

## Online Appendix

Daniela Stockmann, "What Information Does the Public Demand? Getting the News during the 2005 Anti-Japanese Protests," in *Changing Media, Changing China*, ed. Susan Shirk. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 175-201.

### Survey Data and Question Wording

Survey non-responses ("don't know" and "no answer") were deleted from the analysis. To facilitate interpretation of the intercept, all independent variables were recoded to run from zero to one.

#### Beijing Area Studies Survey of Beijing Residents (BAS), 2004

##### *Negativity toward Japan / 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. Variable Negativity was recoded, such that higher values represent colder feelings toward Japan.

##### *Newspaper Use / Online News Consumption*

„Do you often read newspapers / access news websites when surfing the internet?“ If yes, "Which (newspaper /news website) do you (read / surf) frequently?" Respondents were provided with a card of the most popular newspapers or news websites. Respondents could also choose the answer category "other" and specify the name of the media source they frequently consumed. Because empirical data was not available when the survey questions were developed, I chose these cases based on a list developed in collaboration with several media practitioners and media scholars. Since the Beijing Times (Jinghua Shibao) is a newspaper whose popularity only increased in recent years, this influential newspaper was not included on the card. Readership of this particular newspaper was therefore underestimated – according to CTR market research data was 18.2 percent in Beijing in 2004. In the BAS only 7.62 percent of respondents indicated to read the Beijing Times when asked if they often read a newspaper not appearing on the card.

##### *Press Restrictions*

Based on the date on which the interview was conducted. The press restrictions treatment was coded 0 before April 10, and 1 after April 9.

##### *Cadre*

Dummy variable based on profession.

##### *Travel*

Dummy variable indicating whether respondent has traveled to North America or Europe. "Have you traveled abroad?" If yes, "Where?" Coded one if traveled to the US for Foreign Travel/Direct Contact. Coded one if traveled to the US or Europe for Travel to EU/US.

### *English*

“Have you studied English?” If yes, “how many years?”

### *Years lived in Beijing*

How many years have you lived in Beijing?

### *Personal Income Level*

“How much was your whole 12-month income / family income during (year) (past year)?”

Variable was logged.

### *Years of Education*

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

### *Age*

“Which year were you born?”

### *Haidian District*

Dummy variable if interview took place in Haidian district (delayed).

### *Female*

Based on coding of interviewer.

### China Regional Media Data, 2007-2008

All independent variables were coded to run from 0 to 1 to facilitate interpretation of the intercept.

*Cases:* All regions for which data was available in the World Values Survey 2007 were included (n=24).

*Newspaper / Television Credibility:* based on regional mean of WVS 2007 in China: “What is your degree of confidence towards the organizations below? – A great deal, quite a lot, not very much, none at all. Relevant answer categories included the press (*xinwen chubanye*), television (*dianshitai*), the central government (*zhongyang zhengfu*), political party/ies (*zhengdang*), and the National People’s Congress (*renmin daibiao dahui*). For more details see [www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org). To compare media credibility across regions I subtracted the average level of political trust among respondents within a province or municipality from their average level of trust in the press or television. Negative values reveal that people found the media less trustworthy than political institutions, while positive values mark higher credibility of the media compared to political institutions. The resulting variable runs from -1 (media much less trustworthy) to +1 (media much more trustworthy). The minimum for newspaper credibility was -0.33; the maximum +0.17; the mean +0.115. The minimum for television credibility was -0.33; the maximum +0.18; the mean +0.117.

*Commercial Liberalization of the Media:* based on an index between advertising income and percentage of internet users as reported by the China Advertising Yearbook and the China Internet Network Information Center. Results remain stable when using each variable independently.

*Ratio of Rural Population:* based on percentage of population in villages and townships as reported in the China Statistical Yearbook 2008.

*Ratio of Han Chinese:* based on 2000 census data.

*Level of Economic Development:* based on Gross Regional Product per capita reported by the China Statistical Yearbook 2008 (logged).

*Municipality:* Dummy variable.

## Additional Tables

**Table A1. Patterns of News Media Use in Beijing (Extended Model / Robustness Test). Source: BAS 2004.**

<i>Independent Variables:</i>	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>
	<b>Newspaper Consumption</b>	<b>Online News Consumption</b>
	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
<b>Cadre</b>	1.006** (0.435)	0.012 (0.245)
<b>Travel</b>	-0.688** (0.296)	1.054*** (0.283)
<b>English</b>	0.620 (1.390)	5.334*** (1.654)
<b>English Squared</b>	-0.210 (2.200)	-7.301** (3.206)
<b>Years of Education</b>	3.224*** (0.701)	3.844*** (1.165)
<b>Income</b>	0.254 (0.281)	1.031** (0.400)
<b>Years lived in Beijing</b>	0.189 (0.449)	-0.524 (0.545)
<b>Age</b>	0.050 (0.041)	-0.020 (0.048)
<b>Age Squared</b>	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)
<b>Female</b>	-0.146 (0.126)	-0.241 (0.152)
<b>Haidian District</b>	0.173 (0.202)	0.504** (0.209)
<b>Constant</b>	-3.539*** (1.129)	-4.120*** (1.419)
<b>N</b>	610	604
<b>Pseudo-R2</b>	0.09	0.30

\*\*\* z<0.01; \*\* z<0.05; \* z<0.1;

**Table A2. Media Use during Public Opinion Crisis in Beijing (Basic and Extended Model). Source: BAS 2004.**

<i>Independent Variables:</i>	<i>Basic Model</i>		<i>Extended Model</i>	
	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>
	<b>Newspaper Consumption</b>	<b>Online News Consumption</b>	<b>Newspaper Consumption</b>	<b>Online News Consumption</b>
	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
<b>Press Restrictions</b>	0.657 (0.459)	0.497 (0.520)	0.685 (0.466)	0.215 (0.528)
<b>Negativity toward Japan</b>	0.742** (0.335)	0.875** (0.401)	0.758** (0.337)	0.746* (0.403)
<b>Press Restrictions*Negativity</b>	-1.063* (0.608)	-0.627 (0.673)	-1.118* (0.617)	-0.574 (0.682)
<b>Cadre</b>	1.053** (0.438)	-0.038 (0.236)	1.024** (0.450)	0.023 (0.246)
<b>Travel</b>	-0.558* (0.291)	0.953*** (0.274)	-0.694** (0.301)	1.072*** (0.283)
<b>English</b>	-1.462 (1.166)	7.552*** (1.422)	0.239 (1.409)	5.287*** (1.714)
<b>English Squared</b>	2.177 (2.028)	-9.505*** (2.999)	0.341 (2.206)	-7.512** (3.470)
<b>Years of Education</b>	3.101*** (0.673)	3.898*** (1.132)	3.448*** (0.728)	4.080*** (1.186)
<b>Income</b>	0.376 (0.275)	0.918** (0.382)	0.179 (0.288)	0.996** (0.402)
<b>Years lived in Beijing</b>	--	--	0.078 (0.474)	-0.387 (0.557)
<b>Age</b>	--	--	0.056 (0.042)	-0.026 (0.048)
<b>Age Squared</b>	--	--	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.001)
<b>Female</b>	--	--	-0.130 (0.128)	-0.228 (0.153)
<b>Haidian District</b>	--	--	0.214 (0.226)	0.627*** (0.231)
<b>Constant</b>	-2.316*** (0.601)	-6.054*** (1.015)	-4.211*** (1.206)	-4.699*** (1.499)
<b>N</b>	603	597	603	597
<b>Pseudo-R2</b>	0.09	0.27	0.10	0.31

\*\*\* z<0.01; \*\* z<0.05; \* z<0.1;

**Table A3. Demographic Characteristics of Respondents. Source: BAS 2004.**

<b>Respondent Characteristics by Experimental Groups</b>			
	Average (s.d.)		
	<i>Whole Survey</i>	<i>Pre-Protest</i>	<i>Press Restrictions</i>
<b>Years of Education</b>	11.34 (3.17)	11.43 (2.79)	12.03 (3.04)
<b>Personal Income in RMB</b>	2,212.28 (5918.01)	2,212.92 (7,266.22)	2,548.68 (4,409.72)
<b>Female</b>	0.43 (0.5)	0.43 (0.5)	0.38 (0.49)
<b>Age</b>	47 (9.78)	48.3 (9.51)	45.21 (9.6)
Valid N	617	385	232

**Table A4. Overlap of Newspaper Readers and Online News Consumers in Beijing (in Frequencies). Source: BAS 2004.**

	<b>Newspaper Readers</b>	<b>Non-Readers</b>	Total N
<b>Online News Consumers</b>	94	13	107
<b>Non-Online News Consumers</b>	400	104	504
Total N	494	117	611

**Table A5. Percentages of individual newspaper type's readers among newspaper readers (Frequencies in parentheses). Source: BAS 2004.<sup>1</sup>**

	<b>All Readers</b>	<b>Readers who also read the news online</b>	<b>Readers who do not read the news online</b>
<b>Use of Official Papers</b>	35.54 % (177)	31.91 % (30)	36.25 % (145)
<b>Use of Semi-Official Papers</b>	82.73 % (410)	90.43 % (85)	81.25 % (325)
<b>Use of Commercialized Papers</b>	38.83 % (193)	<b>55.32 %</b> (52)	35 % (140)
Total N	497 <sup>2</sup>	94	400

<sup>1</sup> With respect to newspaper type multiple responses were possible. As a result, percentages in columns do not add up to 100 percent.

<sup>2</sup> Three respondents who responded "don't know" or did not respond to our survey question about Internet use were coded as missing cases.

**Table A6. OLS Regression Results of Commercial Liberalization of the Media on Media Credibility Across Chinese Regions. Source: Chinese Regional Media Data, 2007-2008.**

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>
	<b>Newspaper Credibility</b>	<b>Television Credibility</b>
	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
<i>Independent Variables:</i>		
<b>Commercial Liberalization Index</b>	0.602*** (0.159)	0.591*** (0.164)
<b>Ratio of Rural Population</b>	0.647 (0.44)	0.545 (0.456)
<b>Level of Economic Development</b>	0.005 (0.214)	-0.042 (0.222)
<b>Ratio of Han Chinese</b>	0.195 (0.129)	0.205 (0.134)
<b>Municipality</b>	-0.196** (0.086)	-0.222** (0.089)
<b>Constant</b>	-0.564 (0.334)	-0.473 (0.346)
<b>N</b>	24	24
<b>R-Squared</b>	0.53	0.51

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