Appendix I: **Interview Codebook and Breakdown of Interviewees**

Table 1. Interview Codebook

Interview Code[1]	Date and Place	Source	Format	Length	Transparency
KZ-#1	2015-8-19 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1.5 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#2	2015-8-20 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#3	2015-8-25 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#5	2015-9-16 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#6	2015-9-28 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#12	2015-10-22 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#7	2015-9-30 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#8	2015-10-6 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#4	2015-9-15 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#10	2015-10-13 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#9	2015-10-9 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Declined	Interviewee declined citing reasons that the interviewee is not familiar with the area.	Sample frame			
KZ-#11	2015-10-14 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1.5 hours	Confidentiality required
Declined	Interviewee declined citing reasons that the interviewee is not familiar with the area.	Snowball			
KZ-#13	2015-11-17 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#14	2015-11-25	Snowball	Semi-	1 hour	Confidentiality

[1] Due to concerns about safety of the interviewees, interviewees remain anonymous.

Appendix I: **Interview Codebook and Breakdown of Interviewees**

	Beijing, China		structured		required
KZ-#22	December 15, 2015 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Declined	Interviewee declined citing reasons that the interviewee is not familiar with the area.	Snowball			
No response	Cannot seem to be able to contact the interviewee (emails sent always automatically returned by the system).	Snowball			
KZ-#36	2016-1-18 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#37	2016-1-19 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#41	2016-1-22 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#43	2016-1-28 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#38	2016-1-20 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#39	2016-1-22 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#42	2016-1-25 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Declined	Interviewee declined citing reasons that the interviewee is not familiar with the area.	Sample frame			
Declined	Interviewee declined citing reasons that the interviewee is not familiar with the area.	Sample frame			
KZ-#18	2015-12-3 Guangzhou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	0.5 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#19	2015-12-4 Guangzhou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1.5 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#85	2016-5-23 Guangzhou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#16	2015-11-30 Guangzhou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	2 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#17	2015-12-1 Guangzhou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1.5 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#20	2015-12-9: Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#21	2015-12-10 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#23	2015-12-19 Beijing, China	Snowball	Unstructured	1.5 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#24	2015-12-29 Nanjing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#25	2015-12-30	Sample	Semi-	1 hour	Confidentiality

Appendix I: **Interview Codebook and Breakdown of Interviewees**

	Nanjing, China	frame	structured		required
KZ-#26	2015-12-30 Nanjing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#27	2015-12-31 Nanjing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#28	2016-1-5 Haikou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#29	2016-1-5 Haikou, China	Snowball	Unstructured	0.5 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#32	2016-1-7 Haikou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	2 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#30	2016-1-6 Haikou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#31	2016-1-6 Haikou, China	Snowball	Unstructured	0.5 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#34	2016-1-8 Haikou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#35	2016-1-18 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#40	2016-1-22 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#44	2016-2-2 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	0.5 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#45	2016-2-2 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#52	2016-3-9 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Declined	Interviewee declined citing reasons that the interviewee is not familiar with the area.	Snowball			
KZ-#49	2016-2-23 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#50	2016-3-3 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#63	2016-4-25 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#46	2016-2-15 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#51	2016-3-8 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1.5 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#55	2016-4-12 Haikou, China	Snowball	Unstructured	2 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#56	2016-4-13 Haikou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#57	2016-4-14 Haikou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	2 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#93	2016-6-16 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Declined	Interviewee declined citing reasons that the interviewee is not familiar with the area.	Snowball			
KZ-#92	2016-6-8 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	0.5 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#95	2016-7-4	Sample	Semi-	0.5	Confidentiality

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	Beijing, China	frame	structured	hour	required
KZ-#94	2016-6-27 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1.5 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#100	2016-7-28 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Unavailable	Interviewee is away and will not be back until later.				
KZ-#89	2016-5-25 Guangzhou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1.5 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#47	2016-2-17 Email exchange	Snowball	Structured	N/A	Confidentiality required
KZ-#48	2016-2-20 Email exchange	Snowball	Structured	N/A	Confidentiality required
KZ-#53	2016-3-17 Atlanta, USA	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#54	2016-4-8 Haikou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	0.5 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#60	2016-4-18 Wuhan, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	0.5 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#61	2016-4-18 Wuhan, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	0.5 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#62	2016-4-20 Wuhan, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#59	2016-4-18 Wuhan, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Declined	Interviewee declined, citing reasons that as a government policy analyst, the interviewee is not allowed to discuss China's foreign policy decision-making with me.				
KZ-#65	2016-4-27 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#64	2016-4-27 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#58	2016-4-14 Haikou, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Declined	Declined stating that the interviewee is more familiar with issues regarding international law, but not the questions that I ask.				
Declined	Interviewee declined stating the interviewee is not familiar with the topic.				
KZ-#66	2016-5-4 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#67	2016-5-4 Shanghai, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#80	2016-5-13 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#70	2016-5-5 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required

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KZ-#71	2016-5-6 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-79	2016-5-13 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Declined	Interviewee declined stating that the interviewee is not familiar with the topic.				
Declined	Interviewee declined stating that the interviewee is not familiar with the topic.				
KZ-#117	2016-5-5 Cell phone exchange	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#73	2016-5-8 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#68	2016-5-5 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#74	2016-5-10 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#81	2016-5-15 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#69	2016-5-5 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#72	2016-5-7 Shanghai, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#76	2016-5-12 Shanghai, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#75	2016-5-12 Shanghai, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#77	2016-5-12 Shanghai, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#82	2016-5-16 Shanghai, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#78	2016-5-13 Shanghai, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#83	2016-5-20 Guangzhou, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#87	2016-5-24 Guangzhou, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#86	2016-5-23 Guangzhou, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#90	2016-5-25 Guangzhou, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ -#84	2016-5-21 Guangzhou, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#88	2016-5-25 Guangzhou, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Declined	Interviewee declined stating that it is complicated				
KZ-#97	2016-7-18 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#96	2016-7-6	Snowball	Semi-	1 hour	Confidentiality

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	Beijing, China		structured		required
KZ-#91	2016-6-7 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	2 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#92	2016-6-13 Xiamen, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	2 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#99	2016-7-21 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	2 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#98	2016-7-20 Cell phone exchange	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#106	2016-9-22 Washington, D.C., USA	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#102	2016-8-21 Washington, D.C., USA	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#109	2016-12-5 Washington, D.C., USA	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#101	2016-8-17 Washington, D.C., USA	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#104	2016-9-6 Washington, D.C., USA	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#103	2016-9-2 Philadelphia, USA	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#108	2016-9-29 Washington, D.C., USA	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#105	2016-9-22 Washington, D.C., USA	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#107	2016-9-28 Washington, D.C., USA	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#110	2016-12-6 Washington, D.C., USA	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#111	2016-12-27 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	0.5 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#112	2016-12-27 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	2 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#113	2016-12-29 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1.5 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#114	2016-12-29 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1.5 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#115	2017-1-18 Washington, D.C., USA	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#116	2017-12-19 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#118	2018-3-26 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#119	2018-3-27 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#120	2018-3-29 Beijing, China	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#121	2018-8-2 Boston, USA	Snowball	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
KZ-#122	2018-10-5	Snowball	Semi-	1 hour	Confidentiality

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	Palo Alto, USA		structured		required
KZ-#123	2018-12-26 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	2 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#124	2019-1-3 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hours	Confidentiality required
KZ-#125	2019-1-8 Beijing, China	Sample frame	Semi-structured	1 hours	Confidentiality required
Interview	December 30, 2013, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview-1	January 14, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview-2	January 14, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	January 20, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	June 5, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	June 6, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	June 10, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	June 11, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	June 12, 2014. Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	June 26, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	June 30, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	July 3, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview-1	July 9, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview-2	July 9, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	July 15, 2014, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	January 7, 2015, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview	January 8, 2015, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview-1	January 13, 2015, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview-2	January 13, 2015, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview-3	January 13, 2015, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview-1	January 14, 2015, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required
Interview-2	January 14, 2015, Beijing, China	Previous interviews	Semi-structured	1 hour	Confidentiality required

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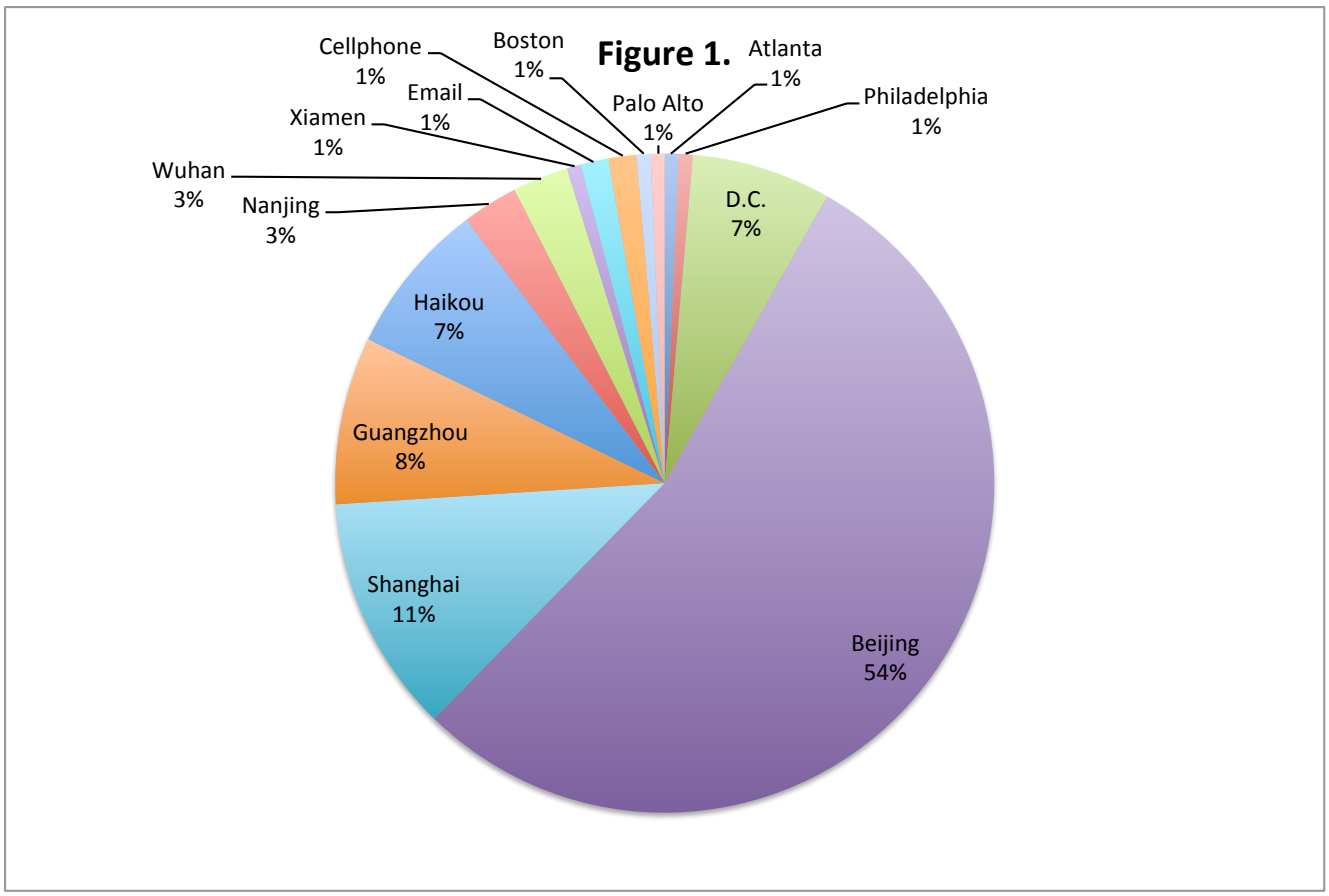

Figure 1 above is a geographical breakdown of my interviews.

Appendix I: Interview Codebook and Breakdown of Interviewees

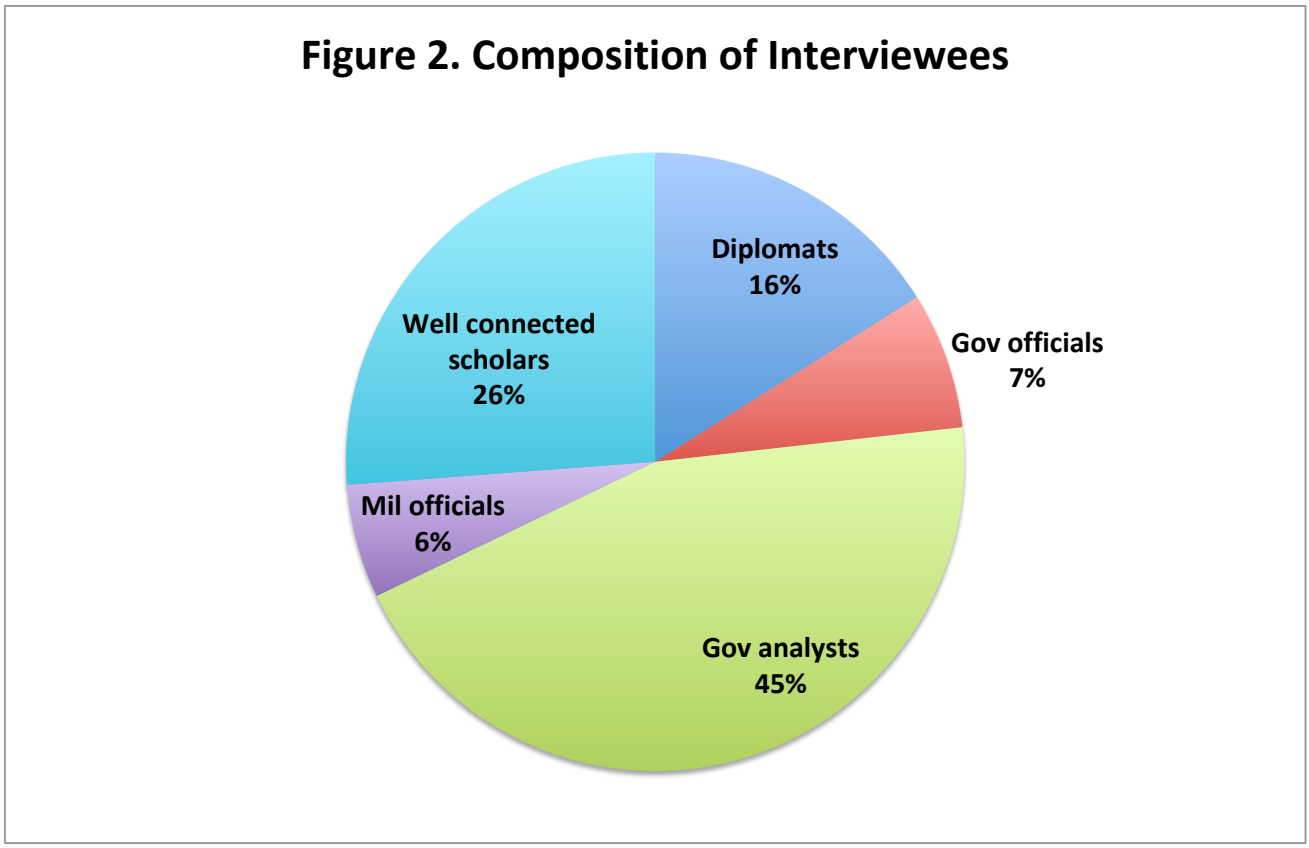

Figure 2 above is the composition breakdown of my interviewees. The numbers of interviewees are as follows: diplomats, 27 (21 of them are former diplomats, some of whom were at the ambassador level); government officials, (12, 11 of them are former officials); government policy analysts, 75; military officials, 10 (9 are former military officials, some of whom were at the general level); well connected scholars, 44.

Table 2. Interview Information

Total interviews (excluding previous interviews)	124
Sampling Frame	75
Snowballing[2]	57
Previous interviews (not in the sampling frame[3])	22
Total interviewees contacted	135
Declined/No response/Unavailable	14

[2] Mostly interviewees I otherwise would not have been able to reach, for example, retired generals or ambassadors, whom were not in my original sampling frame because of lack of public information to access them.

[3] Interviews that took place before I started the project. These were exploratory interviews.