

Assumption: war results in imposition of $v_i = 1$, $\tau_i = \mathbf{1} \implies \hat{G}'_i = 0$

War costs are specific to the directed dyad (\hat{c}_{ji} is j 's relative cost for replacing i) and is a realization of a random variable from a known aggressor-specific distribution. The shape of the distribution depends on an aggressor-specific cost shifter, as well as the military balance and loss of strength gradient. These are held as private information to the aggressor. Government j prefers not to attack i so long as

$$\begin{aligned}\hat{G}_j(\hat{\tau}'_i; \hat{\mathbf{h}}'_i) - \hat{c}_{ji} &\leq \hat{G}_j(\hat{\tau}; \hat{\mathbf{h}}) \\ \hat{c}_{ji}^{-1} &\leq \left(\hat{G}_j(\hat{\tau}'_i; \hat{\mathbf{h}}'_i) - \hat{G}_j(\hat{\tau}; \hat{\mathbf{h}}) \right)^{-1}\end{aligned}$$

Let inverse war costs be distributed Frechét,

$$\Pr \left(\frac{1}{\hat{c}_{ji}} \leq \frac{1}{\hat{c}} \right) = F_j \left(\frac{1}{\hat{c}} \right) = \exp \left(-\frac{1}{C_j} \left(\frac{m_j}{m_i} \right)^\gamma Z_{ji}^{-\alpha} \hat{c}^\eta \right)$$

where C_j is an aggressor-specific cost shifter, $\frac{m_j}{m_i}$ is the relative military balance (elasticity: γ , Z_{ji} is the geographic distance between j and i (elasticity: α), and η is a global shape parameter.¹

From this, we can calculate the probability that no government finds it profitable to attack i , which is given by

$$\begin{aligned}H_i(\hat{\tau}; \mathbf{Z}, \boldsymbol{\theta}_m) &= \prod_{j \neq i} F_j \left(\left(\hat{G}_j(\hat{\tau}'_i; \hat{\mathbf{h}}'_i) - \hat{G}_j(\hat{\tau}; \hat{\mathbf{h}}) \right)^{-1} \right) \\ &= \exp \left(-\sum_{j \neq i} -\frac{1}{C_j} \left(\frac{m_j}{m_i} \right)^\gamma Z_{ji}^{-\alpha} \left(\hat{G}_j(\hat{\tau}'_i; \hat{\mathbf{h}}'_i) - \hat{G}_j(\hat{\tau}; \hat{\mathbf{h}}) \right)^\eta \right)\end{aligned}$$

A prospective policy-chooser then confronts the following objective function

$$\hat{G}_i(\hat{\tau}, \hat{\mathbf{h}}) = H_i(\hat{\tau}, \hat{\mathbf{h}}; \mathbf{Z}, \boldsymbol{\theta}_m) \hat{G}_i(\hat{\tau}, \hat{\mathbf{h}})$$

where implicitly i 's utility is zero with probability $1 - H_i(\hat{\tau}, \hat{\mathbf{h}}; \mathbf{Z}, \boldsymbol{\theta}_m)$. We solve this best response by imposing the constraints

$$\hat{\mathbf{h}} = \hat{\mathbf{h}}(\hat{\tau})$$

(equilibrium ge constraints) and

$$\hat{\mathbf{h}}'_i = \hat{\mathbf{h}}(\mathbf{1}_i; \hat{\tau}_{-i})$$

(conquest ge constraints)

¹Higher η correspond to more concentrated cost draws.