Methods Appendix

The book draws on interviews with 90 people from NGOs and IGOs around the world, and US politicians and bureaucrats. These were conducted between 2012 and 2015. Most interviews were conducted via phone, but some were conducted via email and some in person. Interviews lasted from 20 minutes to over an hour, with the mode being around 45 minutes. The author also had two meetings in the US Department of State TIP Office where she met with a group of staff each time.

List of Interviewees

Unless otherwise noted, the author conducted the interview.

NGOs

1. Adhoch, Paul. CEO, Founder, and Board Member, Trace Kenya. In-person interview by Jessica Van Meir. August 7, 2014.
2. Alkalash, Linda. Founder and director, Tamkeen for Legal Aid and Human Rights, Jordan. Phone interview. November 14, 2014.
3. Altamura, Alessia. ECPAT international, Thailand. Skype interview. October 29, 2014.
4. Altschul, Monique. Fundación Mujeres en Igualdad. Argentina. In-person interview by Jessica Van Meir. July 10, 2015.
5. Araujo, Luján. Press and Communications Director, Fundación María de los Ángeles. Argentina. Email correspondence with Jessica Van Meir. October 22, 2015.

6. Buljanovic Olhagaray, Kate. Policy and Partnerships Coordinator, Child Helpline International, Netherlands. Phone interview. November 21, 2014.

7. Caminos, Viviana. Coordinator, RATT (Red Alto a la Trata y el Tráfico), Argentina. Skype interview by Jessica Van Meir. August 29, 2015.

8. Casadei, Ana Bettina. Confederación General de Trabajo and Congress. Argentina. In-person interview by Jessica Van Meir. June 30, 2015.

9. Cheeppensook, Kasira. Political science professor at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand. In-person interview by Pimchanok Chuaylua. January 12, 2016.

10. de Lavarene, Celhia. STOP – Stop Trafficking Of People, US. Phone interview. July 25, 2014.

11. Feingold, David. Director, Ophidian Research Institute, Thailand. Email exchange with author. March 31, 2015.

12. Ford, Carrie Pemberton. Cambridge Centre for Applied Research in Human Trafficking, United Kingdom. Phone interview. July 14, 2014.

13. Gachanja, Ruth Juliet N. Programme officer, Policy & Legislative Advocacy, The CRADLE, Kenya. In-person interview by Jessica Van Meir. July 15, 2014.

14. Gallagher, Anne. Australia-Asia Program to Combat Trafficking in Persons (AAPTIP), International Lawyer. Durham, NC. In-person interview. October 19, October 20, 2014.

15. Horowitz, Michael. Director of Hudson Institute's Project for Civil Justice Reform and Project for International Religious Liberty Monday. Major player in original passage of the TVPA. US. Phone interview. June 23, 2014.

16. Jakiel, Sarah. Chief Program Officer, Polaris Project, US. Phone interview. July 23, 2014

17. Kei, Chrisanjui. Former volunteer with Centre for Domestic Training and Development (CDTD). Nairobi, Kenya. In-person interview by Jessica Van Meir. September 30, 2014.

18. Keith, Shannon. Founder/CEO, International Princess Project, US. Phone interview. July 24, 2014.

19. Lambert, Steph. Stand Against Slavery and Justice Acts New Zealand. Phone interview. July 10, 2014.

20. Mahamoud, Omar. Project Coordinator, Friends of Suffering Humanity, Ghana. Phone interview. July 14, 2014.

21. Majdalani, Carla. Asociación Civil La Casa del Encuentro, Argentina. Skype interview by Jessica Van Meir. June 25, 2015.
22. Malinowski, Radoslaw "Radek." Founder, HAART, Nairobi, Kenya. In-person interview by Jessica Van Meir. July 30, 2014.
23. Manzo, Rosa. Director and co-founder, Fundación Quimera, Ecuador. Phone interview by Jessica Van Meir. Translated by Gonzalo Pernas Chamorro. April 2, 2015.
24. Matai, Ian. Reaching Out Romania, Romania. Phone interview. July 22, 2014.
25. Mattar, Mohamed. Executive Director, the Protection Project, Johns Hopkins University, US. Phone interview. September 24, 2015.
26. Mihaere, Peter J. Chief Executive Officer, Stand Against Slavery, New Zealand. Email correspondence. July 13, 2014.
27. Okinda, Joy. Senior Program Manager, Undugu Society. Nairobi, Kenya. In-person interview by Jessica Van Meir. August 7, 2014.
28. Otieno, Aggrey. Program Coordinator, African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect. Nairobi, Kenya. In-person interview by Jessica Van Meir. August 15, 2014.
29. Pongsawat, Pitch. Professor in government department of political science at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand. In-person interview by Pimchanok Chuaylua. January 13, 2016.
30. Prober, Roz. Beyond borders ECPAT, Canada. Phone interview. July 23, 2014.
31. Rosakova, Maia. Stellit. Durham, NC. In-person interview. August 8, 2014.
32. Rusk, Alesha. International Justice Mission, US. Phone interview. September 8, 2014.
33. Sacht, Kenny. Wipe Every Tear, Philippines. Phone interview. July 8, 2014.
34. Schmitt, Gabi. FIM – Frauenrecht ist Menschenrecht e.V. Beratungs- und Informationszentrum für Migrantinnen. Germany. Phone interview. July 15, 2014.
35. Segawa, Aiki. Lighthouse, Japan. Email exchange. July 15, 2014.
36. Skrivánkova, Klára. European Programme and Advocacy Coordinator, Anti-Slavery International, United Kingdom. In-person interview, Durham, NC. November 30, 2015.
37. Smith, Linda. Founder and President, Shared Hope International, US. Phone interview. June 20, 2014.

38. Vardaman, Samantha. Senior Director, Shared Hope International, US. Phone interview. June 26, 2014.

39. Vladenmaiier, Olena. Living for Tomorrow, Estonia. Phone interview. July 9, 2014.

IGOs

40. Garcia-Robles, Fernando. Anti-Trafficking in Persons' Coordinator, OAS. Washington, DC. Phone interview by Renata Dinamarco. January 17, 2013.

41. Haddin, Youla. Advisor on Trafficking in Persons, The Office of the High Commissioner for Human rights, Geneva. Phone interview. June 10, 2014.

42. Interview # 1. Anonymous ILO source. Phone interview. June 24, 2014.

43. Macciavello, Maria. Assistance to Vulnerable Migrant Specialist, Migrant Assistance Division, Department of Migration Management, International Organization for Migration (IOM). Geneva. Informal phone conversation. May 7, 2014.

44. Interview #3. Counter-Trafficking and Protection, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Geneva. July 15, 2014.

45. Neil, Kerry. Child Protection Specialist, UNICEF, New York, US. Phone interview. July 1, 2014.

46. Noguchi, Yoshie. Senior Legal Specialist, Child Labour, ILO, Geneva. Phone interview. June 13, 2014.

47. Rivzi, Sumbul. Senior Legal Officer, Head of Unit (Asylum & Migration), UNHCR, Geneva. June 27, 2014.

48. Rizvi, Sumbul. Senior Legal Officer, Head of Unit (Asylum & Migration), Protection Policy & Legal Advice, Pillar I – Policy & Law, Division of International Protection, UNHCR, Geneva. Phone interview. June 26, 2014.

49. Shahinian, Gulnara. Democracy Today, Former UN Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, 2008–2014. Armenia. Phone interview. November 10, 2014.

50. Van de Glind, Hans. Senior specialist and focal point for child trafficking of the ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour, ILO, Geneva. Phone interview. June 13, 2014.

Government Officials

US Government

51. Dobriansky, Paula. Former Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs from 2001–2009. July 15, 2014.

52. Amy O'Neill Richards, Senior Advisor to the Director in the State Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. In-person interview, Washington, DC. August 28, 2014.

53. Lagon, Mark. US TIP ambassador 2006–2009, 2007–2009 former Ambassador-at-Large, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, Washington, DC. Informal conversation. February 4, 2013.

54. Miller, John. Ambassador-at-Large, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, 2002–2006. Phone interview. June 18, 2014.

55. Napper, Larry. Ambassador to Kazakhstan 2001–2004. Interview College Station, Texas, via phone. February 26, 2015 and again March 3, 2015 (follow up).

56. Ordway, John. US Ambassador to Kazakhstan, 2004–2008. US Ambassador to Armenia from 2001–2004. Phone interview. March 6, 2015.

57. Princess Harriss, Senior Development Policy Officer, Department of Policy and Evaluation, Millennium Challenge Corporation. Phone interview. July 7, 2014.

58. Smith, Cindy J. Sr. Coordinator for Programs, J/TIP; US Department of State. In person interview, Washington, DC. August 15, 2014.

59. Kennelly, Nan. Principal Deputy overseeing Reports and Political Affairs. J/TIP; US Department of State. In-person interview, Washington, DC. August 15, 2014.

60. Warren, Jimmy. Senior Coordinator and Program Manager, Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance, and Training (OPDAT), Criminal Division, US Department of Justice. In-person interview. October 22, 2014.

61. Taylor, Mark. Former Senior Coordinator for Reports and Political Affairs at J/TIP from 2003–2013. Phone interview. November 6, 2014.

Group meetings at the Department of State, Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, Washington, DC. August 15, 2014 and February 5, 2013. Attending:

62. Joe Scovitch (since January 2014), Deputy Senior Coordinator for Reports and Political Affairs, Western Hemisphere Affairs, East Asia Pacific, Africa.
63. Jane Sigmon, Senior Advisor to the Director.
64. Desirée M. Suo, Deputy Senior Coordinator, Reports and Political Affairs.
65. Soumya Silver, AF. Madagascar.
66. Aaron King, fellowship program, intern.
67. Mai Shiozaki, Senior Public Affairs Specialist.
68. Alison Friedman, Deputy Director overseeing International Programs and Public Engagement.
69. Amy Rofman, Western Hemisphere and Europe, Reports and Political Affairs.
70. Jennifer Donnelly, Western Hemisphere and Europe, Reports and Political Affairs.
71. Sara Gilmer, Western Hemisphere, Reports and Political Affairs.
72. Martha Lovejoy, Eastern and Northern Europe, Reports and Political Affairs.
73. Kendra Kreider, South East Asia and Africa, Reports and Political Affairs.
74. Julie Hicks, Near East Asia and North Africa, Reports and Political Affairs.
75. Marisa Ferri, Deputy Senior Coordinator, International Programs.
76. Ann Karl Slusarz, Public Affairs Specialist, Public Engagement.
77. Caitlin Heidenreich, Program Analyst/Student Trainee.
78. Anna Patrick, Public Engagement Staff Assistant.

Government, not US

79. Abelman, Marteen. Head of the office, Dutch national rapporteur, Holland. Phone interview. August 18, 2014.
80. Colombo, Marcelo. Head of the Prosecutor's Office for the Combatting of Trafficking and Exploitation of Persons, Argentina. Email correspondence with Jessica Van Meir. August 29, 2015.
81. Fernandez, Aníbal. Former Chief of the Cabinet of Ministers, Argentina. Phone interview by Jessica Van Meir. November 24, 2015.
82. Minayo, Lucy. Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, Senior Human Rights Officer, Kenya. Phone interview by Jessica Weiss. July 29, 2014.

83. Pineda, Nora Suyapa Urbina. Abogado, Fiscal Especial de la Niñez. president of the Commission Against Trafficking in Persons, Honduras. Phone interview by Renata Dinamarco. April 1, 2013.
84. Rodriguez, Marcela. Head of the Programa de Asesoramiento y Patrocinio para las Víctimas del Delito de Trata de Personas (Program of Advice and Sponsorship for Victims of Trafficking in Persons). Argentina. Skype interview and email with Jessica Van Meir. October 30, 2015.
85. Roujanavong, Wanchai. Director General, International Affairs Department, Office of the Attorney General of Thailand, also with ECPAT, Thailand. Phone interview. December 2, 2014.
86. Mellanen, Inkeri. Finnish advisor, National assistance system for victims of trafficking, Finland. Phone interview. November 20, 2014.
87. Encinas, Cristian. Legal Team Coordinator, National Program of Rescue and Assistance of Victims of Trafficking, Argentina. In-person interview by Jessica Van Meir. July 10, 2015.

Group interview with Prosecutor's Office for the Combatting of Trafficking and Exploitation of Persons, Argentina. In-person interview by Jessica Van Meir. July 22, 2015. Attending:

88. Victoria Sassola, prosecretaria.
89. Agustina Dangelo, jefa de despacho.
90. Octavia Botalla, official.

THE GLOBAL SURVEY

From 2012 to 2014, with the help of research assistants, I assembled a database of over 1,000 NGOs working on TIP issues around the world. During the summer and fall of 2014 over 500 NGOs working in 133 countries responded to a survey designed to understand their engagement with the US and the TIP Report, as well as their assessments of the role of the US in their countries and their own governments' performance.[1]

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[1] See Heiss and Kelley for a complete summary of the survey results. Heiss and Kelley 2016.

Survey Methodology

With the help of Andrew Heiss, then a doctoral student at Duke, I used Qualtrics to administer the survey through the Internet. Online surveys pose several methodological challenges. First, they introduce a technology bias. Small grassroots organizations without an online presence are missing from the database and those without easy Internet access or poor English faced barriers to participate. Finally, all surveys have response bias – willingness to participate is rarely random.

We took several steps to address these problems, based on the methods and recommendations of others.[2] To encourage participation, we sent each NGO a set of three personalized email invitations, re-sent approximately every two weeks. Organizations without a working email address were contacted by phone. Each invitation included a link to the survey and an offer to complete the survey via phone, and respondents were allowed to remain anonymous. We translated the survey into Spanish and Russian and encouraged respondents to answer all free-response questions in their native language. We provided additional reminders and assistance to respondents who began the survey but did not complete it and sent links to allow organizations to resume their response. To minimize frustration that might lead respondents to quit prematurely, they were free to skip any question and could move back and forth in the survey. Additional efforts were made to reach non-responding NGOs by phone if we had very low participation from their countries.

Participation Rates and Demographics

We administered the survey to 1,103 NGOs and received responses from 480 unique organizations, yielding a participation rate of 43.5 percent. Because NGOs often work in multiple countries, we allowed respondents to answer a series of country-specific questions for up to five different countries, resulting in 561 country-organization responses. Most organizations (415, or 86.5 percent) chose to fill out the survey for just one country. Figure A1.1a shows the location of the NGO respondents' headquarters and Figure A1.1b shows their work location.

The NGOs surveyed have a nearly global reach. The majority of organizations (60 percent) are based in either Asia or Europe, roughly a quarter are based in North or South America, and fewer than 20 percent work in Africa.

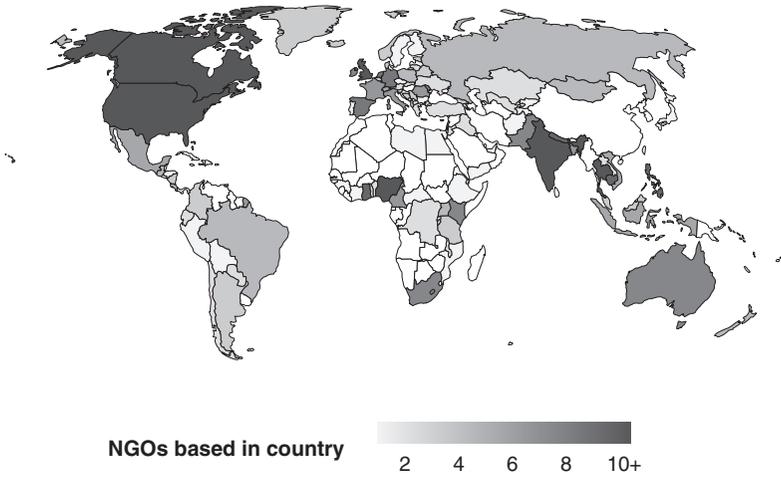[2] Büthe and Mattli 2011, Edwards et al. 2009.

NGOs based in country 2 4 6 8 10+

FIGURE A1.1a. Country location of NGO survey respondent headquarters. Number of NGOs: 469. Number of countries: 106.

NGOs working in country 2 4 6 8 10+

FIGURE A1.1b. Country location of NGO survey respondent work. Number of countries: 125.

On average, anti-TIP NGOs spend a little over half of their time and resources focused specifically on fighting trafficking and assisting victims and an overwhelming majority (93 percent) has at least some knowledge about the TIP policies in the countries they work in. Most organizations focus on sex (85 percent) and labor (61 percent) trafficking issues; 50 percent focus on both simultaneously. A handful of organizations

(30, or 6 percent) work with human organ trafficking, and dozens of others deal with other issues such as brokered marriages, domestic servitude, illegal adoptions, and forced begging. Approximately two-thirds of NGOs serve and advocate for children and/or adult trafficking victims, and many of those who work with adults specified working especially with women and young girls.

Most organizations (83 percent) advocate for prevention and improved education about TIP issues, and nearly three-fourths assist trafficking victims by running safe houses and shelters, operating special hotlines, helping start businesses, or providing physical and emotional health care.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

The project drew on thousands of media accounts and hundreds of primary documents from intergovernmental organizations, the US Department of State, and other sources.

US Diplomatic Cables

The Nature of the Archive and the Prevalence of Documented Reactions to the TIP Report

The diplomatic cables archive leaked through Wikileaks in September 2011 contained about a quarter-million cables mostly from 2000 to early 2010. However, the archive is incomplete and the record is strongest in 2007–2009. One analysis of the cables estimates that the volume released constitute about 5 percent of the total between 2005 and 2010, but with considerable variation at the embassy level.[3] The coverage in the period 2001–2004, which is also part of the analysis in this book, is even lower. Figure A1.2 shows an analysis of the estimated availability by year. The estimated total cables are calculated based on an extrapolation from the number and date last available cable in any given year, which makes it possible to estimate the rate of cables in any given year up to that point and then extend this to the end of the year to arrive at a total for the year. The figure suggests that by far the best coverage occurs in 2007–2009.
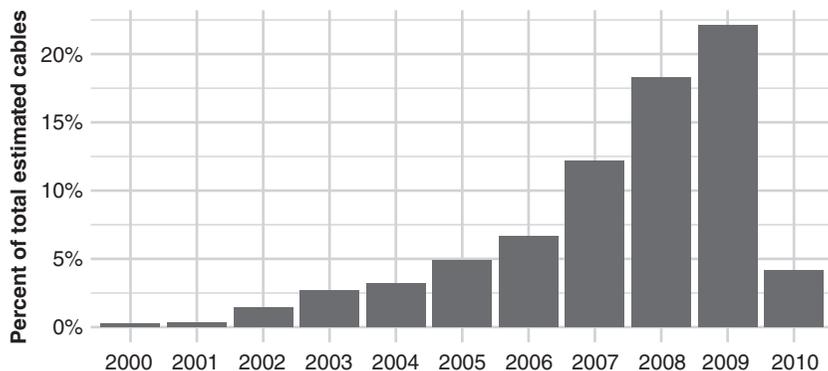
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[3] Gill and Spirling 2014.

FIGURE A1.2. Observed Wikileaks US Department of State cables as a percentage of the estimated number of cables.

Identifying TIP-Related Cables

To identify cables for this project we derived an algorithm to extract all cables that discussed human trafficking, while minimizing cables about other forms of trafficking such as in drugs, ivory, wildlife, diamond, and, yes, traffic congestion! After additional manual cleaning of the data, about 8,500 relevant cables remained that discussed human trafficking in some way. These are the cables that have served as sources for the illustrations and case studies.

Analysis of Missingness

It is important to understand the pattern of cable availability. The top panel of Figure A1.3 charts the number of all available Wikileaks cables by year, while the middle panel shows the number of cables discussing TIP. The two track closely, suggesting that the availability of the TIP related cables is a function of the availability of the overall body of cables.

This same pattern holds with respect to information about how a state reacts to TIP Report. Of all the Wikileaks cables about TIP, nearly 500 documents recounted reactions by government officials to the annual TIP Reports. Some of these were repetitions of the same type of concern in the same country in the same year. It one only counts one type of reaction once per year then 481 reactions to 217 reports on 99 different countries remained.

The bottom panel of Figure A1.3 shows the total number of cables discussing a state's reaction to the TIP Report. Year 2000 is omitted because

Methods Appendix

Number of observed Wikileaks cables

Number of TIP-related cables

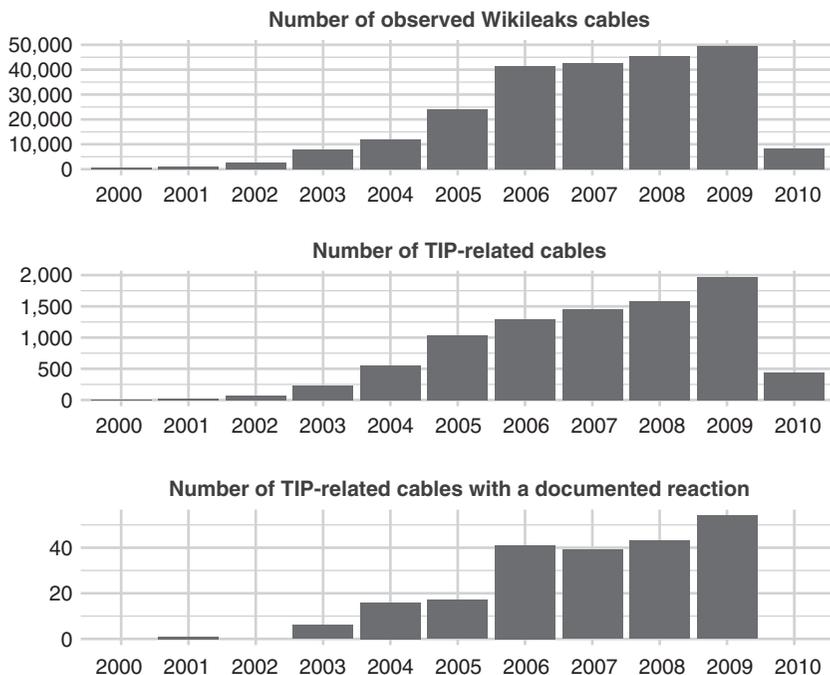**Number of TIP-related cables with a documented reaction**

FIGURE A1.3. Count of observed Wikileaks cables, TIP-related cables, and TIP-related cables with a documented reaction.

the reports only started in 2001, and year 2010 is omitted because the archives end before the release of the 2010 report. Again, the trend tracks closely with the total number of observed cables, suggesting that whether a TIP response is present is a function of general archival availability.

Statistical analysis of the cable availability was used to analyze whether factors related to trafficking predicted the availability of cables. The dependent variable was created by first using the numbering system of the cables to calculate the total number of cables likely issued for each embassy or consulate for each year. Diplomats verified the validity of using the numbering system in this way. For each country-year, the last available cable ID number was used to calculate the rate of cables in that year to that date and then extrapolate the total for the year. For each year the actual number of available cables was then tallied for each country, based on their availability in Wikileaks. This was then used to derive the percentage of cables available for a given year for each country. The results below show no correlations with TIP factors at conventional statistical levels.

TABLE A1.1. *Percentage of estimated cables actually present*

	Model A1.1
GDP per capita (logged)	1.633***
	(0.340)
Total foreign aid (logged)	0.884***
	(0.287)
Worse total freedom	0.325***
	(0.103)
TIP tier	0.230
	(0.421)
Trafficking criminalized	−0.539
	(0.780)
Trafficking intensity in transit countries	−0.490
	(0.302)
Trafficking intensity in countries of origin	−0.178
	(0.323)
Trafficking intensity in destination countries	−0.225
	(0.276)
2000 Palermo Protocol ratification	0.286
	(0.748)
Constant	−31.380***
	(7.536)
Year fixed effects	Yes
Observations	735
R^2	0.439
Adjusted R^2	0.424
Residual Std. Error	8.175
	(df = 715)
F Statistic	29.419***
	(df = 19; 715)

Note: *p **p ***p < 0.01. Standard OLS estimates.

Coding the Cables

The documents were loaded into software for qualitative analysis, *QDA Miner*, and coding decisions were tagged in the text for retrieval and replication.[4] The complete set of cables and all codes is available at the book's resources site (www.cambridge.org/ScorecardDiplomacy).

[4] A full record of all statements and how they were coded is available from the author.

Coding the Reactions to the TIP Report

The cables were coded with an eye to ascertaining whether the reaction revealed concerns about a country's image or about funding. The categories were refined as the coding process unfolded. Reactions fell logically into 12 sub-categories as described in Table A1.2.

Many reports received a wide range of reactions. For example, a country might object to the content of the report, but still cooperate with the embassy. Thus countries were allowed to have multiple types of reaction in one year (indeed about 60 percent do). A reaction could also be coded as multiple types – for example, in the same statement, an official may express both anger and embarrassment. Multiple records of the same reaction were coded as just one occurrence for that report year so that if two different officials express the same reaction or the same reaction is discussed in two different cables, this reaction is simply coded as present for that country for that year.

Coding Other Items

The cables were also coded for the following: Meetings, levels of officials at meeting both US and local, US activities locally related to TIP, status of any anti-TIP law and US engagement with the law, mentions of IGOs and NGOs, diplomatic use of the tiers, for example, as sources of conditionality, discussions of funding, discussions of grant proposals, notable remarks, and several other miscellaneous tags.

Media Accounts

Reactions to Report

Stories were downloaded from LexisNexis according to the following search criteria: Stories were included if they contained the words "blacklist" OR "Watch List" OR "Watch List" OR "Tier" within the same sentence as the phrases "human trafficking" OR "Trafficking in persons." Stories were also included if they contained the terms "US" OR "U.S." OR "United States" OR "State Department" OR "Department of State" within the same paragraph as the phrase "human trafficking report" OR "Trafficking in Persons Report" OR "TIP Report" OR "report on trafficking in persons" OR "report on human trafficking." The cutoff date was the date for the search, which was September 27, 2012. This search

TABLE A1.2. *Coding scheme for the reactions to the US TIP Report documented in US Department of State cables*

Funding

Funding	Any reaction or discussion, even if not initiated by the country official, that includes mention of possible sanctions, trade implications, investment concern or other material fall out is coded as a *Funding* concern.

Image

Comparisons	Officials may make comparisons between themselves and other countries and protest at how they are grouped with specific other countries.
Public face-saving	Embassy officials note that officials make public statements that differ from private ones, usually being more accepting of the ratings in private.
Embarrassment	Officials express embarrassment or explicitly mention reputational concerns about the rating.

Negative

Anger or frustration	Officials express anger, and may even threaten the US with suspending cooperation on other issues.
US arrogance	Officials accuse the US of overreaching, perhaps criticizing the US own trafficking problem and dismissing US criticism as improper interference.
Disappointment	In discussion of ratings, officials express disappointment or other negative reactions of an unspecified nature.
Objection, moving goal posts	Officials claim the report is inaccurate or politically motivated, or they complain about the standards used in the report.
Other negative reaction	The embassy simply reports that the country reacted negatively or complained, etc.

Positive

How to improve	Countries seek specific information on how they can improve their ratings or provide US officials with plans for how they will address the shortcomings pointed out in the report.
Cooperative	Countries strike a cooperative mode, discussing ways to respond to US recommendations or ways to continue to cooperate to combat trafficking.
Appreciation	Officials express appreciation for the rating or boast about it.

is narrow; it misses many domestic news sources, or stories that refer to the trafficking report, but do not discuss tiers, for example.

This yielded 1,074 stories, 308 of which contained a government reaction to 176 separate TIP Reports. Some stories contained multiple types of reactions for a total of 326 reactions. All the reactions were coded according to the same coding scheme used for reactions to the TIP Report in the US diplomatic cables (see below).

Media Coverage of Human Trafficking in Oman
I searched LexisNexis for news stories about "Human Trafficking" or "Trafficking in Persons" during 2003–2012. These were coded by month.

Organizational Documents
Organizational websites for all major IGOs involved in the fight against human trafficking as well as major US agencies such as the Department of Justice (DOJ) and the US USAID were searched for reports on their efforts. The information was used to supplement the case studies and to understand the programs and efforts of other actors.

DATA

Data was coded specifically for this project and combined with pre-existing data. This was used for descriptive and traditional statistical analysis. Original data created included a measure of NGO presence, a dataset of public and private reactions to TIP Reports, and data on criminalization updated from a prior project of mine with Beth Simmons. Tables A1.3–4 provide a full description and summary of all the variables included in the models used in this book.

Analysis

The analysis is done on the country-year level. Models are indicated for each table.

TABLE A1.3. *Description of all variables used in statistical analysis*

Variable	Description	Source	Chapters
2000 TIP protocol ratification	An indicator (0/1) for whether a country has ratified the UN Palermo Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime	United Nations Treaty Collection (https://treaties. un.org/Pages/ViewDetails. aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_ no=XVIII-12-a&chapter=18)	3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Aid greater than $100 million	Dichotomous variable (0/1) indicating whether a country received more than $100 million in aid from the US.	US Overseas Loans & Grants (Greenbook)	6
Corruption	"Control of corruption captures perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain."	Worldwide Governance Indicators project	3, 6
Coverage / Human trafficking news (logged)	The log of the number of times a country's name will appear in a news story in the LexisNexis database within 50 words of the phrase "human trafficking" (or a close cognate)	Author generated	4
Criminalization	The complete prohibition of all forms of human trafficking, including sex and labor trafficking for men and women, children and adults. Penalties must be significant, usually meaning minimum sentences of 3–5 years. Note that, because the US trafficking report comes out annually in June, to avoid sequencing errors in our inference, a country is coded as having fully criminalized in a given year only if it had done so prior to the issuance of the report in June. Dates usually refer to the actual enactment of the legislation, but in cases where that information is not available, the month of passage of the legislation is used. If no date could be established, the country was coded as having fully criminalized that year (equivalent to an assumption that it criminalized before the report came out, thus biasing any systematic error against a finding of an effect of the report on criminalization).	UN Global Report on Trafficking, 2009. US TIP Reports, International Organization of Migration (IOM) database and other sources	3, 4, 5, 6, 7

TABLE A1.3. (*continued*)

Variable	Description	Source	Chapters
FDI from US (logged)	Total amount of foreign direct investment (FDI) from the US.	Bilateral FDI statistics, UN Conference on Trade and Development (http://unctad. org/en/Pages/DIAE/FDI%20 Statistics/FDI-Statistics-Bilateral.aspx)	7
First demotion (t−1)	Dichotomous variable (0/1) coded 1 in a year that a country is placed either on the Watch List or rated a Tier 3 (without first having been on the Watch List) for the first time.	TIP Report	6, 7
First demotion (t−2)	Dichotomous variable (0/1) coded 1 in a year that a country is placed either on the Watch List or rated a Tier 3 (without first having been on the Watch List) for the first time.	TIP Report	6, 7
First demotion (t−3)	Dichotomous variable (0/1) coded 1 in a year that a country is placed either on the Watch List or rated a Tier 3 (without first having been on the Watch List) for the first time.	TIP Report	6, 7
GDP (logged)	GDP in current US dollars	World Bank indicators	3
GDP per capita (logged)	GDP / Total Population (logged) in current US dollars	World Bank indicators	4, 5, 6
Has BIT with US	Dichotomous variable (0/1) indicating whether a country has signed a bilateral investment treaty (BIT) with the US.	Office of the United States Trade Representative (https:// ustr.gov/trade-agreements/ bilateral-investment-treaties)	7
Imports to US (logged)	Total value of imports to the US for a given country.	IMF (http://data.imf.org/regular. aspx?key=61013712)	7

In report	Dichotomous variable indicating whether a country is included in the report.	TIP Report	4, 6, 7
Missing information	A count of number of variables for which information is missing in a given year for: Freedom House civil liberties, the International Country Risk Guide corruption score, Erik Voeten's UN Affinity voting data, and four variables from the World Bank: Net Overseas Development Assistance (ODA), Intentional homicides, health expenditures, and GDP. The variable also counts the three variables from the UN incidence data on TIP, adding a one for each of these variables where the UN did not find any information.	Author generated based on included variables and their sources	3, 6, 7
NGO density	A count of number of total times the annual US State Department TIP Report for a given country mentions the word NGO, divided by the number of reports in the data. Thus, it captures average number of NGO mentions per report for a given country and it is a constant for each country. The data is extended backwards to years before a country was included in the report.	TIP report, variable generated by author	3, 6
Reaction	Indicator of whether a country had any reaction to the report in a given year.	Author generated from Wikileaks cables	5, 6
Regional density of criminalization	A measure capturing the percentage of countries in a region that have criminalized trafficking.	Generated based on the criminalization variable	3, 6, 7
Rule of law	"Rule of law captures perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of society."	Worldwide Governance Indicators project	3
Share of total trade with US	Share of a country's total trade (imports plus exports) that is with the US.	International Monetary Fund, Direction of Trade Statistics	5
Share of women in parliament	Share of voting seats in the lower house of national parliaments held by women (percentage of total seats), as of the last day of the listed year.	Women in National Parliaments, statistical archive. www.ipu. org/ wmn-e/classif- arc.htm, accessed February 2012	6, 7

(continued)

Variable	Description	Source	Chapters
Tier 1	Dichotomous variable (0/1) indicating whether the US has rated a country as Tier 1.	TIP Report	6
Tier 2	Dichotomous variable (0/1) indicating whether the US has rated a country as Tier 2.	TIP Report	5, 6
Tier 3	Dichotomous variable (0/1) indicating whether the US has rated a country as Tier 3.	TIP Report	5, 6
Total population (logged)	The log of total population.	World Bank indicators	3, 4, 5, 6
Total population (logged)	The log of total population.	World Bank indicators	3
Total reactions	Count of non-media reactions in Wikileaks cables.	Author generated from Wikileaks cables	6
Trafficking intensity in countries of origin	Incidence of reporting of trafficking persons in origin countries. 1=very low; 2=low; 3=medium; 4=high; 5=very high.	2006 UNODC TIP Report, Appendix 5: Incidence of reporting of (destination/origin/transit) countries. The incidence from the 2006 report is extended to all years in the analysis.	3, 4, 6
Trafficking intensity in destination countries	Incidence of reporting of trafficking persons in destination countries. 1=very low; 2=low; 3=medium; 4=high; 5=very high.	2006 UNODC TIP Report, Appendix 5: Incidence of reporting of (destination/origin/transit) countries. The incidence from the 2006 report is extended to all years in the analysis.	3, 4, 6

Variable	Description	Source	Models
Trafficking intensity in transit countries	Incidence of reporting of trafficking persons in transit countries. 1=very low; 2=low; 3=medium; 4=high; 5=very high.	2006 UNODC TIP Report, Appendix 5: Incidence of reporting of (destination/origin/transit) countries. The incidence from the 2006 report is extended to all years in the analysis.	3, 4, 6
US aid (logged)	The log of Total Aid from the US constant 2010 $US. We add 1 before taking the log so that the value for no aid is 0.	US Overseas Loans & Grants (Greenbook)	3, 5, 6, 7
US aid as share of total aid (logged)	Proportion of foreign aid from the US out of all received aid.	AidData (http://aiddata.org)	7
US military aid (logged)	Total military aid provided by the US.	Security Assistance Monitor (www.securityassistance.org/data/country/military/country/1996/2017/is_all/Global)	7
US pressure	Dichotomous variable (0/1) indicating whether the US has placed the country on the Watch List or rated the country Tier 3.	TIP Report	3, 5, 7
Watchlist	Dichotomous variable (0/1) indicating whether the US has placed a country on the Tier 2 Watch List, which means that it may drop to Tier 3 the following year.	TIP Report	5, 6
Worse civil liberties	Freedom House Civil Liberties; 1 to 7 scale, with 1 representing the best civil liberties and 7 the worst.	Freedom House (www.freedomhouse.org/reports)	3, 4, 6, 7
Worse total freedom	Sum of Freedom House political rights and civil liberties scores. 2 to 14 scale, with 2 representing the best total freedom and 7 the worst.	Freedom House (www.freedomhouse.org/reports)	5, 6

TABLE A1.4a. *Summary of continuous variables used in statistical analysis*

Variable	Mean	Median	Standard deviation	Min	Max
Corruption	−0.057	−0.31	0.98	0.0	2.4
Coverage / Human trafficking news (logged)	3.333	3.53	1.57	0.0	7.7
FDI from US (logged)	8.039	0.00	9.57	0.0	25.4
GDP (logged)	23.376	23.20	2.35	18.0	30.1
GDP per capita (logged)	7.723	7.66	1.57	4.4	10.9
Imports to US (logged)	19.010	19.58	4.62	0.0	26.7
Missing information	2.545	2.00	1.63	0.0	7.0
NGO density	2.901	2.89	1.43	0.0	9.1
Rule of law	−0.099	-0.34	0.97	0.0	2.0
Total population (logged)	15.653	15.85	1.99	10.7	21.0
Total reactions	0.360	0.00	1.05	0.0	10.0
Trafficking intensity in countries of origin	2.350	3.00	1.56	0.0	5.0
Trafficking intensity in destination countries	2.251	2.00	1.45	0.0	5.0
Trafficking intensity in transit countries	1.395	1.00	1.49	0.0	5.0
US aid (logged)	13.910	16.47	6.57	0.0	22.9
US military aid (logged)	11.818	13.58	6.01	0.0	23.0
Worse civil liberties	3.353	3.00	1.80	1.0	7.0
Worse total freedom	6.807	6.00	3.88	2.0	14.0

Statistical Packages

All statistical analysis and the figures in this manuscript was done with the following software and with the able assistance of Andrew Heiss.

Hlavac, Marek. 2015. *stargazer: Well-Formatted Regression and Summary Statistics Tables.* http://CRAN.R-project.org/package= stargazer. Version 5.2.

R Core Team. 2016. *R: A language and environment for statistical computing.* Vienna, Austria: R Foundation for Statistical Computing. www.r-project.org. Version 3.3.0.

Wickham, Hadley. 2009. *ggplot2: Elegant Graphics for Data Analysis.* Springer New York. http://had.co.nz/ggplot2/book. Version 2.1.0.

TABLE A1.4b. *Summary of binary variables used in statistical analysis*

Variable	Mean proportion	Standard deviation
2000 TIP protocol ratification	0.42	0.49
Aid greater than $100 million	0.20	0.40
Criminalization	0.36	0.48
First demotion (t–1)	0.09	0.28
First demotion (t–2)	0.08	0.27
First demotion (t–3)	0.07	0.25
Has BIT with US	0.27	0.44
In report	0.74	0.44
Reaction	0.16	0.37
Regional density of criminalization	0.30	0.30
Share of total trade with US	0.12	0.14
Share of women in parliament	0.15	0.10
Tier 1	0.12	0.32
Tier 2	0.37	0.48
Tier 3	0.08	0.28
US aid as share of GDP (logged)	0.02	0.06
US aid as share of total aid (logged)	0.10	0.16
US pressure	0.24	0.43
US trade as share of GDP (logged)	0.09	0.11
Watchlist	0.16	0.37

CASE STUDIES

Drawing on the interviews and the document analysis, over 15 case studies were crafted to systematically examine evidence for the steps in the scorecard diplomacy cycle to analyze the likelihood of causality between US efforts and observed outcomes.

The cases serve to examine whether scorecard diplomacy sometimes works as purported, whether its possible to figure out some factors that facilitate or hinder it, and to illustrate some of the core mechanisms by probing the occurrence of some of the interaction on the ground. The cases are not selected to test the overall effectiveness of scorecard diplomacy by demonstrating a strong correlation between US efforts and progress.

The case studies are extraordinarily rich due to the availability of the embassy cables, but the availability of information is very uneven over time. This makes it difficult to draw inferences about what happens during times when there is less information and thus to compare countries to themselves over time. The strategy is to focus primarily on the times when

information is rich. Thus, the focus usually wanes by early 2010. The information contains variation in outcomes: at times embassies report progress and at other times stagnation, or setbacks. What can be learned about these episodes? How do they fit with the arguments about scorecard diplomacy, and what do they tell us about which other factors are important?

Case Selection

The cases studies are of countries and consider the activities of multiple stakeholders at the international, national, and local levels. Countries were chosen based on and limited by a several factors. First and foremost, because the main source for the information is the diplomatic cables and because the subset of cables released was very uneven across countries, it was important to choose cases that were relative information rich, that is, cases with more cables about trafficking. This likely biases the cases towards countries where the US has been more active, although variation remains. It's also worth noting that the measure of engagement, namely the share of overall diplomatic cables that are on the subject of trafficking, does not differ statistically between the cases and non-cases. See Table A1.6 for this and other comparison statistics. Second, because legislation has been such a major part of US efforts, it was useful to choose several cases where there were cables when legislation was being discussed in various countries. Another important factor was variation in tier ratings across the cases. Finally, it was useful to have some variation in region and regime type to see whether any differences were apparent.

Table A1.5 overviews the basic characteristics of the chosen cases, including the level of US effort, the range of tiers they received in the years they were included in the report, as well as a measure of how often on average that the US TIP Reports mentioned NGOs or IGOs for each of these countries. It also shows the level and year of criminalization.

Comparison of Case Study Country Attributes with Non-Case Study Countries

A comparison of policy progress in the case studies versus the rest of the sample is useful. As seen in Table A1.6, the case studies are similar to the non-country cases in most regards, including the perceived level and type of trafficking problem in the early 2000s and the engagement of IGOs and NGOs with the US embassy and TIP. They are similar on other important things such as GDP per capita, population size and aid. The case studies do have a higher level of US engagement as measured in

TABLE A1.5. Overview of case study attributes

	Total TIP documents (% of all available cables for country)	Year of first documents (first year of TIP Report)	Range of TIP tiers (WL: Watch List)	Level of criminalization* (years)	NGO activity** mean = 2.90 range 0–9	Main IGOs** (activity level) mean= 0.81 range 0–4
Argentina	194 (9%)	2004 (2004)	2–WL	Full (2008) Strengthened (2012)	4.5	0.75
Armenia	92 (5%)	2003 (2002)	2–3	Partial (2003) Full (2006)	4.6	0.5
Chad	43 (5%)	2005 (2005)	2–3	None	3	3.85
Ecuador	115 (8%)	2004 (2004)	2–3	Full (2005)	2	0.75
Honduras	131 (7%)	2002 (2001)	2–WL	Partial (2006) Full (2012)	4.63	0.63
Indonesia	151 (5%)	2006# (2001)	2–3	Partial (pre study) Full (2007)	4	0.63
Israel	82 (2%)	2004 (2001)	2–3	Partial (2000) Full (2006)	4.36	0.09
Japan	70 (1%)	2006 (2001)	2–WL	Partial (2005)	3.72	2
Kazakhstan	94 (5%)	2006 (2001)	2–3	Partial (2002) Full (2003)	4.27	0.45
Malaysia	133 (13%)	2006 (2001)	2–3	Partial (2001) Full (2007) Strengthened (2010)	2.81	0.27
Mozambique	93 (10%)	2003 (2003)	2–WL	Full (2008)	4.22	0.66
Nigeria	179 (6%)	2001 (2001)	1–WL	Full (2003)	2	.45
Oman	163 (10%)	2004 (2005)	2–3	Full (2008)	.28	.71
UAE	179 (6%)	2003 (2001)	1–3	Full (2006)	1.45	1
Zimbabwe	38 (1%)	2003 (2002)	2–3	Partial (2014)	3.55	2.44

* Partial indicates some covering laws that did not fully meet the UN Trafficking protocol criteria

** Based on authors data calculated on average mentions in the annual TIP Reports.

One in 2003.

TABLE A1.6. *Comparison of case study countries and other countries in years they are included in the TIP Report*

Statistic	Case study countries	Other countries	Difference	Significant difference at p = 0.05
US TIP effort (% of cables mentioning TIP)	0.063	0.0402	0.0228	Yes, more engaged
Tier	2.24	2.02	0.219	Yes, higher tiers
Incidence (transit)	0.933	1.5	−0.563	No
Incidence (origin)	2.2	2.4	−0.195	No
Incidence (destination)	2.4	2.27	0.129	No
Count of NGOs	3.3	2.88	0.413	No
Count of IGOs	1.02	0.802	0.213	No
TIP media coverage	113	89.5	23.1	Yes, more coverage
GDP per capita (constant 2000 dollars)	$8,677	$6,973	$1,704	No
Population	48M	45M	3,620,624	No
Corruption	2.13	2.62	−0.485	Yes, more corrupt
Political rights	3.98	3.44	0.542	Yes, less democratic
Aid (OECD)	$14.5	$230	−$215	No
Aid (US)	$121	$96	$24.8	No
Ratification of 2000 Palermo Protocol	0.8	0.791	0.00915	No

the percent of US cables devoted to the trafficking issue, and also slightly worse tiers, and more news coverage of TIP issues. In general, they are slightly "worse" countries in terms of democracy and corruption, which likely explains the higher engagement – the US clearly does not engage as much with countries consistently rated Tier 1, for example, but it made no sense to included such countries in the case studies. While the chosen cases get more total news coverage, they don't get more per capita. Similarly, they get more aid, but not per capita. The fact that the cases are
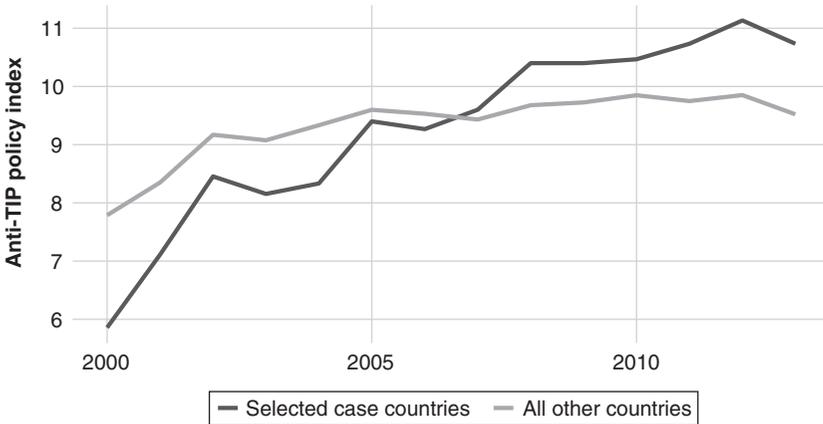
FIGURE A1.4. Average 3P anti-TIP policy index for 15 case study countries compared to all other countries.

more corrupt and less democratic might actually make them less amenable to pressure.

How do the selected cases fare in terms of improvements compared to the non-selected cases? Figure A1.4 relies on data from the "3P Anti-Trafficking Policy Index"[5] and shows that the countries sampled have overall had greater improvements than the non-sampled countries, partly because they were significantly worse to begin with and because several of the non-sampled countries just started out very high and had little room for improvement. This is consistent with the above and with the desire to be able to learn about the active ingredients of scorecard diplomacy. However, the non-sampled countries have also improved. Thus the chosen cases over-represent improvements, but do not misrepresent the general trend.

Case Study Methodology

The embassy cables for each country case were loaded into a software program for qualitative analysis called *QDA Miner*. The cases were read and coded with respect to types of events. Two graduate and two undergraduate students assisted in the coding. Everything was double coded. The coding was very heavily supervised in weekly group meetings and I went over every single case. The codes were not intended for

[5] Cho 2015. See discussion in Chapter 6.

quantitative analysis but to help with the case study analysis. The list of things noted was long, but included things such as:

- Meetings between US and in-country stakeholders, and the level of these officials involved (head of state, ministerial level, other government officials, and NGOs or IGOs).
- Types of US engagement in the country (practical assistance, funding programs, pushing for legislation, etc.).
- Progress on TIP legislation including comments on the implementation of the legislation, wording, updates on political obstacles and so forth.
- Reactions to the reports (as discussed in Chapter 5).
- Things of note, such as whether embassy officials were making claims about the effectiveness of US efforts, arguing for certain tier ratings, making use of conditionality or instructing officials on improvements that would need to be made to reach certain tier ratings, etc.
- The presence and activity of other stakeholders like IGOs and NGOs.

A synopsis was drawn up of the coding categories for each case. Next, the case was filled in as much as possible with other sources, including reports from the UN and other IGOs and NGOs, as well as media accounts and in some instances interviews. The next step was to write up chronologies. Although often long, the chronologies contained uneven information across time due to the variation in the availability of embassy cables and other sources. Nonetheless, during certain periods the cases were often much more detailed than would normally be obtained with standard case study materials due to the confidential nature of the cables. After the chronologies were completed, a longer case study was written, which was then condensed to a shorter version (which is available on the book's resources site, www.cambridge.org/ScorecardDiplomacy). Examples from the case studies are discussed in context in the throughout the book.

To understand the likelihood that the US brought about the observed outcomes, that is, to draw any causal inference between US actions and policy outcomes, the case studies paid attention to three things in particular: (1) **Sequencing**, which is important for causal inference.[6] (2) **Congruence**: The substance of US recommendations must relate to the actions taken by a government. (3) **Testimony**: How the actors involved attribute causality to various outcomes.

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[6] Grzymala-Busse 2010.