

# **Crisis is a Gateway to Censored Information: The Case of Coronavirus in China**

Keng-Chi Chang, Will Hobbs, Molly Roberts, & Zachary Steinert-Threlkeld  
UC San Diego, Cornell, and UCLA

October 14, 2020

# Crisis and Information Seeking



- Dependence on the media increases during crisis

# Crisis and Information Seeking



- Dependence on the media increases during crisis
- But independent media is not available in many places

# Is Crisis a Gateway to Uncensored Information?

- **Censorship** impedes access to information

# Is Crisis a Gateway to Uncensored Information?

- **Censorship** impedes access to information
  - Great Firewall of China blocks access to foreign websites

# Is Crisis a Gateway to Uncensored Information?

- **Censorship** impedes access to information
  - Great Firewall of China blocks access to foreign websites
  - Can be circumvented, but relatively few people do

# Is Crisis a Gateway to Uncensored Information?

- **Censorship** impedes access to information
  - Great Firewall of China blocks access to foreign websites
  - Can be circumvented, but relatively few people do
- Unclear to us:

# Is Crisis a Gateway to Uncensored Information?

- **Censorship** impedes access to information
  - Great Firewall of China blocks access to foreign websites
  - Can be circumvented, but relatively few people do
- Unclear to us:
  - How does **crisis** impact **information seeking** in autocracies?



# Is Crisis a Gateway to Uncensored Information?

- **Censorship** impedes access to information
  - Great Firewall of China blocks access to foreign websites
  - Can be circumvented, but relatively few people do
- Unclear to us:
  - How does **crisis** impact **information seeking** in autocracies?
  - Does crisis inspire **censorship circumvention**?

# Is Crisis a Gateway to Uncensored Information?

- **Censorship** impedes access to information
  - Great Firewall of China blocks access to foreign websites
  - Can be circumvented, but relatively few people do
- Unclear to us:
  - How does **crisis** impact **information seeking** in autocracies?
  - Does crisis inspire **censorship circumvention**?
  - Do people circumvent censorship to seek out information only about the crisis?

# Is Crisis a Gateway to Uncensored Information?

- **Censorship** impedes access to information
  - Great Firewall of China blocks access to foreign websites
  - Can be circumvented, but relatively few people do
- Unclear to us:
  - How does **crisis** impact **information seeking** in autocracies?
  - Does crisis inspire **censorship circumvention**?
  - Do people circumvent censorship to seek out information only about the crisis?
  - Or does crisis provide a **gateway** to long censored information?

# Is Crisis a Gateway to Uncensored Information?

- **Censorship** impedes access to information
  - Great Firewall of China blocks access to foreign websites
  - Can be circumvented, but relatively few people do
- Unclear to us:
  - How does **crisis** impact **information seeking** in autocracies?
  - Does crisis inspire **censorship circumvention**?
  - Do people circumvent censorship to seek out information only about the crisis?
  - Or does crisis provide a **gateway** to long censored information?
- Gateway effects may make crises **additionally sensitive** for autocracies

# Preview of Findings

- We study these questions in the context of Coronavirus in China

# Preview of Findings

- We study these questions in the context of Coronavirus in China
- Yes, people seek out information even in highly censored environments

# Preview of Findings

- We study these questions in the context of Coronavirus in China
- Yes, people seek out information even in highly censored environments
- Volume: Jump in VPN, Facebook, and Twitter [downloads](#) and [sign ups](#)

# Preview of Findings

- We study these questions in the context of Coronavirus in China
- Yes, people seek out information even in highly censored environments
- Volume: Jump in VPN, Facebook, and Twitter [downloads](#) and [sign ups](#)
- Content:



# Preview of Findings

- We study these questions in the context of Coronavirus in China
- Yes, people seek out information even in highly censored environments
- Volume: Jump in VPN, Facebook, and Twitter **downloads** and **sign ups**
- Content:
  - **Increase** in new Twitter followers for international news agencies and dissidents

# Preview of Findings

- We study these questions in the context of Coronavirus in China
- Yes, people seek out information even in highly censored environments
- Volume: Jump in VPN, Facebook, and Twitter **downloads** and **sign ups**
- Content:
  - **Increase** in new Twitter followers for international news agencies and dissidents
  - **Little** change in new Twitter followers for state media, porn, and entertainment

# Preview of Findings

- We study these questions in the context of Coronavirus in China
- Yes, people seek out information even in highly censored environments
- Volume: Jump in VPN, Facebook, and Twitter **downloads** and **sign ups**
- Content:
  - **Increase** in new Twitter followers for international news agencies and dissidents
  - **Little** change in new Twitter followers for state media, porn, and entertainment
  - Increase Wikipedia page views of **current and historical** leaders

# Preview of Findings

- We study these questions in the context of Coronavirus in China
- Yes, people seek out information even in highly censored environments
- Volume: Jump in VPN, Facebook, and Twitter **downloads** and **sign ups**
- Content:
  - **Increase** in new Twitter followers for international news agencies and dissidents
  - **Little** change in new Twitter followers for state media, porn, and entertainment
  - Increase Wikipedia page views of **current and historical** leaders
  - cf. Wikipedia not blocked in Iran and Russia, no increase of historical leaders

# The Case of Coronavirus in China

- We study: crisis & information seeking in China

# The Case of Coronavirus in China

- We study: crisis & information seeking in China
- We use: case of COVID-19 in China

# The Case of Coronavirus in China

- We study: crisis & information seeking in China
- We use: case of COVID-19 in China
- Jan & Feb 2020: COVID cases in China spiking

# The Case of Coronavirus in China

- We study: crisis & information seeking in China
- We use: case of COVID-19 in China
- Jan & Feb 2020: COVID cases in China spiking
- January 23: Wuhan, Hubei started lockdown



# The Case of Coronavirus in China

- We study: crisis & information seeking in China
- We use: case of COVID-19 in China
- Jan & Feb 2020: COVID cases in China spiking
- January 23: Wuhan, Hubei started lockdown
- mid-February: half of China under travel restrictions

# The Case of Coronavirus in China

- We study: crisis & information seeking in China
- We use: case of COVID-19 in China
- Jan & Feb 2020: COVID cases in China spiking
- January 23: Wuhan, Hubei started lockdown
- mid-February: half of China under travel restrictions
- March 13: first lockdown removal in Hubei Province

# Empirical Tests

1. Do individuals circumvent censorship more during crisis?

# Empirical Tests

1. Do individuals circumvent censorship more during crisis?
  - VPN ranking; increased use of blocked services; new Twitter users

# Empirical Tests

1. Do individuals circumvent censorship more during crisis?
  - VPN ranking; increased use of blocked services; new Twitter users
2. What do individuals access once they circumvent censorship?

# Empirical Tests

1. Do individuals circumvent censorship more during crisis?
  - VPN ranking; increased use of blocked services; new Twitter users
2. What do individuals access once they circumvent censorship?
  - Wikipedia traffic; Twitter accounts that receive disproportionate numbers of new followers from mainland China

# Empirical Tests

1. Do individuals circumvent censorship more during crisis?
  - VPN ranking; increased use of blocked services; new Twitter users
2. What do individuals access once they circumvent censorship?
  - Wikipedia traffic; Twitter accounts that receive disproportionate numbers of new followers from mainland China
3. Do individuals access non-crisis sensitive information?

# Empirical Tests

1. Do individuals circumvent censorship more during crisis?
  - VPN ranking; increased use of blocked services; new Twitter users
2. What do individuals access once they circumvent censorship?
  - Wikipedia traffic; Twitter accounts that receive disproportionate numbers of new followers from mainland China
3. Do individuals access non-crisis sensitive information?
  - Wikipedia traffic to blocked pages; new mainland China followers for activists and foreign political figures



# Empirical Tests

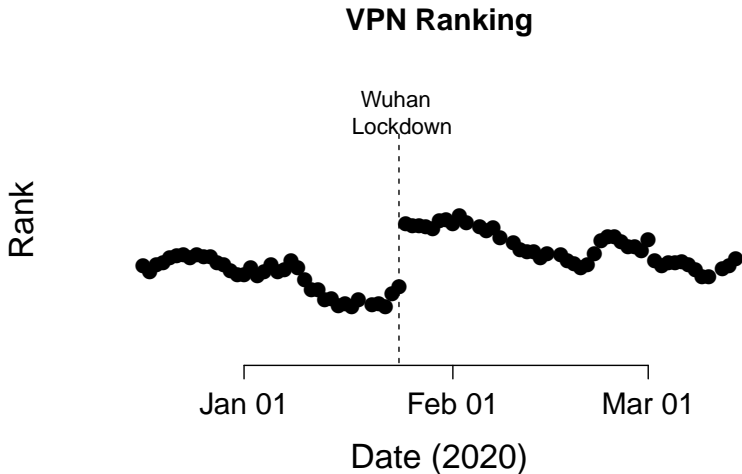
1. Do individuals circumvent censorship more during crisis?
  - VPN ranking; increased use of blocked services; new Twitter users
2. What do individuals access once they circumvent censorship?
  - Wikipedia traffic; Twitter accounts that receive disproportionate numbers of new followers from mainland China
3. Do individuals access non-crisis sensitive information?
  - Wikipedia traffic to blocked pages; new mainland China followers for activists and foreign political figures
4. Do these same dynamics occur in democracies and less censored environments?

# Empirical Tests

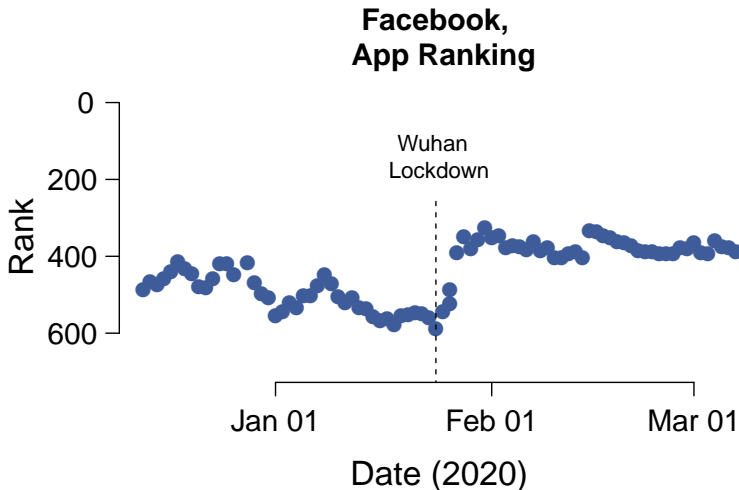
1. Do individuals circumvent censorship more during crisis?
  - VPN ranking; increased use of blocked services; new Twitter users
2. What do individuals access once they circumvent censorship?
  - Wikipedia traffic; Twitter accounts that receive disproportionate numbers of new followers from mainland China
3. Do individuals access non-crisis sensitive information?
  - Wikipedia traffic to blocked pages; new mainland China followers for activists and foreign political figures
4. Do these same dynamics occur in democracies and less censored environments?
  - Wikipedia page views in Germany, Italy, Iran, and Russia

# iPhone Application Downloads in China

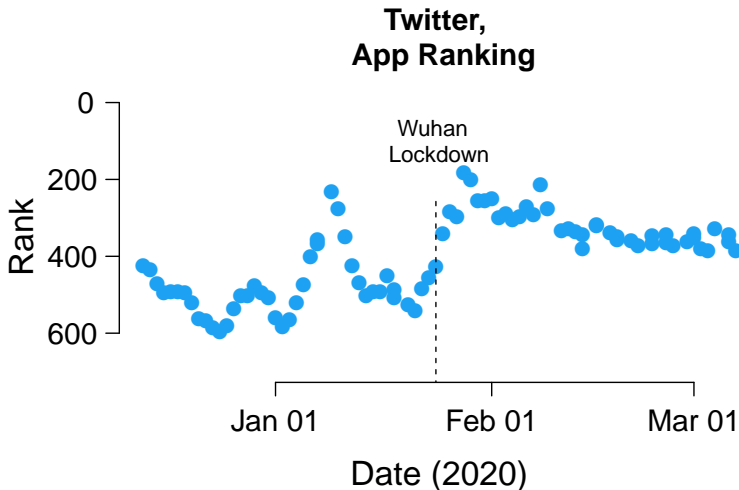
# iPhone Application Downloads in China



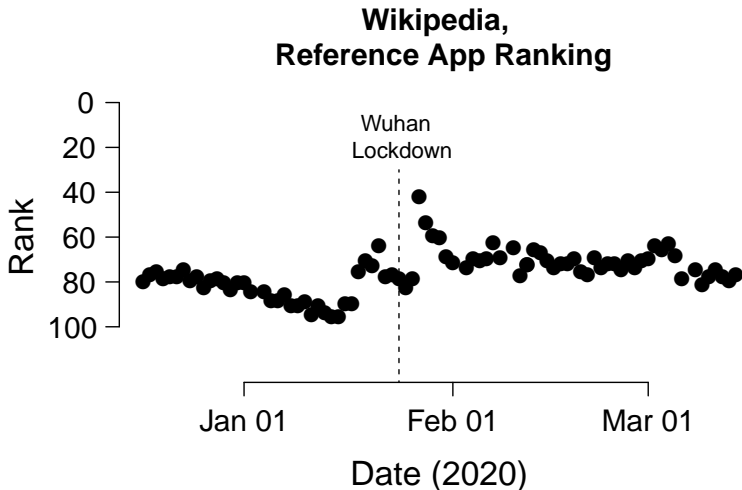
# iPhone Application Downloads in China



# iPhone Application Downloads in China



# iPhone Application Downloads in China



# Twitter Data

- 1,448,850 tweets geo-located to mainland China, Dec 1, 2019 - June 30, 2020



# Twitter Data

- 1,448,850 tweets geo-located to mainland China, Dec 1, 2019 - June 30, 2020
- Twitter: Blocked by the Great Firewall

# Twitter Data

- 1,448,850 tweets geo-located to mainland China, Dec 1, 2019 - June 30, 2020
- Twitter: Blocked by the Great Firewall
- Geolocation: uses GPS on your phone

# Twitter Data

- 1,448,850 tweets geo-located to mainland China, Dec 1, 2019 - June 30, 2020
- Twitter: Blocked by the Great Firewall
- Geolocation: uses GPS on your phone
- → Tweets will geo-locate to China even if VPN is in use

# Twitter Data

- 1,448,850 tweets geo-located to mainland China, Dec 1, 2019 - June 30, 2020
- Twitter: Blocked by the Great Firewall
- Geolocation: uses GPS on your phone
- → Tweets will geo-locate to China even if VPN is in use
- We measure:

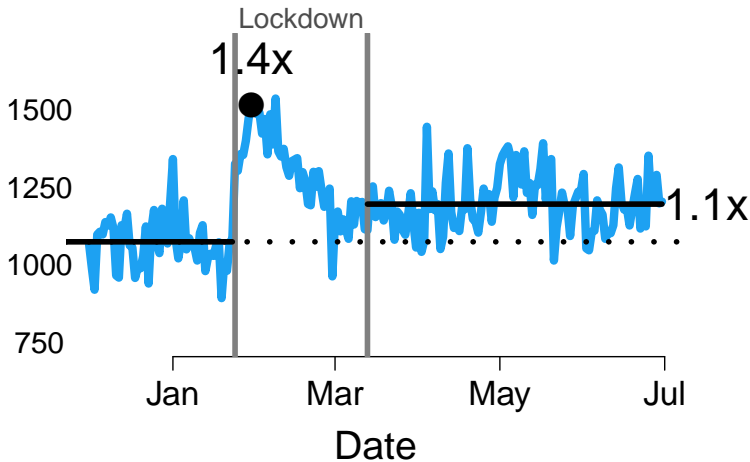
# Twitter Data

- 1,448,850 tweets geo-located to mainland China, Dec 1, 2019 - June 30, 2020
- Twitter: Blocked by the Great Firewall
- Geolocation: uses GPS on your phone
- → Tweets will geo-locate to China even if VPN is in use
- We measure:
  - Number of geo-located users posting in Chinese by day

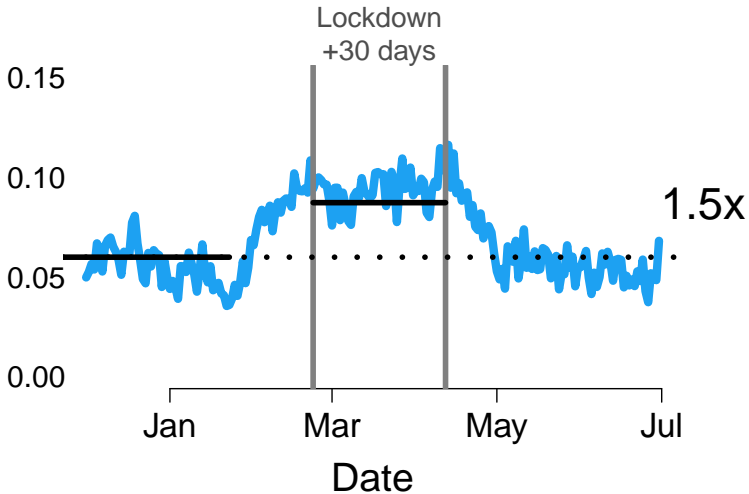
# Twitter Data

- 1,448,850 tweets geo-located to mainland China, Dec 1, 2019 - June 30, 2020
- Twitter: Blocked by the Great Firewall
- Geolocation: uses GPS on your phone
- → Tweets will geo-locate to China even if VPN is in use
- We measure:
  - Number of geo-located users posting in Chinese by day
  - Fraction of geo-locating users who joined in last 30 days

Number of geo-locating users  
in China posting in Chinese

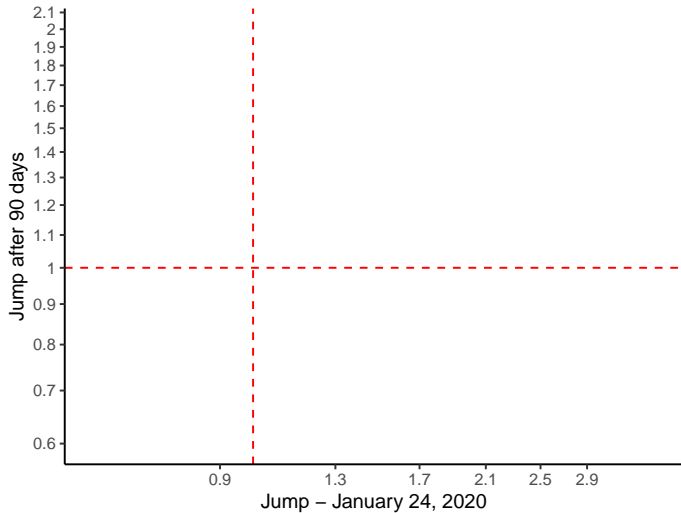


Fraction of geo-locating users  
who joined in last 30 days

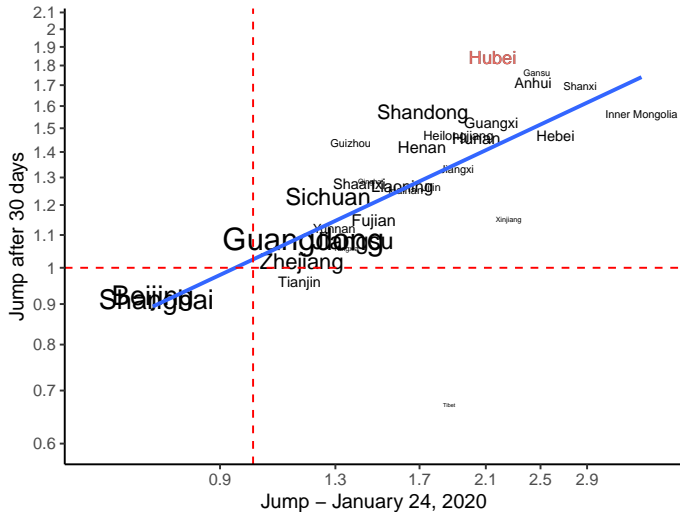




# Increase in Twitter Activity by Province



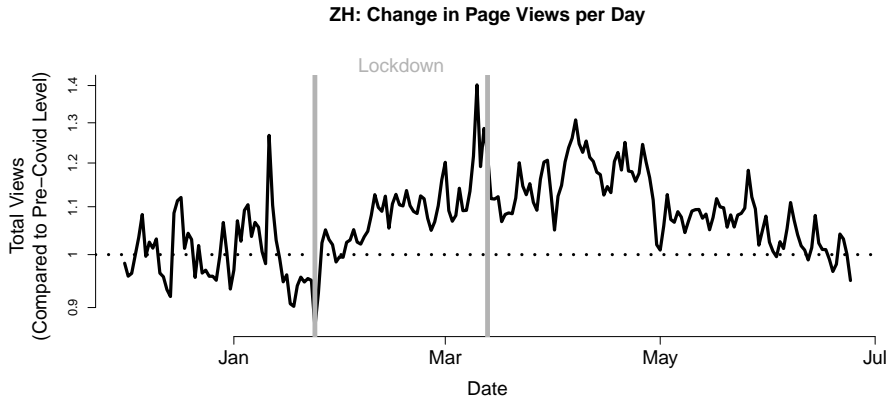
# Increase in Twitter Activity by Province



Average Number of Users Geo-Locating Each Day After Wuhan Lockdown

- a 50
- a 100
- a 150

# Views of Wikipedia Pages in Chinese



# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia

# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?

# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown

# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown
  - Identify Chinese language accounts commonly followed

# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown
  - Identify Chinese language accounts commonly followed
  - Categorize 5,000 most followed accounts into **6 categories**:



# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown
  - Identify Chinese language accounts commonly followed
  - Categorize 5,000 most followed accounts into **6 categories**:
    1. International news agencies

# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown
  - Identify Chinese language accounts commonly followed
  - Categorize 5,000 most followed accounts into **6 categories**:
    1. International news agencies
    2. Chinese citizen journalists or political commentators

# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown
  - Identify Chinese language accounts commonly followed
  - Categorize 5,000 most followed accounts into **6 categories**:
    1. International news agencies
    2. Chinese citizen journalists or political commentators
    3. Activists, or other accounts disseminating political information

# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown
  - Identify Chinese language accounts commonly followed
  - Categorize 5,000 most followed accounts into **6 categories**:
    1. International news agencies
    2. Chinese citizen journalists or political commentators
    3. Activists, or other accounts disseminating political information
    4. Pornography

# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown
  - Identify Chinese language accounts commonly followed
  - Categorize 5,000 most followed accounts into **6 categories**:
    1. International news agencies
    2. Chinese citizen journalists or political commentators
    3. Activists, or other accounts disseminating political information
    4. Pornography
    5. State media and political figures

# What information do people view on Twitter?

- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown
  - Identify Chinese language accounts commonly followed
  - Categorize 5,000 most followed accounts into **6 categories**:
    1. International news agencies
    2. Chinese citizen journalists or political commentators
    3. Activists, or other accounts disseminating political information
    4. Pornography
    5. State media and political figures
    6. Entertainment or commercial influencers

# What information do people view on Twitter?

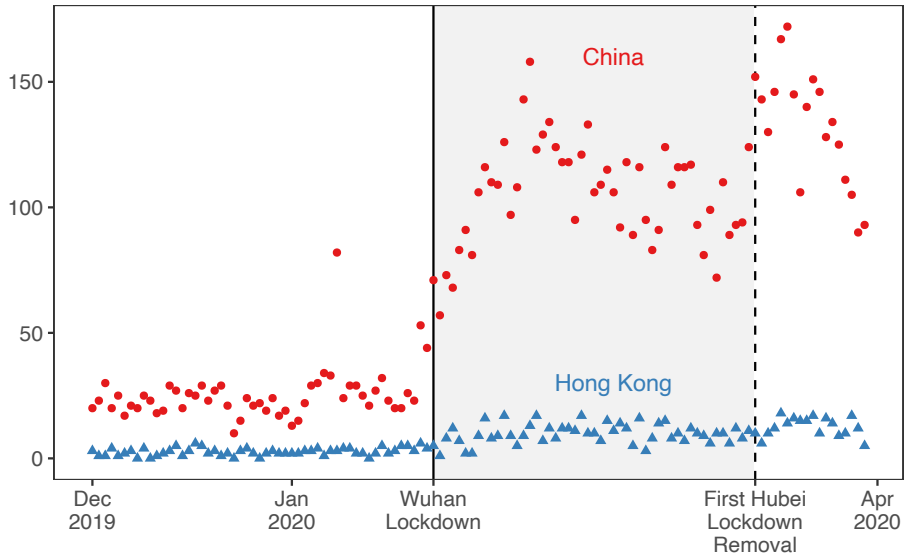
- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown
  - Identify Chinese language accounts commonly followed
  - Categorize 5,000 most followed accounts into **6 categories**:
    1. International news agencies
    2. Chinese citizen journalists or political commentators
    3. Activists, or other accounts disseminating political information
    4. Pornography
    5. State media and political figures
    6. Entertainment or commercial influencers
  - Identify whether followers are from **mainland China** or **HK**

# What information do people view on Twitter?

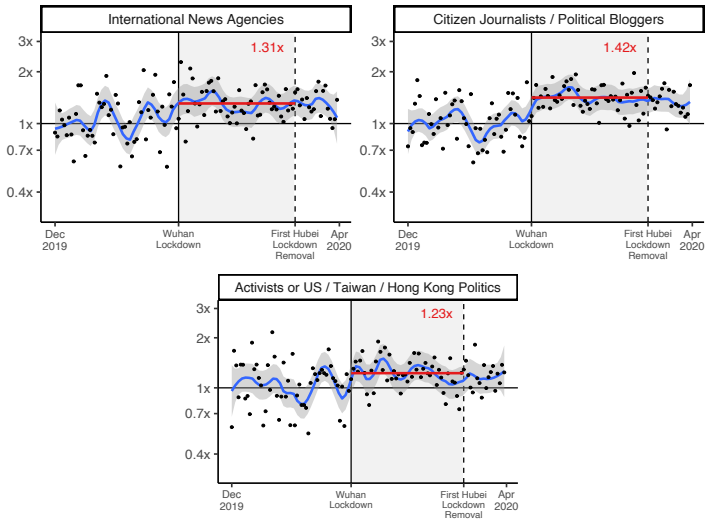
- Lots of content on both Twitter and Wikipedia
- What **types of information** do **users** seek out?
- Twitter: look at the **types of accounts** that **disproportionately** gain **mainland Chinese** followers after lockdown
  - Identify Chinese language accounts commonly followed
  - Categorize 5,000 most followed accounts into **6 categories**:
    1. International news agencies
    2. Chinese citizen journalists or political commentators
    3. Activists, or other accounts disseminating political information
    4. Pornography
    5. State media and political figures
    6. Entertainment or commercial influencers
  - Identify whether followers are from **mainland China** or **HK**
- What accounts disproportionately gain mainland followers during lockdown?



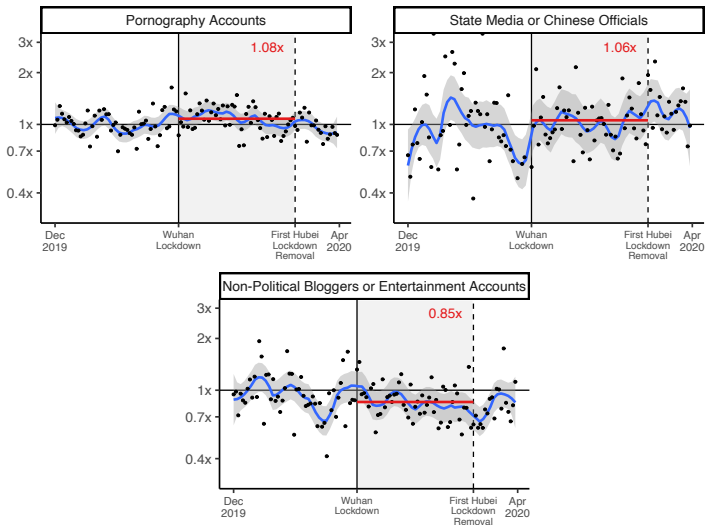
# Twitter @ChineseWSJ Number of New Followers by Location



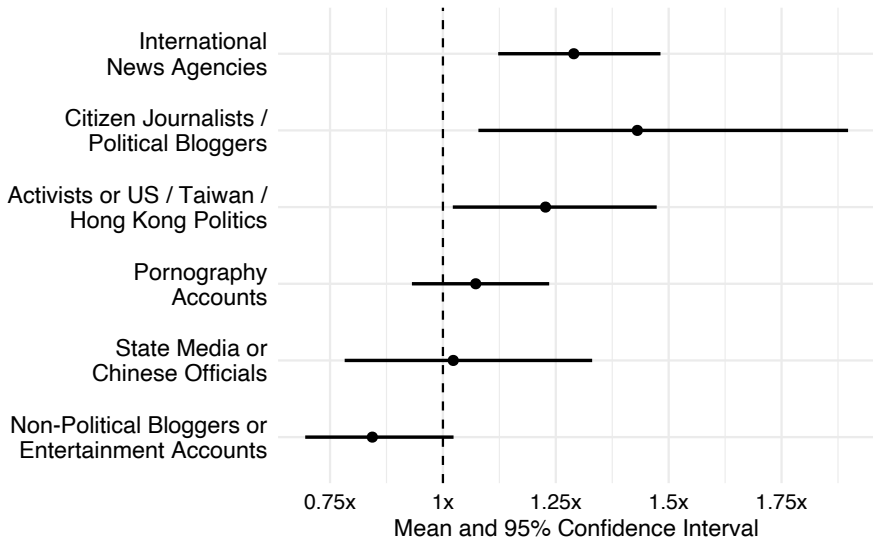
# (China / China Avg in Dec) / (HK / HK Avg in Dec)



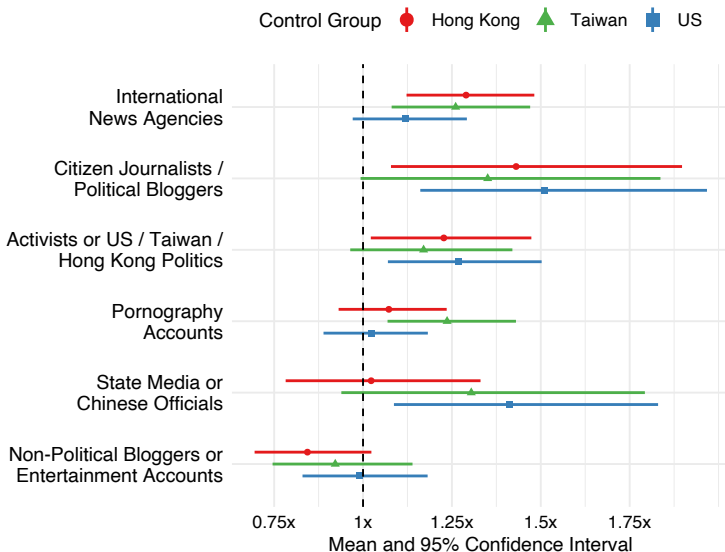
# (China / China Avg in Dec) / (HK / HK Avg in Dec)



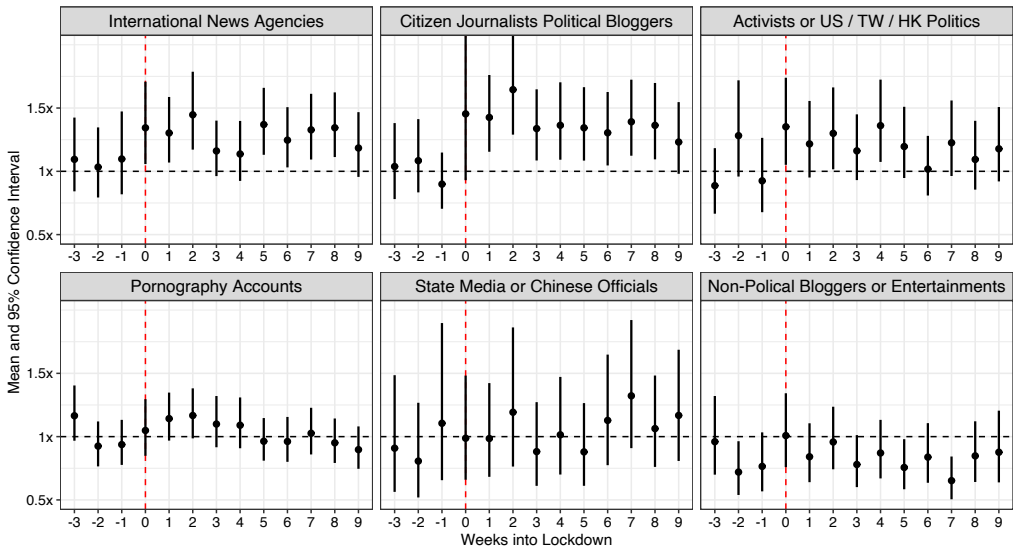
## Relative Size of New Followers, China / Hong Kong



## Relative Size of New Followers, China / Control Group



## Relative Size of New Followers by Week, China / Hong Kong



# What do people view on Wikipedia?

- Examine page views of *three categories* of pages:

# What do people view on Wikipedia?

- Examine page views of *three categories* of pages:
  1. Current leaders



# What do people view on Wikipedia?

- Examine page views of *three categories* of pages:
  1. Current leaders
  2. Historical leaders

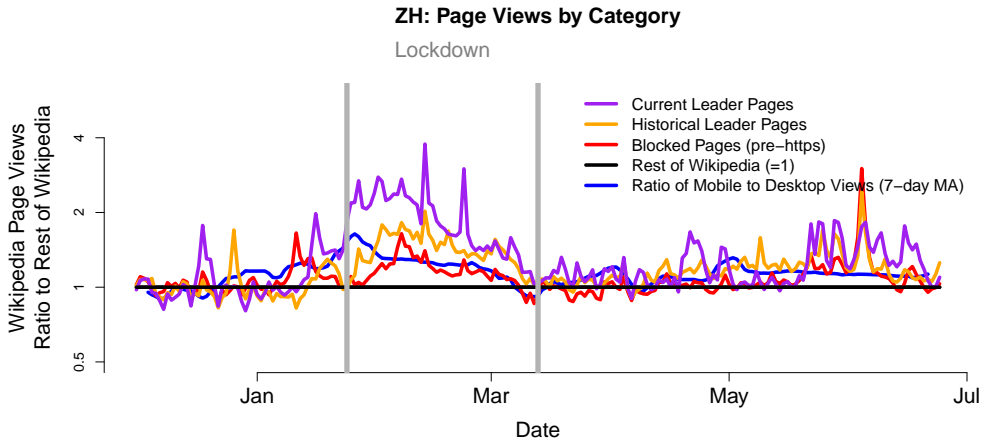
# What do people view on Wikipedia?

- Examine page views of *three categories* of pages:
  1. Current leaders
  2. Historical leaders
  3. Pages that were selectively blocked pre-2015

# What do people view on Wikipedia?

- Examine page views of **three categories** of pages:
  1. Current leaders
  2. Historical leaders
  3. Pages that were selectively blocked pre-2015
- How do **page views** in each category change **relative to all other pages**?

# Increases in Wikipedia Page Views By Category



# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for [other countries](#) that:

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for [other countries](#) that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for **other countries** that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for **other countries** that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns



# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for **other countries** that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns
- Because Wikipedia uncensored, we do not expect a gateway

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for **other countries** that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns
- Because Wikipedia uncensored, we do not expect a gateway
- Countries:

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for [other countries](#) that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns
- Because Wikipedia uncensored, we do not expect a gateway
- Countries:
  - [Italy](#): March 9, 2020-May 18, 2020

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for [other countries](#) that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns
- Because Wikipedia uncensored, we do not expect a gateway
- Countries:
  - [Italy](#): March 9, 2020-May 18, 2020
  - [Germany](#): March 22, 2020-May 6, 2020

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for **other countries** that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns
- Because Wikipedia uncensored, we do not expect a gateway
- Countries:
  - **Italy**: March 9, 2020-May 18, 2020
  - **Germany**: March 22, 2020-May 6, 2020
  - **Russia**: March 28, 2020-May 12, 2020

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for **other countries** that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns
- Because Wikipedia uncensored, we do not expect a gateway
- Countries:
  - **Italy**: March 9, 2020-May 18, 2020
  - **Germany**: March 22, 2020-May 6, 2020
  - **Russia**: March 28, 2020-May 12, 2020
  - **Iran**: March 20, 2020-April 18, 2020

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for **other countries** that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns
- Because Wikipedia uncensored, we do not expect a gateway
- Countries:
  - **Italy**: March 9, 2020-May 18, 2020
  - **Germany**: March 22, 2020-May 6, 2020
  - **Russia**: March 28, 2020-May 12, 2020
  - **Iran**: March 20, 2020-April 18, 2020
- Examine the same categories:

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

- Examine Wikipedia page views for **other countries** that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns
- Because Wikipedia uncensored, we do not expect a gateway
- Countries:
  - **Italy**: March 9, 2020-May 18, 2020
  - **Germany**: March 22, 2020-May 6, 2020
  - **Russia**: March 28, 2020-May 12, 2020
  - **Iran**: March 20, 2020-April 18, 2020
- Examine the same categories:
  1. Current leaders



# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

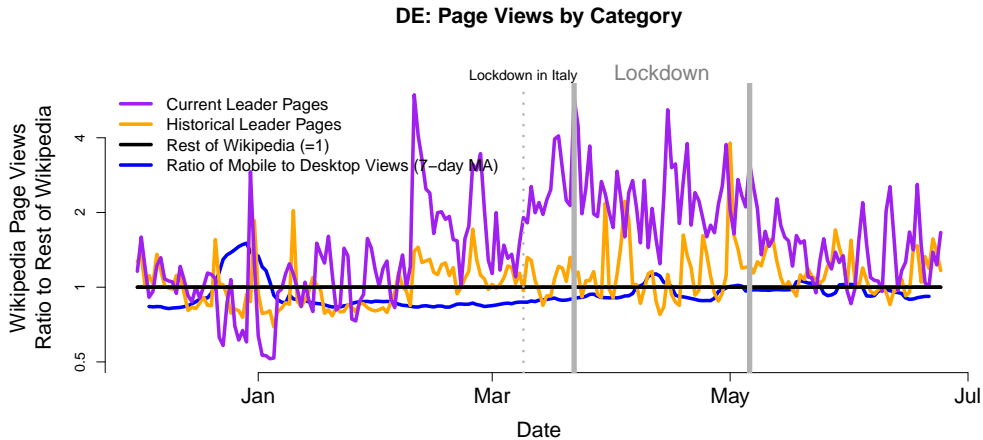
- Examine Wikipedia page views for **other countries** that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns
- Because Wikipedia uncensored, we do not expect a gateway
- Countries:
  - **Italy**: March 9, 2020-May 18, 2020
  - **Germany**: March 22, 2020-May 6, 2020
  - **Russia**: March 28, 2020-May 12, 2020
  - **Iran**: March 20, 2020-April 18, 2020
- Examine the same categories:
  1. Current leaders
  2. Historical leaders

# Comparison to where Wikipedia is not censored

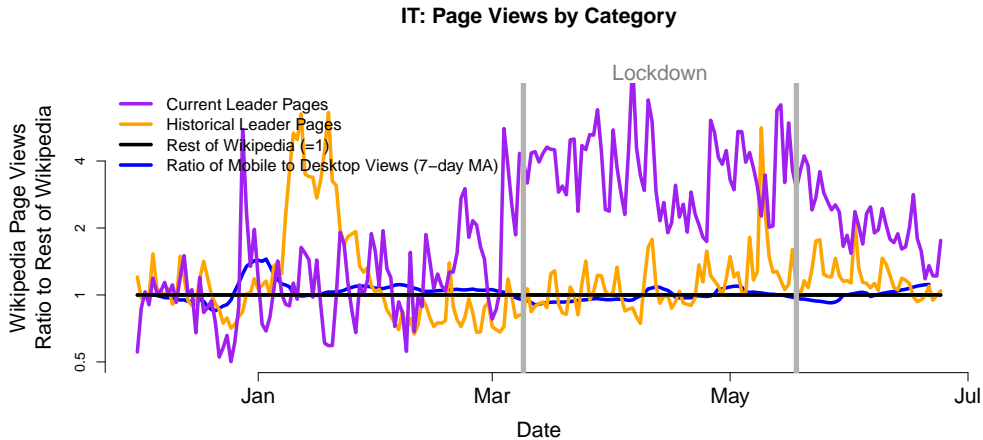
- Examine Wikipedia page views for **other countries** that:
  - Do not censor Wikipedia
  - Language primarily spoken within that country
  - Experienced similar COVID crises & lockdowns
- Because Wikipedia uncensored, we do not expect a gateway
- Countries:
  - **Italy**: March 9, 2020-May 18, 2020
  - **Germany**: March 22, 2020-May 6, 2020
  - **Russia**: March 28, 2020-May 12, 2020
  - **Iran**: March 20, 2020-April 18, 2020
- Examine the same categories:
  1. Current leaders
  2. Historical leaders
  3. Pages that were selectively blocked pre-2015 (Iran)

	Overall	Blocked relative to overall	Leaders	Historical Leaders
Chinese	1.09 (1.05 - 1.12)	1.15 (1.09 - 1.22)	1.86 (1.67 - 2.07)	1.42 (1.32 - 1.52)
Persian	1.42 (1.37 - 1.46)	0.84 (0.79 - 0.89)	0.91 (0.80 - 1.05)	0.82 (0.75 - 0.90)
Russian	1.23 (1.18 - 1.28)		1.73 (1.48 - 2.02)	0.90 (0.82 - 0.99)
German	1.16 (1.12 - 1.20)		2.36 (2.02 - 2.76)	1.21 (1.05 - 1.40)
Italian	1.47 (1.40 - 1.53)		3.29 (2.72 - 4.00)	1.17 (1.02 - 1.34)

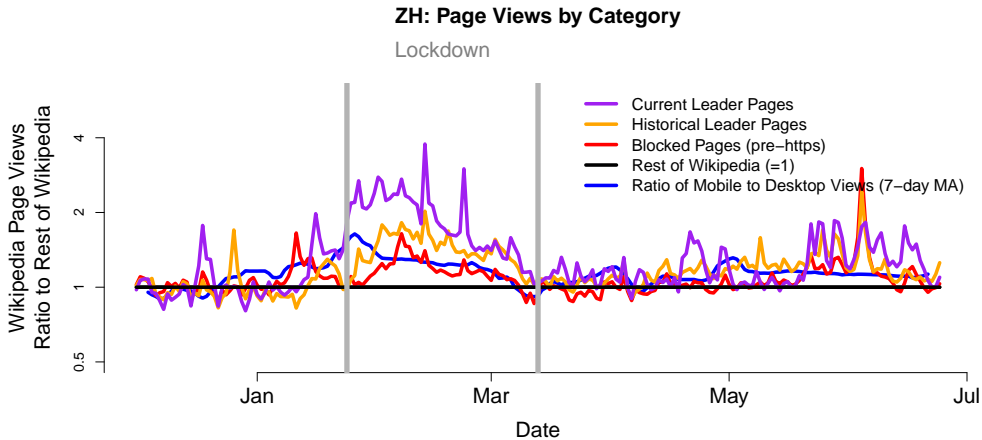
# Increases in Wikipedia Page Views in German



# Increases in Wikipedia Page Views in Italian



# Increases in Wikipedia Page Views in Chinese



# Conclusion

- Crisis increases attention to the media

# Conclusion

- Crisis increases attention to the media
- In censored environments:



# Conclusion

- Crisis increases attention to the media
- In censored environments:
  - Increases information seeking outside of state media

# Conclusion

- Crisis increases attention to the media
- In censored environments:
  - Increases information seeking outside of state media
  - → Censorship circumvention

# Conclusion

- Crisis increases attention to the media
- In censored environments:
  - Increases information seeking outside of state media
  - → Censorship circumvention
- Censorship circumvention in turn provides a gateway:

# Conclusion

- Crisis increases attention to the media
- In censored environments:
  - Increases information seeking outside of state media
  - → Censorship circumvention
- Censorship circumvention in turn provides a gateway:
  - long-censored platforms

# Conclusion

- Crisis increases attention to the media
- In censored environments:
  - Increases information seeking outside of state media
  - → Censorship circumvention
- Censorship circumvention in turn provides a gateway:
  - long-censored platforms
  - sensitive information

# Conclusion

- Crisis increases attention to the media
- In censored environments:
  - Increases information seeking outside of state media
  - → Censorship circumvention
- Censorship circumvention in turn provides a gateway:
  - long-censored platforms
  - sensitive information
- May provide a reason why crisis additionally sensitive for autocrats