Appendix:
China's Internal Security Spending Dataset

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This Appendix provides an explanation of and justifications for coding decisions made in constructing the "China Internal Security Spending" dataset, which contains annual fiscal and public security expenditure data for the People's Republic of China (PRC) at both national and provincial levels from either 1992 or 1996 through 2022. It also provides some supplementary figures that complement those in the main article text.

Scope of the Dataset

China's internal security spending roughly corresponds in China to expenditures by the political-legal system (政法系统, typically composed of Public Security, Procuratorate, Courts, and Justice (公检法司)). Spending for these entities appears in the Ministry of Finance "Public Security Spending" heading (公共安全支出) and its related subcategories.

There are some key points on what is included vs. excluded in this data that should be clearly delineated for analytical accuracy. For example, the domestic security budget includes funding for the People's Armed Police (PAP, 人民武装警察), although the PAP falls organizationally under the national defense system. Conversely, it excludes funding for expenses that shape the capacity of China's broader security state, but are not publicly recorded as part of it, including:

- State security (国安, which is not publicly disclosed);
- The political-legal affairs commissions (政法委, PLACs) that, under party regulations, are the organs responsible for leading and managing political-legal work;[1] and
- The Ministry of Emergency Management (应急管理部), which as a new ministry in 2018 absorbed some previous PAP units and appears to have some social stability functions under emergency conditions.[2]

[1] Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, "Regulations on Political-Legal Work of the Communist Party of China," 18 January 2019, https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/2019-01/18/content_5359135.htm

[2] Wang Yong, "关于国务院机构改革方案的说明 [Explanation of the State Council's Institutional Reform Plan]," *Xinhua*, 14 March 2018, http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2018lh/2018-03/14/c_1122533011.htm

Explanation of Coding

The dataset contains three tabs/sheets, described below. In interpreting this data, especially across time, readers should note that later yearbooks typically republish older data, but sometimes make retroactive methodological adjustments without providing explanation for these changes. Such adjustments are generally minor, and do not change overall trends, but numbers for each indicator-year may differ slightly depending on which edition of the source one consults.

Monetary values are in 100 million RMB; population values are in 10,000 persons. All fiscal series refer to government expenditure data as reported in official statistical yearbooks and fiscal reports. These figures correspond to executed (final account) spending, even where source tables are labeled "expenditure (支出)" rather than "final accounts (决算数)." No budgeted or revenue data are included.

Note on Government Levels and Treatment of Transfers

Following the statistical conventions of the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), *local* refers to the consolidated basic expenditure (地方本级财政支出) of all subnational governments, including provincial (or equivalent), prefectural, county, and county-level city governments; while central refers to the central basic expenditure (中央本级财政支出). National totals are compiled as the sum of central and local basic expenditures, consistent with the official accounting identity for general public budget expenditure. Intergovernmental transfers from the central government to subnational governments are recorded within central general public budget expenditure (中央对地方转移支付) but are eliminated upon consolidation in compiling national totals.[3]

Therefore, the variables *Total IS Spending*, *Central IS Spending*, and *Local IS Spending* are reported on a basic expenditure (本级财政支出) basis and exclude intergovernmental transfer payments.

National Sheet

The "National" sheet contains data disaggregated into central, local, and total government spending on internal security, and spending on specific categories. Aggregate expenditure data cover 1996 to 2022, while the categorical breakdowns cover 2010 to 2022.[4] Figures on total, local, and central expenditure, as well as categories of public security expenditure, are derived from annual national data published by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and the *China Statistical Yearbook*s, as described

[3] National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China, "财政收支数据的编制和计算方法 [Compilation and Calculation Methods for Fiscal Revenue and Expenditure Data]," 31 October 2024, https://www.stats.gov.cn/zs/tjws/zytjzbqs/czsyhczzc/202410/t20241025_1957178.html

[4] Previous categorical breakdowns (1996-2009) appear in Sheena Chestnut Greitens, "Rethinking China's Coercive Capacity: An Examination of PRC Domestic Security Spending, 1992–2012," *The China Quarterly*, Vol. 232 (Dec. 2017): 1011. These data, however, were aggregated from a local fiscal statistical yearbook published by the Ministry of Finance (地方财政统计资料) that is no longer publicly accessible, and the categories used are not comparable. To avoid confusion, those data have not been integrated in this dataset.

in the right-most column. Columns include the following:

- **Total_Exp**: Total national government expenditure (including both central and local spending) (全国财政总支出)
- **Total_Central_Exp**: Expenditure by the central government only (中央财政支出)
- **Total_Local_Exp**: Expenditure by subnational/local governments (地方财政支出)
- **Total_PS_Exp**: National public security expenditure (total, including both central and local) (全国公共安全支出)
- **Central_PS_Exp**: Central government's public security expenditure (中央公共安全支出)
- **Local_PS_Exp**: Local governments' public security expenditure (地方公共安全支出)
- **Total_ArmedPolice**: Central government expenditure on the People's Armed Police (PAP) (国家财政武装警察支出)
- **Total_Police**: Central government expenditure on public security (police) (国家财政公安支出)
- **Total_Procuratorate**: Central government expenditure on procuratorates (国家财政检察支出)
- **Total_Court**: Central government expenditure on courts (国家财政法院支出)
- **Total_MoJ**: Central government expenditure on Ministry of Justice (国家财政司法支出)
- **Total_AntiSm**: Central government expenditure on anti-smuggling police (国家财政缉私警支出)
- **Total_Other**: Remaining national public security expenditures not captured by the above categories (全国公共安全支出中的其他支出)
- **ArmedPolice as % Total Spending**: Share of national public security spending devoted to the PAP
- **Police as % Total Spending**: Share of national public security spending devoted to public security (police)
- **Procuratorate as % Total Spending**: Share of national public security spending devoted to procuratorates
- **Court as % Total Spending**: Share of national public security spending devoted to courts
- **MoJ as % Total Spending**: Share of national public security spending devoted to Ministry of Justice
- **AntiSm as % Total Spending**: Share of national public security spending devoted to anti-smuggling police
- **Other as % Total Spending**: Share of national public security spending not attributed to the above sub-categories.

Central vs. Local Expenditure

The "Central-Local" sheet disaggregates public security expenditures by level of government from 1992 to 2022. Some columns duplicate columns in the "National" sheet. Data in this sheet come from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) and the Ministry of Finance's year-end reports on the general public budget expenditure (全国一般公共预算支出决算表). Columns include:

- **Total IS Spending**: Total national public security spending (全国公共安全支出)
- **Central IS Spending**: Central government public security spending (中央公共安全支出)
- **Local IS Spending**: Local government public security spending (地方公共安全支出)
- **Total Defense Spending**: Total national defense expenditure (全国国防支出)
- **Total GDP**: Gross domestic product of the People's Republic of China (国内生产总值)
- **CPI**: Consumer Price Index (居民消费价格指数), based on 1978=100 baseline (以 1978 年为 100 的指数)
- **Total Spending**: Total national government expenditure (全国财政总支出)
- **Central Spending as % of total IS spending**: Share of public security spending executed by the central government
- **Local Spending as % of IS spending**: Share of public security spending by local governments
- **IS spending as % Total Spending**: Share of total fiscal spending allocated to public security nationally

Provincial-Level Expenditure

The "Provincial" sheet includes province-level data on fiscal expenditure, public security spending, population, and GDP from 1996 to 2022. Again, overall expenditure data are from the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), while columns on public security expenditure, population, and provincial GDP are taken from the *China Statistical Yearbooks*.

- **General_ Exp**: Provincial-level fiscal spending (各省财政预算支出)
- **Security_Exp**: Provincial-level public security expenditure (各省公共安全支出)
- **Population**: Total population by province (year-end estimates)
- **GDP**: Gross domestic product by province
- **Per_capita**: Public security expenditure per capita at the provincial level
- **Sec_pct_exp**: Share of provincial fiscal budget allocated to public security
- **Sec_pct_gdp**: Share of provincial GDP allocated to public security expenditure

Chongqing became a (provincial-level) municipality in 1997. There is no separate public security expenditure data for Chongqing in 1996, though later yearbooks report separate data on Chongqing's population and GDP in that year; in 1996, Chongqing's public security expenditure is likely included in the figures for Sichuan.

Nominal vs. Deflated Spending

Figure 1 in the main article text shows the nominal increase in internal security spending over time. Figure A-1 below deflates total internal security spending to constant RMB, while Figure A-2 shows spending on internal security over time as a share of GDP.

Figure A-1: Internal Security Spending (CPI-deflated)

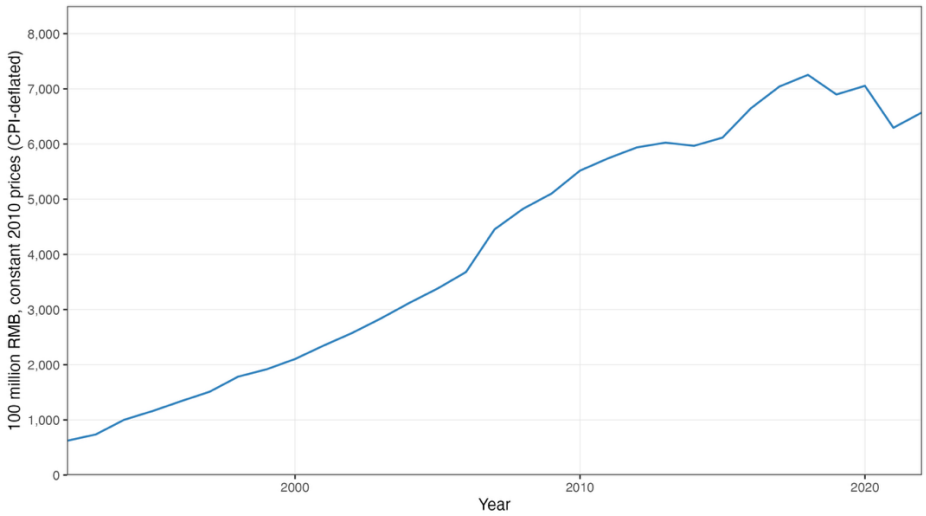
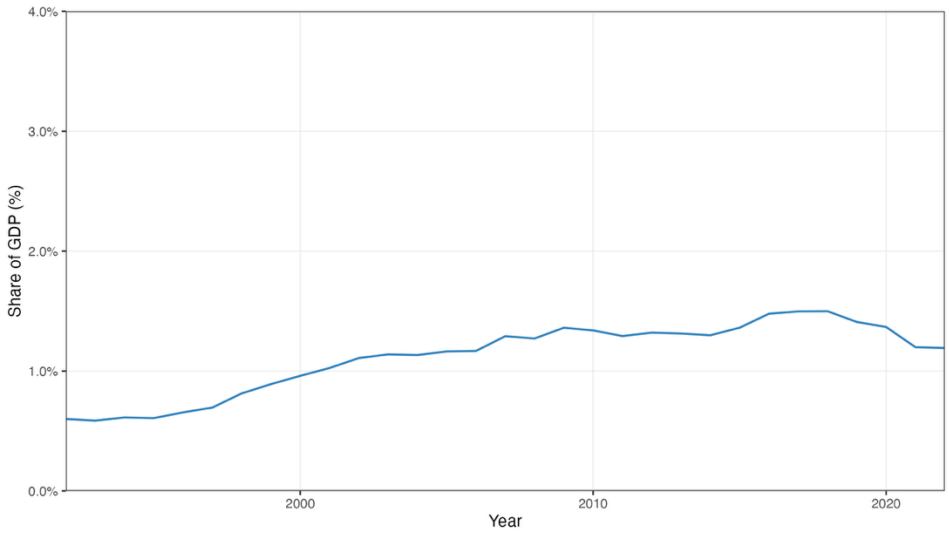
Figure A-2: Internal Security Spending as Percentage of GDP