

## Supplementary Information file (SIf)

### A1.: Selection of data

Despite the shift towards news consumption on social media apps like WeChat and Weibo, news articles from mainstream state media outlets remain valid and more relevant than ever to researchers of Chinese propaganda. Due to regulations promulgated from 2014 to 2017 – including a stringent certification and licensing regime, and the co-optation and policing of online intermediaries like internet service providers and social media companies, the playing field has been tilted, allowing content originating from the party press to dominate Chinese social media (Creemers, 2017; Miller, 2018; Chen, 2022).

The three data sources that I have selected are Xinhua News Agency, People's Daily, and Global Times. Xinhua and People's Daily are chosen because they form the most authoritative party state media (Ma and Thomas, 2018) in China, and they function as 'central kitchens' producing content that are repurposed or reprinted in print and online media at the regional and local levels (Wang, 2024).

Xinhua, which is directly controlled by the State Council of the People's Republic of China, is oriented to a mass audience and functions as a news agency disseminating content to be carried by provincial and local media (Esarey, 2005). The People's Daily, which is owned by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, caters more to party cadres and is consequently valued by researchers for insights into elite politics (Esarey, 2021; Wu, 1994). Global Times, a relatively young upstart published under the auspices of People's Daily, is also part of the selection because although regarded as less authoritative, it represents the more nationalistic and conservative voices within Party and society (Duan, 2017) and has built for itself a substantial audience both by print circulation and by social media reach (Zeng and Sparks, 2020). Thus, all three data sources will allow official views from across the spectrum to be captured in the analysis.

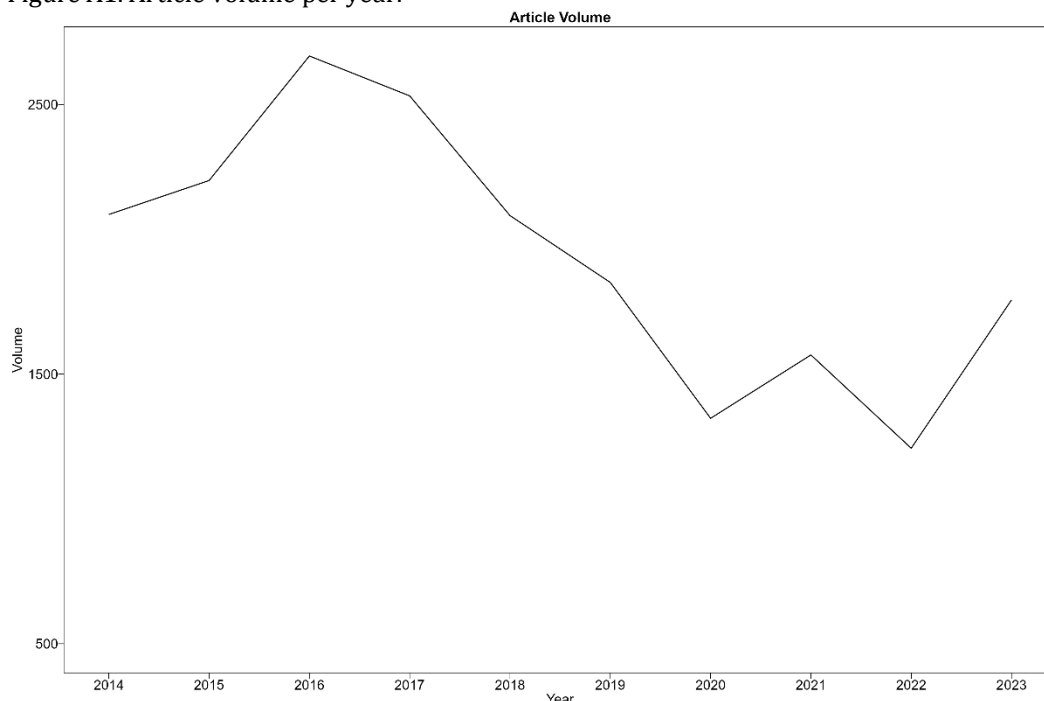
Table A1: The search terms used to create the data.

|                                                                               | Search terms in Chinese and their English translations                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Chinese state media corpus (Global Times, People's Daily, Xinhua News Agency) | 西方媒体 (western media), 西方记者 (western journalists), 外国媒体 (foreign media), 外国记者 (foreign journalists), 驻华媒体 (China-based media), 驻华记者 (China-based journalists), 外籍媒体 (foreign media), 外籍记者 (foreign journalists), 国际媒体 (international media), 国际记者 (international journalists), 国外媒体 (foreign media), 国外记者 (foreign journalists), 海外媒体 (overseas media), 海外记者 (overseas journalists), 外媒 (foreign media), 境外媒体 (foreign media) |

### A2. Data processing

The articles were imported into R, and cleaned using the newspapers package (Watanabe, 2021b), the devtools package (Wickham et al, 2022), the stringi package (Gagolewski, 2022), and the lubridate package (Grolemund and Wickham, 2011). After cleaning and removing duplicate articles, 17,697 articles remained. Further analysis was performed using the quanteda R package (Benoit et al., 2018). The tokenization or text segmentation was augmented with the jiebaR package (Qin and Wu, 2019), widely used by textual data researchers working with Chinese texts, and regression results were visualized using the stargazer package (Hlavac, 2022). Fig A1 shows the distribution of the articles.

Figure A1. Article volume per year.



### A3. Selection of seed words and model terms

The intuition behind the identification and scoring of anti-foreign media propaganda in this paper is also informed by my previous professional experience [redacted for peer review].

Table A2: Seed words that measure hostility towards foreign media.

| Category                | Seed words in Chinese                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | English translation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Journalists as friendly | "分析", "看好", "了解", "解释", "特派", "透露", "情况", "积极", "关注", "评价", "友谊", "媒体中心", "发布会", "招待会", "接待", "安排", "记者会", "采访", "访问", "欢迎", "真正", "回答", "友好", "交流", "提问", "高度", "促进", "介绍", "公开", "开放", "透明", "国务院新闻办公室", "权威信息", "邀请", "讲好中国故事", "正能量", "主持人", "便于", "知情权" | analyse, optimistic/upbeat, understand, explain, correspondent, disclose, situation, actively, pay attention to, evaluate, friendship, media centre, press briefing, media reception, to receive, arrange, press conference, interview, to interview, welcome, true/genuine, answer, friendly, exchanges, ask a question, highly, promote, introduce, make public, open, transparent, State Council Information Office, authoritative information, invite, tell good China stories, positive energy, host, facilitate, right to know |
| Journalists as hostile  | "炒作", "破坏", "渲染", "煽动", "污蔑", "抹黑", "偏见", "歪曲", "干涉", "遏制", "不实", "别有用心", "造谣", "谎言", "恶意", "虚伪", "所谓", "颠倒", "打压", "双重标准", "辱华", "不正确", "虚假", "真面目", "违背", "没有根据", "与事实不符", "可笑", "黑手", "假新闻", "不负责任", "谣言", "大肆", "声称", "捏造", "炮制", "敌对", "反华", "境外势力"     | hype, sabotage, exaggerate, incite, slander, smear, bias, distort, interfere, contain, untrue, ulterior motive, disinform, lies, evil intentions, hypocrisy, so-called, twist, suppress, double standards, insult China, incorrect, false, true colours, betray/violate, unfounded, inconsistent with the facts, ludicrous, black hand, fake news, irresponsible, rumours, wantonly, claim, fabricate, concoct, hostile, anti-China, external forces                                                                                 |

Table A3: Model terms used in LSS scaling to pick up terms within context window of  $\pm 10$  words

| Model terms in Chinese and their English translations                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 西方媒体 (western media), 西方记者 (western journalists), 外国媒体 (foreign media), 外国记者 (foreign journalists), 驻华媒体 (China-based media), 驻华记者 (China-based journalists), 外籍媒体 (foreign media), 外籍记者 (foreign journalists), 国际媒体 (international media), 国际记者 (international journalists), 国外媒体 (foreign media), 国外记者 (foreign journalists), 海外媒体 (overseas media), 海外记者 (overseas journalists), 外媒 (foreign media), 境外媒体 (foreign media), "政客和媒体" (politicians and media), "政客与媒体" (politicians and media), "政客及媒体" (politicians and media), "媒体和政客" (media and politicians), "媒体与政客" (media and politicians), "媒体及政客" (media and politicians), "某些媒体" (some media), "一些媒体" (a few media), "英国媒体" (British media), "英媒" (British media), "日本媒体" (Japanese media), "日媒" (Japanese media), "美国媒体" (American media), "美媒" (American media), "加拿大媒体" (Canadian media), "澳大利亚媒体" (Australian media), "澳媒" (Australian media) |

#### A4. Textplot terms

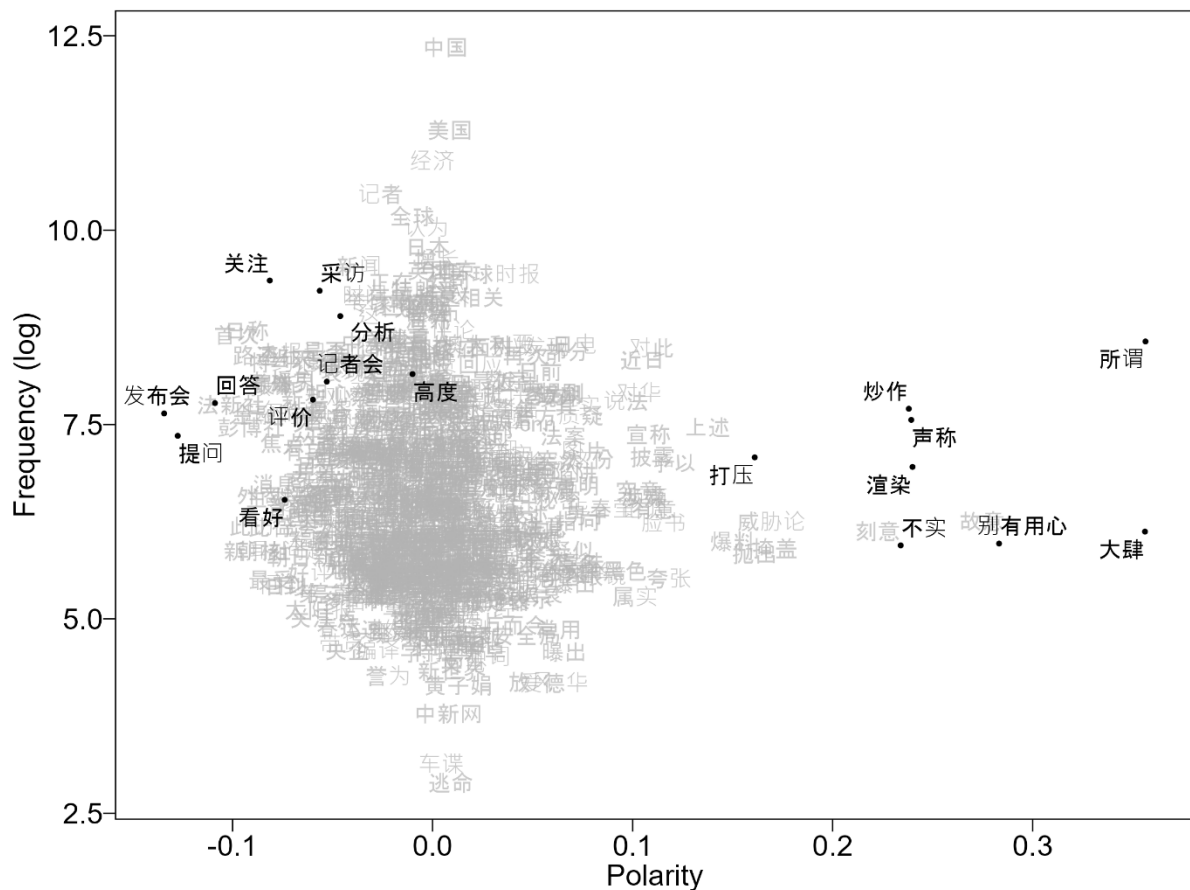


Figure A2. Untranslanted seed words in Figure 2.

The highlighted seed words on the friendly end, or left-hand side of the spectrum are ‘press briefings’ (发布会), ‘ask a question’ (提问), ‘answer’ (回答), ‘pay attention to’ (关注), ‘optimistic/upbeat’ (看好), ‘interview’ (采访), ‘evaluate’ (评价), ‘analyse’ (分析), ‘press conferences’ (记者会), and ‘highly’ (高度).

The seed words on the hostile end, or right-hand side of the spectrum are ‘suppress’ (打压), ‘double standards’ (双重标准), ‘hype’ (炒作), ‘claim’ (声称), ‘exaggerate’ (渲染), ‘untrue’ (不实), ‘ulterior motive’ (别有用心), and ‘wantonly’ (大肆).

The highlighted seed words, on the friendly end, or left-hand side of the spectrum are ‘to interview’ (访问), ‘pay attention to’ (关注), ‘press conference’ (记者会), ‘actively’ (积极), ‘highly’ (高度), ‘answer’ (回答), ‘ask a question’ (提问), and ‘interview’ (采访).

### A5. Comparison of the propagandised and non-propagandised corpora

This section reports an inspection of the sample of articles that scored highly in terms of hostility within the non-propagandised corpus. Within the non-PRC corpus, 30 articles, or 0.4 percent of the corpus, scored extremely highly in terms of hostility (LSS score > 3). Out of these 30 articles, 73 percent were published by Taiwan’s Central News Agency and 27 percent were published by Singapore’s Lianhe Zaobao. A close inspection reveals none of the articles targeted foreign media rhetorically. Half of the articles were related to conflict reporting (for example, the border war between China and India) and half of the articles were direct reporting of Chinese officials’ remarks on foreign disputes (such as objecting to US legislation like the Hong Kong Autonomy Act). This case of domain-mismatch demonstrates that while the LSS model is finely tuned to flag anti-foreign media framing in PRC state media outlets, it can conflate general conflict reporting (that was attributed to foreign media) with propaganda when applied out-of-sample. In the words of Watanabe (2021, p96), “fitted LSS models have maximum internal validity but cannot be easily applied to different corpora unlike pretrained models”. Crucially, these false positives appear in the placebo context and much less rarely in the PRC data, partially validating that hostile LSS spikes in Chinese state media reflect a distinct CCP propaganda practice.

## A6. Codebook

### 1. Background and object of analysis

In this project, I define anti-foreign media propaganda as the state's selective publicization – mainly to its domestic audience – of international criticism or critical international reporting, which is accompanied by the promotion of unfalsifiable ideas that negatively frame the international actors involved. Two domestic conditions undergird the effective diffusion and internalization of the anti-foreign media propaganda messages. First, an information ecosystem marked by widespread and pervasive information controls. Second, a foundational anti-foreign nationalism that aligns with the ideas negatively framing the international actors.

I theorize that China activates this negative framing of foreign media in response to external threats. To illustrate how anti-foreign media propaganda works, consider the below statement made by a spokesperson at a routine press conference by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2020), one of the few avenues where domestic and international journalists can pose questions to (and receive answers from) Chinese government officials.

“In fact, [some western individuals and institutions] seem to have developed a routine for manufacturing and peddling lies and rumors to attack China. First, rumors are packaged as information leaked by "scholars" and "victims", which are then hyped up by media, and followed by official intervention. [...] For example, Adrian Zenz and some others cooked up the so-called Xinjiang-related reports and articles by fabricating cases and taking words out of context, making false accusations of "forced sterilization", "forced labor" and "genocide" in Xinjiang. These reports and articles were then peddled by Western media like BBC and ABC, and cited by some Western politicians as excuses to initiate Xinjiang-related bills and demand sanctions against Xinjiang.”

In the statement, the Chinese Foreign Ministry selectively denies charges of forced sterilization, forced labor, and genocide in Xinjiang, presenting Xinjiang-related sanctions as a geopolitical plot to contain China. Individuals, such as researcher Adrian Zenz, and Western media institutions like the BBC and the ABC, are portrayed as knowing or unknowing pawns of geopolitics, as they manufacture and amplify for politicians, the arguments needed for the imposition of sanctions on China. By omitting source material (for example, the full reports by Zenz and the BBC) through systematic censorship, and tapping on a foundational anti-foreign nationalism to frame ordinary processes of media reporting as a coordinated “routine”, the Chinese Foreign Ministry persuades its domestic audience that international journalists are biased and ideologically compromised.

### 2. Identification of anti-foreign media propaganda

To determine when China employs anti-foreign media propaganda as well as who it is targeted at, I gathered 21,717 news articles from Chinese state media. The dataset comprises news articles from Chinese state media outlets, namely the Global Times, People's Daily, and Xinhua News Agency, and is created by searching for the term “foreign media” and its synonyms in Chinese.

Next, I used a semi-supervised text scaling method to score the articles in terms of how hostile or friendly the foreign press is framed. The ‘hostile’ frame (comprising 40 keywords that are used to train the algorithm) describes how the state views conventional international journalism – journalists with an ‘anti-China’ ‘bias’, who ‘distort’ the truth, and ‘smear’ China. On the other hand, the ‘friendly’ frame (also comprising 40 keywords) describes how journalists ought to conduct themselves in the eyes of the Marxist-Leninist system and how they should report – to be ‘optimistic/upbeat’, to ‘promote’ ‘friendship’ and to ‘facilitate’ ‘exchanges’, and to only rely on ‘authoritative information’ from state organs, as well as to ‘ask [pre-authorized] questions’ at stage-managed ‘press briefings’.

The higher the score, the more hostile or negative the language is towards foreign media. This measure of hostility is intended to approximate levels of anti-foreign media propaganda over time.

| Category                | Seed words in Chinese                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | English translation                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Journalists as friendly | "分析", "看好", "了解", "解释", "特派", "透露", "情况", "积极", "关注", "评价", "友谊", "媒体中心", "发布会", "招待会", "接待", "安排", "记者会", "采访", "访问", "欢迎", "真正", "回答", "友好", "交流", "提问", "高度", "促进", "介绍", "公开", "开放", "透明", "国务院新闻办公室", "权威信息", "邀请", "讲好中国故事", "正能量", "主持人", "便于", "知情权" | analyse, optimistic/upbeat, understand, explain, correspondent, disclose, situation, actively, pay attention to, evaluate, friendship, media centre, press briefing, media reception, to receive, arrange, press conference, interview, to interview, welcome, true/genuine, answer, friendly, exchanges, ask a question, highly, promote, introduce, make public, open, transparent, State Council Information Office, authoritative information, invite, tell good China stories, positive energy, host, facilitate, right to know |
| Journalists as hostile  | "炒作", "破坏", "渲染", "煽动", "污蔑", "抹黑", "偏见", "歪曲", "干涉", "遏制", "不实", "别有用心", "造谣", "谎言", "恶意", "虚伪", "所谓", "颠倒", "打压", "双重标准", "辱华", "不正确", "虚假", "真面目", "违背", "没有根据", "与事实不符", "可笑", "黑手", "假新闻", "不负责任", "谣言", "大肆", "声称", "捏造", "炮制", "敌对", "反华", "境外势力"     | hype, sabotage, exaggerate, incite, slander, smear, bias, distort, interfere, contain, untrue, ulterior motive, disinform, lies, evil intentions, hypocrisy, so-called, twist, suppress, double standards, insult China, incorrect, false, true colours, betray/violate, unfounded, inconsistent with the facts, ludicrous, black hand, fake news, irresponsible, rumours, wantonly, claim, fabricate, concoct, hostile, anti-China, external forces                                                                                 |

### 3. Coding

To assess the performance of the text scaling method, I have to compare the machine classification with human classification. Thus I need you to read a sample of 150 to 300 news articles, and label each article based on how media/journalists is being framed.

If media is being framed negatively overall within the article, the article should be coded 1 for the hostile frame. If the media is being framed positively overall, the article should be coded -1 for the friendly frame. If media is merely mentioned in passing in the article but is not the main object of hostile/friendly framing, the article should be coded 0 for the neutral frame.

Please note that the classification should be based on the overall language of the entire article. This means that an article containing uses of anti-foreign media propaganda may be classified as 'neutral' or even 'friendly' if it contains more neutral or positive language overall.

**Table 2: Coding examples for the different frames.**

|             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 (Hostile) | 标题: 人权高专访华戳破西方谎言                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|             | <p>摘抄: 巴切莱特此次发布会吸引外媒高度关注, 路透社、法新社等均在第一时间做了报道。有分析认为, 巴切莱特的表态实际上驳斥了西方散布的涉疆虚假信息, 也是对美国和一些西方国家及其媒体和反华势力的一记耳光。[text23630]</p> <p>English translation</p> <p>Title: High Commissioner for Human Rights visits China to expose Western lies</p> <p>Excerpt: Bachelet's press conference attracted great attention from foreign media, and Reuters and AFP reported it at the first time. Some analysts believe that Bachelet's statement actually refuted the false information about Xinjiang spread by the West, and it was also a slap in the face to the United States and some Western countries, their media and anti-China forces. [text23630]</p> |

|                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 0<br>(Neutral)   | <p>标题：美对叙动武立场遭国际孤立（国际视点）</p> <p>摘抄：欧盟领导人的表态被西方媒体解读为西方社会对叙问题立场出现大分化，路透社的文章评论说，“欧盟站到了俄罗斯的一边”。[text11253]</p> <p>English translation</p> <p>Title: US stance on military action against Syria faces international isolation (International Perspective)</p> <p>Excerpt: The EU leaders' statement was interpreted by Western media as a major split in Western society's stance on the Syrian issue. A Reuters article commented that "the EU has stood on Russia's side." [text11253]</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| -1<br>(Friendly) | <p>标题：（时政）国新办组织境外媒体赴井冈山等革命老区采访</p> <p>摘抄：8 日起组织境外媒体走进江西井冈山、贵州遵义等革命老区采访，了解中国共产党的奋斗历程，感受中国共产党人的精神风貌。据介绍，共有来自 25 家境外媒体的 39 名记者，以及国内多家主流媒体的记者参与此次采访，活动将持续至 4 月 13 日。[text22983]</p> <p>English translation</p> <p>Title: (Current Affairs) The State Council Information Office organized foreign media to visit Jinggangshan and other old revolutionary bases for interviews</p> <p>Excerpt: Starting from the 8th, foreign media will be organized to visit old revolutionary areas such as Jinggangshan in Jiangxi and Zunyi in Guizhou to interview, understand the struggle of the Communist Party of China, and feel the spiritual outlook of the Chinese Communists. According to reports, a total of 39 reporters from 25 foreign media and reporters from many mainstream media in China participated in the interview, and the event will last until April 13. [text22983]</p> |

| Table 3: Types of news stories that frequently occur with the different frames. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1<br>(Hostile)                                                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ When international media is portrayed as a geopolitical tool acting in cahoots with foreign governments and other political actors to criticize and slander China. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ These tend to involve topics China considers its 'core interests' that have traditionally attracted international condemnation and pressure. Examples include its treatment of ethnic minorities, its treatment of Chinese human rights and democracy activists, its policies towards Hong Kong and Taiwan, and its stance on territorial disputes such as in the South China Sea. These can also involve perceived slights and snubs, from countries advocating for greater transparency in investigating the origins of COVID-19, to recognizing dissident figures with international awards.</li> </ul> </li> <li>▪ When international media reporting reveals social realities that are at odds with official state narratives, for example, a report detailing repression in Xinjiang, these will be countered with state media articles slamming the original report as lies and questioning the motives of international media.</li> </ul> |
| 0<br>(Neutral)                                                                  | <p>When international media is mainly being attributed as a source and any hostile/friendly framing is targeted at other international actors, like foreign governments.</p>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| -1<br>(Friendly)                                                                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ When international media is covering Chinese events/Chinese leaders' remarks, and their interest in the event/remarks is being used to signal China's rising status.</li> <li>▪ When international media is reporting aspects of China favourably, such as on strong Chinese economic growth, and their positive opinions are being highlighted.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

#### 4. Resolving uncertainties

If there are uncertainties, these can be left blank to be reviewed together.

## A7. Threat Event Data

### Australia:

#### media:

- description: "Revokes visas and raids journalists' homes"

date: 2020-09-09

id: 1

intensity: 7

#### economic:

- description: "Tears up Victoria's BRI agreements"

date: 2021-04-21

id: 1

intensity: 6

#### diplomatic:

- description: "Pushes international probe into coronavirus origins"

date: 2020-04-22

id: 1

intensity: 3

### Canada:

#### media:

- description: "Launches public inquiry into alleged foreign meddling by China, Russia"

date: 2023-09-07

id: 1

intensity: 3

#### economic:

- description: "Cuts ties with AIIB on claims of interference"

date: 2023-06-15

id: 1

intensity: 3

#### diplomatic:

- description: "Summons ambassador over Chinese police stations"

date: 2022-12-02

id: 1

intensity: 3

- description: "Summons envoy over legislator intimidation"

date: 2023-05-05

id: 2

intensity: 3

### Japan:

#### media:

- description: "Protests reporter's barring from bilateral event"

date: 2018-08-30

id: 1

intensity: 5

#### diplomatic:

- description: "Summons ambassador over incursions in disputed waters"

date: 2018-01-12

id: 1

intensity: 3

- description: "Protests over Beijing's detention of diplomat"

date: 2022-02-23

id: 2

intensity: 5

### UK:

#### media:

- description: "Revokes CGTN's licence to broadcast and expels spies who posed as journalists"

date: 2021-02-05

id: 1

- intensity: 3.5
- description: "Fines CGTN over 'forced confessions' and HK protest coverage"
- date: 2021-03-09
- id: 2
- intensity: 3
- hongkongtaiwan:
- description: "Summons ambassador over HK protests"
- date: 2019-07-03
- id: 1
- intensity: 3
- description: "UK summons ambassador to protest actions in Taiwan strait"
- date: 2022-08-10
- id: 2
- intensity: 3

#### USA:

- media:
- description: "Slashes Chinese journalist quota after Beijing expels US reporters"
- date: 2020-03-02
- id: 1
- intensity: 6
- description: "Labels four more Chinese news outlets 'Foreign Missions'"
- date: 2020-06-22
- id: 2
- intensity: 7
- description: "Designates six more Chinese media outlets as foreign missions"
- date: 2020-10-22
- id: 3
- intensity: 6
- economic:
- description: "Announces products that could be subject to a 25% tariff"
- date: 2018-04-03
- id: 1
- intensity: 3
- description: "Finalizes next tariff list targeting \$16 billion in imports"
- date: 2018-08-07
- id: 2
- intensity: 3
- description: "Threatens 10 percent levy on an additional \$300bn of Chinese goods"
- date: 2019-02-08
- id: 3
- intensity: 3.5
- description: "Sanctions two Chinese shipping companies over North Korea-related sanctions"
- date: 2019-03-22
- id: 4
- intensity: 3.5
- description: "Denies China Mobile application and ban on Huawei telecom gear"
- date: 2019-05-16
- id: 5
- intensity: 6
- description: "Sanctions two COSCO tanker operators for Iranian oil activity"
- date: 2019-09-26
- id: 6
- intensity: 3.5
- description: "Orders ByteDance to divest from its U.S. TikTok business"
- date: 2020-08-14
- id: 7
- intensity: 3.5
- description: "Penalizes 24 Chinese companies over role in South China Sea"
- date: 2020-08-26
- id: 8

intensity: 3.5  
 - description: "Revokes authorization of China Telecom's US unit"  
 date: 2021-10-26  
 id: 9  
 intensity: 3.5  
 - description: "Bans China Unicom over national security concerns"  
 date: 2022-01-28  
 id: 10  
 intensity: 3.5  
 tibetxinjiang:  
 - description: "Ban on imports from China's Xinjiang region takes effect"  
 date: 2019-06-21  
 id: 1  
 intensity: 3.5  
 - description: "Blacklists firms and curbs officials' visas, over Uighur 'repression'"  
 date: 2019-10-08  
 id: 2  
 intensity: 6  
 - description: "Bars Chinese officials who restrict access to Tibet"  
 date: 2020-07-07  
 id: 3  
 intensity: 3  
 - description: "Imposes sanctions over rights abuses"  
 date: 2020-12-09  
 id: 4  
 intensity: 3.5  
 - description: "Bans imports of cotton and tomato products from Xinjiang"  
 date: 2021-01-14  
 id: 5  
 intensity: 3  
 - description: "Joins EU in sanctions over human rights abuses"  
 date: 2021-03-22  
 id: 6  
 intensity: 9  
 - description: "Hits Chinese officials with travel bans over 'repressive acts'"  
 date: 2022-03-21  
 id: 7  
 intensity: 6.5  
 - description: "Imposes new visa curbs over 'forced assimilation' in Tibet"  
 date: 2023-08-23  
 id: 8  
 intensity: 3  
 hongkongtaiwan:  
 - description: "Imposes visa restrictions on Chinese officials over HK security law"  
 date: 2020-06-26  
 id: 1  
 intensity: 7  
 - description: "Sanctions Carrie Lam, ends agreements with HK, including its extradition treaty"  
 date: 2020-08-07  
 id: 2  
 intensity: 3.5  
 - description: "Imposes sanctions on four Chinese officials over HK crackdown"  
 date: 2020-11-09  
 id: 3  
 intensity: 7  
 - description: "Removes HK as a 'Separate Destination' Under the EAR"  
 date: 2020-12-23  
 id: 4  
 intensity: 7  
 - description: "Sanctions 24 Chinese officials over HK crackdown"  
 date: 2021-03-17

id: 5  
 intensity: 6  
 - description: "Sanctions seven Chinese officials over HK crackdown"  
 date: 2021-07-17  
 id: 6  
 intensity: 6  
 - description: "US summons ambassador to protest actions in Taiwan strait"  
 date: 2022-08-05  
 id: 7  
 intensity: 3  
 - description: "Extends program to support Hong Kongers' right to remain in the US"  
 date: 2023-01-26  
 id: 8  
 intensity: 3  
 diplomatic:  
 - description: "Announces charges against Chinese hackers"  
 date: 2018-12-20  
 id: 1  
 intensity: 3  
 - description: "Summons ambassador over comments blaming US military for the coronavirus"  
 date: 2020-03-13  
 id: 2  
 intensity: 6  
 - description: "Closes Chinese consulate in Houston"  
 date: 2020-07-23  
 id: 3  
 intensity: 3  
 - description: "Imposes new restrictions on Chinese diplomats in US"  
 date: 2020-09-02  
 id: 4  
 intensity: 3.5

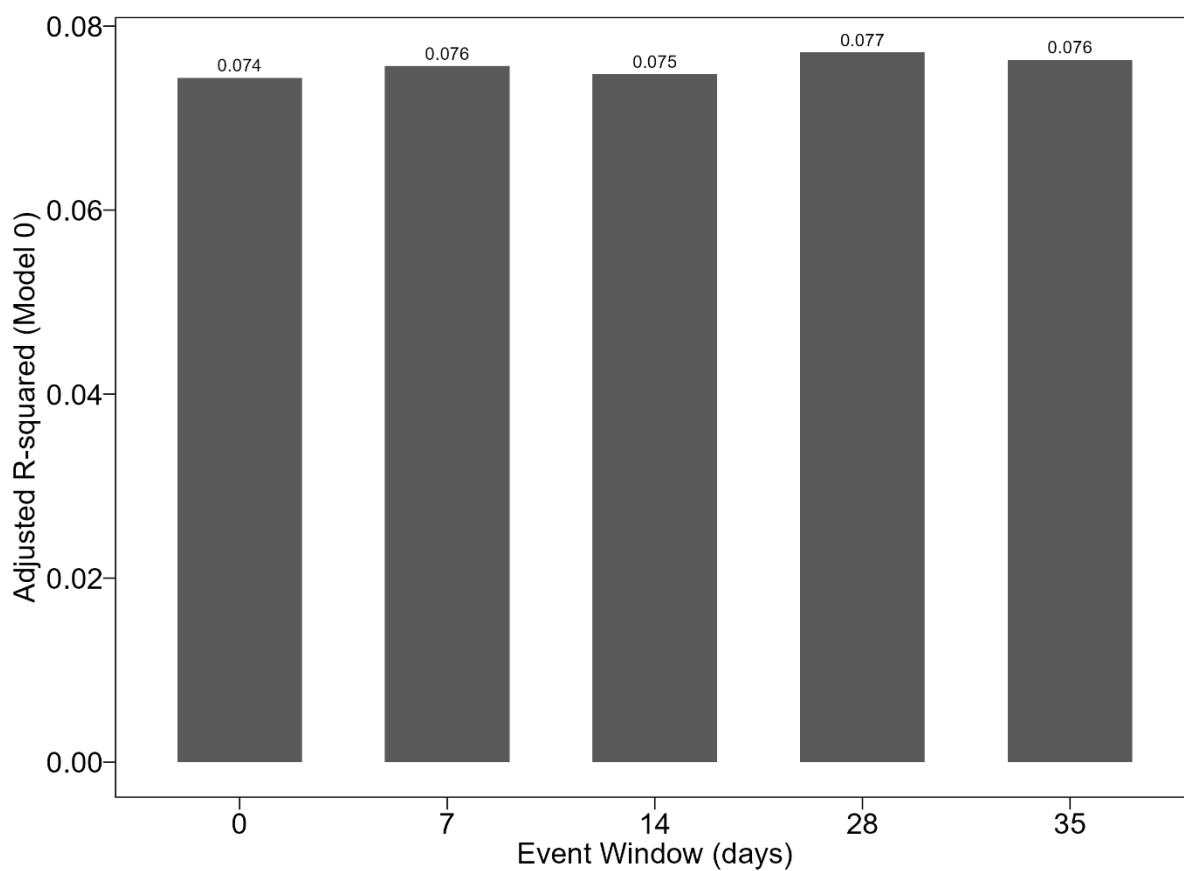
## A8.: Robustness Checks.

### A8.1. Robustness Check for Word Context Windows

| Context Windows             | Words/terms collected | Hostile Framing Seed Words collected |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ±5 words                    | 389                   | 5                                    |
| ±10 words (default setting) | 653                   | 8                                    |
| ±20 words                   | 1092                  | 6                                    |
| ±40 words                   | 1656                  | 6                                    |

### A8.2. Robustness Check for Event Windows (Days)

Figure A4: Adjusted  $R^2$  Across Different Event Windows (Days) for the disaggregated model, Model 0.



## A9.: Regression Tables.

Table A4.

Models 1 &amp; 2: Event Effects Only (Clustered SEs)

|                         | <i>Dependent variable:</i> |                   |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
|                         | lss                        |                   |
|                         | (1)                        | (2)               |
| australia               | 0.15<br>(0.11)             |                   |
| canada                  | -0.01<br>(0.08)            |                   |
| japan                   | -0.05<br>(0.11)            |                   |
| uk                      | 0.41***<br>(0.11)          |                   |
| usa                     | 0.04<br>(0.04)             |                   |
| diplomatic              |                            | -0.02<br>(0.06)   |
| economic                |                            | 0.12*<br>(0.05)   |
| media                   |                            | 0.23***<br>(0.06) |
| hongkongtaiwan          |                            | 0.06<br>(0.07)    |
| tibetxinjiang           |                            | -0.08<br>(0.06)   |
| Constant                | 0.004<br>(0.11)            | -0.02<br>(0.10)   |
| Observations            | 8,969                      | 8,969             |
| R <sup>2</sup>          | 0.08                       | 0.08              |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> | 0.07                       | 0.07              |

Note: \* \*\* \*\*\* p p p<0.001

**Table A5.****Models 3 & 4: Event Effects Only (Clustered SEs)**

|                         | <i>Dependent variable:</i> |                   |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
|                         | lss                        |                   |
|                         | (1)                        | (2)               |
| australia_diplomatic    | 0.02<br>(0.18)             | 0.004<br>(0.06)   |
| australia_economic      | 0.22<br>(0.18)             | 0.04<br>(0.03)    |
| australia_media         | 0.24*<br>(0.10)            | 0.04**<br>(0.02)  |
| canada_diplomatic       | -0.12<br>(0.18)            | -0.04<br>(0.06)   |
| canada_economic         | 0.03<br>(0.11)             | 0.01<br>(0.04)    |
| canada_media            | -0.05<br>(0.13)            | -0.01<br>(0.04)   |
| japan_diplomatic        | -0.17<br>(0.12)            | -0.06<br>(0.03)   |
| japan_media             | 0.29*<br>(0.14)            | 0.06*<br>(0.03)   |
| uk_hongkongtaiwan       | 0.19<br>(0.17)             | 0.07<br>(0.06)    |
| uk_media                | 0.65***<br>(0.10)          | 0.21***<br>(0.03) |
| usa_diplomatic          | 0.05<br>(0.07)             | 0.001<br>(0.02)   |
| usa_economic            | 0.12*<br>(0.05)            | 0.03<br>(0.01)    |
| usa_hongkongtaiwan      | 0.02<br>(0.07)             | 0.004<br>(0.01)   |
| usa_media               | 0.07<br>(0.09)             | 0.01<br>(0.01)    |
| usa_tibetxinjiang       | -0.09<br>(0.06)            | -0.01<br>(0.01)   |
| Constant                | 0.09<br>(0.12)             | 0.10<br>(0.11)    |
| Observations            | 8,969                      | 8,969             |
| R <sup>2</sup>          | 0.09                       | 0.09              |
| Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> | 0.08                       | 0.08              |

*Note:*

\* \*\* \*\*\* p&lt;0.001