

## Online Appendix

Stockmann, Daniela and Mary Gallagher. "Remote Control: How the Media Sustains Authoritarian Rule in China." *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(4), April 2011: 436-467.

### Open-ended, Semi-Structured Interviews

#### Interviews with Journalists and Editors<sup>1</sup>

n=46. Interviews were conducted face-to-face in Beijing and Chongqing between March 5 and July 27, 2005 by Daniela Stockmann. Interviewees were contacted by the snowball-method, relying on 18 initial contact persons. 96 percent of people contacted accepted the interview.

#### Question Wording:<sup>2</sup>

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 too (politically) sensitive? And how about the labor law in particular? Are issues related to this subject considered to be (politically) sensitive?

What is your impression, do the official, semi-official, and commercialized media vary in terms of reporting about labor disputes?

Thank you for taking the time for this interview. Among the editors and journalists you know, is there anyone who would be willing to talk to me?

#### Interviews with Labor Disputants<sup>3</sup>

From March to December 2004, 46 in-depth interviews were conducted with legal aid recipients who had sued their employers with the help of the Labor Law Service Center for Workers, a legal aid organization under the management of East China University of Politics and Law, Shanghai, China. Cases were selected randomly from a total of 80 cases that had been litigated by that time by the Labor Law Service Center. Out of 49 people contacted, 46 agreed to be interviewed. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted on average for two hours. The main topics of the interviews were dispute background, the dispute resolution process, and post-dispute changes in behavior and attitudes. The respondents were asked about alternative modes of resolution including petitioning and mass action.

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<sup>1</sup> These are identified in the text as Stockmann, interview #.

<sup>2</sup> Question order varied by interview.

<sup>3</sup> These are identified in the text as Gallagher, interview #

## Content Analysis

Columns from the *New People Evening News* and *Labor Daily* are listed below in chronological order. We randomly chose twenty columns from each paper over 2002 and 2003. Stories for *Legal Report* were selected based on whether the labor law (laodong fa) was mentioned. We used the full-text search engine of cctv.com, accessed February 11, 2005. Although we attempted to sample all reports broadcasted in 2004, it may be the case that the search engine was limited to the second half of this year only. We examined the reports in a qualitative and interpretative yet systematic fashion.

### *New People Evening News (NPEN)*

1. "When the Enterprise Restructures is the Original Labor Contract Still Valid?" January 6, 2002.
2. "Hourly Workers Also Have Occupational Injury Protection," January 27, 2002.
3. "Anti-Compete Restrictions and Protecting the Rights of Workers," February 3, 2002.
4. "If I Don't Have a Labor Contract Can I Be Sacked?" February 24, 2002.
5. "The Right to Know," March 24, 2002.
6. "Labor Dispute Resolution Procedures Waiting for Reform," March 31, 2002.
7. "Under What Conditions Can the Work-Unit Terminate the Labor Contract?" March 31, 2002.
8. "Talking about Breach of Contract Fines," April 2, 2002.
9. "Is It Okay to Only Sign an English Language Contract?," April 14, 2002.
10. "Is It Worthwhile to Eliminate the "10 + 3"?", November 20, 2002.
11. "Real Labor Relations Enjoy the Same Level of Benefits," January 5, 2003.
12. "A Shoe," January 12, 2003.
13. "Rights and Wrongs of the Employment Manual," January 19, 2003.
14. "Can Work Tenure be "Bought Out"?", January 19, 2003.
15. "I am Your Person," January 26, 2003.
16. "Labor Relations During Restructuring," April 13, 2003.
17. "No Matter Whether You're an Enterprise Manager or an Ordinary Labourer, Please Pay Attention to "Occupational Injury Regulations", May 6, 2003.
18. "Labor Contracts During Restructuring," May 11, 2003.
19. "Be Careful, the "Three Funds" Decision is Suspended," May 18, 2003.
20. "Work for Three Days, Pay 38,000 RMB," May 25, 2003.

### *Labor Daily (LDB)*

1. "Severe Violations of Work Regulations can Lead to Immediate Termination of the Labor Contract," April 8, 2003.
2. "Worker Identity is Clear, the Court should Accept the Case," April 22, 2003.
3. "Part of a Government-Run Organization, the Personnel Bureau should Accept," April 22, 2003.
4. "Who Should Manage Your Case?" April 22, 2003.
5. "The Employee Should Decide Where to File Suit," April 22, 2003.
6. "Before Filing Your Lawsuit, First Find the Right Door," April 22, 2003.
7. "Zhu Subao: 100% Victorious at Legal Aid," May 6, 2003.

8. "If You Violate the Service Agreement, You Must also Compensate for Training Costs," May 4, 2003.
9. "Must I really Pay this Large Breach of Contract Penalty?" May 4, 2003.
10. "Can the Company Terminate my Labor Contract?" May 4, 2003.
11. "Is an Expired Labor Contract Still Useful?" May 13, 2003.
12. "Final Verdict: Du Linxiang Wins 35 Months of Severance Compensation," May 13, 2003.
13. "How to Protect the Legal Rights of Workers who have "Gone Home," May 20, 2003.
14. "If a Worker Hides that he is Missing a Kidney, Can he be Terminated during the Probationary Period?" May 20, 2003.
15. "A Missing Kidney Doesn't Count as a Severe Defect," May 27, 2003.
16. "A Contract Signed Deceptively is Invalid," May 27, 2003.
17. "The Court Decides: Little Lin Cannot Be Fired," May 27, 2003.
18. "At the Court, They Receive Half-Year of Withheld Pay," June 3, 2003.
19. "Zhang Aimei's Legal "Creditor" is the Work-Unit," June 24, 2003.
20. "I Helped Little Jin Get Back Her Severance," July 8, 2003.

*Legal Report (LR), China Central Television (CCTV)*

1. "After the Accident Happened," October 23, 2004. *Result: Employee wins (partially)*
2. "A Strange Lawsuit about a Fall," November 19, 2004. *Result: employee wins*
3. *compensation*
4. "The Disaster of Radioactive Rays," October 28, 2004. *Result: Employee wins*
5. "After the Nanny was Injured," October 24, 2004. *Result: Employee wins*
6. "Surprising Summer Vacation," September 16, 2004. *no court case*
7. "It's Difficult to Resist the Heat," August 26, 2004. *no court case*

**Statistical Models**

Model with dummy variables as indicators for exposure (Equ.1):

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Z + \beta_2 Z^2 + \beta_3 \text{Controls} + u$$

Whereby Z stands for attention (knowledge-scale) about the dependent variable Y, in this case views about the effectiveness of the labor law in protecting worker's rights.

Model with dummy variables as indicators for exposure (Equ.2):

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X + \beta_2 Z + \beta_3 Z^2 + \beta_4 XZ + \beta_5 XZ^2 + \beta_6 \text{Controls} + u$$

Whereby X represents exposure to diverse media sources or having experienced a labor dispute; Z stands for attention (knowledge-scale) about the dependent variable Y, in this case views about the effectiveness of the labor law in protecting worker's rights.

Model with dummy variables as indicators for exposure (Equ.3):

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X + \beta_2 Z + \beta_3 XZ + \beta_4 Controls + u$$

Whereby X represents exposure to individual media sources; Z stands for attention (knowledge-scale) about the dependent variable Y, in this case views about the effectiveness of the labor law in protecting worker's rights.

**Additional Tables:**

**Table A1. Using Television to learn about societal news. Source: LLM 2005.**

Television Use	Chongqing	Shenyang	Wuxi	Foshan	All Four Cities
Frequent	74.7 %	78.1 %	83.8 %	68.7 %	76.3 %
Occasional	23.1 %	19.1 %	14.2 %	28.1 %	21.1 %
Never	2.3 %	2.8 %	2.0 %	3.2 %	2.6 %
Total N	1,019	1,035	1,029	1,029	4,112

**Table A2. Using Radio Broadcasting to learn about societal news. Source: LLM 2005.**

Radio Use	Chongqing	Shenyang	Wuxi	Foshan	All Four Cities
Frequent	3.7 %	13.0 %	14.8 %	11.7 %	10.8 %
Occasional	25.2 %	31.8 %	25.8 %	42.7 %	31.4 %
Never	71.1 %	55.2 %	59.5 %	45.7 %	57.8 %
Total N	1,019	1,035	1,029	1,029	4,112

**Table A3. Using Newspapers to learn about societal news. Source: LLM 2005.**

Newspaper Use	Chongqing	Shenyang	Wuxi	Foshan	All Four Cities
Frequent	56.0 %	62.4 %	68.5 %	46.2 %	58.3 %
Occasional	25.5 %	29.1 %	22.7 %	42.4 %	32.4 %
Never	8.4 %	8.5 %	8.8 %	11.5 %	9.3 %
Total N	1,019	1,035	1,029	1,029	4,112

**Table A4. Using Magazines to learn about societal news. Source: LLM 2005.**

Magazine Use	Chongqing	Shenyang	Wuxi	Foshan	All Four Cities
Frequent	12.6 %	11.4 %	15.3 %	13.8 %	13.3 %
Occasional	56.0 %	44.5 %	44.9 %	51.9 %	49.3 %
Never	31.4 %	44.1 %	39.8 %	34.3 %	37.4 %
Total N	1,019	1,035	1,029	1,029	4,112

**Table A5. Using the Internet to learn about societal news. Source: LLM 2005.**

Internet Use	Chongqing	Shenyang	Wuxi	Foshan	All Four Cities
Frequent	13.7 %	13.8 %	13.3 %	19.2 %	15.0 %
Occasional	24.5 %	22.3 %	22.6 %	28.4 %	24.4 %
Never	61.7 %	63.9 %	64.1 %	52.4 %	60.5 %
Total N	1,019	1,035	1,029	1,029	4,112

**Table A6. Watching Legal Shows on Television. Source: LLM 2005.**

Use of Legal Shows on TV	Chongqing	Shenyang	Wuxi	Foshan	All Four Cities
Frequent	49.1 %	39 %	52.5 %	25.1 %	41.4 %
Occasional	44.4 %	50.2 %	40.5 %	62.8 %	49.5 %
Never	6.5 %	10.8 %	6.9 %	12.2 %	9.1 %
Total N	1,012	1, 029	1, 024	1,018	4,080

**Table A7. Listening to Legal Shows on the Radio. Source: LLM 2005.**

Use of Legal Shows on the Radio	Chongqing	Shenyang	Wuxi	Foshan	All Four Cities
Frequent	1.5 %	3.0 %	5.0 %	2.9 %	3.1 %
Occasional	21.1 %	28.4 %	25.9 %	40.6 %	29.0 %
Never	77.4 %	68.6 %	69.1 %	56.5 %	67.9 %
Total N	1,005	1, 019	1, 006	1,007	4,037

**Table A8. Paying Attention to the Labor Law. Source: LLM 2005.**

Level of Attention (Knowledge Scale)	Chongqing	Shenyang	Wuxi	Foshan	All Four Cities
Low	1.57 % (16)	0.58 % (6)	0.19 % (2)	1.26 % (13)	0.9 % (37)
	3.53 % (36)	4.64 % (48)	2.82 % (29)	4.96 % (51)	3.99 % (164)
	12.07 % (123)	14.78 % (153)	13.02 % (134)	18.46 % (190)	14.59 % (600)
Medium	27.87 % (284)	29.28 % (303)	30.52 % (314)	27.31 % (281)	28.75 % (1,182)
	38.37 % (391)	31.5 % (326)	40.14 % (413)	32.17 % (331)	35.53 % (1,461)
	15.21 % (155)	16.91 % (175)	11.56 % (119)	14.09 % (145)	14.45 % (594)
High	1.37 % (14)	2.32 % (24)	1.75 % (18)	1.75 % (18)	1.8 % (74)
Total N	1,019	1, 035	1, 029	1,029	4,112

**Table A9. Likelihood to be Satisfied Depending on Implementation of Results of the Verdict. Source: LLM 2005.**

Outcome of Labor Dispute	Implemented	Opposing Party Refused	Other	Total N
Very Satisfied	<b>100 %</b> (3)	0 % (0)	0 % (0)	3
Moderately Satisfied	<b>85.71 %</b> (18)	4.76 % (1)	9.52 % (2)	21
Not Very Satisfied	37.5 % (3)	<b>50 %</b> (4)	12.5 % (1)	8
Not at all Satisfied	5.26 % (1)	<b>84.21 %</b> (16)	10.53 % (2)	19
Total N	25	21	5	51

**Table A10. Ordinal Probit Regression Results of Attention on Views of the Labor Law among Media Users (Basic and Extended Model; Equ. 1). Source: LLM 2005.<sup>4</sup>**

	Perceived Effectiveness of the Labor Law	
	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
<b>Attention</b>	1.562** (0.675)	1.733** (0.7230)
<b>Attention Squared</b>	-0.85 (0.61)	-0.964 (0.652)
<b>Labor Disputant</b>	-0.349** (0.137)	-0.398*** (0.14)
<b>Propaganda at Work Unit</b>	0.213*** (0.043)	0.238*** (0.047)
<b>Worker</b>	-0.071 (0.047)	-0.037 (0.052)
<b>Age +39</b>	-0.022 (0.045)	-0.012 (0.053)
<b>Education (logged)</b>	-0.383 (0.25)	-0.181 (0.285)
<b>SOE worker</b>	--	-0.085* (0.05)
<b>Urban Hukou</b>	--	-0.262*** (0.087)
<b>Unemployed</b>	--	-0.158* (0.084)
<b>Retired</b>	--	0.153** (0.071)
<b>Income (logged)</b>	--	0.057 (0.13)
<b>Male</b>	--	-0.129*** (0.046)
<b>Wuxi</b>	--	0.376*** (0.062)
<b>Shenyang</b>	--	0.167** (0.065)
<b>Foshan</b>	--	0.087 (0.065)
<b>Cut 1</b>	-1.483*** (0.261)	-1.432*** (0.294)
<b>Cut 2</b>	-0.014 (0.26)	0.075 (0.292)
<b>Cut 3</b>	1.641*** (0.261)	1.772*** (0.294)
<b>N</b>	2,800	2,506
<b>Pseudo R2</b>	0.01	0.03

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

<sup>4</sup> Parallel regression assumption applies to basic and extended ordinal probit models.



**Table A11. Ordinal Probit Regression Results of Exposure to Diverse Media Sources, Attention, and Views of the Labor Law (Basic and Extended Model; Equ. 2). Source: LLM 2005.<sup>5</sup>**

	Perceived Effectiveness of the Labor Law	
	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
<b>Attention</b>	-0.083 (0.288)	-0.25 (0.308)
<b>Exposure to Diverse Media Types</b>	-0.486 (0.463)	-0.874* (0.501)
<b>Exposure to Diverse Media Types * Attention</b>	1.362* (0.739)	1.960** (0.795)
<b>Labor Disputant</b>	-0.429*** (0.141)	-0.484*** (0.144)
<b>Propaganda at Work Unit</b>	0.200*** (0.044)	0.220*** (0.049)
<b>Worker</b>	-0.066 (0.049)	-0.036 (0.054)
<b>Age +39</b>	-0.033 (0.047)	-0.026 (0.056)
<b>Education (logged)</b>	-0.785*** (0.276)	-0.610** (0.311)
<b>SOE worker</b>	--	-0.076 (0.052)
<b>Urban Hukou</b>	--	-0.266*** (0.095)
<b>Unemployed</b>	--	-0.151* (0.09)
<b>Retired</b>	--	0.125* (0.074)
<b>Income (logged)</b>	--	0.087 (0.139)
<b>Male</b>	--	-0.147*** (0.048)
<b>Wuxi</b>	--	0.366*** (0.065)
<b>Shenyang</b>	--	0.129* (0.067)
<b>Foshan</b>	--	0.072 (0.069)
<b>Cut 1</b>	-2.324*** (0.281)	-2.488*** (0.316)
<b>Cut 2</b>	-0.864*** (0.278)	-0.976*** (0.313)
<b>Cut 3</b>	0.787*** (0.278)	0.722** (0.312)
<b>N</b>	2,570	2,309

<sup>5</sup> Parallel regression assumption applies to basic and extended ordinal probit models.

**Pseudo R2**

0.01

0.03

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

**Table A12. Relationship between Exposure to Legal TV Shows, TV News, Newspapers and Views of the Labor Law as Attention Changes (Extended Probit Regression Model; Equ. 2). Source: LLM 2005.**

	Perceived Effectiveness of the Labor Law			
	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
<b>Attention</b>	0.504*** (0.159)	0.136 (0.207)	0.242 (0.261)	-0.175 (0.431)
<b>Frequently Watching Legal TV Shows</b>	0.178*** (0.058)	-0.335* (0.2)	--	--
<b>Frequently Watching Legal TV Shows * Attention</b>	--	0.867*** (0.321)	--	--
<b>Frequently Reading Newspapers</b>	-0.016 (0.062)	--	-0.229 (0.205)	--
<b>Frequently Reading Newspapers * Attention</b>	--	--	0.420 (0.327)	--
<b>Frequently Watching TV</b>	0.017 (0.084)	--	--	-0.441 (0.293)
<b>Frequently Watching TV * Attention</b>	--	--	--	0.788* (0.463)
<b>Labor Disputant</b>	-0.442*** (0.166)	-0.445*** (0.166)	-0.433*** (0.165)	-0.417** (0.165)
<b>Propaganda at Work Unit</b>	0.188*** (0.058)	0.191*** (0.058)	0.183*** (0.058)	0.185*** (0.058)
<b>Worker</b>	-0.037 (0.063)	-0.041 (0.063)	-0.056 (0.063)	-0.052 (0.063)
<b>Age +39</b>	-0.035 (0.068)	-0.061 (0.066)	-0.035 (0.066)	-0.039 (0.066)
<b>Education (logged)</b>	-0.738** (0.376)	-0.611* (0.363)	-0.623* (0.365)	-0.614* (0.363)
<b>Labor Union Participation</b>	0.28	0.312	0.293	0.302

<b>SOE worker</b>	-0.062 (0.063)	-0.056 (0.063)	-0.056 (0.062)	-0.054 (0.063)
<b>Urban Hukou</b>	-0.281** (0.114)	-0.269** (0.114)	-0.278** (0.114)	-0.277** (0.114)
<b>Unemployed</b>	-0.216** (0.105)	-0.237** (0.105)	-0.214** (0.105)	-0.217** (0.105)
<b>Retired</b>	0.047 (0.088)	0.044 (0.088)	0.06 (0.088)	0.055 (0.088)
<b>Income (logged)</b>	-0.002 (0.163)	-0.003 (0.162)	0.001 (0.162)	0.002 (0.162)
<b>Male</b>	-0.121** (0.057)	-0.128** (0.0560)	-0.128** (0.056)	-0.125** (0.056)
<b>Wuxi</b>	0.371*** (0.077)	0.368*** (0.076)	0.363*** (0.076)	0.364*** (0.076)
<b>Shenyang</b>	0.089 (0.078)	0.081 (0.078)	0.048 (0.077)	0.05 (0.077)
<b>Foshan</b>	0.079 (0.082)	0.084 (0.081)	0.04 (0.08)	0.038 (0.08)
<b>Constant</b>	0.687** (0.334)	0.835** (0.327)	0.874*** (0.339)	1.100*** (0.412)
<b>N</b>	2,309	2,309	2,309	2,309
<b>Pseudo R2</b>	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.03

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

**Table A13. Relationship between Exposure to Legal TV Shows, TV News, Newspapers, Radio News, Legal Radio Shows, Magazines, News Websites and Views of the Labor Law as Attention Changes (Extended Probit Regression Model; Equ. 2). Source: LLM 2005.**

	Perceived Effectiveness of the Labor Law			
	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)	Coefficient (s.e.)
<b>Attention</b>	0.441*** (0.169)	0.456*** (0.161)	0.479*** (0.172)	0.460*** (0.175)
<b>Frequently Listening to Radio*</b>	-0.415 (0.297)	--	--	--
<b>Frequently Listening to Radio * Attention</b>	0.554 (0.472)	--	--	--
<b>Frequently Listening to Legal Radio Show</b>	--	-0.809 (0.517)	--	--
<b>Frequently Listening to Legal Radio Show * Attention</b>	--	1.575* (0.884)	--	--
<b>Frequently Reading Magazines*</b>	--	--	-0.005 (0.279)	--
<b>Frequently Reading Magazines * Attention</b>	--	--	0.188 (0.441)	--
<b>Frequently Surfing News Websites*</b>	--	--	--	-0.064 (0.264)
<b>Frequently Surfing News Websites * Attention</b>	--	--	--	0.258 (0.411)
<b>Labor Disputant</b>	-0.417** (0.165)	-0.429*** (0.165)	-0.430*** (0.165)	-0.420** (0.165)
<b>Propaganda at Work Unit</b>	0.184*** (0.058)	0.187*** (0.058)	0.183*** (0.058)	0.189*** (0.058)
<b>Worker</b>	-0.054 (0.063)	-0.056 (0.063)	-0.051 (0.063)	-0.05 (0.063)
<b>Age +39</b>	-0.031	-0.033	-0.029	-0.019

	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.067)
<b>Education (logged)</b>	-0.608*	-0.602*	-0.675*	-0.710*
	(0.362)	(0.362)	(0.365)	(0.371)
<b>Labor Union Participation</b>	0.309	0.299	0.281	0.297
	(0.218)	(0.217)	(0.218)	(0.217)
<b>SOE worker</b>	-0.053	-0.053	-0.055	-0.055
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.062)
<b>Urban Hukou</b>	-0.282**	-0.289**	-0.280**	-0.286**
	(0.114)	(0.114)	(0.113)	(0.114)
<b>Unemployed</b>	-0.220**	-0.212**	-0.209**	-0.211**
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.105)
<b>Retired</b>	0.056	0.054	0.059	0.055
	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.088)	(0.088)
<b>Income (logged)</b>	-0.01	-0.005	0.005	-0.006
	(0.162)	(0.162)	(0.162)	(0.162)
<b>Male</b>	-0.130**	-0.126**	-0.117**	-0.130**
	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.056)
<b>Wuxi</b>	0.369***	0.359***	0.363***	0.363***
	(0.077)	(0.076)	(0.076)	(0.076)
<b>Shenyang</b>	0.057	0.047	0.054	0.05
	(0.078)	(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.077)
<b>Foshan</b>	0.044	0.035	0.039	0.029
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
<b>Constant</b>	0.767**	0.752**	0.756**	0.804**
	(0.32)	(0.319)	(0.32)	(0.324)
<b>N</b>	2,309	2,309	2,309	2,309
<b>Pseudo R2</b>	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03

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