

Reverse Engineering Chinese Government Information Controls¹

Gary King²

Institute for Quantitative Social Science
Harvard University

SUNY New Paltz, 10/15/2024

¹Based on joint work with Jennifer Pan (Stanford) and Margaret Roberts (UCSD)

²GaryKing.org

Research Products (details at GaryKing.org)

Research Products (details at GaryKing.org)

- Scholarly Articles: on China

Research Products (details at GaryKing.org)

- Scholarly Articles: on China
- Scholarly Articles: Automated Text Analysis Methods
- Startup:

Research Products (details at GaryKing.org)

- Scholarly Articles: on China
 - How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (*APSR*)
 - Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (*Science*)
 - How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument (*Today's talk; APSR*)
- Scholarly Articles: Automated Text Analysis Methods

- Startup:

Research Products (details at GaryKing.org)

- **Scholarly Articles: on China**
 - How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (*APSR*)
 - Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (*Science*)
 - How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument (*Today's talk; APSR*)
- **Scholarly Articles: Automated Text Analysis Methods**
 - General Purpose Computer-Assisted Clustering and Conceptualization (*PNAS*)

- **Startup:**

Research Products (details at GaryKing.org)

- **Scholarly Articles: on China**
 - How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (*APSR*)
 - Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (*Science*)
 - How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument (*Today's talk; APSR*)
- **Scholarly Articles: Automated Text Analysis Methods**
 - General Purpose Computer-Assisted Clustering and Conceptualization (*PNAS*)
 - A Method of Automated Nonparametric Content Analysis for Social Science (*AJPS*)

- **Startup:**

Research Products (details at GaryKing.org)

- **Scholarly Articles: on China**
 - How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (*APSR*)
 - Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (*Science*)
 - How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument (*Today's talk; APSR*)
- **Scholarly Articles: Automated Text Analysis Methods**
 - General Purpose Computer-Assisted Clustering and Conceptualization (*PNAS*)
 - A Method of Automated Nonparametric Content Analysis for Social Science (*AJPS*)
 - Computer-Assisted Keyword and Document Set Discovery from Unstructured Text (*AJPS*)
- **Startup:**

Research Products (details at GaryKing.org)

- **Scholarly Articles: on China**
 - How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (*APSR*)
 - Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (*Science*)
 - How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument (*Today's talk; APSR*)
- **Scholarly Articles: Automated Text Analysis Methods**
 - General Purpose Computer-Assisted Clustering and Conceptualization (*PNAS*)
 - A Method of Automated Nonparametric Content Analysis for Social Science (*AJPS*)
 - Computer-Assisted Keyword and Document Set Discovery from Unstructured Text (*AJPS*)
- **Startup: Thresher**

Research Products (details at GaryKing.org)

- **Scholarly Articles: on China**
 - How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (*APSR*)
 - Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (*Science*)
 - How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument (*Today's talk; APSR*)
- **Scholarly Articles: Automated Text Analysis Methods**
 - General Purpose Computer-Assisted Clustering and Conceptualization (*PNAS*)
 - A Method of Automated Nonparametric Content Analysis for Social Science (*AJPS*)
 - Computer-Assisted Keyword and Document Set Discovery from Unstructured Text (*AJPS*)
- **Startup:** Thresher \rightsquigarrow Acquired by Two Six Technologies

What we Learned About Censorship

What we Learned About Censorship

What we Learned About Censorship

- E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:

What we Learned About Censorship

- E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?
 - ① Stop criticism of the state

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?
 - ① Stop criticism of the state
 - ② Stop collective action

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② Stop collective action

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?
 - ① Stop criticism of the state *Wrong*
 - ② Stop collective action *Right*

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② ~~Stop collective action~~ *Right*
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② Stop collective action *Right*
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders:

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② Stop collective action *Right*
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders:
 - measure criticism: to judge local officials

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② Stop collective action *Right*
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders:
 - measure criticism: to judge local officials
 - censor: to stop events with collective action potential

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② Stop collective action *Right*
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders:
 - measure criticism: to judge local officials
 - censor: to stop events with collective action potential
 - Thus, we can use criticism & censorship to predict:

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- **What Could be the Goal?**
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② ~~Stop collective action~~ *Right*
- **Implications: Social Media is Actionable!**
 - Chinese leaders:
 - measure criticism: to judge local officials
 - censor: to stop events with collective action potential
 - Thus, we can use criticism & censorship to predict:
 - Officials in trouble, likely to be replaced

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- What Could be the Goal?
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② Stop collective action *Right*
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders:
 - measure criticism: to judge local officials
 - censor: to stop events with collective action potential
 - Thus, we can use criticism & censorship to predict:
 - Officials in trouble, likely to be replaced
 - Policies that generate dissent (& interest of leaders)

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- ~~What Could be the Goal?~~
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② ~~Stop collective action~~ *Right*
- ~~Implications: Social Media is Actionable!~~
 - Chinese leaders:
 - measure criticism: to judge local officials
 - censor: to stop events with collective action potential
 - Thus, we can use criticism & censorship to predict:
 - Officials in trouble, likely to be replaced
 - Policies that generate dissent (& interest of leaders)
 - Government action outside the Internet

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- ~~What Could be the Goal?~~
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② ~~Stop collective action~~ *Right*
- ~~Implications: Social Media is Actionable!~~
 - Chinese leaders:
 - measure criticism: to judge local officials
 - censor: to stop events with collective action potential
 - Thus, we can use criticism & censorship to predict:
 - Officials in trouble, likely to be replaced
 - Policies that generate dissent (& interest of leaders)
 - Government action outside the Internet
 - Dissidents to be arrested; peace treaties to sign; emerging scandals

What we Learned About Censorship

- ~~E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state,
its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- ~~What Could be the Goal?~~
 - ① ~~Stop criticism of the state~~ *Wrong*
 - ② ~~Stop collective action~~ *Right*
- ~~Implications: Social Media is Actionable!~~
 - Chinese leaders:
 - measure criticism: to judge local officials
 - censor: to stop events with collective action potential
 - Thus, we can use criticism & censorship to predict:
 - Officials in trouble, likely to be replaced
 - Policies that generate dissent (& interest of leaders)
 - Government action outside the Internet
 - Dissidents to be arrested; peace treaties to sign; emerging scandals
 - Disagreements between central and local leaders

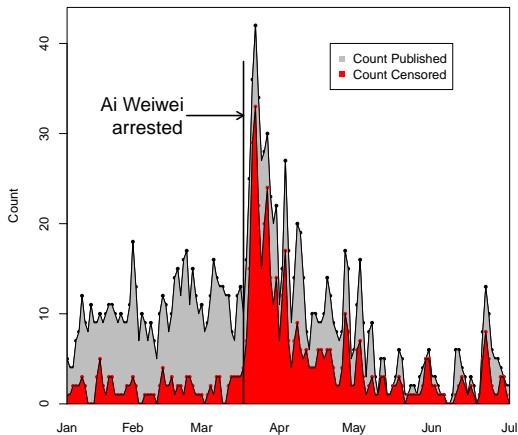
Censoring Collective Action: Critical of Government

Censoring Collective Action: Critical of Government

Ai Weiwei: famous activist, proven ability to start protests

Censoring Collective Action: Critical of Government

Ai Weiwei: famous activist, proven ability to start protests

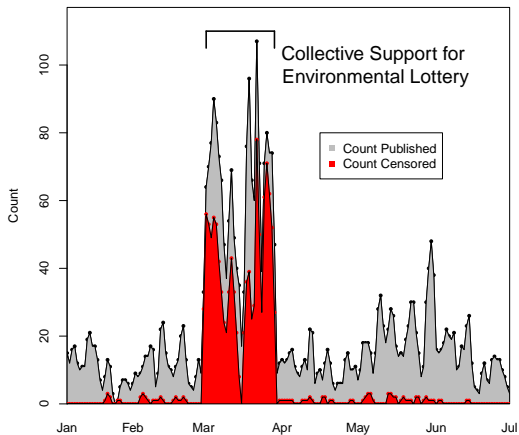


Censoring Collective Action: Supportive of Government

Censoring Collective Action: Supportive of Government

Discussion of the Environment

Censoring Collective Action: Supportive of Government Discussion of the Environment



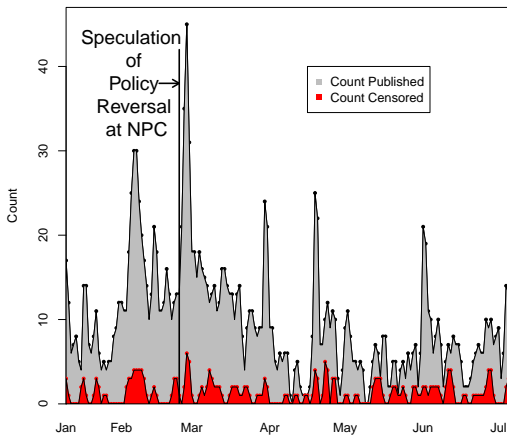
No Collective Action, No Censoring

No Collective Action, No Censoring

Controversial “One Child” Policy

No Collective Action, No Censoring

Controversial "One Child" Policy



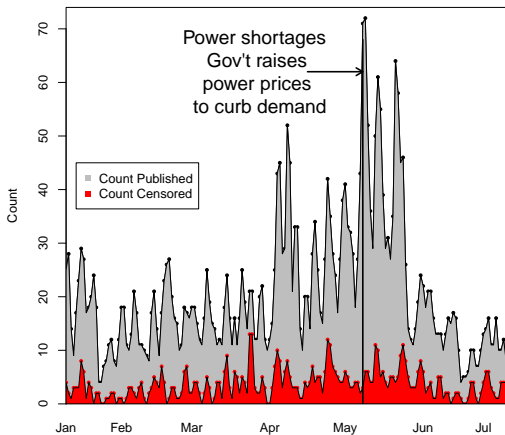
No Collective Action, No Censoring

No Collective Action, No Censoring

Controversial “Energy Pricing” Policy

No Collective Action, No Censoring

Controversial "Energy Pricing" Policy



Goal of China's 50c Party

Goal of China's 50c Party

- Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants:

Goal of China's 50c Party

- Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants: 50c party argues with & debates against those who criticize the government, its leaders, and their policies

Goal of China's 50c Party

- Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants: 50c party argues with & debates against those who criticize the government, its leaders, and their policies

It's antidisestablishmentarianism!

Goal of China's 50c Party

- Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants: 50c party argues with & debates against those who criticize the government, its leaders, and their policies

Evidence?

Goal of China's 50c Party

- Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants: 50c party argues with & debates against those who criticize the government, its leaders, and their policies

Evidence? A few anecdotes;

Goal of China's 50c Party

- Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants: 50c party argues with & debates against those who criticize the government, its leaders, and their policies

Evidence? A few anecdotes; “no ground truth”;

Goal of China's 50c Party

- Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants: 50c party argues with & debates against those who criticize the government, its leaders, and their policies

Evidence? A few anecdotes; “no ground truth”; “no successful attempts to quantify” 50c party activity;

Goal of China's 50c Party

- Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants: 50c party argues with & debates against those who criticize the government, its leaders, and their policies

Evidence? A few anecdotes; “no ground truth”; “no successful attempts to quantify” 50c party activity; even several analyses with made up dependent variables!

Goal of China's 50c Party

- ~~Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants: 50c party argues with & debates against those who criticize the government, its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*

Goal of China's 50c Party

- ~~Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants: 50c party argues with & debates against those who criticize the government, its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- Does not argue; does not engage on controversial issues

Goal of China's 50c Party

- ~~Prevailing view of scholars, activists, journalists, social media participants: 50c party argues with & debates against those who criticize the government, its leaders, and their policies~~ *Wrong*
- Does not argue; does not engage on controversial issues
- **Distracts**; redirects public attention from criticism and central issues to **cheerleading** and positive discussions of valence issues

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails
 - to: Zhonggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails
 - to: Zhonggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails
 - to: Zhonggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails
 - to: Zhonggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails

- to: Zhonggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
- On the web, but overlooked and ignored
- Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
- Large, unstructured, messy data ~→ systematized (*hard to do!*)

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails

- to: Zhonggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
- On the web, but overlooked and ignored
- Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
- Large, unstructured, messy data ~→ systematized (*hard to do!*)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails

- to: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
- On the web, but overlooked and ignored
- Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
- Large, unstructured, messy data ~→ systematized (*hard to do!*)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails

- to: Zhonggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
- On the web, but overlooked and ignored
- Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
- Large, unstructured, messy data ~→ systematized (*hard to do!*)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797 known 50c cent posts

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails

- to: Zhonggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
- On the web, but overlooked and ignored
- Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
- Large, unstructured, messy data ~→ systematized (*hard to do!*)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797 known 50c cent posts
- Map patterns of 50c workers: who, what, where, when, why

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- Decipher Leaked emails
 - to: Zhonggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data ~→ systematized (*hard to do!*)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797 known 50c cent posts
 - Map patterns of 50c workers: who, what, where, when, why
- Extrapolate to the rest of China

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- **Decipher Leaked emails**
 - to: Zhonggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data ~→ systematized (*hard to do!*)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797 known 50c cent posts
 - Map patterns of 50c workers: who, what, where, when, why
- **Extrapolate to the rest of China**
 - Build model based on patterns we found

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- **Decipher Leaked emails**
 - to: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data \rightsquigarrow systematized (*hard to do!*)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797 known 50c cent posts
 - Map patterns of 50c workers: who, what, where, when, why
- **Extrapolate to the rest of China**
 - Build model based on patterns we found
 - Identify 50c workers outside of Zhanggong

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

- **Decipher Leaked emails**
 - to: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data \rightsquigarrow systematized (*hard to do!*)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797 known 50c cent posts
 - Map patterns of 50c workers: who, what, where, when, why
- **Extrapolate to the rest of China**
 - Build model based on patterns we found
 - Identify 50c workers outside of Zhanggong
- **Validate (and validate the validation)**

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

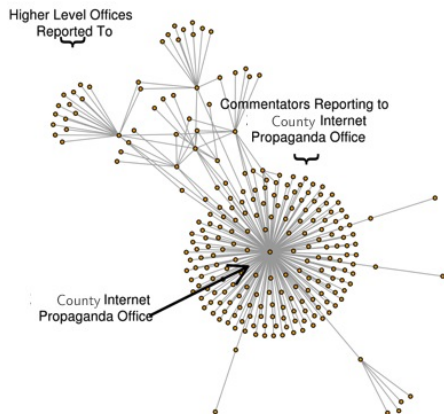
- **Decipher Leaked emails**
 - to: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data ~→ systematized (*hard to do!*)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797 known 50c cent posts
 - Map patterns of 50c workers: who, what, where, when, why
- **Extrapolate to the rest of China**
 - Build model based on patterns we found
 - Identify 50c workers outside of Zhanggong
- **Validate (and validate the validation)**
 - Survey 1: 50c party members

First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

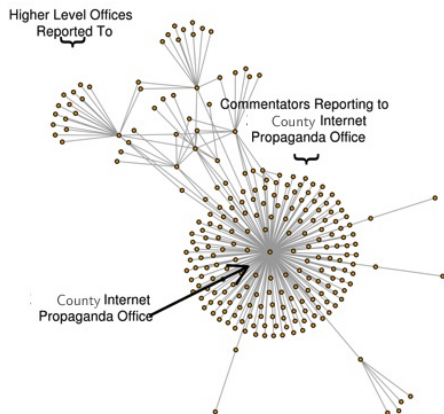
- **Decipher Leaked emails**
 - to: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data ~> systematized (*hard to do!*)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797 known 50c cent posts
 - Map patterns of 50c workers: who, what, where, when, why
- **Extrapolate to the rest of China**
 - Build model based on patterns we found
 - Identify 50c workers outside of Zhanggong
- **Validate (and validate the validation)**
 - Survey 1: 50c party members
 - "Survey" 2: the Chinese regime

The Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Operation

The Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Operation

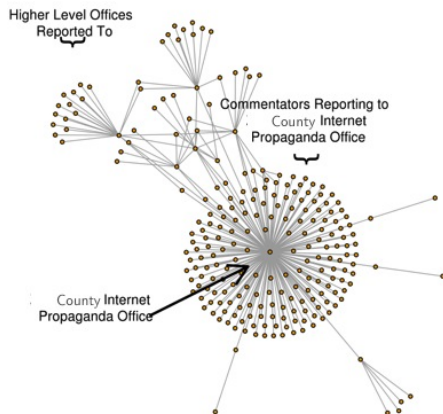


The Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Operation



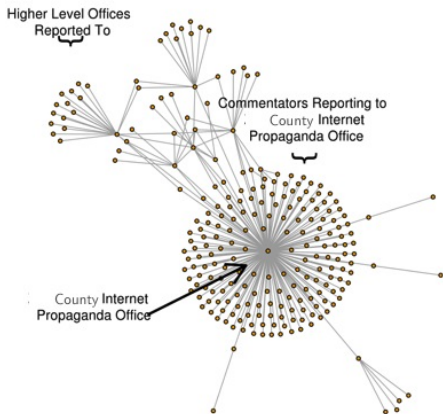
- Who is posting?

The Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Operation



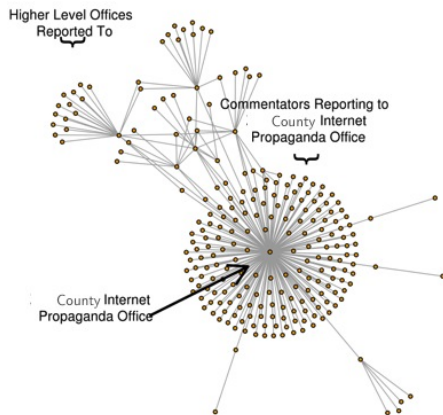
- Who is posting?
 - **Prevailing view:** ordinary citizens getting paid 50c to make each post

The Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Operation



- Who is posting?
 - **Prevailing view:** ordinary citizens getting paid 50c to make each post
 - **In fact:** 99.3% of posts made by >200 government offices

The Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Operation



- Who is posting?
 - **Prevailing view:** ordinary citizens getting paid 50c to make each post
 - **In fact:** 99.3% of posts made by >200 government offices
 - **No evidence of 50c (or any piecemeal) payments;** probably part of their jobs

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries
 - Argumentative praise or criticism

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting
 - Cheerleading

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting
 - Cheerleading

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading
- Separate analyses — from Zhanggong to China:

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading
- Separate analyses — from Zhanggong to China:
 - ① Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading
- Separate analyses — from Zhanggong to China:
 - 1 Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading
- Separate analyses — from Zhanggong to China:
 - 1 Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - 3 Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists)

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading
- Separate analyses — from Zhanggong to China:
 - 1 Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - 3 Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into *ordinary* (59%)

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading
- Separate analyses — from Zhanggong to China:
 - 1 Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - 3 Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into *ordinary* (59%) & *exclusive* (41%)

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading
- Separate analyses — from Zhanggong to China:
 - 1 Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - 3 Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into *ordinary* (59%) & *exclusive* (41%)
 - ↳ Accounts that engage with Zhanggong weibo

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading
- Separate analyses — from Zhanggong to China:
 - 1 Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - 3 Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into *ordinary* (59%) & *exclusive* (41%)
 - ↪ Accounts that engage with Zhanggong weibo
 - ↪ ≤ 10 followers

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

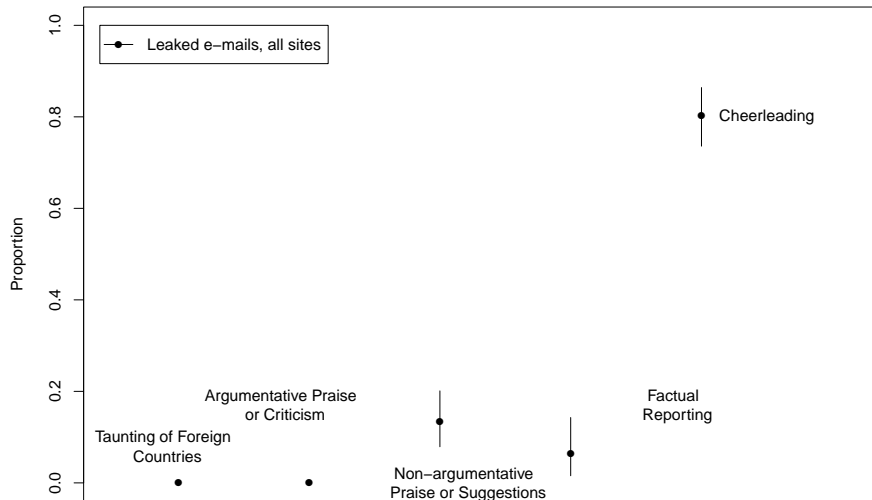
- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading
- Separate analyses — from Zhanggong to China:
 - 1 Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - 3 Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into *ordinary* (59%) & *exclusive* (41%)
 - ↪ Accounts that engage with Zhanggong weibo
 - ↪ ≤ 10 followers
 - 4 Unleaked posts from Zhanggong exclusive 50c weibo accounts

Categories and Analyses of 50c Party Posts

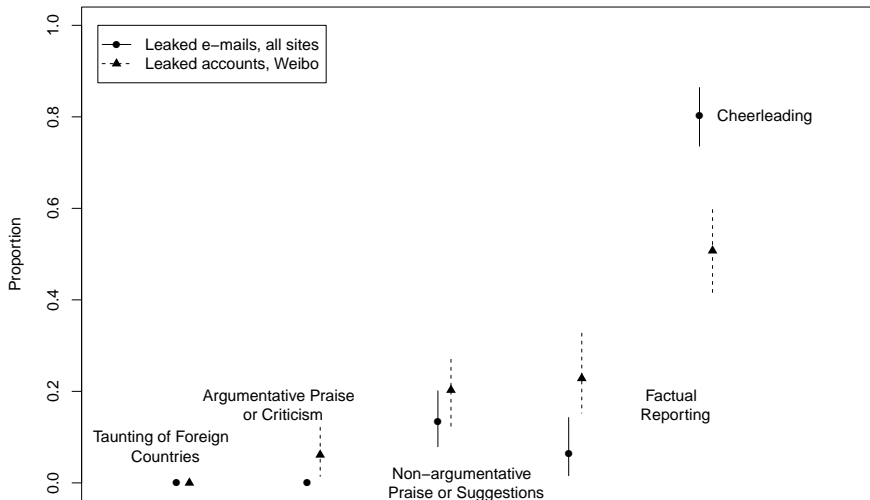
- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories (“readme,” Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries (prevailing view)
 - Argumentative praise or criticism
 - Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
 - Factual reporting (our evidence)
 - Cheerleading
- Separate analyses — from Zhanggong to China:
 - 1 Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - 3 Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into *ordinary* (59%) & *exclusive* (41%)
 - ↪ Accounts that engage with Zhanggong weibo
 - ↪ ≤ 10 followers
 - 4 Unleaked posts from Zhanggong exclusive 50c weibo accounts
 - 5 Unleaked posts from exclusive 50c weibo accounts across China

Content of Leaked and Predicted 50c Party Posts

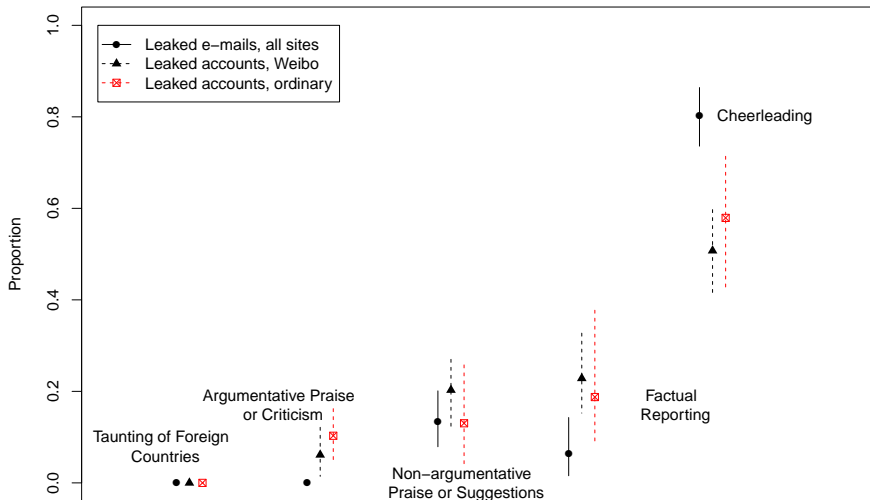
Content of Leaked and Predicted 50c Party Posts



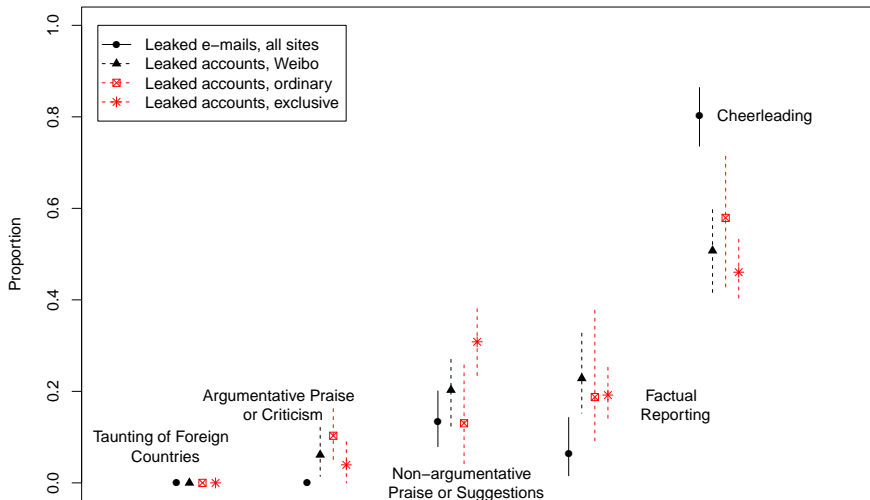
Content of Leaked and Predicted 50c Party Posts



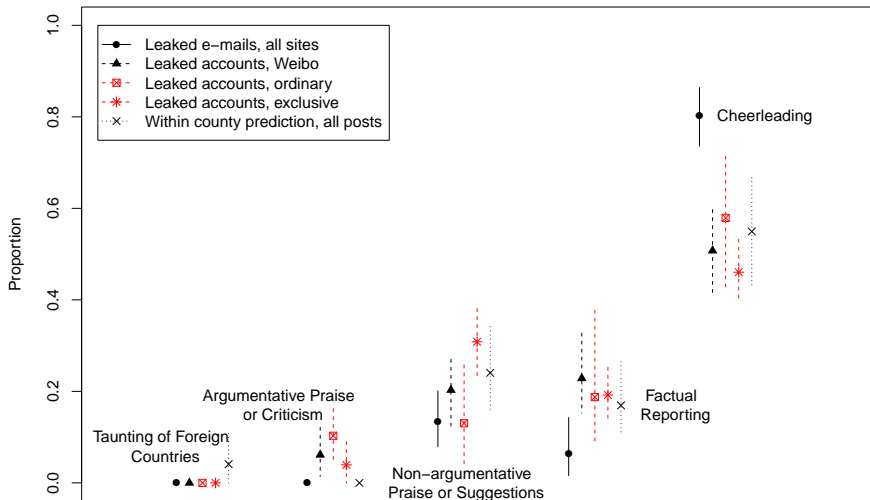
Content of Leaked and Predicted 50c Party Posts



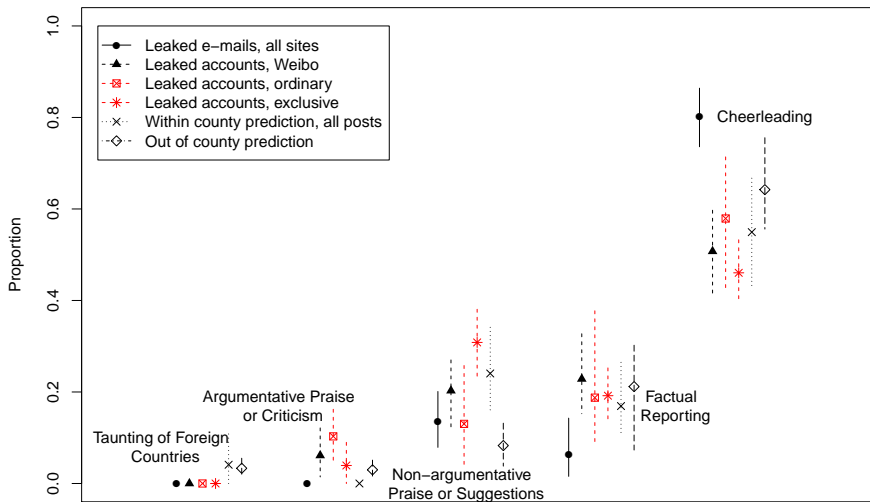
Content of Leaked and Predicted 50c Party Posts



Content of Leaked and Predicted 50c Party Posts



Content of Leaked and Predicted 50c Party Posts



Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

- Number of social media posts in China:

Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B

Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong:

Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216

Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216
- Number of 50c Posts in Jiangxi Province:

Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216
- Number of 50c Posts in Jiangxi Province: 10.65 M

Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216
- Number of 50c Posts in Jiangxi Province: 10.65 M
- Number of 50c Posts in China:

Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216
- Number of 50c Posts in Jiangxi Province: 10.65 M
- Number of 50c Posts in China: 448 M

Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

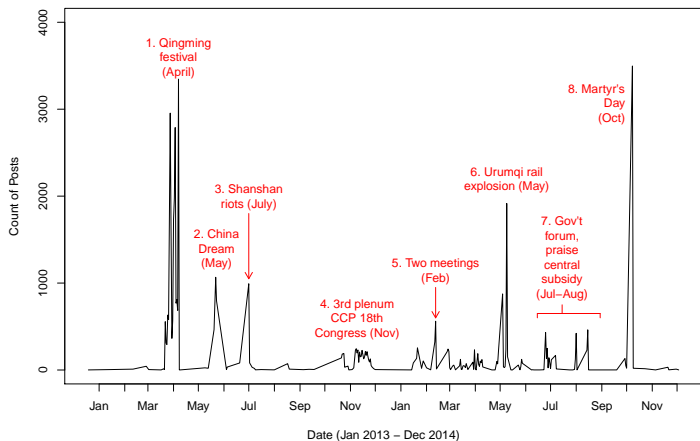
- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216
- Number of 50c Posts in Jiangxi Province: 10.65 M
- Number of 50c Posts in China: 448 M
 - 53% on government sites (a noticeable proportion of all)

Size of the 50c Party (in 2013)

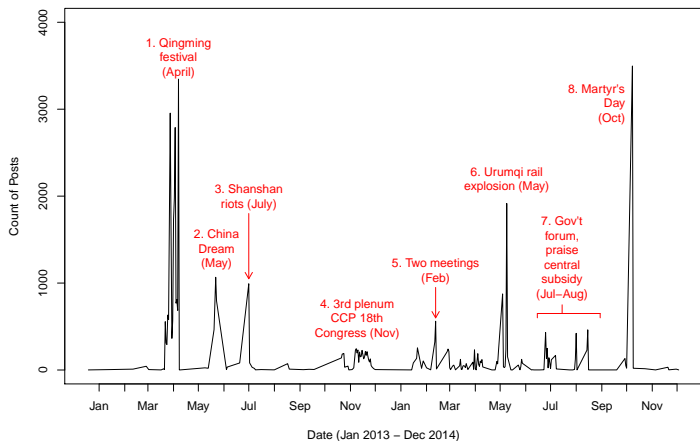
- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216
- Number of 50c Posts in Jiangxi Province: 10.65 M
- Number of 50c Posts in China: 448 M
 - 53% on government sites (a noticeable proportion of all)
 - 47% on commercial sites (1 of every 178 posts)

43,797 Zhanggong 50c Posts: Highly Coordinated

43,797 Zhanggong 50c Posts: Highly Coordinated

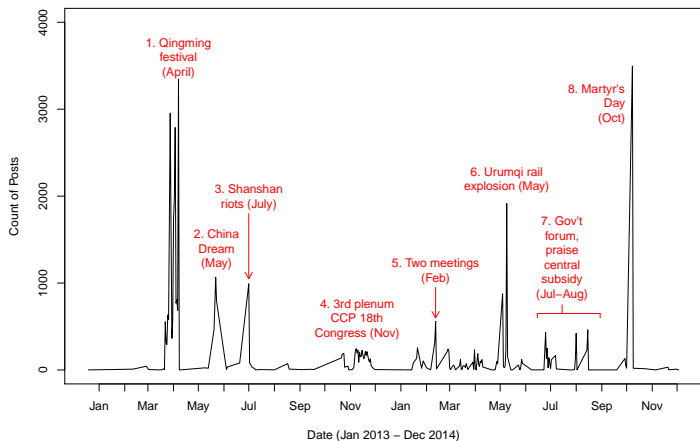


43,797 Zhanggong 50c Posts: Highly Coordinated



- Coordinated bursts, many for events with collective action potential

43,797 Zhanggong 50c Posts: Highly Coordinated



- Coordinated bursts, many for events with collective action potential
- A clear measure of government intent.

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions? Let's ask them(!)

- Not your optimal survey respondents:

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- Not your optimal survey respondents:
 - Their job:

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- Not your optimal survey respondents:
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*,

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- Not your optimal survey respondents:
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- Not your optimal survey respondents:
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- Not your optimal survey respondents:
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- Not your optimal survey respondents:
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- Not your optimal survey respondents:
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more
- The Survey:

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- Not your optimal survey respondents:
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more
- The Survey:
 - *Random sample* of predicted 50c accounts

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- **Not your optimal survey respondents:**
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more
- **The Survey:**
 - *Random sample* of predicted 50c accounts
 - Follow extensive literature on asking sensitive questions

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- Not your optimal survey respondents:
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more
- The Survey:
 - *Random sample* of predicted 50c accounts
 - Follow extensive literature on asking sensitive questions
 - Carefully study local social media context

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- **Not your optimal survey respondents:**
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more
- **The Survey:**
 - *Random sample* of predicted 50c accounts
 - Follow extensive literature on asking sensitive questions
 - Carefully study local social media context
 - Administer *double blind* survey via direct messaging

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- **Not your optimal survey respondents:**
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more
- **The Survey:**
 - *Random sample* of predicted 50c accounts
 - Follow extensive literature on asking sensitive questions
 - Carefully study local social media context
 - Administer *double blind* survey via direct messaging
 - Specially designed, pre-tested survey question:

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- **Not your optimal survey respondents:**
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more
- **The Survey:**
 - *Random sample* of predicted 50c accounts
 - Follow extensive literature on asking sensitive questions
 - Carefully study local social media context
 - Administer *double blind* survey via direct messaging
 - Specially designed, pre-tested survey question: *"I saw your comment, it's really inspiring, I want to ask, do you have any public opinion guidance management, or online commenting experience?"*

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- **Not your optimal survey respondents:**
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more
- **The Survey:**
 - *Random sample* of predicted 50c accounts
 - Follow extensive literature on asking sensitive questions
 - Carefully study local social media context
 - Administer *double blind* survey via direct messaging
 - Specially designed, pre-tested survey question: *"I saw your comment, it's really inspiring, I want to ask, do you have any public opinion guidance management, or online commenting experience?"*
- **Validating the Validation**

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- **Not your optimal survey respondents:**
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more
- **The Survey:**
 - *Random sample* of predicted 50c accounts
 - Follow extensive literature on asking sensitive questions
 - Carefully study local social media context
 - Administer *double blind* survey via direct messaging
 - Specially designed, pre-tested survey question: *"I saw your comment, it's really inspiring, I want to ask, do you have any public opinion guidance management, or online commenting experience?"*
- **Validating the Validation**
 - Ask same question of random sample of *known* 50c (from Zhanggong)

How Can We Validate 50c Party Membership Predictions?

Let's ask them(!)

- **Not your optimal survey respondents:**
 - Their job: to intentionally *mislead*, about the subject of the survey
 - Take orders from an *uncompromising government*
 - Their *employer*: The government
 - *Potentially at stake*: their job, or more
- **The Survey:**
 - *Random sample* of predicted 50c accounts
 - Follow extensive literature on asking sensitive questions
 - Carefully study local social media context
 - Administer *double blind* survey via direct messaging
 - Specially designed, pre-tested survey question: *"I saw your comment, it's really inspiring, I want to ask, do you have any public opinion guidance management, or online commenting experience?"*
- **Validating the Validation**
 - Ask same question of random sample of *known* 50c (from Zhanggong)
 - Ask same question of accounts *known not to be* 50c

Survey Validation of 50c Party Membership Predictions

Survey Validation of 50c Party Membership Predictions

50c Status

Origin

Percent Yes

Survey Validation of 50c Party Membership Predictions

| 50c Status | Origin | Percent Yes |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| Predicted 50c | Across China | |

Survey Validation of 50c Party Membership Predictions

| 50c Status | Origin | Percent Yes |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| Predicted 50c | Across China | 59% |

Survey Validation of 50c Party Membership Predictions

| 50c Status | Origin | Percent Yes |
|---------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Predicted 50c | Across China | 59% |
| Known 50c | Leaked Zhanggong Archive | |

Survey Validation of 50c Party Membership Predictions

| 50c Status | Origin | Percent Yes |
|---------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Predicted 50c | Across China | 59% |
| Known 50c | Leaked Zhanggong Archive | 57% |

Survey Validation of 50c Party Membership Predictions

| 50c Status | Origin | Percent Yes |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Predicted 50c | Across China | 59% |
| Known 50c | Leaked Zhanggong Archive | 57% |
| Known "Not" 50c | Random sample | |

Survey Validation of 50c Party Membership Predictions

| 50c Status | Origin | Percent Yes |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Predicted 50c | Across China | 59% |
| Known 50c | Leaked Zhanggong Archive | 57% |
| Known "Not" 50c | Random sample | 19% |

Survey Validation of 50c Party Membership Predictions

| 50c Status | Origin | Percent Yes |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Predicted 50c | Across China | 59% |
| Known 50c | Leaked Zhanggong Archive | 57% |
| Known "Not" 50c | Random sample | 19% |

not significantly different



Survey Validation of 50c Party Membership Predictions

| 50c Status | Origin | Percent Yes |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| Predicted 50c | Across China | 59% |
| Known 50c | Leaked Zhanggong Archive | 57% |
| Known "Not" 50c | Random sample | 19% |

significantly different



Validation by the Chinese Government

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . .

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government,

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues... does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?”

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues... does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government,

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said:

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues... does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”
- Why would they do this?

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues... does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”
- Why would they do this?
 - Editorial: “Chinese society is generally in agreement regarding the necessity of ‘public opinion guidance’ ”

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues... does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”
- Why would they do this?
 - Editorial: “Chinese society is generally in agreement regarding the necessity of ‘public opinion guidance’ ” — a testable hypothesis!

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”
- Why would they do this?
 - Editorial: “Chinese society is generally in agreement regarding the necessity of ‘public opinion guidance’ ” — a testable hypothesis!
 - Supportive comments on the nationalist website:

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues... does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”
- Why would they do this?
 - Editorial: “Chinese society is generally in agreement regarding the necessity of ‘public opinion guidance’ ” — a testable hypothesis!
 - Supportive comments on the nationalist website: 82%

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”
- Why would they do this?
 - Editorial: “Chinese society is generally in agreement regarding the necessity of ‘public opinion guidance’ ” — a testable hypothesis!
 - Supportive comments on the nationalist website: 82%
 - Supportive posts on (more representative) Weibo:

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues... does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”
- Why would they do this?
 - Editorial: “Chinese society is generally in agreement regarding the necessity of ‘public opinion guidance’ ” — a testable hypothesis!
 - Supportive comments on the nationalist website: 82%
 - Supportive posts on (more representative) Weibo: 30%

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues... does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”
- Why would they do this?
 - Editorial: “Chinese society is generally in agreement regarding the necessity of ‘public opinion guidance’ ” — a testable hypothesis!
 - Supportive comments on the nationalist website: 82%
 - Supportive posts on (more representative) Weibo: 30%
 - Results indicate:

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues... does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”
- Why would they do this?
 - Editorial: “Chinese society is generally in agreement regarding the necessity of ‘public opinion guidance’ ” — a testable hypothesis!
 - Supportive comments on the nationalist website: 82%
 - Supportive posts on (more representative) Weibo: 30%
 - Results indicate: figures are accurate,

Validation by the Chinese Government

- Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues. . . does not last
- The Chinese government responds with an editorial in the nationalist, CCP-controlled *Global Times*:
 - Published only in Chinese, revealing a focus only on their own people
 - Admits to the existence of the 50c party
 - Confirms veracity of our leaked archive
 - Summarizes our results, takes no issue with any of our conclusions
 - Acknowledges the purpose of public opinion guidance is to stop the spread of “grassroots social issues” with collective action potential
- ≈ posing a survey question to the government, “Do you agree with our results?” And the government, effectively said: “yes”
- Why would they do this?
 - Editorial: “Chinese society is generally in agreement regarding the necessity of ‘public opinion guidance’ ” — a testable hypothesis!
 - Supportive comments on the nationalist website: 82%
 - Supportive posts on (more representative) Weibo: 30%
 - Results indicate: figures are accurate, the regime has a problem

Conclusions and Extensions

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism:

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring,

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - **Allow criticism:** No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances
- Some other examples of “Allow criticism, Stop collective action”

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances
- Some other examples of “Allow criticism, Stop collective action”
 - Candidates in democracies: Disagreement? No problem;

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances
- Some other examples of “Allow criticism, Stop collective action”
 - Candidates in democracies: Disagreement? No problem; Opposition campaign? Big problem

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances
- Some other examples of “Allow criticism, Stop collective action”
 - Candidates in democracies: Disagreement? No problem; Opposition campaign? Big problem
 - CEOs: Disagreement? No problem;

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances
- Some other examples of “Allow criticism, Stop collective action”
 - Candidates in democracies: Disagreement? No problem; Opposition campaign? Big problem
 - CEOs: Disagreement? No problem; Boycott, strike, shareholder activism? Big problem

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - **Allow criticism:** No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - **Stop collective action:**
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances
- Some other examples of “Allow criticism, Stop collective action”
 - **Candidates in democracies:** Disagreement? No problem; Opposition campaign? Big problem
 - **CEOs:** Disagreement? No problem; Boycott, strike, shareholder activism? Big problem
 - **Teachers:** Disagreement? No problem;

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - **Allow criticism:** No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - **Stop collective action:**
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances
- **Some other examples of “Allow criticism, Stop collective action”**
 - **Candidates in democracies:** Disagreement? No problem; Opposition campaign? Big problem
 - **CEOs:** Disagreement? No problem; Boycott, strike, shareholder activism? Big problem
 - **Teachers:** Disagreement? No problem; Boycotts, protests? Big problem

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances
- Some other examples of “Allow criticism, Stop collective action”
 - Candidates in democracies: Disagreement? No problem; Opposition campaign? Big problem
 - CEOs: Disagreement? No problem; Boycott, strike, shareholder activism? Big problem
 - Teachers: Disagreement? No problem; Boycotts, protests? Big problem
 - University presidents: Disagreement? No problem.

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances
- Some other examples of “Allow criticism, Stop collective action”
 - Candidates in democracies: Disagreement? No problem; Opposition campaign? Big problem
 - CEOs: Disagreement? No problem; Boycott, strike, shareholder activism? Big problem
 - Teachers: Disagreement? No problem; Boycotts, protests? Big problem
 - University presidents: Disagreement? No problem. Sit in, Protest, vote of no confidence? Big problem

Conclusions and Extensions

- Chinese government information controls leave big footprints
- Chinese Propaganda Office Rules
 - Allow criticism: No Censoring, No 50c Party Posts
 - Stop collective action:
 - Censor real-world collective action discussions
 - Distract with 50c Party Posts (cheerleading and positive valence)
 - Respond to actual grievances
- Some other examples of “Allow criticism, Stop collective action”
 - Candidates in democracies: Disagreement? No problem; Opposition campaign? Big problem
 - CEOs: Disagreement? No problem; Boycott, strike, shareholder activism? Big problem
 - Teachers: Disagreement? No problem; Boycotts, protests? Big problem
 - University presidents: Disagreement? No problem. Sit in, Protest, vote of no confidence? Big problem

For more information: GaryKing.org/china