Political Repression, Media Propaganda and Nation Building

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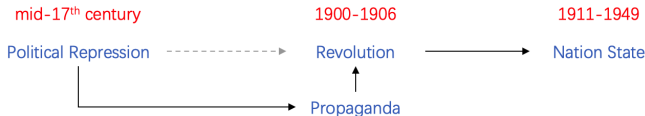China Economics Summer Institute, August 25th, 2021

Motivation

A growing literature argues that social conflicts have deep historical roots (Voigtländer and Voth 2012; Grosjean 2014; Fearon and Laitin 2014).

▶ Q1 What's the role of historical roots in mobilizing social conflicts/revolution?
  ▶ media and propaganda (Yanagizawa-Drott 2014; Adena et al. 2015)
  ▶ take the 1911 Chinese Revolution as the case

▶ Q2 How did nationalism-driven revolutionaries affect the nation building?

mid-17th century	1900-1906	1911-1949
Political Repression	Revolution	Nation State
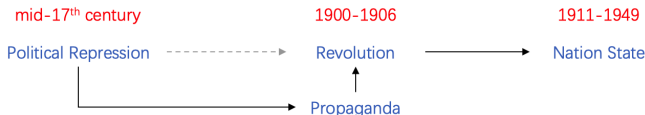
Propaganda

Preview of main findings

▶ Revolutionary propagandists took advantage of a retelling of the political repression and resistance two hundred years ago to fan the flames of discontent toward the Manchu-led Qing government.

  ▶ Prefectures with historical repression and resistance responded more to the anti-Manchu propaganda and produced more revolutionaries.

▶ Nation state

  ▶ KMT party representatives in the national assembly (1913-1925)
  ▶ KMT central committee members (1924-1952)
  ▶ KMT army generals (1927-1949)
  ▶ KMT senior officials in its government(1927-1949)

mid-17th century　　　　　　　　1900-1906　　　　　　　　1911-1949

Political Repression - - - - - - - -> Revolution ————————> Nation State

                                          ↑
                                       Propaganda

Position in literature

- **How media mobilize social movements**
  - location-based (Yanagizawa-Drott 2014; Adena et al. 2015; Ang 2020; Dippel and Heblich 2021; Wang forthcoming)
  - this paper: text-based

- **The persistent influence of culture and politics**
  - (Fouka and Voth 2016; Che et al. 2015; Belmonte and Rochlitz 2019; Ochsner and Roesel 2019)

- **A recent debate**
  - Bai and Jia (2016): the revolution was a result of abolishing the exam system.
  - Mattingly and Chen (2020): local elite members used nationalism to organize anti-foreign protests, as well as to form nationalist political organizations.
  - Kung and Wang (2020): foreign education, particularly Chinese students in Japan, played a major role in the political transition.

Position in literature (Cont.)

- **Nation building and state-building literature**
  - nation building (Alesina and Reich 2013; Dell and Pablo 2018; Bazzi et al. 2019)
  - state-building (Sng 2014; Gennaioli and Voth 2015; Koyama et al. 2018)
  - Throughout the process of nation building, print media played a key role (Anderson 1983).

- **Computational linguistics**
  - estimate political slant (Gentzkow and Shapiro 2010)
  - predict economic outcomes (Jean et al. 2016; Glaeser et al. 2016)
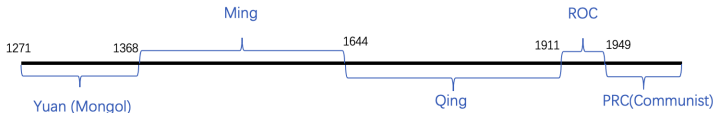 - causal inference (Athey 2018)

Outline

Historical Background I: the Manchu conquest of China

- ► Military conquest

Historical Background I: the Manchu conquest of China

▶ Resistance and Massacres

▶ 1. Resistance

    ▶ Although the Manchus defeated the peasants and occupied North China in 1644, they encountered fierce resistance in the South.

    ▶ Shi Kefa, a senior government official in the Ming dynasty, served as the Ministry of War for the Nanjing court and established defenses between the Huai River and Yangtze River to defend against the Manchu invasion.

    ▶ Scholar-officials in South China organized themselves and continued to fight to restore the Ming dynasty until 1661.

Historical Background I: the Manchu conquest of China

▶ 2. Massacres

  ▶ Along with the military invasion, the Manchu-led Qing government committed massacres to punish the residents who resisted Manchu's ruling and to warn the rest of the population.

  ▶ Ten Days in Yangzhou: 800,000 people were killed in ten days.

    "Several dozen people were herded like sheep or goats. Any who lagged were flogged or killed outright. The organs of those trampled like turf under horses' hooves or people's feet were smeared in the dirt, and the crying of those still alive filled the whole outdoors." (wang 1644)

  ▶ In at least 18 prefectures, the Qing troops killed about 2 million Han Chinese people (Ge 2000).

Historical Background I: the Manchu conquest of China

▶ Intellectual's response and repression

▶ 3. Ming loyalists ("遗民, yimin")

  ▶ A large number of Han scholar-officials refused to serve the Qing court. They collected documents, compiled historical books, and wrote poetry documenting the perished Ming and Southern Ming resistance through the power of personal memory.

  ▶ Lv Liuliang was active in the anti-Manchu military movement. After the resistance failed, he became a hermit. In his books, he argued that the Manchus as an alien race should not rule China (Zelin 2002). Lv's books infuriated the Qing government after he died. His corpse and that of his son were exhumed and mutilated, and all of his writings were forbidden.
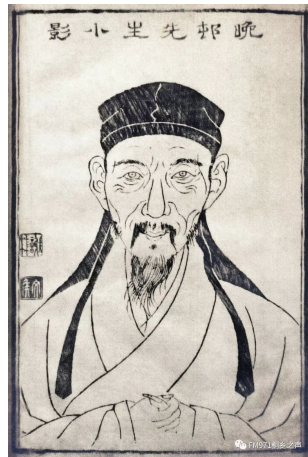
# Historical Background I: the Manchu conquest of China

▶ 4. the Literary Inquisition

  ▶ Manchu rulers were particularly persistent in molding Han people's ideology.

  ▶ From 1644 to 1790, the government prosecuted Han intellectuals if they were suspected of inciting disloyalty toward the emperor or state by their writings, in what has become known as the Literary Inquisition. Hundreds of scholars were killed or exiled, and some were even posthumously executed.

  ▶ In one instance, a scholar was executed for putting the word "Zhuo" (murky) before "Qing" in his poem ("一把心肠论浊清") because the emperor thought he was using the text-based techniques to disparage the Qing government (Archives of Museum of Forbidden City 1934).

Historical Background II: The rise of Anti-Manchu Nationalism in the late Qing

▶ Media Technology

  ▶ development of the modern newspapers
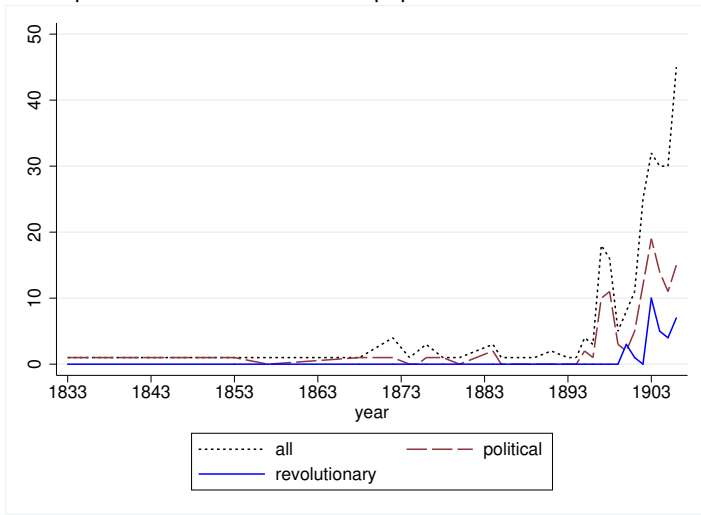
Historical Background II: The rise of Anti-Manchu Nationalism in the late Qing

- ▶ Propaganda: anti-Manchu

  - ▶ At the end of the 19th century, led by Sun Yat-sen, the Anti-Manchu revolutionary movement took shape in *Honolulu* in 1894 with the first organization, *the Revive China Society*.

  - ▶ In 1903 to 1906, five new groups were established. Two new groups and *the Revive China Society* merged into *the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance* in 1905.

  - ▶ To generate more interest in the revolutionary movement, the revolutionaries adopted slogans based on ethnic-based anti-Manchuism for propaganda.

Historical Background II: The rise of Anti-Manchu Nationalism in the late Qing

- Propaganda: anti-Manchu
  - *The Chinese Revolutionary Alliance* drafted their political manifesto: "to expel the Manchus, to revive China." The revolutionaries' first objective was to overthrow the Manchu-led Qing government.

  - In a pamphlet titled *The Revolutionary Army*, the revolutionary propagandists wrote that,

    > "China had been subjugated by the Manchus for 260 years! Our Han Chinese suffer cruel lives at the Manchus' hands, so everyone has the responsibility to overturn the Manchu regime."

  - The propagandists crafted articles and pamphlets to express their views and used historical repression and resistance to arouse the Han people's anti-Manchu sentiment.
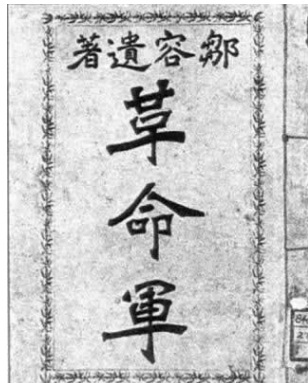
著遺容鄒

草命軍

Historical Background II: The rise of Anti-Manchu Nationalism in the late Qing

▶ Propaganda: anti-Manchu

  ▶ In newspaper articles, historical repression were utilized to make a story about ethnic conflicts.

  ▶ In one newspaper founded by revolutionaries, *Zhong Guo Bai Hua Bao*, it used eight volumes to reprint the book *A Record of Ten Days in Yangzhou*.

  ▶ In two additional newspapers, *Jiangsu* and *Zhejiang Chao*, editors published biographies of leading figures in the resistance against the Manchus' invasion. They praised their brave deeds, including *Shi Kefa*'s defending in Yangzhou.

▶ Propaganda: anti-Manchu

A Record of Ten days in Yangzhou

A Biography of Shi Kefa who shed his blood for the nation

中國白話報

來稿

揚州十日記（續前期）

第十八期 來稿

三十九

第　六　期　71

傳記

為民族流血史可法傳

論

漢　兒

Historical Background II: The rise of Anti-Manchu Nationalism in the late Qing

- ▶ Propaganda: anti-Manchu

  - ▶ adopted historical stories to arouse Han people's anti-Manchu sentiment
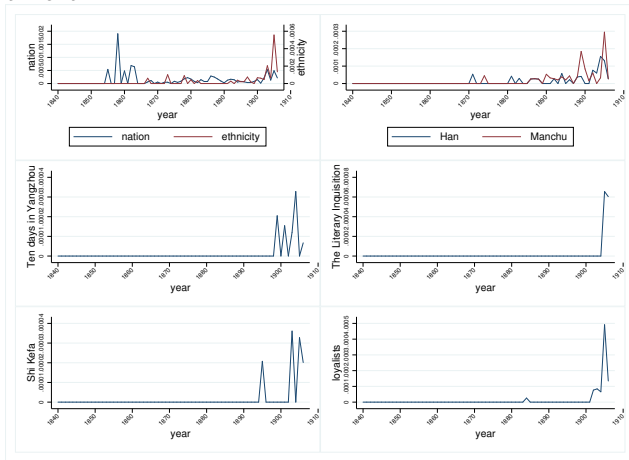
Historical Background II: The rise of Anti-Manchu Nationalism in the late Qing

- ▶ Propaganda: Responses from the Qing government
  - ▶ retell history and blow it up
    - ▶ The majority of the massacres in the mid-17th century were committed by troops whose leaders were Han Chinese, rather than Manchus.
    - ▶ Alternatively, the Qing government abolished the ban on Manchu-Han intermarriage in 1901 and stressed that the Qing court never discriminated against Han Chinese.
  - ▶ Censorship?
    - ▶ The anti-Manchu propaganda was centered in Tokyo and Shanghai. Leaders fled to Japan during this period. Shanghai enjoyed legal extraterritorial status as a treaty port.
    - ▶ There was no systematic censorship to prevent circulation of revolutionary newspapers before 1906.

Historical Background II: The rise of Anti-Manchu Nationalism in the late Qing

▶ Propaganda: effective or not?

  ▶ Qiu Ao (1879—1970), a revolutionary from Hunan province, said that he had read books written by *Wang Fuzhi* (1619-1692), a Ming loyalist who lived in Hunan province. Later, he learned of the massacres and the Literary Inquisition from pamphlets issued by revolutionary propagandists. With these readings, he developed an anti-Qing attitude. While studying in Japan in 1904, he met revolutionaries there and joined them.

  ▶ In summary, the propaganda made Han Chinese people view themselves as the representatives of Chinese by distinguishing them from the Manchus (Wang 2013).

Data I: Political Repression

- ▶ the Manchu's harsh repression
  - ▶ massacre: massacres in each prefecture during the Manchu's conquest 1644-1649, (Ge 2000)
  - ▶ inquisition: literary inquisition cases in each prefecture 1661-1788, (Zhang and Du 1991)

- ▶ Han people's resistance
  - ▶ Ming Martyrs: Ming martyrs in resistance against the Manchu's conquest 1644-1662, (Qu around 1662-1696)
  - ▶ Ming loyalists: Ming loyalists in the early Qing period, (Sun 1912)

Data I: Political Repression
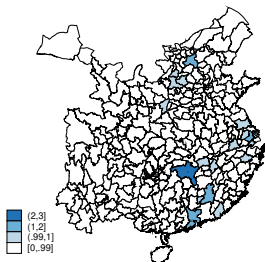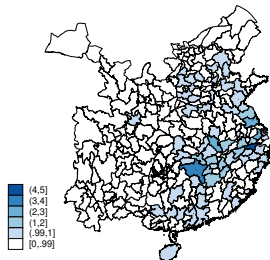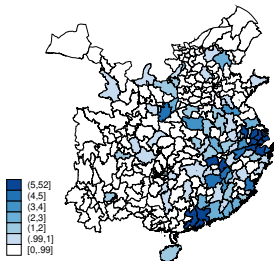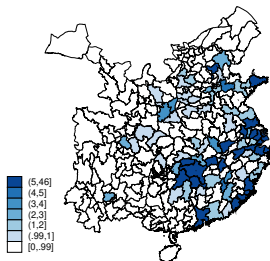
Data I: Political Repression

▶ For simplicity, I converted all four repression into dummies and sum them to produce a general index of the repression and resistance.

Areas with Repression and Resistance

Legend:
- (3,4]
- (2,3]
- (1,2]
- (.99,1]
- [0,.99]
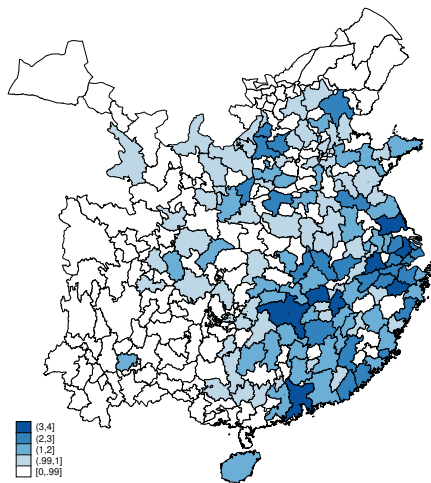
Data II: Index of Anti-Manchu sentiment

- ▶ the Full-text of Journals in the late Qing Database
  - ▶ around 2.7 million articles from 300 newspapers or journals published between 1853 and 1911, nearly all newspapers in the late Qing.

- ▶ This paper: 136 newspapers with 315725 articles written in Chinese between 1899 and 1906.

Data II: Index of Anti-Manchu sentiment

- 1. Index of Anti-Manchu sentiment from revolutionary newspapers

- 19 newspapers, 9995 articles

- I read all articles and select articles with the anti-Manchu sentiment by the following criteria:
  - 1) articles contain the word "Manchu (满)" or "Han (汉)", and disidentify Manchu from Han China;
  - 2) articles on massacres in early Qing;
  - 3) articles on the literary inquisition;
  - 4) articles on heroes who fought against the Manchu's conquest;
  - 5) articles on Ming loyalists;
  - 6) articles on Song heroes and loyalists.

$$share_t = \frac{1}{J} \sum_{j=1}^{J} \frac{\#Anti-Manchu\ articles_{j,t}}{\#articles_{j,t}}$$

Data II: Index of Anti-Manchu sentiment

▶ 1. Index of Anti-Manchu sentiment from revolutionary newspapers

▶ 895 articles are defined as anti-Manchu
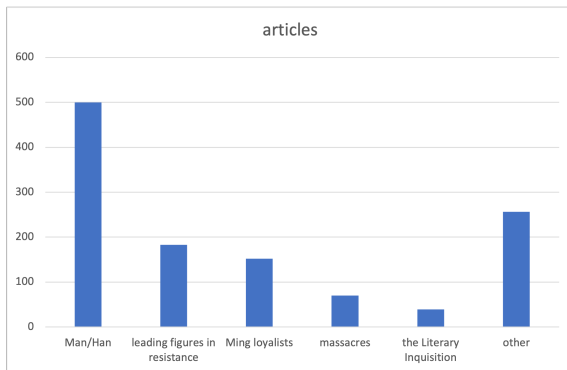
▶ problem: 1. subjective, 2. articles on other newspapers were missing

article	newspaper	year
读张苍水诗：[诗词]	游戏世界(杭州)	1900
采王船山成说证中国有尚武之民族（续）	时报	1904

Data II: Index of Anti-Manchu sentiment

- ▶ 2. Index of Anti-Manchu sentiment from all newspapers (deep learning)

- ▶ 136 newspapers, 0.3 million articles

- ▶ Long Short Term Memory networks (LSTM), randomly split the 9995 articles from 19 revolutionary newspapers into 80% for training and the rest 20% for test. LSTM

	loss	accuracy
training set	0.1606	0.9326
test set	0.1941	0.9265

- ▶ 1976 articles are defined as anti-Manchu

Data II: Index of Anti-Manchu sentiment
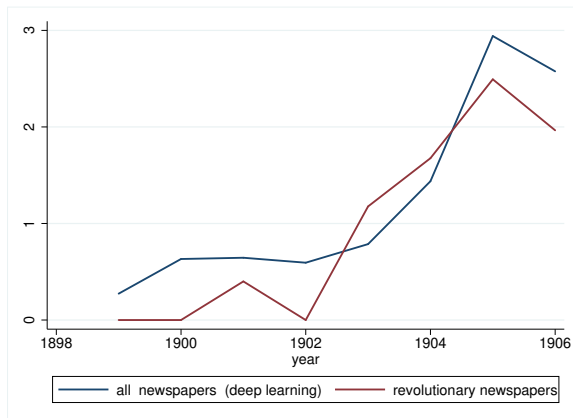
Data III: revolutionaries

▶ The dependent variable is the number of revolutionaries between 1900 and 1906, which comes from Chang (1975) and Luo (1958).

Revolutionary Group	Time of Estab.	Origin
(i) *Xingzhonghui* (the Revive China Society)	November 1894	Honolulu
(ii) *Junguomin Jiaoyuhui* (the Society of National Military Education)	May 1903	Japan
(iii) *Huaxinghui* (the China Arise Society)	April 1903	Changsha, Hunan
(iv) *Guangfuhui* (the Revive the Light Society	October 1904	Shanghai
(v) *Tongmenghui* (the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance)	August 1905	Alliance between (i) and (iii)
(vi) *Rizhihui* (the Society for Daily Improvement)	January 1906	Wuhan, Hubei

Data IV: Controls

- control variables
    - population
    - geography: area size, coast area, Basin HHI
    - state capacity:land tax per capita in 1820
    - social capital: Language fragmentation index
    - weather shock
    - traditional human capital: Jinshi among per 1000 people
    - modern human capital: newspaper per 1000 people

- Propensity score re-weighting (Fong et al 2018): observations that receive the treatment are given weight of $1/p$ and those that did not receive the treatment are given weight of $1/(1-p)$, where p is the probability of getting the treatment.

Empirical analysis: Specification

$$R_{pt} = \beta Share_{t-1}*Repression_p + Share_{t-1}*X_p + \lambda_p + \gamma_t + \delta_{prov}*\gamma_t + \epsilon_{pt}$$

▶ Where R_{pt} is the number of revolutionaries in prefecture p and year t between 1900 and 1906. $Share_{t-1}$ is the share of Anti-Manchu articles on newspapers one year before year t.

▶ Alternative measure of propaganda: the accumulative share of anti-Manchu articles one year before year t. The equation $acc\ Share_t = \sum_{1899}^{t} share_t$ was used to calculate the accumulative index. acc

Empirical analysis: Main result

Table 1: Main Results

	revolutionaries (mean: 0.68)					
	19 newspapers founded by revolutionaries			all newspapers (deep learning)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A. Repression						
$Repression * Share_{t-1}$	2.088***	5.421***	3.010***			
	(0.801)	(1.124)	(1.068)			
$Repression * DeepShare_{t-1}$				8.011*	23.201***	11.555**
				(4.246)	(5.711)	(5.324)
Panel B. Massacre						
$Massaacre * Share_{t-1}$	21.545***	23.873***	21.749***			
	(8.314)	(7.804)	(7.626)			
$Massacre * DeepShare_{t-1}$				86.944**	95.245***	85.251**
				(37.844)	(35.667)	(33.393)
Panel C. Inquisition						
$Inquisition * Share_{t-1}$	3.739*	5.881***	4.169**			
	(2.072)	(1.992)	(2.080)			
$Inquisition * DeepShare_{t-1}$				10.306	19.145*	10.743
				(10.829)	(10.204)	(10.420)
Panel D. martyrs in resistances						
$ln(martyrs + 1) * Share_{t-1}$	1.730	7.799***	6.270***			
	(1.732)	(2.186)	(2.159)			
$ln(martyrs + 1) * DeepShare_{t-1}$				11.236	37.747***	31.720***
				(9.125)	(11.923)	(11.101)
Panel E. Ming Loyalists						
$ln(loyalists + 1) * Share$	-6.042	5.124***	4.762***			
	(4.699)	(1.518)	(1.695)			
$ln(loyalists + 1) * DeepShare_{t-1}$				-31.517	20.642***	18.816**
				(25.399)	(7.439)	(7.911)
Prefecture FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province * YearFE	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Controls * Share_{t-1}	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Observations	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799

Empirical analysis: Main result

Table 2: Heterogeneous effect

| | revolutionaries | | | | | |
| | prefecture level newspaper | provincial level newspaper | post agency | telegraph | students in Japan | Jinshi density |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A						
			> 0			above median
$Repression * Share_{t-1}$	-1.019	3.208***	1.906	7.246***	1.909	2.656**
	(1.667)	(1.159)	(1.544)	(2.176)	(1.418)	(1.171)
Observations	658	1,498	1,029	574	1,169	924
			$= 0$			below median
$Repression * Share_{t-1}$	2.847**	-2.072	-0.256	1.142	0.241	-1.110
	(1.137)	(1.954)	(0.695)	(0.844)	(1.059)	(1.367)
Observations	1,141	301	770	1,225	630	875
Panel B						
			> 0			above median
$Repression * DeepShare_{t-1}$	-1.505	13.225**	7.601	28.612***	6.769	9.368
	(6.755)	(5.745)	(7.556)	(10.162)	(6.897)	(5.996)
Observations	658	1,498	1,029	574	1,169	924
			$= 0$			below median
$Repression * DeepShare_{t-1}$	10.513*	-21.823**	-5.552	3.718	-2.497	-3.387
	(6.375)	(10.222)	(3.383)	(3.880)	(5.187)	(5.899)
Observations	1,141	301	770	1,225	630	875
Prefecture FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province * YearFE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls * $Share_{t-1}$	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Empirical analysis: Discussion

▶ Revolutionaries adopted assassination aimed at murdering senior Manchu officials in the Qing government to revolutionize the anti-Manchu campaign.

Table 3: radical members, constitutional groups as a placebo

| | Dependent variable: | | | |
| | assassins | | constitutional groups | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$Repression * Share_{t-1}$	0.056*		0.191	
	(0.033)		(0.167)	
$Repression * DeepShare_{t-1}$		0.210*		0.979
		(0.111)		(0.868)
Prefecture FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
$Province * YearFE$	Y	Y	Y	Y
$Controls * Share_{t-1}$	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799

Empirical analysis: Discussion

▶ Qualitative Evidence

    ▶ In 1911, in the wake of the victory of the revolution in Wuchang, mass killings against the Manchus began across Chinese cities. This included what happened at Wuchang, where some 10,000 Manchus were butchered, and the slaughter of 20,000 Manchus in Xi'an (Rhoads 2000).

    ▶ The revolutionaries used historical repression to mobilize the uprising. They distributed pamphlets stating that if the revolution failed, the Manchu government would kill Han people the way they had in Yangzhou and Jiading two hundred years ago (Jia 2011).

Robustness Checks

- Alternative hypotheses

    - abolishing exam quotas (Bai and Jia 2016)
    - anti-missionary conflicts (Mattingly and Chen 2020)
    - modernization: treaty port, post offices, telegraph, students in Japan (Kung and Wang 2020)
    - secret societies
    - the influence of the Taiping Rebellion
    - Manchu-Han conflicts

- Placebo test

    - Other sentiment in the propaganda: anti-imperialism, industrialization, theory, constitutionalism
    - boxer rebellion in 1899
    - peasant rebellions 1681-1899

- The paper's central argument stay consistent with different checks and specifications.

Table 4: Alternative hypothesis: exam quota abolition

| | revolutionaries | | | | | |
| | 19 revolutionary newspapers | | | all newspapers | | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A						
$Repression * Share_{t-1}$	1.973** (0.798)	5.281*** (1.115)	2.874*** (1.066)			
$Repression * DeepShare_{t-1}$				7.572* (4.256)	22.657*** (5.678)	11.016** (5.310)
$ln(\frac{quota}{pop}) * Share_{t-1}$	-4.429*** (0.838)	-2.885*** (0.937)	3.618*** (1.398)			
$ln(\frac{quota}{pop}) * DeepShare_{t-1}$				-16.871*** (4.512)	-11.248** (5.049)	20.219*** (7.486)
Panel B						
$Repression * Share_{t-1}$	0.165 (0.768)	2.970*** (1.051)	2.912*** (1.045)			
$Repression * DeepShare_{t-1}$				-0.437 (4.047)	12.981** (5.504)	12.260** (5.421)
$ln(\frac{quota}{pop}) * post05$	0.245* (0.132)	0.715*** (0.193)	0.800*** (0.217)	0.270* (0.139)	0.688*** (0.190)	0.777*** (0.221)
Prefecture FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province * YearFE	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Controls * $Share_{t-1}$	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Observations	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799

Table 5: Alternative hypothesis: anti-missionary incidents

	revolutionaries					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Panel A						
Repression $*$ Share$_{t-1}$	1.567**	4.829***	3.051***			
	(0.774)	(1.078)	(1.062)			
Repression $*$ DeepShare$_{t-1}$				5.191	19.883***	12.300**
				(3.930)	(5.430)	(5.267)
Mission conflicts $*$ Share$_{t-1}$	1.498**	1.459**	1.023			
	(0.633)	(0.640)	(0.681)			
Mission conflicts $*$ DeepShare$_{t-1}$				8.103***	8.172***	6.342**
				(2.491)	(2.276)	(2.496)
Panel B						
Repression $*$ Share$_{t-1}$	1.567**	4.829***	3.054***			
	(0.755)	(1.059)	(1.048)			
Repression $*$ DeepShare$_{t-1}$				5.191	19.883***	12.292**
				(3.933)	(5.426)	(5.261)
mission conflicts $*$ 1901	-0.083	-0.096	-0.096	-0.086	-0.104	-0.117
	(0.070)	(0.073)	(0.074)	(0.070)	(0.074)	(0.074)
mission conflicts $*$ 1902	-0.073	-0.089	-0.108	-0.071	-0.086	-0.101
	(0.063)	(0.066)	(0.067)	(0.063)	(0.066)	(0.066)
mission conflicts $*$ 1903	0.065	0.061	0.061	0.062	0.054	0.043
	(0.080)	(0.087)	(0.090)	(0.079)	(0.086)	(0.088)
mission conflicts $*$ 1904	-0.079	-0.100	-0.154**	-0.069	-0.081	-0.100
	(0.068)	(0.074)	(0.076)	(0.068)	(0.073)	(0.073)
mission conflicts $*$ 1905	0.207**	0.169**	0.105	0.214***	0.180**	0.136*
	(0.081)	(0.080)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.082)
mission conflicts $*$ 1906	0.373**	0.387***	0.313**	0.371**	0.372***	0.269*
	(0.146)	(0.132)	(0.139)	(0.147)	(0.135)	(0.147)
Prefecture FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province $*$ YearFE	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y

Table 6: Alternative hypothesis: Modernization

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
				revolutionaries			
$Repression * Share_{t-1}$	2.539^{***}	2.474^{**}	2.451^{**}	2.560^{***}	2.294^{**}	2.546^{***}	2.465^{***}
	(0.984)	(0.983)	(0.985)	(0.975)	(0.933)	(0.983)	(0.895)
$Treaty * Share_{t-1}$	3.815						-0.725
	(3.696)						(3.788)
$Post\ office * Share_{t-1}$		-2.992					-4.073
		(3.188)					(3.426)
$Telegraph * Share_{t-1}$			2.753				-2.813
			(5.281)				(6.192)
$Dis\_Shanghai * Share_{t-1}$				0.007			0.006
				(0.005)			(0.005)
$ln(firm + 1) * Share_{t-1}$					0.807^{***}		0.819^{***}
					(0.307)		(0.313)
$Japan\ students * Share_{t-1}$						8.388^{***}	8.355^{***}
						(2.283)	(2.302)
$Repression * DeepShare_{t-1}$	9.638^{**}	9.269^{*}	9.169^{*}	9.805^{**}	8.296^{*}	9.396^{*}	9.181^{**}
	(4.852)	(4.878)	(4.903)	(4.878)	(4.573)	(4.896)	(4.376)
$Treaty * DeepShare_{t-1}$	21.745						0.465
	(16.747)						(16.416)
$Post\ office * DeepShare_{t-1}$		-21.587					-27.535
		(19.493)					(20.851)
$Telegraph * DeepShare_{t-1}$			9.527				-16.634
			(31.447)				(30.967)
$Dis\_Shanghai * DeepShare_{t-1}$				0.042^{*}			0.041^{*}
				(0.021)			(0.022)
$ln(firm + 1) * DeepShare_{t-1}$					3.552^{***}		3.572^{***}
					(0.688)		(0.665)
$Japan\ students * DeepShare_{t-1}$						33.298^{***}	33.087^{***}
						(9.423)	(9.541)
Observations	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799

Robustness Checks IV: secret societies and Taiping Rebellion

- ▶ Secret Societies
  - ▶ Historical evidence suggests that revolutionary groups recruited members of secret organizations. For example, to gain the support of the well-known secret society, *Tiandihui*, Sun Yat-Sen joined them as a senior figure in 1904.
  - ▶ One of the secret societies, *Tiandihui*, also called *Hongmen*, was a fraternal organization and historically, a secretive folk religious sect in the vein of the Ming loyalists.

- ▶ The Taiping rebellion between 1851 and 1864
  - ▶ It was claimed by Taiping propagandists that the Manchus were the representatives of Satan, and the Taipings were the representatives of God (Crossley 1999).

Robustness Checks IV: secret societies and Taiping Rebellion

Table 7: Alternative hypothesis: secret societies and Taiping Rebellion

| | revolutionaries | | | | | |
| | 19 revolutionary newspapers | | | all newspapers | | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Repression $*$ Share$_{t-1}$	2.472**	2.582***	2.346**			
	(0.985)	(0.978)	(0.981)			
Repression $*$ DeepShare$_{t-1}$				8.656*	8.956*	8.371*
				(4.856)	(4.916)	(4.755)
secret society $*$ Share$_{t-1}$	0.780					
	(0.742)					
secret society $*$ DeepShare$_{t-1}$				4.691		
				(3.254)		
Tiandihui $*$ Share$_{t-1}$		-0.380				
		(1.308)				
Tiandihui $*$ DeepShare$_{t-1}$					0.320	
					(5.264)	
Taiping Rebellion $*$ Share$_{t-1}$			3.097			
			(3.729)			
Taiping Rebellion $*$ DeepShare$_{t-1}$						10.660
						(19.507)
Prefecture FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province $*$ YearFE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls $*$ Share$_{t-1}$	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799

Robustness Checks V: Manchu-Han conflicts

▶ A hypothesis can be that during the 250-year period under Manchu rule, cumulative conflicts between Manchus and Han were a driving force for revolutionary participation, especially when anti-Manchu propaganda stoked Han nationalism.

Table 8: Alternative hypothesis: Manchu-Han conflicts

| | revolutionaries | | | |
| | 19 revolutionary newspapers | | all newspapers | |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
$Repression * Share_{t-1}$	2.557**	2.503**		
	(1.002)	(0.997)		
$Repression * DeepShare_{t-1}$			9.062*	8.966*
			(4.963)	(4.937)
$banner\ garrisons * Share_{t-1}$	-1.670**			
	(0.833)			
$banner\ garrisons * DeepShare_{t-1}$			-3.648	
			(4.000)	
$ln(banners+1) * Share_{t-1}$		-0.627		
		(0.541)		
$ln(banners+1) * DeepShare_{t-1}$				-0.819
				(2.380)
Prefecture FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province * YearFE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls * $Share_{t-1}$	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799

Robustness Checks VI: Other sentiment in the propaganda, competing propaganda: constitutionalism

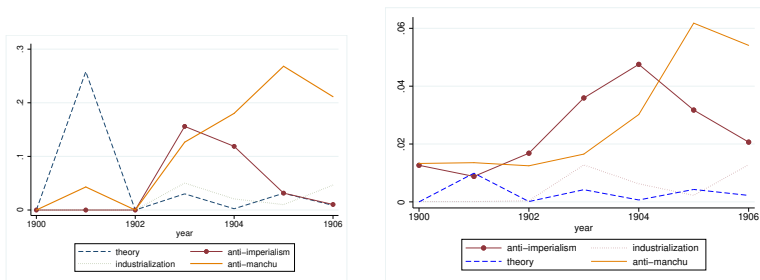▶ Propagandists would also place other content in the newspapers to mobilize the revolution.

Figure 1: Other sentiment in the propaganda, left (19 newspapers), right (all newspapers, machine learning)

Table 9: Other sentiment in the propaganda, competing propaganda: constitutionalism

	revolutionaries			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Repression $*$ anti — Manchu$_{t-1}$	5.427***	5.340***	3.086***	4.753**
	(1.973)	(1.674)	(1.075)	(1.911)
Repression $*$ anti — imperialism$_{t-1}$	-3.638*			
	(2.036)			
Repression $*$ industrialization$_{t-1}$		-13.591**		
		(5.745)		
Repression $*$ theory$_{t-1}$			-1.196**	
			(0.589)	
Repression $*$ constitutionalism$_{t-1}$				-0.120
				(0.099)
Repression $*$ anti — Manchu$_{t-1}$	10.177*	12.483**	13.682**	10.074*
	(5.807)	(5.516)	(5.436)	(5.911)
Repression $*$ anti — imperialism$_{t-1}$	10.675*			
	(6.057)			
Repression $*$ industrialization$_{t-1}$		14.889		
		(13.958)		
Repression $*$ theory$_{t-1}$			-24.797	
			(15.651)	
Repression $*$ constitutionalism$_{t-1}$				0.096
				(0.059)
Prefecture FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province $*$ YearFE	Y	Y	Y	Y
Controls $*$ Share$_{t-1}$	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799

Robustness Checks VII

- Did the repression produce an area that was hard to control?
  - rebellions during the entire period of the Qing dynasty
  - Boxer rebellion

Table 10

VARIABLES	Incidence of rebellions 1681-1899					Incidence of the Boxer Rebellion 1899-1900				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Repression	-0.054					0.015				
	(0.041)					(0.018)				
massacre		-0.023					-0.016			
		(0.095)					(0.040)			
inquisition			-0.115					0.037		
			(0.071)					(0.024)		
ln(1 + martyrs)				0.017					-0.051*	
				(0.061)					(0.028)	
ln(1 + loyalist)					0.101					0.004
					(0.076)					(0.027)
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	257	257	257	257	257	257	257	257	257	257
R-squared	0.214	0.210	0.220	0.211	0.218	0.411	0.410	0.414	0.416	0.409

- Returning to the context of the revolution campaign in the early 20th century, it was not an outcome of the repression' persistent effect. However, the revolutionary propagandists incorporated the historical repression and resistance into the rising nationalism theory, which effectively mobilized the revolution.

Nation state

▶ How did nationalism-driven revolutionaries affect the building of a nation state?

  ▶ 1st national election: In the first nationwide election in Chinese history in 1912, the KMT won 269 of the 596 seats in the House and 123 of the 274 seats in the Senate.

Figure 2: the first national assembly

  ▶ party leaders: In 1919, *Sun Yat-sen* resurrected the KMT as the Nationalist Party of China in Guangzhou. Among the 24 members of the first KMT standing committee, 19 had previously been members of *the Chinese Revolutionary Alliance*, and 14 joined it in 1905 or 1906.

Nation state

▶ How did nationalism-driven revolutionaries affect the nation state?

  ▶ army: The Whampoa Military Academy was established near Guangzhou in 1924 to augment the military capabilities of the Northern Expedition. Graduates of Whampoa Military Academy became high-ranking military officers of the KMT government later.

    ▶ "The provinces were under the iron heel of the warlords, so it was not easy to openly recruit students, so the delegates to the first National Congress of the Party were entrusted in advance to enroll their descendants back home." (Sun 1924)
    ▶ Zou Lu recommend Fan Hanjie
    ▶ Yu Youren recommended Du Yumin, Guan Lingzhen and Zhang Lingfu.

  ▶ government: In 1927, the KMT established a national government in Nanjing.

Nation state

$$state_p = \beta Repression_p + X_p + \delta_{prov} + \epsilon_p$$

Table 11: The measure of repression and resistance and nation state building

	1st National assembly		Party leaders	Army		Government
	(1)	(2)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
VARIABLES	KMT	non-KMT	KMT central committee	student soldier	army general	KMT officials
Panel. A						
repression	0.475***	0.013	0.575***	8.600***	5.674***	5.080***
	(0.150)	(0.109)	(0.201)	(2.972)	(2.156)	(1.640)
R-squared	0.515	0.463	0.423	0.473	0.450	0.541
Panel.B						
revolutionaries	0.064***	-0.001	0.105***	1.357**	1.298***	1.053***
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.018)	(0.664)	(0.394)	(0.077)
R-squared	0.614	0.463	0.671	0.609	0.715	0.861
Controls	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	257	257	257	257	257	257

Conclusion

- This paper investigated the impact of the anti-Manchu propaganda on revolutionary participation. Utilizing modern newspaper technology, revolutionary propagandists took advantage of a retelling of history to fan the flames of discontent toward the Qing government. The Qing court's political repression and Han Chinese's resistance in the 17th century were inflated and made into a new story about ethnic conflicts. The anti-Manchu propaganda successfully mobilized people to join the revolutionary groups.

- Different from the existing literature that emphasizes destructive aspects of historical roots in social conflicts, this paper explores the constructive aspects of historical events in modern China's transformation into a nation state. It is not just a rebellion or an uprising, but a revolution that ended imperialism and ushered in democracy in China.

- After the Revolution in 1911, revolutionaries who joined the anti-Manchu campaign in the early days became political elites in China. The role of these revolutionaries affected China's political progress in the first half of the 20th century.

Balance Checks

Table 12: Balance checks

| | repression | | massacre | | inquisition | | ln(1+Martyr) | |
| | OLS | survey-weighted normal | OLS | survey-weighted normal | OLS | survey-weighted normal | OLS | survey-weighted normal |
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
lnpop	0.411***	0.463***	0.079**	0.078***	0.113**	0.078*	0.146***	0.105**
	(0.079)	(0.085)	(0.033)	(0.027)	(0.057)	(0.040)	(0.048)	(0.041)
lnsize	0.099	0.023	0.039	0.041	0.125	0.085	0.049	0.052
	(0.106)	(0.110)	(0.045)	(0.034)	(0.077)	(0.072)	(0.065)	(0.064)
coast	0.016	-0.308	-0.064	-0.061	-0.247*	-0.021	0.101	0.004
	(0.203)	(0.247)	(0.086)	(0.080)	(0.146)	(0.201)	(0.125)	(0.142)
main river	0.136	0.073	-0.018	-0.019	-0.054	0.024	0.193**	0.288***
	(0.123)	(0.124)	(0.052)	(0.048)	(0.089)	(0.074)	(0.076)	(0.081)
tax per capita	0.684	0.708	0.313	0.302	-0.374	0.049	-0.123	-0.308
	(0.828)	(0.813)	(0.351)	(0.254)	(0.597)	(0.417)	(0.508)	(0.549)
basin HHI	0.078	0.029	0.035	0.037	-0.125	-0.144	0.022	0.076
	(0.270)	(0.275)	(0.115)	(0.079)	(0.195)	(0.203)	(0.166)	(0.192)
language	0.346	0.133	0.202	0.213	-0.123	-0.365	-0.193	-0.429
	(0.402)	(0.449)	(0.170)	(0.184)	(0.289)	(0.258)	(0.246)	(0.316)
climate shock	-0.386	-0.283	0.511*	0.549	0.691	0.198	-0.979**	-1.687***
	(0.711)	(0.830)	(0.302)	(0.336)	(0.512)	(0.491)	(0.436)	(0.365)
jinshi	2.503***	1.887***	0.393*	0.369	2.027***	-0.378	2.184***	0.474
	(0.557)	(0.663)	(0.236)	(0.257)	(0.401)	(0.585)	(0.341)	(0.425)
newspaper	35.610	24.196	-13.567	-13.160	31.684	-7.263	63.612***	41.856
	(33.916)	(22.346)	(14.396)	(9.171)	(24.440)	(14.953)	(20.790)	(37.285)
Observations	257	257	257	257	257	257	257	257

Dependent variable:

Machine learning

- I first employed the Word2Vec model and separated each article title into short texts as vectors.
- Second, I randomly split the embedded matrix into two parts: 80% training and the rest testing;
- Thirdly, an LSTM model was used for sentiment classification.
- Fourth, I used the trained model to predict each item's category in the training set and the test set to get loss and accuracy rates. The accuracy rate was 93.26% in the training set and 92.65% in the test set. The trained model was used to predict whether the 0.3 million items contained anti-Manchu sentiment.
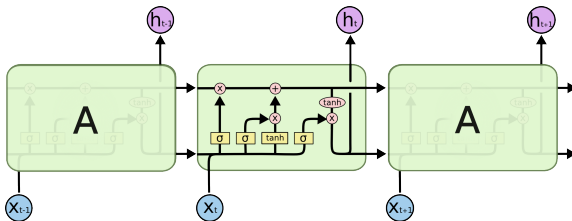
Accumulative Index

acc

Table A.2 Alternative measure of anti-Manchu sentiment: accumulative index

	Dependent variable:					
	member					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Repression * acc Share$_{t-1}$	0.749**	2.025***	1.097***			
	(0.335)	(0.446)	(0.423)			
Repression * acc DeepShare$_{t-1}$				3.404**	8.941***	4.701**
				(1.512)	(2.015)	(1.903)
Prefecture FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Province * YearFE	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Controls * Share$_{t-1}$	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Observations	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799	1,799

Longer period

Table A.1 Main results, longer period 1894-1906

			Dependent variable: member			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
$Repression * Share_{t-1}$	1.973**	4.769***	2.486**			
	(0.830)	(1.164)	(1.102)			
$Repression * DeepShare_{t-1}$				6.944*	17.938***	9.377**
				(3.672)	(4.974)	(4.705)
Prefecture FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Year FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
$Province * YearFE$	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
$Controls * Share_{t-1}$	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
Observations	3,341	3,341	3,341	3,341	3,341	3,341