#### **Online Appendix to**

## "Crazy like a Fox? Are Leaders with Reputations for Madness More Successful at International Coercion?

#### **Table of Contents**

Part 1: Coding Madness Reputations

- 1.1 Word search procedures
- 1.2 Examples of how madness words are used
- 1.3 Regression used to predict expected articles per year (used for normalization)

Part 2: Data and Results

- 2.1 Summary statistics and figures
- 2.2 Determinants of madness reputations
- 2.3 Observations with the highest influence
- 2.4 More details on the matching procedure
- 2.5 Robustness check tables for general deterrence (initiation) regressions
- 2.6 Robustness check tables for crisis bargaining (reciprocation) regressions
- 2.7 Results for interaction with military capabilities
- 2.8 Tables supporting footnotes

## Part 1: Coding Madness Reputations

## Part 1.1: Word Search Procedures

The following search guidelines were used by my research assistants:

### Step 1: Access the database Lexis-Nexis Academic

Use beta version – the search is more flexible, and it allows you to preview the results more.

## Step 2: Run the search.

Run the following search: (leader OR president OR prime minister) w/5 (crazy OR insane OR irrational OR unpredictable OR erratic OR hawkish OR resolute)

Enter the exact phrase above into the search box and make sure the search is set to "terms and connectors" instead of natural language.

Search only "Major World Publications (English)." Do not make any other exclusions.

To avoid getting more than 3,000 results (the maximum that can be displayed), it is necessary to split up the search by increments of time. If you get a warning that there are more than 3,000 results, edit the search by making the search timeframe smaller.

### Step 3: Look at each result and decide whether it is relevant

Sort the results oldest to newest, so that you can easily keep track of where you are if you want to take a break. (Write down where you are every time you do take a break.)

Click the "expanded view" button in order to see the part(s) of the article that contain the search words without actually clicking on the article.

Look at each result and determine if it refers to the leader of a country using one of the adjectives you searched for. You will be able to reject most results by looking at the expanded view within the main search results page. Sometimes you may also be able to quickly accept a result as referring to a leader by looking only at the expanded view on the main search page. If you cannot easily tell whether a result should count, you should click on preview and read more of the text.

If it is still ambiguous, you should record it and let me decide if it counts. Do not hesitate at all to record ambiguous cases. I will go through everything you record myself, and while I might decide that some of the ambiguous ones do not count, I would much rather have the opportunity to make that decision myself.

Tips on what to count:

- Count adjectives when they are used to describe not only the leader him/herself but also something related to the leader's personality or stance (leader's image, leader's policy, leader's personality, leader's will, leader's approach, leader's stand, leader's decision, leader's attitude). However, if the adjective is used in a specific context that has no relation to foreign policy, place a Y in the "Not FP Context" box. If it is not clear whether it is FP context, put a ? in the "Not FP Context" box. Treat trade policy and internal conflicts as foreign policy.
- Count adjectives describing something a leader does, including general descriptions of a leader's behavior and also specific actions taken by the leader personally. However, if the adjective is used in a specific context that has no relation to foreign policy, place a Y in the "Not FP Context" box. If it is not clear whether it is foreign policy, put a ? in the "Not FP Context" box. Treat trade policy and internal conflicts as foreign policy.
- Count adjectives used to describe the leader's administration, government, or party, unless the sentence makes a contrast between the leader and his/her administration, government, or party. Also count adjectives used to describe actions/stances taken by the leader's administration, government, or party.
- Count when it says the leader is perceived as or believed to be [some adjective].
- Count it when other people are quoted as referring to the leader with some adjective.
- Count repeated uses of the same quote in different sources.

Tips on what **not** to count:

- Do not count it when the leader (or the leader's campaign/administration) is quoted as referring to the leader himself/herself by some adjective.
- Do not count references to specific people in the leader's administration other than the leader.
- Do not count descriptions of leader's statements, speeches, remarks, rhetoric, words, tone, noises, etc. Do not count when it says a leader "sounded \_\_\_\_\_."
- Do not count references to future or previous leaders, only the current leader. If you are not sure if someone is the current top leader, place a Y in the "not sure if leader" box.
- Do not count adjectives that are negated. For example, "\_\_\_\_\_ is not an erratic leader," or "\_\_\_\_\_ denied that \_\_\_\_\_ is irrational," or "once regarded as \_\_\_\_."
- Do not count general references that do not refer to a specific leader. For example, "America needs a resolute leader."

I personally reviewed all recorded search results to ensure consistency. Two research assistants independently searched for results covering the years 1986-2005 in order to ensure that no relevant results were omitted. The years 2006-2010 were only searched by only one research assistant, but she had extensive training and experience from covering 1986-2005, and I spot-checked her work by performing some searches myself.

## Part 1.2: Examples of How Madness Words Are Used

Sometimes the madness adjectives are used by the journalist to give general background. For example:

- "Some officials argue that President Kim is **insane** and has so little grasp of reality that he believes the crisis has been orchestrated by the Americans and South Koreans as part of a plot to provoke a war that will result in a reunited Korea." James Adams, *Sunday Times*, June 5, 1994
- "But in a nation exhausted by upheaval, revolution and war, and increasingly wary of the sometimes irrational spontaneity that marks President Mikheil Saakashvili's leadership, the buzz around the former UN ambassador continues to grow." *Irish Times*, April 14, 2009

Other times, the madness adjectives are used in interviews and quotations.<sup>1</sup> For example:

- "Describing the Iraqi leader as 'this **crazy** man,' Mr. Shamir said it would be a danger for the entire world if a substantial part of the Iraqi army and its arsenal survives. John Gray, *Globe and Mail*, February 23, 1991
- "They want to try [to] get the maximum world pressure, but it's very hard because it's an irrational country with an irrational leader who doesn't care about the fate of his own people." Prime Minister John Howard, quoted speaking about North Korea, in *The Australian*, October 16, 2006

Other times, they are used by media commentators giving their opinion. For example:

• "The missile defence system is geared mostly toward rogue states, such as North Korea and Iran, both of which have leaders I would generously call **insane**." – Rondi Adamson, *Toronto Star*, February 26, 2006

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I drop quotations in a robustness check because they might be motivated by strategic factors rather than genuine perceptions.

# Part 1.3: Regression Used To Predict Expected Articles per Leader-Year (Used for Normalization)

This regression is intended to predict the expected number of articles per year that would appear for a typical leader, based on characteristics of the leader's country. This gives me the denominator that I use to divide the count of madness words.

The sole purpose of this is to wipe out the effect of systemic coverage biases in the Lexis-Nexis database. So as not to bias downward the perceived madness scores of leaders who receive heightened press coverage *precisely because* they are perceived as mad, I am essentially seeking to estimate the amount of coverage that the leader would receive in Lexis-Nexis if the leader was an "average" leader. Therefore, except for controlling for the leader's time in office, I use country-level variables rather than leader-level variables to make the prediction.

Factors that might interact with or affect a leader's reputation for madness are controlled for at later stages. For example, there might be concern that perceived madness affects the frequency with which a leader becomes involved in conflict and that conflict frequency, in turn, might affect the frequency with which the leader is called mad. Since the relationship between perceived madness and conflict frequency is of theoretical interest, I do not want to wipe it out with this initial transformation of the variable. However, I do control for it at later stages.

|  | (1)                                    |
|--|--|
| Leader Time in Office<br>During Year                   | 12.987 <sup>***</sup><br>(2.735)       |
| Population   | 3.432<br>(2.450)                       |
| Per Capita GDP   | $0.060^{*}$<br>(0.033)                 |
| Democracy  | -364.947<br>(631.453)                  |
| Permanent UNSC<br>Member                               | 6488.081 <sup>***</sup><br>(1020.875)  |
| Commonwealth: UK, Canada,<br>Australia, or New Zealand | 10808.433 <sup>***</sup><br>(949.070)  |
| United States  | 44588.238 <sup>***</sup><br>(1635.819) |
| Europe   | 1372.152<br>(919.853)                  |
| Africa   | 2116.121 <sup>**</sup><br>(898.807)    |
| Middle East  | 3932.887 <sup>***</sup><br>(935.763)   |
| Asia   | 1769.656 <sup>**</sup><br>(817.031)    |
| year=1987  | 722.598<br>(2162.145)                  |
| year=1988  | 1127.334<br>(2125.341)                 |
| year=1989  | -2157.880<br>(2200.608)                |
| year=1990  | 1169.329                               |

|           | (2236.918)                            |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| year=1991 | 2820.156<br>(2107.577)                |
| year=1992 | 3993.893 <sup>*</sup><br>(2177.943)   |
| year=1993 | 1765.575<br>(2175.296)                |
| year=1994 | 3905.965 <sup>*</sup><br>(2124.086)   |
| year=1995 | 3562.144 <sup>*</sup><br>(2053.075)   |
| year=1996 | 2917.003<br>(2102.248)                |
| year=1997 | 3175.432<br>(2087.707)                |
| year=1998 | 5495.356 <sup>***</sup><br>(2075.522) |
| year=1999 | 4536.737 <sup>**</sup><br>(2041.584)  |
| year=2000 | 4976.653 <sup>**</sup><br>(2004.245)  |
| year=2001 | 5336.741 <sup>***</sup><br>(2014.378) |
| year=2002 | 6021.156 <sup>***</sup><br>(2057.344) |
| year=2003 | 7584.413 <sup>***</sup><br>(2019.229) |
| year=2004 | 5858.695 <sup>***</sup><br>(1965.102) |
| year=2005 | 5483.163 <sup>***</sup><br>(1989.362) |

| year=2006    | 6420.734 <sup>***</sup><br>(1959.674)  |
|--------------|--|
| year=2007    | 6656.893***<br>(2019.251)              |
| year=2008    | 7017.246***<br>(1963.881)              |
| year=2009    | 6678.740***<br>(1989.883)              |
| year=2010    | 6513.146 <sup>***</sup><br>(1960.157)  |
| Constant     | -9561.105 <sup>***</sup><br>(2032.987) |
| Observations | 654                                    |

Note: N is relatively small because I only searched for total articles (the dependent variable) in the 554 leader-years in which there was at least one article referring to the leader with one of the relevant madness, unpredictability, or resolve adjectives, plus a random sample of another 100 years in which none of these adjectives were used to describe a leader. Despite not being purely random, the sample does display considerable variation in the number of articles. The coefficients may be biased upwards because leaders who receive little press coverage are less likely to be included in the sample, but since this bias affects all of the predictions, it is not highly problematic for generating expected values to normalize by.

# Part 2: Data and Results

# Part 2.1: Summary Statistics and Figures

| Variable                            | Mean   | SD     | Median | Min   | Max    |
|-------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| Initiation                          | 0.007  | 0.083  | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Continuous Madness Rep., A          | 0.023  | 0.134  | 0      | 0     | 6.461  |
| Continuous Madness Rep., B          | 0.023  | 0.134  | 0      | 0     | 6.461  |
| Strong Madness Reputation, Leader A | 0.005  | 0.067  | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Slight Madness Reputation, Leader A | 0.120  | 0.325  | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Strong Madness Reputation, Leader B | 0.005  | 0.067  | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Slight Madness Reputation, Leader B | 0.120  | 0.325  | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Recent MID Initiations, Leader A    | 0.507  | 0.787  | 0.200  | 0     | 4.800  |
| Recent MID Initiations, Leader B    | 0.507  | 0.787  | 0.200  | 0     | 4.800  |
| Military Capabilities, State A      | 0.031  | 0.049  | 0.007  | 0.000 | 0.208  |
| Military Capabilities, State B      | 0.031  | 0.049  | 0.007  | 0.000 | 0.208  |
| % Capabilities Held by State A      | 0.500  | 0.240  | 0.500  | 0.002 | 0.998  |
| Democracy, State A                  | 0.534  | 0.499  | 1      | 0     | 1      |
| Democracy, State B                  | 0.534  | 0.499  | 1      | 0     | 1      |
| Joint Democracy                     | 0.288  | 0.453  | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Land Contiguity                     | 0.151  | 0.358  | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Distance                            | 3.871  | 2.783  | 3.851  | 0.005 | 11.989 |
| Dyad Length (Days)                  | 0.729  | 0.343  | 1      | 0.003 | 1.003  |
| Peace Years                         | 39.614 | 36.886 | 33     | 0     | 194    |

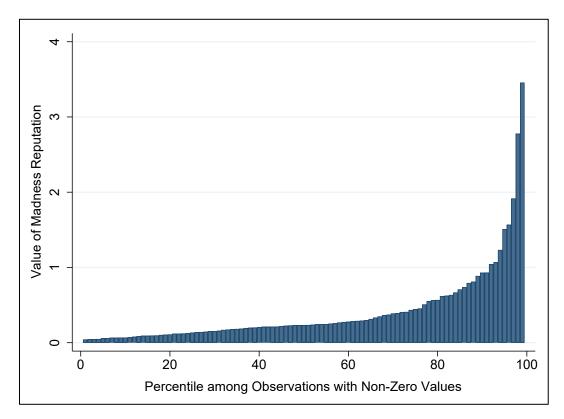
**Table A2:** Summary Statistics from General Deterrence (MID Initiation) Dataset

| Variable                                      | Mean  | SD    | Median | Min   | Max    |
|---|-------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| Reciprocation                                 | 0.418 | 0.493 | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Continuous Madness Rep., A                    | 0.065 | 0.352 | 0      | 0     | 3.457  |
| Continuous Madness Rep., B                    | 0.115 | 0.433 | 0      | 0     | 3.457  |
| Strong Madness Reputation, Leader A           | 0.019 | 0.137 | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Slight Madness Reputation, Leader A           | 0.117 | 0.321 | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Strong Madness Reputation, Leader B           | 0.065 | 0.246 | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Slight Madness Reputation, Leader B           | 0.077 | 0.267 | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Recent MID Initiations, Leader A <sup>2</sup> | 0.803 | 0.898 | 0.500  | 0     | 4.400  |
| Recent MID Initiations, Leader B              | 0.497 | 0.687 | 0.250  | 0     | 4.800  |
| Military Capabilities, State A                | 0.026 | 0.045 | 0.007  | 0.000 | 0.208  |
| Military Capabilities, State B                | 0.017 | 0.038 | 0.004  | 0.000 | 0.208  |
| % Capabilities Held by State A                | 0.482 | 0.176 | 0.499  | 0.002 | 0.997  |
| Democracy, State A                            | 0.397 | 0.489 | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Democracy, State B                            | 0.336 | 0.473 | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Joint Democracy                               | 0.132 | 0.339 | 0      | 0     | 1      |
| Land Contiguity                               | 0.553 | 0.497 | 1      | 0     | 1      |
| Distance                                      | 1.521 | 1.883 | 0.784  | 0.005 | 11.718 |
| First Act Hostility Level                     | 3.260 | 0.662 | 3      | 2     | 4      |

Table A3: Summary Statistics for Crisis Bargaining (MID Reciprocation) Dataset

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  I count MID initiations over the past five years, but when a leader has been in office less than five years, I can only count the MID initiations since he/she entered office. Therefore, I average over the number of years I am counting.

Figure A1: Madness Reputation Distribution, Omitting Zero Values



## Part 2.2: Determinants of Madness Reputation

|                    | (1)<br>D 1: -(1)   | (2)                      | (3)                |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
|                    | Predicting         | Predicting <i>Slight</i> | Predicting Strong  |
|                    | Continuous Measure | Madness Reputation       | Madness Reputation |
| Democracy          | 0.596***           | 0.582***                 | 0.198              |
|                    | (0.170)            | (0.182)                  | (0.329)            |
| Personalist Regime | 0.236              | 0.228                    | 0.096              |
|                    | (0.191)            | (0.217)                  | (0.231)            |
| Real GDP           | 0.007              | 0.013                    | -0.028             |
|                    | (0.004)            | (0.009)                  | (0.026)            |
| Leader Is Former   | 0.106              | -0.059                   | 0.433              |
| Rebel              | (0.165)            | (0.242)                  | (0.302)            |
| Leader Military    | -0.098             | -0.098                   | -0.068             |
| Service            | (0.164)            | (0.210)                  | (0.260)            |
| Leader Age         | -0.005             | -0.003                   | -0.008             |
| 6                  | (0.006)            | (0.007)                  | (0.012)            |
| Leader Gender      | 0.134              | 0.059                    |                    |
|                    | (0.401)            | (0.392)                  |                    |
| Leader Years in    | 0.074***           | 0.052***                 | 0.096***           |
| Office             | (0.015)            | (0.017)                  | (0.023)            |
| Leader Education   | -0.106             | -0.079                   | -0.107             |
|                    | (0.079)            | (0.096)                  | (0.158)            |
| Recent MID         | 0.628***           | 0.421***                 | 0.733***           |
| Initiations        | (0.106)            | (0.129)                  | (0.214)            |
| GDP Change         | -0.027             | -0.046                   | 0.381              |
| C C                | (0.542)            | (0.663)                  | (0.415)            |
| Constant           | -2.815***          | -2.463***                | -3.348***          |
|                    | (0.631)            | (0.549)                  | (0.864)            |
| Observations       | 1,916              | 1,916                    | 1,916              |

Table A4: Tobit and Probit Models Predicting Madness Reputation Measures

Note: Standard errors are clustered by leader. \* p < .10, \*\* p < .05, \*\*\* p < .01. Gender is excluded from Model 3 because it is a perfect negative predictor.

# Part 2.3: Observations with the Highest Influence

| Leader A        | Leader B            | Year | Cook's D |
|-----------------|---------------------|------|----------|
| Kim Il-Sung     | Hosokawa            | 1994 | 0.024    |
| Saddam Hussein  | Kaifu               | 1991 | 0.023    |
| Saddam Hussein  | Khalifah Ath-Thani  | 1991 | 0.023    |
| Saddam Hussein  | Isa Ibn Al-Khalifah | 1991 | 0.022    |
| Saddam Hussein  | Kohl                | 1991 | 0.022    |
| Saddam Hussein  | Jabir As-Sabah      | 1999 | 0.021    |
| Saddam Hussein  | Jabir As-Sabah      | 1991 | 0.021    |
| Saddam Hussein  | Jabir As-Sabah      | 1992 | 0.021    |
| Bush            | Milosevic           | 1992 | 0.020    |
| Bush            | Saddam Hussein      | 1991 | 0.020    |
| Blair           | Mugabe              | 2002 | 0.020    |
| Major           | Milosevic           | 1992 | 0.020    |
| Mitterrand      | Milosevic           | 1992 | 0.020    |
| Bush            | Saddam Hussein      | 1992 | 0.020    |
| Mitsotakis      | Milosevic           | 1992 | 0.019    |
| Ibn Al-Khalifah | Saddam Hussein      | 1994 | 0.019    |
| Clinton         | Saddam Hussein      | 1994 | 0.019    |
| Schroder        | Saddam Hussein      | 1999 | 0.019    |
| Major           | Saddam Hussein      | 1991 | 0.019    |
| Chirac          | Saddam Hussein      | 1999 | 0.019    |

**Table A5:** Observations with the Highest Values of Cook's D in the Initiation Regression

Note: A common rule of thumb is that values of Cook's D above 1 are potentially problematic.

| Leader A           | Leader B           | Year | MID No. | Cook's D |
|--------------------|--------------------|------|---------|----------|
| Kim Jong-Il        | Roh Moo Hyun       | 2007 | 4479    | 0.013    |
| Saddam Hussein     | Jabir As-Sabah     | 1999 | 4274    | 0.013    |
| Ahmadinejad        | al-Maliki          | 2007 | 4536    | 0.011    |
| Noriega            | Reagan             | 1989 | 3901    | 0.011    |
| Saddam Hussein     | Kaifu              | 1991 | 3971    | 0.011    |
| Ahmadinejad        | al-Maliki          | 2010 | 4547    | 0.010    |
| Ayatollah Khomeini | Reagan             | 1988 | 2834    | 0.009    |
| Netanyahu          | Saddam Hussein     | 1998 | 4273    | 0.009    |
| Obama              | Hugo Chavez        | 2010 | 4506    | 0.009    |
| Bush               | Saddam Hussein     | 1991 | 3974    | 0.008    |
| Bush               | Saddam Hussein     | 1992 | 3552    | 0.008    |
| Deng Xiaoping      | Yeltsin            | 1994 | 4104    | 0.007    |
| Howard             | Saddam Hussein     | 2003 | 4273    | 0.007    |
| Rafsanjani         | Bush               | 1991 | 3973    | 0.006    |
| Deng Xiaoping      | Gorbachev          | 1986 | 2718    | 0.006    |
| Bush               | Kim Jong-Il        | 2003 | 4455    | 0.006    |
| Reagan             | Ayatollah Khomeini | 1987 | 2740    | 0.006    |
| Kim Il-Sung        | Hosokawa           | 1994 | 4022    | 0.006    |
| Alfonsin           | Chiang Ching-Kuo   | 1986 | 2579    | 0.005    |
| Khatami            | Bush               | 2004 | 4519    | 0.005    |

Table A6: Observations with the Highest Values of Cook's D in the Reciprocation Regression

Note: A common rule of thumb is that values of Cook's D above 1 are potentially problematic.

#### Part 2.4: More Details on Matching Procedure

I use Coarsened Exact Matching (CEM), which creates a completely balanced sample based on coarsened versions of the variables used in matching (Iacus, King, and Porro 2012). Coarsening the variables means establishing cutpoints in the range of values taken by each variable so that all values between any given pair of cutpoints are substantively similar enough to be treated as equal for purposes of matching.

After coarsening, the CEM algorithm creates strata that contain all observations with equivalent values of the coarsened variables. Strata that do not contain at least one treated observation and one control observation are dropped, and observations in these strata are not included in the matched sample. Because leaders with madness reputations are rare, there is a risk of losing many observations due to dropped strata. Therefore, I use a low cutoff (any madness reputation) for the treatment variable and a relatively small number of matching variables, with only a few cutpoints. Specifically, I match on (1) whether the country is Western, (2) whether the country was involved in more than two MIDs in the last five years, (3) whether the regime is personalist, (4) whether the leader is a former rebel, and (5) whether the leader has been in office 0-4 years, 5-8 years, or over 8 years.

Since some strata contain more than one of each type of observation, the algorithm also assigns weights to account for the size of the strata, and regressions in the matched sample account for these weights. Although coarsened variables are used for matching, the original variables are used for regressions in the matched sample.

## Part 2.5: Robustness Check Tables for General Deterrence (Initiation) Regressions

Note: The model specifications are the same as in Model 2 in Table 2, except for the changes specified in the title of each model. Results for the standard control variables and constant are omitted in order to enable tables to fit on a single page, for easier reading.

| Table A7: Alternate Indicator Cutoffs and Dropping Outliers (Initiation Model) |           |               |           |               |  |
|--|-----------|---------------|-----------|---------------|--|
|  | (1)       | (2)           | (3)       | (4)           |  |
|  | Top 5%    | Top 20%       | Top 40%   | Cont.         |  |
|  | Indicator | Indicator     | Indicator | Measure, Drop |  |
|  | Cutoff    | Cutoff        | Cutoff    | Top 16%       |  |
| Strong Madnage Dan   | 0.831***  | 0.237         | 0.128     |               |  |
| Strong Madness Rep,  |           |               |           |               |  |
| Leader A   | (0.270)   | (0.182)       | (0.135)   |               |  |
| Slight Madness Rep,  | 0.058     | 0.085         | 0.099     |               |  |
| Leader A   | (0.068)   | (0.071)       | (0.073)   |               |  |
|  | ~ /       |               | × ,       |               |  |
| Strong Madness Rep,  | 1.083***  | $0.918^{***}$ | 0.616***  |               |  |
| Leader B   | (0.250)   | (0.125)       | (0.105)   |               |  |
| Slight Madness Rep,  | 0.289***  | 0.116         | 0.130     |               |  |
| <b>e</b> 11  |           |               |           |               |  |
| Leader B   | (0.070)   | (0.079)       | (0.089)   |               |  |
| Cont Madness Rep,  |           |               |           | $0.200^{**}$  |  |
| Leader A   |           |               |           | (0.084)       |  |
|  |           |               |           | (0.000)       |  |
| Cont Madness Rep,  |           |               |           | $0.908^{***}$ |  |
| Leader B   |           |               |           | (0.299)       |  |
| Observations   | 62384     | 62384         | 62384     | 62077         |  |
| Observations   | 02304     | 02304         | 02304     | 02077         |  |

|                     | (1)                 | (2)           |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|
|                     | <b>Region Fixed</b> | Time Fixed    |
|                     | Effects             | Effects       |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.115               | 0.155         |
| Leader A            | (0.207)             | (0.213)       |
| Slight Madness Rep, | 0.106               | $0.122^{*}$   |
| Leader A            | (0.072)             | (0.071)       |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.918***            | $0.908^{***}$ |
| Leader B            | (0.145)             | (0.139)       |
| Slight Madness Rep, | 0.134*              | 0.189**       |
| Leader B            | (0.076)             | (0.076)       |
| Observations        | 62384               | 62384         |

Table A8: Address Regional and Time Bias (Initiation Model)

|                     | (1)        | (2)            | (3)         | (4)           |
|---------------------|------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|
|                     | Drop       | Control for US | Only Non-US | Drop English- |
|                     | Quotations | Affinity       | Sources     | Speaking      |
|                     |            |                |             | Western       |
|                     |            |                |             | Countries     |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.309      | 0.178          | $0.344^{*}$ | 0.219         |
| Leader A            | (0.222)    | (0.213)        | (0.201)     | (0.222)       |
| Slight Madness Rep, | 0.169**    | 0.079          | $0.141^{*}$ | -0.047        |
| Leader A            | (0.074)    | (0.073)        | (0.074)     | (0.099)       |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 1.003***   | 0.920***       | 0.927***    | 0.741***      |
| Leader B            | (0.172)    | (0.144)        | (0.151)     | (0.192)       |
| Slight Madness Rep, | 0.276***   | 0.135*         | 0.214***    | 0.070         |
| Leader B            | (0.079)    | (0.078)        | (0.077)     | (0.113)       |
| Affinity with US,   |            | 0.063          |             |               |
| State A             |            | (0.101)        |             |               |
| Affinity with US,   |            | -0.095         |             |               |
| State B             |            | (0.090)        |             |               |
| Observations        | 62384      | 57730          | 62384       | 45980         |

**Table A9:** Address Pro-Western Bias and Strategic Use of Madness Adjectives (Initiation Model)

| ,                           | (1)            | (2)          | (3)      | (4)         |
|-----------------------------|----------------|--------------|----------|-------------|
|                             | Control for    | Drop Leaders | Matched  | Control for |
|                             | Time in Office | in Office <5 | Sample   | Bluffing    |
|                             |                | Years        |          | Reputation  |
| Strong Madness Rep,         | 0.166          | 0.280        | -0.780** | 0.088       |
| Leader A                    | (0.213)        | (0.255)      | (0.304)  | (0.210)     |
| Slight Madness Rep,         | 0.100          | 0.038        | 0.206    | 0.082       |
| Leader A                    | (0.071)        | (0.097)      | (0.150)  | (0.072)     |
| Strong Madness Rep,         | 0.956***       | 0.730***     | 0.737*** | 0.904***    |
| Leader B                    | (0.137)        | (0.168)      | (0.144)  | (0.138)     |
| Slight Madness Rep,         | 0.174**        | $0.180^{*}$  | 0.063    | 0.152**     |
| Leader B                    | (0.075)        | (0.095)      | (0.087)  | (0.076)     |
| Years in Office,            | -0.011**       |              |          |             |
| Leader B                    | (0.005)        |              |          |             |
| Recent Bluffs, <sup>3</sup> |                |              |          | -0.404***   |
| Leader A                    |                |              |          | (0.096)     |
| Recent Bluffs,              |                |              |          | -0.048      |
| Leader A                    |                |              |          | (0.095)     |
| Observations                | 62384          | 32962        | 35396    | 62384       |

**Table A10:** Address Potentially Confounding Leader and Country Characteristics (Initiation Model)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I consider a leader to have bluffed in a MID if the leader's country threatened or showed force, but did not actually use force and did not achieve a winning outcome. For initiators (Side A), I consider only victory for Side A and Yield by Side B to be winning outcomes. For targets (Side B), who are more likely to favor the status quo, I consider anything except victory for Side A and Yield by Side B to be winning outcomes.

|                     | (1)           | (2)          | (3)           | (4)      |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|----------|
|                     | Compare to    | Drop Words   | 5-Year        | 10-Year  |
|                     | Resolve       | Used outside | Average       | Average  |
|                     | Reputation    | FP Context   |               |          |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.162         | 0.165        | 0.150         | 0.085    |
| Leader A            | (0.210)       | (0.209)      | (0.143)       | (0.140)  |
| Slight Madness Rep, | 0.097         | $0.137^{*}$  | -0.003        | -0.015   |
| Leader A            | (0.071)       | (0.071)      | (0.064)       | (0.061)  |
| Strong Madness Rep, | $0.898^{***}$ | 0.903***     | $0.677^{***}$ | 0.719*** |
| Leader B            | (0.137)       | (0.145)      | (0.152)       | (0.139)  |
| Slight Madness Rep, | $0.141^{*}$   | 0.195**      | 0.155**       | 0.100    |
| Leader B            | (0.075)       | (0.077)      | (0.071)       | (0.074)  |
| Strong Resolve Rep, | 0.044         |              |               |          |
| Leader B            | (0.136)       |              |               |          |
| Slight Resolve Rep, | 0.054         |              |               |          |
| Leader B            | (0.076)       |              |               |          |
| Observations        | 62384         | 62384        | 62384         | 62384    |

 Table A11: Adjustments to the Madness Measure (Initiation Model)

|                     | (1)            | (2)           | (3)           | (4)          |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
|                     | No Politically | Only Dyads    | Forceful MID  | Fatal MID DV |
|                     | Relevant       | with a MID in | DV            |              |
|                     | Restriction    | Last 15 Years |               |              |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.175          | -0.260        | -0.011        | 0.297        |
| Leader A            | (0.131)        | (0.201)       | (0.252)       | (0.212)      |
| Slight Madness Rep, | $0.222^{***}$  | 0.002         | 0.022         | -0.188*      |
| Leader A            | (0.062)        | (0.076)       | (0.093)       | (0.106)      |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.874***       | 0.520***      | $0.789^{***}$ | 0.812***     |
| Leader B            | (0.077)        | (0.127)       | (0.150)       | (0.156)      |
| Slight Madness Rep, | $0.278^{***}$  | 0.135*        | 0.089         | 0.038        |
| Leader B            | (0.067)        | (0.080)       | (0.096)       | (0.116)      |
| Observations        | 605264         | 11092         | 62384         | 62384        |

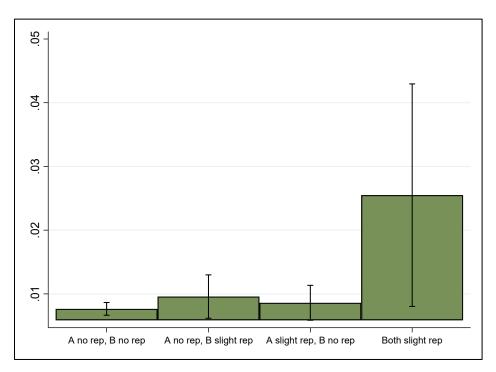
 Table A12: Different Sample and Dependent Variables (Initiation Model)

## **Table A13:** Interaction (Initiation Model)

| Strong Madness Rep,    | 0.162                |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| Leader A               | (0.211)              |
| Strong Madness Rep,    | 0.909 <sup>***</sup> |
| Leader B               | (0.141)              |
| Slight Madness Rep,    | 0.050                |
| Leader A               | (0.076)              |
| Slight Madness Rep,    | 0.092                |
| Leader B               | (0.083)              |
| Slight Madness Rep A   | 0.440 <sup>*</sup>   |
| X Slight Madness Rep B | (0.227)              |
| Observations           | 62384                |

Note: I do not interact the *Strong Madness Reputation* indicators for A and B because there are no politically relevant dyads in my sample where both leaders have strong madness reputations.





Initiation seems to be more likely when both leaders are viewed as slightly mad, but the confidence bounds are very wide, so we cannot be confident in this finding.

## Part 2.6: Robustness Check Tables for Crisis Bargaining (Reciprocation) Regressions

Note: The model specifications are the same as in Model 4 in Table 2, except for the changes specified in the title of each model. Results for the standard control variables and constant are omitted in order to enable tables to fit on a single page, for easier reading.

|                     | (1)         | (2)       | (3)       | (4)                |
|---------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|
|                     | Top 5%      | Top 10%   | Top 20%   | Cont.              |
|                     | Indicator   | Indicator | Indicator | Measure,           |
|                     | Cutoff      | Cutoff    | Cutoff    | Dropping Top<br>1% |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.693***    | 0.707***  | 0.247     |                    |
| Leader A            | (0.219)     | (0.222)   | (0.183)   |                    |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.166      | -0.169    | -0.143    |                    |
| Leader A            | (0.199)     | (0.211)   | (0.217)   |                    |
| Strong Madness Rep, | $0.694^{*}$ | -0.271    | -0.602*** |                    |
| Leader B            | (0.402)     | (0.223)   | (0.196)   |                    |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.493***   | -0.370**  | -0.072    |                    |
| Leader B            | (0.147)     | (0.164)   | (0.195)   |                    |
| Continuous Madness  |             |           |           | 0.110              |
| Rep, A              |             |           |           | (0.121)            |
| Continuous Madness  |             |           |           | 0.046              |
| Rep, B              |             |           |           | (0.123)            |
| Observations        | 759         | 759       | 759       | 753                |

|                     | (1)                 | (2)           |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|
|                     | <b>Region Fixed</b> | Time Fixed    |
|                     | Effects             | Effects       |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.264**             | $0.580^{***}$ |
| Leader A            | (0.132)             | (0.218)       |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.140              | -0.006        |
| Leader A            | (0.198)             | (0.204)       |
| Strong Madness Rep, | -0.546**            | -0.396*       |
| Leader B            | (0.222)             | (0.222)       |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.242              | -0.067        |
| Leader B            | (0.176)             | (0.172)       |
| Observations        | 759                 | 759           |

Table A15: Address Regional and Time Bias (Recip Model)

|                     | (1)        | (2)            | (3)         | (4)             |
|---------------------|------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|
|                     | Drop       | Control for US | Only Non-US | Drop English-   |
|                     | Quotations | Affinity       | Sources     | Speaking Wester |
|                     |            |                |             | Countries       |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.222      | 0.396***       | $0.440^{*}$ | 0.496***        |
| Leader A            | (0.253)    | (0.139)        | (0.256)     | (0.145)         |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.080     | -0.014         | -0.133      | -0.229          |
| Leader A            | (0.183)    | (0.199)        | (0.217)     | (0.217)         |
| Strong Madness Rep, | -0.455**   | -0.446**       | -0.221      | -0.617**        |
| Leader B            | (0.225)    | (0.200)        | (0.231)     | (0.275)         |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.339**   | -0.262         | -0.377**    | -0.587**        |
| Leader B            | (0.152)    | (0.176)        | (0.164)     | (0.287)         |
| Affinity with US,   |            | -0.411*        |             |                 |
| State A             |            | (0.239)        |             |                 |
| Affinity with US,   |            | 0.015          |             |                 |
| State B             |            | (0.202)        |             |                 |
| Observations        | 759        | 723            | 759         | 651             |

 Table A16: Address Pro-Western Bias and Strategic Use of Madness Adjectives (Recip Model)

|                             | (1)       | (2)           | (3)         | (4)       | (5)         |
|-----------------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
|                             | Control   | Drop          | Matched     | Drop      | Control for |
|                             | for Years | Leaders in    | Sample      | Strategic | Bluffing    |
|                             | in Office | Office <5     |             | Blunders  | Reputation  |
|                             |           | Years         |             |           |             |
| Strong Madness Rep,         | 0.440***  | $0.480^{***}$ | $0.714^{*}$ | 0.439***  | 0.296**     |
| Leader A                    | (0.156)   | (0.155)       | (0.394)     | (0.159)   | (0.146)     |
| Slight Madness Rep,         | -0.161    | -0.504*       | 0.317       | -0.065    | -0.142      |
| Leader A                    | (0.216)   | (0.281)       | (0.329)     | (0.220)   | (0.189)     |
| Strong Madness Rep,         | -0.549*** | -0.866*       | -0.448      | -0.618*** | -0.604***   |
| Leader B                    | (0.200)   | (0.446)       | (0.520)     | (0.199)   | (0.200)     |
| Slight Madness Rep,         | -0.207    | 0.023         | 0.083       | -0.183    | -0.187      |
| Leader B                    | (0.175)   | (0.214)       | (0.290)     | (0.187)   | (0.175)     |
| Years in Office,            | 0.001     |               |             |           |             |
| Leader A                    | (0.011)   |               |             |           |             |
| Recent Bluffs, <sup>4</sup> |           |               |             |           | -0.504*     |
| Leader A                    |           |               |             |           | (0.296)     |
| Recent Bluffs,              |           |               |             |           | -0.313*     |
| Leader B                    |           |               |             |           | (0.183)     |
| Observations                | 759       | 449           | 347         | 707       | 759         |

Table A17: Address Potentially Confounding Leader and Country Characteristics (Recip Model)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I consider a leader to have bluffed in a MID if the leader's country threatened or showed force, but did not actually use force and did not achieve a winning outcome. For initiators (Side A), I consider only victory for Side A and Yield by Side B to be winning outcomes. For targets (Side B), who are more likely to favor the status quo, I consider anything except victory for Side A and Yield by Side B to be winning outcomes.

|                     | (1)         | (2)          | (3)       | (4)     |
|---------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|---------|
|                     | Compare to  | Drop Words   | 5-Year    | 10-Year |
|                     | Resolve     | Used outside | Average   | Average |
|                     | Reputation  | FP Context   |           |         |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.402**     | 0.722***     | 0.075     | -0.060  |
| Leader A            | (0.160)     | (0.225)      | (0.174)   | (0.171) |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.244      | -0.163       | -0.228    | -0.247  |
| Leader A            | (0.220)     | (0.241)      | (0.188)   | (0.182) |
| Strong Resolve Rep, | $0.569^{*}$ |              |           |         |
| Leader A            | (0.330)     |              |           |         |
| Slight Resolve Rep, | 0.042       |              |           |         |
| Leader A            | (0.249)     |              |           |         |
| Strong Madness Rep, | -0.572***   | -0.331       | -0.295    | -0.324* |
| Leader B            | (0.201)     | (0.221)      | (0.189)   | (0.190) |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.208      | -0.236       | -0.558*** | -0.106  |
| Leader B            | (0.186)     | (0.177)      | (0.137)   | (0.135) |
| Observations        | 759         | 759          | 759       | 759     |

 Table A18: Adjustments to the Madness Measure (Recip Model)

|                     | (1)        | (2)         | (3)             |
|---------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|
|                     | Drop MIDs  | Drop Non-   | Retain Only One |
|                     | Beginning  | Revisionist | Observation per |
|                     | with Force | MIDs        | MID Target      |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.371**    | -0.367      | 0.428***        |
| Leader A            | (0.167)    | (0.430)     | (0.157)         |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.315     | 0.044       | -0.258          |
| Leader A            | (0.248)    | (0.199)     | (0.265)         |
| Strong Madness Rep, | -0.496**   | -0.759***   | -0.287          |
| Leader B            | (0.207)    | (0.249)     | (0.191)         |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.179     | -0.411      | -0.157          |
| Leader B            | (0.221)    | (0.265)     | (0.218)         |
| Observations        | 468        | 491         | 644             |

 Table A19: Dropping Some MIDs (Recip Model)

**Table A20:** Interaction (Recip Model)

| Strong Madness Rep,    | 0.442 <sup>***</sup>  |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Leader A               | (0.153)               |
| Strong Madness Rep,    | -0.549 <sup>***</sup> |
| Leader B               | (0.200)               |
| Slight Madness Rep,    | -0.156                |
| Leader A               | (0.211)               |
| Slight Madness Rep,    | -0.202                |
| Leader B               | (0.225)               |
| Slight Madness Rep A   | -0.030                |
| X Slight Madness Rep B | (0.435)               |
| Observations           | 759                   |

Note: I do not interact the *Strong Madness Reputation* indicators for A and B because there are no MIDs in which two leaders with strong madness reputations faced each other.

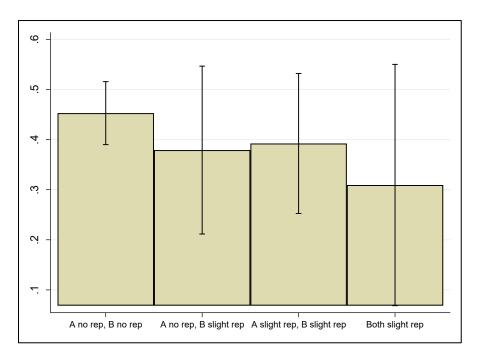


Figure A3: Predicted Probabilities Based on the Model Above

None of these predicted probabilities are significantly different from each other.

## Table A21: Conflict Selection Model (Recip Model)

| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.867 <sup>***</sup> |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Leader A            | (0.256)              |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.237               |
| Leader A            | (0.275)              |
| Strong Madness Rep, | -0.249               |
| Leader B            | (0.269)              |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.295               |
| Leader B            | (0.200)              |
| Rho                 | -0.108<br>(0.226)    |
| Observations        | 62384                |

Note: Rho is insignificant, indicating that this type of model is not actually necessary.

| Table A22: Interactions with Relative Capabilities |            |             |  |
|--|------------|-------------|--|
|  | (1)        | (2)         |  |
|  | Deterrence | Crisis      |  |
|  |            | Bargaining  |  |
|  |            |             |  |
| Strong Madness Rep,                                | 0.156      | -1.901      |  |
| Leader A   | (0.211)    | (1.468)     |  |
| Slight Madness Rep,                                | 0.093      | 0.949***    |  |
| Leader A   | (0.072)    | (0.295)     |  |
|  | (0.072)    | (0.295)     |  |
| Strong Madness Rep,                                | 1.773***   | -0.561***   |  |
| Leader B   | (0.270)    | (0.215)     |  |
|  | 0.010      | 0.000       |  |
| Slight Madness Rep,                                | 0.318      | -0.200      |  |
| Leader B   | (0.250)    | (0.184)     |  |
| % of Military Capabilities                         | 0.100      | $0.982^{*}$ |  |
| Held by A  | (0.189)    | (0.563)     |  |
|  |            |             |  |
| Strong Madness Rep A                               |            | 4.690       |  |
| X % Capabilities                                   |            | (3.155)     |  |
| Slight Madness Rep A                               |            | -2.746***   |  |
| X % Capabilities                                   |            | (0.610)     |  |
| 1  |            |             |  |
| Strong Madness Rep B                               | -2.327***  |             |  |
| X % Capabilities                                   | (0.648)    |             |  |
| Slight Madness Rep B                               | -0.279     |             |  |
| X % Capabilities                                   | (0.415)    |             |  |
|  | (0.115)    |             |  |
| Observations                                       | 62384      | 759         |  |

## Part 2.7: Results for interaction with military capabilities

Note: I do not include a three-way interaction because *Strong* and *Slight Madness Reputation* are mutually exclusive variables. The standard control variables are included, but not shown.

## Part 2.8: Tables Supporting Footnotes

|                     | (1)         | (2)<br>Drop Extreme | (3)<br>Count Recent  | (4)<br>Count Only   |
|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
|                     | Retain Tiny |                     |                      |                     |
|                     | Countries   | Outlier             | MIDs by              | Losing Recent       |
|                     |             |                     | Country <sup>5</sup> | MIDs by             |
|                     |             |                     |                      | Leader <sup>6</sup> |
| Strong Madnagg Dan  | 0.156       | 0.164               | 0.118                | 0.219               |
| Strong Madness Rep, |             |                     |                      |                     |
| Leader A            | (0.210)     | (0.211)             | (0.213)              | (0.210)             |
| Slight Madness Rep, | 0.089       | 0.097               | 0.199***             | 0.253***            |
| Leader A            | (0.070)     | (0.071)             | (0.070)              | (0.072)             |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.914***    | 0.913***            | 0.869***             | 0.895***            |
| Leader B            | (0.140)     | (0.141)             | (0.138)              | (0.139)             |
| Slight Madness Rep, | 0.163**     | 0.160**             | 0.161**              | $0.176^{**}$        |
| Leader B            | (0.074)     | (0.075)             | (0.074)              | (0.077)             |
| Observations        | 67522       | 62366               | 62384                | 62384               |

**Table A23:** Tests Mentioned in Footnotes (Initiation Model)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The *Recent MIDs* variable in this regression counts all MIDs in which a state was involved, whether as initiator or target, and whether under the current or previous leader.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Like the *Recent MIDs* variable in the main models, the *Recent MIDs* variable in this regression counts MIDs initiated by the current leader, but further restricts the count to only **losing** MIDs. Arguably, initiating unwinnable MIDs might create a stronger reputation for madness.

|                     | (1)                | (2)      |
|---------------------|--------------------|----------|
|                     | Minimalist         | Logged   |
|                     | Model <sup>7</sup> | Madness  |
|                     |                    | Measure  |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.151              |          |
| Leader A            | (0.211)            |          |
| Slight Madness Rep, | 0.073              |          |
| Leader A            | (0.070)            |          |
| Strong Madness Rep, | $0.890^{***}$      |          |
| Leader B            | (0.140)            |          |
| Slight Madness Rep, | 0.139*             |          |
| Leader B            | (0.073)            |          |
| Logged Continuous   |                    | 0.344*   |
| Madness Rep, A      |                    | (0.186)  |
| Logged Continuous   |                    | 0.923*** |
| Madness Rep, B      |                    | (0.139)  |
| Observations        | 62384              | 62384    |

 Table A24: More Tests Mentioned in Footnotes (Initiation Model)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This model drops the controls for State A Capabilities, State B Capabilities, State A Democracy, State B Democracy, and Distance.

|                     | (1)         | (2)                      | (3)   |  |
|---------------------|-------------|--------------------------|---|--|
|                     | Retain Tiny | Count All                | Count Only  |  |
|                     | Countries   | Recent MIDs <sup>8</sup> | Recent Losing<br>MIDs Initiated<br>by Leader <sup>9</sup> |  |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.462***    | 0.245**                  | 0.431***  |  |
| Leader A            | (0.143)     | (0.117)                  | (0.163)   |  |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.142      | -0.223                   | -0.199  |  |
| Leader A            | (0.210)     | (0.202)                  | (0.202)   |  |
| Strong Madness Rep, | -0.525***   | -0.711***                | -0.535***   |  |
| Leader B            | (0.200)     | (0.199)                  | (0.196)   |  |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.195      | -0.260                   | -0.191  |  |
| Leader B            | (0.175)     | (0.177)                  | (0.183)   |  |
| Observations        | 773         | 759                      | 759   |  |

**Table A25:** Tests Mentioned in Footnotes (Recip Model)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The *Recent MIDs* variable in this regression counts all MIDs in which a state was involved, whether as initiator or target, and whether under the current or previous leader.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Like the *Recent MIDs* variable in the main models, the *Recent MIDs* variable in this regression counts MIDs initiated by the current leader, but further restricts the count to only **losing** MIDs. Arguably, initiating unwinnable MIDs might create a stronger reputation for madness.

|                     | (1)                 | (2)      | (3)        | (4)        |
|---------------------|---------------------|----------|------------|------------|
|                     | Minimalist          | Logged   | Cluster by | Cluster by |
|                     | Model <sup>10</sup> | Madness  | Leader A   | Country B  |
|                     |                     | Measure  |            |            |
| Strong Madness Rep, | 0.420***            |          | 0.442**    | 0.442      |
| Leader A            | (0.151)             |          | (0.213)    | (0.362)    |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.125              |          | -0.160     | -0.160     |
| Leader A            | (0.214)             |          | (0.210)    | (0.185)    |
| Strong Madness Rep, | -0.515***           |          | -0.549**   | -0.549     |
| Leader B            | (0.196)             |          | (0.244)    | (0.383)    |
| Slight Madness Rep, | -0.189              |          | -0.207     | -0.207     |
| Leader B            | (0.184)             |          | (0.168)    | (0.212)    |
| Logged Continuous   |                     | 0.430*** |            |            |
| Madness Rep, A      |                     | (0.163)  |            |            |
| Logged Continuous   |                     | -0.161   |            |            |
| Madness Rep, B      |                     | (0.240)  |            |            |
| Observations        | 759                 | 759      | 759        | 759        |

 Table A26: More Tests Mentioned in Footnotes (Recip Model)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> This model drops the controls for State A Capabilities, State B Capabilities, State A Democracy, State B Democracy, and Distance.