## How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument<sup>1</sup>

Gary King<sup>2</sup>

Institute for Quantitative Social Science Harvard University

Pacific Information Operations Symposium, 11/8/2016

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Based on joint work with Jennifer Pan (Stanford) and Margaret Roberts (UCSD)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>GaryKing.org

• Empirical Results:

- Empirical Results:
  - Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (Science)

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

#### • Empirical Results:

- Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (Science)
- How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (APSR)
- How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument (Today's presentation)

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

#### • Empirical Results:

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

#### • Empirical Results:

- Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (Science)
- How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (APSR)
- How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument (Today's presentation)
- 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:

- Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship (Science)
- How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression (APSR)
- How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument (Today's presentation)
- 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

 $\bullet$  > 1,400 diverse sites, fast changing, technological arm's race



• > 1,400 diverse sites, fast changing, technological arm's race



 Compared to contested physical spaces (e.g., South China Sea), social media:

• > 1,400 diverse sites, fast changing, technological arm's race



 Compared to contested physical spaces (e.g., South China Sea), social media: is more consequential for the regime & its people,

• > 1,400 diverse sites, fast changing, technological arm's race



 Compared to contested physical spaces (e.g., South China Sea), social media: is more consequential for the regime & its people, has more intrusive government controls,

3/17

> 1,400 diverse sites, fast changing, technological arm's race



 Compared to contested physical spaces (e.g., South China Sea), social media: is more consequential for the regime & its people, has more intrusive government controls, and is more contested.

3/17

• A huge organization:

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media
  - "The Great Firewall"

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media
  - "The Great Firewall"
  - Automated keyword-based filtering

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media
  - "The Great Firewall"
  - Automated keyword-based filtering
  - Human post-level censorship

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media
  - "The Great Firewall"
  - Automated keyword-based filtering
  - Human post-level censorship
  - Search filtering

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media
  - "The Great Firewall"
  - Automated keyword-based filtering
  - Human post-level censorship
  - Search filtering
  - → The largest selective suppression of human expression in history

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media
  - "The Great Firewall"
  - Automated keyword-based filtering
  - Human post-level censorship
  - Search filtering
  - → The largest selective suppression of human expression in history
- (Rumors of) as many as 2M government "astroturfers":

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media
  - "The Great Firewall"
  - Automated keyword-based filtering
  - Human post-level censorship
  - Search filtering
  - → The largest selective suppression of human expression in history
- (Rumors of) as many as 2M government "astroturfers":
  - Post fabricated social media comments,

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media
  - "The Great Firewall"
  - Automated keyword-based filtering
  - Human post-level censorship
  - Search filtering
  - → The largest selective suppression of human expression in history
- (Rumors of) as many as 2M government "astroturfers":
  - Post fabricated social media comments, as if they were opinions of ordinary people

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media
  - "The Great Firewall"
  - Automated keyword-based filtering
  - Human post-level censorship
  - Search filtering
  - → The largest selective suppression of human expression in history
- (Rumors of) as many as 2M government "astroturfers":
  - Post fabricated social media comments, as if they were opinions of ordinary people
  - Official name: "Internet commentators"

- A huge organization:
  - (obviously) designed to suppress, distort, and control information
  - (we find, paradoxically) reveals the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership
- (Well known) media controls:
  - High level of control over traditional media
  - "The Great Firewall"
  - Automated keyword-based filtering
  - Human post-level censorship
  - Search filtering
  - → The largest selective suppression of human expression in history
- (Rumors of) as many as 2M government "astroturfers":
  - Post fabricated social media comments, as if they were opinions of ordinary people
  - Official name: "Internet commentators"
  - Common name: "50c Party" members

#### The Regime's Goals make Social Media Analysis Actionable

## The Regime's Goals make Social Media Analysis Actionable

[One Page Summary of our Prior Work]

# The Regime's Goals make Social Media Analysis Actionable [One Page Summary of our Prior Work]

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

# The Regime's Goals make Social Media Analysis Actionable [One Page Summary of our Prior Work]

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

# The Regime's Goals make Social Media Analysis Actionable [One Page Summary of our Prior Work]

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

# The Regime's Goals make Social Media Analysis Actionable [One Page Summary of our Prior Work]

- 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?

# The Regime's Goals make Social Media Analysis Actionable [One Page Summary of our Prior Work]

- 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

# The Regime's Goals make Social Media Analysis Actionable [One Page Summary of our Prior Work]

- 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

# The Regime's Goals make Social Media Analysis Actionable [One Page Summary of our Prior Work]

- 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
  - 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

- 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

• 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

"posting information favorable to the regime and chastising its critics" (Deibert and Rohozinski, 2010)

 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

"undercover pro-government Internet commenters" (Foreign Policy)

 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

"neutralize undesirable public opinion by pushing pro-Party views" (Far Eastern Economic Review)

 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

> "If you oppose the US and Japan [online], you are a member of the 50 cents army" (artist-dissident Ai Weiwei)

 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

"Combat hostile energy [which should be] resolutely resisted, proactively refuted, and eagerly reported to Internet authorities" (Haley, 2012)

 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

We collected people accused on social media of being 50c:

 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

We collected people accused on social media of being 50c: 65% *argue* with critics of the regime

 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

#### First Systematic Evidence on China's 50c Party

• Leaked emails: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)

- Leaked emails: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
  - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts

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

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

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

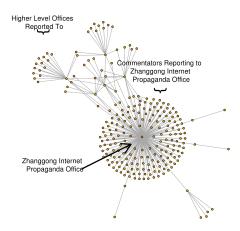
- Leaked emails: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
  - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
  - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
  - Large, unstructured, messy data → systematized (hard to do!)
    - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)

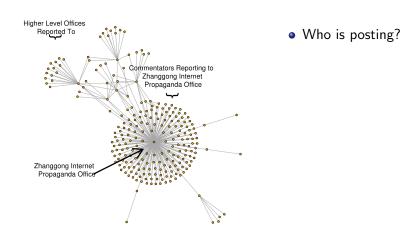
- Leaked emails: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
  - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
  - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
  - Large, unstructured, messy data → systematized (hard to do!)
    - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
    - 1,245 contained 50c posts

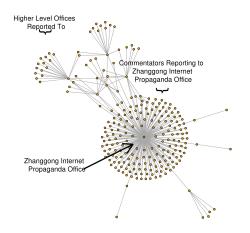
- Leaked emails: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
  - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
  - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
  - Large, unstructured, messy data → systematized (hard to do!)
    - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
    - 1,245 contained 50c posts
    - 43,797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

- Leaked emails: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
  - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
  - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
  - 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
- Survey 1: 50c party members

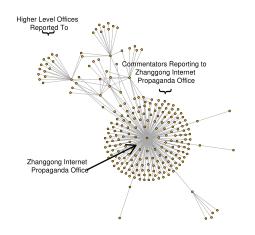
- Leaked emails: Zhanggong Internet Propaganda Office (网宣办)
  - Workers claiming credit for their 50c posts
  - On the web, but overlooked and ignored
  - Large, unstructured, messy data → systematized (hard to do!)
    - 2,341 emails (covering 2013 & 2014)
    - 1,245 contained 50c posts
    - 43,797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



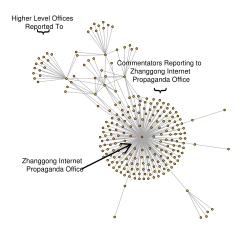




- Who is posting?
  - Prevailing view: ordinary citizens getting paid 50c to make each post



- 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

• 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:
  - 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:
  - 1 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:
  - 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:
  - 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:
  - **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
    - $\hookrightarrow$   $\leq$  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:
  - 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
    - $\hookrightarrow$   $\leq$  10 followers
  - Unleaked posts from Zhanggong exclusive 50c weibo accounts

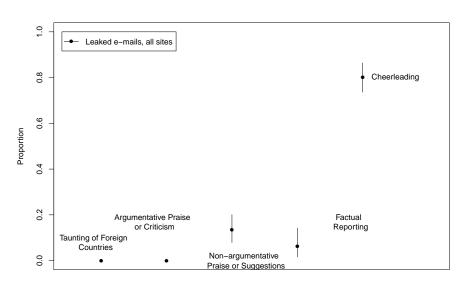
- Estimate distribution of posts across 5 categories ("readme," Hopkins & King 2010)
  - Taunting of foreign countries

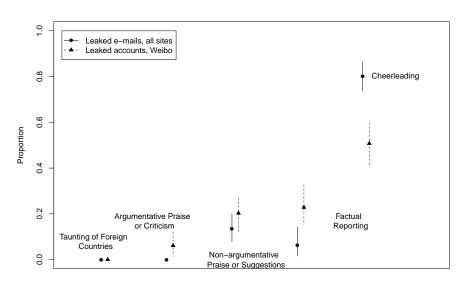
(prevailing view)

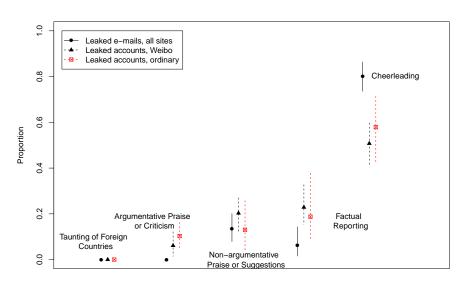
- Argumentative praise or criticism
- Non-argumentative praise or suggestions
- Factual reporting

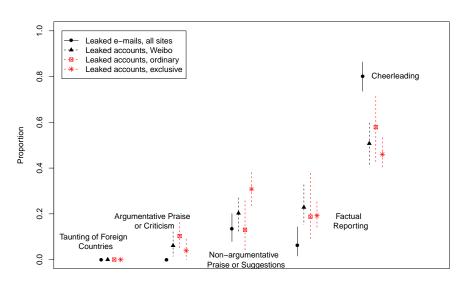
- Cheerleading
- Separate analyses from Zhanggong to China:
  - Leaked Zhanggong 50c posts: 43,797 posts
  - 2 Leaked Zhanggong 50c weibo accounts: 167,971 posts
  - 3 Partition accounts for extrapolation (using Bayesian falling rule lists) into ordinary (59%) & exclusive (41%)
    - → Accounts that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

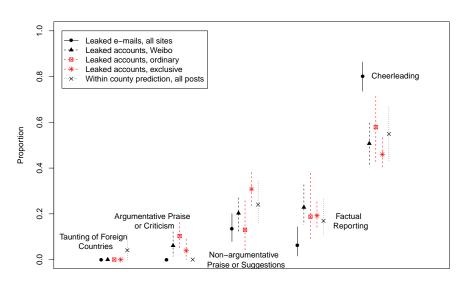
#### Content of Leaked and Predicted 50c Party Posts

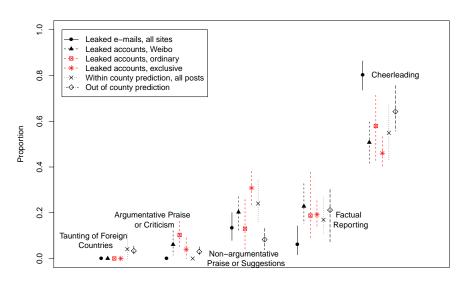












• Number of social media posts in China:

• 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:

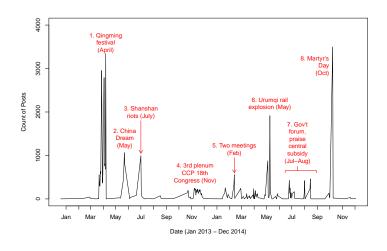
- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216
- Number of 50c Posts in Jiangxi Province: 10.65 M
- Number of 50c Posts in China: 448 M

- 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)

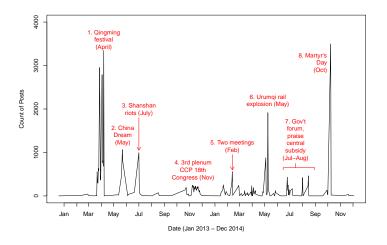
- Number of social media posts in China: >80.4 B
- Number of 50c Posts in Zhanggong: 154,216
- Number of 50c Posts in Jiangxi Province: 10.65 M
- Number of 50c Posts in China: 448 M
  - 53% on government sites (a noticable proportion of all)
  - 47% on commercial sites (1 of every 178 posts)

# 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

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?"

## 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

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%

Predicted v. known: not significantly different

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

Predicted v. known: not significantly different Predicted v. not known: significantly 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
  - Gives their first open admission 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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  $\approx$  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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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:

- 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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"

- 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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:

- 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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%

- 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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:

- 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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
  - Gives their first open admission to the existence of the 50c party
  - Offers tacit confirmation of the 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 & felt the need to explain its behavior to its people

• China's strategy:

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism

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

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

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to
    - ↓ common knowledge of grievances

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to
    - ↓ common knowledge of grievances  $\leadsto$  ↑ cost of coordination

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to
    - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
  - China differentiates 2 versions of common knowledge:

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to
    - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
  - China differentiates 2 versions of common knowledge:
    - Grievances (allowed)

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to
    - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
  - China differentiates 2 versions of common knowledge:
    - Grievances (allowed)
    - Collective action (not allowed)

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to
    - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
  - China differentiates 2 versions of common knowledge:
    - Grievances (allowed) [no problem, already well known]
    - Collective action (not allowed)

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to
    - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
  - China differentiates 2 versions of common knowledge:
    - Grievances (allowed) [no problem, already well known]
    - Collective action (not allowed) [big problem, emergency action required]

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to
    - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
  - China differentiates 2 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

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to
    - ↓ common knowledge of grievances → ↑ cost of coordination
  - China differentiates 2 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
- Implications for future research:

- China's strategy:
  - Do not engage on controversial issues:
    - No censoring of criticism
    - No 50c posts arguing against criticism
  - Stop collective action:
    - Censor discussion of real-world collective action
    - Distract with cheerleading and positive valence
- Implications for authoritarian regimes:
  - We usually think autocrats want to
    - ↓ common knowledge of grievances 
      → ↑ cost of coordination
  - China differentiates 2 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
- Implications for future research:
  - When studied at scale, government information controls leave big footprints.

#### For more information



 ${\sf GaryKing.org}$ 

JenPan.com

MargaretRoberts.net