: 8.0%\*\*\*

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

Note: Quasi-Bayesian confidence intervals (MCMC 95%, 10'000 simulations) do not include zero for the indirect path (CI [-0.021, -0.009]), which is thus statistically significant.

**Figure C5**: Mediation results for anti-media populism