Supplementary Information for Mass Media and the Domestic Politics of Globalization

July 27, 2016

Contents

Text of Key Survey Questions

Variable: Media

Q-15. (ASK IN EVEN NUMBERED WAVES ONLY: Thinking about what is going on in our country today, which ONE of the following is the most important source of information for you? (Interviewer: Ask in Rotating Order; Circle First Response Only).

1. Family
2. Co-workers and friends
3. Opinion leaders (e.g., religious leaders, teachers, government officials)
4. The media (TV, radio, newspapers, magazines) 5. None (Volunteered Only)
6. Other (Volunteered Only)
7. Don't Know/No Response (Column 23)

Variable: First and Second Most Important Problem

(After the respondent selects an issue area, they are given a list of specific problems from which they can identify the top problem. See full codebook for the complete list of problems provided.)
Q-22. What in your opinion is the top problem facing France today? (Interviewer: Record One Response, Circle One Pre-Coded Reponse Only; First Mention).

Q-27. What in your opinion is the second most important problem facing France today? (Interviewer: Record One Response, Circle One Pre-Coded Response Only; First Mention).

1. Social Issues (Go To Q.23)
2. Economic Issues (Go To Q.24)
3. Political Issues (Go to Q.25)
4. Foreign Affairs (Go to Q.26)
5. Other (Specify):
6. Don't Know/No Response (Column 31)

Variable: Blame

Q-32. Which ONE of the following statements do you think best describes the cause of the second most important problem you just mentioned? (Interviewer: Read Statements in Rotating Order; Press Respondent to Make One Choice Only; Ask if They Have Anything Specific in Mind). (Note: This question referred to the top problem in Waves 1 and 2 and the second problem from Wave 3 forwards.)

1. "The cause Iies in the behavior and attitudes of people like you and me."
2. "The cause Iies in our society, that is our institutions and enterprises."
3. "The cause lies in the current policies of the Government."
4. "The cause lies in international affairs and is beyond the control of our country."
5. Don't Know/No Response (Column 49)

Specific Mention:

Variable: Government Handling

Q-33. How would you rate the performance of the Government in handling the second most important problem that you just mentioned? Are you... (Note: This question referred to the top problem in Waves 1 and 2 and the second problem from Wave 3 forwards.)

1. Completely satisfied?
2. Somewhat satisfied?
3. Somewhat dissatisfied?
4. Completely dissatisfied?
5. Don't Know/No Response? (Column 50)

Variable: Presidential Satisfaction

Q-20. How do you feel about the performance, overall, of President Mitterrand? Are you completely satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or completely dissatisfied?

1. Completely satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Somewhat dissatisfied

4. Completely dissatisfied
5. Don't Know/NoResponse (Column 29)

Table 1: Individual-Level Summary Statistics for Continuous Variables

Variable	**n**	**Min**	$\mathbf{q_1}$	$\widetilde{\mathbf{x}}$	$\bar{\mathbf{x}}$	$\mathbf{q_3}$	**Max**	**s**	**IQR**	**#NA**
x.age	29009	1	2	3	3.1	4	5	1.3	2	0
x.interest	28997	1	2	2	2.3	3	4	0.9	1	12
x.pressat	26911	1	2	2	2.2	3	4	0.8	1	2098
x.govhandle	22559	1	1	2	2.0	2	4	0.7	1	6450
x.newspaper	29009	0	0	0	0.1	0	1	0.3	0	0

Table 2: Individual-Level Summary Statistics for Categorical Variables

Variable	**Levels**	**n**	%	$\sum$ %
x.registered	no	1568	5.4	5.4
	yes	27441	94.6	100.0
	all	29009	100.0	
x.gender	Male	13891	47.9	47.9
	Female	15118	52.1	100.0
	all	29009	100.0	
x.urban	Not Urban	16095	55.5	55.5
	Urban	12914	44.5	100.0
	all	29009	100.0	
x.college	No university	12465	75.7	75.7
	University	4011	24.3	100.0
	all	16476	100.0	
x.occ	Not white collar	17059	78.6	78.6
	White collar	4637	21.4	100.0
	all	21696	100.0	
x.turnoutint	No	2036	9.1	9.1
	Yes	20241	90.9	100.0
	all	22277	100.0	
x.turnout88	no	2729	13.0	13.0
	yes	18294	87.0	100.0
	all	21023	100.0	
x.leftcand	Not left	4931	45.5	45.5
	Left	5899	54.5	100.0
	all	10830	100.0	
x.leftparty	Not left	11558	45.2	45.2
	Left	14001	54.8	100.0
	all	25559	100.0	
x.infosource	family	708	4.6	4.6
	friends	791	5.1	9.7
	opinion leaders	303	2.0	11.7
	the media	13606	88.3	100.0
	all	15408	100.0	
x.media	Other	1802	11.7	11.7
	Media	13606	88.3	100.0
	all	15408	100.0	
x.tv	Other	7332	47.2	47.2
	TV	8194	52.8	100.0
	all	15526	100.0	

x.radio	Other	13300	85.7	85.7
	Radio	2226	14.3	100.0
	all	15526	100.0	
x.magazines	Other	14784	95.2	95.2
	Magazines	742	4.8	100.0
	all	15526	100.0	
x.openprob1	0	21358	96.0	96.0
	1	888	4.0	100.0
	all	22246	100.0	
x.openprob2	0	19880	92.4	92.4
	1	1627	7.6	100.0
	all	21507	100.0	
x.econprob1	Other	25384	89.0	89.0
	Economic	3153	11.1	100.0
	all	28537	100.0	
x.socialprob1	Other	4499	15.8	15.8
	Social	24038	84.2	100.0
	all	28537	100.0	
x.polprob1	Other	27885	97.7	97.7
	Political	652	2.3	100.0
	all	28537	100.0	
x.foreignprob1	Foreign	694	2.4	2.4
	Other	27843	97.6	100.0
	all	28537	100.0	
x.econprob2	Other	16465	66.4	66.4
	Economic	8317	33.6	100.0
	all	24782	100.0	
x.socialprob2	Other	10958	44.2	44.2
	Social	13824	55.8	100.0
	all	24782	100.0	
x.polprob2	Other	23880	96.4	96.4
	Political	902	3.6	100.0
	all	24782	100.0	
x.foreignprob2	Foreign	1739	7.0	7.0
	Other	23043	93.0	100.0
	all	24782	100.0	
x.allcauses	personal choices	3326	14.2	14.2
	society	5301	22.7	36.9
	government	6694	28.6	65.5
	outside forces	7497	32.1	97.6
	other	558	2.4	100.0
	all	23376	100.0	
x.cause.gov	not government	16682	71.4	71.4
	government	6694	28.6	100.0
	all	23376	100.0	
x.cause.intl	not international	15879	67.9	67.9
	international	7497	32.1	100.0
	all	23376	100.0	
x.causes	government	6694	47.2	47.2
	outside forces	7497	52.8	100.0
	all	14191	100.0	

Additional Individual-Level Model Results

Table 3: Results Table for Model 1

Age	0.38^{***}
	(0.09)
genderFemale	-0.02
	(0.08)
urbanUrban	0.03
	(0.08)
Interest	0.03
	(0.08)
collegeUniversity	0.36^{***}
	(0.11)
occWhite Collar	0.43^{***}
	(0.11)
leftpartyLeft Party	0.53^{***}
	(0.08)
mediaMedia	0.35^{***}
	(0.12)
genprob2Problem:Social	-0.28^{***}
	(0.08)
genprob2Problem:Political	-0.89^{***}
	(0.20)
genprob2Problem:Foreign	0.15
	(0.15)
openprob2Problem:Openness	1.10^{***}
	(0.14)
Constant	-0.45^{***}
	(0.13)
N	3252
Log Likelihood	-2090.45
AIC	4206.90

$^{***}p < .01$; $^{**}p < .05$; $^{*}p < .1$

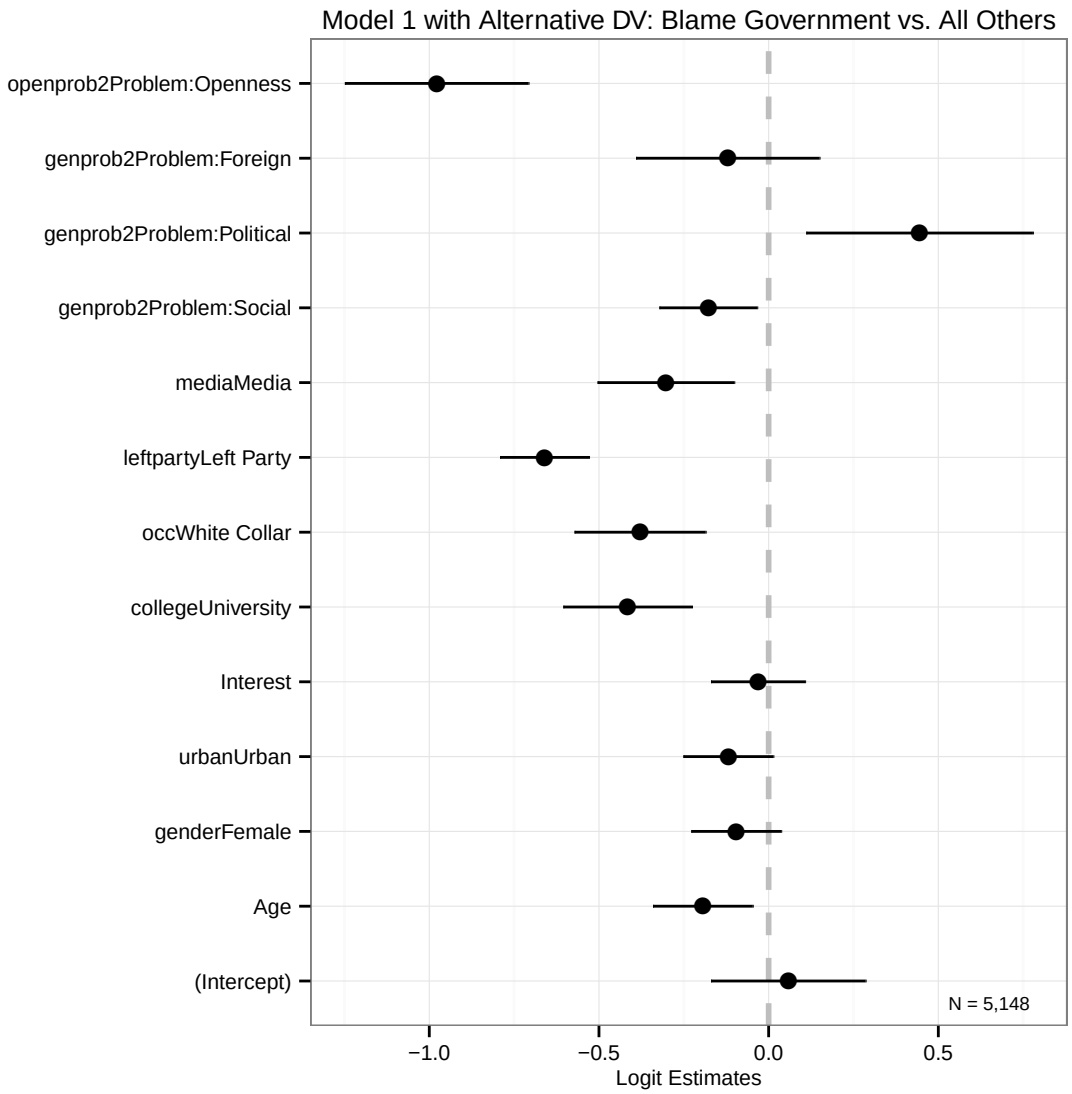

Figure 1: Model 1 with Alternative DV: Blame Government vs. All Others

Table 4: Results Table for Model 1 with Alternative DV: Blame Government vs. All Others

Age	-0.19^{***}
	(0.07)
genderFemale	-0.10
	(0.07)
urbanUrban	-0.12^{*}
	(0.07)
Interest	-0.03
	(0.07)
collegeUniversity	-0.42^{***}
	(0.09)
occWhite Collar	-0.38^{***}
	(0.10)
leftpartyLeft Party	-0.66^{***}
	(0.07)
mediaMedia	-0.30^{***}
	(0.10)
genprob2Problem:Social	-0.18^{**}
	(0.07)
genprob2Problem:Political	0.44^{***}
	(0.17)
genprob2Problem:Foreign	-0.12
	(0.14)
openprob2Problem:Openness	-0.98^{***}
	(0.14)
Constant	0.06
	(0.11)
N	5148
Log Likelihood	-2872.88
AIC	5771.77

***p $<$ .01; **p $<$ .05; *p $<$ .1

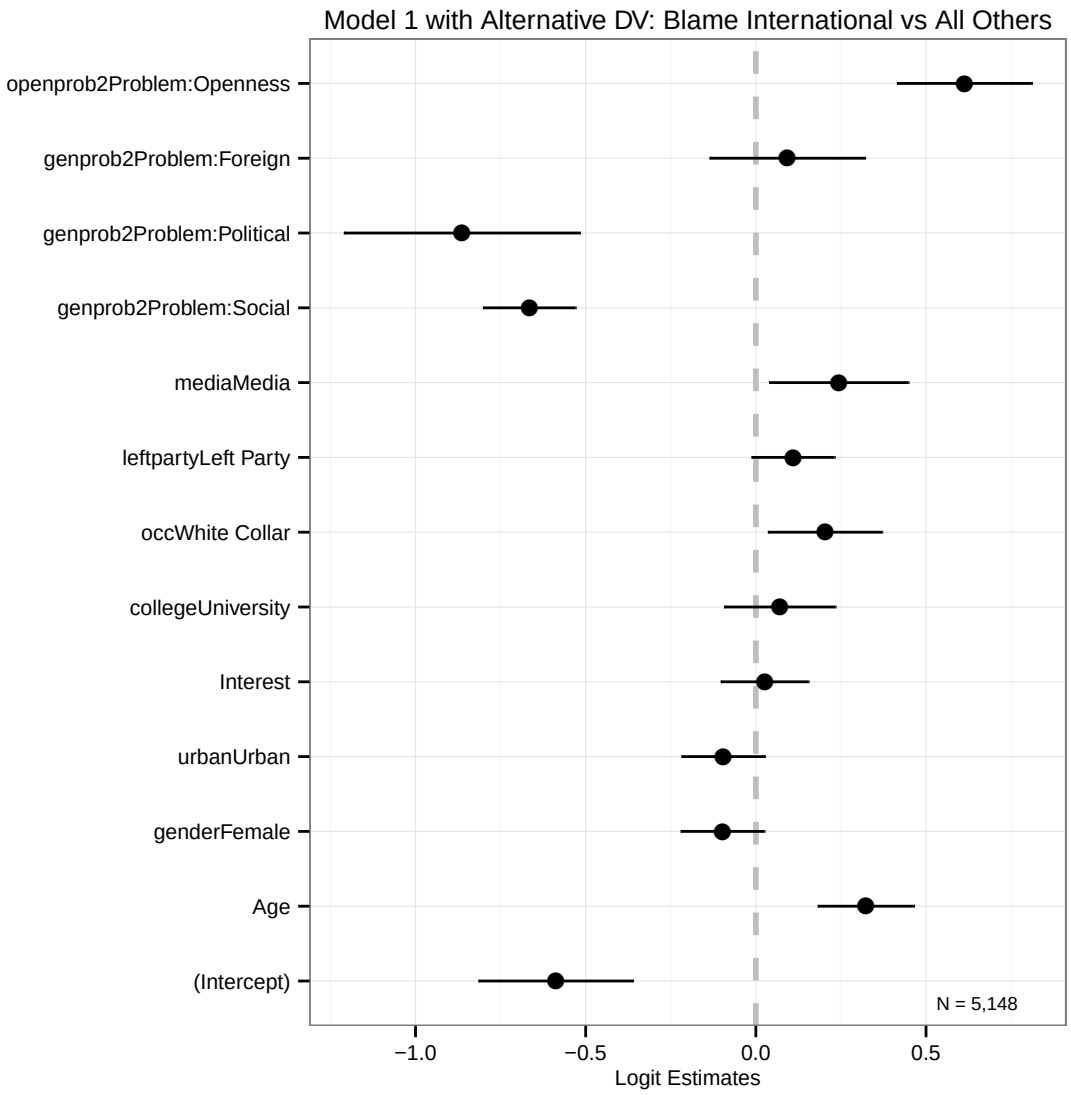

Figure 2: Model 1 with Alternative DV: Blame Government vs. All Others

Table 5: Results Table for Model 1 with Alternative DV: Blame International vs. All Others

Age	0.32***
	(0.07)
genderFemale	−0.10
	(0.06)
urbanUrban	−0.10
	(0.06)
Interest	0.03
	(0.06)
collegeUniversity	0.07
	(0.08)
occWhite Collar	0.20**
	(0.08)
leftpartyLeft Party	0.11*
	(0.06)
mediaMedia	0.24**
	(0.10)
genprob2Problem:Social	−0.67***
	(0.07)
genprob2Problem:Political	−0.86***
	(0.17)
genprob2Problem:Foreign	0.09
	(0.11)
openprob2Problem:Openness	0.61***
	(0.10)
Constant	−0.59***
	(0.11)
N	5148
Log Likelihood	−3220.24
AIC	6466.48

***p < .01; **p < .05; *p < .1

Table 6: Results Table for Model 2: Openness as a Problem

Age	-0.19^{*}
	(0.11)
genderFemale	-0.40^{***}
	(0.10)
urbanUrban	0.07
	(0.09)
Interest	0.44^{***}
	(0.10)
collegeUniversity	0.02
	(0.12)
occWhite Collar	0.34^{***}
	(0.12)
mitterandMitterand	0.12
	(0.11)
leftpartyLeft Party	0.14
	(0.11)
mediaMedia	0.33^{*}
	(0.17)
Constant	-2.56^{***}
	(0.18)
N	5214
Log Likelihood	-1723.94
AIC	3467.88

$^{***}p < .01$; $^{**}p < .05$; $^{*}p < .1$

Table 7: Results Table for Model 3: Government Handling

Age	0.08***
	(0.03)
genderFemale	−0.004
	(0.03)
urbanUrban	0.004
	(0.03)
Interest	0.03
	(0.03)
collegeUniversity	−0.03
	(0.04)
occWhite Collar	0.02
	(0.04)
mediaMedia	0.05
	(0.04)
leftpartyLeft Party	0.005
	(0.03)
mitterandMitterand	0.07**
	(0.03)
PresSatIV	0.47***
	(0.03)
genprob2Problem:Social	−0.01
	(0.03)
genprob2Problem:Political	−0.08
	(0.06)
genprob2Problem:Foreign	0.19***
	(0.04)
openprob2Problem:Openness	0.21***
	(0.04)
causesBlame International	0.38***
	(0.03)
Constant	1.64***
	(0.05)
N	2398
R-squared	0.30
Adj. R-squared	0.30
Residual Std. Error	0.60 (df = 2382)
F Statistic	68.09*** (df = 15; 2382)

***p < .01; **p < .05; *p < .1

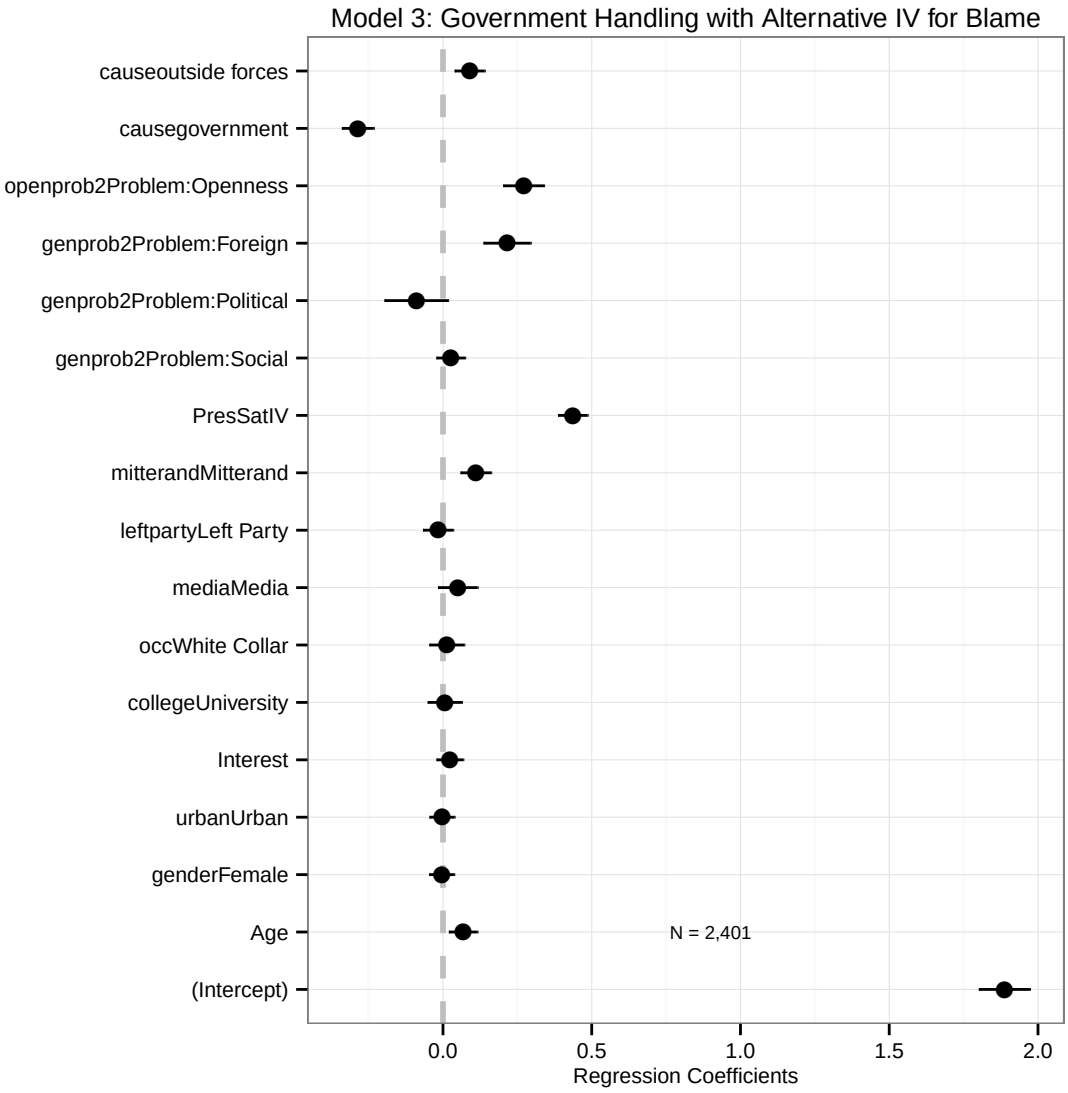

Figure 3: Model 3 with Alternative IV: All Causes

Table 8: Results Table for Model 3 Alternative IV: All Causes

Age	0.07***
	(0.02)
genderFemale	−0.004
	(0.02)
urbanUrban	−0.003
	(0.02)
Interest	0.02
	(0.02)
collegeUniversity	0.01
	(0.03)
occWhite Collar	0.01
	(0.03)
mediaMedia	0.05
	(0.03)
leftpartyLeft Party	−0.02
	(0.03)
mitterandMitterand	0.11***
	(0.03)
PresSatIV	0.44***
	(0.02)
genprob2Problem:Social	0.03
	(0.02)
genprob2Problem:Political	−0.09*
	(0.05)
genprob2Problem:Foreign	0.22***
	(0.04)
openprob2Problem:Openness	0.27***
	(0.03)
causegovernment	−0.29***
	(0.03)
causeoutside forces	0.09***
	(0.03)
Constant	1.89***
	(0.04)
N	3680
R-squared	0.25
Adj. R-squared	0.25
Residual Std. Error	0.62 (df = 3663)
F Statistic	77.39*** (df = 16; 3663)

***p < .01; **p < .05; *p < .1

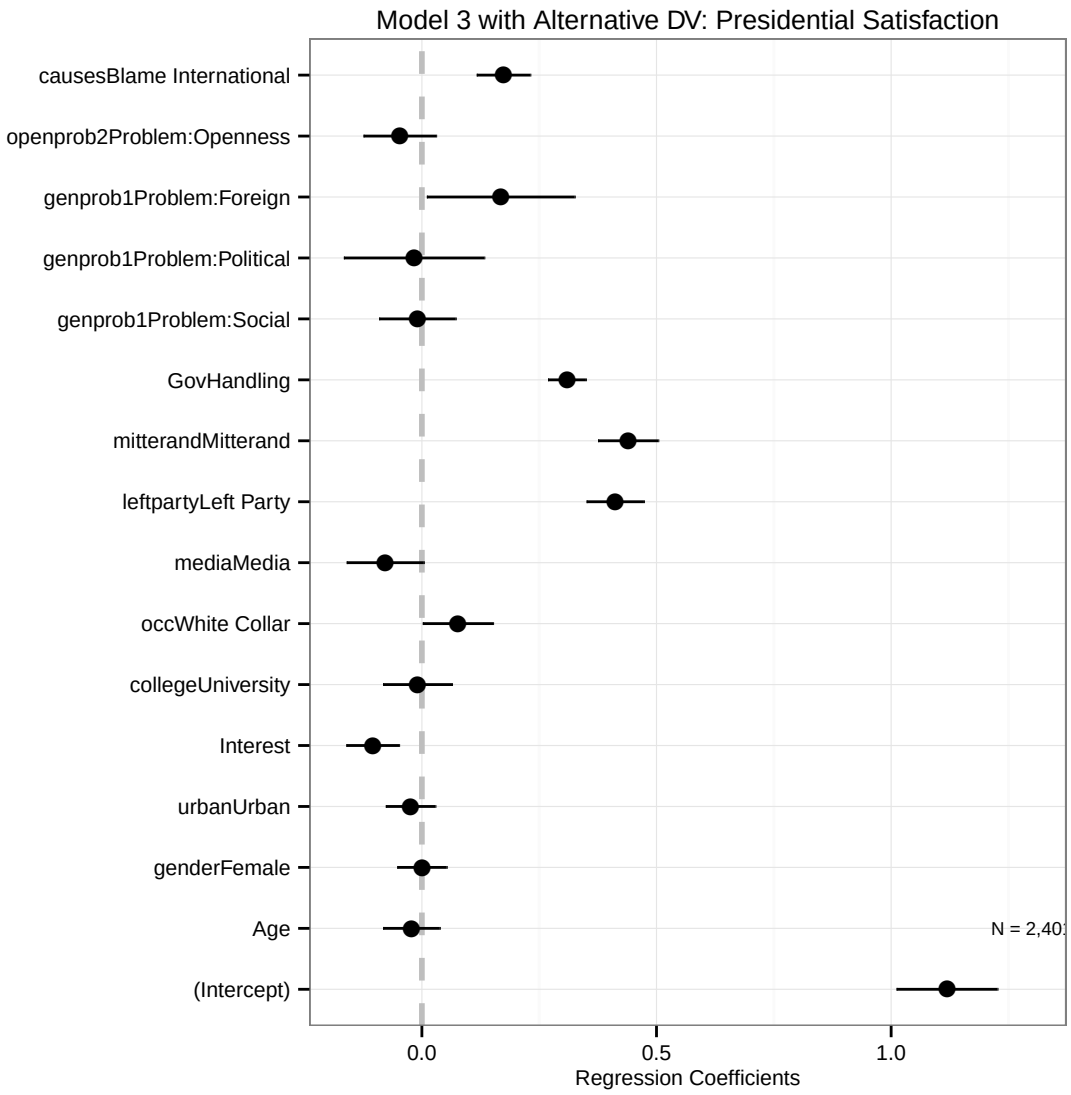

Figure 4: Model 3 with Alternative DV: Presidential Satisfaction

Table 9: Results Table for Model 3 Alternative DV: Presidential Satisfaction

Age	−0.02
	(0.03)
genderFemale	0.0003
	(0.03)
urbanUrban	−0.02
	(0.03)
Interest	−0.10***
	(0.03)
collegeUniversity	−0.01
	(0.04)
occWhite Collar	0.08**
	(0.04)
mediaMedia	−0.08*
	(0.04)
leftpartyLeft Party	0.41***
	(0.03)
mitterandMitterand	0.44***
	(0.03)
GovHandling	0.31***
	(0.02)
genprob1Problem:Social	−0.01
	(0.04)
genprob1Problem:Political	−0.02
	(0.07)
genprob1Problem:Foreign	0.17**
	(0.08)
openprob2Problem:Openness	−0.05
	(0.04)
causesBlame International	0.17***
	(0.03)
Constant	1.12***
	(0.05)
N	2392
R-squared	0.41
Adj. R-squared	0.41
Residual Std. Error	0.62 (df = 2376)
F Statistic	111.30*** (df = 15; 2376)

***p < .01; **p < .05; *p < .1

Table 10: State-Level Variable Details

Variable Name	Description
spending	General government final consumption expenditure as a share of GDP. World Bank.
trade	Imports and exports as share of GDP. World Bank.
dependency	Under 15 and over 64 as share of working-age population. World Bank.
land	Land area in square kilometers. World Bank.
mdi	Newspapers, radios, TVs over population. Arthur Banks and World Bank.
gdpcap	Gross domestic product divided by midyear population (current USD). World Bank.
polity2	Democracy - autocracy scores from the Polity IV database. Marshall et al. (2010)
industry	Value added by manufacturing as share of GDP. World Bank.
pr	0 = majoritarian, 1 = mixed-member majority or bloc, 2 = list-PR. Gerring and Thacker (2005).
unitarism	Average of nonfederalism and nonbicameralism. Gerring and Thacker (2005).
netden	Total union membership weighted by total dependent labor force. Golden et al. (2009).
lefts	Percentage of seats held by left parties in the legislature. Swank 2006.

Table 11: Descriptive Statistics for State Level Economic Variables

Variable	n	Min	q_1	$\widetilde{x}$	$\bar{x}$	q_3	Max	s	IQR	#NA
scode	12379	2.0	155.0	350.0	375.5	572.0	950.0	247.1	417.0	0
year	12379	1815.0	1893.0	1958.0	1937.2	1983.0	2003.0	54.6	90.0	0
polity2	12289	-10.0	-7.0	-3.0	-0.9	6.0	10.0	7.0	13.0	90
spending.wb	4908	3.0	10.7	14.4	15.7	19.1	76.2	6.9	8.4	7471
trade.wb	5088	0.4	38.0	56.3	65.3	82.6	412.2	42.4	44.6	7291
mdi	5696	0.0	8.2	23.9	46.1	66.5	313.3	53.4	58.3	6683
gdpcap.wb	5222	37.5	306.2	849.2	3636.2	2833.4	49263.5	6880.6	2527.2	7157
dependency.wb	5806	30.0	58.9	81.3	76.6	91.8	112.8	18.5	33.0	6573
land.wb	5675	670.0	68890.0	248360.0	831892.2	743530.0	16389950.0	1843918.4	674640.0	6704
pr	2974	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.9	2.0	2.0	0.9	2.0	9405
unitarism	2973	0.0	1.0	2.0	1.5	2.0	2.0	0.7	1.0	9406
industry.wb	3718	0.2	9.0	14.5	15.1	19.9	45.3	7.7	10.9	8661
netden	779	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.2	11600
lefts	1010	0.0	30.0	41.0	37.0	48.9	69.6	16.2	18.9	11369

Table 12: Table 1 Re-Estimated on Balanced Panel (1961-1999)

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
$Trade_{it-1}$	−0.27	−0.22	0.15
	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.30)
$\Delta Trade_{it-1}$			−2.51***
			(0.66)
MDI_{it-1}	−0.10	0.02	0.26
	(0.36)	(0.37)	(0.30)
ΔMDI_{it-1}			3.22*
			(1.77)
$Democracy_{it-1}$	0.11	−0.07	−0.17
	(0.15)	(0.20)	(0.20)
$GDPPerCapita_{it-1}$	0.37**	0.34*	
	(0.17)	(0.17)	
$Dependency_{it-1}$	−0.35	−0.33	
	(0.25)	(0.25)	
$LandArea_{it-1}$	13.30	12.07	
	(192.23)	(192.19)	
$\Delta Democracy_{it-1}$			0.001
			(0.30)
$\Delta GDPPerCapita_{it-1}$			1.23*
			(0.71)
$\Delta Dependency_{it-1}$			3.59
			(2.27)
$Spending_{it-1}$	0.83***	0.82***	−0.08***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
$Spending_{it-2}$	0.07***	0.07***	
	(0.02)	(0.02)	
$Spending_{it-3}$			−0.03
			(0.02)
$\Delta Spending_{it-1}$			−0.09***
			(0.03)
$Trade_{t-1}$ * MDI_{it-1}	−1.24***	−0.98**	−0.93*
	(0.45)	(0.49)	(0.49)
$\Delta Trade_{it-1}$ * ΔMDI_{it-1}			0.05
			(28.98)
$Trade_{it-1}$ * $Democracy_{it-1}$		−0.64	−0.73
		(0.49)	(0.50)
$\Delta Trade_{it-1}$ * $\Delta Democracy_{it-1}$			21.61***
			(4.23)
N	1850	1850	1800
R-squared	0.79	0.80	0.10
Adj. R-squared	0.75	0.75	0.09

***p < .01; **p < .05; *p < .1

Table 13: Table 1 Re-Estimated with Trade and MDI Variables Not Lagged

	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
$Trade_{it}$	0.43**	0.44**	0.15
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.23)
$\Delta Trade_{it}$			0.23
			(0.41)
MDI_{it}	−0.11	−0.21	0.78**
	(0.42)	(0.42)	(0.34)
$Democracy_{it-1}$	−0.03	−0.08	
	(0.16)	(0.16)	
$GDPPerCapita_{it-1}$	0.69***	0.74***	
	(0.19)	(0.19)	
$Dependency_{it-1}$	−0.21	−0.25	
	(0.24)	(0.24)	
$LandArea_{it-1}$	−96.74	−84.45	
	(256.56)	(255.04)	
ΔMDI_{it}			−0.08
			(1.78)
$Democracy_{it}$			0.14
			(0.17)
$\Delta Democracy_{it}$			1.27***
			(0.30)
$\Delta GDPPerCapita_{it-1}$			0.96
			(0.73)
$\Delta Dependency_{it-1}$			3.13*
			(1.87)
$Spending_{it-1}$	0.71***	0.71***	−0.21***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
$Spending_{it-2}$	0.11***	0.11***	
	(0.02)	(0.02)	
$Spending_{it-3}$			0.04**
			(0.02)
$\Delta Spending_{it-1}$			−0.09***
			(0.02)
$Trade_{it}$ * MDI_{it}	−1.11***	−1.06***	−0.88***
	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.34)
$\Delta Trade_{it}$ * ΔMDI_{it}			5.11
			(16.90)
$Trade_{it}$ * $Democracy_{it}$		−0.55*	−0.35
		(0.31)	(0.32)
$\Delta Trade_{it}$ * $\Delta Democracy_{it}$			5.26***
			(2.00)
N	3792	3791	3665
R-squared	0.67	0.67	0.13
Adj. R-squared	0.63	0.63	0.13

***p < .01; **p < .05; *p < .1