# Appendix 1 Regression Results on Figure 2

DV: Censorship Intensity

With Control No Control

(1) (2) (3) (4)

OLS Ologit OLS Ologit

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Political Challenges | 1.266\*\*\* (0.125) | 1.310\*\*\* (0.139) | 1.273\*\*\* (0.122) | 1.277\*\*\* (0.129) |
| Performance Challenges | -0.047 | -0.085 | -0.069 | -0.095 |
|  | (0.105) | (0.114) | (0.098) | (0.103) |
| Col.Action Potential | 1.498\*\*\* (0.258) | 1.619\*\*\* (0.301) | 1.504\*\*\* (0.257) | 1.568\*\*\* (0.295) |
| Working Exp. | 0.016 | 0.015 |  |  |
|  | (0.017) | (0.017) |  |  |
| State-affiliated | -0.532\*\* (0.265) | -0.548\* (0.283) |  |  |
| Experiment Scenes=1 | 0.000 (.) | 0.000 (.) | 0.000 (.) | 0.000 (.) |
| Experiment Scenes=2 | -0.057 | -0.069 | -0.113 | -0.188 |
|  | (0.248) | (0.273) | (0.250) | (0.262) |
| Experiment Scenes=3 | -0.835\*\*\* (0.266) | -0.790\*\*\* (0.301) | -0.751\*\*\* (0.252) | -0.732\*\*\* (0.271) |
| Experiment Scenes=4 | 1.037\*\*\* (0.363) | 1.182\*\*\* (0.417) | 1.090\*\*\* (0.358) | 1.151\*\*\* (0.395) |
| Experiment Scenes=5 | 1.866\*\*\* (0.410) | 2.095\*\*\* (0.478) | 1.945\*\*\* (0.391) | 2.058\*\*\* (0.445) |
| Experiment Scenes=6 | 0.234 | 0.149 | 0.304 | 0.178 |
|  | (0.338) | (0.401) | (0.331) | (0.378) |
| Experiment Scenes=7 | -0.134 | -0.155 | -0.244 | -0.352 |
|  | (0.283) | (0.325) | (0.287) | (0.324) |
| Experiment Scenes=8 | 0.204 | 0.188 | 0.181 | 0.139 |
|  | (0.239) | (0.252) | (0.240) | (0.243) |
| Experiment Scenes=9 | -0.372 | -0.284 | -0.313 | -0.248 |
|  | (0.283) | (0.304) | (0.269) | (0.280) |

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) OLS | (2)  Ologit | (3) OLS | (4)  Ologit |
| Experiment Scenes=10 | 1.352\*\*\* (0.377) | 1.498\*\*\* (0.423) | 1.314\*\*\* (0.364) | 1.352\*\*\* (0.394) |
| Experiment Scenes=11 | 1.065\*\*\* (0.328) | 1.152\*\*\* (0.370) | 1.060\*\*\* (0.320) | 1.079\*\*\* (0.352) |
| Experiment Scenes=12 | -0.194 | -0.306 | -0.125 | -0.235 |
|  | (0.347) | (0.393) | (0.331) | (0.365) |
| Experiment Scenes=13 | -0.571\* | -0.558 | -0.508\* | -0.517 |
|  | (0.312) | (0.349) | (0.297) | (0.318) |
| Experiment Scenes=14 | -0.049 | -0.012 | -0.084 | -0.091 |
|  | (0.313) | (0.338) | (0.306) | (0.322) |
| Experiment Scenes=15 | -0.985\*\*\* (0.289) | -0.928\*\*\* (0.308) | -0.946\*\*\* (0.264) | -0.906\*\*\* (0.274) |
| Experiment Scenes=16 | 0.560 | 0.724 | 0.523 | 0.599 |
|  | (0.400) | (0.459) | (0.385) | (0.423) |
| Experiment Scenes=17 | 1.078\*\*\* (0.366) | 1.269\*\*\* (0.404) | 1.184\*\*\* (0.361) | 1.267\*\*\* (0.383) |
| Experiment Scenes=18 | 0.249 | 0.474 | 0.376 | 0.530 |
|  | (0.348) | (0.399) | (0.342) | (0.372) |
| Experiment Scenes=19 | 0.683\*\* (0.328) | 0.800\*\* (0.370) | 0.684\*\* (0.312) | 0.710\*\* (0.338) |
| Experiment Scenes=20 | -0.162 | -0.219 | -0.108 | -0.166 |
|  | (0.263) | (0.275) | (0.256) | (0.268) |
| Experiment Scenes=21 | 1.289\*\*\* (0.308) | 1.562\*\*\* (0.370) | 1.350\*\*\* (0.294) | 1.563\*\*\* (0.347) |
| Experiment Scenes=22 | 1.173\*\*\* (0.308) | 1.292\*\*\* (0.358) | 1.176\*\*\* (0.297) | 1.203\*\*\* (0.340) |
| Constant | 2.194\*\*\* (0.380) |  | 2.083\*\*\* (0.349) |  |
| cut1 |  |  |  |  |

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) OLS | (2)  Ologit | (3) OLS | (4)  Ologit |
| Constant |  | -0.318 |  | -0.138 |
|  |  | (0.417) |  | (0.371) |
| cut2 Constant |  | 0.505 |  | 0.595 |
|  |  | (0.415) |  | (0.370) |
| cut3 Constant |  | 1.692\*\*\* |  | 1.707\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.416) |  | (0.371) |
| cut4 Constant |  | 2.217\*\*\* |  | 2.205\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.418) |  | (0.380) |
| cut5 Constant |  | 3.348\*\*\* |  | 3.320\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.427) |  | (0.394) |
| cut6 Constant |  | 3.948\*\*\* |  | 3.897\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.426) |  | (0.391) |
| Observations | 1293 | 1293 | 1390 | 1390 |
| (Pseudo)R-squared | 0.242 | 0.072 | 0.216 | 0.064 |
| Log Likelihood |  | -2259.574 |  | -2446.521 |
| Chi-Square |  | 308.035 |  | 278.958 |

Note Unit of analysis is the answer to per scenario per respondent. Baseline is when all

three variables of interests are "weak" (coded as 0). Standard errors are in the parentheses. Dependent variable is 7-point scale censorship intensity. All models have fixed effect on each experimental scenario and standard errors clustered at individual respondents. \* p<0.1 \*\* p<0.05 \*\*\* p<0.01

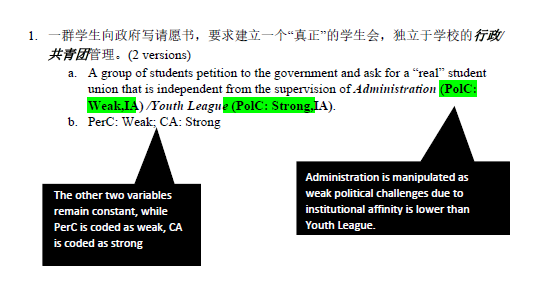
**Online Appendix *2***

# Scenarios for the Experiment (in total 22)

Note

1. Manipulated Variables; **PolC:** Political Challenge; **PerC:** Performance Challenge; **CA**: collective action potential;
2. Coding methods for PolC and PerC:
   1. PolC: **IA**, institutional affinity; **DC**, Disconformity;
   2. PerC: **DH**, degree of Harm; **COM**: making commitment(promise)
3. For each scenario, Item a is the translation of Chinese scenario. Item b lists variables that are not manipulated in that specific scenario and how they are coded.

Please see the example:



1. 一群学生向政府写请愿书，要求建立一个“真正”的学生会，独立于学校的***行政/共 青团***管理。(2 versions)

* 1. A group of students petition to the government and ask for a “real” student union that is independent from the supervision of ***Administration*** (**PolC: Weak,IA)**

***/Youth League* (PolC: Strong,IA)**.

* 1. Constant: PerC: Weak; CA: Strong

2. 公民 W 在互联网上召集网友签名，宣布他要成为一个独立候选人，***去竞选村民委 员会主任（村长）/区级人大代表*。**(2 versions)

1. Citizen W collects netizens’ signature and announces that he will become an independent electoral candidate for the position of ***village head***(**PolC: Weak,DC)**

***/district level LPC representative***(**PolC: Strong,DC)**.

1. Constant: PerC: Weak; CA: Strong

3. 一群农民在网上向网友求助。当地***市长/军区司令***的亲戚正试图强征他们的土地去 建一座度假酒店。(2 versions)

1. A group of peasants ask for help online. Local ***mayor***(**PolC: Weak,IA)*/military commander***(**PolC: Strong,IA)**’s relatives attempt to forcefully take the lands to build a resort.
2. PerC: Strong, COM; CA: Strong

4. 一段在社交媒体上传播的视频显示，***教育部部长/某省教育厅的厅长***接受了一个商 人的当面贿赂。(2 versions)

1. An online video shows on social media that ***the minister of education***(**PolC: Strong,IA)*/a provincial head of department***(**PolC: Weak,IA)** receives the bribe from a businessman.
2. PerC: Strong,COM; CA: Weak

5. 周永康的倒台不是什么稀奇事儿，***除非党内监督制度更健全，腐败不会消失/他不 是太子党，在党内没有人会救他***。(2 versions)

1. The fall of Zhou Yongkang is not surprising. **Unless the inner party supervising mechanism is improved corruption will not disappear**(**PolC: Weak,DC)**  (PerC: Strong, COM**)/ He is not a princeling, no party comrades will save him**(**PolC: Strong,DC)** (PerC: Weak,COM**)**.
2. CA: Weak

6. 一个博客帖子评论到，让地方官员对民众负责的惟一办法，就是加强***贯彻《政府 公开条例》/就是让所有领导官员参与竞争性选举。***(2 versions)

1. A blogpost comments that the only way to make local officials accountable is to ***reinforce “Government Transparency Guidelines”*** (**PolC: Weak,DC)** (PerC: Strong, COM**)*/all officials subject to competitive elections.*** (**PolC: Strong,DC)**  (PerC: Weak,COM**)**
2. CA: Weak

7. 一些网民在网上开展自拍活动，号召参加者拿着一块写着***“我想让政府更重视空 气质量”/“ 我想让政府官员公开他们财产”***的标语牌自拍，并将自拍上传到自己 的微博账号上。

1. Some netizens launch a selfie event online, asking participants to take selfies with the banner ***“I want the government cares more about air quality”*** (PerC: Weak,COM**)*/ “I want the officials to report their income to the public”*** (PerC: Strong, COM**)**.
2. PolC:Weak; CA: Strong

8. 微博上流传图片，大量的抗议民众涌上街头游行，呼吁给予***贫困地区更多的教育 投入/呼吁同性恋结婚合法化***。

1. A photo goes viral on Weibo that massive protesters flood onto the street, asking for ***more educational investment to poor regions*** (PerC: Strong, COM**)**.

***/legalization of gay marriage”*** (PerC: Weak,COM**)**

1. PolC:Weak; CA: Strong

9. 一群***民营企业/国有企业***的工人在社保局门前聚集，抗议本市政府缺乏对失业人员 的保护。

1. A group of ***Private Sector***(PerC: Weak,COM**)** /***SOE***(PerC: Strong, COM**)** workers gather in front of Social Security Bureau, protesting for the lack of protection of unemployment.
2. PolC:Weak; CA: Strong

10. 一栋由解放军军属企业建造的学校校舍因为质量问题倒塌。这个事故导致 ***5/55*** 名 孩子死亡。

1. A school building built by military construction company collapses for bad quality, which kills ***five***(PerC: Weak,DH**) */fifty-five children***(PerC: Strong, DH).
2. PolC:Strong, IA; CA: Weak

11. 一个博客帖子评论道，中国互联网管制降低人们生活质量，因为***它是中国经济发 展的巨大阻碍/它损害了人们浏览网页信息的自由***。

1. A blogpost comments that China’s Internet regulation reduces quality of life, because it **impedes economic development**(PerC: Weak,COM**) /invades the freedom of viewing information on websites**(PerC: Strong, COM**)**.
2. PolC:Strong, DC;

12. 一篇博客帖子抱怨道，某超大城市没有能力给农民工群体提供足够的***定居的权利***

***（户口）/公共安全保护***。

1. A blogpost comments that a metropolitan fails to provide enough residential rights(Hukou) (PerC: Weak,COM**)** / protection of public safety for immigrant workers(PerC: Strong, COM**)**.
2. PolC:Weak; CA: Weak

13. 某个全国闻名的水利大坝项目发生事故，水资源被严重污染。***2 个村庄近 2000 人/***

***4 个城市的 200 万人***将无法获得干净的饮用水。当地居民决定对负责项目的***省级政 府/相关建筑企业***提起诉讼。

1. A famous dam-project has a pollutant accident. ***2000 people in two villages***  (PerC: Weak,COM**) */2 million people in 4 cities***(PerC: Strong, COM**)** cannot get clean drinking water. Residents decide to sue ***the relevant provincial government*  (PolC: Strong,IA)** /***construction enterprise***(**PolC: Weak,IA)**.
2. CA:Strong

14. 由于***朝鲜在黄海附近/日本在钓鱼岛附近逮捕/杀害***了五名中国渔民，群众游行在全 国五个大城市爆发。(2 versions)

1. ***North Korea***(**PolC: Strong,DC) */Japan***(**PolC: Weak,DC) *arrest***(PerC: Weak,DH**) */kill***(PerC: Strong, DH**)** five Chinese fishermen around YelWeak Sea/Senkaku Island, massive protests outburst in five large cities.
2. CA:Strong

15. 一群出租车司机挡住了某市***人大常委/党委***门前的路，***抗议他们的收入过低不足以 生活/希望能取消向出租车公司交的“份子钱”***。(4 versions)

1. A group of cab drivers block the road in front of ***People’s Congress***(**PolC: Weak,IA)*/Party Committee***(**PolC: Strong,IA)**, protesting that ***their income is Weak***(PerC: Weak,COM**) */ the share paid to the cab companies should be cancelled***(PerC: Strong, COM**) *.***
2. CA:Strong

16. 在直辖市 C，一辆保时捷由于司机醉酒驾驶，***撞死了一名行人/造成严重交通事***

***故，共造成 35 人死亡***。醉驾司机当场逃逸。他是该市***红十字会党委书记/市委书记***

的儿子。(4 versions)

1. In Municipal C, a drunk driver in a Porsche hit and run, ***killing one pedestrian***(PerC: Weak,DH**)** / ***making a serious traffic accident with 35 casualties***(PerC: Strong, DH**)** . He is the son of the Party secretary of ***Municipal C*** (**PolC: Strong,IA) */ Red Cross Organization Congress***(**PolC: Weak,IA)**.
2. CA:Weak

17. 一个博客帖子显示，地方政府暴力拆迁，导致公民 *K* ***受伤/自杀***。***/K 是藏族人***。(4 versions)

1. A blogpost shows that one local government takes lands violently. Citizen K **hurt**  (PerC: Weak,DH**)/kill himself**(PerC: Strong, DH**)** during the process**.** (**PolC: Weak,IA) / K is a Tibetan** (**PolC: Strong,IA)**.
2. CA:Weak

18. 一个官员举报他的上司，某市的***市长/市委书记***，经常***收取关系人的贿赂/没有走法 律程序就拘留当地市民***。(4 versions)

1. An official reported that his supervisor, a city’s ***mayor*.** (**PolC: Weak,IA)*/party secretary***(**PolC: Strong,IA)**, ***often takes bribes***(PerC: Strong, COM**) */ detain residents with no legal procedure***(PerC: Weak,COM**)**.
2. CA:Weak

19. 我听说出租车司机今天罢工了。我很同情他们。因为那些公司收太多份子钱了。***/***

***我明天要去他们静坐的地方以表支持，有人跟我一起去吗？***(2 versions)

1. (A blogpost writes that) “I heard that cab drivers are on strike today, I am very sympathetic. Those cab companies take a huge share from them. **(CA:Weak)** /I am going to where they sit in to support them, anyone with me. **(CA:Strong)**?
2. PolC:Weak; PerC: Strong, COM

20. 电影审查真是烂透了。它不但损害了电影工业的发展，还剥夺了人们选择观看的自 由。***/请跟我一起签了这份请愿书：《请停止对电影的审查》***(2 versions)

1. (A blogpost writes that) “Film censorship sucks. It damages the development of film industry, and take freedom of watching away from people. . **(CA:Weak)**

**/Please sign this petition with me: ‘Please stop the censorship to films’(CA:Strong)**”!

1. PolC:Strong,DC; PerC:Weak

***21.*** 北京的空气真是太毒了。***环保部/共产党***没做任何事情保护首都人民的生命！***/我们 明天 10 点聚集在环保部/中南海门前抗议吧！***(4 versions)

1. (A blogpost writes that) “Beijing’s air is really toxic! **Ministry of Environmental Protection .** (**PolC: Weak,IA)/ Communist Party**(**PolC: Strong,IA)**, has done nothing to protect people’s life of the capital! . **(CA:Weak)/Let’s gather in front of MEP/Zhongnanhai to protest! (CA:Strong)** ”
2. PerC: Strong, COM

22. 一胎政策简直不可理喻。它严重地**侵犯了*中国人的基本人权/损害中国经济发展的 潜力***。***/我在这里宣布成立“拯救我们未来”委员会，推动政策的最终废止。请加 入我们，让我们的声音让更多人听见！***(4 versions)

a. (A blogpost writes that) “One-child policy is such a nonsense. It seriously **insults Chinese people’s basic human rights**(PerC: Weak,COM**)** (**PolC: Strong,DC)/ damages the potential of Chinese economic development**(PerC: Strong,COM**) )**  (**PolC: Weak,DC)**. **(CA:Weak)** /**I am here to announce that we establishes ‘Save Our Future’ committee, promoting the termination of the policy. Please join us and make our voice heard!** . **(CA:Strong)** ”

Appendix 3: Descriptive Statstics for all scenarios

SD. Censorship Intensity

Pol.Challenges

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Respondents | Workplace 1=state- affliated | Work Experience (Year) |
| 34 | 0.44 | 9.21 |
| 32 | 0.31 | 8.10 |
| 33 | 0.36 | 9.03 |
| 31 | 0.39 | 8.26 |
| 32 | 0.28 | 8.52 |
| 30 | 0.40 | 9.00 |
| 32 | 0.41 | 9.33 |
| 31 | 0.29 | 7.93 |
| 32 | 0.28 | 7.48 |
| 31 | 0.42 | 9.93 |
| 30 | 0.33 | 8.86 |
| 32 | 0.34 | 8.43 |
| 33 | 0.42 | 6.97 |
| 32 | 0.31 | 10.27 |
| 31 | 0.35 | 7.75 |
| 33 | 0.36 | 9.45 |
| 33 | 0.33 | 7.84 |
| 29 | 0.34 | 9.54 |
| 31 | 0.35 | 8.50 |
| 32 | 0.34 | 8.79 |
| 32 | 0.34 | 7.61 |
| 31 | 0.35 | 9.79 |
| 33 | 0.33 | 9.13 |
| 33 | 0.42 | 8.37 |
| 16 | 0.25 | 6.93 |
| 16 | 0.31 | 7.81 |
| 15 | 0.47 | 11.57 |
| 16 | 0.38 | 8.93 |
| 16 | 0.44 | 7.60 |
| 16 | 0.38 | 8.88 |
| 15 | 0.27 | 8.57 |
| 16 | 0.31 | 9.57 |
| 16 | 0.31 | 9.60 |
| 16 | 0.56 | 6.43 |
| 16 | 0.19 | 10.56 |
| 16 | 0.38 | 8.13 |
| 16 | 0.38 | 6.71 |
| 17 | 0.24 | 10.59 |
| 16 | 0.38 | 8.77 |
| 17 | 0.53 | 8.13 |
| 16 | 0.38 | 8.14 |
| 16 | 0.50 | 10.20 |
| 17 | 0.29 | 9.65 |
| 15 | 0.27 | 6.71 |
| 16 | 0.25 | 10.60 |
| 16 | 0.50 | 8.07 |
| 15 | 0.33 | 7.36 |
| 17 | 0.35 | 8.80 |
| 31 | 0.26 | 9.41 |
| 30 | 0.40 | 8.07 |
| 31 | 0.29 | 8.16 |
| 32 | 0.41 | 9.38 |
| 17 | 0.35 | 10.44 |
| 16 | 0.44 | 8.58 |
| 17 | 0.41 | 6.41 |
| 15 | 0.27 | 9.73 |
| 16 | 0.19 | 9.20 |
| 15 | 0.40 | 8.46 |
| 16 | 0.44 | 7.79 |
| 15 | 0.33 | 9.67 |

Performance Challenges

Collective Action

2.075

1.741

2.136

1.883

1.244

1.499

1.660

1.792

1.999

1.922

2.273

1.164

1.501

2.030

1.807

1.716

1.104

1.455

1.889

1.673

2.030

1.836

1.298

1.193

1.601

1.569

0.941

1.438

1.797

1.711

1.839

1.668

1.265

1.238

1.482

1.632

1.504

2.029

1.702

1.904

1.310

1.078

1.200

2.086

1.537

1.515

1.291

1.160

1.410

1.870

1.981

1.809

2.551

2.190

1.495

0.704

2.125

1.424

1.928

1.846

1 0 1

0 0 1

0 0 1

1 0 1

0 1 1

1 1 1

0 1 0

1 1 0

0 1 0

1 0 0

1 0 0

0 1 0

0 1 1

0 0 1

0 1 1

0 0 1

0 0 1

0 1 1

1 0 0

1 1 0

1 1 0

1 0 0

0 0 0

0 1 0

0 1 1

1 0 1

1 1 1

0 0 1

0 1 1

1 0 1

1 1 1

0 0 1

1 0 1

0 0 1

1 1 1

0 1 1

0 1 0

1 1 0

0 0 0

1 0 0

0 1 0

0 0 0

1 1 0

1 0 0

1 0 0

1 1 0

0 1 0

0 0 0

0 1 0

0 1 1

1 0 0

1 0 1

1 1 0

0 1 1

0 1 0

1 1 1

0 1 1

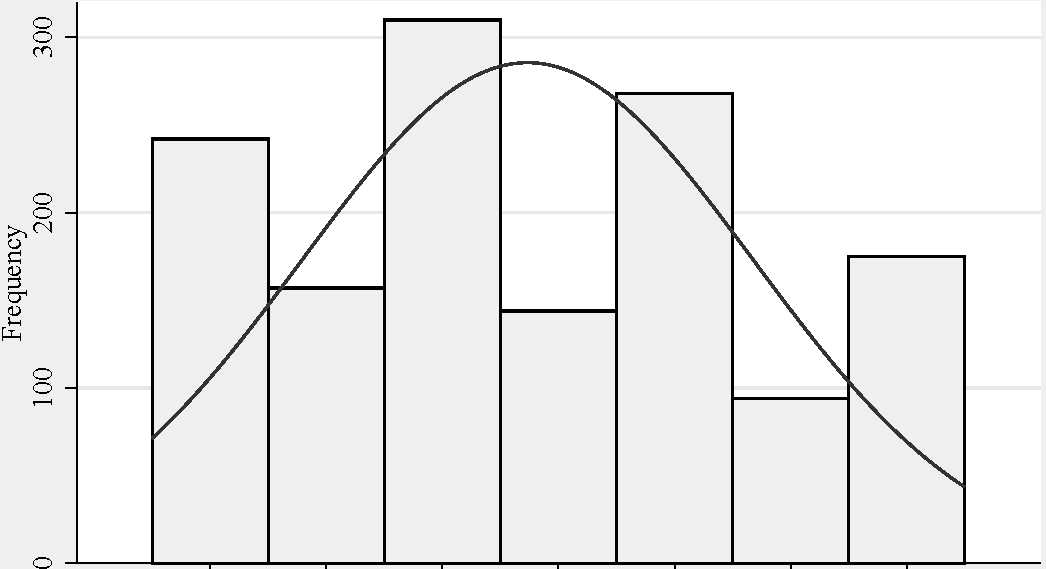
1 0 1

1 0 0

0 1 0

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  |  | Mean |
|  | Scenario | Version | Censorship |
|  |  |  | Intensity |
|  | 1 | 1 | 4.235 |
|  | 1 | 2 | 4.250 |
|  | 2 | 1 | 3.576 |
|  | 2 | 2 | 4.710 |
|  | 3 | 1 | 2.469 |
|  | 3 | 2 | 4.400 |
|  | 4 | 1 | 2.781 |
|  | 4 | 2 | 4.710 |
|  | 5 | 1 | 3.938 |
|  | 5 | 2 | 5.323 |
|  | 6 | 1 | 4.267 |
|  | 6 | 2 | 1.750 |
|  | 7 | 1 | 2.242 |
|  | 7 | 2 | 4.406 |
|  | 8 | 1 | 4.000 |
|  | 8 | 2 | 3.485 |
|  | 9 | 1 | 3.030 |
|  | 9 | 2 | 3.483 |
|  | 10 | 1 | 4.355 |
|  | 10 | 2 | 4.906 |
|  | 11 | 1 | 4.406 |
|  | 11 | 2 | 4.355 |
|  | 12 | 1 | 2.061 |
|  | 12 | 2 | 1.879 |
|  | 13 | 1 | 2.813 |
|  | 13 | 2 | 3.938 |
|  | 13 | 3 | 4.800 |
|  | 13 | 4 | 3.250 |
|  | 14 | 1 | 3.188 |
|  | 14 | 2 | 4.438 |
|  | 14 | 3 | 4.667 |
|  | 14 | 4 | 4.125 |
|  | 15 | 1 | 3.000 |
|  | 15 | 2 | 2.750 |
|  | 15 | 3 | 3.938 |
|  | 15 | 4 | 3.438 |
|  | 16 | 1 | 3.563 |
|  | 16 | 2 | 3.647 |
|  | 16 | 3 | 2.688 |
|  | 16 | 4 | 3.000 |
|  | 17 | 1 | 2.875 |
|  | 17 | 2 | 2.688 |
|  | 17 | 3 | 5.235 |
|  | 17 | 4 | 4.733 |
|  | 18 | 1 | 3.688 |
|  | 18 | 2 | 3.188 |
|  | 18 | 3 | 2.667 |
|  | 18 | 4 | 2.706 |
|  | 19 | 1 | 2.548 |
|  | 19 | 2 | 4.433 |
|  | 20 | 1 | 3.452 |
|  | 20 | 2 | 4.625 |
|  | 21 | 1 | 4.588 |
|  | 21 | 2 | 4.563 |
|  | 21 | 3 | 3.118 |
|  | 21 | 4 | 6.733 |
|  | 22 | 1 | 4.625 |
|  | 22 | 2 | 5.800 |
|  | 22 | 3 | 5.125 |
|  | 22 | 4 | 2.867 |

**Histogram of Censorship Intensity**



2 3 4 5 6 7

Censorship Intensity

Figure Al: The historam shows that the answer of censorship intensity is not seriously skewed(.181). The unit of analysis is answer to one scenario per respondent; N=1390