

## Online Appendix

Daniela Stockmann, "Who Believes Propaganda? Media Effects during the Anti-Japanese Protests in Beijing." *The China Quarterly*, 202, June 2010: 269-289.

**Note: Table A1 in the Appendix displays demographic characteristics of BAS respondents, including both readers and non-readers.**

### Question Wording and Coding of Variables:

Survey non-responses ("don't know" and "no answer") were deleted from the analysis. All independent variables were recoded to run from zero to one in order to allow interpretation of the intercept.

#### *Positive Views of Japan/Positivity/Feeling Thermometer*

"This is a card, on the front there is a thermometer scale. We use it to rate people's feelings towards countries. If you have a positive feeling for a country, you can indicate a value between 50 and 100. If you have a negative feeling for a country, you can indicate a value between 1 and 50. If you are somewhere in the middle, please select 50. Now let's see what your feeling is towards (country name), please select the value on the thermometer scale on the card." A list of states was provided so that, in effect, people were not just being asked to rate their discrete feelings towards a state, but were being encouraged to think comparatively.

#### *Exposure to Commercialized Messages/Reading a Newspaper/Watching TV News/Reading the News Online/Reading Additional Papers*

"Do you often read newspapers? If yes, which ones do you read?"

"Do you often watch the news on TV?"

"When you surf the internet do you access news websites?"

Respondents were represented with a card of major newspapers, online news websites, and TV news programs in Beijing. If a media source was not noted on the card, respondents were encouraged to name media sources they read frequently. Reading a newspaper, watching TV News, and reading the News Online are dummy variables. Variable Reading Additional Papers was coded as 1 if the respondent read one paper, two if she read two, and so forth. Coding of Exposure to Commercialized Messages is explained on page 284 in „Who Believes Propaganda?“

#### *Post-9 April Interview/Press Restrictions*

Dummy variable coded 1 if interview was conducted after 9 April, allowing readers to react to news content on April 10, one day after press restrictions were imposed.

#### *Official Visits*

Coded 0.5 if interview was conducted between 27 April and 3 May; coded 1 if interview was conducted afterwards. This coding assumes that incentives to read official papers increases between the first and second visit.

#### *National Identity*

Based on a scale composed of two indicators (Cronbach's alpha = 0.67):

How strongly do you agree with the following statements (4 answer categories: strongly, agree, disagree, strongly disagree).

"I would prefer to be a citizen of China more than any other country in the world."

“Generally speaking, China is a better country than most other countries.”

*Japan Threat Perceptions*

Which factor(s) on this list is a threat that China might be facing at the moment. Please select a suitable degree on a scale of 5, whereby 1 indicates “no threat,” and 5 “serious threat” (options: Taiwanese independence, the return of Japanese Militarism, global economic decline, domestic social disorder, the strength of the US military, the strength of the European Union’s military, other, such as crime, drugs, HIV-AIDS, pollution, etc).

*Travel to Japan*

“Have you traveled abroad?” If yes, “Where?”

*Studied Some English*

“Have you studied English?” Dummy variable.

*Cadre / Neighborhood Committee Worker*

Dummy variables based on profession. Neighborhood Committee worker was assessed if respondent was a social service worker (which included but was not limited to residential service) and a woman.

*Percentage of Life Spent in Beijing*

How many years have you lived in Beijing? Variable was divided by age.

*Personal Income*

“How much was your whole 12-month income during (year) (past year)?” Variable was logged.

*Education*

Education levels are tapped by total years of education. Variable was logged.

*Age / Age 35-53*

“Which year were you born?” In Table 1 Age 35-53 is based on a dummy variable for those 21 years or younger between 1972 and 1989, during rapprochement between the PRC and the US (Age 38 to 53 in 2005).

*Female*

Based on coding of interviewer.

Additional Tables and Figures

**Table OA1. Interaction between Reading Newspapers and Press Restrictions.  
Source: BAS 2004.**

	<b>Positive Views of Japan (Feeling Thermometer)</b>
<b>Variable</b>	Coefficient (s.e.)
Reading a Newspaper	<b>-4.04</b> (2.96)
Reading a Newspaper * Post-9 April Interview	<b>6.27</b> (4.6)
Post-9 April Interview	<b>-12.7***</b> (4.18)
<i>Control Variables:</i>	
Watching TV News	-2.47 (2.86)
Reading the News Online	-9.22*** (2.55)
National Identity	-11.04*** (3.54)
Japan Threat Peceptions	-9.59*** (2.9)
Travel to Japan	10.47* (5.91)
Education	14.62 (9.43)
Age 38 - 53	5.78*** (1.83)
Female	1.81 (1.8)
Intercept	37.74*** (9.02)
R-squared	0.11
Valid N	597

p-value \* p<0.1 \*\* p< 0.05 \*\*\* p < 0.01

**Table OA2. Three-Way Interaction Between Exposure to Commercialized Messages, Press Restrictions, and Reading Additional Papers. Source: BAS 2004. <sup>1</sup>**

	<b>Positive Views of Japan</b> (Feeling Thermometer)
<b>Variable</b>	Coefficient (s.e.)
Exposure to Commercialized Messages	<b>-9.55</b> (14.13)
Exposure to Commercialized Messages * Post- 9 April	<b>-7.68</b> (24.06)
Post-9 April	<b>-3.39</b> (13.05)
Reading Additional Newspapers	<b>1.19</b> (2.54)
Reading Additional Papers * Exposure to Commercialized Messages	<b>-2.39</b> (5.12)
Reading Additional Papers * Post-9 April	<b>-3.14</b> (5.6)
Reading Additional Papers * Post-9 April* Exposure to Commercialized Messages	<b>7.44</b> (10.97)
<i>Control Variables:</i>	
Watching TV News	-2.88 (3.72)
Reading the News Online	-8.83*** (2.81)
National Identity	-12.26*** (4.00)
Japan Threat Peceptions	-8.47*** (3.27)
Travel to Japan	10.41* (5.99)
Education	2.97 (13.39)
Age 38 - 53	5.47*** (2.04)
Female	1.62 (2.03)

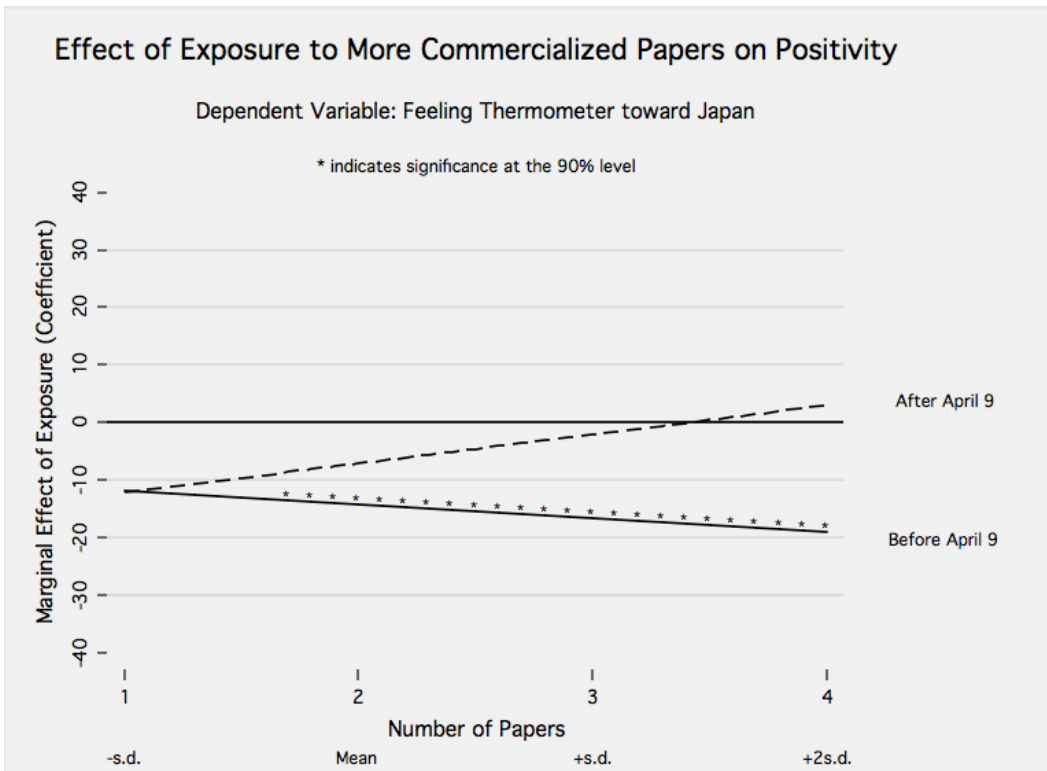
<sup>1</sup> The lack of statistical significance is a result of the interaction terms between exposure, press restrictions, and reading additional papers. Multicollinearity increases standard errors but coefficients remain unbiased. See T. Brambor, W. R. Clark and M. Golder, "Understanding Interaction Models: Improving Empirical Analyses," *Political Analysis*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2006), pp. 63-82.

Intercept	49.04*** (14.44)
R-squared	0.11
Valid N	477

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p-value \* p<0.1 \*\* p< 0.05 \*\*\* p < 0.01

**Figure OA1. Effects of Exposure to More Commercialized Papers as Reading Additional Papers and Press Restrictions Change. Source: BAS 2004.**

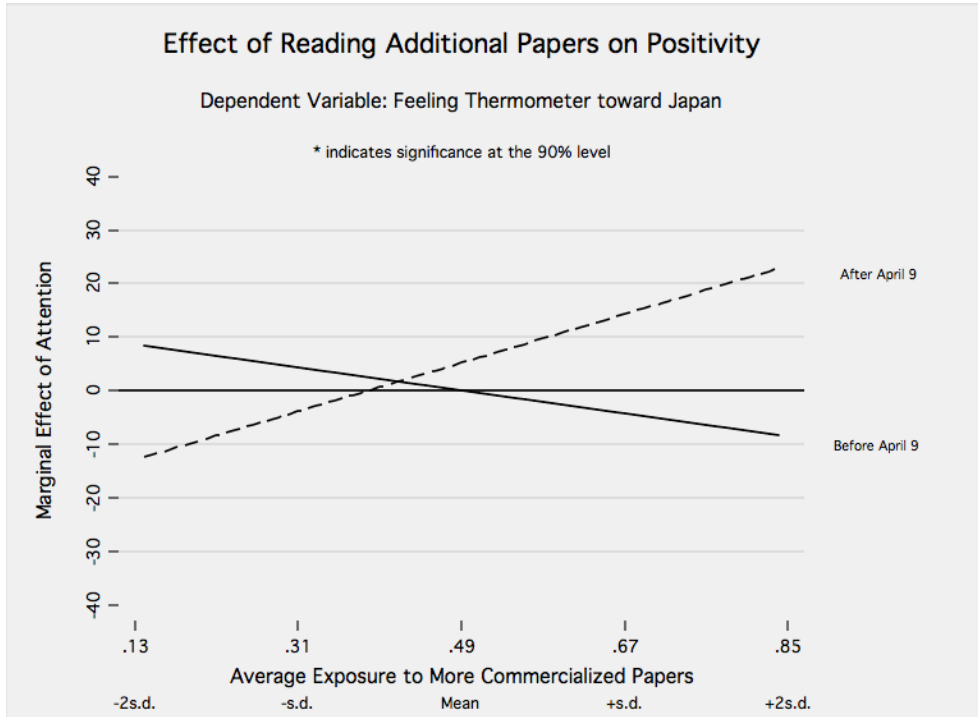


*Explanation:*

Figure OA1 displays how reading more commercialized papers (or moving from zero to one on the scale of being, on average, exposed to commercialized messages) relates to sentiment toward Japan before and after press restrictions were imposed as the number of newspapers a person reads changes. Before April 9 reading only one paper made Little Zhao feel about 12 degrees more negative about Japan than Mrs. Li. Although reporting in official as well as more commercialized papers was negative, the commercial wrapping of newspapers made Little Zhao more susceptible to the negative tone in the news. This effect became more pronounced as he chose to read additional newspapers. Reading similar stories in other commercialized papers confirmed the messages publicized in the first paper, moving his views towards Japan into a more negative direction of about 2.4 degrees per paper (as indicated by the straight line with a downward slope in figure OA1).

After April 9 these dynamics were similar, but this time newspaper exposure pulled sentiment toward Japan into a positive direction (as indicated by the dashed line with an upward slope in figure OA1). When comparing the situation before and after the protests (or the difference between the straight and dashed line), the shift in news reporting made a difference of 12 degrees for Little Zhao when reading reading two newspapers and these effects increased as he was reading more newspapers. As a standard for comparison, having a strong nationalist identity decreased Beijingers’ feelings toward Japan by about 12 degrees, on average (see table OA2 for details).

**Figure OA2. Effects of Reading Ten Papers as Exposure to More Commercialized Papers and Press Restrictions Change. Source: BAS 2004.**



*Explanation:*

Figure OA2 illustrates how reading ten papers related to Beijingers’ sentiment toward Japan before or after April 9 depending on where Beijingers ended up on the scale of being, on average, exposed to commercialized messages. When Beijingers tended to read semi-official papers (located at the mean of the x-axis), they were not influenced much by the news media. Reading ten more newspapers only slightly lessened and improved Old Wang’s views of Japan before and after April 9, respectively. Yet when reading, on average, more official papers than Old Wang (located at the left side of the x-axis), Beijingers became more skeptical of news reporting to Japan. Comrade Shu and Mrs. Li were more resistant to news reporting as they read more newspapers. Despite highly negative press reporting before April 9, reading more papers made them feel more warmly toward Japan; and regardless of more positive tone in the press after April 9, exposure to more papers made them feel colder toward Japan. Yet at the high end of the average exposure scale, the situation is reversed. When reading ten papers, Little Zhao (located at the right side of the x-axis) expressed more negative views toward Japan before April 9 and more positive ones afterwards. Less commercial liberalization was associated with greater skepticism, more commercial liberalization boosted the credibility of media sources, thus assisting the state in appeasing angry citizens.

Robustness Test Results for Content Analysis

**Table OA3. OLS Regression on Tone of News Reports about the Japanese History Textbooks, controlling for Article Length and References to Japan. Source: Japanese Textbook CATA, 2005.**

Variable	Tone about Japanese History Textbooks	Tone about Japanese History Textbooks
	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Post-9 April	<b>10.175***</b> (3.024)	<b>7.633***</b> (2.479)
Beijing Youth Daily	<b>-0.143</b> (2.962)	<b>-0.235</b> (2.502)
<i>Control Variables:</i>		
Article Length	-0.006** (0.002)	--
References to Japan	--	-0.481*** (0.078)
Intercept	-8.820*** (2.741)	-3.488 (2.529)
N	89	89
R2	0.15	0.37

p-value \* p<0.1 \*\* p< 0.05 \*\*\* p < 0.01