



# Beyond *Guanxi*: Chinese Historical Networks

[illegible]

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MARILYN LEVINE

## Biography for Historical Analysis: A Chinese Biographical Database

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**Keywords** Chinese Biographical Database, Chinese Communist Party, Chinese Nationalist Party, quantitative history, network analysis

**Abstract** Biography is a common approach to examining history as event and process. Whether leaders or followers, extraordinary or average individuals, together they are a part of the historical process. The Chinese Biographical Database (CBD), originally created in 1997–98, was made available online through 2006 and was intended as a research tool to aid in understanding biography and history. The CBD originated in the study of Chinese politics in Europe during the 1920s and included information on more than 1,100 Chinese who went to France, Germany, and Belgium, and later expanded to include other Chinese individuals, creating a diverse array of people in politics, academics, military, and other spheres. Data attributes included basic biographical information such as names, gender, birthplace, birth and death dates, main career, affiliations, education, positions, youth activities, historical events, family members, alternate names, sources, locator data, and multimedia. Since 2018, the CBD has been transformed into an analytical resource with updated information for 2,109 individuals and 840 attributes. This article will introduce the CBD and then discuss the historical context, documentation, composition, and future of the CBD, as well as presenting two examples of its utilization for historical network analysis.

## 1. Introduction\*

The Chinese Biographical Database (CBD) is a resource that was created over thirty years ago.<sup>1</sup> It emerged out of two studies on Chinese political party development in Europe during the 1920s, including international archival research and a series of transcribed Chinese interviews in 1985 and 1990 with CBD individuals, their relatives, and the CCP (308,000 characters). The CBD had as its core philosophy the intent to develop multiple methods for highlighting information on Chinese individuals who lived during one of the most creative decades of the twentieth century. The CBD was a pioneer in forwarding the idea of a shared scholarly resource and was online from 1998 through 2006. The online CBD displayed over two dozen reports and queries, received numerous accolades, more than a million visits, and the basic report form was linked on the Chinese Worldwide Web (WWW) Virtual Library site.<sup>2</sup>

Although the CBD was utilized, it did not achieve its original intention of on-line collaboration, with scholarly moderation of new data and figures. Several challenges to establishing a collaborative online effort became apparent. Some of these challenges were slow, less reliable connection speeds (via dialup), and the WWW only gained its first browsers in 1993 (Mosaic, Netscape). In 1994 there were just 2,738 websites, and when the CBD was being developed there were 257,601 websites (1996), while in 2020 there are over 1.8 billion websites.<sup>3</sup> Be-

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- 1 Abbreviations used in this article include Chinese Biographical Database (CBD), Soviet Returned Leaders data subset (SRL), Chinese Students in Europe data subset (CSE), Sino-French Institute at Lyon (SFI), European Branches of the Chinese Communist Organizations (ECCO), European Branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party (EGMD), Chinese Communist Party (CCP), Chinese Nationalist Party – Guomindang (GMD). The Levine CBD should not be confused with the Harvard CBDB (China Biographical Database), discussed elsewhere in this issue by Michael Fuller and Wang Hongsu, which emerged after the CBD and focuses on premodern China.
- 2 For more information on the collaborative goals and impact of the CBD see: Marilyn Levine, “The Chinese Biographical Database Project: A Model for Collaborative Scholarship,” in *Proceedings of the EBTI, SEER, ECAI, and PNC Meeting* (Taipei: Pacific Neighborhood Consortium, 1999), 514–20; Marilyn Levine, “Modern China and the Chinese Biographical Database” (First International Workshop on Biographical Databases for China’s History, Harvard University, 2010). In addition, numerous speeches and workshops were given about the CBD in Europe, Asia, Australia, and the United States.
- 3 “Total Number of Websites – Internet Live Stats,” <https://www.internetlivestats.com/total-number-of-websites/#trend>, accessed August 17, 2020.



sides technical challenges of the time, there were utilization and attitudinal challenges. The actual audience of scholars for historical biographical data was rather small, and web-based collaborations were more focused on creating digital resources – digitalization, not utilization. In terms of the usage of the CBD, more important for viewers was the capacity to extract information on CBD biographies through more than a dozen queries and reports.

After a ten-year hiatus, the CBD was reprised, with different aspirations, including the idea of utilizing the data for statistical and network analysis. Two simple primary questions were asked: (1) Would quantitative and network analyses mirror actual history? (2) Would there be any new discoveries in such analyses? Some secondary questions were: What were the impacts of shared regional origin, political, educational, career, political, or cultural affiliations? Could one ascertain common generational trends? How does a network view of political leadership alter our understanding of leadership patterns in modern China?

To utilize analytical programs, the data were first exported to a single workbook, with the original tables as separate worksheets, followed by a macro that merged the worksheets into a single spreadsheet for seven of the tables (see Table 1). Latitude and longitude values were added in the basic biographical table. This allowed the usage of statistical, network, and geospatial programs. The primary spreadsheets exist in 2-mode (individuals vs all attributes) and are used for multivariate and centralization analysis, but 1-mode (individual vs individual) datasets were also created from 2-mode datasets through sums of cross-products for most network analyses. One must be aware that the attributes are only *potential affiliations* of ties, and the binary attributes are undirected.

Some confusion may exist surrounding 2-mode (rectangular person x attributes) conversion to 1-mode (symmetric person x person) datasets. One common example is the sum of cross-products method (Bonacich, 1972) where both the sums of cross-products as well as their normalization are produced. An example from a CBD data subset of three individuals and five attributes can be seen in Table 2, with resulting sums of a cross-products matrix in Table 3 that demonstrates the conversion to 1-mode.<sup>4</sup>

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4 For more in-depth information, see: Stephen P. Borgatti, “Two-Mode Concepts in Social Network Analysis,” *Encyclopedia of Complexity and System Science* 6 (2009): 8279–91; Stephen P. Borgatti and Daniel S. Halgin, “Analyzing Affiliation Networks,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, by John Scott and Peter Carrington (London, UK: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2014), 417–33, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446294413.n28>. Also see: P. Bonacich, “Factoring and Weighting Approaches to Status Scores and Clique Identification,” *Journal of Mathematical Sociology* 92 (1972): 1170–82.

Table Name*	N. Individuals	Attributes	Range of Attributes
1. Basic Biodata	2,109	46	Full name, Chinese characters (traditional and simplified) birth year, birth date, death year, lifespan, birth city, birth province, latitudes/longitudes for birth cities, gender, provinces (binarized columns), web links, and 2,093 comments.
2. Career	1,252	40	Careers range from academic categories to veterinarian.
3. Affiliations	2,242	50	Focus on affiliations in the 20 <sup>th</sup> century with the majority political.
4. Education	1,601	570	Most of the institutions are post-secondary, many in Europe.
5. Positions	2,954	45	Wide range of positions in politics, culture, and military areas.
6. Youth	331	17	Emphasis on May Fourth groupings.
7. Historical Events	1,696	72	Focus on 20 <sup>th</sup> century events in China.
<b>Total:</b>	<b>12,185</b>	<b>840</b>	

**Tab. 1** Chinese Biographical Database structure.

Attribute						
No.	Individual	May 4 <sup>th</sup>	ECCO	Central Comm.	1927 Nanchang	CPPCC
1	Zhou Enlai	1	1	1	1	1
2	Luo Yinong	1	0	1	1	0
3	Dai Kunzhong	1	1	0	0	0

**Tab. 2** Three example individuals versus five binarized attributes (2-mode).

Example sums of cross-products calculated for Zhou Enlai versus Luo Yinong as:  
 $\text{sum} = 1 \times 1 + 1 \times 0 + 1 \times 1 + 1 \times 1 + 1 \times 0 = 3.$

	1	2	3
1	5	3	2
2	3	3	1
3	2	1	2

**Tab. 3** Resulting sums of cross-products matrix (1-mode) for three individuals.

Some of the advantages of conversion to 1-mode with sums of cross-products if the data are binary (1, 0) are: the final sum per individual is the degree centrality; the sums are a multivariate measure frequently spanning over 200 attributes yielding an order of magnitude or more statistical advantage; and the sums can be calculated with normalization, allowing different dataset comparisons.

The most cited earliest reference of a 2-mode study that also was converted to a 1-mode matrix for network analysis is one on Southern women (1941)<sup>5</sup> which was a dataset of 18 individuals and 14 attributes, where the attributes were: “a day’s work behind the counter of a store, a meeting of a women’s club, a church supper, a card party, a supper party, a meeting of the Parent-Teacher Association, etc.”<sup>6</sup> These attributes were an example of biographical data for these Southern women, albeit very abbreviated, with only 14 attributes, although it was successfully used in clique analysis, as demonstrated in a meta-analysis by Linton Freeman of 21 major studies based on the Southern women dataset.<sup>7</sup> Like the Southern women, the CBD allows either 2-mode or 1-mode utilization.

## 2. “To Save China!” A Historical Context of the CBD Individuals

The CBD concentrates on twentieth-century Chinese leadership. It emerged out of research from two studies of the development of five Chinese political parties in Europe during the early 1920s.<sup>8</sup> China was undergoing a generational revolution after the Republican Revolution of 1911, when the Qing dynasty was overthrown. With the abolition of many traditions, change was led by teachers and their students in the New Culture Movement that began in 1915. The West was looked upon as a model for national salvation, both intellectually and technologically. Several giants of Chinese education who were oriented towards Europe, such as Li Shizeng (李石曾 1881–1973), Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培 1868–1940), Wu Zhihui (吳稚暉 1865–1953), and Wang Jingwei (汪精衛 1883–1944) organized the Diligent-Work Frugal-Study Movement (勤工儉學運動), whereby over 1,800 Chinese youths went to French-language preparatory schools and then traveled to

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5 Allison Davis et al., *Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

6 G. C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), 82.

7 Linton Freeman, “Finding Social Groups: A Meta-Analysis of the Southern Women Data,” in *Dynamic Social Network Modeling and Analysis: Workshop Summary and Papers*, by Ronald L. Breiger, Kathleen M. Carley, and Philippa Pattison (Washington, D.C.: National Academies Press, 2003), 1–39.

8 Marilyn A. Levine, *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993); Marilyn A. Levine and San-ching Chen, *The Guomindang in Europe: A Sourcebook of Documents* (Berkeley, Calif.: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, Center for Chinese Studies, 2000).

France between 1919 and 1921. The concept was based on a calculation that with losses of young French men in WWI, French factories could employ young Chinese, who would save their earnings and attend the French colleges to learn about new ideas and technology to save their homeland.

Unfortunately for the worker-students, there were not enough factory jobs, and the movement was halted in January 1921, when economic support for these youths was withdrawn. Three political struggles followed in the Chinese community in France, including: an unsuccessful demonstration led by a faction of Chinese youths who were working and studying in Montargis and requested government support; a successful attempt during the summer to block a French bank loan to the Chinese warlord government, known as the loan struggle; and a culmination of frustration in what became known as the Lyon struggle, which involved the occupation of a dormitory at the University of Lyon to demand matriculation at the newly opened Sino-French Institute (SFI). Many of the worker-students had relied on the SFI opening as the educational path forward they had been promised by the promoters of Work-Study. Yet these same promoters selected all new students, who were then being escorted from China to Lyon, to be the first entering class at the SFI. Over 104 worker-students were arrested for occupying the dormitory and within a couple of weeks were deported back to China. The remaining Chinese had diverse reactions to this defeat. Some accepted free passage and were repatriated; some continued work they could find in the factories; others stayed in Europe and attended universities, obtained degrees and became celebrated scholars back in China; and more than a thousand Chinese (over 50 percent of the 1,800 worker-students) who had been exposed to the various ideologies that emerged after WWI decided to form political parties that were based on nationalism and international communism, among other ideologies.

The activities of these Chinese political parties were robust, including membership recruitment, numerous publications, meetings and demonstrations, even occupying the Chinese legation during the May 30<sup>th</sup> incident in 1925, which resulted in more deportations. Some of the most famous Chinese revolutionaries and politicians emerged from these activities, including Zhou Enlai (周恩來 1898–1976), Zhu De (朱德 1886–1976), Deng Xiaoping (鄧小平 1904–1997), Nie Rongzhen (聶榮臻 1899–1992), Cai Chang (蔡暢 1900–1990) and Li Fuchun (李富春 1900–1975). Other well-known Chinese party leaders developed strong ties in Europe, including all three factions of the GMD.<sup>9</sup> It is the breadth

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9 Marilyn Levine, "The Diligent-Work, Frugal-Study Movement and the New Culture Movement," *Republican China* 12, no. 1 (1987): 67–88; Paul Bailey, "The Chinese Work-Study Movement in France," *The China Quarterly*, no. 115 (1988): 441–61, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/654865>; Levine, *The Found Generation*; Marilyn A. Levine and San-ching Chen, "Communist-Leftist Control of the European Branch of the Guomindang, 1923–1927," *Modern China* 22, no. 1 (1996): 62–92, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/189290>; Tsin-

of these types of individuals, who went to Europe and developed diverse affiliations and careers upon returning to China, as well as the additional biographies of other prominent leaders in society, culture and the economy of twentieth-century China, that are the basis of the CBD.

### 3. Documentation and Composition of the CBD

The CBD was developed utilizing books, journals, interviews, and archival materials. The archives were particularly important and provided a treasure trove of information (see Table 4). An extensive analysis of these archives is given, along with 72 document translations in *The Guomindang in Europe: A Sourcebook of Documents*, in an article on conducting research in the French archives, along with four shared online databases of archival notes.<sup>10</sup>

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- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | Archives Nationales (AN, Paris)   |
| 2 | Archives Nationales, Section d'Outre-Mer (AOM, Aix-en-Provence)   |
| 3 | Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (AAE, Archives Diplomatiques, Paris)  |
| 4 | Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Centre de Recherches et de Documentation sur la Chine Contemporaine (EHESS, "Centre Chine," Paris) |
| 5 | Archives de l'Association Universitaire Franco-Chinoise (AAUFC, Lyon)   |
| 6 | Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon (Lyon)  |
| 7 | Shanghai Guomindang Archives (Yangmingshan, Taipei, Taiwan)   |
| 8 | Chinese Communist Party Archives at Tsinghua University (Beijing)   |
| 9 | Public Record Office (PRO, London)  |
- 

**Tab. 4** List of archives consulted for CBD (N = 9).

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- |    |  |
|----|--|
| 10 | <p>ghua University Faculty Research Unit on the History of the Communist Party, <i>Fu Fa Qingong jianxue yundong shiliao</i> 赴法勤工儉學運動史料 [<i>Documents on the Travel to France Work-Study Movement</i>] (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1979); San-ching Chen, <i>Qingong jianxue yundong</i> 勤工儉學運動 [<i>The Diligent-Work Frugal-Study Movement</i>] (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1981).</p> <p>Levine and Chen, <i>The Guomindang in Europe</i> (see the introduction); Marilyn Levine, "Conducting Research in the French Archives on Chinese Radicalism," <i>Republican China</i> 22, no. 2 (April 1997): 93–102; "Marilyn Levine   History," accessed June 25, 2020, <a href="http://www.cwu.edu/history/marilyn-levine-archival-research">http://www.cwu.edu/history/marilyn-levine-archival-research</a>.</p> |
|----|--|



G.- M. TRẦN QUI PHƯƠNG (陈桂芳) représentant des  
ouvriers chinois de la Hollande.

II.- OUVERTURE de la SEANCE

A.- Siège de la réunion: N° 96, Rue Monge, Paris (58)

B.- Date de la séance: Le 16 Août 1925 de 8 h. à 12 h.  
et de 14 h. à 19 h.

C.- Président: ĐĂNG HY HIÊN (邓希贤); Vice Prési-  
dent: QUÁCH THANH CHÁNH (郭清正); Secrétaires: LIÊU PHO  
THANH (柳圃青) et PHƯƠNG CHI CƯỜNG (方至刚).

D.- Ordre du jour:

- 1°.- Discours d'ouverture
- 2°.- Lecture du testament de Sun Yat Sen par le Pré-  
sident
- 3°.- Lecture des 3 derniers décrets Nos 10, 12, 13,  
du Comité exécutif central
- 4°.- Rapport du Comité Général et critique de ses  
travaux
- 5°.- Rapport des délégués des différents sous-comités  
et critiques de leur action
- 6°.- Invitation faite au partisan TRẦN QUI PHƯƠNG  
(陈桂芳) représentant des ouvriers chinois de Hollande, à  
rendre compte de la situation du Parti en Hollande
- 7°.- Délibération sur le Sous Comité de Lyon
- 8°.- Délibération sur les affaires d'organisation et  
d'émancipation
- 9°.- Délibération sur les affaires de propagande
- 10°.- Délibération sur les frais du parti
- 11°.- Délibération sur le journal " Kuo Min " (國民)
- 12°.- Délibération sur l'affaire de la trahison des  
partisans - affaire soumise par le Comité Général
- 13°.- Election.....

Fig. 1 An example of a captured report of an EGMD meeting in 1925 led by Deng Xiaoping, whose Chinese alias is Deng Xixian with his name listed in Vietnamese. This document was seized by the French from a Chinese who landed in Saigon. This may be one of the earliest records of Deng Xiaoping's leadership. Archives Nationales – Section d'outre-mer, SLOTFOM VIII, 6.

From lists of Catholic aid to Chinese youths in 1921 that includes 264 names, to matriculation in French educational institutions, to captured materials of party minutes, handbooks, and reports, and of course Sûreté surveillance and political reports, these archives provide a unique framework for capturing multiple historical actors who might not otherwise have made it into the historical accounts, as well as the more famous individuals (see Fig. 1 for an example of a captured document).

Although some document listings, such as educational matriculation or factory lists, might give one datum per individual, the idea was to see if there was more information for individuals listed in other sources. Furthermore, standard biographical encyclopedias were also used, resulting in a good range of twentieth-century individuals being added. The first step in organizing the CBD was to understand the functional goal in constructing the appropriate analytical foundation. As articulated in his article about prosopography, Lawrence Stone remarked, “The various types of information about individuals in the universe are then juxtaposed and combined and are examined for significant variables. They are used both for internal correlations and for correlations with other forms of behavior or action.”<sup>11</sup>

The CBD was designed as a relational database. Every single individual entry was supported by discrete sources, which altogether numbered 5,127 and were later expanded by 1,323 web linkages in the updated 2018 revision. Some of the most common attributes of the CBD are: the CCP (N = 580), ECCO (N = 273), educational position on campus (N = 249), EGMD (N = 241), military official (N = 214), Hunan (N = 202), Sichuan (N = 180), Guangdong (N = 179), and editor position (N = 165).

Two organizational issues deserve some discussion: historical name categorization, and the individual questionnaire. One of the most important issues regarding historical database information is the concept of names, as examined in the excellent chapter “Biography, Identity, and Names: Understanding the Pursuit of the Individual in Prosopography” by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, who stated the foundational role that categorizing and cross-referencing individual names serves in database creation: “A name-bearer will be named, that is, have had a personal name given to him, be known by a name in a formal social situation, be identified or described by some form of name in an official document, and be ‘called’ by a name by his intimates...Names once bestowed have a power of their own...Personal names are inextricably bound up with a sense of identity.”<sup>12</sup> Iden-

11 Lawrence Stone, “Prosopography,” *Daedalus* 100, no. 1 (1971): 46, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20023990>.

12 K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Occasional Publications UPR, 2007), 154–58.

1	Original Name	10	Western Name
2	Alternate Name	11	Western Transliteration Name
3	Courtesy Name	12	Dharma Name
4	Childhood Name	13	Tonsure Name
5	School Name	14	Ordained Name
6	Alias Name	15	Precept Name
7	Pen Name	16	Secular Name
8	Literary Name	17	Posthumous Name
9	Chamber Name		

**Tab. 5** CBD Alternative names – Types of names.

tity can be influenced by the type of name category for alternative names for an individual. In the CBD there are 17 types of names, ranging from pen names to childhood names to Buddhist religious names (see Table 5). Name(s) plus birth date is the most reliable way to search the CBD.

Keats-Rohan also makes the salient point that although a biographical database is analytical, the project also needs a biographical questionnaire for each individual that provides a field, in order to give descriptive comments that capture a short, but holistic view of the individual.<sup>13</sup> A report form is separate from a group analysis as it gives a synopsis of the individual. When the CBD was online from 1998 through 2006, there were dozens of queries and report forms (see Table 6), forms for new entries, and suggested attributes.

The most common usages of the CBD were queries on alternative names and a report form that presented a synopsis of the individual and sources (see Table 6). The CBD was discussed on H-NET, at conferences and through personal correspondence by scholars around the world. On the H-Net discussion network the introduction of the database served as a basis for several discussions, such as truth and the nature of historical evidence for sources.<sup>14</sup> Correspondence to the author ranged from the nature of multilingual input to queries about what had become of Robert Hartwell's biographical database. Participation in the Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative, the Pacific Neighborhood Consortium, and the

13 Keats-Rohan, 146–51.

14 Marilyn Levine, "A Query on Evidence and Historical Fact," H-ASIA, April 21, 1998, <https://lists.h-net.org/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx>.

**CBD Report Form****Wang Jingqi** 王景岐 1895–1925 Male Origin: Shengzhou, Zhejiang**Education:** Zhejiang University**Political Affiliations:** EGMD, GMD, Left faction**Political Activities and Career:** Party Branch Head, Propaganda, Labor Agitation, Editor Position, EGMD Executive Committee**Documents & Sources:** AN, SLOTFOM, Sûreté, *Found Generation* appendix, 國民報紙, Yangmingshan *Guomindang* archives: D5032 D5038a D7485 D6515 D7613 D7605a D7817a D7636 D7800 D8704 D7817b D8703 D8705 D8708 D6646a D6520 D7604 D6648**Comments:** Chairman and founder of the European Branch of the Guomindang. Other spelling of name: 王景岐 Expelled in the Lyons Incident, Wang fervently desired revolution, and was appointed by Dr. Sun Yatsen to form the European Branch of the Guomindang, which he did in cooperation with Zhou Enlai. Wang was a leftist and supported several right-wing expulsions. Expelled from France in 1925 for a second time, he died aboard ship and was buried at sea. Wang Jingqi is in many archives, including many of his communications with GMD headquarters (Yangmingshan), and in the AN there are confiscated correspondence, translated materials, and police reports. Party affiliation per 1929 Captured EGMD Report – SLOTFOM VIII, 6.**Tab. 6** CBD online report form, a synopsis with basic information, comments, and sources.

National Initiative for a Networked Cultural Heritage were some of the opportunities to share the CBD model.

#### 4. Using CBD data subsets for statistical, geospatial, and network analysis

Several data subsets of the CBD have now been created and analyzed, including: Soviet returned leaders (SRL, N = 133); a SRL and a three province comparison data subset (Hunan, Sichuan, Zhejiang, N = 588); the ECCO (N = 190); and a group of Chinese Students in Europe (CSE, N = 200), who matriculated at four universities in France, Germany, and Belgium. These data network analyses mirror the historical record, as well as revealing unknown features of well-known individuals within the network and those individuals that have not been recognized but who warrant significant new exploration, as suggested in the fundamental research objectives.<sup>15</sup> The development of these data subsets allows for a

15 These findings have been delivered in several presentations during the past two years. For example, Marilyn Levine, “Revolutionary Roads: An Integrative Analysis Utilizing a Chinese Biographical Database” (Workshop, ERC ENP-China Project, “Elites, Knowledge, and Power in Modern China,” Aix-en-Provence, France, October 7, 2019), <https://enepchina.hypotheses.org/>.

demonstration of the utilization of the CBD, due to the smaller scale. This also includes the geospatial information that has been used to analyze regional origins of birth cities and provinces.

Two brief examples, one a statistical and one a network analysis, will demonstrate the possibilities of the utilization of the CBD for analysis. The CSE data subset of Chinese students shows that the region appears to have played a role in which universities were attended by the New Culture youth (see Table 7). The presentation of statistical evidence allows one to ascertain that in terms of this CSE subset, Guangdong is dominant at the Sino-French Institute in Lyon (SFI)

Province	Charleroi	SFI-Lyon	Univ Berlin	Univ Paris	Total
Guangdong	17	29	0	1	47
Hunan	8	17	3	2	30
Sichuan	17	6	2	2	26
Jiangsu	4	8	5	2	19
Hebei	3	7	1	2	13
Henan	4	3	1	1	9
Zhejiang	3	2	1	3	9
Anhui	0	4	1	1	6
Fujian	2	3	0	0	5
Guangxi	1	2	0	1	4
Hainan	0	3	0	1	4
Jiangxi	0	2	1	1	4
Guizhou	2	1	0	0	3
Hubei	1	1	0	0	2
Liaoning	0	0	0	1	1
Shaanxi	0	0	1	0	1
Shandong	0	1	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>184</b>

**Tab. 7** Provincial origin and educational attendance (N = 184) for the CSE group. There are thirteen missing province origins and six individuals who attended other institutions (not shown).\*

\* This table originally was in the presentation: Marilyn Levine and Heidi Yu Huang, "Chinese Political and Cultural Elites: Twentieth Century Transformations" (Association for Asian Studies, Boston, April 2000).



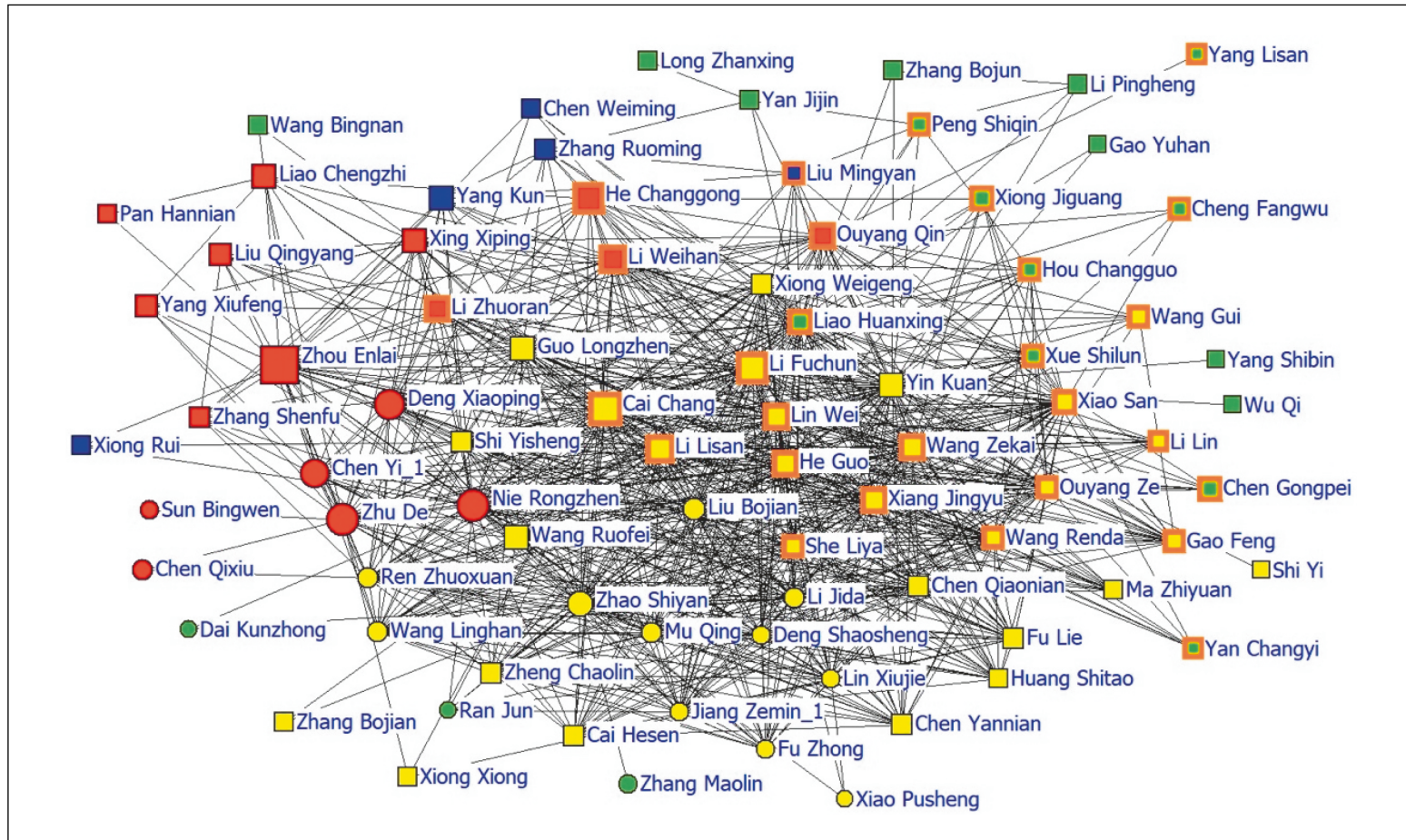
and also has a large presence at Charleroi. Meanwhile, Hunan had more than half its members represented at the SFI, in contrast to Sichuan, which was well represented in the University of Charleroi group. Jiangsu has almost a third of the students at the University of Berlin. A multivariate dendrogram also supports that there were important regional clusters in these institutions (data not shown).

Another example focuses on network analysis based on the more political ECCO data subset, which is presented in Figure 2. The graph is pruned to those with more than six ties ( $N = 82$ ). The ECCO network has four Louvain subgroups (colors) and displays attributes such as degree centrality (no. of external ties) are shown by symbol size, while circles and orange rims represent provincial origins (circle = Sichuan, rims = Hunan).

Figure 2 is from the ECCO data subset of individuals who had a common history while they were in Europe, so it is not surprising that there are many potential ties. The graph shows subgroup 4 ( $N = 17$ , red) on the left of the graph, which includes the most powerful ECCO individuals such as Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Nie Rongzhen, and Zhu De. When looking at degree centrality, shown by the symbol size, it is clear that subgroup 4 has the most external ties. The other group with many external ties, and which composes the largest set of individuals, is subgroup 2 ( $N = 40$ , yellow). What is exciting in terms of the results is that it contains individuals who were historically important in the formation and activities of the ECCO. Subgroup 2 includes prominent early martyrs such as the first General Secretary of the ECCO, Zhao Shiyan (趙世炎 1901–1927), powerful early party members who dropped out or were expelled from the CCP, as well as long-term stalwart leaders such as wife-husband Cai Chang and Li Fuchun. This allows one to consider the various tiers of CCP leadership in terms of historical affiliations and individual relations. These types of analyses may bring into focus the key questions of who the important people were and how they interacted with others in relation to ECCO and later CCP activities.

Subgroup 1 ( $N = 19$ , green) includes largely peripheral individuals, most of whom participated in ECCO activities while they were attending educational institutions in Europe, but did not later become prominent in the CCP. They made it to the greater than six ties level, but they do not have central places or high centrality scores. Likewise, subgroup 3 ( $N = 5$ , blue) has four out of five members who are academics. This group has higher centralities than subgroup 1, and historically had more in-depth early period political activities and long-term relationships with ECCO individuals.

Figure 2 also displays the importance of regional affiliations. Interestingly, in the two most powerful subgroups there is a large presence of Hunan and Sichuan individuals. In the 17 individuals in subgroup 4, there are 6 individuals from Sichuan and 4 from Hunan, while Hunan dominates the center of the second most powerful subgroup 2, which numbers 40 individuals. Subgroup 2 is also domi-



**Fig. 2** ECCO Network individuals from two-mode data converted to one mode with greater than 6 ties, 1,812 total ties, individuals (nodes) = 82; Louvain subgroups by colors (green = 1, yellow = 2, blue = 3, red = 4); degree values [N. of external ties] are shown by symbol size; and circles and orange rims represent provincial origins (circle = Sichuan, rims = Hunan).

nated by Hunan individuals, while the Sichuan individuals are located in more peripheral areas and are of smaller degree centrality, with the two important exceptions of Zhao Shiyuan and Liu Bojian (劉伯堅 1895–1935). Neither subgroups 1 nor 3 has many individuals from Hunan or Sichuan.<sup>16</sup>

In the future development of the CBD project, a time series analysis (start and end dates for the attributes), a more refined categorization of the attributes, textual analysis, and additional geospatial information will be added.<sup>17</sup> Ultimately, it is planned to pursue the excellent advice of Claire Lemerrier, who advocated three issues for the attention of historians: documentation of the interactions, relational patterns, and the temporality of ties.<sup>18</sup> In 2020, the author joined the Elites, Networks and Power in Modern China Project (ENP) at Aix-Marseilles as a Research Associate, and will be examining ways to develop and share these plans with other interested scholars.

In conclusion, with this very brief introduction, one can see many possibilities for quantitative approaches to biographical information. Due to its scope and scale, the CBD is a research tool that was adapted to model the idea that large-scale studies can be developed to understand potential individual and group patterns of biography. It is not just the role of the individuals, or those who knew each other, but also what the affiliations were based upon, and how individuals interacted within the larger scale web of connections. This is hard to visualize in a standard narrative, which relies on source materials that are usually limited to one or two individuals (or groups), but can be conveyed with the converted l-mode data in a network analysis. Both in current and future developments, the goal is to expand the historical narrative to better understand these individual and group patterns, an area that will hopefully provide fruitful opportunities for China scholars.

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16 In a regression analysis that had been done on the entire data subset, it was shown that Hunan was an outlier with 39 individuals, which is much higher than their relative population. Sichuan, because of its high population, was still a province of leverage with 55 individuals (data not shown).

17 A good template for best practices is suggested by the work of Victor Shih on the CCP Central Committee. See Victor Shih, Shan Wei, and Mingxing Liu, “The Central Committee, Past and Present: A Method of Quantifying Elite Biographies,” in *Contemporary Chinese Politics New Sources, Methods, and Field Strategies*, by Allen Carlson et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 51–68.

18 Claire Lemerrier, “Formal Network Methods in History: Why and How?,” in *Social Networks, Political Institutions, and Rural Societies*, ed. Georg Fertig, vol. II (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2015), 281–310, <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.RURHE-EB.4.00198>.

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