Appendix III: Additional Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Cost Balancing Theory: A Decision Tree

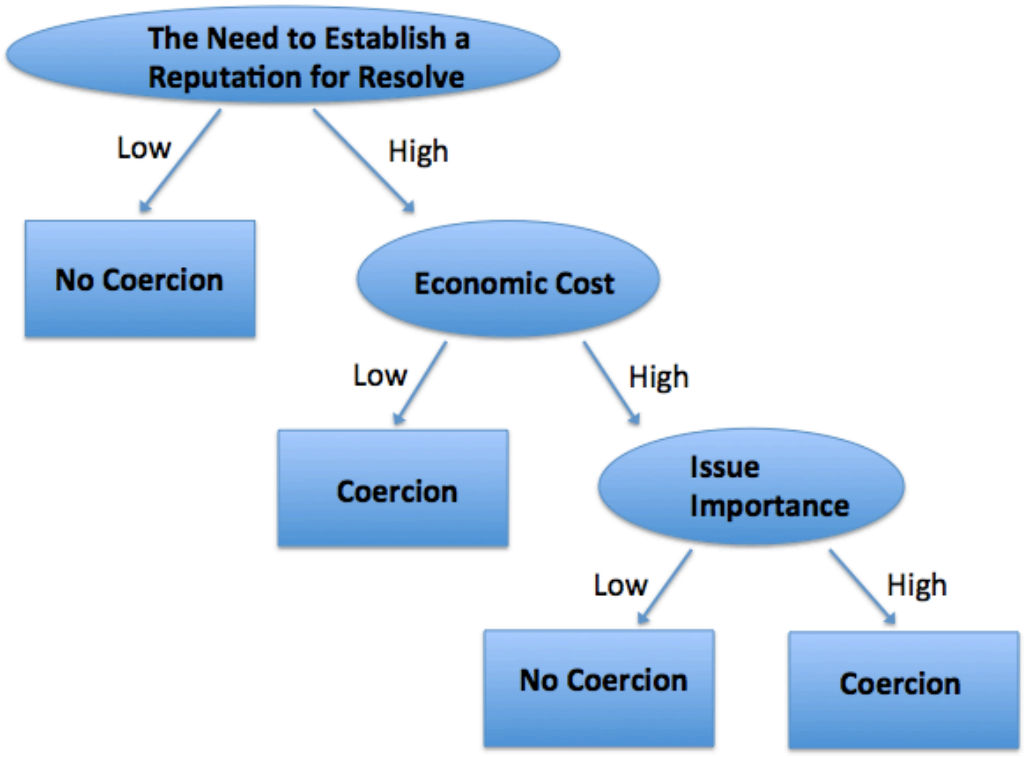
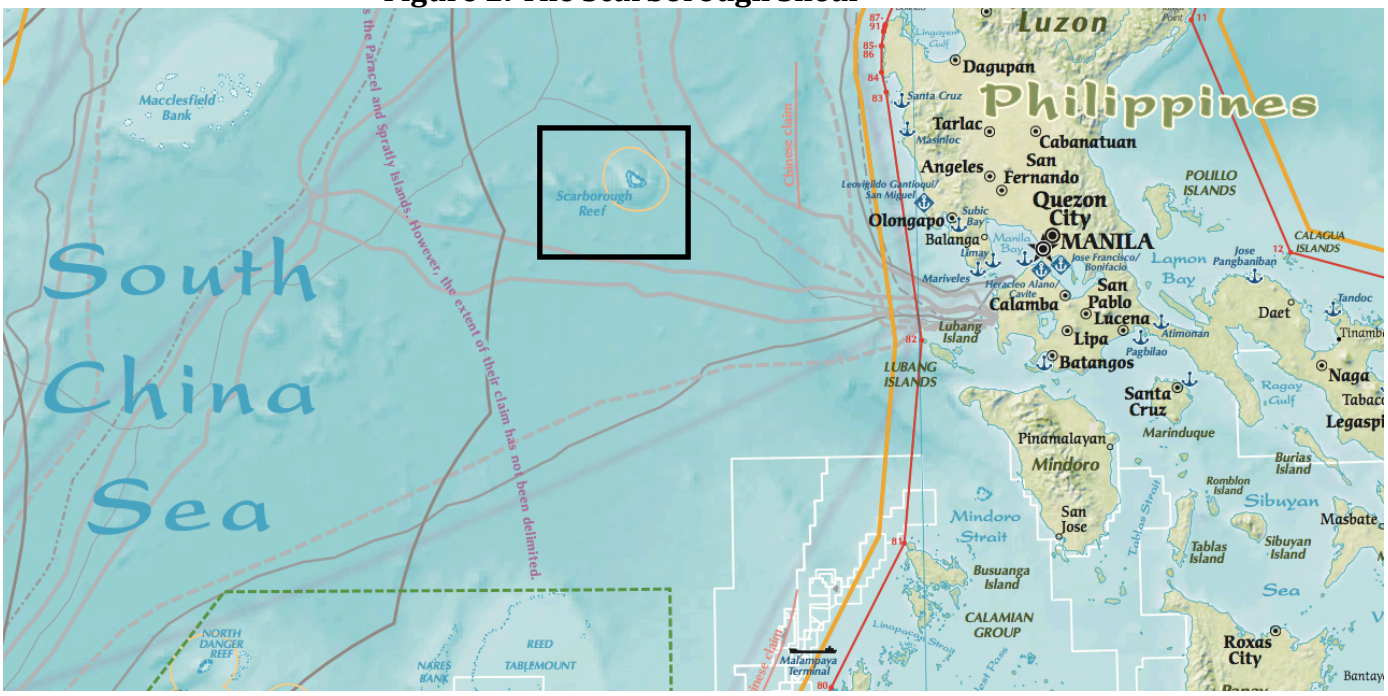


Table 1. Measurement of the Variables

	Low	High
The need to establish a reputation for resolve	• There were few incidents – challenges from other states – and they were not visible; the media remained low key and did not make these incidents salient • Official and semi-official sources indicated satisfaction with the target state, noting its restraint.	• Incidents were abundant and highly visible, especially through international media, meaning there are more challengers and a greater likelihood of other states observing Chinese behavior, thus adding to the pressure to establish a reputation for resolve • Official and semi-official sources stressed showing resolve and expressed concerns about appearing weak.
Economic cost	• Objective economic data, official and semi-official statements, and interviews indicated reduced Chinese reliance on Southeast Asia for export markets.	• Objective economic data indicated China's need for export markets or supply in Southeast Asia • Official and semi-official sources indicated China's need to win over Southeast Asia economically.
Geopolitical backlash	• Official and semi-official sources indicated the lack of U.S. emphasis or decreasing U.S. presence in the Asia-Pacific region, particularly in Southeast Asia. • Interviews indicated lack of U.S. emphasis on Southeast Asia or the potential of other states balancing against the coercer • Cross-check with official U.S. statements and documents.	• Official and semi-official sources indicated increasing U.S. military presence in the Asia-Pacific, particularly the strengthening of U.S. alliances with ASEAN allies • Interviews indicated concerns and worry about greater U.S. inputs into Southeast Asia or the potential of other states balancing against the coercer • Cross-check with official U.S. statements and documents.

Figure 2. The Scarborough Shoal[1]



[1]. The Scarborough Shoal is highlighted in the black box. Office of the Geographer, US Department of State, US Government, available at National University of Singapore's Center for International Law, October 2017, https://cil.nus.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/75967_South-China-Sea-1.pdf.