How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument¹

Gary King²

Institute for Quantitative Social Science Harvard University

Issues and Methodological Challenges in the Study of Contemporary Chinese Politics, National Taiwanese University and Harvard

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

²GaryKing.org

 ${\sf Copies} \ {\sf at} \ {\sf GaryKing.org}$

• Empirical Results:

- Empirical Results:
 - How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (APSR)

- Empirical Results:
 - How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (APSR)
 - Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (Science)

Empirical Results:

- 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; in press, APSR)

- Empirical Results:
 - 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; in press, APSR)
- Automated Text Analysis Methods:

• Empirical Results:

- 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; in press, APSR)
- Automated Text Analysis Methods:
 - General Purpose Computer-Assisted Clustering and Conceptualization (PNAS)

• Empirical Results:

- 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; in press, APSR)
- Automated Text Analysis Methods:
 - General Purpose Computer-Assisted Clustering and Conceptualization (PNAS)
 - A Method of Automated Nonparametric Content Analysis for Social Science (AJPS)

• Empirical Results:

- 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; in press, APSR)
- 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 (in press, AJPS)

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

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

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

- 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?

- 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?
 - Stop criticism of the state

- 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?
 - Stop criticism of the state
 - Stop collective action

- 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?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - Stop collective action

- 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?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - Stop collective action Right

- 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?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - Stop collective action Right
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!

- 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?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - Stop collective action Right
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders:

- 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?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - Stop collective action Right
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders:
 - measure criticism: to judge local officials

- 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?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - 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

- 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?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - 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:

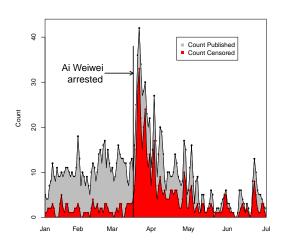
- E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
 Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state, its leaders, and their policies Wrong
- What Could be the Goal?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - Stop collective action Right
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders: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

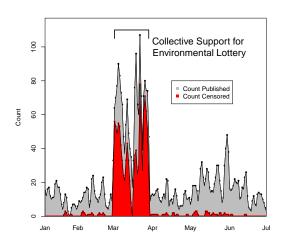
- E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
 Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state, its leaders, and their policies Wrong
- What Could be the Goal?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - Stop collective action Right
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders: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

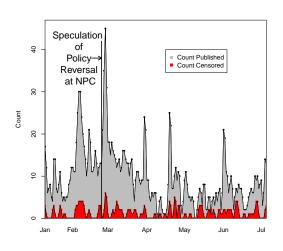
- E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
 Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state, its leaders, and their policies Wrong
- What Could be the Goal?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - Stop collective action Right
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders: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

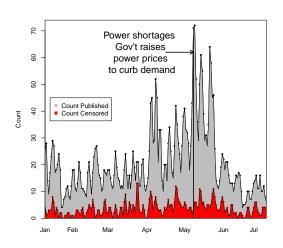
- E.g., Everyone knows the goal of censorship:
 Stop criticism, protest, & collective action about the state, its leaders, and their policies Wrong
- What Could be the Goal?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - Stop collective action Right
- Implications: Social Media is Actionable!
 - Chinese leaders: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

- 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?
 - Stop criticism of the state Wrong
 - 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









Goal of China's 50c Party

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

 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

 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!

 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?

 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;

 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";

 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;

 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!

 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

- 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

- 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

• Decipher Leaked emails

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

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

- 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

- 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

- 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!)

- 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)

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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 <u>known</u> 50c cent posts
 - Map patterns of 50c workers: who, what, where, when, why
- Extrapolate to the rest of China

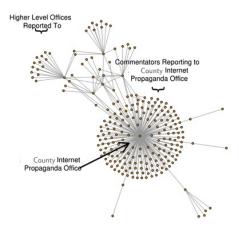
- Decipher Leaked emails
 - to: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data → systematized (hard to do!)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797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

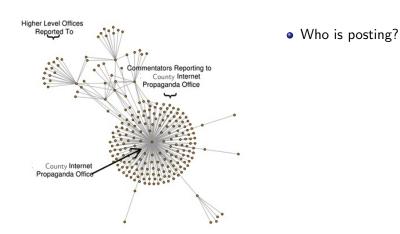
- Decipher Leaked emails
 - to: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data → systematized (hard to do!)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797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

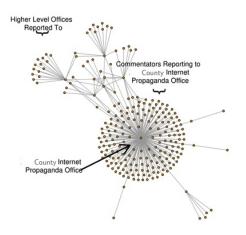
- Decipher Leaked emails
 - to: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data → systematized (hard to do!)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797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

- 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

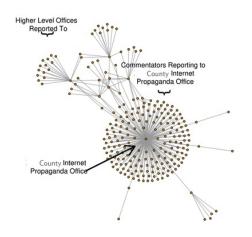
- Decipher Leaked emails
 - to: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
 - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
 - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
 - Large, unstructured, messy data → systematized (hard to do!)
 - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
 - 1,245 contained 50c posts
 - 43,797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



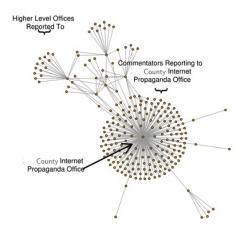




- Who is posting?
 - Prevailing view: ordinary citizens getting paid 50c to make each post



- 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



- 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)

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

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

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

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:

- 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
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:
 - **1** Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 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
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:
 - 1 Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 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
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:
 - Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - Operation accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists)

- 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
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:
 - Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into ordinary (59%)

- 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
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:
 - 1 Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into ordinary (59%) & exclusive (41%)

- 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
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:
 - **1** Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into ordinary (59%) & exclusive (41%)
 - → Accounts that engage with Zhanggong weibo

- 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
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:
 - Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into ordinary (59%) & exclusive (41%)
 - → Accounts that engage with Zhanggong weibo
 - \hookrightarrow \leq 10 followers

- 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

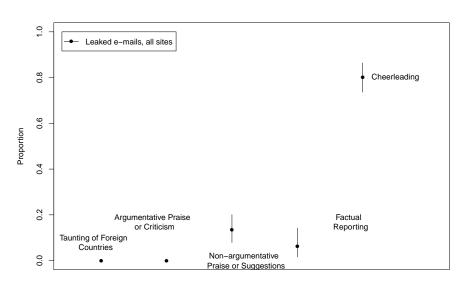
- Cheerleading
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:
 - Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into ordinary (59%) & exclusive (41%)
 - → Accounts that engage with Zhanggong weibo
 - \hookrightarrow \leq 10 followers
 - 4 Unleaked posts from Zhanggong exclusive 50c weibo accounts

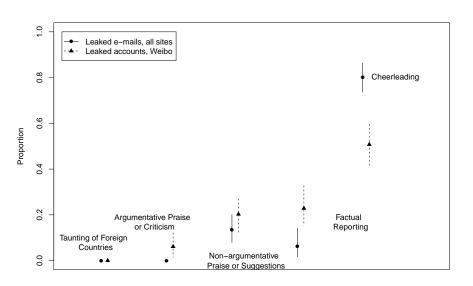
- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories ("readme," Hopkins & King 2010)
 - Taunting of foreign countries

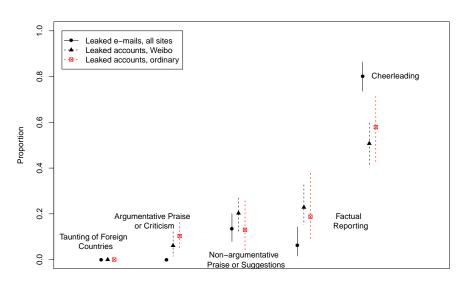
(prevailing view)

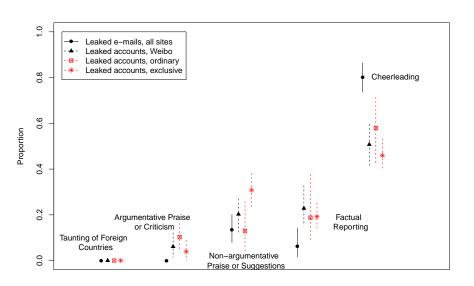
- Argumentative praise or criticism
- Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
- Factual reporting

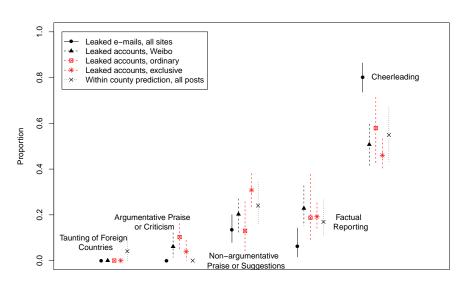
- Cheerleading
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:
 - Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
 - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
 - Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into ordinary (59%) & exclusive (41%)
 - → Accounts that engage with Zhanggong weibo
 - \hookrightarrow < 10 followers
 - Unleaked posts from Zhanggong exclusive 50c weibo accounts
 - Unleaked posts from exclusive 50c weibo accounts across China

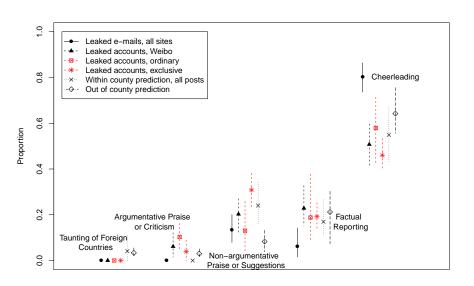












• Number of social media posts in China:

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

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

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

- 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:

- 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 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:

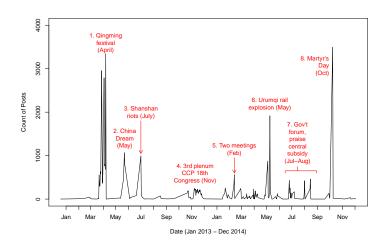
- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216
- Number of 50c Posts in Jiangxi Province: 10.65 M
- Number of 50c Posts in China: 448 M

- 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 noticable proportion of all)

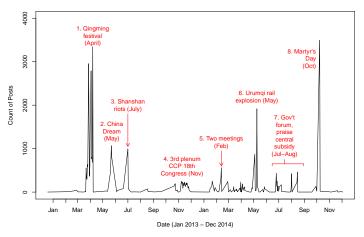
- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216
- Number of 50c Posts in Jiangxi Province: 10.65 M
- Number of 50c Posts in China: 448 M
 - 53% on government sites (a noticable proportion of all)
 - 47% on commercial sites (1 of every 178 posts)

43,797 Zhanggong 50c Posts: Highly Coordinated

43,797 Zhanggong 50c Posts: Highly Coordinated

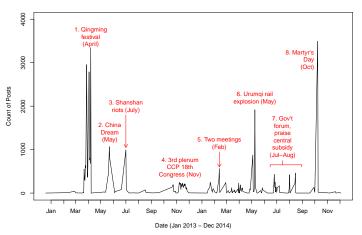


43,797 Zhanggong 50c Posts: Highly Coordinated



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?

Not your optimal survey respondents:

- Not your optimal survey respondents:
 - Their job:

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

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

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

- 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

- 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

- 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:

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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:

• 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?"

- 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

• 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)

• 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

50c Status	Origin	Percent Yes

50c Status	Origin	Percent Yes
Predicted 50c	Across China	

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

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

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

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

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

50c Status	Origin	Percent Yes
Predicted 50c	Across China	59%
Known 50c	Leaked Zhanggong Archive	57% ←
Known "Not" 50c	Random sample	19%
	nc	ot significantly different

50c Status	Origin	Percent Yes
Predicted 50c	Across China	59%
Known 50c	Leaked Zhanggong Archive	57%
Known "Not" 50c	Random sample	19% ←
	S	ignificantly different

• Privately sharing draft paper among colleagues...

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

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

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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
- ullet pprox posing a survey question to the 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?"

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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?

- 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'"

- 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!

- 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:

- 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%

- 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
- 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:

- 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
- 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%

- 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
- 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:

- 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,

- 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

• For China:

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to
 - ↓ common knowledge of grievances

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to
 - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to
 - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
 - We find: China has two versions of common knowledge

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to
 - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
 - We find: China has two versions of common knowledge
 - Grievances (allowed)

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to
 - ↓ common knowledge of grievances
 → ↑ cost of coordination
 - We find: China has two versions of common knowledge
 - Grievances (allowed) no problem, already well known

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to
 - ↓ common knowledge of grievances
 → ↑ cost of coordination
 - We find: China has two versions of common knowledge
 - Grievances (allowed) no problem, already well known
 - Collective action (not allowed)

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to
 - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
 - We find: China has two versions of common knowledge
 - Grievances (allowed) no problem, already well known
 - Collective action (not allowed) big problem, emergency action required

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to
 - ↓ common knowledge of grievances
 → ↑ cost of coordination
 - We find: China has two versions of common knowledge
 - Grievances (allowed) no problem, already well known
 - Collective action (not allowed) big problem, emergency action required
 - Arguments never end arguments; but distraction does

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to
 - ↓ common knowledge of grievances
 → ↑ cost of coordination
 - We find: China has two versions of common knowledge
 - Grievances (allowed) no problem, already well known
 - Collective action (not allowed) big problem, emergency action required
 - Arguments never end arguments; but distraction does
- For future research:

- For China:
 - Do not engage on controversial issues:
 - No censoring of criticism
 - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
 - Stop collective action:
 - Respond to grievances to prevent collective action
 - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
 - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- For authoritarian regimes:
 - Scholars have thought autocrats want to
 - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
 - We find: China has two versions of common knowledge
 - Grievances (allowed) no problem, already well known
 - Collective action (not allowed) big problem, emergency action required
 - Arguments never end arguments; but distraction does
- For future research:
 - When studied at scale, chinese government information controls leave big footprints.

For more information



 ${\sf GaryKing.org}$

JenPan.com

MargaretRoberts.net