## Appendices

Appendix A

Sources for mass incident statistics in Figure 1

Chung, J.H.,, Lai, H., and Xia, M., 2006. Mounting challenges to governance in China: surveying collective protestors, religious sects and criminal organizations. *The China Journal*, (56), pp.1–31.

Chu, Z., 2010. Xunzhao Zhongguo gaige de ‘jin yaoshi’ [Looking for the 'golden key' to China's reform. [online] *Zhongguo Gaige Luntan [Chinese Reform Forum]*. Available at: <http://www.chinareform.org.cn/gov/governance/Practice/201010/t20101014\_46794.htm> [Accessed 19 Apr. 2013].

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Editorial Office of the Central Committee for Comprehensive Administration of Social Order, 2004. *Zhongguo shehui zhi’an zonghe zhili nianjian 2003* *[Yearbook of Comprehensive Administration of Social Order in China 2003]*. Beijing: Chang’an Chuban She.

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Li, Z., Wang, Z.,, Zhou, T., and Long, X., 2001. Wo guo fasheng qunti xing shijian de diaoyan yu sikao: gong’an bu disi yanjiu suo ‘qunti xing shijian yanjiu’ keti zu [Empirical research and thoughts on mass incidents: 'mass incidents research' project group of the fourth research institute of the Ministry of Public Security]. *Neibu Canyue [Internal Reference]*, (31), pp.18–25.

Sun, L., 2011. Shehui zhixu shi dangxia de yansu tiaozhan [Social order is a serious challenge in current times]. *Jingji Guancha Bao [Economic Observer News]*. [online] 28 Feb. Available at: <http://www.eeo.com.cn/zt/lhqh/bza/2011/02/28/194614.shtml>.

Tanner, M.S., 2004. China rethinks unrest. The Washington Quarterly, 27(3), pp.137–156.

Yu, J., 2010. Ruhe renshi qunti xing shijian [How shall we interpret mass incidents]. Shishi Baogao *[Factual Report]*, (1), pp.66–72.

Appendix B

The Keyword Frequency Count Exclusion Strategy

Articles which use relevant keywords in the context of ethnic or religious issues, such as in discussions of the minority regions, religious work, the outlawed Falun Gong sect, or Chinese nationalistic protests, were excluded from the frequency counts. Also excluded were instances where the keywords appeared in the context of references to societies or forces (from) outside of China Mainland or to pre-1980s historical events. However, as the tables below show, the overall picture remains essentially the same, even when these utterances are included. The most important difference between adjusted and raw frequencies is that the burst of hostile terms in 2008-09, which were almost entirely directed at ethnic unrest, has been corrected in the former.

Articles were not counted when the title obviously narrows content down to above contexts in cases such as: “Zhou Yongkang emphasizes during his inspection tour to Xinjiang…;” “Zhu Rongji emphasizes on the closing session of the ethnic work conference;” “…Realizing the vain attempt to subvert the socialist system and the reactionary nature of cult organization trouble-making;” “The greatest danger for Taiwan is Li Denghui’s playing with ‘Taiwan independence.’”

Articles were also excluded when the relevant keywords within the piece appeared in excluded meaningful contexts such as “Zhou Yongkang joined the religion sector’s discussion group … Zhou Yongkang said … our country is going through a period of strategic opportunity and pronounced *social contradictions*, we need to grasp the two big tasks of development and stability;” “Our country’s struggle against corruption takes place behind an intricate international political background. Western *hostile forces* take every opportunity to instigate Westernization, splittist activities.”

To replicate this analysis access the electronic version of the People’s Daily via Oriprobe Information Services at: http://www.oriprobe.com/peoplesdaily.html.

Appendix C

Complete keyword statistics for “stability overrides everything”

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Total number of occurrences | Refers to ethnic minority issues | Refers to religious issues | Refers to nationalistic protests | Refers to societies or forces (from) outside of China Mainland | Refers to historical events (pre-1980s) | Number of articles counted |
| 1990 | 16 | 2 |  |  |  |  | 14 |
| 1991 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| 1992 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1993 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |
| 1994 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1995 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1996 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |
| 1997 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |
| 1998 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1999 | 6 |  | 2 | 1 |  |  | 3 |
| 2000 | 3 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 2 |
| 2001 | 2 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |
| 2002 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  | 4 |
| 2003 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| 2004 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| 2005 | 3 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| 2006 | 1 |  |  |  |  |  | 1 |
| 2007 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 2008 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 2009 | 7 | 7 |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 2010 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 0 |

Appendix D

Complete keyword statistics for “hostile forces”

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Total number of occurrences | Refers to ethnic minority issues | Refers to religious issues | Refers to nationalistic protests | Refers to foreign countries or forces (from) outside of China | Refers to historical events (pre-1980s) | Number of articles counted |
| 1990 | 85 | 6 | 1 |  | 30 |  | 48 |
| 1991 | 63 | 2 | 2 |  | 22 |  | 37 |
| 1992 | 11 | 3 | 1 |  | 2 |  | 5 |
| 1993 | 7 |  |  |  | 3 |  | 4 |
| 1994 | 6 | 2 |  |  | 1 |  | 3 |
| 1995 | 10 | 4 |  |  | 3 |  | 3 |
| 1996 | 16 | 1 |  |  | 4 |  | 11 |
| 1997 | 8 | 2 |  |  | 2 |  | 4 |
| 1998 | 4 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 3 |
| 1999 | 31\* | 3 | 6 |  | 10 |  | 12 |
| 2000 | 26 | 2 | 3 |  | 10 |  | 11 |
| 2001 | 30 | 2 | 6 |  | 13 |  | 9 |
| 2002 | 4 | 1 |  |  | 1 |  | 2 |
| 2003 | 6 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |  | 3 |
| 2004 | 6 |  | 1 |  | 3 |  | 2 |
| 2005 | 6 | 3 |  |  | 1 |  | 2 |
| 2006 | 6 | 3 |  |  | 2 |  | 1 |
| 2007 | 3 |  | 1 |  | 1 |  | 1 |
| 2008 | 4 | 2 |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| 2009 | 18 | 13 |  |  | 1 |  | 4 |
| 2010 | 6 | 2 |  |  | 1 | 1 | 2 |

\* Note that in the electronic version of the People’s Daily four articles appeared twice in identical form. Duplicates were not counted.

Appendix E

Complete keyword statistics for “contradictions”

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Total number of occurrences | Refers to ethnic minority issues | Refers to religious issues | Refers to nationalistic protests | Refers to societies or forces (from) outside of China Mainland | Refers to historical events (pre-1980s) | Number of articles counted |
| 1990 | 10 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 9 |
| 1991 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  | 5 |
| 1992 | 2 |  |  |  |  |  | 2 |
| 1993 | 10 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 9 |
| 1994 | 21 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 20 |
| 1995 | 8 |  |  |  |  |  | 8 |
| 1996 | 15 | 1 |  |  | 1 |  | 13 |
| 1997 | 11 | 2 |  |  |  |  | 9 |
| 1998 | 15 | 2 |  |  |  |  | 13 |
| 1999 | 42\* | 2 | 4 |  |  |  | 36 |
| 2000 | 22 |  |  |  |  |  | 22 |
| 2001 | 22 |  |  |  |  |  | 22 |
| 2002 | 14 |  |  |  |  |  | 14 |
| 2003 | 21 |  |  |  |  |  | 21 |
| 2004 | 32 |  |  |  |  |  | 32 |
| 2005 | 59 | 3 |  |  |  |  | 56 |
| 2006 | 48 |  |  |  |  |  | 48 |
| 2007 | 30 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 29 |
| 2008 | 19 |  |  |  |  |  | 19 |
| 2009 | 36 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 35 |
| 2010 | 69 | 1 | 1 |  |  |  | 67 |

\*Note that in the electronic version of the People’s Daily 15 articles appeared twice in identical form. Duplicates were not counted.

Appendix F

Complete keyword statistics for “mass incidents”

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Total number of occurrences | Refers to ethnic minority issues | Refers to religious issues | Refers to nationalistic protests | Refers to societies or forces (from) outside of China Mainland | Refers to historical events (pre-1980s) | Number of articles counted |
| 1990 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1991 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1992 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1993 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1994 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1995 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1996 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1997 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1998 | 0 |  |  |  |  |  | 0 |
| 1999 | 2 |  | 1 |  |  |  | 1 |
| 2000 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  | 5 |
| 2001 | 6 |  |  |  |  |  | 6 |
| 2002 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  | 5 |
| 2003 | 5 |  |  |  |  |  | 5 |
| 2004 | 9 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 8 |
| 2005 | 9 |  |  |  |  |  | 9 |
| 2006 | 9 |  |  |  |  |  | 9 |
| 2007 | 6 |  |  |  |  |  | 6 |
| 2008 | 4 |  |  |  |  |  | 4 |
| 2009 | 23 |  |  |  |  |  | 23 |
| 2010 | 12 | 1 |  |  |  |  | 11 |