

# Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship<sup>1</sup>

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(Talk at the Harvard Alumni Assembly, 20 September 2014)

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<sup>1</sup>Based on joint work with Jennifer Pan and Margaret Roberts

<sup>2</sup>GaryKing.org

- An Observational Study:

*How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression* (*American Political Science Review*, May 2013)

- Experimental and Participatory Studies:

*Reverse Engineering Chinese Censorship* (*Science*, August 2014)

Copies at [GaryKing.org](http://GaryKing.org)

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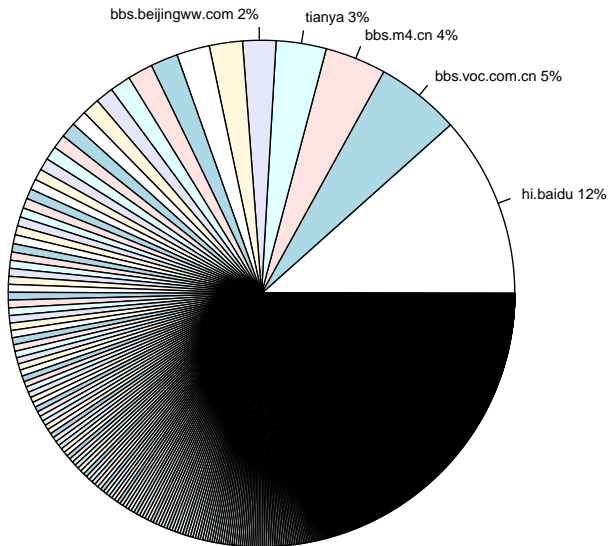
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  - (paradoxically) very revealing about the goals, intentions, and actions of the Chinese leadership

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(Plus 59% from Sina Blog)

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- $\rightsquigarrow$  A big prize, but payable only if we have the goals right

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- 5 **Analyze** with new methods of computer-assisted text analysis

# Censorship is not Ambiguous: Example Error Page



# Censorship is not Ambiguous: BBS Error Page

# 404 ERROR

The page you requested is temporarily down. How about you go look at another page.



你访问的页面暂时找不到了哦。  
去看看别的页面吧

[返回首页](#)

[反馈错误](#)

Jingjing, one of China's cartoon internet police

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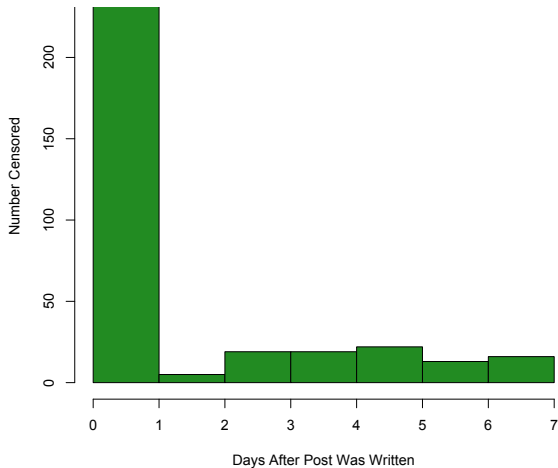
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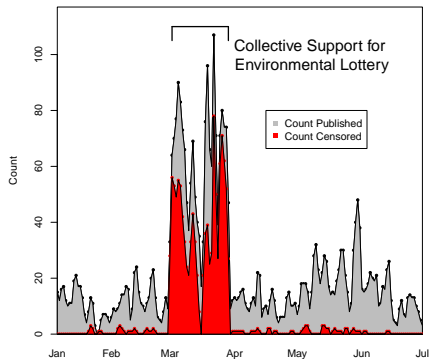
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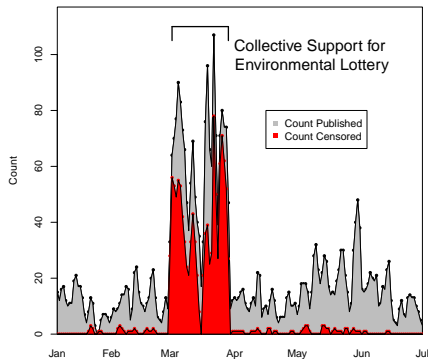


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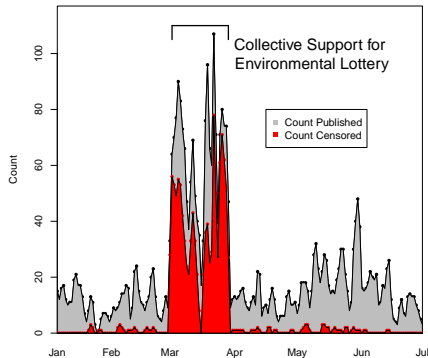


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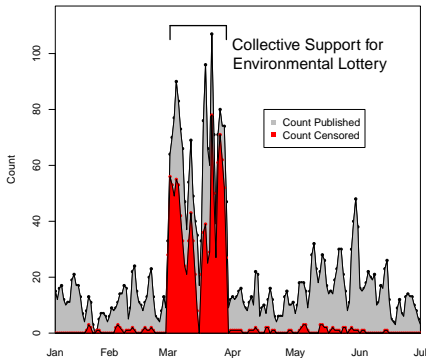
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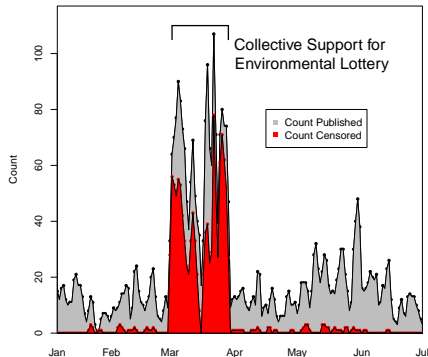
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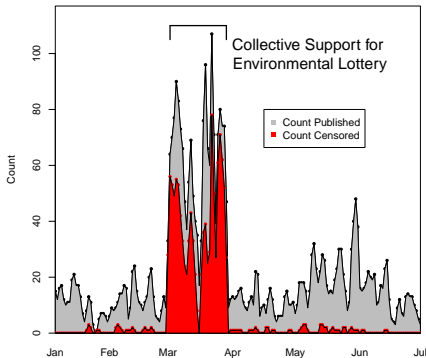
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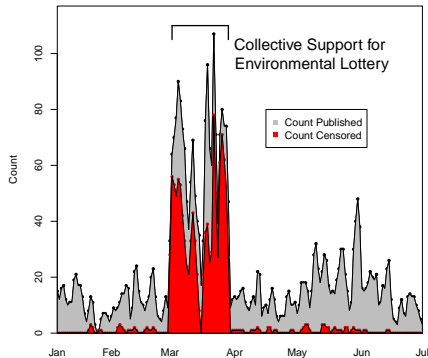
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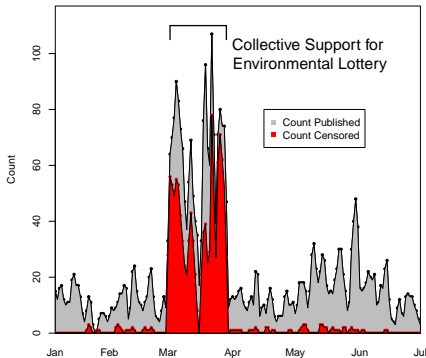
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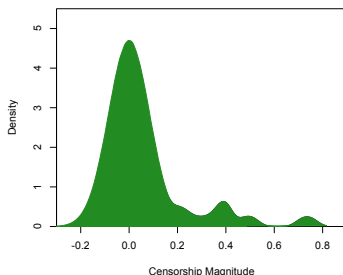
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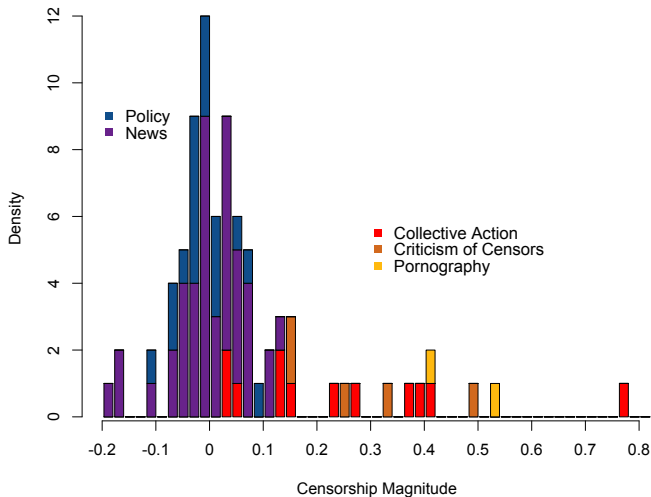
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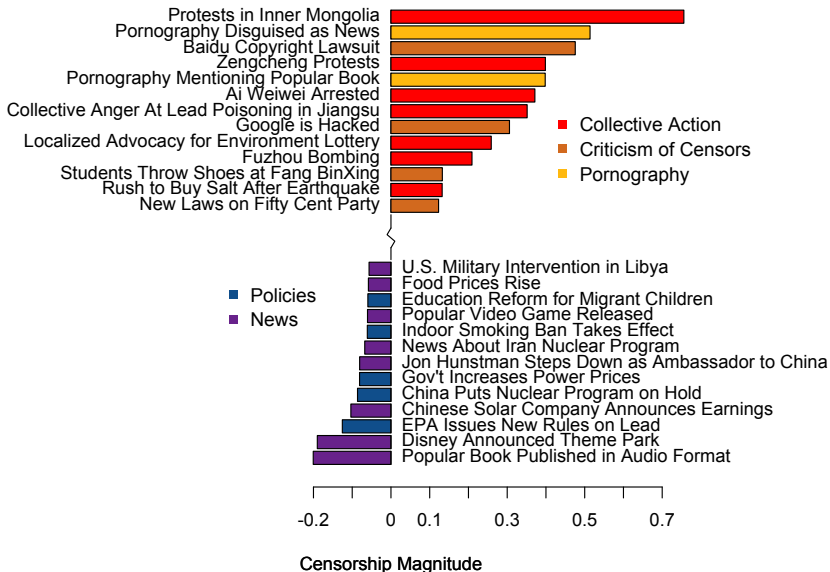
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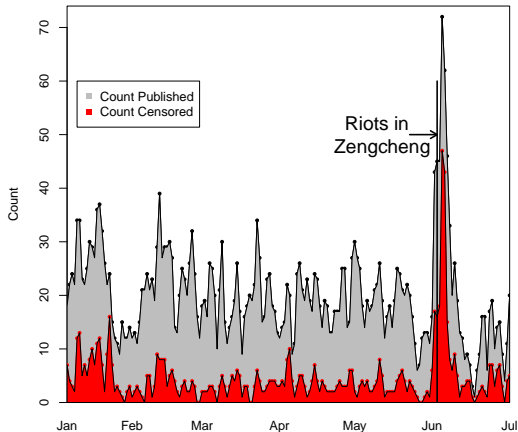
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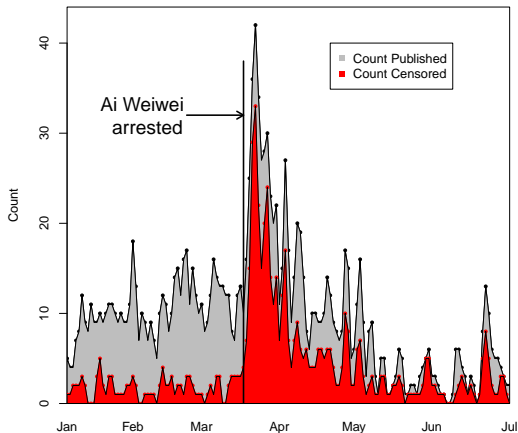
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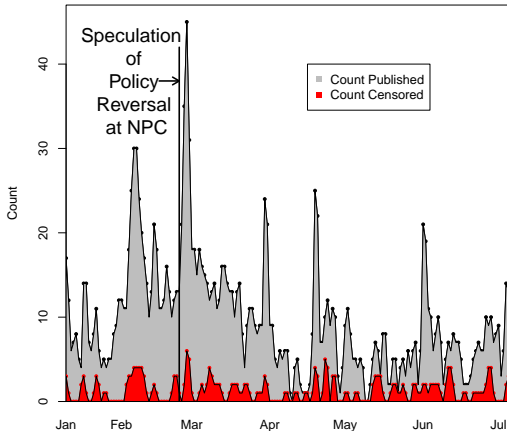
# Censoring Collective Action: Riots in Zencheng



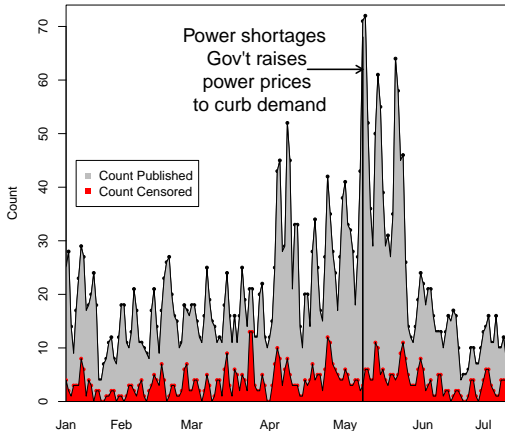
# Censoring Collective Action: Ai Weiwei's Arrest



# Low Censorship on Policy: One Child



# Low Censorship on News: Power Prices



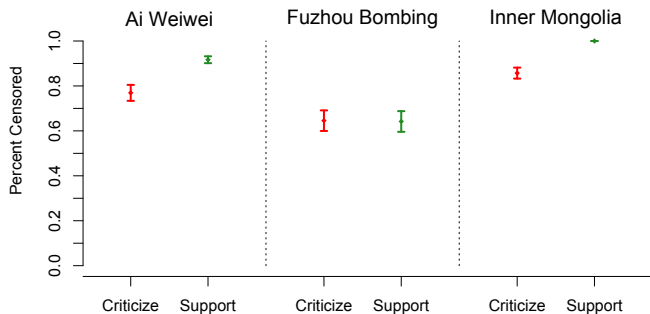
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- 2 Participatory Study (for descriptive inferences)

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  - Selected 100 top social media sites ( $\sim 87\%$  of blogs,  $> 500\text{M}$  Users, geographically diverse)
  
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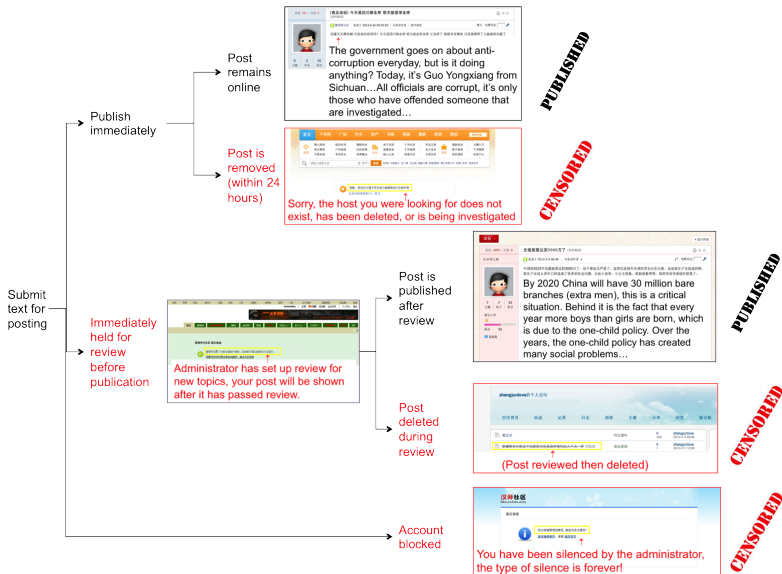
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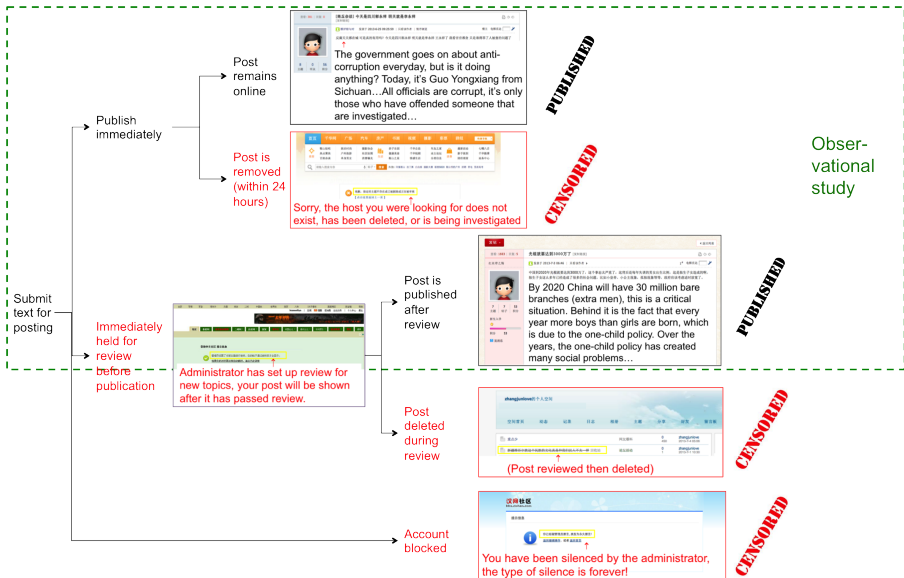
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# Mechanisms of Censorship

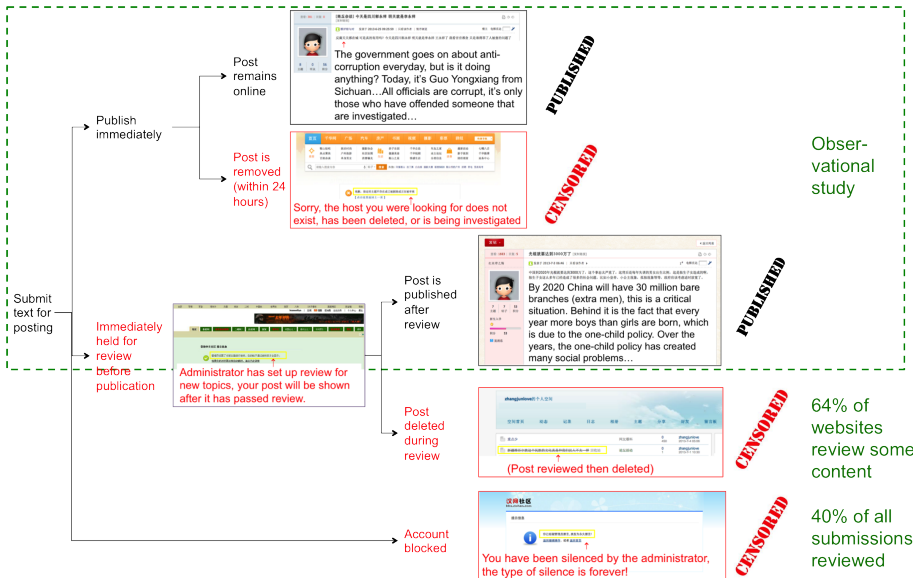
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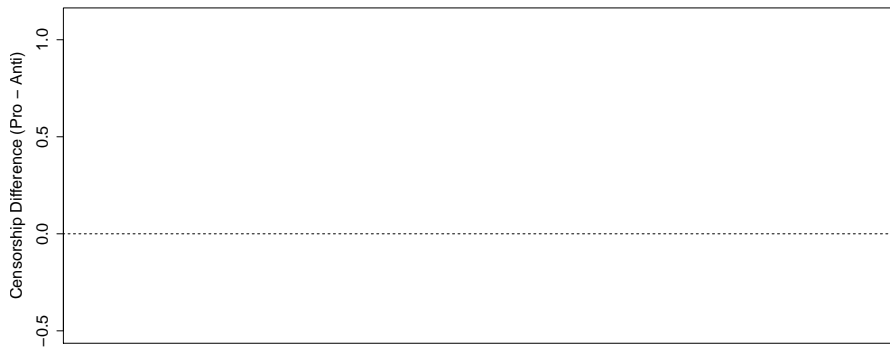


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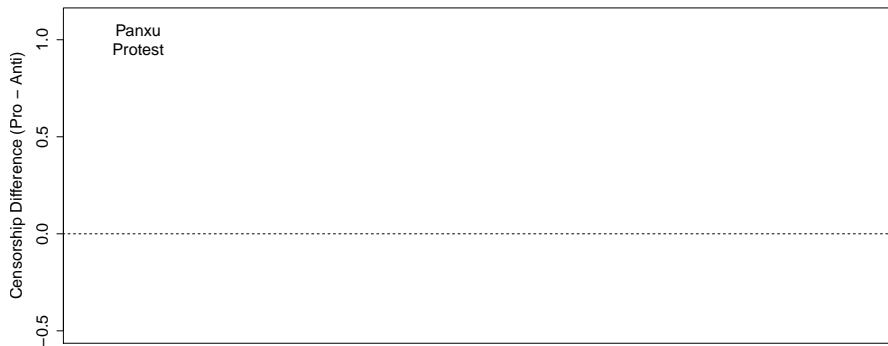


## Posts For v. Against Government: Zero Causal Effect

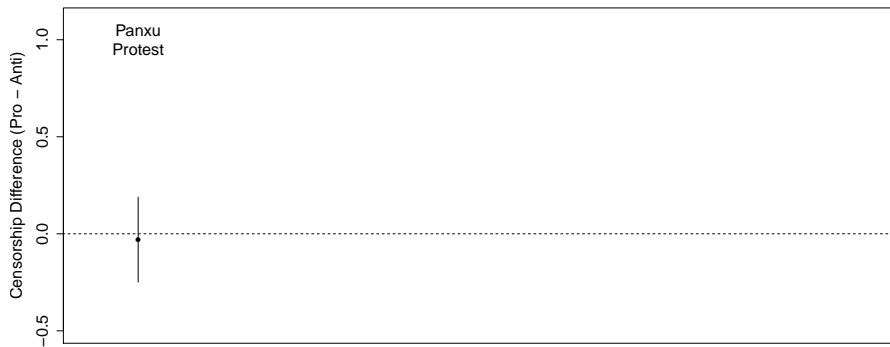
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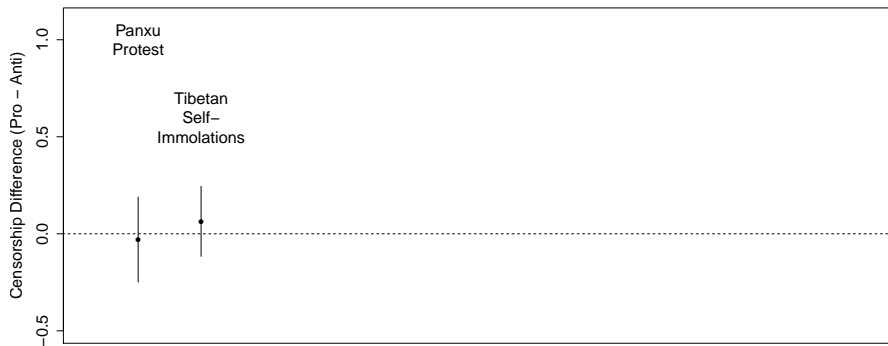
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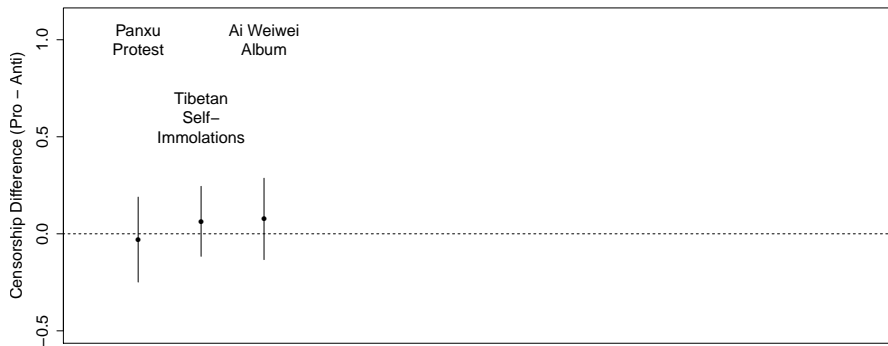
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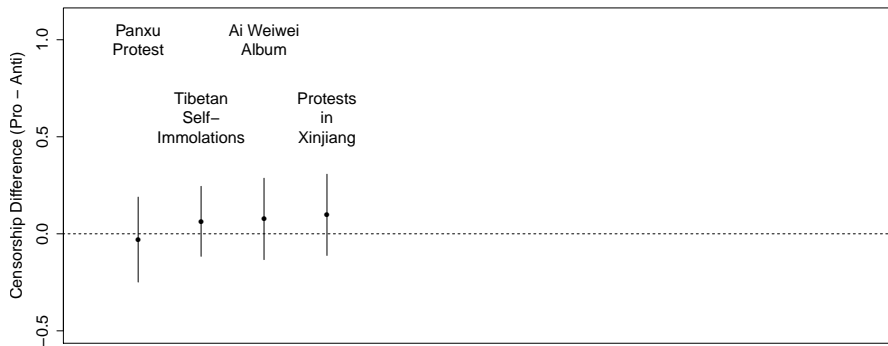
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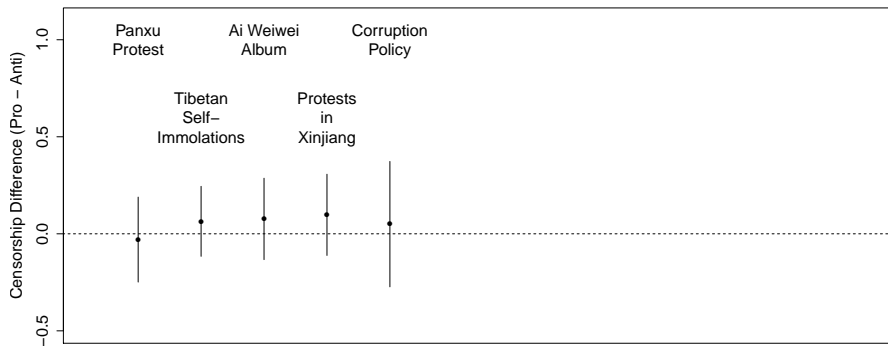
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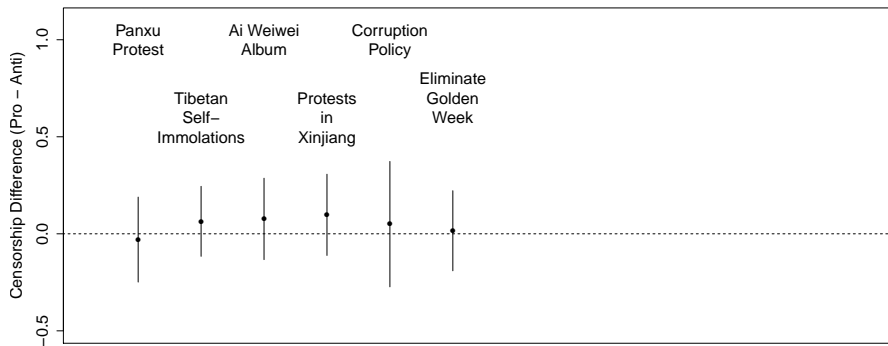
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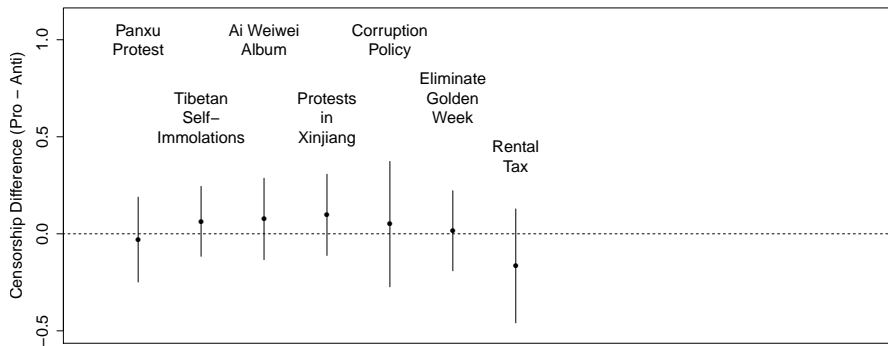
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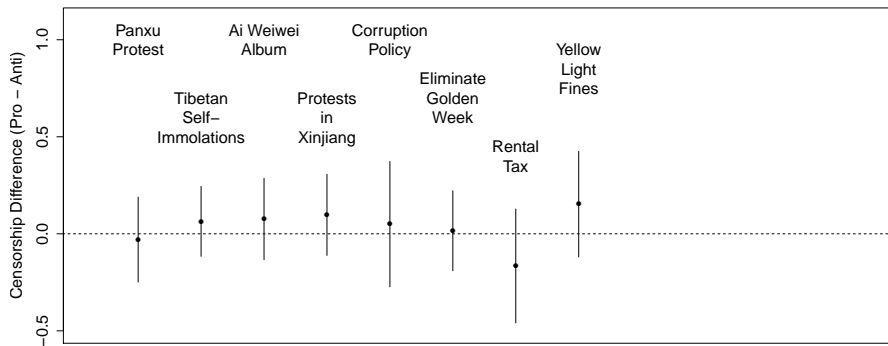
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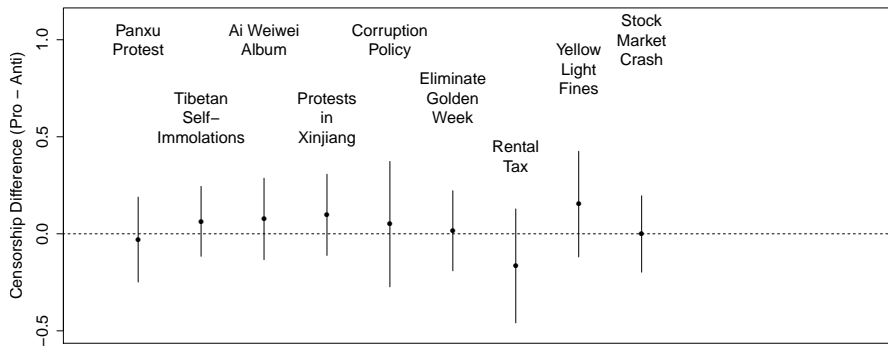
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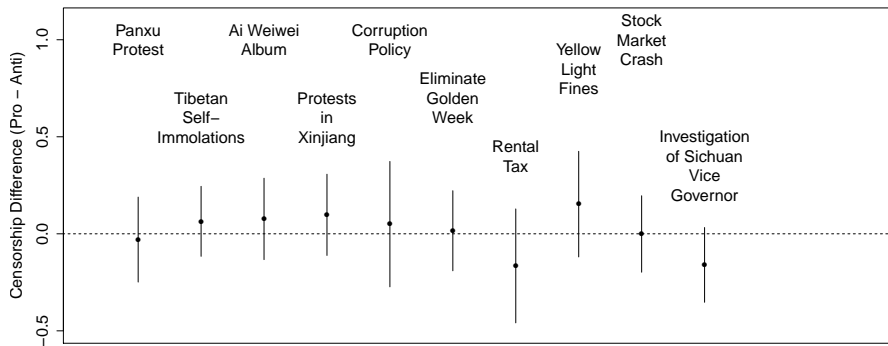
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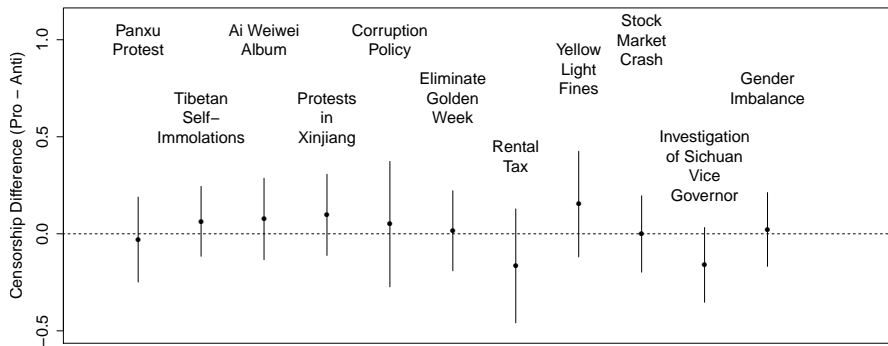
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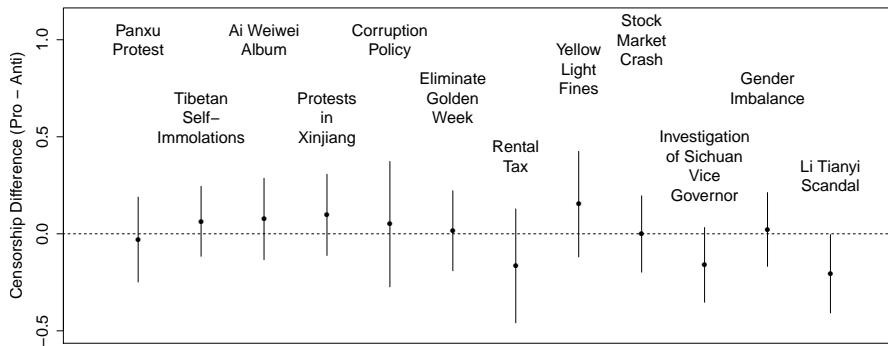
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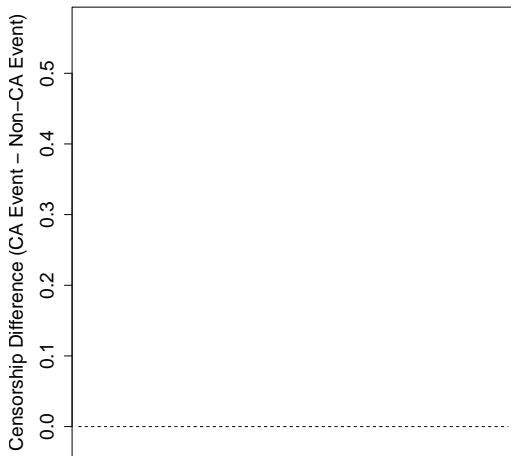


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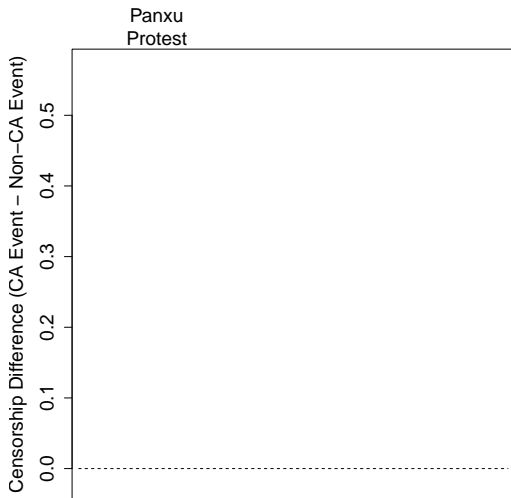


# Collective Action Events: Large Causal Effect

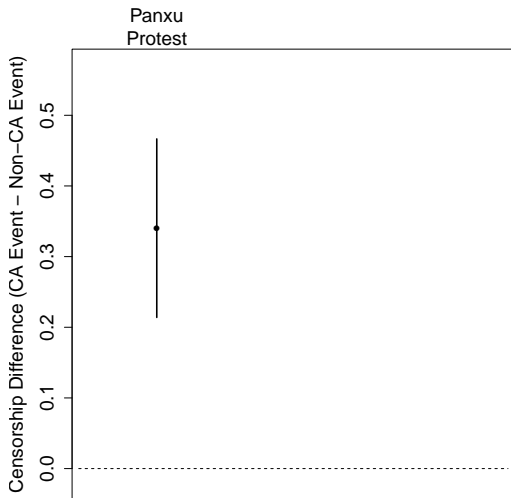
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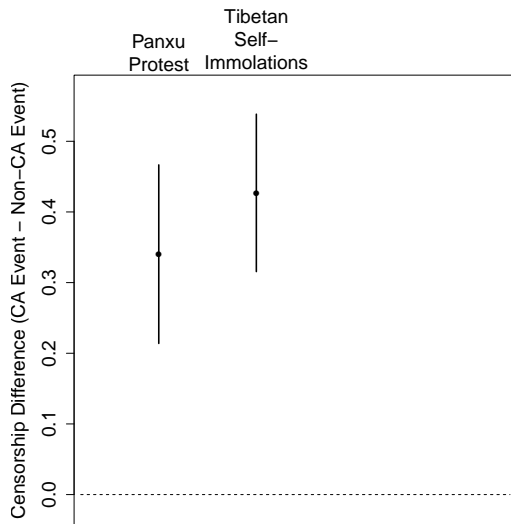
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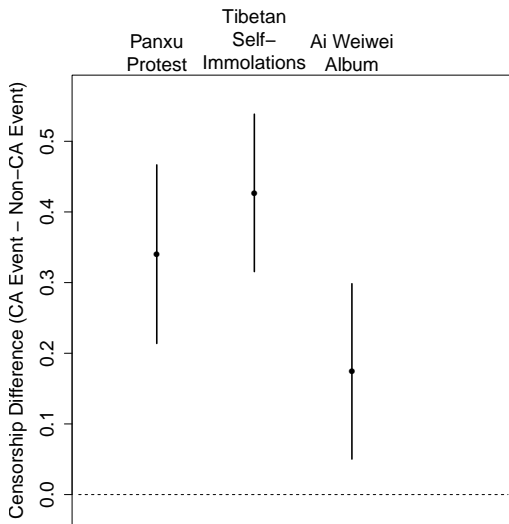
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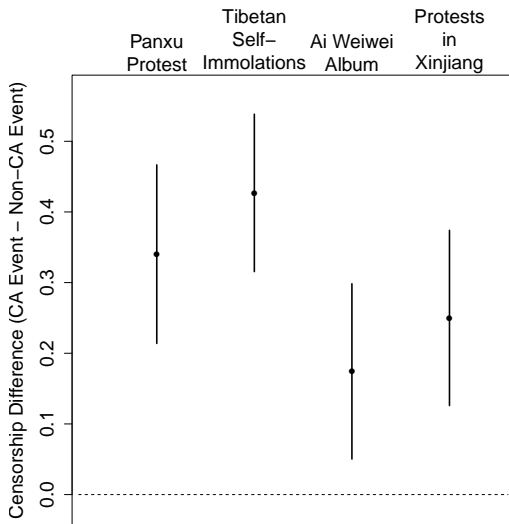
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# Evading Automated Review

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Example Substitution 1:

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Example Substitution 1:

自由

# Evading Automated Review

## Example Substitution 1:

自由          “Freedom”

# Evading Automated Review

## Example Substitution 1:

自由

“Freedom”

**CENSORED**

# Evading Automated Review

## Example Substitution 1:

自由

“Freedom”

**CENSORED**

# Evading Automated Review

## Example Substitution 1:

自由  
自由

“Freedom”

“Eye field”

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## Example Substitution 1:

自由  
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“Eye field” (nonsensical)

# Evading Automated Review

## Example Substitution 1: Homograph

自由  
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自由  
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自由  
目田

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## Example Substitution 2:

和谐

# Evading Automated Review

## Example Substitution 1: Homograph

自由  
目田

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## Example Substitution 2:

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“Harmonious [Society]” (official slogan)

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For more information

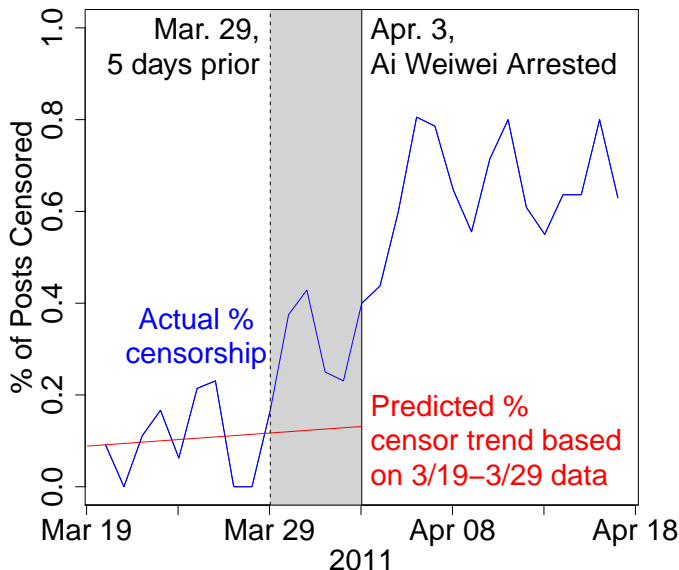
Gary King

King@Harvard.edu

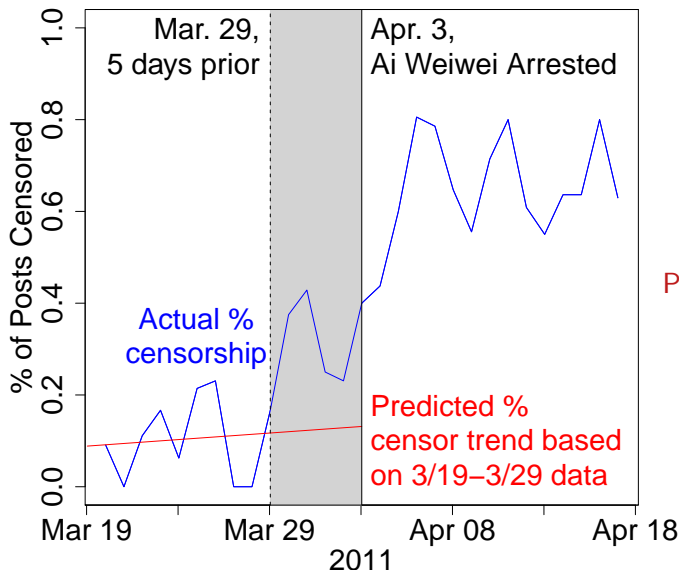
# Appendix

# Censorship to Preempt Collective Action: Ai Weiwei's Arrest

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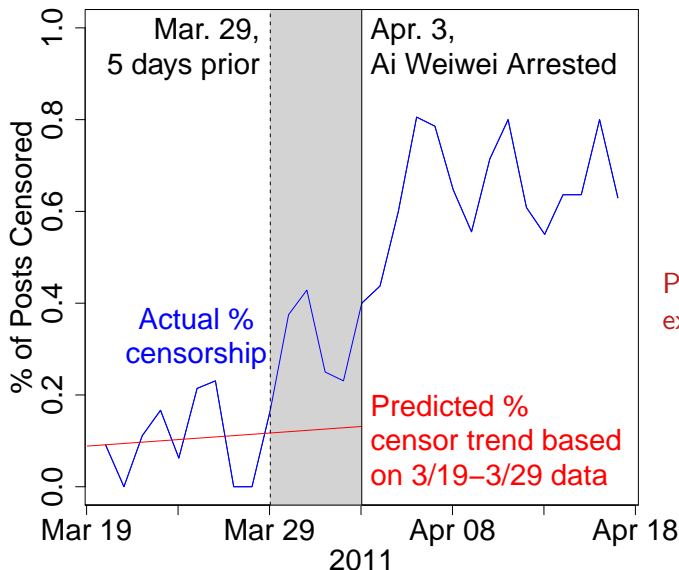


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Placebo Test:

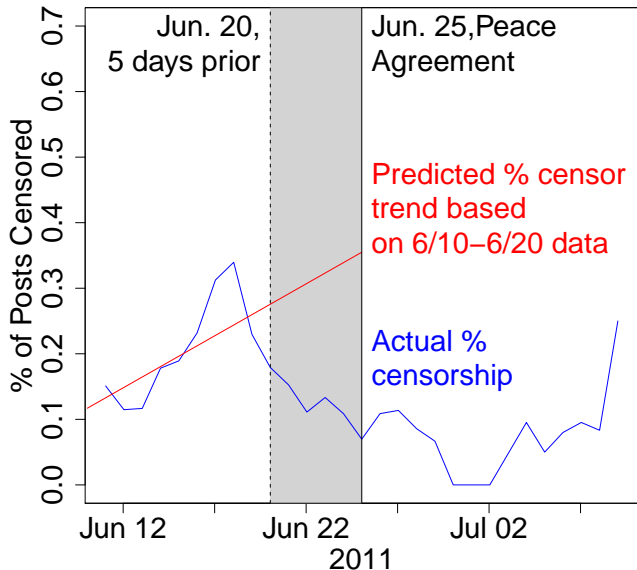
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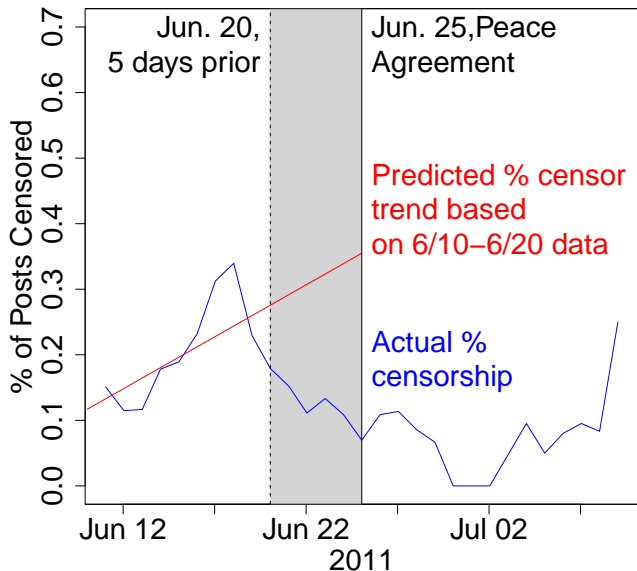
Placebo Test: Most extreme of all effects

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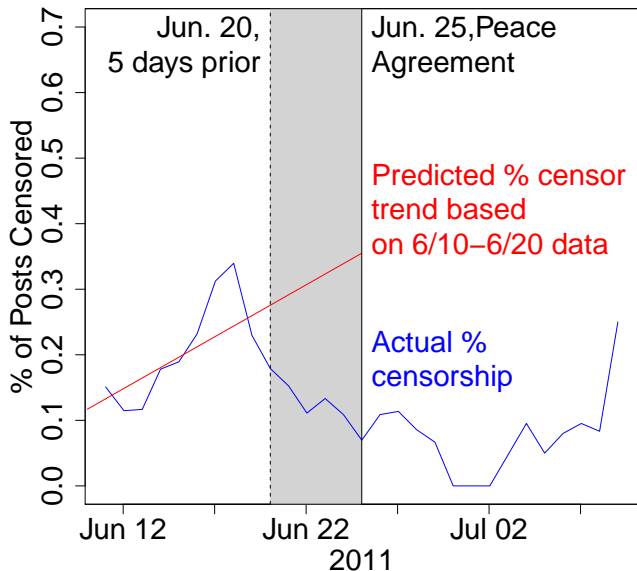


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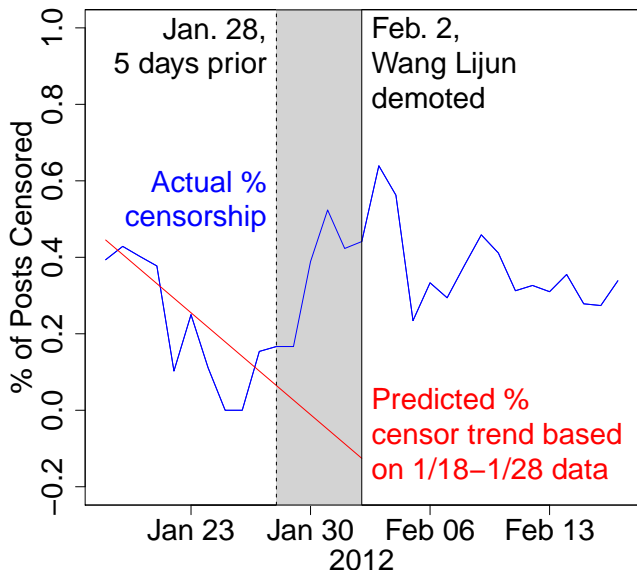
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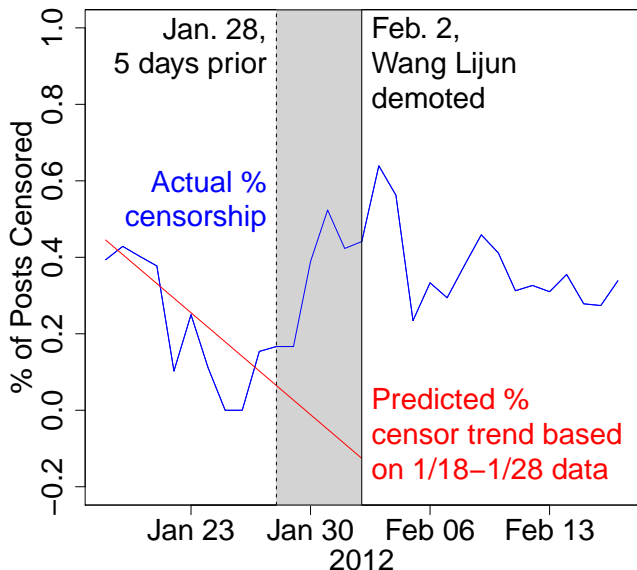
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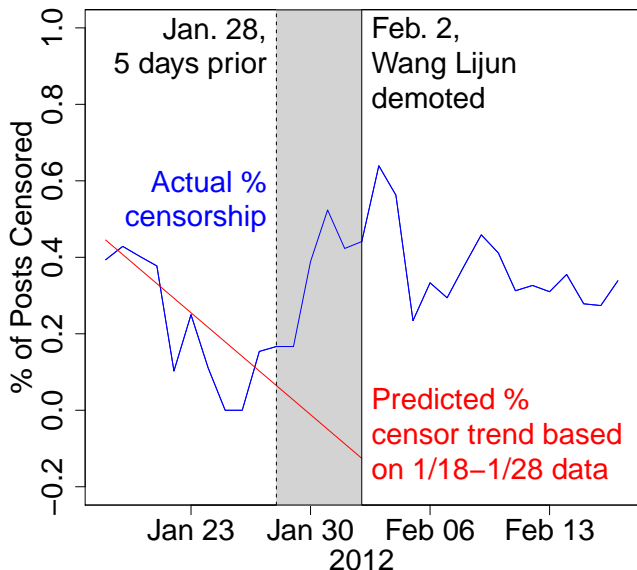


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# Uncensored Posts (w/o Collective Action Potential) Critical of the State

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		Collective Action	
		yes	no
State Critique	yes		<b>Free</b>
	no		<b>Free</b>


## Uncensored Posts (w/o Collective Action Potential) Critical of the State

This is a city government [Yulin City, Shaanxi] that treats life with contempt, this is government officials run amuck, a city government without justice, a city government that delights in that which is vulgar, a place where officials all have mistresses, a city government that is shameless with greed, a government that trades dignity for power, a government without humanity, a government that has no limits on immorality, a government that goes back on its word, a government that treats kindness with ingratitude, a government that cares nothing for posterity...

这是一个漠视生命的市政府[陕西省榆林市]、一个官员横行的市政府、一个没有公正的市政府，一个低级趣味的市政府，一个包二奶的市政府，一个为钱不要脸的市政府，一个为个权不要人格的市政府，一个没有血性的市政府，一个没有道德低线的市政府，一个出尔反尔的市政府，一个忘恩负义的市政府，一个不要子孙后代的市政府，一个什么怪事都出的市政府，一个什么的市政府，只要你想到的就有...

# Censored Post (with Collective Action Potential) Supporting the State

## Censored Post (with Collective Action Potential) Supporting the State

		Collective Action	
		yes	no
State Critique	yes		<b>Free</b>
	no		<b>Free</b>

## Censored Post (with Collective Action Potential) Supporting the State

The bombing led not only to the tragedy of his death but the death of many government workers. Even if we can verify what Qian Mingqi said on Weibo that the building demolition caused a great deal of personal damage, we should still condemn his extreme act of retribution. . . . The government has continually put forth measures and laws to protect the interests of citizens in building demolition. And the media has called attention to the plight of those experiencing housing demolition. The rate at which compensation for housing demolition has increased exceeds inflation. In many places, this compensation can change the fate of an entire family.

爆炸案造成他本人和多名政府工作人员死伤的悲剧，即使钱明奇在微博里所称拆迁造成的个人损失是属实的，我们也应谴责他的极端报复行为. . . . 政府在连续出台保护被拆迁者利益的政策法规，媒体也在为公平对待被拆迁者大声疾呼，各地拆迁补偿款的上升速度，大多高于商品房售价上升的速度，在不少地方，补偿款已经足以改变一个家庭的命运。