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From media-party linkages to ownership concentration causes of cross-national variation in media outlets' economic positioning

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Online Appendix | MPIfG Discussion Paper 22/8

Erik Neimanns and Nils Blossey

From Media-Party Linkages to Ownership Concentration

Causes of Cross-National Variation in Media Outlets' Economic Positioning

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Table A.1 Variable operationalization

Variable	Operationalization	Source
Media outlet partisan favorability	Item: “How would you characterize the political colour of each of these media outlets in [COUNTRY]? Please select for each media which political party it agrees with most often.”; parties are matched with their economic left-right score (<i>Irecon</i>) from CHES.	EMSS 2017 (Popescu et al. 2018) & CHES 2014 (Polk et al. 2017)
Partisan journalists	Item: “The political orientation of the most prominent journalists is well-known to the public”. Scale ranging from 0 (“untrue”) to 10 (“true”).	EMSS 2017 (ebd.)
Party influence	Item: “Medium X coverage is influenced by a political party”. Scale ranging from 0 (“not at all”) to 10 (“strongly”); we construct expert-level mean values.	EMSS 2017 (ebd.)
Usage rate	Percentage of respondents using a TV, radio, print, or online brand on a weekly basis.	Reuters (2017)
Media ownership concentration: Risk to media market plurality from media ownership concentration	Indicator: Horizontal concentration of media ownership; 0: low risk; 100: high risk; based on 31 questions, the indicator includes information about 1) whether a country has enacted rules to prevent horizontal concentration in the different sectors of the media system (audiovisual media, radio, newspapers, and internet content providers), and 2) whether ownership restrictions are effectively implemented according to: 2a) Whether there is an effective supervisory authority, and 2b) actual levels of ownership concentration in each media sector. Whereas items pertaining to 2b) also include the market shares of public broadcasters, the remaining items focus on concentration dynamics of private market actors.	MPM (2016)
Public ownership	Dummy for public ownership on outlet level.	Kennedy and Prat (2018) ¹
Center of gravity	Mean ideological position of party system weighted with vote shares.	CHES 2014 & ParlGov
GDP	GDP in US dollars, constant prices and PPPs, 2016	OECD (2021)

¹ The data is supplemented with manual online research and, where available, validated with EMSS 2010 data.

Unemployment	Unemployment rate, percentage of civilian labour force.	CPDS (2021)
Income inequality	Gini index of inequality in household market income, 2016	Solt (2020)
Social expenditure	Total public social expenditure as a percentage of GDP, 2016	CPDS (2021)
Welfare state regime	Liberal (reference category), Conservative, Social-democratic, Eastern European, Southern European; see Table A.1 for assignment of countries; Eastern Europe added as an additional category to Ferrera's (1996) classification.	Ferrera (1996)
Inflation	Growth of harmonised consumer price index (CPI).	CPDS (2021)
Government partisanship	gov_right2: Government composition: relative power position of right-wing parties in government based on their seat share in parliament, measured in percentage of the total parliamentary seat share of all governing parties. Weighted by the number of days in office in a given year.	CPDS (2021)
Population size	Total population, in thousands.	CPDS (2021)
Expert bias control	We subtract each expert left-right score from the outlet-level mean, capturing experts' deviation from the average expert assignment. Then, we average the expert deviations from the outlet-level mean for all media outlets coded by the expert, yielding a measure of left-right bias in media coding. The measure therefore controls for factors that cause individual experts to strongly deviate from the opinions of their peers. We assume that experts leaning heavily to the right (left) will overestimate the extent to which outlets endorse the political left (right).	EMSS 2017
New York Times left-right control	We leverage the coding of an internationally renowned media outlet as a more explicit proxy for political bias in media outlet coding. In particular, we use the left-right coding of the New York Times (NYT), relying on the assumption that left-right coding of internationally renowned outlets is to some extent a function of experts' own political attitudes. We use the NYT because it does not reside in any of the countries included in the EMSS. Experts from Wallonia did not code the NYT, leaving us with 24 upper-level units. Importantly, because the NYT measure is not expressed in individual experts'	EMSS 2017

deviations from a country-level expert mean, the NYT measure also captures cross-national differences in left-right coding bias. In other words, the measure captures whether a country's experts collectively assign more right-wing ideological positions, which would also affect the assignment of parties to media outlets. In addition, because the NYT measure is not expressed in terms of deviations from the country-level mean, it remains valid even if the country-level mean expert scores do not capture the "true" left-right position of a media outlet. By controlling for this potential type of bias, this procedure relaxes the assumption that a country's experts are on average unbiased in their ideological assignments.

Lending support to our conjecture that both measures (this one and the previous one above) can proxy meaningful degrees in expert bias, the left-right assessment of the NYT is a statistically significant predictor of experts' mean bias in domestic outlet coding: Experts who score the NYT as markedly left-wing also score domestic media outlets as more left-wing than the average domestic expert score.

Table A.2 Economic left-right media bias and media ownership concentration; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients with usage weights; weighted REML estimator

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Media ownership concentration	0.018 (0.009)	0.018* (0.008)	0.027** (0.008)	0.029** (0.010)	0.029* (0.010)	0.028* (0.012)
Public ownership		-1.388*** (0.218)	-1.373*** (0.217)	-1.371*** (0.218)	-1.364*** (0.218)	-1.367*** (0.219)
Center of gravity		0.577* (0.222)	0.698** (0.207)	0.680** (0.220)	0.691** (0.227)	0.653* (0.287)
GDP (log.)			-0.050 (0.114)	-0.015 (0.149)	0.005 (0.156)	-0.000 (0.164)
Unemployment			0.064* (0.026)	0.068* (0.029)	0.071* (0.030)	0.066 (0.040)
Income Inequality				-0.018 (0.047)	-0.015 (0.049)	-0.025 (0.066)
Social expenditure					-0.018 (0.028)	-0.024 (0.040)
Eastern Europe						-0.168 (0.737)
Constant	4.349*** (0.647)	1.676 (1.154)	0.486 (1.886)	0.811 (2.170)	0.741 (2.233)	1.846 (5.419)
Log Likelihood	-3863.525	-3840.570	-3841.495	-3843.572	-3846.044	-3845.414
Observations	2177	2176	2176	2176	2176	2176
Outlets	283	282	282	282	282	282
Experts	222	222	222	222	222	222
Upper-level units	20	20	20	20	20	20
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.889	1.619	1.618	1.618	1.617	1.619
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.216	0.214	0.214	0.214	0.214	0.214
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.283	0.145	0.083	0.099	0.114	0.129
Residual variance	0.070	0.070	0.070	0.070	0.070	0.070

*Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001; Weighted restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p-values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; public ownership is outlet-level indicator; center of gravity is vote-weighted left-right mean of country; GDP is logged; inequality is market income inequality*

Table A.3 Economic left-right media bias and media ownership concentration; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients with vote share weights; weighted REML estimator

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Media ownership concentration	0.021* (0.009)	0.018* (0.008)	0.030*** (0.007)	0.028** (0.009)	0.028** (0.009)	0.023* (0.008)
Public ownership		-1.075*** (0.208)	-1.060*** (0.208)	-1.059*** (0.208)	-1.056*** (0.209)	-1.090*** (0.209)
Center of gravity		0.601* (0.223)	0.719*** (0.183)	0.736** (0.188)	0.738** (0.194)	0.518* (0.204)
GDP (log.)			0.012 (0.083)	-0.024 (0.102)	-0.013 (0.120)	-0.050 (0.111)
Unemployment			0.095** (0.026)	0.088** (0.029)	0.089* (0.030)	0.057 (0.031)
Income inequality				0.027 (0.042)	0.027 (0.044)	-0.039 (0.051)
Social expenditure					-0.005 (0.025)	-0.053 (0.032)
Eastern Europe						-0.994* (0.468)
Constant	4.326*** (0.649)	1.582 (1.177)	-0.966 (1.759)	-1.654 (2.092)	-1.705 (2.165)	5.264 (3.826)
Log Likelihood	-4902.053	-4861.645	-4860.401	-4862.446	-4865.225	-4862.961
Observations	2876	2863	2863	2863	2863	2863
Outlets	429	424	424	424	424	424
Experts	255	255	255	255	255	255
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.770	1.655	1.653	1.652	1.652	1.651
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.137	0.134	0.135	0.135	0.135	0.135
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.397	0.256	0.121	0.129	0.144	0.098
Residual variance	0.279	0.278	0.278	0.278	0.278	0.278

*Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001; Weighted restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p-values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; public ownership is outlet-level indicator; center of gravity is vote-weighted left-right mean of country; GDP is logged; inequality is market income inequality*

Table A.4 Economic left-right media bias and media ownership concentration; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; $lrecon_{oic} - cog_c$

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Differenced media outlet partisan favorability: $lrecon_{oic} - cog_c$						
Media ownership concentration	0.013 (0.008)	0.014 (0.008)	0.026** (0.008)	0.024* (0.009)	0.025* (0.009)	0.023* (0.010)
Public ownership		-1.171*** (0.210)	-1.151*** (0.210)	-1.151*** (0.210)	-1.152*** (0.210)	-1.158*** (0.211)
GDP (log.)			-0.033 (0.086)	-0.052 (0.107)	-0.056 (0.125)	-0.068 (0.129)
Unemployment			0.087** (0.027)	0.083* (0.030)	0.083* (0.031)	0.076* (0.034)
Income inequality				0.014 (0.044)	0.014 (0.045)	-0.003 (0.053)
Social expenditure					0.002 (0.026)	-0.013 (0.035)
Eastern Europe						-0.285 (0.470)
Constant	-0.320 (0.575)	-0.268 (0.554)	-1.484 (1.495)	-1.782 (1.802)	-1.765 (1.861)	-0.177 (3.237)
Log Likelihood	- 4877.553	-4837.567	-4836.730	-4838.904	-4841.665	-4841.325
Observations	2884	2871	2871	2871	2871	2871
Outlets	429	424	424	424	424	424
Experts	255	255	255	255	255	255
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.835	1.711	1.711	1.711	1.711	1.711
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.148	0.146	0.146	0.146	0.146	0.146
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.279	0.257	0.136	0.149	0.164	0.177
Residual variance	1.141	1.138	1.138	1.138	1.138	1.138

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; *Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p-values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; left-right score is subtracted with center of gravity measure on country-level; public ownership is outlet-level indicator; GDP is logged; inequality is market income inequality. Greece is an outlier with this operationalization of the dependent variable (see the right panel in Figure 1 and the associated discussion in the main text). See Table A.5 for a replication of Table A.4 which excludes Greece.*

Table A.5 Economic left-right media bias and media ownership concentration; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; $lrecon_{oic}$ - cog_c -difference; Greece excluded.

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Differenced media outlet partisan favorability: $lrecon_{oic} - cog_c$						
Media ownership concentration	0.022** (0.007)	0.023** (0.006)	0.027*** (0.005)	0.027** (0.008)	0.027** (0.008)	0.025* (0.009)
Public ownership		-1.098*** (0.214)	-1.087*** (0.215)	-1.080*** (0.214)	-1.077*** (0.214)	-1.087*** (0.215)
GDP (log.)			-0.022 (0.062)	-0.030 (0.098)	-0.025 (0.116)	-0.039 (0.119)
Unemployment			0.047* (0.023)	0.051 (0.032)	0.051 (0.033)	0.040 (0.036)
Income inequality				-0.001 (0.041)	-0.001 (0.042)	-0.023 (0.050)
Social expenditure					-0.003 (0.024)	-0.021 (0.032)
Eastern Europe						-0.372 (0.435)
Constant	-1.093* (0.490)	-1.026* (0.469)	-1.388 (1.076)	-1.280 (1.667)	-1.296 (1.729)	0.811 (3.022)
Log Likelihood	-4512.240	-4474.350	-4478.052	-4479.224	-4482.062	-4481.613
Observations	2692	2679	2679	2679	2679	2679
Outlets	409	404	404	404	404	404
Experts	243	243	243	243	243	243
Upper-level units	24	24	24	24	24	24
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.864	1.758	1.806	1.757	1.757	1.756
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.137	0.134	0.137	0.134	0.134	0.134
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.110	0.095	0.000	0.102	0.117	0.125
Residual variance	1.103	1.099	1.099	1.099	1.099	1.099

*Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p-values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; left-right score is subtracted with center of gravity measure on country-level; Greece is excluded as an outlier case; public ownership is outlet-level indicator; GDP is logged; inequality is market income inequality.*

Table A.6 Additional consistency checks; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients.

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)				
Media ownership concentration	0.021* (0.007)	0.021* (0.008)	0.026** (0.009)	0.019* (0.008)
Public ownership	-1.190*** (0.211)	-1.182*** (0.211)	-1.178*** (0.211)	-1.197*** (0.210)
Center of gravity	0.483* (0.185)	0.466* (0.206)	0.291 (0.224)	0.424* (0.173)
GDP (log.)	-0.046 (0.102)	-0.093 (0.111)	-0.312 (0.196)	-0.133 (0.087)
Unemployment	0.060* (0.028)	0.033 (0.035)	0.045 (0.030)	
Income inequality	-0.052 (0.045)	-0.050 (0.051)	-0.088 (0.053)	-0.079 (0.046)
Social expenditure	-0.037 (0.029)	-0.034 (0.033)	-0.041 (0.031)	
Eastern Europe	-0.916* (0.425)	-0.927 (0.466)	-1.146* (0.484)	
Government partisanship	0.005 (0.003)			
Inflation		-0.142 (0.173)		
Population			0.000 (0.000)	
<i>Welfare Regimes (Ref = Conservative)</i>				
Liberal				0.884* (0.399)
Social-democratic				0.435 (0.385)
Southern				0.958** (0.284)
Eastern				-0.351 (0.332)
Constant	5.499 (3.537)	6.463 (3.835)	11.533* (5.024)	7.764* (2.798)
Log Likelihood	-4841.670	-4839.136	-4848.328	-4830.659
Observations	2871	2871	2871	2871
Outlets	424	424	424	424
Experts	255	255	255	255
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.713	1.711	1.712	1.709
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.147	0.147	0.147	0.147
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.049	0.090	0.077	0.033
Residual variance	1.138	1.138	1.138	1.138

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; welfare regimes are defined based on Ferrera (1996) and Neimanns (2021); government partisanship is "gov_right2" from CPDS; public ownership is outlet-level indicator; GDP is logged; inequality is market income inequality; In Model 4, we exclude unemployment, social expenditure, and the Eastern Europe dummy to avoid multicollinearity with the welfare state regime dummies.

Table A.7 Economic left-right media bias and media ownership concentration; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; Expert bias control

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Ownership concentration	0.019* (0.008)	0.017* (0.007)	0.027** (0.007)	0.026** (0.009)	0.026* (0.009)	0.022* (0.009)
Expert bias	0.209*** (0.033)	0.211*** (0.033)	0.210*** (0.033)	0.210*** (0.033)	0.211*** (0.033)	0.210*** (0.033)
Public ownership		-1.152*** (0.213)	-1.133*** (0.212)	-1.132*** (0.212)	- 1.133*** (0.213)	-1.160*** (0.213)
Center of gravity		0.547* (0.215)	0.647** (0.186)	0.653** (0.193)	0.653** (0.199)	0.460* (0.215)
GDP (log.)			-0.037 (0.083)	-0.048 (0.104)	-0.053 (0.122)	-0.086 (0.116)
Unemployment			0.080** (0.027)	0.078* (0.030)	0.078* (0.031)	0.050 (0.033)
Income inequality				0.008 (0.043)	0.008 (0.044)	-0.049 (0.053)
Social expenditure					0.002 (0.025)	-0.039 (0.033)
Eastern Europe						-0.865 (0.488)
Constant	4.356*** (0.606)	1.848 (1.133)	0.365 (1.781)	0.160 (2.140)	0.176 (2.218)	6.242 (4.000)
Log Likelihood	-4502.149	-4464.633	-4464.362	-4466.583	-469.365	-4467.670
Observations	2685	2674	2674	2674	2674	2674
Outlets	427	423	423	423	423	423
Experts	233	233	233	233	233	233
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.864	1.748	1.748	1.748	1.747	1.748
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.092	0.088	0.088	0.088	0.088	0.089
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.330	0.226	0.126	0.140	0.156	0.120
Residual variance	1.100	1.098	1.098	1.098	1.098	1.098

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001; *Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p-values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert bias is average expert deviation from average outlet score of all experts.*

Table A.8 Economic left-right media bias and media ownership concentration; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; NYT left-right control

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Ownership concentration	0.018* (0.008)	0.016* (0.007)	0.025** (0.007)	0.025* (0.009)	0.025* (0.009)	0.019* (0.008)
NYT Left-right	0.058** (0.022)	0.058** (0.022)	0.054* (0.022)	0.054* (0.022)	0.054* (0.022)	0.057** (0.022)
Public ownership		-1.110*** (0.218)	-1.090*** (0.218)	-1.090*** (0.218)	-1.094*** (0.219)	-1.132*** (0.219)
Center of gravity		0.523* (0.206)	0.623** (0.184)	0.620** (0.191)	0.616** (0.196)	0.351 (0.207)
GDP (log).			-0.039 (0.082)	-0.035 (0.102)	-0.054 (0.120)	-0.099 (0.108)
Unemployment			0.068* (0.026)	0.069* (0.029)	0.068* (0.030)	0.030 (0.031)
Income inequality				-0.003 (0.043)	-0.003 (0.044)	-0.079 (0.051)
Social expenditure					0.008 (0.025)	-0.043 (0.031)
Eastern Europe						-1.125* (0.473)
Constant	4.246*** (0.578)	1.821 (1.085)	0.568 (1.751)	0.654 (2.129)	0.750 (2.199)	8.797* (3.927)
Log Likelihood	-4094.441	-4062.105	-4062.759	-4064.994	-4067.732	-4064.974
Observations	2429	2419	2419	2419	2419	2419
Outlets	415	411	411	411	411	411
Experts	202	202	202	202	202	202
Upper-level units	24	24	24	24	24	24
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.827	1.719	1.720	1.720	1.720	1.719
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.134	0.132	0.133	0.133	0.133	0.133
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.268	0.179	0.105	0.119	0.132	0.074
Residual variance	1.091	1.090	1.089	1.089	1.089	1.089

*Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p-values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; NYT left-right is the individual expert assessment of the New York Times on the general left-right axis.*

Table A.9 Jackknife-Tests; coefficients of media ownership concentration based on baseline Model 6

Excluded country	Media ownership concentration coefficient and standard error
Austria	0.020* (0.008)
Belgium Dutch	0.022* (0.009)
Belgium French	0.021* (0.008)
Bulgaria	0.027* (0.009)
Croatia	0.021* (0.009)
Cyprus	0.028** (0.008)
Czech Republic	0.023* (0.008)
Denmark	0.021* (0.009)
Estonia	0.024* (0.008)
Finland	0.018 (0.009)
France	0.022* (0.008)
Germany	0.024* (0.009)
Greece	0.024* (0.008)
Hungary	0.020* (0.008)
Ireland	0.024** (0.008)
Italy	0.022* (0.008)
Latvia	0.021* (0.008)
Lithuania	0.022* (0.008)
Netherlands	0.023* (0.008)
Poland	0.022* (0.008)
Portugal	0.024* (0.008)
Slovakia	0.022* (0.008)
Spain	0.028** (0.008)
Sweden	0.023* (0.009)
United Kingdom	0.022* (0.008)

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Table A.10 Partisan journalists; expert-level estimation; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients.

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Partisan journalists (expert-level)	-0.051*** (0.014)	-0.049*** (0.014)	-0.051*** (0.014)	-0.050*** (0.014)	-0.050*** (0.014)	-0.050*** (0.014)
Public ownership		-1.153*** (0.210)	-1.132*** (0.210)	-1.134*** (0.210)	-1.133*** (0.211)	-1.167*** (0.211)
Center of gravity		0.583* (0.218)	0.630** (0.217)	0.659** (0.214)	0.660** (0.220)	0.378 (0.226)
GDP (log.)			-0.141 (0.093)	-0.199 (0.101)	-0.192 (0.124)	-0.207 (0.110)
Unemployment			0.032 (0.027)	0.028 (0.027)	0.028 (0.028)	0.002 (0.027)
Income inequality				0.056 (0.042)	0.056 (0.043)	-0.038 (0.054)
Social expenditure					-0.003 (0.028)	-0.061 (0.035)
Eastern Europe						-1.219* (0.496)
Constant	6.043*** (0.165)	3.166* (1.143)	4.454* (1.795)	2.334 (2.386)	2.303 (2.465)	10.598* (4.012)
Log Likelihood	-4862.677	-4820.399	-4822.496	-4823.875	-4826.541	-4823.594
Observations	2873	2860	2860	2860	2860	2860
Outlets	429	424	424	424	424	424
Experts	253	253	253	253	253	253
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.833	1.708	1.710	1.710	1.710	1.710
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.138	0.136	0.136	0.136	0.136	0.137
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.363	0.249	0.218	0.206	0.225	0.146
Residual variance	1.146	1.143	1.143	1.143	1.143	1.143

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of partisan journalism.*

Table A.11 Party influence; expert-level estimation; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients.

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Party influence (expert-level)	-0.002 (0.017)	-0.000 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.017)	-0.002 (0.017)
Public ownership		- 1.226*** (0.213)	-1.210*** (0.213)	-1.211*** (0.213)	-1.215*** (0.214)	-1.244*** (0.214)
Center of gravity		0.617* (0.234)	0.653* (0.236)	0.681** (0.234)	0.679* (0.239)	0.402 (0.250)
GDP (log.)			-0.153 (0.101)	-0.213 (0.110)	-0.236 (0.134)	-0.250 (0.121)
Unemployment			0.028 (0.029)	0.023 (0.029)	0.022 (0.030)	-0.004 (0.030)
Income inequality				0.059 (0.046)	0.059 (0.047)	-0.031 (0.060)
Social expenditure					0.009 (0.030)	-0.046 (0.038)
Eastern Europe						-1.179* (0.547)
Constant	5.761*** (0.175)	2.709* (1.227)	4.249* (1.953)	2.022 (2.587)	2.122 (2.665)	10.149* (4.421)
Log Likelihood	-4388.027	- 4348.885	-4351.126	-4352.468	-4355.005	-4352.557
Observations	2596	2585	2585	2585	2585	2585
Outlets	427	423	423	423	423	423
Experts	224	224	224	224	224	224
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.855	1.717	1.720	1.719	1.719	1.719
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.128	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.126
Random intercept variance: Upper- level units	0.417	0.306	0.282	0.269	0.287	0.209
Residual variance	1.110	1.108	1.107	1.107	1.107	1.107

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of party influence on media outlets.*

Table A.12 Partisan journalists; expert-level estimation; *lrecon-cog* difference; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients.

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Differenced media outlet partisan favorability: <i>lrecon_{oic} - cog_c</i>						
Partisan journalism (expert-level)	-0.047** (0.014)	-0.047** (0.014)	-0.049** (0.014)	-0.048** (0.014)	-0.048** (0.014)	-0.048** (0.014)
Public ownership		-1.154*** (0.210)	-1.132*** (0.210)	-1.134*** (0.210)	-1.133*** (0.211)	-1.144*** (0.211)
GDP (log.)			-0.128 (0.097)	-0.194 (0.105)	-0.183 (0.128)	-0.185 (0.128)
Unemployment			0.044 (0.027)	0.038 (0.027)	0.039 (0.028)	0.031 (0.029)
Income inequality				0.063 (0.044)	0.063 (0.045)	0.024 (0.057)
Social expenditure					-0.005 (0.029)	-0.031 (0.038)
Eastern Europe						-0.540 (0.499)
Constant	0.847*** (0.158)	0.998*** (0.158)	2.254 (1.301)	0.062 (1.984)	0.025 (2.048)	2.853 (3.318)
Log Likelihood	-4861.200	-4821.542	-4823.296	-4824.489	-4827.113	-4826.303
Observations	2873	2860	2860	2860	2860	2860
Outlets	429	424	424	424	424	424
Experts	253	253	253	253	253	253
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.832	1.709	1.710	1.710	1.710	1.710
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.139	0.137	0.136	0.136	0.136	0.137
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.311	0.297	0.251	0.234	0.252	0.252
Residual variance	1.146	1.143	1.143	1.143	1.143	1.143

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of partisan journalism.

Table A.13 Party influence; expert-level estimation; *lrecon-cog* difference; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients.

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Differenced media outlet partisan favorability: $lrecon_{oic} - cog_c$						
Party influence (expert-level)	0.001 (0.017)	0.001 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.017)	-0.002 (0.017)
Public ownership		-1.227*** (0.213)	-1.209*** (0.213)	-1.210*** (0.213)	-1.213*** (0.214)	-1.223*** (0.214)
GDP (log.)			-0.140 (0.104)	-0.208 (0.113)	-0.225 (0.137)	-0.227 (0.138)
Unemployment			0.039 (0.029)	0.033 (0.029)	0.032 (0.030)	0.024 (0.031)
Income inequality				0.065 (0.047)	0.065 (0.048)	0.027 (0.061)
Social expenditure					0.007 (0.031)	-0.019 (0.041)
Eastern Europe						-0.524 (0.536)
Constant	0.571*** (0.167)	0.722*** (0.167)	2.182 (1.395)	-0.087 (2.128)	-0.024 (2.192)	2.717 (3.560)
Log Likelihood	-	-4349.648	-4351.661	-4352.850	-4355.384	-4354.611
Observations	2596	2585	2585	2585	2585	2585
Outlets	427	423	423	423	423	423
Experts	224	224	224	224	224	224
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.853	1.717	1.719	1.719	1.719	1.718
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.128	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.351	0.344	0.308	0.290	0.309	0.312
Residual variance	1.110	1.108	1.107	1.107	1.107	1.107

Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of partisan influence on media outlets.

Table A.14 Partisan journalists; expert-level estimation; usage rate weights; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients.

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Partisan journalism (expert-level)	-0.053** (0.018)	-0.049** (0.018)	-0.049** (0.018)	-0.047** (0.018)	-0.048** (0.018)	-0.049** (0.018)
Public ownership		-1.339*** (0.217)	-1.326*** (0.218)	-1.334*** (0.218)	-1.329*** (0.218)	-1.359*** (0.219)
Center of gravity		0.604* (0.234)	0.699* (0.255)	0.740* (0.260)	0.753* (0.269)	0.461 (0.306)
GDP (log.)			-0.086 (0.139)	-0.164 (0.163)	-0.146 (0.171)	-0.129 (0.158)
Unemployment			0.024 (0.028)	0.020 (0.028)	0.022 (0.029)	0.004 (0.029)
Income inequality				0.045 (0.048)	0.049 (0.050)	-0.037 (0.071)
Social expenditure					-0.019 (0.033)	-0.061 (0.041)
Eastern Europe						-1.083 (0.672)
Constant	5.860*** (0.182)	3.012* (1.220)	3.449 (2.118)	2.089 (2.583)	2.036 (2.662)	9.061 (5.002)
Log Likelihood	-3855.215	-3833.454	-3836.577	-3838.261	-3840.603	-3838.870
Observations	2172	2171	2171	2171	2171	2171
Outlets	283	282	282	282	282	282
Experts	220	220	220	220	220	220
Upper-level units	20	20	20	20	20	20
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.887	1.620	1.620	1.619	1.618	1.624
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.206	0.205	0.205	0.205	0.205	0.206
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.287	0.187	0.205	0.208	0.231	0.175
Residual variance	0.070	0.070	0.070	0.070	0.070	0.070

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of partisan journalism; usage rate weights from Reuters (2017).*

Table A.15 Party influence; expert-level estimation; usage rate weights; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients.

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Party influence (expert-level)	-0.021 (0.021)	-0.018 (0.020)	-0.019 (0.021)	-0.019 (0.021)	-0.019 (0.021)	-0.017 (0.021)
Public ownership		-1.432*** (0.220)	-1.421*** (0.220)	-1.430*** (0.220)	-1.428*** (0.221)	-1.453*** (0.222)
Center of gravity		0.638* (0.248)	0.744* (0.269)	0.789* (0.271)	0.797* (0.282)	0.530 (0.330)
GDP (log.)			-0.129 (0.147)	-0.220 (0.169)	-0.213 (0.179)	-0.198 (0.170)
Unemployment			0.022 (0.030)	0.018 (0.030)	0.018 (0.031)	0.001 (0.032)
Income inequality				0.053 (0.050)	0.054 (0.052)	-0.023 (0.076)
Social expenditure					-0.007 (0.035)	-0.044 (0.043)
Eastern Europe						-0.982 (0.725)
Constant	5.670*** (0.190)	2.662 (1.289)	3.630 (2.236)	2.037 (2.689)	2.005 (2.791)	8.349 (5.369)
Log Likelihood	-3453.010	-3431.621	-3434.526	-3436.047	-3438.492	-3437.021
Observations	1953	1953	1953	1953	1953	1953
Outlets	282	282	282	282	282	282
Experts	195	195	195	195	195	195
Upper-level units	20	20	20	20	20	20
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.934	1.629	1.630	1.629	1.628	1.633
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.186	0.182	0.182	0.182	0.182	0.183
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.314	0.227	0.245	0.241	0.272	0.226
Residual variance	0.067	0.067	0.067	0.067	0.067	0.067

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of party influence on media outlets; usage rate weights from Reuters (2017).*

Table A.16 Partisan journalism; expert-level estimation; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; Greece excluded

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Partisan journalism (expert-level)	-0.051*** (0.014)	-0.049*** (0.014)	-0.050*** (0.014)	-0.049*** (0.014)	-0.049*** (0.014)	-0.050*** (0.014)
Public ownership		-1.067*** (0.214)	-1.055*** (0.214)	-1.057*** (0.214)	-1.054*** (0.215)	-1.087*** (0.215)
Center of gravity		0.760** (0.243)	0.715** (0.244)	0.731** (0.241)	0.735** (0.249)	0.447 (0.255)
GDP (log.)			-0.142 (0.094)	-0.197 (0.103)	-0.183 (0.126)	-0.198 (0.113)
Unemployment			0.015 (0.035)	0.013 (0.035)	0.013 (0.036)	-0.008 (0.033)
Income inequality				0.053 (0.043)	0.053 (0.044)	-0.036 (0.055)
Social expenditure					-0.006 (0.029)	-0.062 (0.035)
Eastern Europe						-1.177* (0.509)
Constant	6.036*** (0.169)	2.198 (1.283)	4.146* (1.858)	2.160 (2.435)	2.095 (2.522)	10.140* (4.149)
Log Likelihood	-4502.649	-4461.490	-4464.070	-4465.532	-4468.162	-4465.474
Observations	2681	2668	2668	2668	2668	2668
Outlets	409	404	404	404	404	404
Experts	241	241	241	241	241	241
Upper-level units	24	24	24	24	24	24
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.858	1.752	1.753	1.754	1.754	1.753
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.125	0.123	0.123	0.123	0.123	0.123
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.390	0.228	0.225	0.216	0.236	0.162
Residual variance	1.108	1.105	1.104	1.104	1.104	1.104

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of partisan journalism.*

Table A.17 Party influence; expert-level estimation; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; Greece excluded

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Party influence (expert-level)	-0.008 (0.017)	-0.007 (0.017)	-0.009 (0.017)	-0.009 (0.017)	-0.009 (0.017)	-0.008 (0.017)
Public ownership		-1.142*** (0.217)	-1.132*** (0.217)	-1.134*** (0.217)	-1.136*** (0.218)	-1.164*** (0.218)
Center of gravity		0.776** (0.266)	0.728* (0.267)	0.744* (0.264)	0.740* (0.272)	0.460 (0.286)
GDP (log.)			-0.156 (0.102)	-0.215 (0.112)	-0.229 (0.137)	-0.244 (0.126)
Unemployment			0.013 (0.039)	0.011 (0.038)	0.011 (0.040)	-0.010 (0.038)
Income inequality				0.057 (0.047)	0.057 (0.048)	-0.029 (0.061)
Social expenditure					0.006 (0.031)	-0.047 (0.039)
Eastern Europe						-1.126 (0.566)
Constant	5.792*** (0.181)	1.872 (1.406)	4.033 (2.027)	1.923 (2.646)	1.987 (2.741)	9.683 (4.602)
Log Likelihood	-4025.591	-3987.949	-3990.371	-3991.775	-3994.320	-3992.127
Observations	2404	2393	2393	2393	2393	2393
Outlets	407	403	403	403	403	403
Experts	212	212	212	212	212	212
Upper-level units	24	24	24	24	24	24
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.886	1.766	1.769	1.769	1.769	1.769
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.110	0.107	0.107	0.107	0.107	0.108
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.448	0.299	0.293	0.282	0.304	0.234
Residual variance	1.064	1.061	1.061	1.061	1.061	1.061

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of party influence on media outlets.*

Table A.18 Partisan journalism; expert-level estimation; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; Additional consistency checks

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)				
Partisan journalism (expert-level)	−0.050*** (0.014)	−0.051*** (0.014)	−0.050*** (0.014)	−0.048** (0.014)
Public ownership	−1.168*** (0.211)	−1.162*** (0.211)	−1.163*** (0.211)	−1.163*** (0.210)
Center of gravity	0.432 (0.212)	0.421 (0.227)	0.327 (0.261)	0.499* (0.182)
GDP (log.)	−0.149 (0.106)	−0.203 (0.109)	−0.293 (0.228)	−0.194* (0.092)
Unemployment	0.021 (0.026)	−0.016 (0.030)	−0.002 (0.029)	
Income inequality	−0.032 (0.050)	−0.026 (0.055)	−0.046 (0.059)	−0.042 (0.046)
Social expenditure	−0.057 (0.032)	−0.050 (0.036)	−0.063 (0.035)	
Eastern Europe	−1.189* (0.462)	−1.215* (0.493)	−1.318* (0.558)	
Government partisanship	0.006 (0.003)			
Inflation		−0.222 (0.188)		
Population			0.000 (0.000)	
<i>Welfare Regimes (Ref = Conservative)</i>				
Liberal				1.129* (0.421)
Social-democratic				0.851* (0.348)
Southern				0.830* (0.302)
Eastern				−0.148 (0.353)
Constant	8.776* (3.858)	9.726* (4.056)	12.389* (5.848)	7.818* (3.066)
Log Likelihood	−4826.626	−4823.646	−4834.024	−4815.306
Observations	2860	2860	2860	2860
Outlets	424	424	424	424
Experts	253	253	253	253
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.712	1.710	1.710	1.706
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.137	0.137	0.137	0.137
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.107	0.143	0.161	0.071
Residual variance	1.142	1.143	1.143	1.143

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of partisan journalism.*

Table A.19 Party influence; expert-level estimation; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; Additional consistency checks

	M1	M2	M3	M4
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)				
Party influence (expert-level)	-0.004 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.017)	-0.001 (0.017)
Public ownership	-1.243*** (0.214)	-1.239*** (0.214)	-1.241*** (0.214)	-1.239*** (0.213)
Center of gravity	0.455 (0.241)	0.462 (0.252)	0.375 (0.290)	0.552* (0.200)
GDP (log.)	-0.194 (0.120)	-0.245 (0.120)	-0.298 (0.252)	-0.196 (0.101)
Unemployment	0.015 (0.030)	-0.027 (0.034)	-0.006 (0.032)	
Income inequality	-0.025 (0.057)	-0.015 (0.060)	-0.036 (0.065)	-0.033 (0.050)
Social expenditure	-0.043 (0.036)	-0.032 (0.039)	-0.047 (0.039)	
Eastern Europe	-1.143* (0.522)	-1.159* (0.542)	-1.231 (0.616)	
Government partisanship	0.006 (0.003)			
Inflation		-0.283 (0.210)		
Population			0.000 (0.000)	
<i>Welfare Regimes (Ref = Conservative)</i>				
Liberal				0.983* (0.463)
Social-democratic				1.070* (0.383)
Southern				0.806* (0.335)
Eastern				-0.117 (0.390)
Constant	8.343 (4.363)	8.912 (4.476)	11.108 (6.442)	6.839 (3.351)
Log Likelihood	-4355.969	-4352.290	-4362.956	-4343.754
Observations	2585	2585	2585	2585
Outlets	423	423	423	423
Experts	224	224	224	224
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.719	1.719	1.719	1.715
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.126	0.125	0.126	0.125
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.176	0.202	0.230	0.111
Residual variance	1.107	1.107	1.107	1.108

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of party influence on media outlets.*

Table A.20 Partisan journalism; expert-level estimation; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; Expert bias control

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Partisan journalism (expert-level)	-0.032* (0.013)	-0.030* (0.013)	-0.032* (0.013)	-0.031* (0.013)	-0.031* (0.013)	-0.031* (0.013)
Expert bias	0.197*** (0.034)	0.199*** (0.033)	0.198*** (0.033)	0.199*** (0.033)	0.199*** (0.033)	0.199*** (0.033)
Public ownership		-1.130*** (0.213)	-1.111*** (0.213)	-1.113*** (0.213)	-1.112*** (0.213)	-1.143*** (0.214)
Center of gravity		0.615* (0.228)	0.665** (0.229)	0.698** (0.224)	0.700** (0.231)	0.426 (0.240)
GDP (log.)			-0.136 (0.098)	-0.201 (0.105)	-0.195 (0.129)	-0.208 (0.116)
Unemployment			0.033 (0.028)	0.027 (0.028)	0.028 (0.029)	0.003 (0.028)
Income inequality				0.065 (0.044)	0.065 (0.045)	-0.025 (0.057)
Social expenditure					-0.003 (0.029)	-0.058 (0.036)
Eastern Europe						-1.163* (0.524)
Constant	5.925*** (0.166)	2.876* (1.193)	4.074* (1.891)	1.598 (2.491)	1.564 (2.577)	9.514* (4.260)
Log Likelihood	-4489.946	-4452.448	-4454.684	-4455.815	-4458.442	-4455.922
Observations	2674	2663	2663	2663	2663	2663
Outlets	427	423	423	423	423	423
Experts	231	231	231	231	231	231
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.861	1.745	1.747	1.747	1.747	1.747
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.089	0.086	0.086	0.086	0.086	0.086
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.400	0.286	0.261	0.240	0.261	0.186
Residual variance	1.105	1.103	1.103	1.103	1.103	1.102

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of partisan journalism; Expert bias is average expert deviation from average outlet score of all experts.*

Table A.21 Party influence; expert-level estimation; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; Expert bias control

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Party influence (expert-level)	-0.020 (0.015)	-0.019 (0.015)	-0.021 (0.015)	-0.022 (0.015)	-0.022 (0.015)	-0.021 (0.015)
Expert bias	0.204*** (0.034)	0.205*** (0.034)	0.207*** (0.034)	0.207*** (0.034)	0.207*** (0.034)	0.206*** (0.034)
Public ownership		-1.218*** (0.215)	-1.200*** (0.215)	-1.202*** (0.215)	-1.205*** (0.215)	-1.234*** (0.216)
Center of gravity		0.626** (0.235)	0.670** (0.235)	0.702** (0.230)	0.700** (0.235)	0.443 (0.250)
GDP (log.)			-0.156 (0.100)	-0.221 (0.108)	-0.240 (0.132)	-0.252 (0.121)
Unemployment			0.032 (0.029)	0.027 (0.029)	0.026 (0.030)	0.002 (0.030)
Income inequality				0.065 (0.045)	0.065 (0.046)	-0.020 (0.060)
Social expenditure					0.008 (0.030)	-0.045 (0.038)
Eastern Europe						-1.100 (0.545)
Constant	5.854*** (0.173)	2.759* (1.232)	4.251* (1.937)	1.792 (2.550)	1.872 (2.629)	9.366* (4.414)
Log Likelihood	-4215.281	-4175.816	-4177.814	-4178.975	-4181.546	-4179.332
Observations	2511	2500	2500	2500	2500	2500
Outlets	427	423	423	423	423	423
Experts	214	214	214	214	214	214
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	25	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.892	1.755	1.758	1.758	1.758	1.758
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.072	0.068	0.068	0.068	0.068	0.068
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.434	0.317	0.282	0.261	0.280	0.215
Residual variance	1.089	1.086	1.086	1.086	1.086	1.086

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of party influence on media outlets; Expert bias is average expert deviation from average outlet score of all experts.*

Table A.22 Partisan journalism; expert-level estimation; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; NYT Left-right control

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Partisan journalism (expert-level)	-0.043** (0.015)	-0.040** (0.015)	-0.042** (0.015)	-0.042** (0.015)	-0.041** (0.015)	-0.041** (0.015)
NYT Left-right	0.055* (0.022)	0.056* (0.021)	0.053* (0.022)	0.053* (0.022)	0.052* (0.022)	0.056* (0.022)
Public ownership		-1.089*** (0.218)	-1.070*** (0.218)	-1.072*** (0.218)	-1.075*** (0.219)	-1.115*** (0.219)
Center of gravity		0.566* (0.218)	0.609* (0.222)	0.636* (0.221)	0.634* (0.228)	0.283 (0.227)
GDP (log.)			-0.130 (0.094)	-0.180 (0.103)	-0.189 (0.125)	-0.205 (0.106)
Unemployment			0.027 (0.027)	0.022 (0.027)	0.022 (0.028)	-0.010 (0.026)
Income inequality				0.050 (0.043)	0.050 (0.045)	-0.063 (0.055)
Social expenditure					0.003 (0.029)	-0.061 (0.033)
Eastern Europe						-1.420* (0.491)
Constant	5.790*** (0.193)	2.969* (1.152)	4.197* (1.832)	2.290 (2.460)	2.342 (2.544)	12.212** (4.061)
Log Likelihood	-4092.464	-4060.367	-4062.916	-4064.483	-4067.115	-4063.313
Observations	2429	2419	2419	2419	2419	2419
Outlets	415	411	411	411	411	411
Experts	202	202	202	202	202	202
Upper-level units	24	24	24	24	24	24
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.824	1.716	1.719	1.718	1.718	1.716
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.125	0.125	0.124	0.124	0.124	0.125
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.322	0.232	0.216	0.209	0.228	0.119
Residual variance	1.092	1.090	1.090	1.090	1.090	1.090

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of partisan journalism; Expert bias is average expert deviation from average outlet score of all experts.*

Table A.23 Party influence; expert-level estimation; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients; NYT Left-right control

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Party influence (expert-level)	-0.002 (0.018)	-0.001 (0.018)	-0.004 (0.018)	-0.004 (0.018)	-0.003 (0.018)	-0.002 (0.018)
NYT Left-right	0.051* (0.022)	0.051* (0.022)	0.048* (0.022)	0.048* (0.022)	0.048* (0.022)	0.051* (0.022)
Public ownership		-1.170*** (0.220)	-1.154*** (0.221)	-1.155*** (0.221)	-1.163*** (0.221)	-1.201*** (0.221)
Center of gravity		0.599* (0.226)	0.631* (0.231)	0.656* (0.231)	0.645* (0.234)	0.302 (0.238)
GDP (log.)			-0.143 (0.098)	-0.192 (0.107)	-0.235 (0.129)	-0.251* (0.111)
Unemployment			0.022 (0.028)	0.019 (0.028)	0.015 (0.029)	-0.016 (0.027)
Income inequality				0.048 (0.045)	0.048 (0.046)	-0.062 (0.057)
Social expenditure					0.018 (0.030)	-0.045 (0.035)
Eastern Europe						-1.385* (0.515)
Constant	5.589*** (0.200)	2.613* (1.191)	4.107* (1.900)	2.287 (2.555)	2.507 (2.613)	12.117* (4.246)
Log Likelihood	-3841.214	-3807.391	-3809.933	-3811.555	-3813.963	-3810.529
Observations	2278	2268	2268	2268	2268	2268
Outlets	415	411	411	411	411	411
Experts	186	186	186	186	186	186
Upper-level units	24	24	24	24	24	24
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.862	1.736	1.740	1.739	1.739	1.738
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.112	0.111	0.110	0.110	0.110	0.111
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.358	0.262	0.245	0.240	0.251	0.148
Residual variance	1.075	1.073	1.072	1.073	1.073	1.072

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of party influence on media outlets; Expert bias is average expert deviation from average outlet score of all experts.*

Table A.24 Economic left-right media bias and political parallelism; country-level estimation based on Table 2, M2 and M4; multilevel random intercept regression coefficients

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)					
Partisan journalists (country-level)	-0.281* (0.109)	-0.433** (0.131)			
Party influence (country-level)			-0.078 (0.121)	-0.224 (0.170)	
Party influence (country-level, weighted)					-0.235 (0.129)
Public ownership	-1.176*** (0.211)	-1.389*** (0.220)	-1.173*** (0.211)	-1.387*** (0.220)	-1.384*** (0.220)
Center of gravity	0.285 (0.214)	-0.041 (0.281)	0.402 (0.242)	0.417 (0.303)	0.311 (0.300)
GDP (log.)	-0.151 (0.104)	0.087 (0.149)	-0.217 (0.116)	-0.128 (0.164)	-0.136 (0.150)
Unemployment	0.041 (0.030)	0.060* (0.030)	0.010 (0.037)	0.042 (0.045)	0.050 (0.040)
Income inequality	-0.040 (0.050)	-0.098 (0.057)	-0.016 (0.061)	0.005 (0.079)	-0.008 (0.069)
Social expenditure	-0.074* (0.032)	-0.077* (0.032)	-0.063 (0.038)	-0.056 (0.039)	-0.046 (0.037)
Eastern Europe	-0.943 (0.472)	-1.076 (0.524)	-1.147* (0.539)	-0.801 (0.751)	-0.768 (0.689)
Constant	11.635** (3.754)	13.725** (4.007)	9.552* (4.228)	7.418 (5.206)	8.362 (4.720)
Log Likelihood	-4836.297	-4354.977	-4839.007	-4358.253	-4357.801
Observations	2871	2609	2871	2609	2609
Outlets	424	341	424	341	341
Experts	255	224	255	224	224
Upper-level units	25	20	25	20	20
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.708	1.655	1.712	1.657	1.657
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.146	0.147	0.146	0.147	0.147
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.100	0.064	0.177	0.188	0.158
Residual variance	1.138	1.129	1.138	1.129	1.129

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001; *Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p-values approximated with the Satterthwaite method* country-level political parallelism scores are averages of all mean expert scores of each media outlet; to avoid an excessive influence of small outlets for “party influence”, which is measured on expert-outlet level (“partisan journalists” is measured on the expert level exclusively), we apply media usage rates from Reuters (2017). For “partisan journalists” and “party influence”, the second column respectively uses the smaller sample with the identical variable to ascertain whether the changing estimate of weighted party influence is driven by the sample reduction or the weight itself. Figure A.4 illustrates the estimated effect. Upper-level units include 23 countries, plus the two Belgian regions of Flanders and Wallonia.

Table A.25 Economic left-right media bias, media ownership concentration, and political parallelism (partisan journalists); multilevel random intercept regression coefficients

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Ownership concentration	0.018* (0.008)	0.016* (0.007)	0.025** (0.007)	0.026** (0.008)	0.026** (0.008)	0.022* (0.008)
Partisan Journalists (expert-level)	-0.050*** (0.014)	-0.047** (0.014)	-0.050*** (0.014)	-0.050*** (0.014)	-0.050*** (0.014)	-0.050*** (0.014)
Public ownership		-1.173*** (0.210)	-1.151*** (0.209)	-1.151*** (0.209)	-1.149*** (0.210)	-1.183*** (0.211)
Center of gravity		0.487* (0.205)	0.584* (0.169)	0.580** (0.176)	0.581* (0.181)	0.381 (0.192)
GDP (log.)			-0.052 (0.076)	-0.045 (0.095)	-0.041 (0.112)	-0.077 (0.105)
Unemployment			0.079** (0.024)	0.081** (0.027)	0.081* (0.028)	0.052 (0.029)
Income inequality				-0.006 (0.039)	-0.006 (0.041)	-0.065 (0.047)
Social expenditure					-0.002 (0.023)	-0.045 (0.030)
Eastern Europe						-0.906 (0.442)
Constant	4.760*** (0.591)	2.532 (1.091)	1.311 (1.635)	1.464 (1.965)	1.447 (2.033)	7.781* (3.615)
Log Likelihood	-4864.217	-4822.087	-4821.111	-4823.426	-4826.294	-4824.215
Observations	2873	2860	2860	2860	2860	2860
Outlets	429	424	424	424	424	424
Experts	253	253	252	252	253	253
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	2	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.833	1.709	1.709	1.709	1.709	1.709
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.138	0.137	0.137	0.137	0.137	0.137
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.285	0.190	0.079	0.091	0.104	0.068
Residual variance	1.146	1.143	1.143	1.143	1.143	1.143

*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of partisan journalists.*

Table A.26 Economic left-right media bias, media ownership concentration, and political parallelism (party influence); multilevel random intercept regression coefficients

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Media outlet partisan favorability (0: economically left-wing; 10: economically right-wing)						
Ownership concentration	0.020* (0.008)	0.018* (0.007)	0.028** (0.007)	0.028** (0.009)	0.029** (0.009)	0.024* (0.009)
Party influence (expert-level)	-0.000 (0.017)	0.002 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.017)	-0.002 (0.017)	-0.001 (0.017)
Public ownership		-1.247*** (0.213)	-1.228*** (0.212)	-1.228*** (0.213)	-1.234*** (0.213)	-1.263*** (0.214)
Center of gravity		0.505* (0.215)	0.597** (0.183)	0.593** (0.190)	0.589** (0.194)	0.400 (0.210)
GDP (log.)			-0.058 (0.083)	-0.046 (0.103)	-0.073 (0.120)	-0.107 (0.114)
Unemployment			0.079** (0.026)	0.082* (0.029)	0.080* (0.030)	0.053 (0.032)
Income inequality				-0.009 (0.043)	-0.009 (0.043)	-0.064 (0.051)
Social expenditure					0.011 (0.025)	-0.028 (0.032)
Eastern Europe						-0.842 (0.479)
Constant	4.311*** (0.610)	1.990 (1.145)	0.879 (1.770)	1.096 (2.116)	1.216 (2.169)	7.102 (3.907)
Log Likelihood	-4289.119	-4350.107	-4349.601	-4351.830	-4354.512	-4352.860
Observations	2596	2585	2585	2585	2585	585
Outlets	427	424	424	424	424	424
Experts	224	224	224	224	224	224
Upper-level units	25	25	25	25	2	25
Random intercept variance: Outlets	1.856	1.718	1.719	1.719	1.719	1.719
Random intercept variance: Experts	0.128	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.126
Random intercept variance: Upper-level units	0.311	0.222	0.115	0.129	0.138	0.103
Residual variance	1.110	1.108	1.107	1.107	1.107	1.107

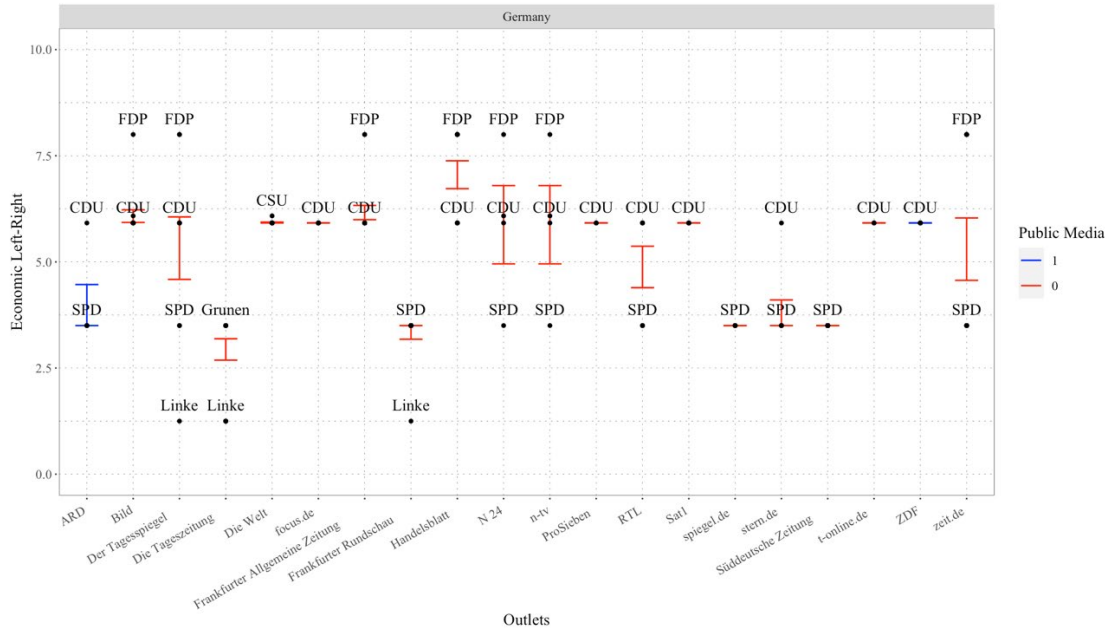
*Note: * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$; Restricted maximum likelihood regression coefficients; standard errors in parentheses; p -values approximated with the Satterthwaite method; expert-level classification of country's level of party influence on media outlets.*

Table A.27 Jackknife-Tests; coefficients of political parallelism (expert-level)
based on baseline Model 2 & 4 in Table 2

Excluded country	Partisan journalists	Party influence
Austria	-0.050*** (0.015)	-0.001 (0.017)
Belgium Dutch	-0.052*** (0.015)	-0.004 (0.017)
Belgium French	-0.050*** (0.014)	-0.002 (0.017)
Bulgaria	-0.049*** (0.015)	-0.002 (0.017)
Croatia	-0.054*** (0.015)	-0.002 (0.017)
Cyprus	-0.050*** (0.015)	-0.003 (0.017)
Czech Republic	-0.048** (0.015)	0.003 (0.017)
Denmark	-0.056*** (0.015)	-0.006 (0.017)
Estonia	-0.048** (0.015)	-0.000 (0.017)
Finland	-0.047** (0.014)	-0.008 (0.017)
France	-0.051*** (0.015)	-0.002 (0.017)
Germany	-0.050** (0.015)	-0.004 (0.018)
Greece	-0.050*** (0.014)	-0.008 (0.017)
Hungary	-0.058*** (0.016)	-0.001 (0.018)
Ireland	-0.053*** (0.015)	-0.003 (0.017)
Italy	-0.054*** (0.015)	-0.003 (0.018)
Latvia	-0.051*** (0.051)	-0.002 (0.017)
Lithuania	-0.049*** (0.014)	-0.004 (0.017)
Netherlands	-0.048*** (0.014)	0.006 (0.016)
Poland	-0.050*** (0.015)	-0.002 (0.017)
Portugal	-0.043** (0.015)	-0.011 (0.016)
Slovakia	-0.051*** (0.015)	-0.001 (0.017)
Spain	-0.050*** (0.015)	-0.002 (0.018)
Sweden	-0.045** (0.015)	0.011 (0.017)
United Kingdom	-0.049** (0.015)	-0.006 (0.017)

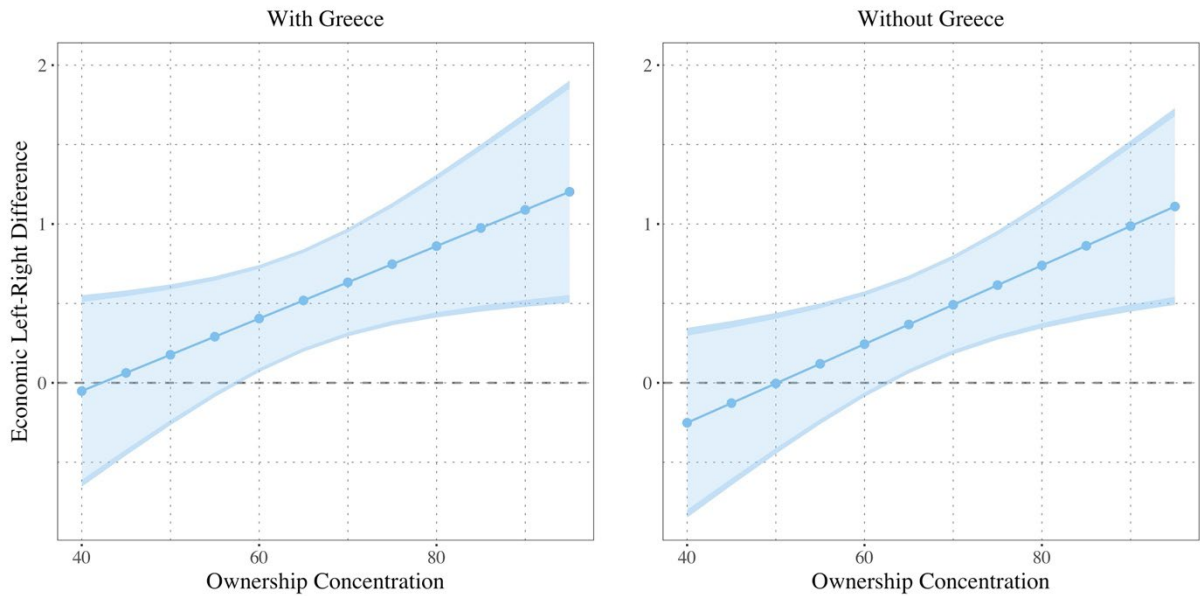
Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001

Figure A.1 Expert assignments of parties to media outlets; Germany



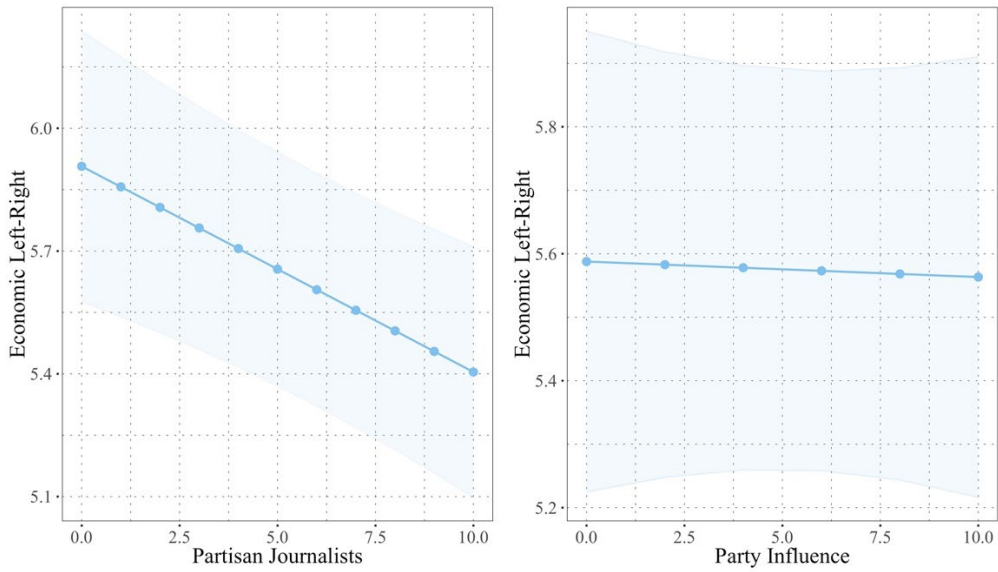
Note: The vertical axis displays the economic left-right score from CHES; the bars represent mean +/- one standard deviation; the dots may include assignment for a given party by multiple experts; Greens and Social Democrats overlap because their economic left-right position is identical (3.5).

Figure A.2 Predicted values of differenced economic left-right position from M6 of Tables A.4 and A.5.



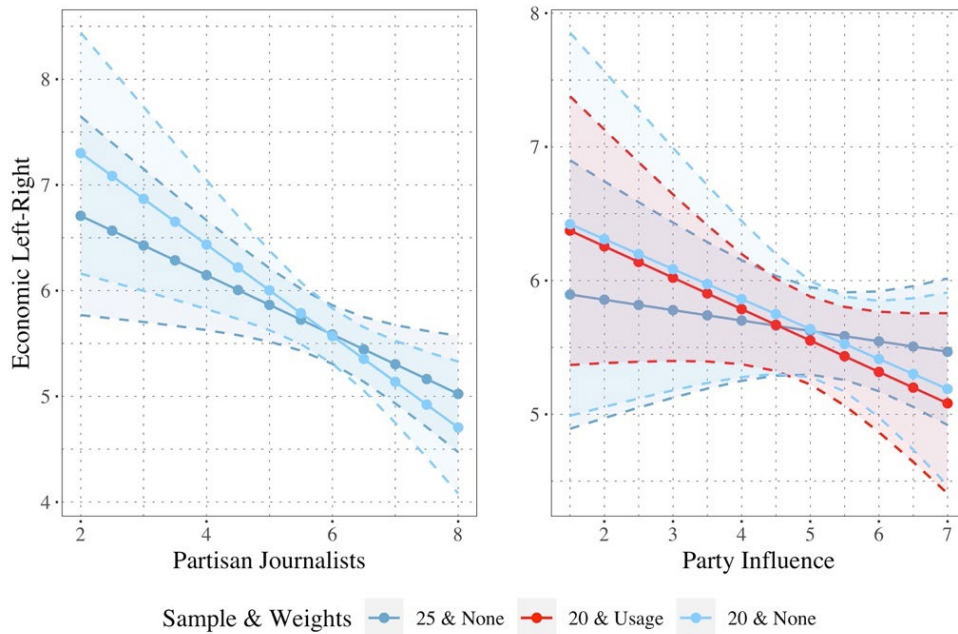
Note: Horizontal dashed line indicates perfect alignment with partisan center of gravity. Darker blue lines represent confidence bands adjusted with Satterthwaite correction; 95% confidence interval.

Figure A.3 Predicted economic left-right position and political parallelism



Note: Effect of political parallelism (expert-level) on economic left-right position of media outlets in 23 European countries. Predictions and 95% confidence bands based on Models 2 and 4 in Table 2.

Figure A.4 Predicted economic left-right position and political parallelism (country-level)



Note: Effect of political parallelism (country-level) on economic left-right position of media outlets. 'Weights' refers to usage-weighted average of country-level parallelism score. Weights are derived from Reuters (2017). Predictions based on Table A.25 with 95% confidence bands adjusted with Satterthwaite approximation.

Appendix references

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