

Supplementary Information for Mass Media and the Domestic Politics of  
Economic Globalization

**Contents**

Text of Key Survey Questions  
Descriptive Statistics for Individual-Level Survey Data  
Additional Individual-Level Model Results Referenced in Paper  
State-Level Variable Descriptions  
Descriptive Statistics for State-Level Data

**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 Response 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 lies in the behavior and attitudes of people like you and me."
  2. "The cause lies 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 | q <sub>1</sub> | $\tilde{x}$ | $\bar{x}$ | q <sub>3</sub> | 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***<br>(0.09)  |
| genderFemale              | -0.02<br>(0.08)    |
| urbanUrban                | 0.03<br>(0.08)     |
| Interest                  | 0.03<br>(0.08)     |
| collegeUniversity         | 0.36***<br>(0.11)  |
| occWhite Collar           | 0.43***<br>(0.11)  |
| leftpartyLeft Party       | 0.53***<br>(0.08)  |
| mediaMedia                | 0.35***<br>(0.12)  |
| genprob2Problem:Social    | -0.28***<br>(0.08) |
| genprob2Problem:Political | -0.89***<br>(0.20) |
| genprob2Problem:Foreign   | 0.15<br>(0.15)     |
| openprob2Problem:Openness | 1.10***<br>(0.14)  |
| Constant                  | -0.45***<br>(0.13) |
| N                         | 3252               |
| Log Likelihood            | -2090.45           |
| AIC                       | 4206.90            |

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

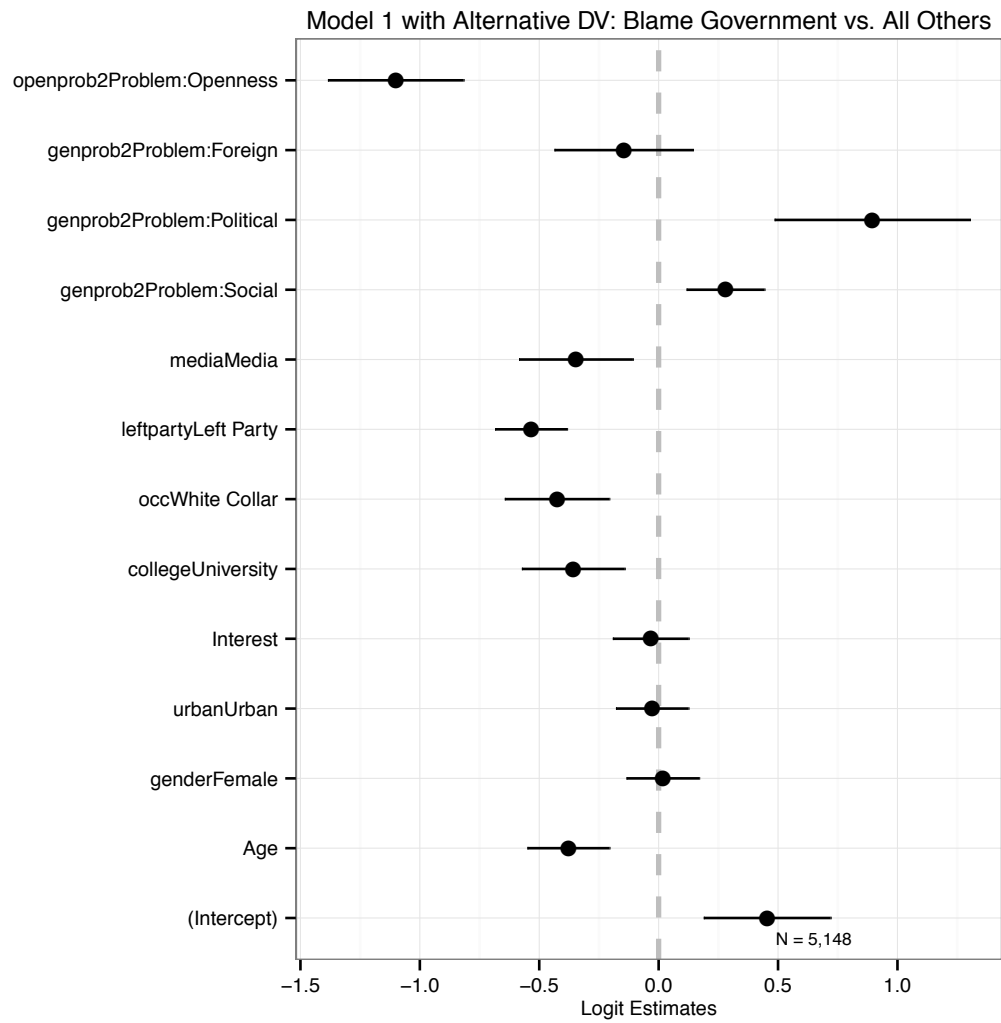


Figure 1: Model 1 with Alternative DV: Blame Government vs. All Others

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

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

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

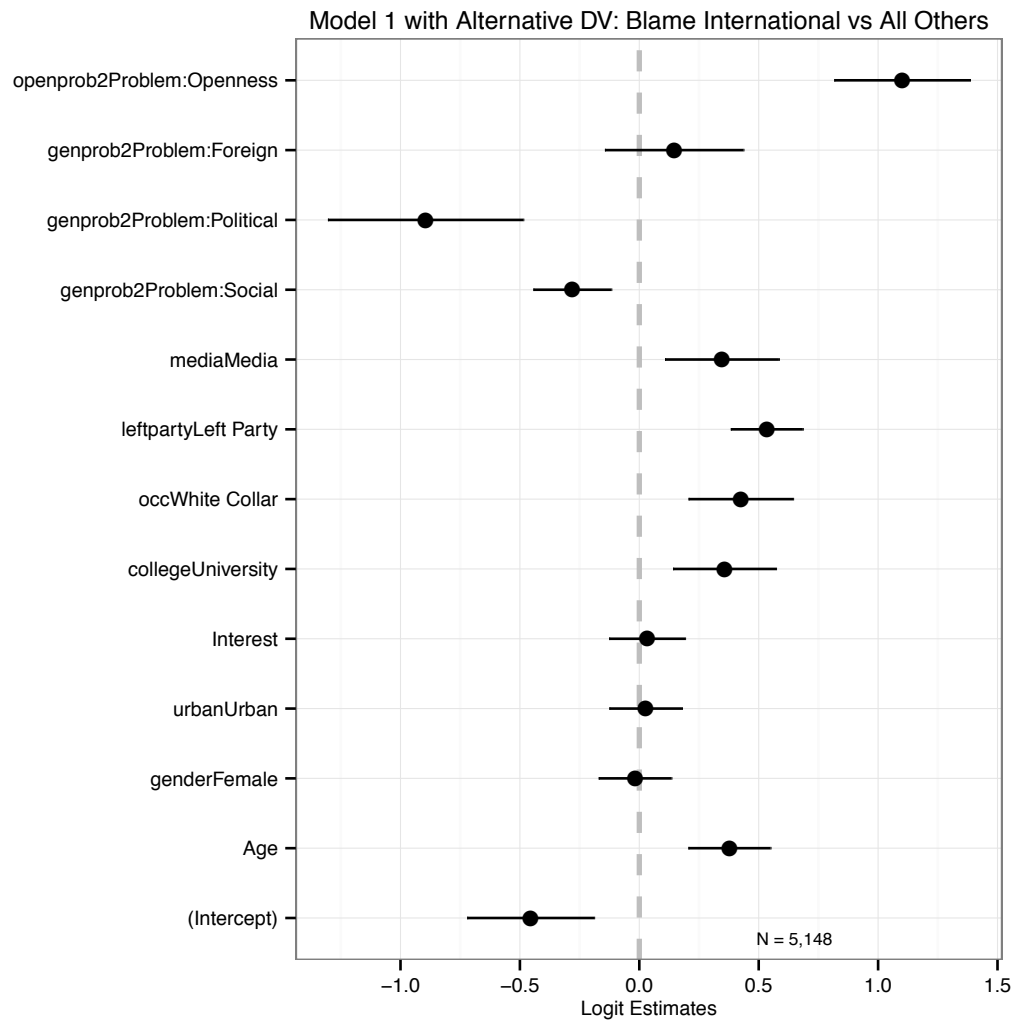


Figure 2: Model 1 with Alternative DV: Blame Government vs. All Others



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

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

\*\*\*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***<br>(0.03)        |
| genderFemale              | -0.004<br>(0.03)         |
| urbanUrban                | 0.004<br>(0.03)          |
| Interest                  | 0.03<br>(0.03)           |
| collegeUniversity         | -0.03<br>(0.04)          |
| occWhite Collar           | 0.02<br>(0.04)           |
| mediaMedia                | 0.05<br>(0.04)           |
| leftpartyLeft Party       | 0.005<br>(0.03)          |
| mitterandMitterand        | 0.07**<br>(0.03)         |
| PresSatIV                 | 0.47***<br>(0.03)        |
| genprob2Problem:Social    | -0.01<br>(0.03)          |
| genprob2Problem:Political | -0.08<br>(0.06)          |
| genprob2Problem:Foreign   | 0.19***<br>(0.04)        |
| openprob2Problem:Openness | 0.21***<br>(0.04)        |
| causesBlame International | 0.38***<br>(0.03)        |
| Constant                  | 1.64***<br>(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 &lt; .01; \*\*p &lt; .05; \*p &lt; .1

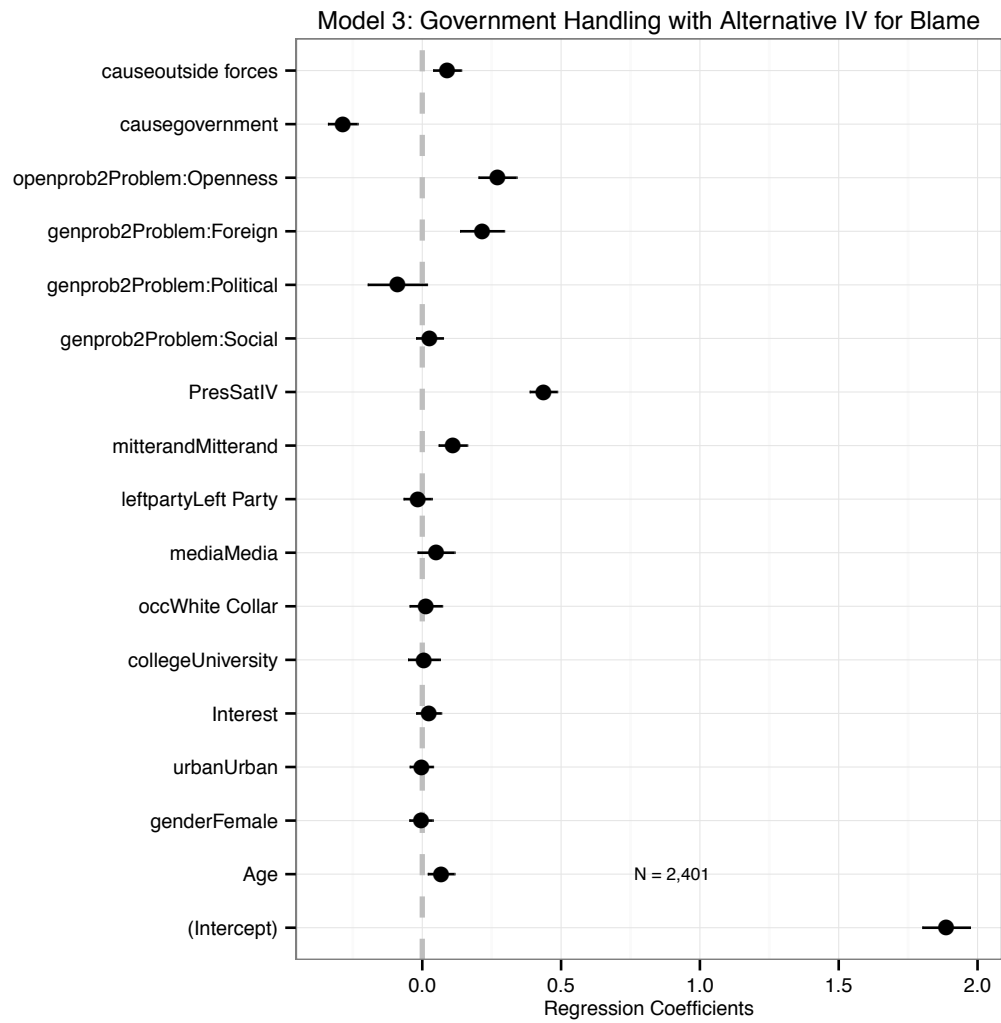


Figure 3: Model 3 with Alternative IV: All Causes

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

|                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Age                       | 0.07***<br>(0.02)        |
| genderFemale              | -0.004<br>(0.02)         |
| urbanUrban                | -0.003<br>(0.02)         |
| Interest                  | 0.02<br>(0.02)           |
| collegeUniversity         | 0.01<br>(0.03)           |
| occWhite Collar           | 0.01<br>(0.03)           |
| mediaMedia                | 0.05<br>(0.03)           |
| leftpartyLeft Party       | -0.02<br>(0.03)          |
| mitterandMitterand        | 0.11***<br>(0.03)        |
| PresSatIV                 | 0.44***<br>(0.02)        |
| genprob2Problem:Social    | 0.03<br>(0.02)           |
| genprob2Problem:Political | -0.09*<br>(0.05)         |
| genprob2Problem:Foreign   | 0.22***<br>(0.04)        |
| openprob2Problem:Openness | 0.27***<br>(0.03)        |
| causegovernment           | -0.29***<br>(0.03)       |
| causeoutside forces       | 0.09***<br>(0.03)        |
| Constant                  | 1.89***<br>(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 &lt; .01; \*\*p &lt; .05; \*p &lt; .1

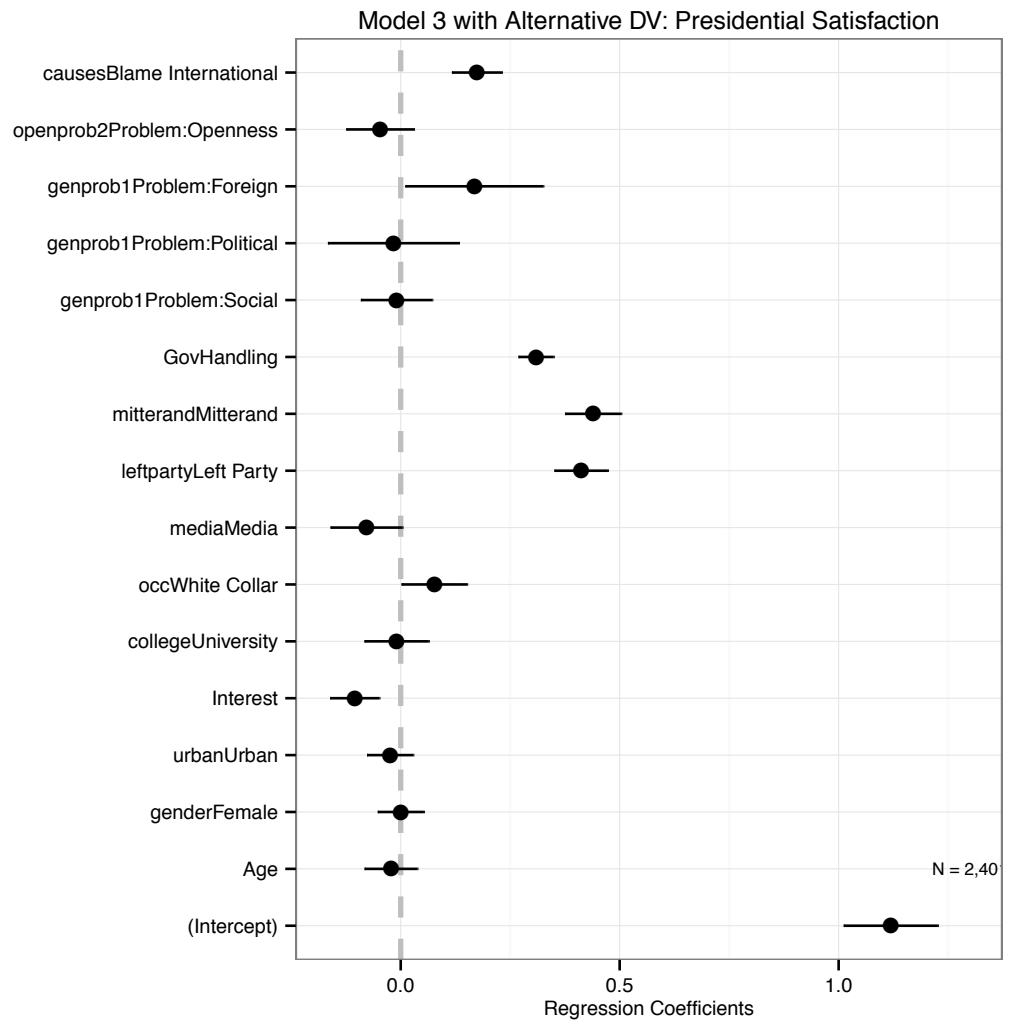


Figure 4: Model 3 with Alternative DV: Presidential Satisfaction

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

|                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Age                       | −0.02<br>(0.03)           |
| genderFemale              | 0.0003<br>(0.03)          |
| urbanUrban                | −0.02<br>(0.03)           |
| Interest                  | −0.10***<br>(0.03)        |
| collegeUniversity         | −0.01<br>(0.04)           |
| occWhite Collar           | 0.08**<br>(0.04)          |
| mediaMedia                | −0.08*<br>(0.04)          |
| leftpartyLeft Party       | 0.41***<br>(0.03)         |
| mitterandMitterand        | 0.44***<br>(0.03)         |
| GovHandling               | 0.31***<br>(0.02)         |
| genprob1Problem:Social    | −0.01<br>(0.04)           |
| genprob1Problem:Political | −0.02<br>(0.07)           |
| genprob1Problem:Foreign   | 0.17**<br>(0.08)          |
| openprob2Problem:Openness | −0.05<br>(0.04)           |
| causesBlame International | 0.17***<br>(0.03)         |
| Constant                  | 1.12***<br>(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 <sub>1</sub> | $\tilde{x}$ | $\bar{x}$ | q <sub>3</sub> | 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 |