Reading China: Predicting Policy Change with Machine Learning

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State-run media tell a lot — about the state!

- Example: the *People's Daily*.
 - Official newspaper of the Communist Party of China;
 - "Throat and tongue" of the party;
 - Toed by other media in the country;
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 - The Pravda of China.

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 - The Pravda of China.
- The primary mission is not to report news, ...
- ... but to propagate official viewpoints and signal policy intention.

Machine learning can help decipher propaganda.

- Deciphering propaganda content has been complicated due to
 - Opaque system;
 - Manipulated data;
 - Difficulty in validation; ...
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- Machine learning with some twists can help!
- The method has a wide applicability in other contexts.

Policy Change Index (PCI) project

- First use case: China.
- Data: full text of the *People's Daily*, 1946-present.
- Use neural network models to detect changes in its priorities.
- Objective: predict policy change based solely on the newspaper.
- Output: the Policy Change Index (PCI) for China



People's Daily, 1946-present

Constructing the PCI

Results



- The Soviet tradition:
 - "[T]he whole task of the Communists is to be able to convince the backward elements." (Lenin, 1920)
 - It is a fundamental necessity "to transform the press from an organ which primarily reports the political news of the day into a serious organ for the economic education of the mass of the population." (Lenin, in early USSR years)
 - Even the film was considered "a great and invaluable force... aiding the working class and its Party to educate the toilers in the spirit of socialism." (Stalin, 1935)



The Soviet tradition, in China:

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 - "Newspapers must be run by politicians." (Mao, 1957)
 - •
 - The media should "uphold the correct orientation of public opinion in all aspects and at all stages." (Xi, 2016)



People's Daily: nerve center of China's propaganda system



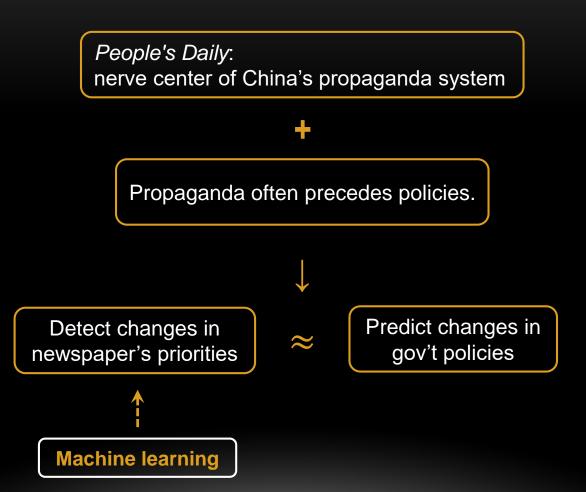
Propaganda often precedes policies.



Detect changes in newspaper's priorities



Predict changes in gov't policies



Constructing the PCI

Results

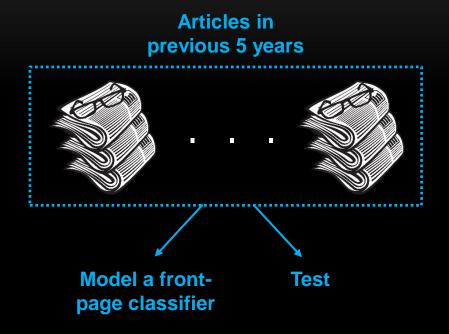
Start with something seemingly trivial

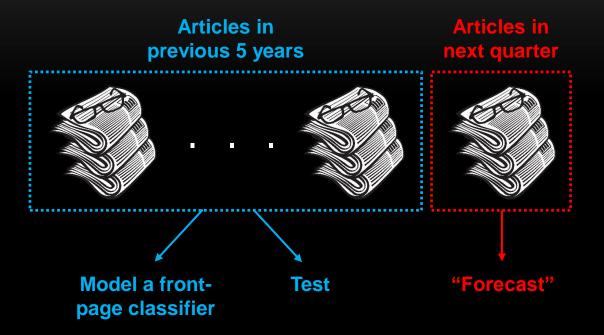
Build an algorithm that classifies **front-page** articles ("reverse-engineering" the editor's mind).

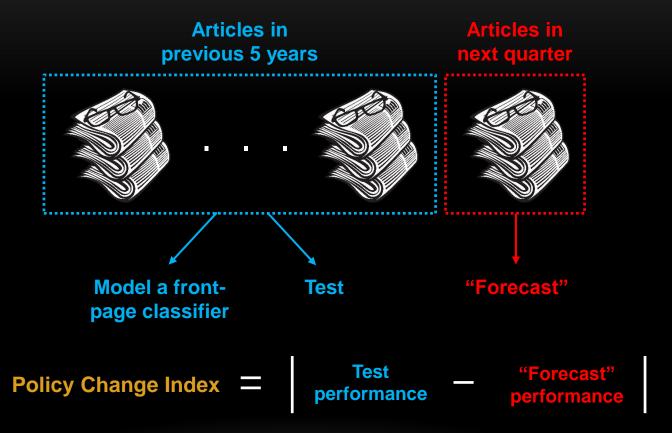
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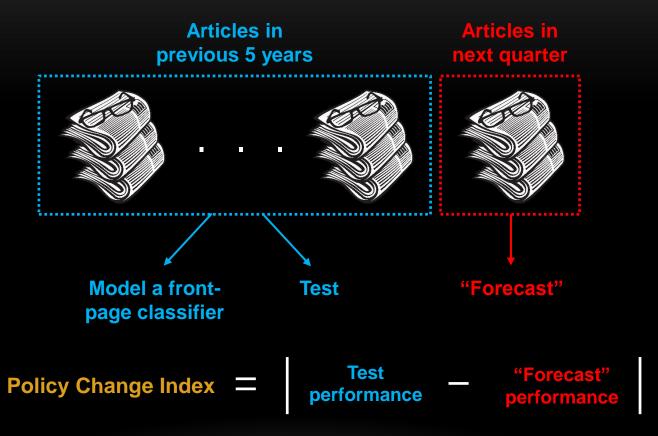
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But what's the point?









PCI \gg 0 \Rightarrow Change in the newspaper's priorities

Data structure

sample_df

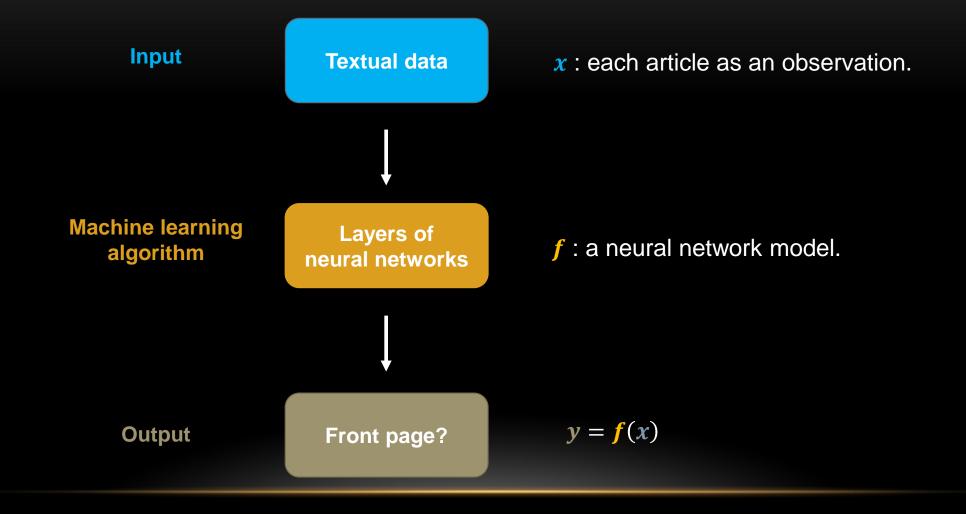
id	date	page	title	body
20181202525	2018-12-31 00:00:00	1.0	今年粮食总产量13158亿斤 农业农村发展取得新成绩,乡村振兴开 局良好	本报北京12月30日电 (记者高云才、郁静娴)记者从30日召开的 全国农业农村厅局长会议获…
20181202526	2018-12-31 00:00:00	1.0	新时代改革再出发的重要里程碑 ——写在党的十八届三中全会召开 五周年之际	本报评论员——改革开放40年来,我们党带领人民绘就了一幅波澜 壮阔、气势恢宏的历史画卷。其…
20181202527	2018-12-31 00:00:00	1.0	改革引领中国经济新航向(在习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想指 引下——新时代新作为新篇章)	本报记者 许志峰 吴秋余 王 珂 林丽鹂 巨轮向前,离不开 航标指引方向。 1978年
20181202528	2018-12-31 00:00:00	1.0	产量连续六年超1200亿斤,实现"十五连丰" 黑龙江 粮食再丰收,粮仓更稳固	本报哈尔滨12月30日电 (记者方圆) 此刻的黑土地,正在冬眠蕃 力。今年黑龙江粮食又是一
20181202529	2018-12-31 00:00:00	1.0	伟大的变革——庆祝改革开放40周年大型展览 现场观众达223万人 次 展览将持续到2019年	据新华社北京12月30日电 "伟大的变革——庆祝改革开放40周年大型展览"自11月13日…
20181202530	2018-12-31 00:00:00	1.0	航线不停、景区不休、生意不闲、游客不断 新疆 旅游无淡季,今冬 更红火	本报乌鲁木齐12月30日电 (记者杨明方、阿尔达克)——年之中半 年是降雪期,冬季雪深超过3
20181202531	2018-12-31 00:00:00	1.0	图片报道	徜徉知识海洋,感受阅读乐趣。十二月三十日是元旦小长假的第一 天,全国各地的特色文化活动丰富…
20181202532	2018-12-31 00:00:00	2.0	创造新的更大奇迹 ——党的十八届三中全会召开五周年述评	"全面发力、多点突破、蹄疾步稳、纵深推进"——庆祝改革开放40周 年大会上,习近平总书记用
20181202534	2018-12-31 00:00:00	3.0	开启中国特色大国外交新征程(2018年度国际特别报道) ——国务 委员兼外交部长王毅回顾20	本报记者 赵嘉鸣 管克江 杜尚泽 焦 翔 王海林 国务委员 兼外交部长王毅12月29日接
20181202535	2018-12-31 00:00:00	3.0	二〇一七年岁末,莫斯科大学的中国留学生们欣喜地收到了习近平主 席的回信;一年来,牢记习主席的…	本报驻俄罗斯记者 吴 焰 "一年前,习近平主席给留学生回 信,鼓励我们胸怀大志,刻苦学习
20181202536	2018-12-31 00:00:00	3.0	外交部发言人就中美建交40周年发表谈话	本报北京12月30日电 外交部发言人陆慷30日就中美建交40周年发 表谈话。 陆慷说,2…

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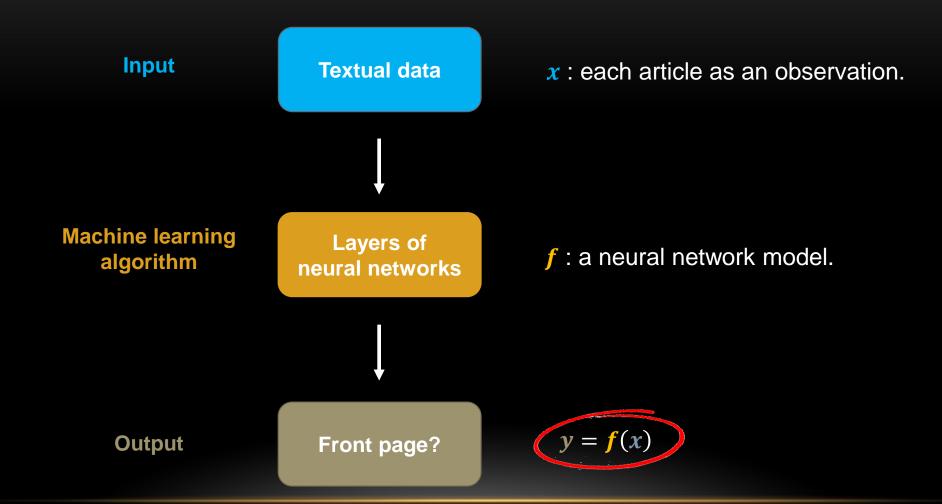
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Modeling



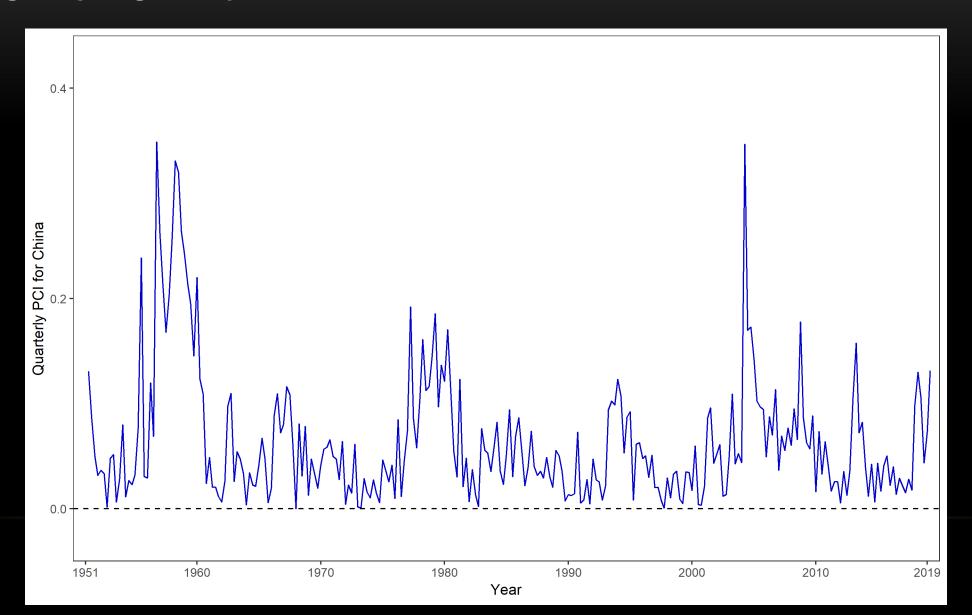
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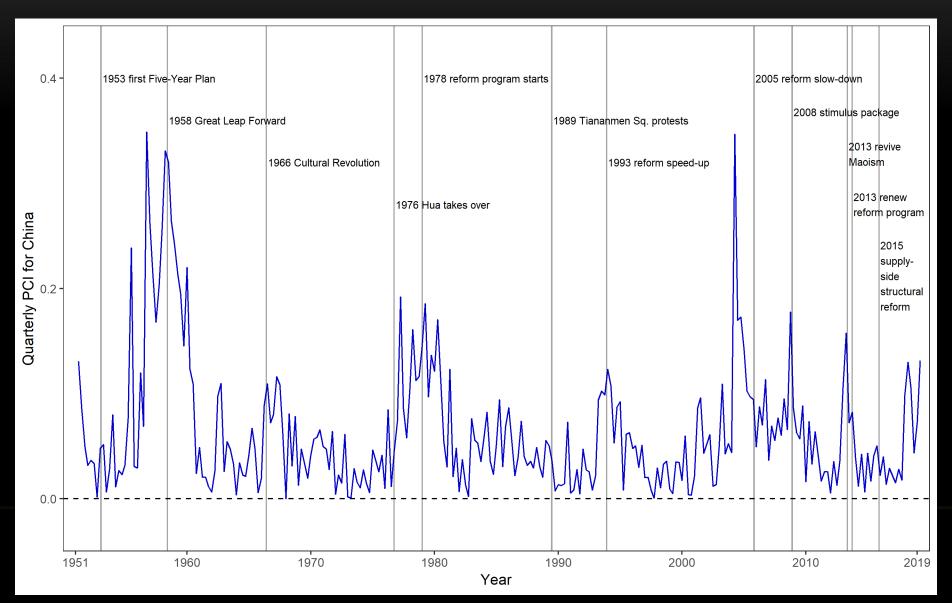
Constructing the PCI

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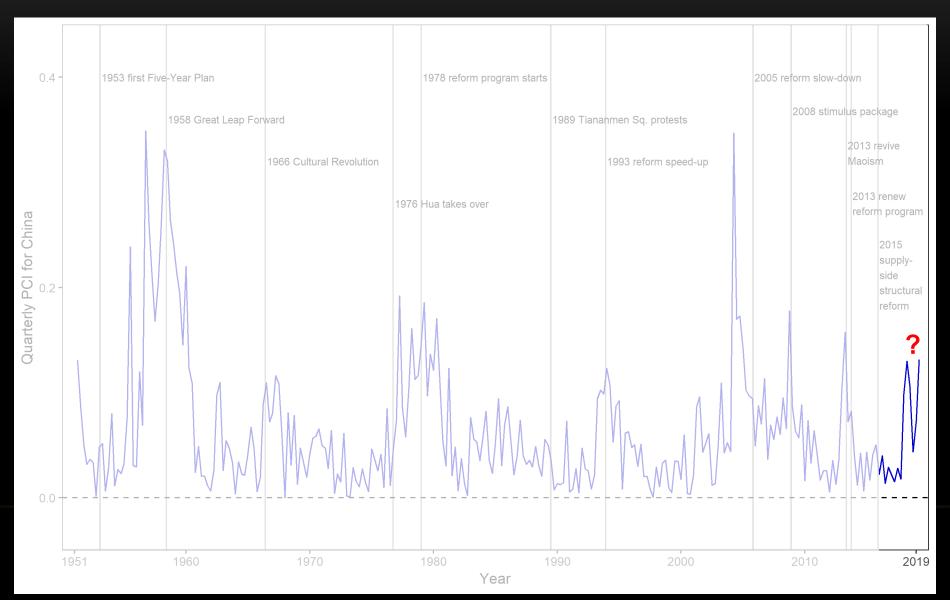
PCI for China



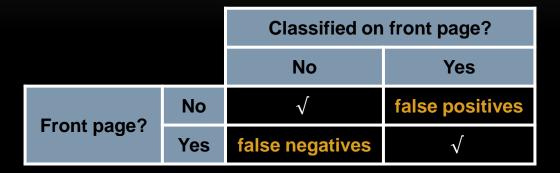
PCI for China — with ground truth



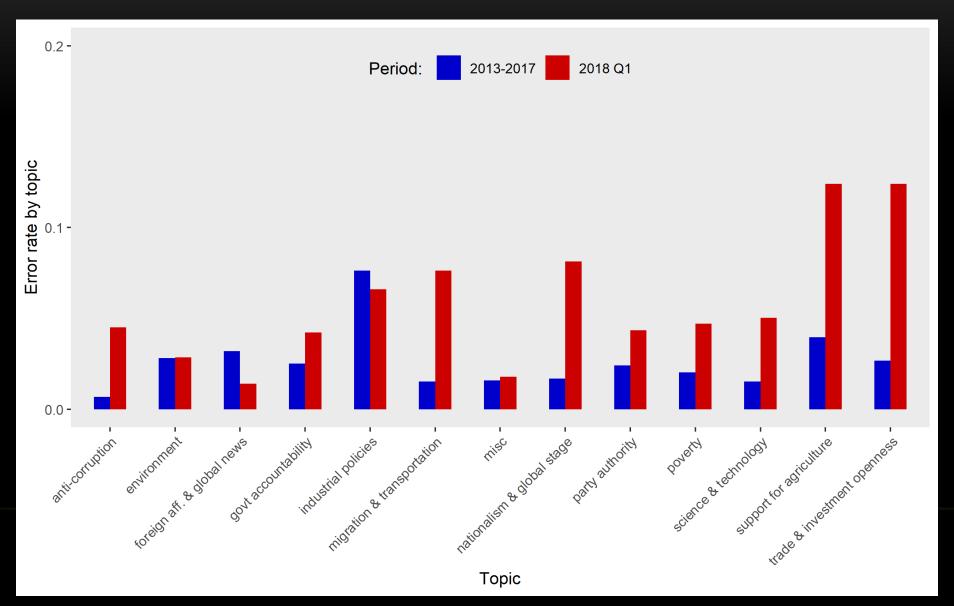
PCI for China — going forward



Understanding change



Content of *mis*-classified articles has policy substance.



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 - ⇒ Curb your enthusiasm for the US-China trade talks!

Takeaways: many applications

Generally

- PCI for other (ex-)Communist regimes, using:
 - Soviet Union's Pravda
 - East Germany's Neues Deutschland
 - Cuba's Granma
 - North Korea's Rodong Sinmun
 - Vietnam's Nhân Dân
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Work in progress

More generally

- PCI for other countries:
 - The state may not control the media.
 - But politicians/policymakers still talk!

Even more generally

- Applicability well beyond predicting policies.
- Omitted here. See our research paper.

Interested in DIY?

- Website: policychangeindex.org
- Newsletter: mercatus.org/PCInewsletter
- Repository: github.com/PSLmodels/PCI
- A simulated example to show how the PCI works.

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Questions?