

# Appendix

This appendix presents the formal model. To aid in the presentation, we will assume the principles and results of the domestic model demonstrated in the Appendix to Chapter 3 of Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003) and focus on the international aspects of the model.

## The Model

We refer to the two states as **A** and **B**, their initial leaders as *A* and *B*, challengers as *a* and *b*, and selectors as  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ .  $W_A, S_A, W_B, S_B$  give the sizes of the winning coalition of **A**, the selectorate of **A**, the winning coalition of **B**, and the selectorate of **B** respectively.  $R_A, R_B$  are the resources of **A** and the resources of **B** respectively. Private benefits are denoted by *g* (for goodies), public goods by *x*, and resources devoted to foreign policy by *p*, with subscripts denoting state **A** or **B**. The foreign policy outcome is given by  $f(p_A, p_B) = \pi_A p_A + \pi_B p_B$  with  $\pi_A > 0$  and  $\pi_B < 0$ . There are  $N_A$  selectors in **A** and  $N_B$  in **B**. Let  $\Phi_A$  be the set of all  $N_A$ -dimensional vectors corresponding to all permutations of the integers from 1 to  $N_A$ ; for example, if  $N_A = 3$ , then  $\Phi_A = \{(1, 2, 3), (1, 3, 2), (2, 1, 3), (2, 3, 1), (3, 1, 2), (3, 2, 1)\}$ .  $\Phi_B$  is the set of all  $N_B$ -dimensional vectors composed of all permutations of the integers from 1 to  $N_B$ . Let

$\varphi_A \in \Phi_A$  and  $\varphi_B \in \Phi_B$ , and  $\varphi_A(i)$  denotes the  $i$ -th element of  $\varphi_A$  with  $\varphi_B(i)$  giving the  $i$ -th element of  $\varphi_B$ .

The time line of the model is as follows:

1.  $A$  chooses whether to replace  $B$  with a puppet at cost  $C_D$ , take territory  $r$  from  $\mathbf{B}$  at cost  $C_r$ , do both at cost  $C_D + C_r$ , or do neither. If  $A$  installs a puppet,  $A$  sets  $W_B$  and  $S_B$ .
2. If this is the first round of the game or if challenger  $a$  was selected in the previous round, select  $\varphi_A$  randomly from  $\Phi_A$  with uniform probability across all members of  $\Phi_A$ . If  $a$  was selected in the previous round, relabel  $a$  as  $A$  and new challenger as  $a$ .
3.  $A$  selects  $w_A$  and allocates  $g_A$ ,  $x_A$ , and  $p_A$  with  $|w_A|g_A + x_A + p_A \leq R_A$  ( $R_A + r$  if  $A$  took territory from  $\mathbf{B}$ ).
4.  $a$  selects  $w_a$  and allocates  $g_a$ ,  $x_a$ , and  $p_a$  with  $|w_a|g_a + x_a + p_a \leq R_A$  ( $R_A + r$  if  $A$  took territory from  $\mathbf{B}$ ).
5. All selectors  $\alpha$  choose between  $A$  and  $a$ , with  $a$  winning if  $|\{\alpha \in w_A | \alpha \text{ chose } A\}| < W_A$  and  $|\{\alpha \in w_a | \alpha \text{ chose } a\}| \geq W_A$  and  $A$  winning otherwise (the constructive rule of deposition).
6. If this is the first round of the game or if challenger  $b$  was selected in the previous round, select  $\varphi_B$  randomly from  $\Phi_B$  with uniform probability across all members of  $\Phi_B$ . If  $b$  was selected in the previous round, relabel  $b$  as  $B$  and new challenger as  $b$ .
7.  $B$  selects  $w_B$  and allocates  $g_B$ ,  $x_B$ , and  $p_B$  with  $|w_B|g_B + x_B + p_B \leq R_B$  ( $R_B - r$  if  $A$  took territory from  $\mathbf{B}$ ).
8.  $b$  selects  $w_b$  and allocates  $g_b$ ,  $x_b$ , and  $p_b$  with  $|w_b|g_b + x_b + p_b \leq R_B$  ( $R_B - r$  if  $A$  took territory from  $\mathbf{B}$ ).
9. All selectors  $\beta$  choose between  $B$  and  $b$  with the winner decided by the constructive rule of deposition. The round ends.

Moves 2 through 9 define one round of the game, with the rounds infinitely

repeated and payoffs (as defined in the chapter) from a round received at the end of that round. All players discount future payoffs by common discount factor  $\delta$ .

Payoffs for a round are as follows:

For  $A$ ,  $\Psi_A + R_A - |w_A|g_A - x_A - p_A + \sum_{i \in w_A} \varphi_A(i)\varepsilon$  if  $A$  reselected and did not take

territory from **B**;  $\Psi_A + R_A + r - |w_A|g_A - x_A - p_A + \sum_{i \in w_A} \varphi_A(i)\varepsilon$  if  $A$  reselected and did take territory from **B**; and 0 if not reselected.  $\varepsilon > 0$  and  $\varepsilon \ll \min\left(\frac{R_A}{N_A(N_A+1)}, \frac{R_B}{N_B(N_B+1)}\right)$ ; the summation gives  $A$ 's affinities for selectors in its winning coalition. These values are assumed to be close to 0 so they only influence which selectors  $A$  includes in  $W_A$  not how many selectors are included.  $a$  has parallel payoffs without the affinity summation as her affinities are not selected until she is the incumbent.

For  $B$ ,  $\Psi_B + R_B - |w_B|g_B - x_B - p_B + \sum_{i \in w_B} \varphi_B(i)\varepsilon$  if  $B$  reselected and  $A$  did not take territory from **B**;  $\Psi_B + R_B - r - |w_B|g_B - x_B - p_B + \sum_{i \in w_B} \varphi_B(i)\varepsilon$  if  $B$  reselected and  $A$  did take territory from **B**; and 0 if not reselected or removed for a puppet.  $b$  has parallel payoffs.

For  $\alpha$ ,  $V_A(x_A, g_A, f(p_A, p_B))$  using the allocations of the winning candidates with  $D_x V_A > 0$ ,  $D_{xx}^2 V_A < 0$ ,  $D_g V_A > 0$ ,  $D_{gg}^2 V_A < 0$ ,  $D_f V_A > 0$ , and  $D_{ff}^2 V_A < 0$ .  $\beta$  has parallel utility function with  $D_f V_B < 0$ , and  $D_{ff}^2 V_B < 0$ . Both  $V_A$  and  $V_B$  are assumed to be additively separable in  $x$ ,  $g$ , and  $f$ . We also assume  $D_{fff}^3 V_A, D_{fff}^3 V_B > 0$ .

## Proof of Equilibrium

The equilibrium is found by backwards induction; first, we find the optimal

decisions in **B**, then those in **A**, and finally examine *A*'s decision whether to take territory or depose *B*. The selection of the winning coalition parallels that in Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003), so we refer the reader there for the details of that argument. We first show that  $p_B$ , *B*'s allocation to foreign policy, is increasing in  $p_A$ , *A*'s allocation to foreign policy. Because *B* allocates resources after *A* does, *B*'s allocation takes  $p_A$  as fixed. However,  $D_{p_A} p_B < -\frac{\pi_A}{\pi_B}$ , implying that *B*'s allocation to foreign policy does not match the effect of *A*'s allocation on  $f$ , and so  $f$  is increasing in  $p_A$  even after *B*'s response to  $p_A$ . With this observation, equilibrium allocations for *A* and *B* are straightforward optimization problems, and we can compare *A*'s equilibrium payoffs from taking territory and deposing *B* to determine which option *A* adopts in the first move of the game.

From the model in Chapter 3 of Bueno de Mesquita et al. (2003), it follows that *B* will choose the  $|w_B|$  selectors for which he has highest affinity for his winning coalition (i.e. the selectors with the greatest values in  $\varphi_B$ ) and can always allocate sufficient resources to guarantee his reselection. *B* maximizes  $R_B - x_B - W_{BgB} - p_B$  subject to the constraint of the incumbency condition  $I_B$ ,

$$(1 - \delta)[V_B(x_B, g_B, f(p_A, p_B)) - v_B(R_B, W_B, p_A)] +$$

$$\delta \left(1 - \frac{W_B}{S_B}\right) [V_B(x_B, g_B, f(p_A, p_B)) - V_B(x_B, 0, f(p_A, p_B))] = 0$$

where  $v_B(R_B, W_B, p_A)$  is the maximum utility that can be produced by allocating  $R_B$  across the three goods. The incumbency condition compares the payoffs for staying loyal to  $B$  and defecting to  $b$  for a pivotal member of  $B$ 's winning coalition. If pivotal member  $\beta$  remains loyal,  $B$  is retained, and  $\beta$  receives  $V_B(x_B, g_B, f(p_A, p_B))$  in this and all future periods. If  $\beta$  defects,  $b$  becomes leader, and  $\beta$  receives  $v_B(R_B, W_B, p_A)$  this period, the most that  $b$  can offer, and has a  $\frac{W_B}{S_B}$  chance of being in  $b$ 's winning coalition in the future, producing a payoff of  $V_B(x_B, g_B, f(p_A, p_B))$  and a  $1 - \frac{W_B}{S_B}$  chance of not being in  $b$ 's winning coalition in the future, producing a payoff of  $V_B(x_B, 0, f(p_A, p_B))$ . In equilibrium,  $B$  has sufficient resources to meet this condition for a coalition of size  $W_B$ , so  $B$  will choose the  $W_B$  selectors it has highest affinity for as  $w_B$ .

Allocation  $(g_B, x_B, p_B)$  solves the following system:

$$\begin{cases} \lambda(1 - \delta)D_x V_B - 1 = 0 \\ \lambda \left(1 - \delta \frac{W_B}{S_B}\right) D_g V_B - W_B = 0 \\ \lambda(1 - \delta)(D_f V_B)\pi_B - 1 = 0 \\ I_B = 0 \end{cases}$$

As  $p_A$  is fixed when  $B$  allocates resources, there are no strategic considerations in  $B$ 's allocation. Because  $V_B$  is decreasing and convex in  $f$ , there is a unique solution to  $B$ 's optimization problem, and so  $p_B$  is a function of  $p_A$ , which we write as  $PB(p_A)$ .  $PB(p_A)$  is increasing in  $p_A$ ;  $D_{p_A}PB > 0$ . From the Lagrangian system above (all partial derivatives are found by applying Cramer's Theorem to the matrices of partial derivatives of the equations defining the implicit functions),

$$D_{p_A}P_B = - \left( \frac{(1-\delta)^2 \lambda^2 \left(1 - \delta \frac{W_B}{S_B}\right) \pi_A \pi_B}{(1-\delta)^2 \lambda^2 \left(1 - \delta \frac{W_B}{S_B}\right) \pi_B^2} \right) \left( \frac{(D_{xx}^2 V_B) \left( - \left(1 - \delta \frac{W_B}{S_B}\right) (D_g V_B)^2 (D_{ff}^2 V_B) - (1-\delta) (D_f V_B) (D_f V_B(p_B) - D_f V_B(R)) (D_{gg}^2 V_B) \right) - (1-\delta) (D_x V_B)^2 (D_{ff}^2 V_B) (D_{gg}^2 V_B)}{(D_{xx}^2 V_B) \left( - \left(1 - \delta \frac{W_B}{S_B}\right) (D_g V_B)^2 (D_{ff}^2 V_B) - (1-\delta) (D_f V_B)^2 (D_{gg}^2 V_B) \right) - (1-\delta) (D_x V_B)^2 (D_{ff}^2 V_B) (D_{gg}^2 V_B)} \right) > 0$$

or simplifying, we have

$$D_{p_A}P_B = - \frac{\pi_A}{\pi_B} \left( 1 - \frac{(1-\delta) (D_{xx}^2 V_B) (D_f V_B) (D_f V_B(R)) (D_{gg}^2 V_B)}{Denom_B} \right)$$

$$\text{where } Denom_B = \left( 1 - \delta \frac{W_B}{S_B} \right) (D_{xx}^2 V_B) (D_{ff}^2 V_B) (D_g V_B)^2$$

$$+ (1-\delta) (D_{xx}^2 V_B) (D_f V_B)^2 (D_{gg}^2 V_B) + (1-\delta) (D_x V_B)^2 (D_{ff}^2 V_B) (D_{gg}^2 V_B) > 0$$

Note that all the mixed partials in the determinants equal 0 because  $V_B$  is additively separable. All the first derivatives except  $D_f V_B$  are positive, all the second derivatives are less than 0 by concavity of  $V_B$ ,  $\pi_A > 0$ , and  $\pi_B < 0$ . Further, the numerator of the second term is less than the denominator because  $D_f V_B(p_B) \geq D_f V_B(R)$  by concavity of

$V_B$ . Similarly, we have the following:

$$D_{p_A} x_B = \frac{(1-\delta)(D_g V_B) \pi_A (D_{ff}^2 V_B) (D_{xx}^2 V_B) (D_f V_B(R))}{Denom_B} < 0$$

$$D_{p_A} g_B = \frac{(1-\delta)(D_x V_B) \pi_A (D_{ff}^2 V_B) (D_{gg}^2 V_B) (D_f V_B(R))}{Denom_B} < 0$$

In both cases, the numerator is negative and the demoninator is positive, making the overall partial negative. As  $A$  commits more resources to foreign policy,  $B$  commits added resources in response. Rises in  $A$ 's resources committed to foreign policy forces  $B$  to spend more in foreign policy but less on public goods and private benefits.

Further,  $B$  allocates more resources overall; if  $m_B = x_B + W_B g_B + p_B$ ,

$$D_{p_A} m_B = -\frac{\pi_A}{\pi_B} \left( \frac{1}{(D_{xx}^2 V_B) \left( -\left(1 - \delta \frac{W_B}{S_B}\right) (D_g V_B)^2 (D_{ff}^2 V_B) - (1-\delta) (D_f V_B)^2 (D_{gg}^2 V_B) \right) - (1-\delta) (D_x V_B)^2 (D_{ff}^2 V_B) (D_{gg}^2 V_B)} \right)$$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} (D_{xx}^2 V_B) (D_{ff}^2 V_B) (D_g V_B) \left( (1-\delta) \pi_B D_f V_B(R) - \left(1 - \delta \frac{W_B}{S_B}\right) D_g V_B \right) - \\ (D_{xx}^2 V_B) (D_{gg}^2 V_B) (1-\delta) (D_f V_B) (D_f V_B(p_B) - D_f V_B(R)) - \\ (D_{xx}^2 V_B) (D_{gg}^2 V_B) (1-\delta) (D_f V_B) (D_f V_B(p_B) - D_f V_B(R)) \end{array} \right]$$

$$> 0$$

The numerator is positive because in equilibrium the expression in the last pair of parentheses in the first term above reduces to  $(1-\delta) \pi_B (D_f V_B(R) - W(D_f V_B)) < 0$  and the last expression in the third term reduces to  $(1-\delta) \pi_B (D_f V_B(R) - D_f V_B) < 0$ . Then each of these three terms is negative as is the remainder of the numerator in the first line above. Because  $B$ 's payoff is  $\Psi_B + R_B - m_B$ , it decreases as  $A$  commits more

resources to foreign policy.

Because  $B$ 's allocation of  $R_B$  across  $x_B, g_B, p_B$  has a unique solution given  $W_B, S_B, p_A$ , we can define function  $PB(p_A)$  as the equilibrium allocation to  $p_B$  for a given value of  $p_A$ . As shown above,  $D_{p_A}PB > 0$ . Further,  $D_{p_A p_A}^2 PB < 0$  by taking the partial of  $D_{p_A}PB$  above to arrive at the following:

$$D_{p_A p_A}^2 PB = \left( \frac{\pi_A^2}{\pi_B} \right) \frac{(1-\delta)(D_{xx}^2 V_B)(D_{gg}^2 V_B)}{(Denom_B)^2} \left( 1 - \delta \frac{W_B}{S_B} \right) (D_{xx}^2 V_B)(D_g V_B)^2$$

$$\left[ \begin{aligned} & \left[ (D_{ff}^2 V_B)^2 (D_f V_B(R)) + (D_f V_B)(D_{ff}^2 V_B)(D_{ff}^2 V_B(R)) - (D_f V_B)(D_f V_B(R))(D_{fff}^3 V_B) \right] \\ & + (1-\delta)(D_{xx}^2 V_B)(D_{gg}^2 V_B) \left[ (D_f V_B)^2 (D_{ff}^2 V_B)(D_f V_B(p_B) - D_f V_B(R)) \right] \\ & + (1-\delta)(D_x V_B)^2 (D_{gg}^2 V_B) \\ & \left[ (D_{ff}^2 V_B)^2 (D_f V_B(R)) + (D_f V_B)(D_{ff}^2 V_B)(D_{ff}^2 V_B(R)) - (D_f V_B)(D_f V_B(R))(D_{fff}^3 V_B) \right] \end{aligned} \right] < 0$$

With  $PB(p_A)$  well-defined, we would like to know the properties of  $f(p_A, PB(p_A))$ , the foreign policy outcome that results from  $A$ 's foreign policy, including  $B$ 's reaction to that allocation. Compared to the absence of a reaction by  $B$ ,  $A$  commits more resources to foreign policy in equilibrium. The effective price of  $f$  for  $A$  is

$\frac{1}{D_{p_A} f(p_A, PB(p_A))}$ , where

$$D_{p_A} f(p_A, PB(p_A)) = D_{p_A} f + (D_{p_B} f)(D_{p_A} PB) = \pi_A + \pi_B (D_{p_A} PB) < \pi_A = D_{p_A} f,$$

implying that the price of foreign policy rises and  $A$  allocates more to foreign policy

than it would in the absence of  $B$ 's anticipated reaction. Similarly, this effective increase in price leads  $A$  to increase its total allocation,  $m_A$ , over what it would be in absence of a reaction by  $B$ . Further,  $f(p_A, PB(p_A))$  is increasing in  $p_A$ .

$$D_{p_A}f(p_A, PB(p_A)) = \pi_A + \pi_B(D_{p_A}PB) =$$

$$\pi_A + \pi_B \left( -\frac{\pi_A}{\pi_B} \left( 1 - \frac{(1-\delta)(D_{xx}^2 V_B)(D_f V_B)(D_f V_B(R))(D_{gg}^2 V_B)}{Denom_B} \right) \right)$$

$$= \pi_A \left( \frac{(1-\delta)(D_{xx}^2 V_B)(D_f V_B)(D_f V_B(R))(D_{gg}^2 V_B)}{Denom_B} \right) > 0. \text{ Also as shown above,}$$

$$(1-\delta)(D_{xx}^2 V_B)(D_f V_B)(D_f V_B(R))(D_{gg}^2 V_B) < Denom_B, \text{ so } D_{p_A}f(p_A, PB(p_A)) < \pi_A.$$

From the model in Chapter 3, it follows that  $A$  will choose the  $|w_A|$  selectors for which he has highest affinity as his winning coalition and can always allocate sufficient resources to guarantee his reselection.  $A$  maximizes  $R_A - x_A - W_A g_A - p_A$  subject to the constraint of the incumbency condition  $I_A$ ,

$$(1-\delta)[V_A(x_A, g_A, f(p_A, PB(p_A))) - v_A(R_A, W_A)] +$$

$$\delta \left( 1 - \frac{W_A}{S_A} \right) [V_A(x_A, g_A, f(p_A, PB(p_A))) - V_A(x_A, 0, f(p_A, PB(p_A)))] = 0$$

where  $v_A(R_A, W_A)$  is the maximum utility that can be produced by allocating  $R_A$

across the three goods. Because  $V_A$  is concave in all three goods and  $f(p_A, PB(p_A))$  is increasing in  $p_A$ , there is a unique solution to this problem.

Allocation  $(g_A, x_A, p_A)$  solves the following system:

$$\begin{cases} \lambda(1 - \delta)D_x V_A - 1 = 0 \\ \lambda\left(1 - \delta \frac{W_A}{S_A}\right)D_g V_A - W_A = 0 \\ \lambda(1 - \delta)(D_f V_A)(\pi_A) \left( \frac{(1-\delta)(D_{xx}^2 V_B)(D_f V_B)(D_f V_B(R))(D_{gg}^2 V_B)}{\text{Denom}_B} \right) - 1 = 0 \\ I_A = 0 \end{cases}$$

The unique solution to this system gives  $A$ 's optimal allocation of  $R_A$  to  $g_A, x_A, p_A$ ;

call them  $g_A^*, x_A^*, p_A^*$ .  $A$ 's equilibrium payoff if it does not take territory from  $\mathbf{B}$  nor

depose  $B$  is  $\Psi_A + R_A - |w_A|g_A^* - x_A^* - p_A^*$ . In parallel fashion, define  $g_A^+, x_A^+, p_A^+$  be  $A$ 's

optimal allocations if  $A$  takes territory from  $\mathbf{B}$ , giving  $\mathbf{A}$   $R_A + r$  resources to allocate

and  $\mathbf{B}$   $R_B - r$  resources,  $g_A^\wedge(W, S), x_A^\wedge(W, S), p_A^\wedge(W, S)$  be  $A$ 's optimal allocations if  $A$

removes  $B$  and changes  $W_B$  to  $W$  and  $S_B$  to  $S$ , and  $g_A^\sim(W, S), x_A^\sim(W, S), p_A^\sim(W, S)$  be  $A$ 's

optimal allocations if  $A$  takes territory from  $\mathbf{B}$  and removes  $B$  and changes  $W_B$  to  $W$  and

$S_B$  to  $S$ . Corresponding equilibrium payoffs are then

$\Psi_A + R_A + r - |w_A|g_A^+ - x_A^+ - p_A^+ - C_r$  for taking territory,

$\Psi_A + R_A - |w_A|g_A^\wedge(W, S) - x_A^\wedge(W, S) - p_A^\wedge(W, S) - C_D$  for depositing  $B$ , and

$\Psi_A + R_A + r - |w_A|g_A^\sim - x_A^\sim - p_A^\sim - C_r - C_D$  for doing both.  $A$  will choose the course of

action with the highest payoff. Pulling together all the best replies, we have the equilibrium.

## Comparative Statics

### Taking Territory

The value to  $A$  of taking territory from  $B$  depends on how much of the added resources will be retained by  $A$ ,

$$r - |w_A|(g_A^+ - g_A^*) - (x_A^+ - x_A^*) - (p_A^+ - p_A^*) = r - m_A^+ + m_A^*.$$

Taking territory has two effects, a direct effect of increasing  $R_A$  and an indirect effect of decreasing  $R_B$ . We analyze these separately because changing  $W_B, S_B$  mirrors the indirect effect by changing  $p_B$  in equilibrium.

Begin with the direct effect. Using the same rule for finding the partial derivative of the implicit function  $m_A(r) = |w_A|g_A + x_A + p_A$ , we have the following:

$$D_{R_A} m_A = |w_A| D_{R_A} g_A + D_{R_A} x_A + D_{R_A} p_A = \left( \frac{(1-\delta)D_R V_A}{\pi_A \chi_B} \right) \left( \frac{\pi_A \chi_B D_{gg}^2 V_A D_x V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A + W_A \pi_A \chi_B D_g V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A + D_{gg}^2 V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A D_f V_A}{(1-\delta) D_{gg}^2 V_A (D_x V_A)^2 D_{ff}^2 V_A + \left(1 - \delta \frac{W_A}{S_A}\right) (D_g V_A)^2 D_{xx}^2 V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A + (1-\delta) D_{gg}^2 V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A (D_f V_A)^2} \right) > 0$$

where  $\chi_B = \frac{(1-\delta)(D_{xx}^2 V_B)(D_f V_B)(D_f V_B(R))(D_{gg}^2 V_B)}{Denom_B}$ , with  $0 < \chi_B < 1$ . To reduce clutter, we

will also refer to

$$Denom_A = \left(1 - \delta \frac{W_A}{S_A}\right) (D_{xx}^2 V_A) (D_{ff}^2 V_A) (D_g V_A)^2 + (1 - \delta) (D_{xx}^2 V_A) (D_f V_A)^2 (D_{gg}^2 V_A)$$

$+ (1 - \delta) (D_x V_A)^2 (D_{ff}^2 V_A) (D_{gg}^2 V_A)$ . The attraction of increasing  $R_A$  depends on how

fast  $m_A$  rises with it. We examine the mixed partials of  $D_{R_A} m_A$ :

$$D_{R_A W_A}^2 m_A = \left(\frac{(1-\delta)D_R V_A}{\pi_A \chi_B}\right) \left[ \frac{\pi_A \chi_B D_g V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A}{Denom_A} + \right. \\ \left. \frac{\delta}{S_A} (D_g V_A)^2 D_{xx}^2 V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A \left( \frac{\pi_A \chi_B D_{gg}^2 V_A D_x V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A + W_A \pi_A \chi_B D_g V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A + D_{gg}^2 V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A D_f V_A}{(Denom_A)^2} \right) \right] > 0$$

as both terms in the parentheses are positive.

$$D_{R_A S_A}^2 m_A = \left(\frac{(1-\delta)D_R V_A}{\pi_A \chi_B}\right) \\ \left[ \frac{-\delta W_A}{(S_A)^2} (D_g V_A)^2 D_{xx}^2 V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A \left( \frac{\pi_A \chi_B D_{gg}^2 V_A D_x V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A + W_A \pi_A \chi_B D_g V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A + D_{gg}^2 V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A D_f V_A}{(Denom_A)^2} \right) \right] < 0$$

Leaders gain less from territorial expansion as  $W_A$  increases and as  $S_A$  decreases.

$$\left| \frac{D_{R_A S_A}^2 m_A}{D_{R_A W_A}^2 m_A} \right| < \frac{W_A}{S_A}, \text{ so the effect of } W_A \text{ is larger than } S_A \text{ as both increase in a fixed}$$

proportion.

$$D_{R_A R_A}^2 m_A = \left( \frac{(1-\delta)D_{RR}^2 V_A}{\pi_A \chi_B} \right) \left( \frac{\pi_A \chi_B D_{gg}^2 V_A D_x V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A + W_A \pi_A \chi_B D_g V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A + D_{gg}^2 V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A D_f V_A}{Denom_A} \right) < 0.$$

Turning to the indirect effect, changes in  $\mathbf{B}$  alter  $m_A$  through  $\chi_B$ , the effective price of  $f$  that  $A$  pays including  $B$ 's response in that price.

$$D_{\chi_B} m_A = |w_A| D_{\chi_B} g_A + D_{\chi_B} x_A + D_{\chi_B} p_A =$$

$$\left( \frac{D_f V_A}{\pi_A (\chi_B)^2} \right) \left( \frac{(1-\delta) D_{gg}^2 V_A D_x V_A (\pi_A D_f V_A - D_x V_A) + D_g V_A D_{xx}^2 V_A \left( W_A (1-\delta) \pi_A D_f V_A - \left(1 - \delta \frac{W_A}{S_A}\right) D_g V_A \right)}{Denom_A} \right)$$

In equilibrium,  $D_x V_A = \frac{1}{\lambda(1-\delta)}$ ,  $\pi_A D_f V_A = \frac{1}{\lambda(1-\delta)\chi_B}$ ,  $\left(1 - \delta \frac{W_A}{S_A}\right) D_g V_A = \frac{W_A}{\lambda}$ , so

$$D_{\chi_B} m_A = \left( \frac{D_f V_A}{\pi_A (\chi_B)^3} \right) \left( \frac{(1-\delta)(\chi_B - 1) D_{gg}^2 V_A D_x V_A}{Denom_A} \right) > 0. \text{ By the Chain Rule, we have the}$$

following:

$$D_{W_B} m_A = D_{\chi_B} m_A (D_{W_B} \chi_B) = D_{\chi_B} m_A \left( \frac{\delta}{S_B} \left[ \frac{\chi_B}{Denom_B} \right] (D_{xx}^2 V_B) (D_{ff}^2 V_B) (D_g V_B)^2 \right) > 0,$$

$$D_{S_B} m_A = D_{\chi_B} m_A (D_{S_B} \chi_B) = D_{\chi_B} m_A \left( \frac{-\delta W_B}{(S_B)^2} \left[ \frac{\chi_B}{Denom_B} \right] (D_{xx}^2 V_B) (D_{ff}^2 V_B) (D_g V_B)^2 \right) < 0,$$

and

$$D_{R_B} m_A = D_{\chi_B} m_A (D_{R_B} \chi_B) = D_{\chi_B} m_A \left( \chi_B \left( \frac{D_{ff}^2 V_B(R)}{D_f V_B(R)} \right) \right) > 0.$$

As before, we examine  $D_{R_B W_B}^2 m_A$  and  $D_{R_B S_B}^2 m_A$  to determine how  $W_B, S_B$  influence

$A$ 's willingness to take territory:

$$D_{R_B W_B}^2 m_A = - \left( \frac{(1-\delta) D_{gg}^2 V_A D_x V_A}{Denom_A} \right) \left( \frac{D_{ff}^2 V_B(R)}{D_f V_B(R)} \right) \left( \frac{D_f V_A}{\pi_A (\chi_B)^3} \right) (\chi_B + 1) D_{W_B} \chi_B > 0 \text{ as}$$

$$D_{W_B} \chi_B = \left( \frac{\chi_B}{Denom_B} \right) \left( \delta \left( \frac{1}{S_B} \right) \right) (D_g V_A)^2 D_{xx}^2 V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A > 0, \text{ and}$$

$$D_{R_B S_B}^2 m_A = - \left( \frac{(1-\delta) D_{gg}^2 V_A D_x V_A}{Denom_A} \right) \left( \frac{D_{ff}^2 V_B(R)}{D_f V_B(R)} \right) \left( \frac{D_f V_A}{\pi_A (\chi_B)^3} \right) (\chi_B + 1) D_{S_B} \chi_B < 0 \text{ as}$$

$$D_{S_B} \chi_B = \left( \frac{\chi_B}{Denom_B} \right) \left( -\delta \left( \frac{W_B}{(S_B)^2} \right) \right) (D_g V_A)^2 D_{xx}^2 V_A D_{ff}^2 V_A < 0.$$

Note that  $\left| \frac{D_{R_B W_B}^2 m_A}{D_{R_B S_B}^2 m_A} \right| = \frac{W_B}{S_B}$ , so the effects of simultaneous changes in  $W_B$  and  $S_B$

offset one another if the ratio  $\frac{W_B}{S_B}$  does not change.

To summarize,  $A$  is more willing to take territory as  $D_{R_A} m_A$  decreases. This means that  $A$  is more willing to take territory as  $W_A$  decreases and  $S_A$  increases, with the effect of  $W_A$  larger than that of  $S_A$  if they change in a fixed ratio.  $A$  is more willing to take territory as  $W_B$  increases and  $S_B$  decreases; however, the effects of both cancel out if they change in a fixed ratio. Obviously,  $A$  is more likely to take territory as  $C_r$

decreases.

## Overthrowing $B$

$A$ 's willingness to overthrow  $B$  and change  $W_B$  and  $S_B$  depends on  $D_{W_B}m_A$  and  $D_{S_B}m_A$ ;  $A$  compares a reduction in  $m_A$  to the cost of deposing  $B$ ,  $C_D$ .  $A$  reduces  $m_A$  by decreasing  $W_B$  and increasing  $S_B$  as  $D_{W_B}m_A > 0$  and  $D_{S_B}m_A < 0$ . As can be seen from the partial calculated above,  $\left| \frac{D_{S_B}m_A}{D_{W_B}m_A} \right| = \frac{W_B}{S_B}$ , so  $A$  reduces  $m_A$  by decreasing the ratio  $\frac{W_B}{S_B}$ . In equilibrium then,  $A$  changes  $W_B$  and  $S_B$  to reduce  $\frac{W_B}{S_B}$ . We do not analyze how low  $A$  reduces the ratio of  $\frac{W_B}{S_B}$  because we do not model the range of freedom  $A$  has to set these values.

The effect of  $W_A$  and  $S_A$  on  $A$ 's willingness to remove  $B$  is given by the following mixed partials:

$$D_{W_B W_A}^2 m_A = D_{W_B} m_A \left( \frac{\delta}{S_A} \right) \left( \frac{(D_{xx}^2 V_A)(D_{ff}^2 V_A)(D_g V_A)^2}{Denom_A} \right) > 0$$

$$D_{W_B S_A}^2 m_A = D_{W_B} m_A \left( \frac{-\delta W_A}{(S_A)^2} \right) \left( \frac{(D_{xx}^2 V_A)(D_{ff}^2 V_A)(D_g V_A)^2}{Denom_A} \right) < 0$$

$$D_{S_B W_A}^2 m_A = D_{S_B} m_A \left( \frac{\delta}{S_A} \right) \left( \frac{(D_{xx}^2 V_A)(D_{ff}^2 V_A)(D_g V_A)^2}{Denom_A} \right) < 0$$

$$D_{S_B S_A}^2 m_A = D_{S_B} m_A \left( \frac{-\delta W_A}{(S_A)^2} \right) \left( \frac{(D_{xx}^2 V_A)(D_{ff}^2 V_A)(D_g V_A)^2}{Denom_A} \right) > 0.$$

Again, we have  $\left| \frac{D_{W_B S_A}^2 m_A}{D_{W_B W_A}^2 m_A} \right| = \frac{W_A}{S_A}$  and  $\left| \frac{D_{S_B S_A}^2 m_A}{D_{S_B W_A}^2 m_A} \right| = \frac{W_A}{S_A}$ , so the ratio  $\frac{W_A}{S_A}$

determines  $A$ 's interest in depositing  $B$  and changing  $W_B$  and  $S_B$ .

## Comparing Taking Territory and Depositing $B$

$A$  is more willing to take territory and less willing to deposit  $B$  compared to doing neither as  $W_A$  decreases and  $S_A$  increases from above. Clearly then,  $A$  is more willing to take territory over depositing  $B$  as  $W_A$  decreases and  $S_A$  increases. Increases in  $W_B$  and decreases in  $S_B$  make  $A$  more willing to take territory and to deposit  $B$ , so their effect on  $A$ 's choice between these two is indeterminate.

## Doing Both

If  $A$  takes territory and deposits  $B$ , it gains the benefits of both but pays both costs.

One way to think about doing both is to separate it into the decisions of doing each separately; however, the benefits of one are lower if the other is also done. To see this, assume that  $A$  has taken territory, this means that  $r + m_A^* - m_A^+ > C_r$ .  $A$  wants to deposit  $B$  as well if  $m_A^+ - m_A^- > C_D$ , and the claim that the benefits of depositing  $B$  are less after taking territory is that  $m_A^+ - m_A^- < m_A^* - m_A^-$ . Both sides of this inequality give the

resources saved by  $A$  by depositing  $B$ , with the left hand side giving the benefit after  $A$  has taken resources  $r$  from  $\mathbf{B}$  and the right hand side without territory being taken. The benefits depend on  $D_{W_B}m_A$  and  $D_{S_B}m_A$  and how these partial derivatives change with the shift in resources from  $\mathbf{B}$  to  $\mathbf{A}$ .  $D_{W_B R_A}m_A = D_{S_B R_A}m_A = 0$ , so the increases in  $\mathbf{A}$ 's resources does not affect the benefits of depositing  $B$ . As shown above,  $D_{R_B W_B}^2 m_A > 0$  and  $D_{R_B S_B}^2 m_A < 0$ . Taking  $r$  resources from  $\mathbf{B}$  decreases  $R_B$ , so  $0 < D_{W_B}m_A(m_A^+) < D_{W_B}m_A(m_A^*)$  and  $0 > D_{S_B}m_A(m_A^+) > D_{S_B}m_A(m_A^*)$ , and the benefits of depositing  $B$  are less when  $A$  also takes territory than when it does not.

The decision to take territory and deposit  $B$  then requires  $A$  be willing to take territory and to deposit  $B$  as separate decisions;  $r + m_A^* - m_A^+ > C_r$  and  $m_A^* - m_A^+ > C_D$  are both necessary but not sufficient for  $r + m_A^* - m_A^+ > C_r + C_D$ . Because  $A$  is less likely to take territory but more likely to deposit  $B$  as  $W_A$  increases and  $S_A$  decreases, doing both is unlikely for high and low values of  $W_A$  and  $S_A$ .