Online Appendix

Stockmann, Daniela. *Media Commercialization and Authoritarian Rule in China*, Communication, Society & Politics Series. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Which media organizations are you currently working for?
How long have you been working for each of these organizations?
For which news media have you been working previously? For how long?
Which topics do you report mostly about? Which area do you consider to be your area of expertise?

In the area of your expertise, are there any topics you cannot report about, because they are considered to be politically sensitive?

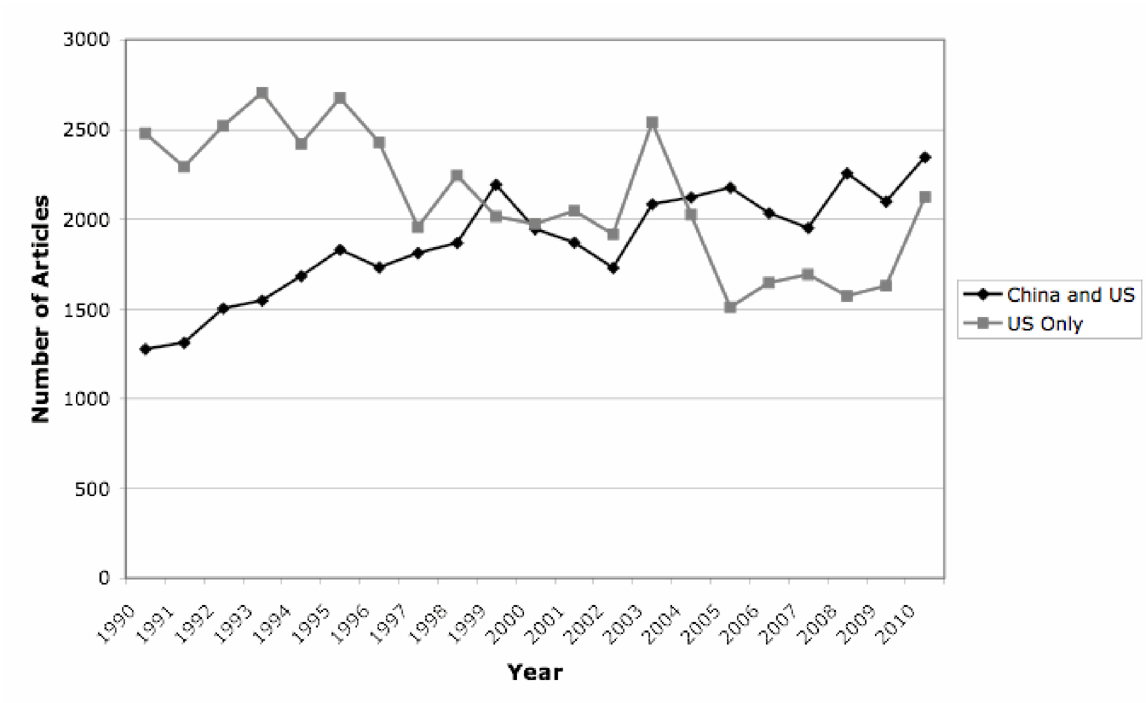
Did you ever get into trouble because of one of your articles?
Are issues related to your area of expertise considered sensitive? And how about the labor law in particular? And how about reporting about the United States, including foreign and domestic politics, American society, and American culture? Are issues related to this subject considered sensitive?
Recently, journalists often talk about "official," "semi-official," and "commercialized media." Have you heard this expression before? If yes, what does it mean to you? Coded based on factors raised by the respondent: institution under which media institution is registered, state subsidies, distribution channel, profit-making management or operation style of the institution, personnel differences, content, or other.

Here is a list of the most important newspapers and TV shows in Beijing/Chongqing. Could you tell me which one belongs to "official," "semi-official," and "commercialized media?" Official was coded as 1, semi-official as 0.5, and commercialized as 0. An index of newspaper type was created based on averages for each newspaper.
Could you tell me which media sources on this list are open or closed （*kaifang* 开放 / *baoshou* 保守） in terms of reporting about the US/labor disputes?[1]
What is your impression, do the official, semi-official, and commercialized media vary in terms of reporting about labor disputes / political news about the US and American culture, society, entertainment?

[1] On translations of *kaifang* and *baoshou* see chapter 3, footnote 59, page 70.

Additional Figure, Chapter 4

Figure OA4.1.[x] *Development of News Reporting on the US, 1990-2010. Source: People's Daily Full Text Archive.*[a]



[x] See page 100, footnote 86.

[a] To measure *waishi baodao* I searched for articles that mention the United States (*meiguo*) and China (*zhongguo*); to assess *guoji baodao* I searched for articles that mention the United States, but not China. Hits are based on full-text search.

Additional Table, Chapter 5

Table 2OA.1.[x] *OLS Regression Results for the Tone Surrounding the United States in People's Daily and Beijing Evening News. Source: USCATA, 1999 and 2003.*

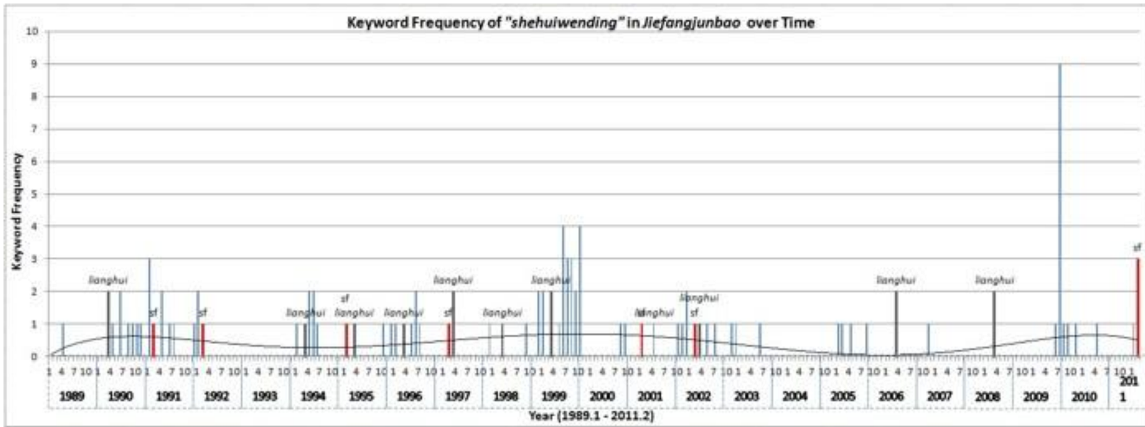
Independent Variables:	**Dependent Variable: Tone of the US** Coefficient (s.e.)
People's Daily	1.159*** (0.306)
Politics	-4.762** (1.959)
Number of References to China (logged)	0.269** (0.112)
Number of References to Chinese Political Institutions (logged)	0.457 (0.301)
Number of References to Chinese Leaders (logged)	1.319*** (0.343)
2003	-0.384 (0.237)
Iraq (dummy)	-1.183*** (0.312)
Issue Sensitivity	-4.341*** (0.66)
Xinhua (dummy)	-0.668*** (0.169)
Sensitivity Over Time	-2.957*** (1.032)
Number of References to the US (logged)	-0.475*** (0.163)
Length	8.564*** (2.785)
Constant	1.669*** (0.323)
N	2,272
R-Squared	0.09

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

[x] See Appendix D, p. 284-285 and Table 5.2, p. 123. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, p. 275-276.

Additional Figure, Chapter 6

Figure OA6.1.[x] *References to Social Stability (shehui wending) in Headlines of the People's Liberation Army Daily (Jiefangjunbao). Source: East View Information Services Online Database.*



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[x] See page 148, footnote 49 and Figure 6.1, page 149.

Additional Tables, Chapter 8

CTR Market Research Data, 2004

Data: CTR market research has monitored readership in major Chinese cities since 1999. Average response rate was about 65 % depending on year and location.[2] Sample size was 5003 in Beijing and 2505 in Chongqing in 2004. Interviews were conducted face-to-face in the local dialect. 20 % of the interviews were double-checked by an independent bureau of the company by phone. If the household did not have a telephone interviews were double-checked in person (5 %). Survey sampling was done based on probability proportional to size (PPS), which excluded the migrant population.

Question Wording and Coding of Variables: "Which newspapers (on this list) have you read yesterday / the day before yesterday / within the past 7 days?" Measurement of readership differs for daily newspapers as opposed to weekly newspapers. For daily newspapers only the question of reading a newspaper yesterday was used. For weekly and biweekly newspapers an index was created based on the three questions above.

Table 4OA.1.[x] Percent of Newspaper Readership in Beijing. Source: CTR 2004 and BAS 2004.

Newspaper[a]	**Percent of Readership (CTR),** conducted in April 2004	**Percent of Readership (BAS),** conducted Feb to May 2005
People's Daily	Not announced	10.53
Beijing Daily	6	15.88
China Youth Daily	1.8	9.4
Beijing Evening News	48.7	51.38
Beijing Entertainment News	8	13.61
Beijing Morning News	9.9	12.32
Beijing Youth Daily	20.3	19.77
Cankao Xiaoxi	4.9	10.05
Global Times	4.2	6.32
Beijing Times (Jinghua Shibao)	18.2	7.62
Beijing News (Xinjing Shibao)	Not announced	7.14

[2] Each survey had been conducted by local polling institutes which do not report response rates to the headquarters in Beijing. Information about individual response rates would have required additional research by the company. Since CTR shared the data with me free of charge, I was not able to receive specific response rates for each poll. The author would like to thank Shen Ying for sharing these data.

[x] See Appendix D, page 285.

[a] A complete list of all newspapers read in Beijing would include about 300 newspapers. In table 4OA.1 newspapers were listed only if BAS data indicate a percent of readership above 5 percent.

Table 4OA.2.[x] Percent of Newspaper Readership in Chongqing. Source: CTR 2004 and LLM 2005.

Newspaper[a]	**Percent of Readership (CTR),** conducted in April 2004	**Percent of Readership (LLM),** conducted in April 2005
People's Daily	Not announced	0.6
Chongqing Daily	4.1	5.9
Chongqing Times	Founded in the Fall of 2004	15.7
Chongqing Evening News	27.1	25.5
Chongqing Youth Daily	10.7	6.7
Chongqing Morning News	21.5	14.5
Chongqing Business News (Chongqing Shangbao)	17.9	10.9
Chongqing Economic News (Chognqing Jingjibao)	9.3	1.7
New Women's Paper	14.5	1.5

[x] See Appendix D, page 285.

[a] A complete list of all newspapers read in Beijing would include about 300 newspapers. In table 4OA.2 newspapers were listed only if CTR or LLM data indicate a percent of readership above 5 percent.

Table 4OA.3.[x] *Multiple Probit Regression on Newspaper Use in Beijing. Source: BAS 2004.*

	Dependent Variable: Newspaper Use			
	Basic Model		**Extended Model**	
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)		Coefficient (s.e.)	
Press Restrictions	-0.132	0.568	-0.216	0.536
	(0.144)	(0.465)	(0.165)	(0.472)
Negativity[a] * Press Restrictions	--	-1.048*	--	-1.089*
		(0.617)		(0.627)
Negativity toward Japan	--	0.645*	--	0.740*
		(0.333)		(0.414)
Official Events	0.304	0.343	0.36	0.398
	(0.285)	(0.287)	(0.293)	(0.295)
Cadre	0.969**	0.968**	0.862**	0.908**
	(0.433)	(0.449)	(0.433)	(0.447)
Party or State Unit	0.341	0.52	0.446	0.464
	(0.314)	(0.349)	(0.351)	(0.351)
Neighborhood Committee Worker	0.149	0.2	0.226	0.281
	(0.413)	(0.419)	(0.416)	(0.423)
Travel to EU/US	-0.620**	-0.609**	-0.717**	-0.713**
	(0.293)	(0.297)	(0.299)	(0.304)
Internet Use	0.104	0.072	0.034	0.008
	(0.193)	(0.196)	(0.204)	(0.206)
Education	2.520***	2.621***	2.651***	2.781***

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 285-286 and Appendix E, Table 8A.3, p. 293. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 278-280.

[a] Negativity toward Japan has been recoded from the original feeling thermometer into a 0 to 1 scale, whereby higher values represent colder feelings toward Japan. To simplify interpretation of the results, I calculated the corresponding degrees on the feeling thermometer (variable Positivity) in Figure 8.3, p. 196.

	(0.645)	(0.659)	(0.711)	(0.721)
Personal Income	0.492*	0.408	0.324	0.29
	(0.276)	(0.281)	(0.299)	(0.301)
Retired			0.004	0.007
	--	--	(0.172)	(0.173)
Attention (to the US)			0.528**	0.480**
	--	--	(0.224)	(0.227)
Positivity toward US			-0.123	0.133
	--	--	(0.272)	(0.354)
Generation			0.138	0.144
	--	--	(0.16)	(0.161)
Haidian District			0.225	0.242
	--	--	(0.226)	(0.228)
Female			-0.173	-0.16
	--	--	(0.137)	(0.138)
Constant	-1.519***	-1.971***	-1.726***	-2.396***
	(0.53)	(0.609)	(0.602)	(0.719)
N	605	598	597	597
Pseudo R-Squared	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.1

z-value * z<0.1; ** z< 0.05; *** z < 0.01;

Table 4OA.4.[x] *Multiple Probit Regression on Use of Official Papers Among Readers in Beijing. Source: BAS 2004.*

	Dependent Variable: Use of Official Papers	
	Basic Model	**Extended Model**
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Press Restrictions	-0.47*** (0.15)	-0.47*** (0.15)
Official Events	0.53** (0.27)	0.63** (0.27)
Cadre	0.19 (0.21)	0.11 (0.22)
Party or State Unit	0.60*** (0.22)	0.56*** (0.23)
Neighborhood Committee Worker	0.68* (0.38)	0.76** (0.39)
Education	1.07 (0.73)	1.10 (0.83)
Personal Income	0.46 (0.31)	0.41 (0.33)
Positivity toward Japan	-	0.44 (0.28)
Percentage of Life Spent in Beijing	-	0.03 (0.44)
Travel to Europe or North-America	-	0.58 (0.36)
Reading the News on the	-	-0.27

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 285-286 and Appendix E, Table 8A.4, p. 294. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 278-280.

Internet		(0.18)
Having Studied Some English	-	0.23 (0.14)
Age	-	1.01 (0.62)
Female	-	-0.16 (0.13)
Constant	-1.51** (0.62)	-2.44*** (0.83)
Pseudo R-Squared	0.05	0.07
N	492	484

z-value * z<0.1; ** z< 0.05; *** z < 0.01;

Table 4OA.5.[x] *Multiple Probit Regression on Use of Official Papers Among Readers in Beijing. Source: BAS 2004.*

	Dependent Variable: Use of Official Papers			
	Basic Model Coefficient (s.e.)	**Extended Model** Coefficient (s.e.)	**Basic Model** Coefficient (s.e.)	**Extended Model** Coefficient (s.e.)
Independent Variables:				
Press Restrictions	-0.47*** (0.15)	-0.46*** (0.15)	-0.44*** (0.15)	-0.43*** (0.15)
Official Events	0.53** (0.27)	0.56** (0.27)	0.42 (0.29)	0.45 (0.29)
Official Events * Zero Political Confidence	-	-	0.70 (0.73)	0.71 (0.74)
Zero Political Confidence	-	-	0.42** (0.19)	0.43** (0.19)
Cadre	0.19 (0.21)	0.16 (0.22)	0.18 (0.21)	0.15 (0.22)
Party or State Unit	0.60*** (0.22)	0.61*** (0.22)	0.58 (0.22)	0.58*** (0.23)
Neighborhood Committee Worker	0.68* (0.38)	0.8** (0.39)	0.70* (0.38)	0.83** (0.39)
Education	1.07 (0.73)	1.29 (0.8)	1.06 (0.74)	1.32* (0.8)
	0.46	0.46	0.40	0.38

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 285-286 and Appendix E, Table 8A.4, p. 294. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 278-280.

Personal Income	(0.31)	(0.32)	(0.31)	(0.32)
Positivity toward the US	-	0.22 (0.26)	-	0.18 (0.26)
Attention (to the US)	-	-0.002 (0.23)	-	-0.0036 (0.23)
Retired	-	-0.16 (0.16)	-	-0.14 (0.16)
Generation	-	0.32** (0.15)	-	0.32** (0.15)
Female	-	-0.09 (0.13)	-	-0.11 (0.13)
Constant	-1.51** (0.62)	-1.89*** (0.68)	-1.53** (0.62)	-1.91*** (0.68)
Pseudo R-Squared	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.07
N	492	488	492	488

z-value * z<0.1 ** z< 0.05 *** z < 0.01

Table 4OA.6.[x] Multiple Probit Regression on Use of Commercialized Papers Among Readers of Non-Official Papers in Beijing. Source: BAS 2004.[3]

	Dependent Variable: Use of Commercialized Papers	
	Basic Model	**Extended Model**
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Press Restrictions	0.1 (0.17)	0.06 (0.18)
Official Visits / Events	-0.68** (0.34)	-0.57* (0.35)
Having Studied Some English	0.27 (0.17)	0.32* (0.18)
Years Lived in Beijing	-0.53 (0.42)	-0.49 (0.53)
Reading the News Online	0.61*** (0.20)	0.56*** (0.21)
Education	-1.87* (1.10)	-2.37** (1.13)
Personal Income	-0.47 (0.95)	-0.52 (0.37)
Positivity toward Japan	-	0.13 (0.34)
Age	-	-0.01 (0.71)
Female	-	-0.17 (0.15)

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 285-286 and Appendix E, Table 8A.5, p. 295. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 278-280.

[3] A dummy variable for having traveled to countries located in Europe or North America was dropped from the analysis, because it predicted the use of commercialized papers perfectly. Results can be retrieved from the author upon request.

Constant	1.72** (0.95)	2.13** (1.04)
Pseudo R-Squared	0.05	0.06
N	314	306

z-value * z<0.1; ** z< 0.05; *** z < 0.01;

Table 4OA.7.[x] *Multiple Probit Regression on Use of Official Papers Among Frequent Readers in* **Chongqing, Foshan, Wuxi,** *and* **Shenyang**. *Source: LLM, 2005.*

	Dependent Variable: Use of Official Papers	
	Basic Model	**Extended Model**
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Cadre	0.326** (0.141)	(dropped)
Party or State Unit	0.276* (0.152)	0.562* (0.276)
Urban Resident	--	-0.105 (0.384)
Education	2.437*** (0.695)	2.024*** (0.689)
Age	0.433** (0.17)	0.851** (0.313)
Foshan	1.882*** (0.191)	1.888*** (0.205)
Wuxi	0.956*** (0.134)	0.985*** (0.136)
Shenyang	0.438*** (0.13)	0.353*** (0.128)
Labor Law is Effective	--	-0.004 (0.107)
Internet	--	0.031 (0.154)
TV	--	0.208 (0.235)
Radio	--	-0.029 (0.118)
Disputant	--	-0.784*** (0.178)
Retired	--	-0.472**

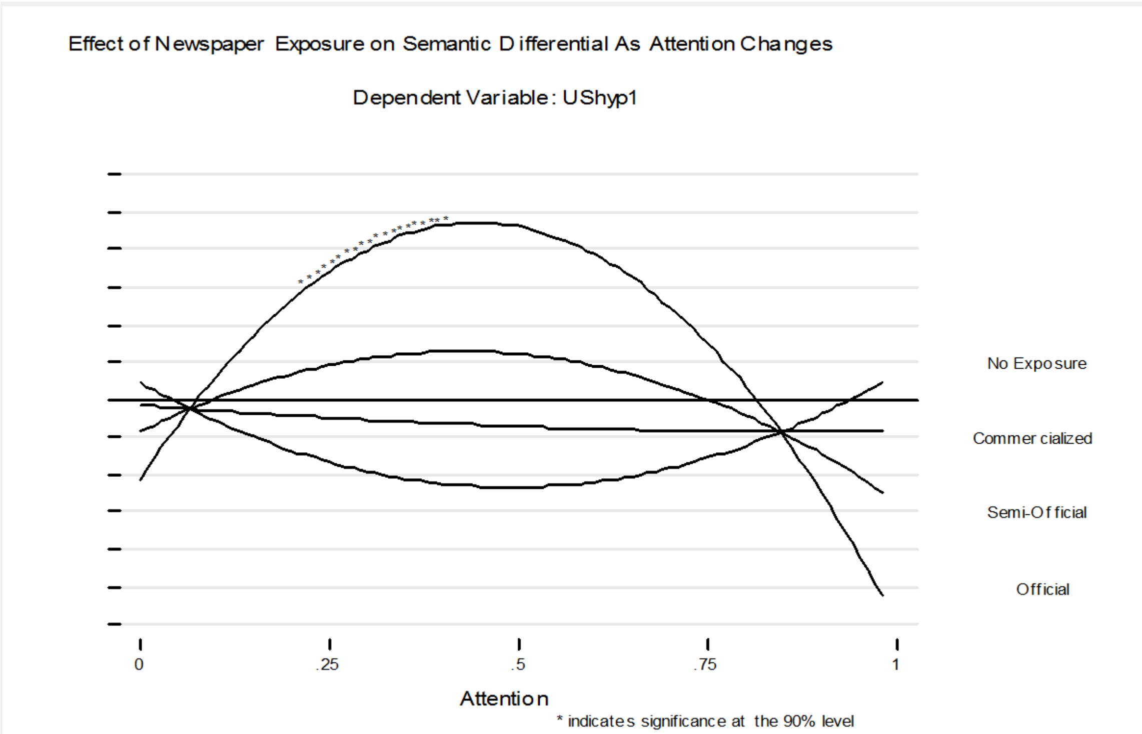
[x] See Appendix D, pp. 285-286 and Appendix E, Table 8A.6, p. 296. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 276-278.

		(0.172)
Income	--	0.472*
		(0.234)
Male	--	0.152
		(0.119)
Constant	-3.111***	-3.273***
	(0.631)	(0.703)
N	2,377	1,842
Pseudo R-Squared	0.18	0.19

z-value * z<0.1; ** z< 0.05; *** z < 0.01;

Additional Figures and Tables, Chapter 9

Figure OA9.1.[x] OLS Regression Results of Newspaper Exposure on Perceptions of the United States as Hypocritcal or Sincere. Source: BAS 2004.[4]



Measurement of Dependent Variable: The BAS 2004 survey asked questions about self and other using Osgood semantic differential scales.[5] These are common in social psychology and are used to determine the traits that different identities are associated with, and the degree to which differences within and across identity groups are salient.[6] Based on respondents' ranking of Americans as people and the United States as a State on a 7 point scale of each dimension of the semantic differential, individual measures for each trait/dimension and scales for overall perceptions of Americans/the US were created. Figure OA9.4 presents results for placement of the United States with respect to the question: "(Country name) is an important country, do you think in general it is sincere or hypocritical?" (言行一致—言行不一). This variable is presented on the y-axis, whereby lower numbers refer to perceptions of the US as hypocritical, higher numbers to perceptions as sincere.

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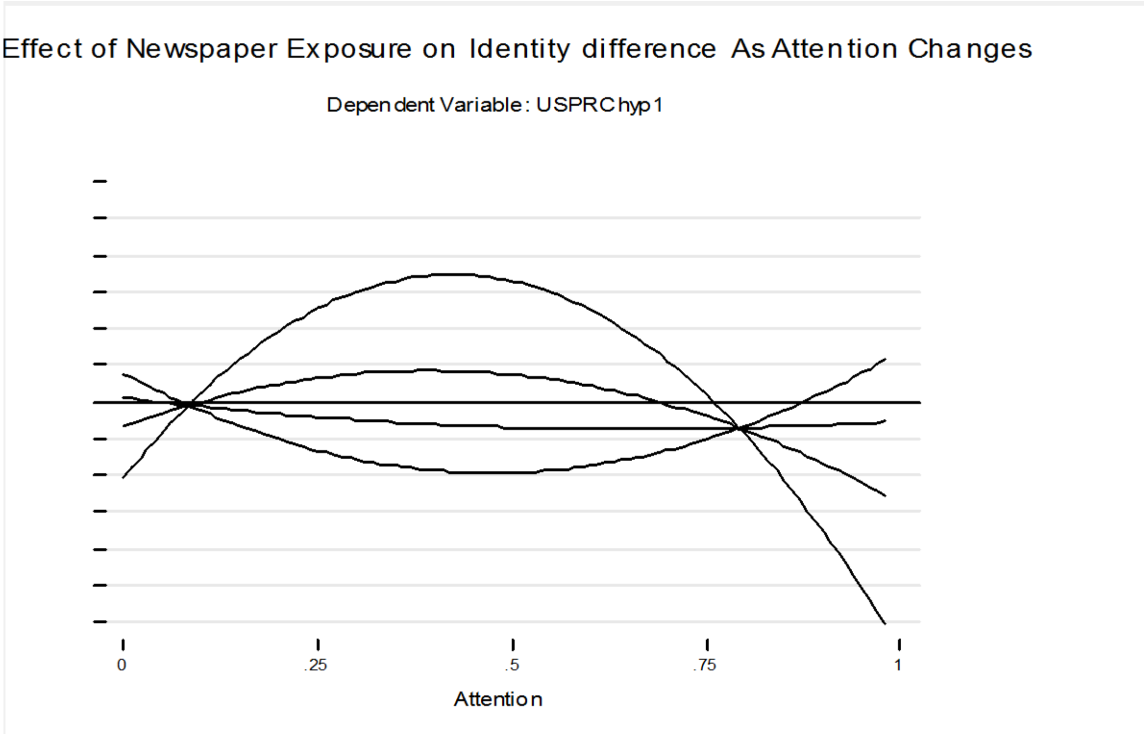
[x] See Appendix D, 287-288, Figure 9.2, p. 215, and footnote 20, p. 216.
[4] In this model attention was squared (see Equ. 9.2, Appendix D, page 283).
[5] See Charles Osgood, George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, *The Measurement of Meaning* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957).
[6] For examples of the Osgood semantic differential scale in assessing identity see Peter J Burke and Judy C. Tully, "The Measurement of Role Identity," *Social Forces* 55, no. 4 (1977), Peter J. Burke and Donald C. Reitzes, "The Link between Identity and Role Performance," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 44 (1981).

Figure OA9.2.[x] *OLS Regression Results of Newspaper Exposure on perceived Identity Difference with Respect to Sincere-Hypocritical Behavior. Source: BAS 2004.*[7]

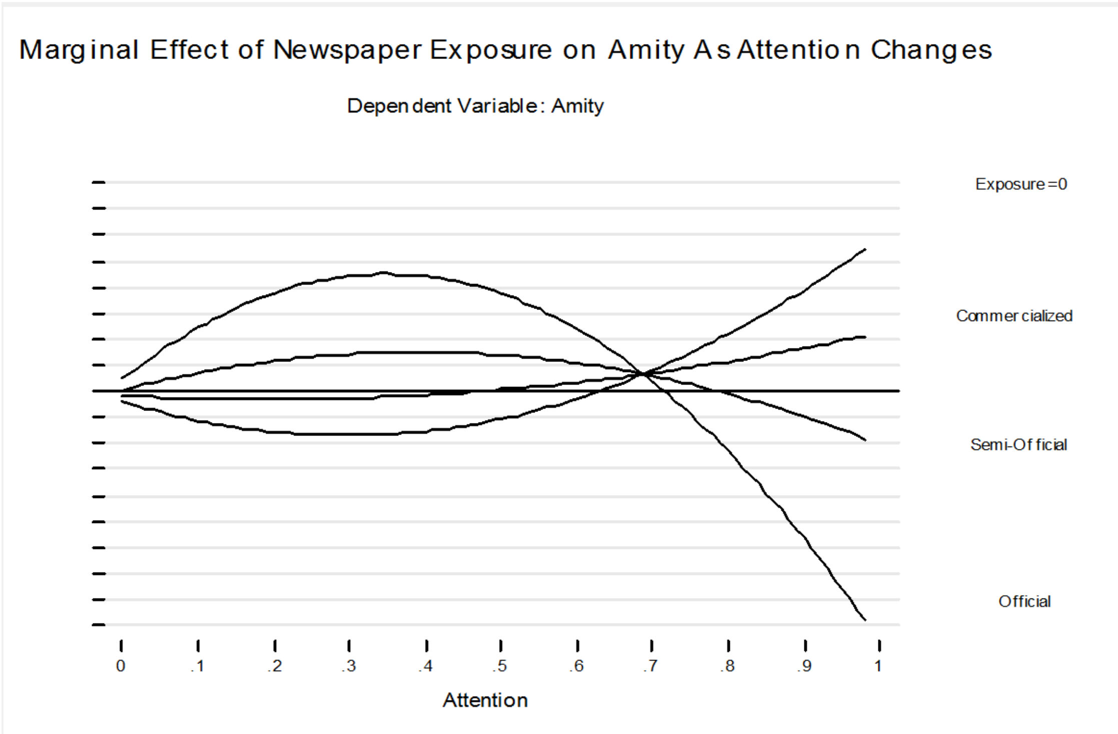


Measurement of Dependent Variable: In the BAS, respondents were asked to rank Chinese as people and China as a country on the same dimensions as Americans and the United States. By subtracting each respondent's ranking of Chinese/China from Americans/United States, I created indicators for perceived identity difference. The closer to zero the identity difference score the narrower perceived identity differences between Chinese and Americans, and the Chinese state and the American state. Positive numbers indicate that respondent's views about the US/Americans and PRC/Chinese were different, but the US/Americans were perceived more positively than the PRC/China; 0 refers to views of those who think that the PRC/Chinese and the US/Americans are the same; negative numbers reflect views of the US/Americans to be different from the PRC/Chinese, but the US/Americans were perceived more negatively than the PRC/Chinese. Perceptions of identity difference between the US and China on the sincere-hypocritical dimension is presented on the y-axis in Figure OA9.2.

[x] See Appendix D, 287-288, Figure 9.2, p. 215, and footnote 20, p. 216.

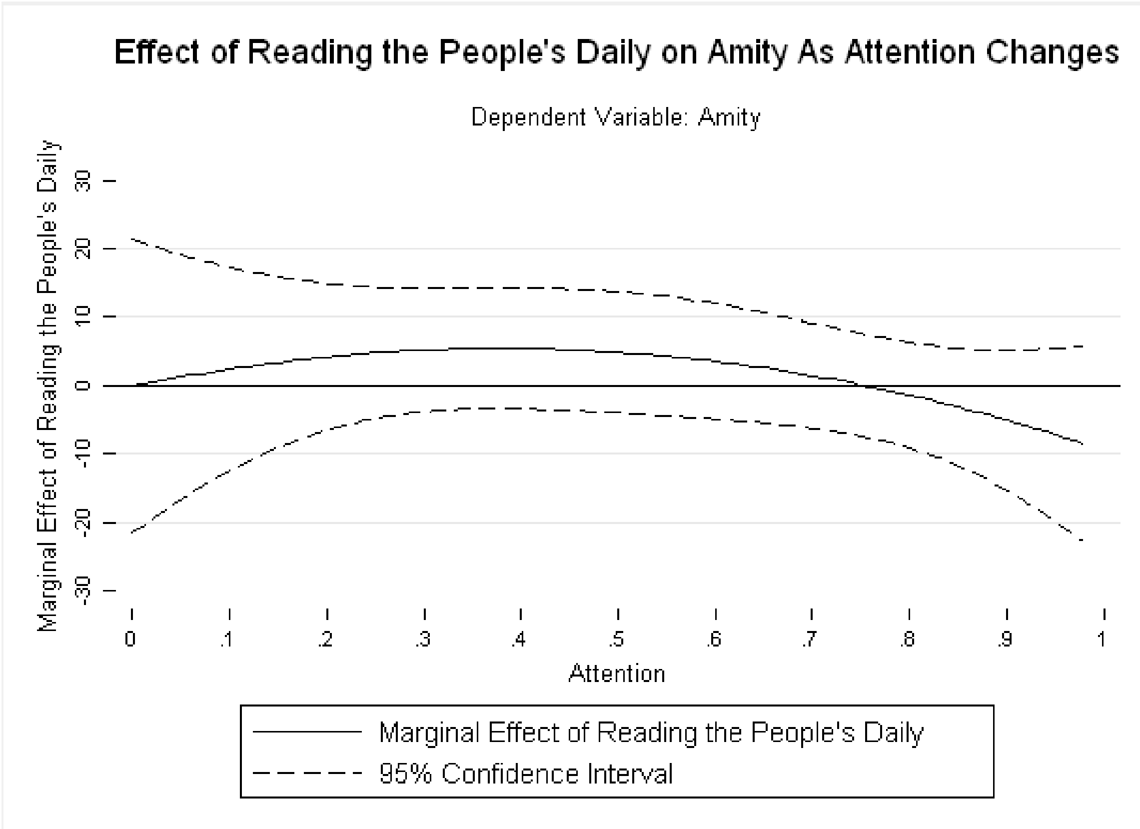
[7] In this model average exposure was squared (see Equ. 9.2, Appendix D, page 283). Lines in this figure represent no exposure and exposure to commercialized, semi-official, and official messages (ordered top-down, consistent with Figures OA9.1 and OA9.3).

Figure OA9.3.[x] *OLS Regression Results of Newspaper Exposure on Amity as Attention Changes, whereby average exposure was weighted based on how many pages of international news was contained in one edition. Source: BAS 2004.*[8]



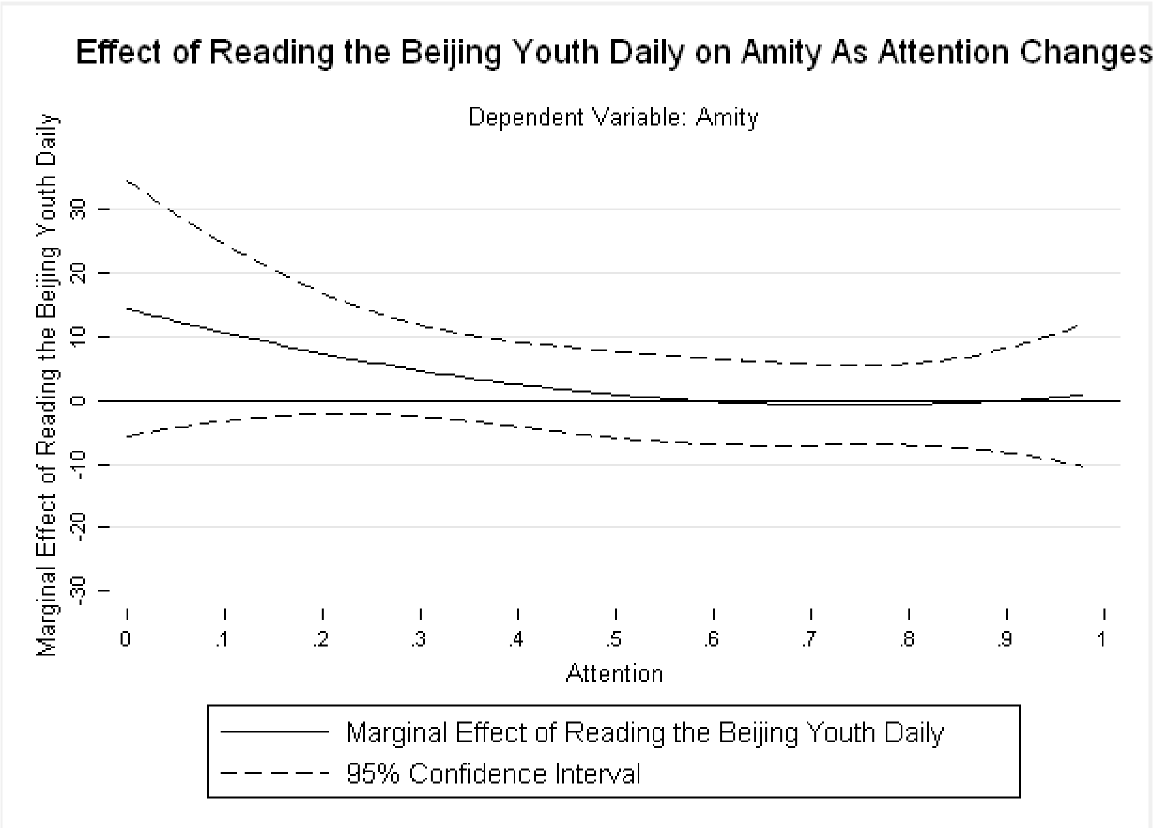
[x] See Appendix D, 287-288, Figure 9.2, p. 215, and footnote 20, p. 216. For a more detailed explanation of measurement of average exposure see Appendix D, p. 288.
[8] In this model attention was squared (see Equ. 9.2, Appendix D, page 283).

Figure OA9.4.[x] *OLS Regression Results of Reading the People's Daily on Amity toward the United States*. *Source: BAS 2004*.



[x] See Appendix D, pp. 287-288, Figure 9.2, p. 215, and footnote 20, p. 216. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 278-280.

Figure OA9.5.[x] *OLS Regression Results of Reading the Beijing Youth Daily on Amity toward the United States. Source: BAS 2004.*



[x] See Appendix D, pp. 287-288, Figure 9.2, p. 215, and footnote 20, p. 216. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 278-280.

Table 6OA.1.[x] Ordinal Probit Results on Perceived Effectiveness of Labor Law Among Frequent Readers. Source: LLM, 2005.

	Dependent Variable: Effectiveness of Labor Law	
	Basic Model	**Extended Model**
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Official Papers	0.393** (0.19)	0.477** (0.201)
Attention	0.784*** (0.196)	0.856*** (0.208)
Official Papers * Attention	-0.704** (0.299)	-0.822*** (0.317)
Disputant	-0.458** (0.183)	-0.490*** (0.184)
Propaganda at Work Unit	0.275*** (0.051)	0.265*** (0.056)
Worker	-0.101* (0.053)	-0.09 (0.058)
Urban Resident	-0.118 (0.111)	-0.333*** (0.127)
Education	-0.615* (0.326)	-0.175 (0.374)
Age +39	--	0.017 (0.063)
SOE worker	--	-0.018 (0.058)
Unemployed	--	-0.115 (0.111)
Retired	--	0.191** (0.08)
Income (logged)	--	-0.023 (0.167)

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 286-287 and Appendix E, Table 9A.1, p. 297. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 276-278.

Male	--	-0.123** (0.054)
Foshan	0.103 (0.085)	0.102 (0.092)
Wuxi	0.390*** (0.07)	0.393*** (0.076)
Shenyang	0.181** (0.071)	0.167** (0.076)
Cut 1	-1.812*** (0.296)	-1.727*** (0.344)
Cut 2	-0.278 (0.293)	-0.16 (0.342)
Cut 3	1.464*** (0.294)	1.596*** (0.343)
N	2,049	1,825
Pseudo R-Squared	0.02	0.03

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

Table 6OA.2.[x] Multiple Probit Results on Willingness to Take Action Among Frequent Readers. Source: LLM, 2005.

	Dependent Variable: Willingness to Take Action	
	Basic Model	**Extended Model**
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Official Papers	0.236 (0.267)	0.244 (0.271)
Attention	1.553*** (0.282)	1.560*** (0.287)
Official Papers * Attention	-0.325 (0.452)	-0.351 (0.461)
Disputant	0.531 (0.355)	0.423 (0.352)
Propaganda at Work Unit	0.286*** (0.081)	0.234*** (0.084)
Worker	-0.147* (0.084)	-0.138 (0.085)
Urban Resident	0.088 (0.153)	0.01 (0.158)
Education	0.074 (0.499)	-0.413 (0.534)
Union Participation	--	0.892*** (0.341)
Frequently Watching Legal TV Shows	--	0.045 (0.083)
Frequently Watching TV	--	0.027 (0.108)
Frequently Listening to Radio	--	-0.063 (0.128)
Frequently Listening to Legal Radio Show	--	0.218 (0.264)

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 286-287 and Appendix E, Table 9A.1, p. 297. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 276-278.

Frequently Reading Magazines	--	0.113
		(0.111)
Frequently Surfing News Websites	--	0.397***
		(0.124)
Foshan	-0.162	-0.187
	(0.127)	(0.131)
Wuxi	0.292**	0.289**
	(0.118)	(0.12)
Shenyang	-0.036	-0.019
	(0.107)	(0.11)
Constant	0.254	0.489
	(0.421)	(0.452)
N	2,319	2,319
Pseudo R-Squared	0.07	0.08

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

Table 6OA.3.[x] Ordinal Probit Results on Perceived Effectiveness of Labor Law Among Frequent Readers (Chongqing Daily and Chongqing Times). Source: LLM, 2005.

	Dependent Variable: Effectiveness of Labor Law	
	Coefficient (s.e.)	
Independent Variables:		
Attention	0.468*** (0.155)	0.506*** (0.151)
Chongqing Times * Attention	0.165 (0.566)	--
Chongqing Times	-0.248 (0.365)	--
Chongqing Daily * Attention	--	-1.115 (1.02)
Chongqing Daily	--	0.6 (0.639)
Disputant	-0.452** (0.183)	-0.444** (0.183)
Propaganda at Work Unit	0.268*** (0.051)	0.268*** (0.051)
Worker	-0.098* (0.053)	-0.102* (0.053)
Urban Resident	-0.124 (0.111)	-0.107 (0.111)
Education	-0.581* (0.326)	-0.620* (0.325)
Foshan	0.033 (0.082)	0.067 (0.077)
Wuxi	0.334*** (0.074)	0.369*** (0.07)
Shenyang	0.122 (0.077)	0.157** (0.072)
Cut 1	-2.025***	-1.984***

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 286-287 and Appendix E, Table 9A.1, p. 297. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 276-278.

	(0.288)	(0.287)
Cut 2	-0.493*	-0.451
	(0.284)	(0.284)
Cut 3	1.247***	1.288***
	(0.285)	(0.284)
N	2,049	2,049
Pseudo R-Squared	0.02	0.02

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

Table 6OA.4.[x] *Multiple Probit Regression of Reading Official Papers on Perceived Effectiveness of Labor Law as Attention Changes Among Frequent Readers in* **Wuxi**. *Source: LLM 2005*.

	Dependent Variable: Effectiveness of Labor Law	
	When Reading One Paper	*When Reading Two Papers*
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Official Papers	1.806	-0.097
	(1.308)	(0.431)
Attention	0.563	0.617
	(0.785)	(0.498)
Official Papers * Attention	-3.172	-0.104
	(2.204)	(0.712)
Disputant	-0.463	-0.814
	(0.569)	(0.604)
Propaganda at Work Unit	0.825***	0.724***
	(0.258)	(0.115)
Worker	0.134	-0.199*
	(0.26)	(0.12)
Urban Resident	0.382	0.23
	(0.568)	(0.259)
Education	1.323	1.476*
	(1.671)	(0.795)
Constant	-1.722	-1.454**
	(1.422)	(0.681)
N	137	564
Pseudo R-Squared	0.1	0.08

* z-value < 0.1; ** z-value < 0.05; *** z-value < 0.01;

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 286-287, footnote 13, p. 211, and for comparison with Chongqing Appendix E, Table 9A.2, p. 298. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 276-278.

Table 6OA.5.[x] *Multiple Probit Regression of Reading Official Papers on Perceived Effectiveness of Labor Law as Attention Changes Among Frequent Readers in* **Shenyang**. *Source: LLM 2005*.

	Dependent Variable: Effectiveness of Labor Law	
	When Reading One Paper	*When Reading Two Papers*
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Official Papers	1.026	-0.423
	(1.062)	(0.448)
Attention	0.597	1.061**
	(0.584)	(0.434)
Official Papers * Attention	-1.359	0.809
	(1.67)	(0.703)
Disputant	0.366	-0.346
	(0.876)	(0.461)
Propaganda at Work Unit	0.787***	0.528***
	(0.236)	(0.121)
Worker	-0.304	-0.061
	(0.237)	(0.124)
Urban Resident	-0.143	-0.081
	(0.493)	(0.344)
Education	1.919	-0.322
	(1.647)	(0.896)
Constant	-1.651	-0.471
	(1.316)	(0.74)
N	158	483
Pseudo R-Squared	0.11	0.07

* z-value < 0.1;   ** z-value < 0.05;   *** z-value < 0.01;

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 286-287, footnote 13, p. 211, and for comparison with Chongqing Appendix E, Table 9A.2, p. 298. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 276-278.

Table 6OA.6.[x] *Multiple Probit Regression of Reading Official Papers on Perceived Effectiveness of Labor Law as Attention Changes Among Frequent Readers in* **Foshan**. *Source: LLM 2005*.

	Dependent Variable: Effectiveness of Labor Law	
	When Reading One Paper	*When Reading Two Papers*
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Official Papers	1.510**	0.363
	(0.747)	(0.861)
Attention	1.971**	1.601
	(0.98)	(1.443)
Official Papers * Attention	-3.101**	-1.054
	(1.27)	(1.512)
Disputant	0.495	0.122
	(0.472)	(0.625)
Propaganda at Work Unit	0.774***	0.609***
	(0.243)	(0.149)
Worker	-0.638**	0.016
	(0.248)	(0.156)
Urban Resident	-0.525	0.117
	(0.399)	(0.294)
Education	-1.183	0.9
	(1.282)	(0.82)
Constant	0.147	-1.714
	(1.231)	(1.067)
N	144	320
Pseudo R-Squared	0.12	0.05

* z-value < 0.1; ** z-value < 0.05; *** z-value < 0.01;

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 286-287, footnote 13, p. 211, and for comparison with Chongqing Appendix E, Table 9A.2, p. 298. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 276-278.

Table 6OA.7.[x] OLS Regression of Attention on Positivity toward the US as Exposure to Official Messages Changes Among Readers. Source: BAS 2005.

	Dependent Variable: Positivity Toward the US	
	Basic Model	**Extended Model**
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Attention	-92.676** (38.978)	-77.044* (41.668)
Attention Squared	106.965*** (38.31)	97.162** (41.039)
Exposure to Official Messages	-10.54 (15.992)	-0.786 (16.747)
Exposure to Official Messages * Attention	127.604* (71.822)	94.285 (75.903)
Exposure to Official Messages*Attention Squared	-153.769** (72.429)	-132.599* (77.701)
National Identity	-17.751*** (4.127)	-15.654*** (4.559)
Personal Contact	34.129*** (11.718)	35.781** (13.946)
Generation	4.269** (2.101)	4.422* (2.277)
Education (logged)	16.942 (13.692)	26.102 (17.302)
Tension	-9.119***	-10.033***

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 287-288, Appendix E, Table 9A.4, p. 300, and footnote 20, p. 216. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 278-280.

	(2.144)	(2.289)
Threat Perceptions of US	--	-6.938
		(4.913)
Movie Liking (US)	--	14.613***
		(4.348)
Years Studying English (logged)	--	-9.972*
		(5.353)
Family Income (logged)	--	-0.792
		(1.161)
Female	--	-1.847
		(2.281)
Constant	47.394***	40.329**
	(14.866)	(18.034)
N	482	411
R-Squared	0.12	0.16

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

Additional Figures and Tables, Chapter 10

Table 8OA.1[x] *Advertising Income Across Regions (in 10 000 Yuan). Source: China Advertising Yearbooks for 2005 and 2008.*

Province / Municipality	2005	2008
Beijing	2515576	3455746
Tianjin	527801	737137
Hebei	87393	127454
Shanxi	141259	186263
Neimenggu	38193	69434
Liaoning	455363	399644
Jilin	131380	165187
Heilongjiang	171865	192535
Shanghai	2664690	2989505
Jiangsu	906323	1305384
Zhejiang	956970	1246676
Anhui	226023	310609
Fujian	360925	497410
Jiangxi	163354	212998
Shandong	611084	689559
Henan	229651	241404
Hubei	263469	287132
Hunan	208724	333113
Guangdong	2346230	2567197
Guangxi	115448	100000
Hainan	32606	33156
Sichuan	295371	450144
Guizhou	76419	76419
Yunnan	136536	164465
Xizang	18456	20955
Shaanxi	38883	38566
Gansu	30359	36122

[x] See Chapter 10, footnote 4, p. 223 and Appendix B, footnote 1, p. 269.

Qinghai	11000	20533
Ningxia	23922	27193
Xinjiang	107192	134244
Chongqing	271022	293442
Average	456886.68	561600.84

Table 8OA.2[x] OLS Regression Results of Media Marketization on Newspaper Credibility Across Chinese Regions. Source: China Regional Media Data, 2007.

	Dependent Variable: Newspaper Credibility		
	Coefficient (s.e.)		
Independent Variables:			
Media Marketization	0.597*** (0.165)	--	--
Advertising Income	--	0.485** (0.171)	--
Ratio of Internet Users	--	--	0.722 (0.663)
Ratio of Rural Population	0.652 (0.453)	0.39 (0.475)	0.262 (0.596)
Economic Development	0.017 (0.23)	-0.073 (0.262)	0.008 (0.326)
Ratio of Han Chinese	0.164 (0.212)	0.118 (0.231)	0.06 (0.275)
Municipality	-0.196** (0.088)	-0.157 (0.095)	-0.11 (0.109)
Autonomous Region	-0.018 (0.093)	-0.011 (0.103)	-0.057 (0.119)
Constant	-0.542 (0.363)	-0.341 (0.382)	-0.299 (0.5)
N	24	24	24
R-Squared	0.53	0.44	0.22

[x] See Appendix D, p. 289 and Table 10.1, p. 228. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 280-281.

p-value * $p<0.1$, ** $p< 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$;

Table 8OA.3[x] *OLS Regression Results of Media Marketization on Television Credibility Across Chinese Regions. Source: China Regional Media Data, 2007.*

	Dependent Variable: Television Credibility		
		Coefficient (s.e.)	
Independent Variables:			
Media Marketization	0.586*** (0.171)	--	--
Advertising Income	--	0.460** (0.178)	--
Ratio of Internet Users	--	--	0.918 (0.658)
Ratio of Rural Population	0.551 (0.47)	0.279 (0.495)	0.254 (0.591)
Economic Development	-0.03 (0.238)	-0.111 (0.272)	-0.086 (0.323)
Ratio of Han Chinese	0.175 (0.22)	0.125 (0.241)	0.096 (0.272)
Municipality	-0.222** (0.091)	-0.182* (0.099)	-0.139 (0.108)
Autonomous Region	-0.017 (0.096)	-0.012 (0.107)	-0.051 (0.118)
Constant	-0.451 (0.376)	-0.243 (0.398)	-0.294 (0.496)
N	24	24	24
R-Squared	0.51	0.41	0.26

[x] See Appendix D, p. 289 and Table 10.1, p. 228. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 280-281.

p-value * $p<0.1$, ** $p< 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$;

Additional Figures and Tables, Chapter 11

Table 10OA.1.[x] Fixed and Random Effects Regression Results for Media Marketization on Freedom House Press Ratings as Regime Type Changes. Source: Media and Authoritarianism Data, 2001-2009.

	Dependent Variable: Freedom House Press Rating [a]		
	Fixed Effects		*Random Effects*
	Among One-Party Regimes	Among Other Regimes	
Independent Variables:	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
Media Marketization	**0.113** (10.632)	**-1.857** (3.742)	**-7.948*** (4.33)
One-Party Rule	--	--	**-7.766** (6.368)
Media Marketization*One-Party Rule	--	--	**7.059** (10.552)
Polity [b]	15.138 (16.082)	23.194* (13.297)	-9.928 (8.012)

[x] See Appendix D, pp. 289-290 and Chapter 11, Table 11.1, p. 248. For explanations of measurement see Appendix D, pp. 281-282.

[a] *Freedom House Press Rating* runs from 1 to 100; the higher the score the *less* free (reverse to *Diversity of Information*). This rating is a combination of the legal, economic, and political environment.

[b] Based on *Polity2*, ranging from -10 to +10, whereby -10 is the lowest score – i.e. most authoritarian regime – and +10 is the highest score. Recoded to run from zero to one.

Oil Reserves (logged)	--	-1.955 (10.037)	4.099 (7.650)
Polity *Oil Reserves	--	-52.922** (25.851)	-14.662 (19.522)
Regime Length	12.585 (17.101)	65.495*** (8.444)	25.863*** (6.822)
Population (logged)	93.414 (572.519)	-101.497 (63.963)	18.094 (30.733)
Middle East/North Africa	--	--	-19.103*** (6.46)
Sub-Saharan Africa	--	--	-12.498** (5.094)
Constant	-31.773 (486.434)	131.146** (53.807)	62.2** (26.393)
Number of Countries	10	28	38
Total N	32	98	130
Adjusted R-Squared	0.96	0.98	--

*** p/z-value < 0.01; ** p/z-value < 0.05; * p/z-value<0.1;