

**Cross-border media and nationalism:
Evidence from Serbian radio in Croatia**

Stefano DellaVigna, Ruben Enikolopov, Vera Mironova, Maria Petrova, Ekaterina
Zhuravskaya

August 2013

Online Appendix

Online Appendix A. Additional Evidence

We present in this Section additional evidence.

Online Appendix Figures 1a presents an additional map, which displays the predicted reception of Serbian radio in both the main sample and the extended sample. Online Appendix Figure 1b presents a map of the area with the 9 villages visited for the survey.

Online Appendix Figure 2 displays an example of an offensive graffiti in a Croatian town.

Online Appendix Figures 3a-4e present further evidence from the survey responses on the reception and listening behavior to Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian radio.

Online Appendix Figures 5a-5e present the results of the laboratory experiment with respect to individual attitudinal questions. Figure 3 in the text presents the results on a weighted average of the five measures of attitudes.

Online Appendix Figure 5f presents the results of the experiment on the rank of political parties which the subjects reported, with higher rank indicating higher preference. As the figure shows, there is a modest (not statistically significant) increase in the rank for the extreme nationalist party, a significant increase in the rank for the moderate nationalist parties, and a decrease in the rank of the Social Democratic party. The impact of exposure to RTS radio on the vote share of the extreme nationalistic party, though not significant, is consistent with the field evidence. The pattern of substitution for the other parties instead differs from the field evidence where we find substitution away from the moderate nationalistic party. One possible explanation for this partial discrepancy is the difference in political preferences between the young college-educated laboratory subjects and the overall Croatian population. Indeed, in this sample the preference for the extremely nationalistic party is higher than in the general population.

Online Appendix Figures 6a-6e present graphical evidence on the difference in distributions between towns with and without measure reception of Serbian radio, with respect to additional political outcomes. The comparisons are along the lines of Figure 3a in the text.

Online Appendix Table 1 presents the Summary Statistics for the main Sample.

Online Appendix Table 2 examines the impact of exposure to Serbian radio on self-reported listening to Croatian radios.

Online Appendix Table 3 presents the correlation among respondents to the survey between self-reported listening to different types of radio and self-reported exposure to Serbian music.

Online Appendix Table 4 presents the regressions in Table 3 in the text the coefficients on all the control variables.

Online Appendix Table 5 generalizes the Altonji-Elder-Taber test of Panel B in Table 2 by considering separately different groups of control variables.

Online Appendix Table 6 presents the result of the impact on graffiti using a linear probability model instead of a probit specification as in Table 7.

Online Appendix Table 7 presents the result of additional robustness checks.

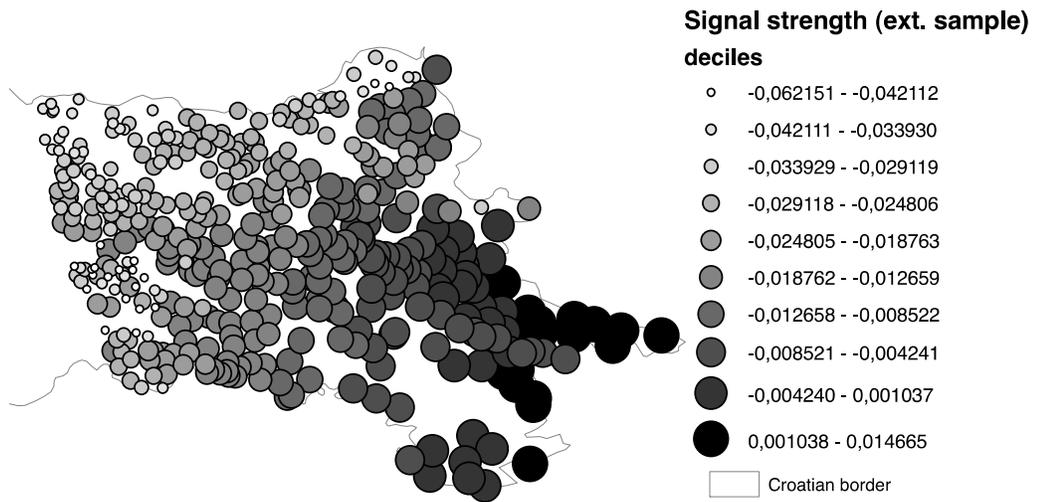
Online Appendix Table 8 replicates the specifications for the extended sample, but we restrict the analysis to villages within 50 kilometers of the border.

Online Appendix Tables 9 and 10 present the results for voting in the 2011 elections of exposure to Serbian radio (as measured in 2009 and 2010). Online Appendix Tables 11 and 12 present the same results for the 2003 elections.

Online Appendix Table 13, Panel A and B we present the result of interaction effects for the main specification in the text.

Online Appendix Table 14 presents a summary of the laboratory experiment design.

Online Appendix Figure 1a. Map of the area with the extended sample of villages, showing the predicted reception of Serbian radio.



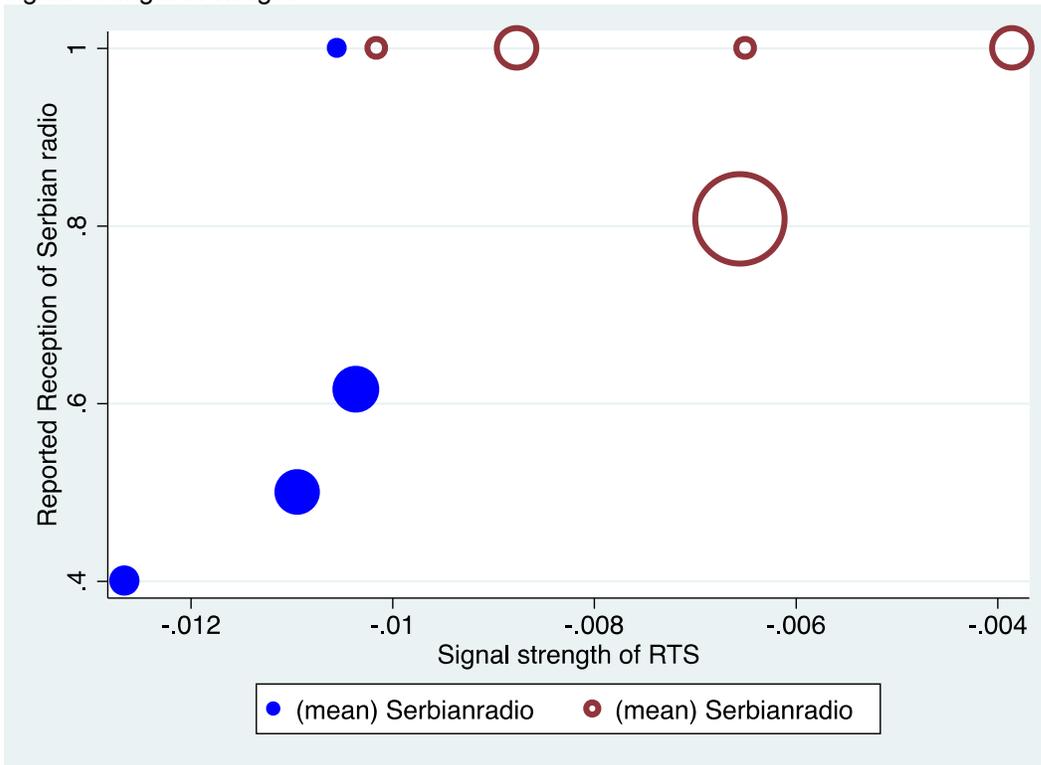
Online Appendix Figure 1b. Map of the area with the villages included in the survey.



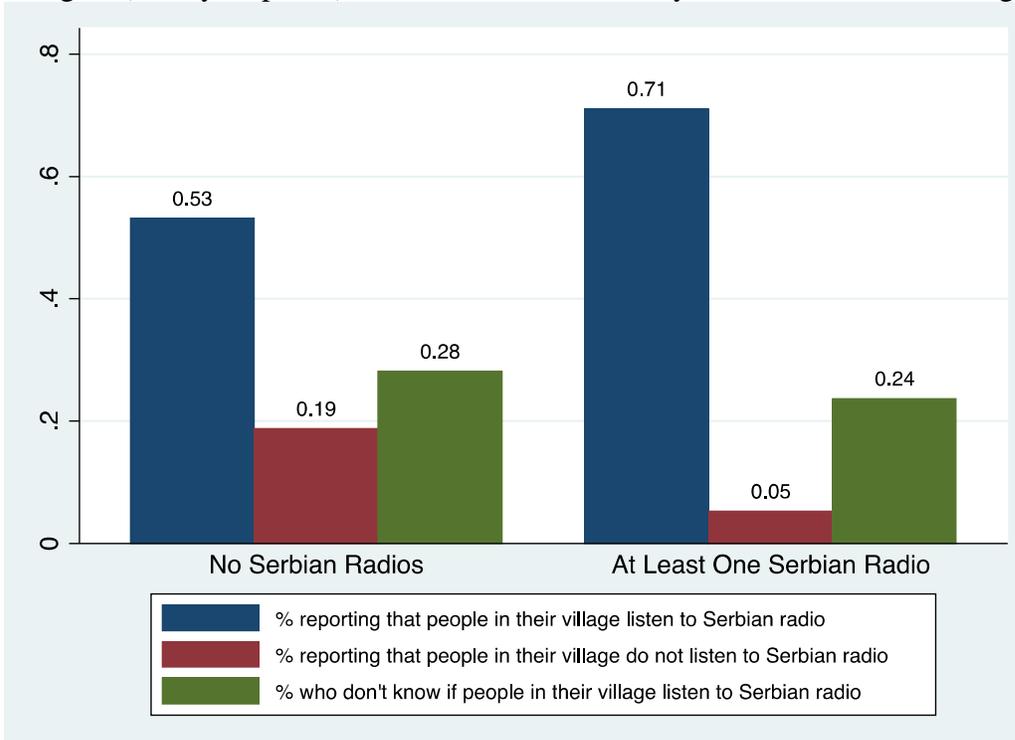
Online Appendix Figure 2. Example of an ethnically offensive graffiti: “Ubi Srbina” -
“Kill the Serb”



Online Appendix Figure 3a. Reported reception of Serbian radio (survey response), as function of signal strength in village.

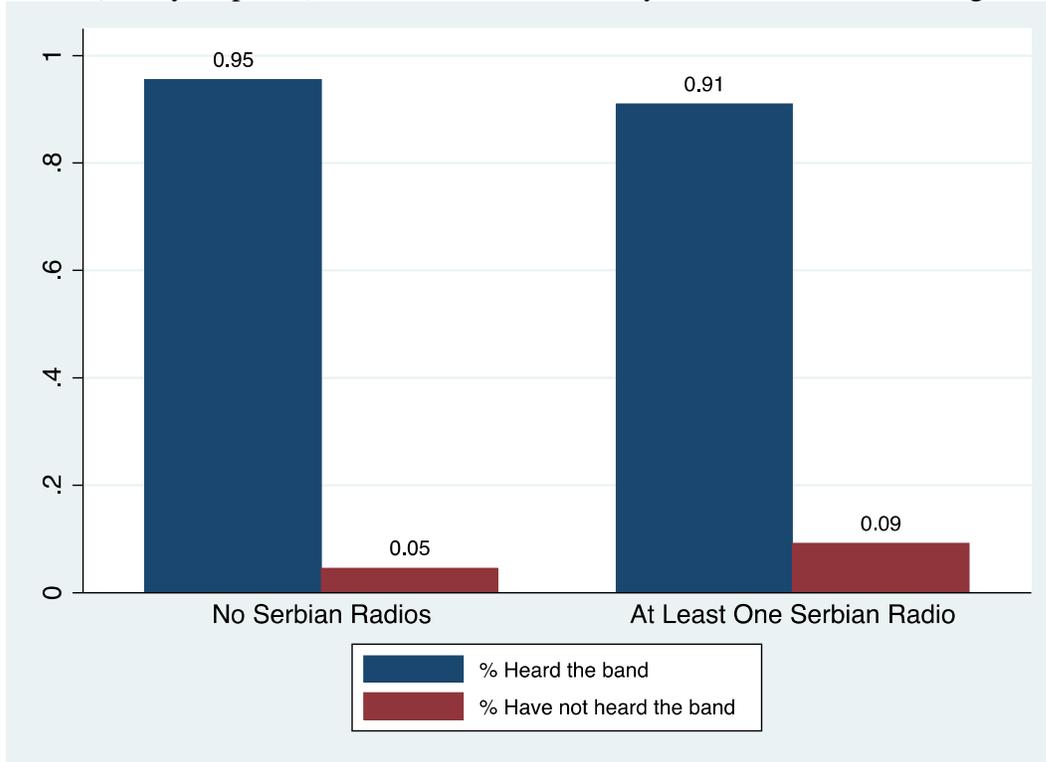


Online Appendix Figure 3b. Reported frequency of listening to Serbian radio by other villagers (survey response), as function of availability of Serbian radio in village.

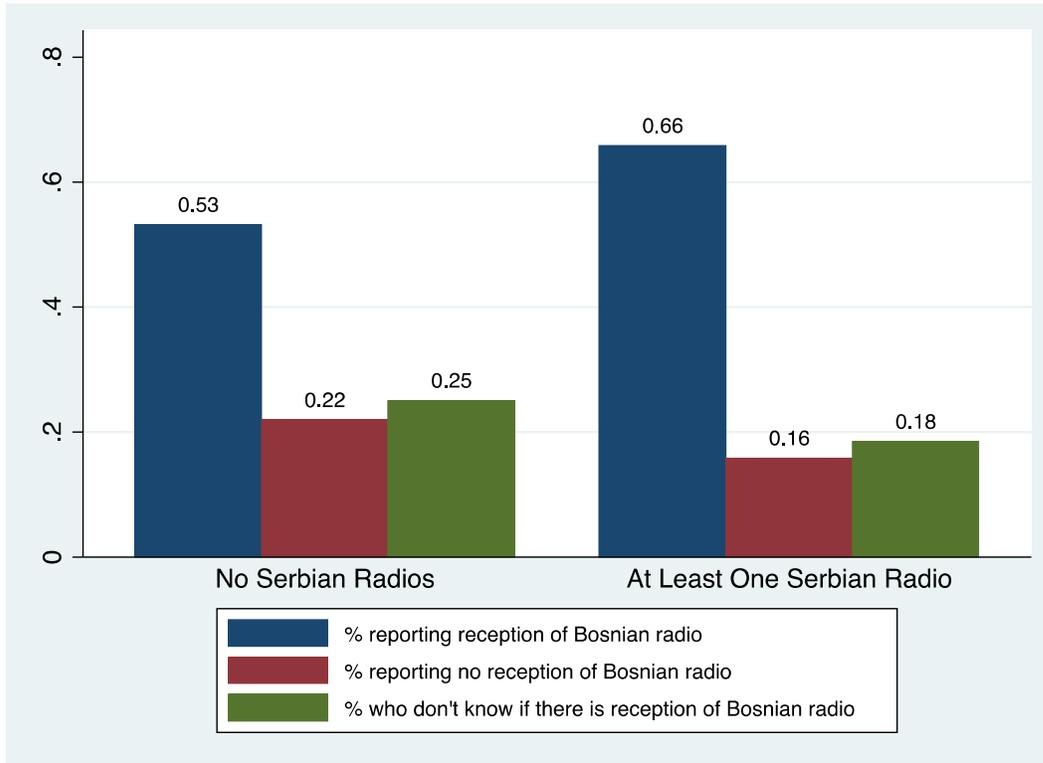


Notes: Online Appendix Figure 2a is parallel to Figure 2c in the text except that it features the response to the reception, and not listening, question.

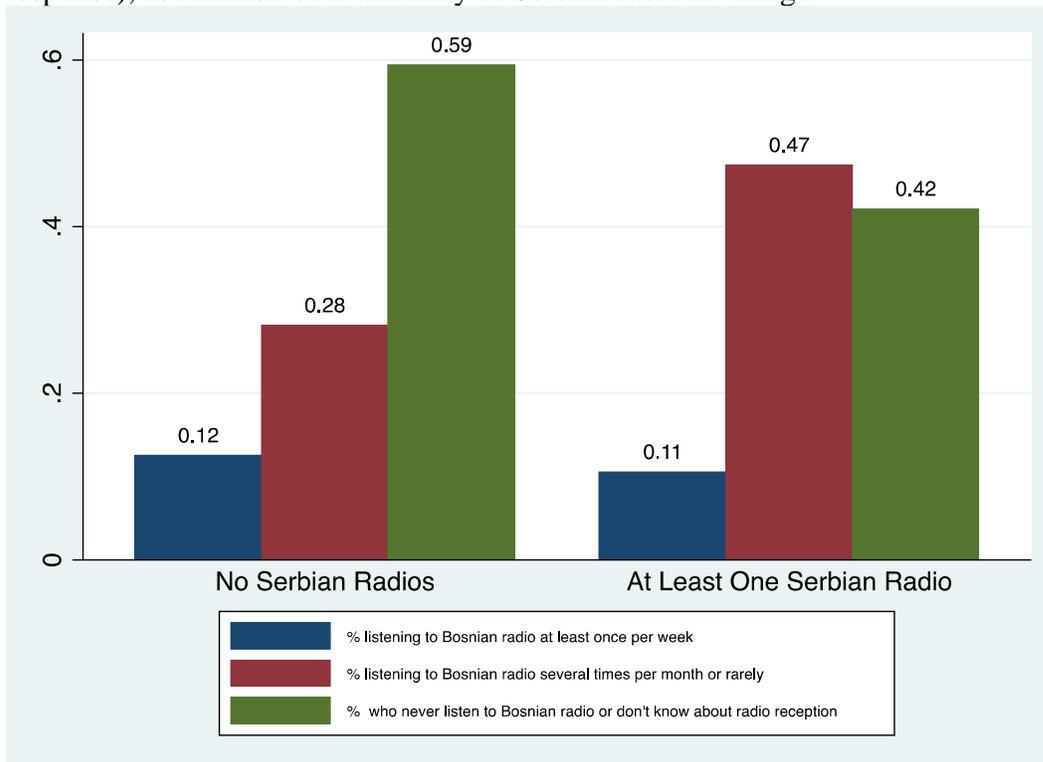
Online Appendix Figure 3c. Reported exposure to the music of a Serbian band Ribja Corba (survey response), as function of availability of Serbian radio in village.



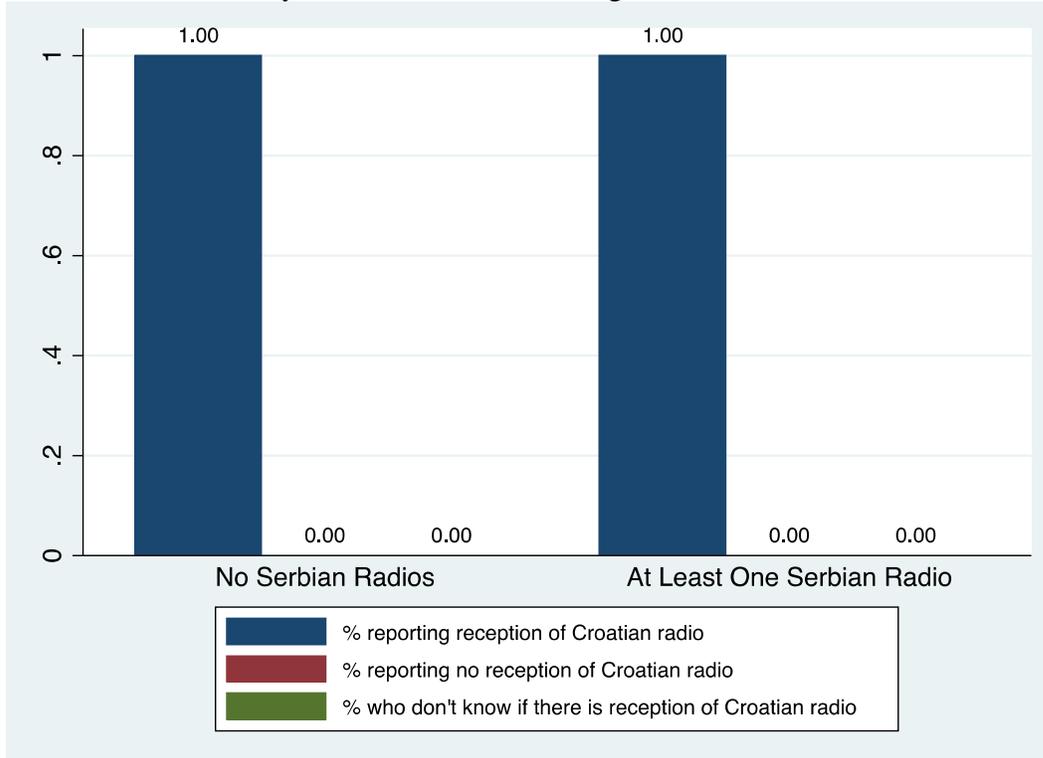
Online Appendix Figure 4a. Reported reception of Bosnian radio (survey response), as function of availability of Serbian radio in village.



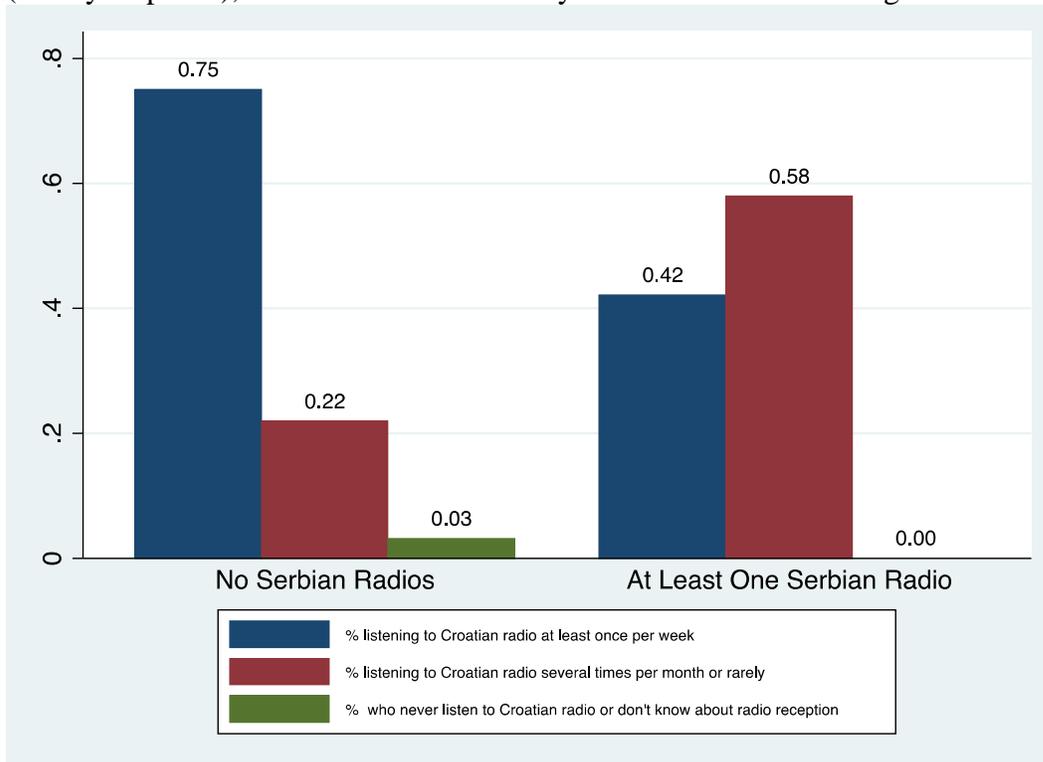
Online Appendix Figure 4b. Reported frequency of listening to Bosnian radio (survey response), as function of availability of Serbian radio in village.



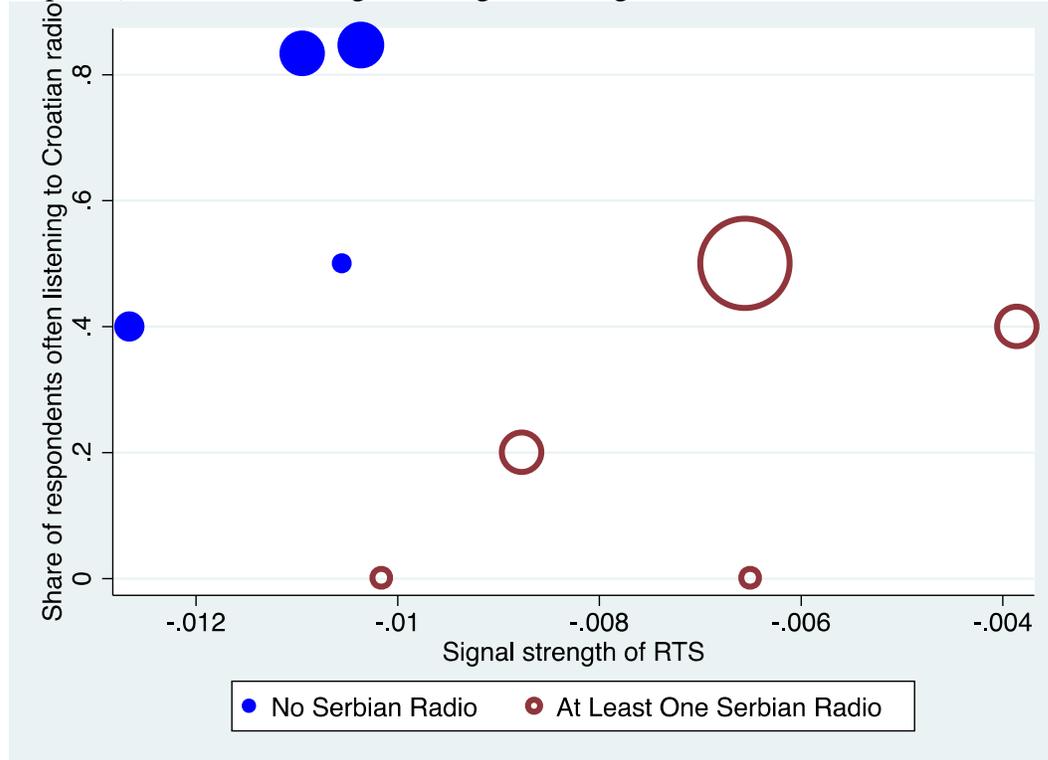
Online Appendix Figure 4c. Reported reception of Croatian radio (survey response), as function of availability of Serbian radio in village.



Online Appendix Figure 4d. Reported frequency of listening to Croatian radio (survey response), as function of availability of Serbian radio in village.

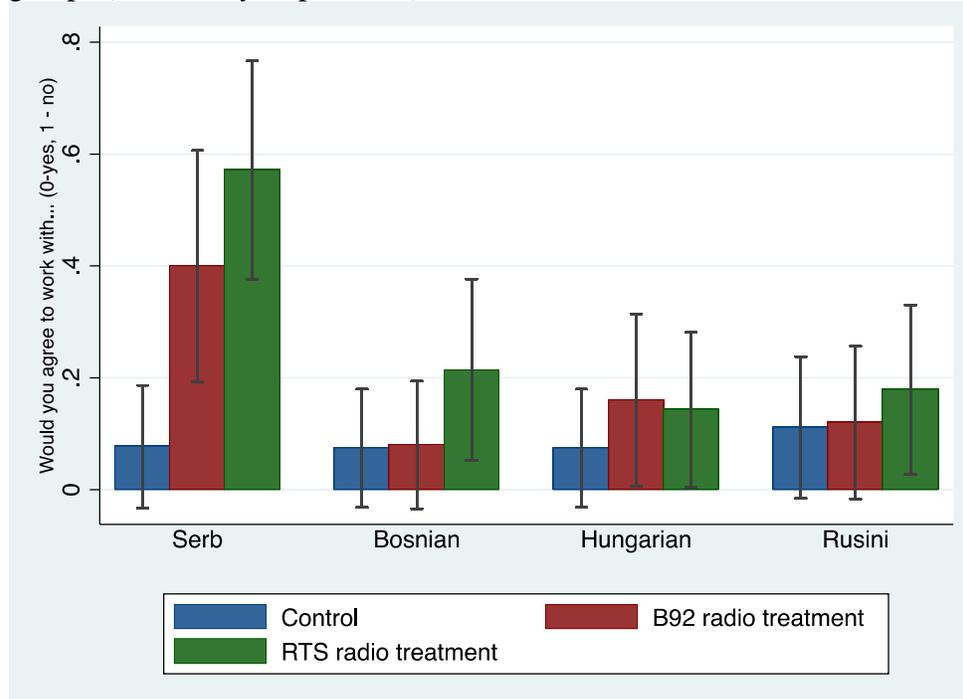


Online Appendix Figure 4e. Reported frequency of listening to Croatian radio (survey response), as function of signal strength in village.



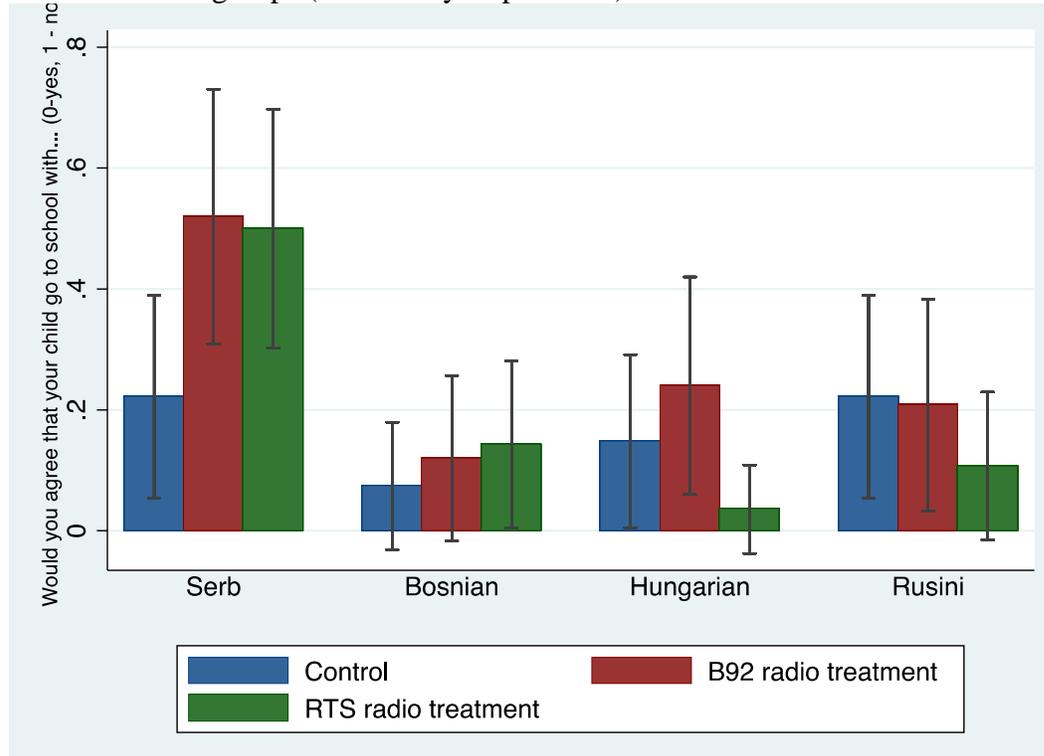
Notes: Online Appendix Figure 4e shows percentage of responses “several time per week” or “daily” to a question on frequency of listening to Serbian radio in an in-person survey undertaken in Dec. 2010 and Jan. 2011 in 9 of the Croatian villages in the baseline sample. We report in solid circles the average responses for the 32 respondents in villages which we code as not having reception of Serbian radio, and with hollow circle for the 38 respondents in villages which we code as having reception of at least one Serbian radio. Size of the markers is proportional to the number of respondents in each village.

Online Appendix Figure 5a. Disagreeing to work with people from different ethnic groups (Laboratory Experiment)

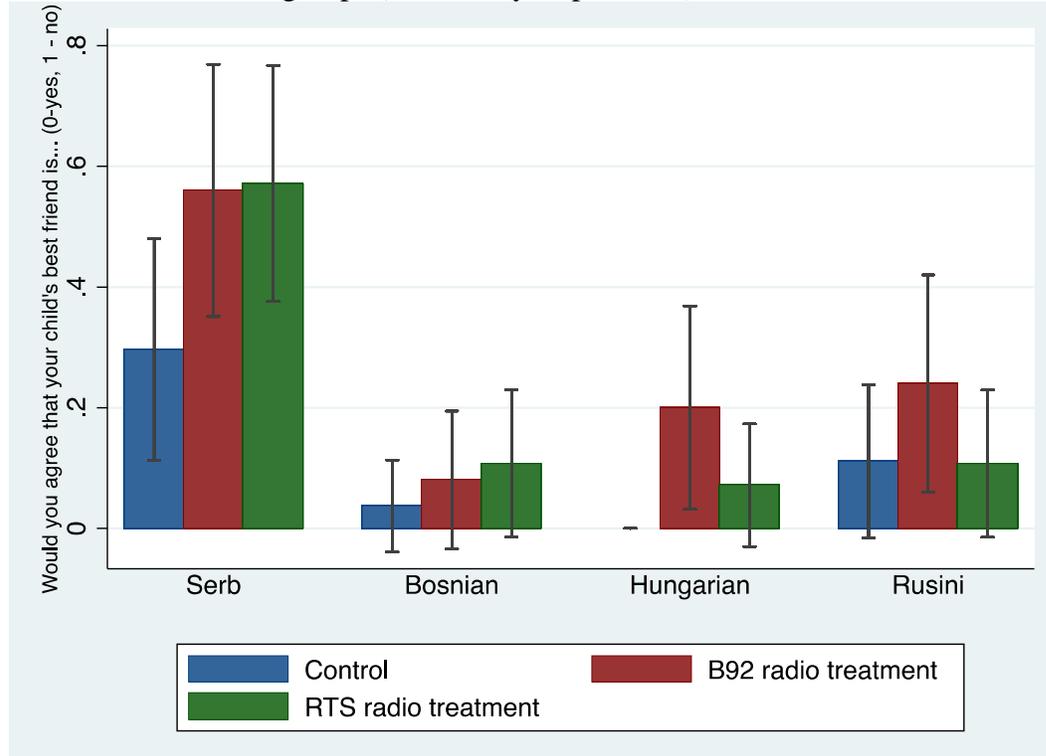


Notes: Differences between control and both treatments for Serbs are significant at 1% level. For all the other ethnic groups, the difference is not significant.

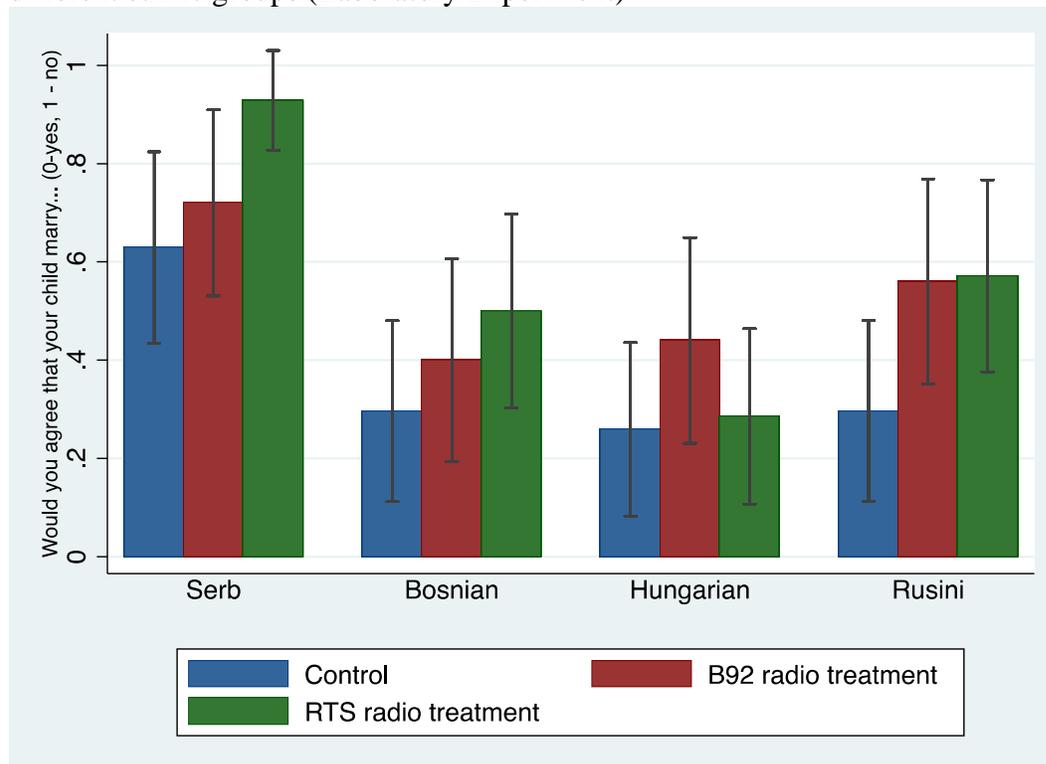
Online Appendix Figure 5b. Disagreeing to send children to study with people from different ethnic groups (Laboratory Experiment)



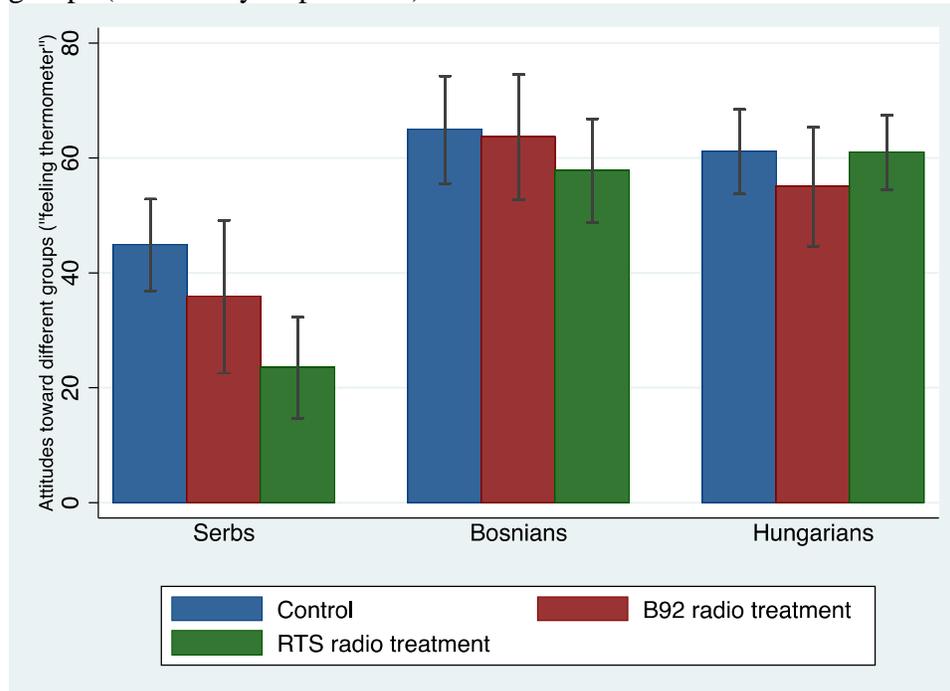
Online Appendix Figure 5c. Disagreeing with children having as the best friend people from different ethnic groups (Laboratory Experiment).



Online Appendix Figure 5d. Disagreeing with children getting married to people from different ethnic groups (Laboratory Experiment)

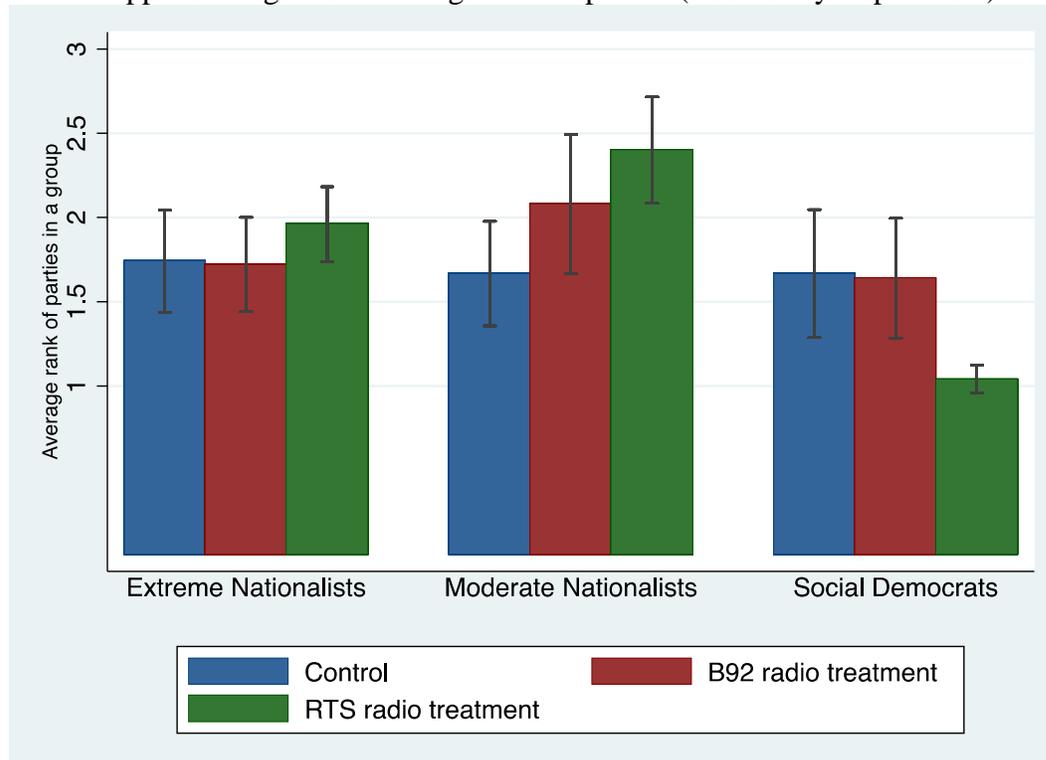


Online Appendix Figure 5e. Feeling thermometer toward people of different ethnic groups (Laboratory Experiment)



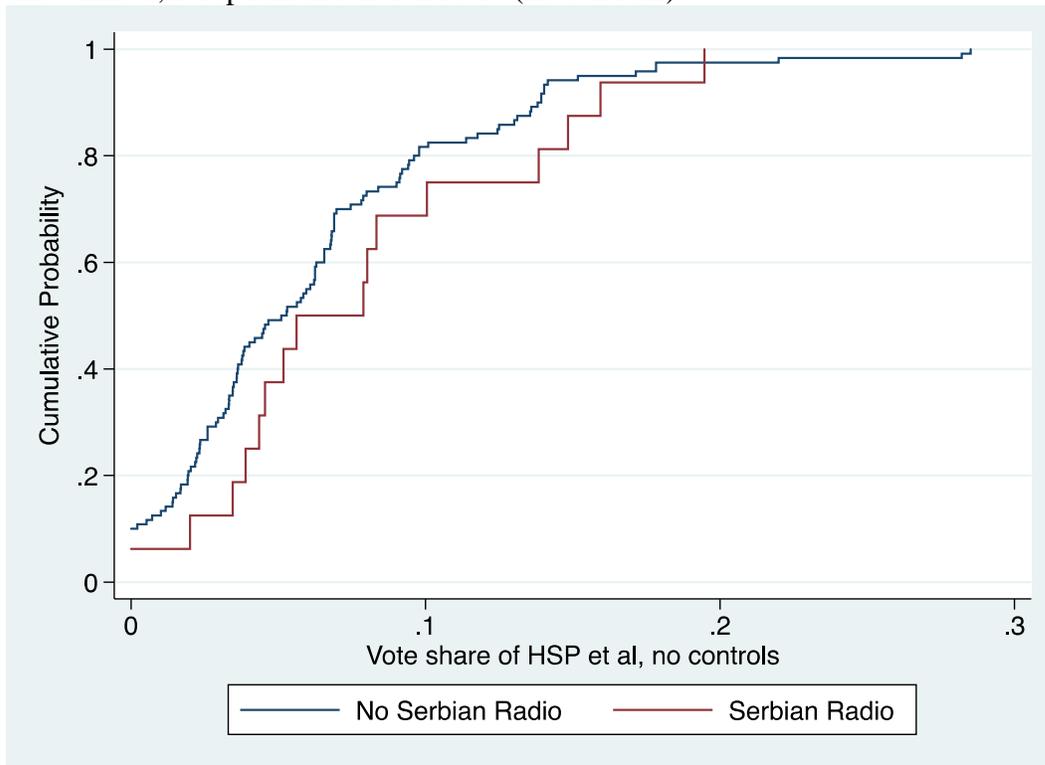
Notes: Difference between control and RTS treatment for feeling towards Serbs is significant at 1% level. All other differences are not significant.

Online Appendix Figure 5f. Average rank of parties (Laboratory Experiment)

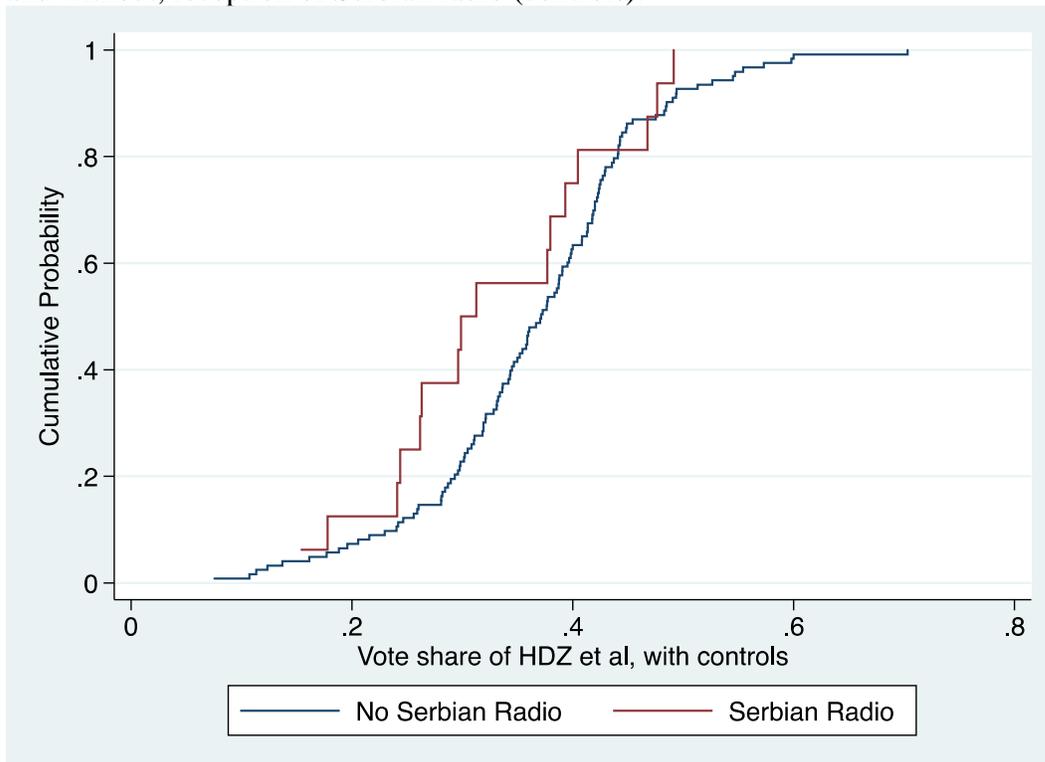


Note: Rank is coded so that a higher number denotes a greater preference towards the particular party, with rank going from 1 (lowest) to 3 (highest). The difference between control and RTS treatment for moderate nationalists is significant at 5% level. The difference between control and RTS treatment for social Democrats is significant at 1% level.

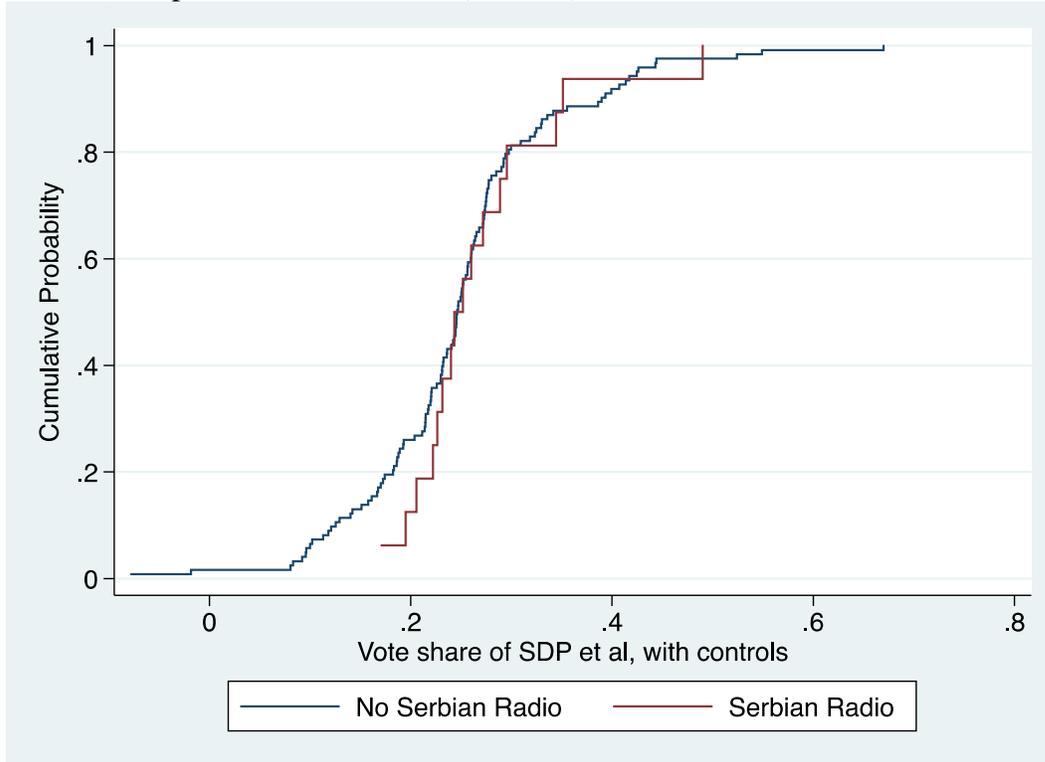
Online Appendix Figure 6a. Vote share for extreme nationalistic parties in villages with, and without, reception of Serbian radio (no controls)



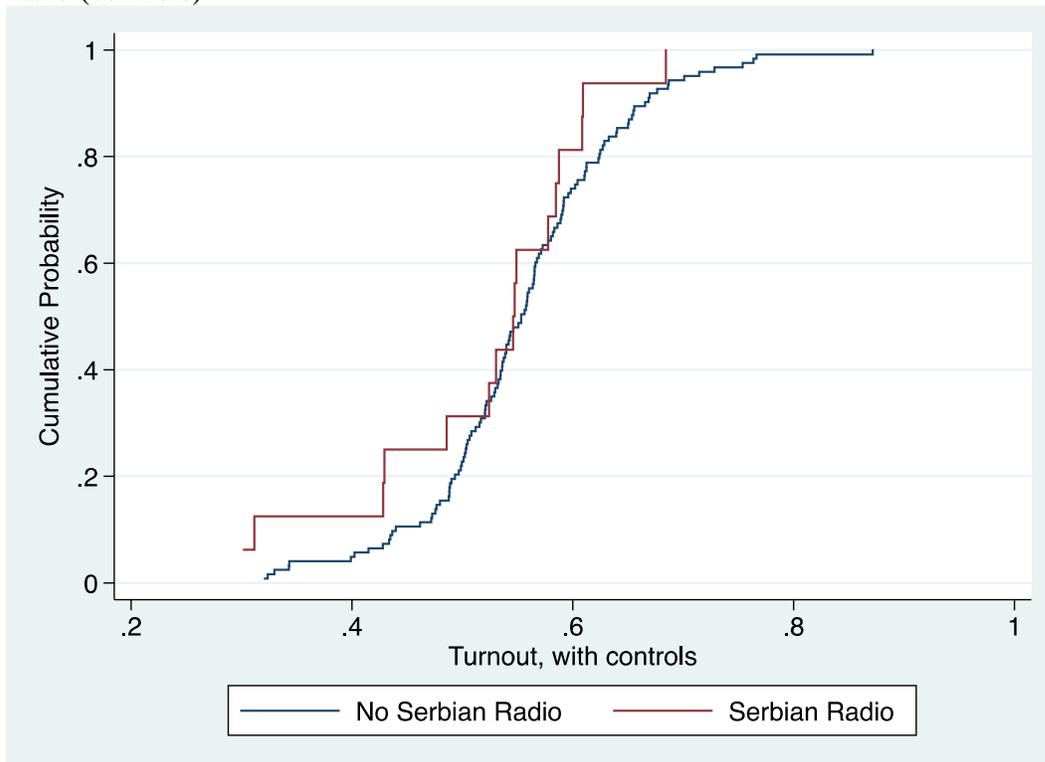
Online Appendix Figure 6b. Vote share for moderate nationalistic party in villages with, and without, reception of Serbian radio (controls).



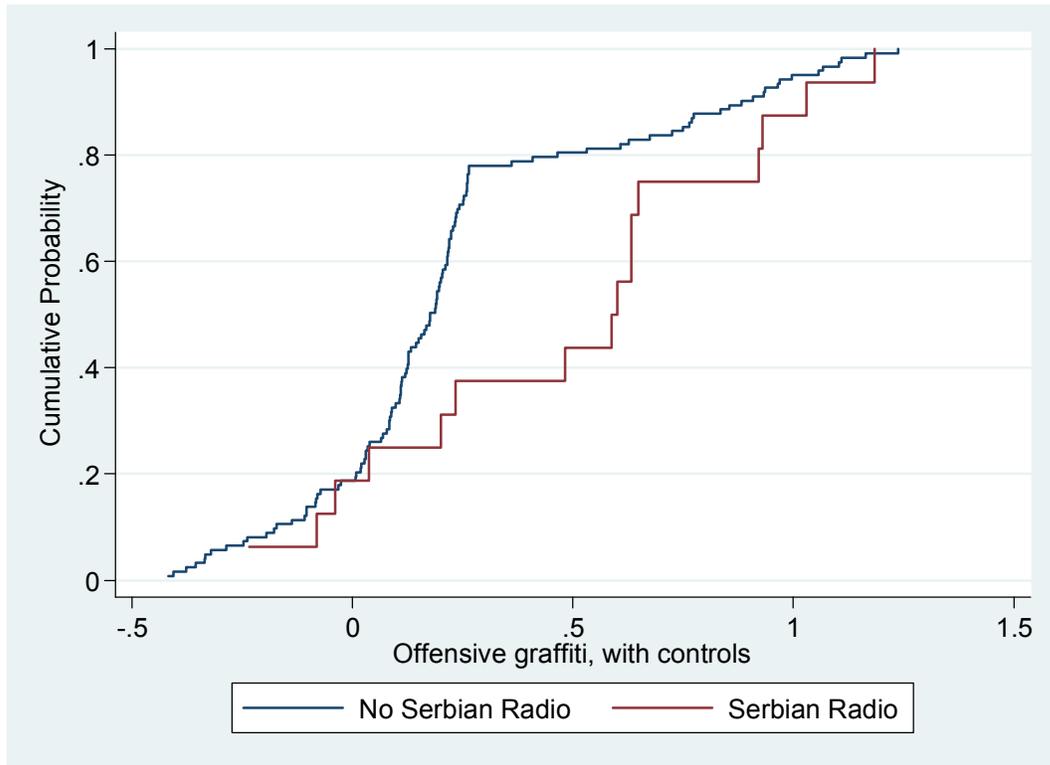
Online Appendix Figure 6c. Vote share for Social-Democrats in villages with, and without, reception of Serbian radio (controls).



Online Appendix Figure 6d. Turnout in villages with, and without, reception of Serbian radio (controls).



Online Appendix Figure 6e. Offensive graffiti in villages with, and without, reception of Serbian radio (controls).



Online Appendix Table 1. Summary Statistics

	Baseline Sample		Extended Sample	
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Radio Availability Measures				
At least 1 RTS radio available	0.11	0.31		
At least 2 RTS radios available	0.04	0.19		
Signal Strength of Serbian (RTS) radio (dBm)	-0.007	0.009	-0.015	0.011
Dependent Variables				
Vote share of extreme nationalistic party	0.07	0.06	0.06	0.06
Vote share of moderate nationalistic party	0.41	0.12	0.37	0.12
Vote share of social-democratic party	0.24	0.09	0.24	0.09
Turnout	0.57	0.08	0.59	0.08
Indicator for ethnically offensive graffiti	0.42	0.50		
Census Controls				
Population	8,654	10,999	6,342	9,122
% of Croats	81.40	20.65	87.05	16.36
Disabled after the war of independence	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Economically active population	0.41	0.03	0.40	0.04
People with higher education (%)	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.03
Male (%)	0.49	0.01	0.49	0.02
People aged 21-40 (%)	0.28	0.02	0.27	0.03
People of aged 41-60 (%)	0.25	0.03	0.25	0.04
People of aged 61+ (%)	0.20	0.05	0.21	0.06
Geographic Controls				
Distance to Serbia (km)	17.65	8.89	33.64	20.04
Large forest nearby	0.21	0.41		
Additional Controls				
Monument in honor of defendants of the town	0.66	0.48		
Names of the streets in Cyrillic script	0.04	0.19		
Names of the streets in Hungarian	0.02	0.15		
Serbian beer in bars	0.03	0.18		
Was important during the war	0.21	0.41		
Number of observations		139		417

Notes: List of all the control variables for the baseline sample of villages (Columns 1-2) and for the extended sample (Columns 3-4). Observations are weighted by the number of eligible voters.

Online Appendix Table 2. Effect of Serbian radio availability on Croatian radio listenership: Survey Evidence

Dep. Var. in OLS Regression:	Indicator for Survey Respondent Who Reports Listening to Croatian Radio At Least Sometimes			
Panel A. Listening at all	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
At least 1 Serbian radio available	0.031 [0.031]	0.061 [0.061]		
Signal strength of Serbian Radio			6.806 [6.800]	9.947 [10.322]
Constant	0.969*** [0.037]	0.905*** [0.091]	1.030*** [0.035]	1.039*** [0.062]
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	70	70	70	70
R-squared	0.02	0.14	0.03	0.12
Effect of 1 st. dev. change			0.02	0.02
Dep. Var. in OLS Regression:	Indicator for Survey Respondent Who Reports Listening to Croatian Radio Often			
Panel B. Listening often	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
At least 1 Serbian radio available	-0.329*** [0.112]	-0.324** [0.141]		
Signal strength of Serbian Radio			-44.508* [26.141]	-34.055 [29.968]
Constant	0.750*** [0.081]	0.802 [0.467]	0.208 [0.159]	0.193 [0.485]
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	70	70	70	70
R-squared	0.11	0.25	0.05	0.19
Effect of 1 st. dev. change			-0.11	-0.08

Notes: Data from a survey of 70 individuals in 9 villages. Respondents are asked how often, if at all, they listen to Croatian radio. They are considered to listen to Croatian radio often if they listen to it at least several times per week. Control variables include age, gender, occupation, education, and whether village was surveyed in 2011. Robust standard errors in brackets * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 3. Yugoslavian music and preferences for Serbian radio

Dependent Variable in OLS Regression:	Supports Serbian/former Yugoslavian group concert nearby		Knows Serbian/former Yugoslavian group songs after 2000		Knows other Serbian artists	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Listens Rarely or Often, Serbian	0.563*** [0.153]		0.233* [0.135]		0.208 [0.142]	
Listens Rarely or Often, Croatian	-0.819*** [0.106]		-0.189* [0.105]		-0.427*** [0.101]	
Listens Rarely or Often, Bosnian	-0.026 [0.157]		-0.056 [0.106]		0.050 [0.131]	
Listens Often, Serbian		0.534*** [0.131]		0.094* [0.055]		0.266*** [0.087]
Listens Often, Croatian		-0.269** [0.133]		-0.029 [0.079]		-0.049 [0.112]
Listens Often, Bosnian		-0.158 [0.164]		0.025 [0.028]		-0.163 [0.178]
Mean of dependent variable	0.532	0.532	0.932	0.932	0.923	0.923
Observations	47	47	44	44	66	66
R-squared	0.294	0.230	0.150	0.038	0.078	0.048

Notes: Data from a survey of 70 individuals in 9 villages. Respondents were first asked whether they know group Riblja Corba or Lepa Brena (for respondents that look older). The dependent variables are constructed from responses to the following questions: (1) What is your attitude toward a possible concert of Ribja Corba(or Lepa Brena) here in Slavonia? (2) Have you heard any of songs of Riblja Corba (or Lepa Brena) written since 2000? (3) What other current popular Serbian band or singer do you know? Respondents were also asked how often, if at all, they listen to Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian radio. They are considered to listen to Serbian radio often if they listen to it at least several times per week. Some respondents were not asked about Serbian music, hence the smaller number of observations. Notice that the Table reports correlations, not necessarily indicating a causal relationship. Robust standard errors in brackets * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 4. Impact of Serbian radio, regressions with controls. Baseline sample.

Dep. Var.:	Vote Share of Extreme Nationalists		Vote Share of Moderate Nationalists		Vote Share of Social-Democrats		Turnout	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available	0.026*** [0.008]		-0.041* [0.024]		0.009 [0.015]		-0.009 [0.017]
Signal Strength of Serbian (RTS) radio		2.678*** [0.617]		-4.099*** [0.838]		1.884** [0.846]		-0.981 [1.067]
Distance to Serbia, logged	-0.016 [0.010]	-0.006 [0.008]	-0.046*** [0.011]	-0.060*** [0.010]	0.034*** [0.009]	0.043*** [0.009]	-0.018* [0.010]	-0.022** [0.010]
Population (logged)	-0.002 [0.006]	-0.007 [0.004]	-0.001 [0.009]	0.007 [0.008]	0.014 [0.009]	0.011 [0.008]	-0.011 [0.010]	-0.010 [0.010]
% of male population	-0.214 [0.346]	-0.282 [0.328]	-0.661 [0.495]	-0.555 [0.450]	0.638 [0.430]	0.599 [0.411]	-0.390 [0.387]	-0.366 [0.382]
% of aged 21-40	0.571* [0.336]	0.183 [0.269]	-1.583** [0.646]	-0.977* [0.498]	0.837* [0.433]	0.618 [0.421]	-1.811*** [0.621]	-1.673*** [0.561]
% of aged 41-60	-0.093 [0.236]	0.005 [0.208]	-1.533*** [0.423]	-1.680*** [0.397]	0.944** [0.396]	1.023*** [0.369]	-0.199 [0.383]	-0.235 [0.359]
% of aged 61+	0.149 [0.171]	0.023 [0.142]	-1.077*** [0.332]	-0.877*** [0.264]	0.565** [0.225]	0.512** [0.198]	-1.020*** [0.322]	-0.976*** [0.282]
% of Croats	0.105** [0.047]	0.099** [0.039]	-0.008 [0.069]	0.000 [0.067]	-0.224*** [0.046]	-0.229*** [0.046]	0.103 [0.062]	0.105* [0.061]
% of people with higher education	-0.511 [0.363]	-0.415 [0.320]	0.728 [0.458]	0.576 [0.373]	0.112 [0.240]	0.152 [0.220]	0.142 [0.285]	0.109 [0.274]
Economically active population (%)	0.739** [0.321]	0.682** [0.278]	-0.607 [0.403]	-0.519 [0.378]	0.195 [0.292]	0.154 [0.274]	0.138 [0.291]	0.159 [0.288]
Disabled after the war of independence, %	2.007*** [0.687]	1.339** [0.546]	2.004** [0.758]	3.032*** [0.762]	-1.579** [0.648]	-2.021*** [0.673]	4.865*** [0.880]	5.107*** [0.842]
Was important during the war	-0.005 [0.016]	0.002 [0.015]	-0.059** [0.025]	-0.068*** [0.024]	0.016 [0.020]	0.021 [0.018]	0.040 [0.025]	0.038 [0.025]
Monument in the honor of died defendants of the town	0.000 [0.011]	0.003 [0.010]	0.033* [0.017]	0.028* [0.016]	0.011 [0.016]	0.012 [0.015]	0.005 [0.013]	0.004 [0.013]
Names of the streets in Cyrillic script	-0.005 [0.022]	-0.023 [0.020]	-0.122*** [0.035]	-0.094** [0.038]	0.089*** [0.030]	0.079** [0.033]	-0.050 [0.039]	-0.044 [0.039]
Names of the streets in Hungarian	0.004 [0.014]	0.001 [0.011]	-0.035 [0.023]	-0.031 [0.022]	0.031 [0.021]	0.029 [0.021]	0.053* [0.028]	0.054* [0.027]
Serbian beer in bars	-0.017 [0.017]	-0.024 [0.016]	-0.072 [0.046]	-0.061 [0.048]	0.084*** [0.029]	0.078** [0.030]	0.030 [0.035]	0.032 [0.035]
Large forest nearby	0.005 [0.008]	0.000 [0.007]	0.005 [0.020]	0.014 [0.020]	-0.029** [0.011]	-0.031*** [0.011]	-0.005 [0.016]	-0.004 [0.016]
County fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean of Dependent Variable	0.070	0.070	0.362	0.362	0.251	0.251	0.550	0.550
R-squared	0.60	0.64	0.74	0.76	0.69	0.71	0.62	0.62
Observations	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139
Implied Persuasion rates	0.05	0.031	-0.13	-0.06	0.02	0.02	-0.04	-0.02
Implied ATT	0.08	0.05	-0.13	-0.08	0.03	0.04	-0.03	-0.02

Notes: The specification report the results of OLS specifications, with the observations weighed by the number of eligible voters. The baseline sample includes villages directly visited by the authors in 2009 and 2010 to measure the radio availability in the main street. The standard errors in brackets are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 5. Altonji-Elder-Taber test for different sets of controls

Dep. Var. in OLS Regression:	Vote share for Extremely nationalistic parties							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Prediction (based on controls indicated below) of availability of dummy for 1 Serbian radio	0.001 [0.146]		-0.001 [0.009]		0.049 [0.119]			
Prediction (based on controls indicated below) of signal strength of Serbian radio		-3.937** [1.945]		-5.391*** [1.637]		-3.609 [2.503]	0.523 [0.393]	-0.075 [0.528]
Controls	Geographical		Census		Additional Controls		Geographical	Census
Sample			Baseline				Extended	
Observations	139	139	139	139	139	139	417	417

Notes: The Table reports univariate OLS regressions of the vote share for extremely nationalistic parties on the predicted radio reception based on a selected set of control variables indicated at the bottom of the Table. This regression provides information on the correlation between the predictors for the media variable and the political variable, indicating the potential for bias in the regressions in the main regressions. A negative coefficient in the regressions indicates, to the extent that the unobservables resemble the observables, that the possible bias in the main regressions due to the unobservables is likely to be downward. Observations are weighted by the number of eligible voters. The standard errors in brackets are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 6. Serbian radio and ethnically offensive graffiti (OLS)

Dep. Var. in OLS regression:	Indicator for ethnically offensive graffiti in a village						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available	0.346*** [0.117]	0.324** [0.129]	0.305** [0.124]	0.274 [0.220]			
At least 2 Serbian (RTS) radios available				0.057 [0.312]			
Signal Strength of Serbian (RTS) radio					6.153* [3.076]	4.576 [3.936]	5.386 [4.194]
County fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Distance to Serbia, logged	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census and geographic controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Additional controls	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Mean of Dependent Variable	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26
R-squared	0.19	0.24	0.28	0.28	0.14	0.20	0.25
Observations	139	139	139	139	139	139	139

Notes: The specification report the results of OLS specifications, observations are equally weighted. The baseline sample includes villages directly visited by the authors in 2009 and 2010 to measure the radio availability in the main street. The dependent variable is an indicator for the presence of a graffiti offensive towards Serbs in the village streets, as measured on an in-person visit in 2009 and 2010. The full set of control variables is listed in Table 2. The standard errors in brackets are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 7. Serbian radio and vote for extreme nationalists, Extra Robustness Checks. Baseline Sample.

Dep. Var.:	Vote share for extremely nationalistic parties									
	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	Nearest-neighbor matching estimate	OLS
Specification	Vote share includes only HSP		Controls for location of Serbian Krajina		Controls for distance to transmitters and elevation		Additional controls for distance to Serbia			Extra villages included
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available	0.026*** [0.008]		0.028*** [0.010]		0.023*** [0.009]		0.027*** [0.010]		0.030* [0.016]	
Signal Strength of Serbian (RTS) radio		2.671*** [0.617]		2.723*** [0.635]		2.541*** [0.701]		2.839*** [0.753]		2.568*** [0.678]
Dummy for Serbian Krajina			-0.016 [0.014]	-0.015 [0.013]						
Travel time to Serbia							0.001 [0.001]	0.001 [0.001]		
Number of War Events within 3km							0.001 [0.007]	0.002 [0.006]		
Ln(Distance to closest transmitter)	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Ln(Elevation)	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Fifth polynomial of distance to Serbia	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No
Includes Extra Villages in Sample	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Observations	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	175
R-squared	0.61	0.65	0.61	0.64	0.61	0.64	0.61	0.65		0.63
Implied Persuasion Rates	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.03
Implied ATT	0.08	0.05	0.09	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.09	0.06	0.10	0.05

Notes: The specification report the results of OLS with the observations weighed by the number of eligible voters. The baseline sample includes villages directly visited by the authors in 2009 and 2010 to measure the radio availability in the main street. Baseline sample with extra villages includes all the villages within 35km from Serbian border. All specifications control for the full set of control variables listed in Table 2. Result in column 9 reports the estimates of average treatment effect on the treated (ATT) for a nearest-neighbor matching procedure using the same set of covariates as in OLS regressions and selecting the 5 closest matching villages in the control group. The standard errors in brackets for OLS regressions are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 8. Extended sample results (Villages within 50km of Croatian-Serbian Border).

Dep. Var. in OLS regression:	Vote share of		Vote share of		Vote share of		Turnout	
	extreme nationalists		moderate nationalists		social-democrats			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Signal Strength of Serbian (RTS) radio	3.047*** [1.080]	2.510*** [0.800]	-0.772 [1.100]	-2.776** [1.203]	0.627 [1.507]	1.798* [1.021]	-0.783 [1.113]	-2.031* [1.134]
County fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Distance to Serbia, logged	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census and geographic controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Mean of Dependent Variable	0.070	0.070	0.340	0.340	0.233	0.233	0.575	0.575
R-squared	0.34	0.51	0.58	0.68	0.05	0.57	0.08	0.43
Observations	238	238	238	238	238	238	238	238
Persuasion rates	0.038	0.03	-0.01	-0.04	0.01	0.02	-0.02	-0.03
Implied ATT	0.059	0.05	-0.02	-0.05	0.01	0.04	-0.02	-0.04

Notes: The specification report the results of OLS specifications, with the observations weighed by the number of eligible voters. This extended sample includes villages in the broader Croatian region up to a 50 km. distance from the Croatian-Serbian border. The full set of control variables is listed in Table 2. The standard errors in brackets are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 9. Serbian radio, vote for other parties and turnout in 2011. Baseline sample.

Dep. Var. in OLS regression:	Vote Share of		Vote Share of		Vote Share of		Turnout	
	Extreme Nationalists		Moderate Nationalists		Social-Democrats		(7)	(8)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)		
At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available	0.024*** [0.008]		-0.019 [0.021]		0.010 [0.028]		0.012 [0.020]	
Signal Strength of Serbian (RTS) radio		1.266*** [0.446]		-1.441 [0.998]		3.117*** [1.109]		0.741 [0.866]
County fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census and geographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Manually collected controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean of Dependent Variable	0.052	0.052	0.277	0.277	0.289	0.289	0.602	0.602
R-squared	0.40	0.39	0.71	0.71	0.69	0.71	0.66	0.66
Observations	123	123	123	123	123	123	123	123
Implied Persuasion rates	0.05	0.01	-0.05	-0.02	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.01
Implied ATT	0.08	0.02	-0.06	-0.03	0.03	0.06	0.04	0.01

Notes: The specification report the results of OLS specifications, with the observations weighed by the number of eligible voters. The baseline sample includes villages directly visited by the authors in 2009 and 2010 to measure the radio availability in the main street. The full set of control variables is listed in Table 2. The standard errors in brackets are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 10. Extended sample results in 2011.

Dep. Var. in OLS regression:	Vote share of extreme nationalists		Vote share of moderate nationalists		Vote share of social-democrats		Turnout	
	75km	50km	75km	50km	75km	50km	75km	50km
Distance from Croatian-Serbian Border	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Signal Strength of Serbian (RTS) radio	0.484 [0.500]	0.979* [0.543]	-1.098 [0.763]	-0.873 [1.141]	2.174*** [0.709]	2.527** [1.031]	-1.906*** [0.719]	-1.063 [1.057]
County fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census and geographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean of Dependent Variable	0.052	0.055	0.277	0.274	0.289	0.315	0.602	0.594
R-squared	0.358	0.35	0.65	0.71	0.581	0.61	0.35	0.40
Observations	375	226	375	226	375	226	375	226
Implied Persuasion Rates	0.006	0.01	-0.02	-0.01	0.03	0.04	-0.03	-0.02
Implied ATT	0.009	0.02	-0.02	-0.02	0.04	0.05	-0.04	-0.02

Notes: The specification report the results of OLS specifications, with the observations weighed by the number of eligible voters. This extended sample includes villages in the broader Croatian region up to a 75 km or 50 km distance from the Croatian-Serbian border. The full set of control variables is listed in Table 2. The standard errors in brackets are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 11. Serbian radio, vote for other parties and turnout 2003. Baseline sample.

Dep. Var. in OLS regression:	Vote Share of		Vote Share of		Vote Share of		Turnout	
	Extreme Nationalists		Moderate Nationalists		Social-Democrats		(7)	(8)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available	-0.006 [0.008]		0.022 [0.025]		-0.005 [0.011]		-0.010 [0.018]	
Signal Strength of Serbian (RTS) radio		-0.115 [0.505]		-1.484 [1.703]		1.176* [0.679]		-0.918 [1.006]
County fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census and geographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Manually collected controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean of Dependent Variable	0.072	0.072	0.408	0.408	0.123	0.123	0.634	0.634
R-squared	0.44	0.44	0.52	0.53	0.66	0.67	0.69	0.69
Observations	121	121	121	121	121	121	121	121
Implied Persuasion rates	-0.01	0.00	0.07	-0.02	-0.01	0.01	-0.04	-0.02
Implied ATT	-0.02	0.00	0.07	-0.03	-0.02	0.02	-0.03	-0.02

Notes: The specification report the results of OLS specifications, with the observations weighed by the number of eligible voters. The baseline sample includes villages directly visited by the authors in 2009 and 2010 to measure the radio availability in the main street. The full set of control variables is listed in Table 2. The standard errors in brackets are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 12. Extended sample results in 2003.

Dep. Var. in OLS regression:	Vote share of extreme nationalists		Vote share of moderate nationalists		Vote share of social-democrats		Turnout	
	75km	50km	75km	50km	75km	50km	75km	50km
Distance from Croatian-Serbian Border	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Signal Strength of Serbian (RTS) radio	0.748* [0.384]	0.715 [0.489]	-0.179 [0.790]	0.244 [1.190]	1.539*** [0.539]	1.257 [0.783]	-1.984** [0.942]	-2.154* [1.261]
County fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Census and geographic controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mean of Dependent Variable	0.076	0.0871	0.408	0.407	0.133	0.148	0.612	0.584
R-squared	0.19	0.22	0.57	0.64	0.65	0.69	0.44	0.49
Observations	369	219	369	219	369	219	369	219
Implied Persuasion Rates	0.009	0.009	-0.003	0.004	0.020	0.016	-0.034	-0.036
Implied ATT	0.015	0.014	-0.003	0.005	0.030	0.025	-0.039	-0.042

Notes: The specification report the results of OLS specifications, with the observations weighed by the number of eligible voters. This extended sample includes villages in the broader Croatian region up to a 75 km or 50 km distance from the Croatian-Serbian border. The full set of control variables is listed in Table 2. The standard errors in brackets are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 13, Panel A. Interactions: Measured radio availability, Baseline sample.

Dep. Var. in OLS Specification:	Vote share for extremely nationalistic parties														
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Interaction of At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available with:															
Distance to Serbia, logged	-0.009 [0.007]														
Population (logged)		0.001 [0.009]													
% of Croats			-0.214 [1.140]												
% of people with higher education				0.074 [0.616]											
% of male population					0.360 [0.343]										
Economically active population (%)						-0.008 [0.265]									
% of aged 21-40							-0.085** [0.034]								
% of aged 41-60								0.056 [0.355]							
% of aged 61+									0.544 [0.485]						
Disabled after the war of independence (%)										-4.309*** [1.525]					
Was important during the war											0.030 [0.027]				
Monument in the honor of died defendants of the town												-0.022 [0.017]			
Names of the streets in Cyrillic script													0.051 [0.038]		
Names of the streets in Hungarian														0.059 [0.036]	
Serbian beer in bars															0.068** [0.030]
At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available	0.009 [0.014]	0.021 [0.028]	0.025*** [0.008]	0.023 [0.025]	0.019** [0.009]	0.025 [0.029]	0.026*** [0.008]	0.024** [0.010]	0.023** [0.009]	0.039*** [0.011]	0.022*** [0.008]	0.037*** [0.010]	0.029*** [0.007]	0.029*** [0.008]	0.029*** [0.008]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139
R-squared	0.603	0.601	0.601	0.601	0.604	0.600	0.606	0.601	0.604	0.618	0.604	0.602	0.601	0.601	0.601

Online Appendix Table 13, Panel B. Interactions: Signal Strength, Baseline sample.

Dep. Var. in OLS Specification:	Vote share for extremely nationalistic parties														
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Interaction of Signal Strength of Serbian (RTS) radio with:															
Distance to Serbia, logged	-0.176 [0.537]														
Population (logged)		-0.075 [0.349]													
% of Croats			-31.164 [31.809]												
% of people with higher education				-1.377 [27.078]											
% of male population					-7.632 [18.243]										
Economically active population (%)						6.056 [13.547]									
% of aged 21-40							0.284 [2.862]								
% of aged 41-60								20.547 [21.662]							
% of aged 61+									-7.758 [15.103]						
Disabled after the war of independence (%)										-39.532 [103.909]					
Was important during the war											-0.635 [1.017]				
Monument in the honor of died defendants of the town												1.391* [0.724]			
Names of the streets in Cyrillic script													-0.098 [0.933]		
Names of the streets in Hungarian														-3.626 [4.204]	
Serbian beer in bars															5.326** [2.065]
At least 1 Serbian (RTS) radio available	2.275 [1.587]	2.796*** [0.998]	2.365*** [0.718]	2.682*** [0.628]	2.974*** [1.051]	2.871*** [0.816]	2.734*** [0.842]	2.601*** [0.630]	2.692*** [0.636]	2.690*** [0.619]	2.814*** [0.807]	2.550*** [0.610]	2.670*** [0.622]	2.496*** [0.675]	3.017*** [0.672]
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139	139
R-squared	0.64	0.639	0.643	0.639	0.64	0.641	0.639	0.642	0.64	0.64	0.64	0.647	0.639	0.642	0.646

Notes: These tables report the results of OLS specifications, with the observations weighed by the number of eligible voters. The baseline sample includes villages directly visited by the authors in 2009 and 2010 to measure the radio availability in the main street. The full set of control variables is listed in Table 2. The standard errors in brackets are clustered by municipality, allowing for correlation between villages in the same municipality. * significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

Online Appendix Table 14. Summary of the Design of the Laboratory Experiment

Approximate length	Control (Croatian Radio)	B92 Serbian Radio Treatment	RTS Serbian Radio Treatment
4 min	News on neutral Croatian Radio (Imports of natural gas in Croatia secured for the next three years, news on trading in shares of the INA company, Workers of Trimot, government owned company in Imotski, will be paid their outstanding wage arrears for the previous 6 months)		
2 min	Song: Hladno pivo – Teško je ful biti kul <i>(Croatian song)</i>	Song: Jelena Karleuša – Insomnia <i>(Neutral Serbian song)</i>	Song: Ceca -Lepi grome moj <i>(Loaded Serbian song)</i>
3 min	News on neutral Croatian Radio 2 (News on the process of extradition of Croatian former Prime Minister from the Republic of Austria to Croatian judiciary, Austrian prosecution for his involvement in money laundering, INTERPOL discovered his secret accounts, Sanadres's involvement in the affair Hypo Alpe-Adria-Bank)		
30 sec.	Signature tune of Croatian radio	Signature tune of B92	Signature tune of RTS Radio Belgrad
2 min	Song: Magazin -Sijamski blizanci <i>(Croatian song)</i>	Song: Željko Samardžić - 9000 metara <i>(Neutral Serbian song)</i>	Song: Riblja Čorba - Letovanje <i>(Neutral Serbian song)</i>
4 min	News from Croatian Radio: Awards given for the establishment and development of the first Croatian radio in Istra, Radio Pula. Museum exhibition of mammals that lived on the territory of Croatia during the last Ice Age has been opened.	News from B92: Report by Dick Marty claiming that Kosovo Prime Minister Hashim Thaci was involved in trafficking human organs from detained Serbian and non-Albanian civilians during 1999-2000. Serbia has great interest in discovering the full truth about war crimes for future relations with Kosovo.	News from RTS Radio Belgrad: Report by Dick Marty claiming that Kosovo Prime Minister Hashim Thaci was involved in trafficking human organs from detained Serbian and non- Albanian civilians during 1999-2000. Talk about the problems that this report carries: political and judicial consequences of the report. Talk about the significance of this report for Serbia, since it itself is investigated war crimes committed in Kosovo.

Online Appendix B. The border region

Our main focus is on the border region of Croatia, *Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srijem*. The region consists of two counties (sub-regions), which differ in terms of local politics. The first county, *Vukovar-Sirmium*, suffered the most during the war in terms of the number of casualties and physical damage. For a substantial period during the conflict—at the time of the *Republic of Serbian Krajina*, a self-proclaimed Serbian entity inside Croatia—all Croats in this part of the region were displaced or killed. As a result, Croats living in this area are substantially more nationalistic than the national average. The second county, *Osijek-Baranja*, includes two subregions, *Osijek* and *Baranja*. Nationalistic sentiments are also important in *Osijek*, but are less wide-spread than in *Western Srijem and Eastern Slavonia*. This subregion is the stronghold of HDSSB (Croatian Democratic Alliance of *Slavonija and Baranja* regional party). Unlike the rest of the border region, *Baranja* has a significant Hungarian minority (close to 20%)¹ and, as a consequence, the population of *Baranja* shows relatively low support for Croatian nationalistic ideas. During the war, *Baranja* was occupied by Serbs almost without resistance. In the empirical analysis, we focus on the within-county variation.

Online Appendix C. Survey Transcript

“Thank you for agreeing to participate in a survey of "attitudes towards music and towards radio programming". Completion of the survey will take approximately 15 minutes. The survey asks for no names and the results will be reported in aggregate form. The results will be used to understand what people in your region of Croatia think about different types of music and what their media habits are. If you have any questions, please contact the principal investigator, Katja Zhuravskaya, Professor at the Paris School of Economics, at ezhuravskaya@gmail.com.

1. Do you live in this village?
 - a. Yes.
 - b. No.
 - c. (do not prompt) Don't know.
 - d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

2. Have you ever heard about Ribja Corba? (Interviewer: substitute Ribja Corba for Lepa Brena if a respondent looks like being at least 40 years old)
 - a. Yes. (go to 4)
 - b. No.
 - c. (do not prompt) Don't know.
 - d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

3. What current popular Serbian band or singer do you know?
Open-ended question. (If respondent does not know/refuses to answer, go to 8)

4. What is your attitude toward a possible concert of Ribja Corba here in Slavonia? (Interviewer: substitute Ribja Corba for Lepa Brena if it was mentioned in question 2. Substitute for the answer to question 3 if 2a is not yes)
 - a. I am in favor of it
 - b. Do not care
 - c. The concert should be prohibited
 - d. Other
 - e. (do not prompt) Don't know.
 - f. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

¹ Croatian Census 2001. http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/censuses/Census2001/Popis/H01_02_02/H01_02_02_zup14.html

5. Have you heard any of songs of Ribja Corba written since 2000? (Interviewer: substitute Ribja Corba for Lepa Brena if it was mentioned in question 2. Substitute for the answer to question 3 if 2a is not yes)

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

6. Where did you hear these songs?

- a. On radio
- b. In a car
- c. In café or bar
- d. On TV
- e. On Internet
- f. Other
- g. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- h. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

7. We turn now to more general questions about exposure to different media. How often do you listen to radio?

- a. Every day
- b. Several times per week
- c. Several times per month
- d. Rarely
- e. Never
- f. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- g. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

8. I noticed that here you have a great coverage of a lot of radio stations (we do not have it in my Vukovar), do you have reception of some Croatian radios?

- a. Yes
- b. No (go to 10)
- c. (do not prompt) Don't know (go to 10)
- d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer. (go to 10)

9. How often do you listen to Croatian radio?

- a. Every day
- b. Several times per week
- c. Several times per month
- d. Rarely
- e. Never
- f. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- g. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

10. Do you have reception of some Serbian radios?

- a. Yes
- b. No (go to 12)
- c. (do not prompt) Don't know (go to 12)
- d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer. (go to 12)

11. How often do you listen to Serbian radio?

- a. Every day
- b. Several times per week
- c. Several times per month
- d. Rarely
- e. Never
- f. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- g. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

12. Do you have reception of some Bosnian radios?

- a. Yes

- b. No (go to 14)
- c. (do not prompt) Don't know (go to 14)
- d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer. (go to 14)

13. How often do you listen to Bosnian radio?

- a. Every day
- b. Several times per week
- c. Several times per month
- d. Rarely
- e. Never
- f. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

14. Do some people in your village listen to Serbian radio? For example some music, news?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- d. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

15. What is your age?

- a. 18-25 years
- b. 26-34 years
- c. 35-44 years
- d. 45-54 years
- e. Over 55.
- f. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- g. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

16. What is your level of education?

- a. Primary school
- b. Secondary school
- c. High school
- d. More than high school
- e. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- f. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

17. What is your occupation?

- a. Student
- b. Full-time job
- c. Part-time job
- d. Pensioner
- e. War veteran
- f. Other
- g. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- h. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

18. What is your mother tongue?

- a. Croatian
- b. Serbian
- c. Other
- d. (do not prompt) Don't know.
- e. (do not prompt) Refused to answer.

19. (Do not prompt. To be filled by interviewer) Gender of respondent:

- a. Female
- b. Male

Online Appendix D. Laboratory Experiment Transcript

Questionnaire Transcript

“Welcome to the experiment on perception of political information. You will stay in the assigned room for 20 minutes listening to a radio broadcast. Your goal is to listen carefully to the broadcast and then fill out the questionnaire, which will be distributed after the end of the broadcast. In the end, you will receive a 20 Kunas as a gift for the participation in the experiment.

Demographic questions:

1. Gender
 - a. Female
 - b. Male

2. What is your age?
 - a. 17-25
 - b. 26-35
 - c. 36-45
 - d. 46-55
 - e. 55 and over
 - f. Don't know
 - g. Refused to answer

3. Which town or village are you from? _____

4. Did some members of your family participate in the War of Independence?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Refused to answer

5. Do you have close relatives killed during the war?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Refuse to answer

Please listen to a radio broadcast. After the end of the broadcast, please answer the following questions:

6. Do you recognize all the artists whose songs you heard in the radio program?
 - e. Yes
 - f. No
 - g. Don't know
 - h. Refused to answer

 7. Please indicate on a scale from 5 (“Strongly agree”) to 1 (“Strongly disagree”) whether you agree with the following statements
 - Nonpayment of wages to workers of TRIMOT (state-owned companies) in the last 6 months is justified _____

 8. Please indicate on a scale from 5 (“Very important”) to 1 (“Not at all important”) how important is extradition of former Prime Minister Sanader from Austria for the Croatian accession to the European Union _____

 9. Please indicate whether the radio news program you have listened to reported on the following subject:
Report from Dick Marty including information about the involvement of the Kosovo Prime Minister Hashima Thaci in the weapon and human organs trafficking.
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Refused to answer
- Awards for radio program Pula and exhibitions of mammals from the last ice age.

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Don't know
- d. Refused to answer

10. Please rank the following political parties from the party that you like most to the party which you dislike most. Please write a ranking number for each party. Give the party which you like the most number 1 and give the party that you dislike most number 11.

- a) HDZ (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica) _____
- b) HDSSB (Hrvatski Demokratski Savez Slavonije i Baranje) _____
- c) HNS (Hrvatska Narodna Stranka) _____
- d) HSLs (Hrvatska Socijalno Liberalna Stranka) _____
- e) HSP (Hrvatska Stranka Prava) _____
- f) HSS (Hrvatska Stranka Seljaka) _____
- g) HSU (Hrvatska Stranka Umirovljenika) _____
- h) IDS (Istarski Demokratski Sabor) _____
- i) SDSS (Samostalna Demokratska Srpska stranka) _____
- j) SDP (Socijaldemokratska Partija Hrvatske) _____
- k) SDAH (Stranka Demokratske Akcije Hrvatske) _____

11. Would you agree to work with:

- a. Bosnians Yes___/No___
- b. Serbs Yes___/No___
- c. Hungarians Yes___/No___
- d. Russini Yes___/No___

12. Would you agree that your children study in the same school with children of

- a. Bosnians Yes___/No___
- b. Serbs Yes___/No___
- c. Hungarians Yes___/No___
- d. Russini Yes___/No___

13. Would you agree that your child would have a best friend

- a. Bosnians Yes___/No___
- b. Serbs Yes___/No___
- c. Hungarians Yes___/No___
- d. Russini Yes___/No___

14. Would you agree that your child will marry

- a. Bosnians Yes___/No___
- b. Serbs Yes___/No___
- c. Hungarians Yes___/No___
- d. Russini Yes___/No___

15. Please indicate on a scale from 5 ("Strongly agree") to 1 ("Strongly disagree") whether you agree with the following statements:

- a. More good jobs for Serbs means fewer good jobs for Croats _____
- b. Many Serbs have been trying to get ahead economically at the expense of other groups_____
- c. The more influence Serbs have in local politics, the less influence Croats will have in local politics_____

16. We would like to get your feelings about some ethnic groups. When you see the name of a person or group, please rate it with what we call a feeling thermometer by typing a number from 0 to 100. On this feeling thermometer, ratings between 0 and 49 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably toward the person or group and that you don't care too much for that person or group. Ratings between 51 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward the person or group. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a person or group you would rate them at 50 degrees.

Using the feeling thermometer below, how do you feel toward:

- Bosnians? _____
- Serbs ? _____
- Hungarians? _____