



# Subsidizing to disrupt a terrorism supply chain—a four-player game

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Terrorism with weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) is an urgent threat to homeland security. The process of counter-WMD terrorism often involves multiple government and terrorist group players, which is under-studied in the literature. In this paper, first we consider two subgames: a proliferation game between two terrorist groups or cells (where one handling the black market for profits proliferates to the other one to attack, and this is modelled as a terrorism supply chain) and a subsidization game between two governments (where one potential WMD victim government subsidizes the other host government, who can interfere with terrorist activities). Then we integrate these two subgames to study how the victim government can use the strategy of subsidization to induce the host government to disrupt the terrorism supply chain. To our knowledge, this is the first game-theoretic study for modelling and optimally disrupting a terrorism supply chain in a complex four-player scenario. We find that in the integrated game, when proliferation payment is high or low, the practical terrorist group will proliferate and not proliferate, respectively, regardless of government decisions. In contrast, in the subsidization subgame between the two governments, the decision of subsidization depends on its cost. When proliferation payment is medium, the decision of subsidization depends on not only its cost but also the preparation cost and the attacking cost. Findings from our results would assist in government policymaking.

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## 1. Introduction

Terrorism with weapons of mass destruction (WMDs; ie, chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear weapons, and high explosives) is an urgent threat to the United States. In 1998, al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden stated that the acquisition of WMDs is a ‘religious duty’ for Muslims (McCloud and Osborne, 2001), and the WMD Commission (2005) reported that al-Qaeda has already acquired significant amounts of anthrax. After 9/11/2001, people have become more concerned about the increased likelihood of WMD attacks (Hoffman, 2006). The US has devoted much effort to counter-terrorism with regard to WMDs, such as preventing the importation of illicit nuclear materials (Wein *et al*, 2006).

One significant pattern in the development of terrorism and counter-terrorism is the collaboration both between government groups and between terrorist groups, and the competition between these two groups. For instance, when people or properties of a country are attacked outside the country, the victim country has to count on the host

(non-victim) country to protect its property or people (Drakos and Gofas, 2006; Sandler and Siqueira, 2006), as well as to restrict or eliminate transnational terrorism, which is one important characteristic of large international terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda (Mickolus, 2008). Specifically for WMD threats, there might be a proliferation process among terrorist groups, which can be modelled as a terrorism supply chain and involve multiple tasks susceptible to interdiction activities such as destroying the black market for raw nuclear materials. Disrupting the upstream part in this terrorism supply chain could be a more effective mitigation strategy for the governments than fighting with WMD users directly (Brown *et al*, 2009). Using game theory and optimization (eg, stochastic programming), a number of researchers have studied network interdiction as an important method to prevent nuclear smuggling (Golden, 1978; Washburn and Wood, 1995; Cormican *et al*, 1998; Pan *et al*, 2003).

Understanding different terrorist groups is critical for devising optimal mitigation strategies against terrorism. Different terrorist groups may put different weights on religion, politics, finance, reputation, and human life, and can generally be categorized into two major types (Peters, 2001; Arce and Sandler, 2010)—practical groups such as black-market groups, and apocalyptic religion-based

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groups. Practical groups hold specific political or financial goals, and might be relatively prone to renounce WMD development, if some or all of their goals were satisfied. By contrast, religion-based groups are generally more radical, and therefore, might be less likely to renounce their attack plan. We acknowledge that in practice, there may exist neither purely practical nor purely religious terrorist groups. Instead, large terrorist organizations may operate by units of small cells or sub-groups, each of which could be either practical or religious.

Game-theoretic models have been widely utilized in studying optimal strategies in counter-terrorism endeavours (see Sandler and Siqueira, 2009 for an extensive survey). Specifically, game theory has been used to study strategic interactions (such as conflicts and collaboration) among governments (eg, the United States, Afghanistan, China, the European Union, and former Soviet Union countries). Kunreuther and Heal (2003) studied a symmetric interdependent-security game between multiple defenders. Similarly, Zhuang *et al* (2007) investigated a dynamic interdependent-security game among multiple defenders with heterogeneous discount rates. In addition, game theory has also been widely used to study interactions between an attacker and a defender, including Sandler and Lapan (1988), Lapan and Sandler (1993), Major (2002), Woo (2002), Sandler and Arce (2003), Konrad (2004); Brown *et al* (2006), Bier *et al* (2007), Zhuang and Bier (2007), Hausken and Zhuang (2011), He and Zhuang (2012) and Shan and Zhuang (2012, 2013). Enders and Sandler (2005) considered a game between two governments and one terrorist group. However, to our knowledge, very few researchers have studied the collaboration between terrorist groups and no one has studied this complex four-player (two governments and two terrorist groups) game for modelling and optimally disrupting a terrorism supply chain.

Much effort has been devoted to understanding WMD development and mitigation. From the government's perspective, major options for mitigating WMD threats include: (1) prevention (subsidizing a host government to entice it to destroy the black market for WMDs; stopping the development of WMD threats by eliminating or civilizing some terrorist groups); (2) preparing for attacks; (3) real-time response to attacks; and (4) post-attack recovery and retaliation. Other options include media diffusion, society decentralization, and economic sanctions (see Frey, 2004). Arce and Sandler (2005) rigorously compared between defensive anti-terrorism measures (eg, preparing for WMD attacks) and proactive policies (eg, subsidizing a host government to entice it to destroy the black market for WMDs). From the terrorist group's perspective, there are three major stages in WMD threat development: (1) acquisition of crude WMD materials (Salama and Hansell, 2005); (2) production and distribution (ie, proliferation) of

WMDs; and (3) the potential use of the final WMDs (ie, WMD attacks).

In this paper, we consider a subsidization game between two governments (where one potential WMD victim government subsidizes the other, who could interfere with terrorist activities) and a proliferation game between two terrorist groups or cells (where one who is handling the black market for profits proliferates to the other one to attack). We allow the two governments the following decisions: destroying the black market of WMDs for the host government and subsidizing and preparing for the victim government. For the terrorist players, the decisions are proliferation for the practical terrorist group, and attacking for the religion-based terrorist group.

Preparation can take a variety of forms, including generating redundancy in a system composed of multiple elements, increasing protection over these elements and creating false targets to divert attacks (see for example Levitin and Hausken, 2009). Preparation belongs to the category of defensive measures in counter-terrorism efforts, which includes guarding the government's assets. By contrast, prevention by destroying the black market for WMDs can be categorized as proactive or offensive. Other examples of prevention include limiting terrorists' resources, finances, safe havens, infrastructure, or sponsors (Arce and Sandler, 2005).

Figure 1 illustrates our integration of the subgames between governments and terrorist groups. One practical terrorist group  $T_1$  chooses whether to proliferate to the religion-based terrorist group  $T_2$ , while  $T_2$  chooses whether to attack  $G_2$  (using WMDs if  $T_2$  successfully obtains them from  $T_1$ , or using regular weapons otherwise). This scenario is shown in the right part of Figure 1. On the other hand, as shown in the left part of Figure 1, one country  $G_1$  is not a potential WMD victim but may be a host country for terrorism, and chooses whether to destroy a black market for WMDs (eg, black market for nuclear materials); whereas the country  $G_2$  (potential WMD victim) chooses whether to offer economic incentives or subsidies to  $G_1$  to entice it to destroy the black market and whether to prepare for a WMD attack. The linkage between the two subgames is such that if the host country  $G_1$  chooses to destroy the black market, it becomes more difficult for  $T_1$  to proliferate to  $T_2$ , and therefore  $G_2$  might become less threatened by a potential WMD attack from  $T_2$ . Otherwise, if  $G_1$  chooses not to destroy the black market,  $G_2$  might have to depend more on its own preparation, which might be costly and ineffective.

We find that in the integrated game, when proliferation payment from  $T_2$  to  $T_1$  is high or low, the victim government will not subsidize the host government to destroy the black market regardless of its cost to  $G_2$ . In contrast, in the subsidization subgame between the two governments, the decision of subsidization depends on its cost to  $G_2$ . When proliferation payment from  $T_2$  to  $T_1$  is medium, the

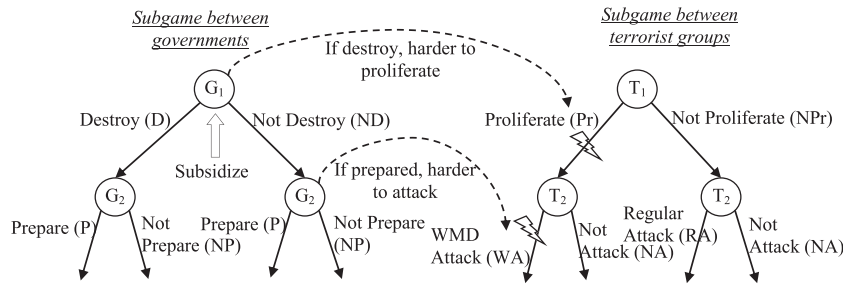


Figure 1 Overall illustration of integration of subgames between governments and terrorist groups.

decision of subsidization depends on not only its cost but also the preparation cost and the attacking cost.

Sections 2 and 3 study the subgames between two terrorist groups and between two governments, respectively. Section 4 integrates the two subgames and studies the whole dynamic process. Section 5 concludes this paper and provides some future research directions. For simplicity, we assume that each player has complete information about the game. We also assume that when the player is indifferent between two alternatives,  $G_1$  will destroy the black market,  $T_1$  will proliferate,  $G_2$  will subsidize and prepare for terrorist attacks, and  $T_2$  will attack.

2. Proliferation game between two terrorist groups

Table 1 lists notation used in this paper. We assume that  $B \geq C$  since  $G_1$  would not destroy the black market if the subsidy level is not sufficient to cover the cost. We assume that  $v \geq u$  since the cost of proliferation would increase after the black market is destroyed. We assume that  $L > u'$  since a WMD attack would cause more damage than the cost of its development. We assume that  $L > l$  since the magnitude of damage caused by a WMD attack would be higher than that caused by a regular attack. Moreover, we assume that  $R > C$ , reputation loss for  $G_1$  is greater than the cost for  $G_1$  of destroying the black market (or the cost of subsidy from  $G_2$  to  $G_1$ ).

2.1. Game formulation

We model the subgame between two terrorist groups as a sequential game and the sequence of moves is as follows, and as illustrated in Figure 2. In particular,  $T_1$  first chooses whether to proliferate (Pr or NPr), and  $T_2$  chooses whether and how to attack (WA, RA, or NA). We assume that if  $T_1$  proliferates,  $T_2$  might launch a WMD attack (WA); otherwise,  $T_2$  will be unable to launch a WMD attack and instead launch a regular attack (RA). We have  $U$  be the payment from  $T_2$  to  $T_1$  for proliferation and  $u'$  be the proliferation cost for  $T_1$ .

Figure 2 also shows the payoffs for the four possible outcomes: if  $T_1$  proliferates, its payoff is  $U - u'$ . Otherwise,

Table 1 Main notation in this paper

<i>Players</i>	
$T_1$	A practical terrorist group
$T_2$	A radical religion-based terrorist group
$G_1$	A non-victim host government
$G_2$	A potential victim government
<i>Decision variables</i>	
{S, NS}	$G_2$ subsidizes $G_1$ or not
{D, ND}	$G_1$ destroys the black market or not
{Pr, NPr}	$T_1$ proliferates or not
{P, NP}	$G_2$ prepares for terrorist attacks or not
{WA, RA, NA}	$T_2$ launches a WMD attack, or a regular attack, or no attack
<i>Parameters</i>	
$U$	Proliferation payment from $T_2$ to $T_1$ ; we assume that $U \geq 0$
$B$	Cost of subsidy from $G_2$ to $G_1$ ; we assume that $B \geq C$
$u$	Proliferation cost for $T_1$ if $G_1$ does not destroy the black market; we assume that $u \geq 0$
$v$	Proliferation cost for $T_1$ if $G_1$ destroys the black market; we assume that $v \geq u$
$u'$	Proliferation cost for $T_1$ ; we assume that $u' \in \{v, u\}$ and $L > u'$
$C$	Cost for $G_1$ of destroying the black market; we assume that $C \geq 0$
$p$	Preparation cost for $G_2$ against either WA or RA, which could include enhanced police patrol, target hardening, critical infrastructure protection; we assume that $p \geq 0$
$a$	Attacking cost for $T_2$ launching either WA or RA; we assume that $a \geq 0$
$l$	Loss for $G_2$ from a regular (non-WMD) attack; we assume that $l \geq 0$
$L$	Loss for $G_2$ from a WMD attack; we assume that $L > l$
$R$	Reputation loss for $G_1$ if $G_1$ is subsidized but does not destroy; we assume that $R > C$
$r \equiv P(L)$ or $P(l)$	Probability that a terrorist attack results in a loss for $G_2$ if $G_2$ prepares, we have $r \in [0, 1)$
<i>Other notation</i>	
{N, Y}	Not a possible equilibrium, and a possible equilibrium, respectively

$T_1$ 's payoff is 0. By contrast, if  $T_2$  attacks, its payoff is  $L-U-a$ , or  $l-a$ , respectively, depending on  $T_1$ 's choice of proliferating or not. Otherwise,  $T_2$ 's payoff is  $-U$  or 0, respectively. We assume that  $L > U + l$ ; that is, the loss to  $G_2$  from a WMD attack is greater than the sum of payment from  $T_2$  to  $T_1$  for facilitating proliferation and loss to  $G_2$  from a regular non-WMD attack, and thus,  $T_2$  would prefer WMD attacks if possible. Symbol  $N$  denotes a not possible equilibrium while  $Y$  denotes a possible equilibrium.

2.2. Solution

Solving the subgame between two terrorist groups presented in Section 2.1, we get the following equilibrium solutions as shown in Table 2 and Figure 3. We have the following three cases:

- (1) When the proliferation payment is high ( $U \geq u'$ ) and the attacking cost is relatively low ( $a \leq L-U$ ),  $T_1$  will proliferate and  $T_2$  will launch a WMD attack.
- (2) When the proliferation payment is high ( $U \geq u'$ ) and the attacking cost is high ( $a > L-U$ ), or the proliferation payment is low ( $U < u'$ ) and the attacking cost is relatively high ( $a > l$ ),  $T_1$  will not proliferate and  $T_2$  will not attack.
- (3) When the proliferation payment is low ( $U < u'$ ) and the attacking cost is low ( $a \leq l$ ),  $T_1$  will not proliferate and  $T_2$  will launch a regular attack.

Note that [Pr, NA] is never an equilibrium, since, if  $T_1$  chooses to proliferate,  $T_2$  will prefer to launch a WMD attack to get a higher payoff than otherwise ( $L-U-a > -U$ ). Therefore, an equilibrium where  $T_1$  chooses to proliferate and  $T_2$  chooses to attack is not possible. The equilibrium solutions are shown in Figure 3,

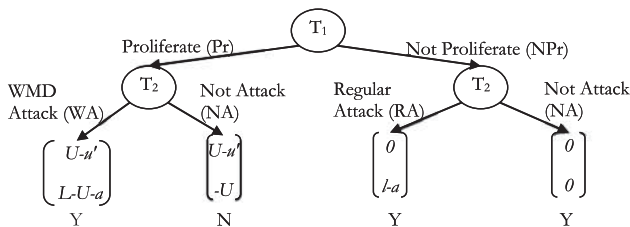


Figure 2 Game tree—subgame between two terrorist groups. (Expected payoffs in brackets are for  $[T_1, T_2]$ , respectively.)

there are two possibilities: the proliferation cost is (a) high ( $u' > L-l$ ); and (b) low ( $u' \leq L-l$ ).

Comparing between Figure 3 (a) and (b), we find that when the proliferation cost is high ( $u' > L-l$ ) as in Figure 3 (a),  $T_1$  is less likely to proliferate and  $T_2$  is less likely to launch a WMD attack, as represented by a smaller triangular area [Pr, WA].

3. Subsidization game between two governments

3.1. Game formulation

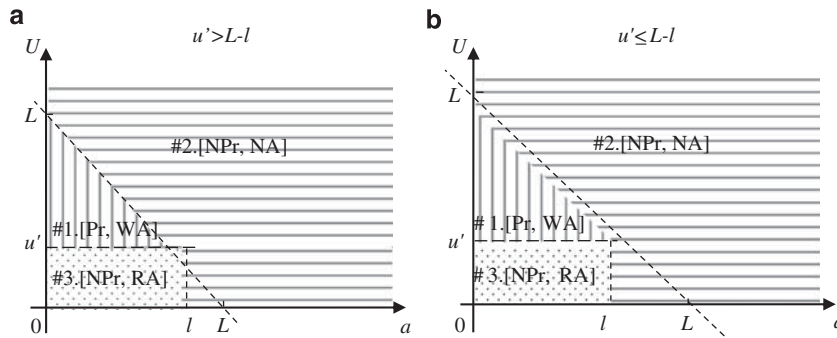
We model the subgame between two governments as a sequential game, which is illustrated in Figure 4:  $G_2$  first chooses whether to subsidize  $G_1$  (S or NS); then  $G_1$  chooses whether to destroy the black market (D or ND); and finally,  $G_2$  chooses whether to prepare (P or NP). We assume that, when  $G_2$  subsidizes  $G_1$  ( $B \geq C$ ),  $G_1$  will destroy the black market and when  $G_1$  destroys the black market,  $G_2$  will suffer from a regular attack. Otherwise,  $G_2$  will suffer from a WMD attack. The subsidy level  $B$  in principle could be modelled as a continuous decision variable for  $G_2$ , but its optimal value would always be  $C$  when  $G_2$  decides to subsidize  $G_1$ , since  $C$  is the minimal amount of subsidy required in order to entice  $G_1$  to destroy the black market. We also assume that  $C < r(L-l)$ , that is, the cost of destroying the black market is less than the increase in loss from a WMD attack compared to a regular attack when  $G_2$  prepares. Similarly, symbol  $N$  denotes a not possible equilibrium while  $Y$  denotes a possible equilibrium.

Figure 4 shows the payoffs for the eight possible outcomes: given that  $G_1$  is subsidized, if it destroys the black market, its payoff is  $B-C$ ; otherwise, its payoff is  $B-R$  since  $G_1$  broke the contract with  $G_2$  and thus, suffers a reputation loss of  $R$ . If  $G_2$  prepares for a terrorist attack, its payoff is  $-B-p-rL$  for a WMD attack or  $-B-p-rl$  for a regular attack, where  $p$  is the preparation cost for  $G_2$ ,  $r$  is the probability of loss from an attack when  $G_2$  prepares for attacks. Similarly, if  $G_2$  is not prepared, its payoff is  $-B-L$  for a WMD attack or  $-B-l$  for a regular attack. Given that  $G_1$  is not subsidized,  $G_1$ 's payoff is  $-C$  if it destroys the black market; otherwise its payoff is 0; if  $G_2$  prepares, its payoff is  $-p-rL$  for a WMD attack or  $-p-rl$  for a regular attack. Similarly, if  $G_2$  does not prepare, its payoff is  $-L$  for a WMD attack or  $-l$  for a regular attack.

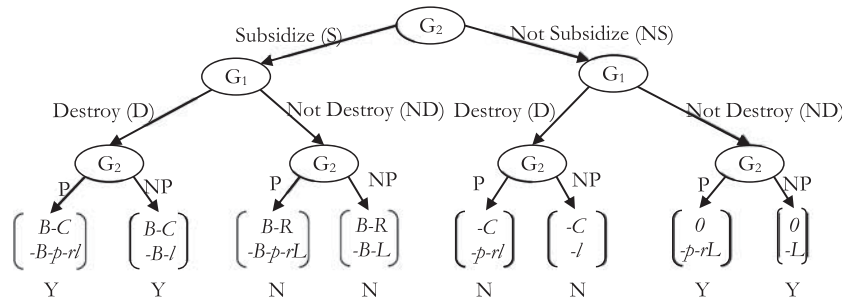
Table 2 Possible equilibria for subgame between terrorist groups

Cases	Strategies*	Payoffs*	Conditions
#1.	[Pr, WA]	$[U-u', L-U-a]$	$\{U \geq u', a \leq L-U\}$
#2.	[NPr, NA]	$[0, 0]$	$\{U \geq u', a > L-U\}$ or $\{U < u', a > l\}$
#3.	[NPr, RA]	$[0, l-a]$	$\{U < u', a \leq l\}$

\*Strategies and payoffs in brackets are for  $[T_1, T_2]$ , respectively. Note that [Pr, NA] is never an equilibrium.



**Figure 3** Three possible equilibria (as specified in Table 2) in subgame between terrorist groups as a function of  $a$  and  $U$ . (Strategies in brackets are for  $[T_1, T_2]$ , respectively.)



**Figure 4** Game tree—subgame between governments. (Expected payoffs in brackets are for  $[G_1, G_2]$ , respectively.)

**Table 3** Possible equilibria for subgame between two governments

Cases	Strategies*	Payoffs*	Conditions
#1.	[D, (S, P)]	$[B-C, -B-p-r]$	$\{B \leq r(L-l), p \leq l(1-r)\}$
#2.	[D, (S, NP)]	$[B-C, -B-l]$	$\{B \leq L-l, p > l(1-r), B \leq p+rL-l\}$
#3.	[ND, (NS, P)]	$[0, -p-rL]$	$\{B > r(L-l), p \leq L(1-r), B > p+rL-l\}$
#4.	[ND, (NS, NP)]	$[0, -L]$	$\{B > L-l, p > L(1-r)\}$

\*Strategies and payoffs in brackets are for  $[G_1, G_2]$ , respectively.

3.2. Solution

Solving the sequential game specified in Section 3.1, we get the following equilibrium solutions as shown in Table 3 and Figure 5. There are four cases:

- (1) When the subsidy level is low ( $B \leq r(L-l)$ ) and the preparation cost is low ( $p \leq l(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will subsidize  $G_1$ , who will destroy the black market, and  $G_2$  will prepare for a WMD attack.
- (2) When the subsidy level is relatively low ( $B \leq \min\{L-l, p+rL-l\}$ ), and the preparation cost is relatively high ( $p > l(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will subsidize  $G_1$ , who will destroy the black market, and  $G_2$  will not prepare for a WMD attack.
- (3) When the subsidy level is relatively high ( $B > \max\{r(L-l), p+rL-l\}$ ), and the preparation cost is

relatively low ( $p \leq L(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will not subsidize  $G_1$ , who will not destroy the black market, and  $G_2$  will prepare for a WMD attack.

- (4) When the subsidy level is high ( $B > L-l$ ) and the preparation cost is high ( $p > L(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will not subsidize  $G_1$ , who will not destroy the black market, and  $G_2$  will not prepare for a WMD attack.

When the subsidy level is low ( $B \leq r(L-l)$ ) or high ( $B > L-l$ ) (Cases 1 and 4 in Table 3),  $G_2$ 's decision of subsidizing  $G_1$  does not directly depend on the preparation cost. However, the threshold for  $G_2$ 's decision of preparation increases to  $L(1-r)$  in Case 4 from  $l(1-r)$  in Case 1. This implies that when  $G_2$  subsidizes  $G_1$ , they are less likely to invest in the preparedness. Comparing Cases 2 and 3, when the subsidy level is medium ( $r(L-l) < B \leq L-l$ ), there is interdependency between the

decisions of subsidization and preparation. That is, if  $G_2$  does not subsidize  $G_1$ , at equilibrium they will prepare. If  $G_2$  does subsidize  $G_1$ , at equilibrium they will not prepare.

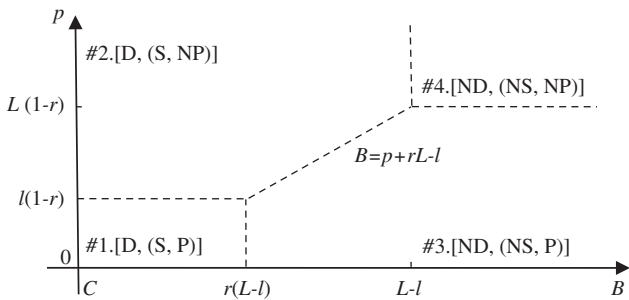
**4. Integrated game**

*4.1. Game formulation*

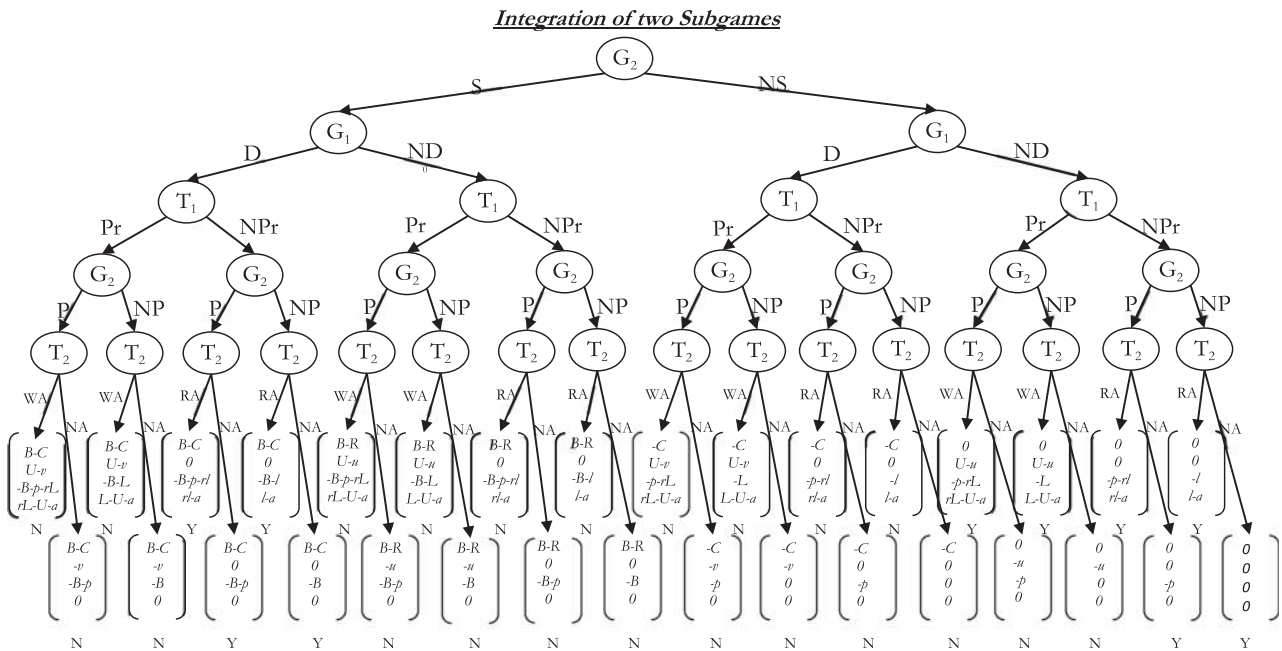
There are several interactions between two subgames studied in Sections 2–3. For example, the loss for  $G_2$  may depend on  $T_1$ 's decision of proliferating. The reverse is also true:  $T_1$ 's payoff may depend on  $G_1$ 's decision of destroying the black market. In particular, if  $G_1$  does not destroy the black market, it will be easier for  $T_1$  to proliferate WMDs to  $T_2$  (ie, proliferation cost is  $u < v$ ), thus making  $G_2$  more threatened by a WMD attack from  $T_2$ . Moreover,  $G_2$  could prepare for terrorist attacks and

lower the expected loss from attacks and thus lower the expected gain for  $T_2$  (eg, when  $T_2$  launches a regular attack,  $G_2$  will suffer a loss of  $l$ ). However, if  $G_2$  prepares for a terrorist attack, he will only suffer a loss of  $rl$ . Similarly, when  $T_2$  launches a WMD attack,  $G_2$  will suffer a loss of  $L$ . However, if  $G_2$  prepares for a terrorist attack, he will only suffer a loss of  $rL$ ). Therefore, we integrate these two subgames and compute overall equilibria.

The sequence of moves of the integrated game is shown in Figure 6:  $G_2$  chooses whether to subsidize  $G_1$  (S or NS),  $G_1$  chooses whether to destroy the black market (D or ND),  $T_1$  chooses whether to proliferate (Pr or NPr),  $G_2$  chooses whether to prepare (P or NP), and finally,  $T_2$  chooses whether to attack (WA or RA or NA). Besides assuming  $B \geq C$ , we assume that  $L - U > l > rL - U > rl$ . The left part of the inequality is equivalent to  $L > U + l$ ; that is, the loss from a WMD attack is greater than the sum of payment for facilitating proliferation and loss from a regular non-WMD attack. In other words, terrorist groups would prefer WMD attacks if possible. It is reasonable to assume that the gain for  $T_2$  from a regular attack is more than the gain for  $T_2$  from a WMD attack when  $G_2$  prepares ( $l > rL$ ), which implies the middle inequality  $l > rL - U$ . The right inequality  $rL - U > rl$  implies that the net gain for  $T_2$  from a WMD attack when  $G_2$  prepares after paying for proliferation is more than the gain for  $T_2$  from a regular attack when  $G_2$  prepares. Similarly, symbol  $N$  denotes a not possible equilibrium while  $Y$  denotes a possible equilibrium.



**Figure 5** Four possible equilibria (as specified in Table 3) in subgame between governments as a function of  $B$  and  $p$ . (Strategies in brackets are for  $[G_1, G_2]$ , respectively.)



**Figure 6** Game tree—integration of subgame between governments and subgame between terrorist groups. (Expected payoffs in brackets are for  $[G_1, T_1, G_2, T_2]$ , respectively.)

**Table 4** Expected payoffs\* for integrated game under eight conditions

Case 1: $G_2$ Subsidize $G_1$ (S), $G_1$ Destroy (D), and $T_1$ Proliferate (Pr)		
$G_2 \backslash T_2$	A WMD attack (WA)	Not attack (NA)
Prepare (P)	$[B-C, U-v, -B-p-rL, rL-U-a]$	$[B-C, -v, -B-p, 0]$
Not prepare (NP)	$[B-C, U-v, -B-L, L-U-a]$	$[B-C, -v, -B, 0]$
Case 2: $G_2$ Subsidize $G_1$ (S), $G_1$ Destroy (D), and $T_1$ Not proliferate (NPr)		
$G_2 \backslash T_2$	A regular attack (RA)	Not attack (NA)
Prepare (P)	$[B-C, 0, -B-p-rl, rl-a]$	$[B-C, 0, -B-p, 0]$
Not prepare (NP)	$[B-C, 0, -B-l, l-a]$	$[B-C, 0, -B, 0]$
Case 3: $G_2$ Subsidize $G_1$ (S), $G_1$ Not destroy (ND), and $T_1$ Proliferate (Pr)		
$G_2 \backslash T_2$	A WMD attack (WA)	Not attack (NA)
Prepare (P)	$[B-R, U-u, -B-p-rL, rL-U-a]$	$[B-R, -u, -B-p, 0]$
Not prepare (NP)	$[B-R, U-u, -B-L, L-U-a]$	$[B-R, -u, -B, 0]$
Case 4: $G_2$ Subsidize $G_1$ (S), $G_1$ Not destroy (ND), and $T_1$ Not proliferate (NPr)		
$G_2 \backslash T_2$	A regular attack (RA)	Not attack (NA)
Prepare (P)	$[B-R, 0, -B-p-rl, rl-a]$	$[B-R, 0, -B-p, 0]$
Not prepare (NP)	$[B-R, 0, -B-l, l-a]$	$[B-R, 0, -B, 0]$
Case 5: $G_2$ Not subsidize $G_1$ (NS), $G_1$ Destroy (D), and $T_1$ Proliferate (Pr)		
$G_2 \backslash T_2$	A WMD attack (WA)	Not attack (NA)
Prepare (P)	$[-C, U-v, -p-rL, rL-U-a]$	$[-C, -v, -p, 0]$
Not prepare (NP)	$[-C, U-v, -L, L-U-a]$	$[-C, -v, 0, 0]$
Case 6: $G_2$ Not subsidize $G_1$ (NS), $G_1$ Destroy (D), and $T_1$ Not proliferate (NPr)		
$G_2 \backslash T_2$	A regular attack (RA)	Not attack (NA)
Prepare (P)	$[-C, 0, -p-rl, rl-a]$	$[-C, 0, -p, 0]$
Not prepare (NP)	$[-C, 0, -l, l-a]$	$[-C, 0, 0, 0]$
Case 7: $G_2$ Not subsidize $G_1$ (NS), $G_1$ Not destroy (ND), and $T_1$ Proliferate (Pr)		
$G_2 \backslash T_2$	A WMD attack (WA)	Not attack (NA)
Prepare (P)	$[0, U-u, -p-rL, rL-U-a]$	$[0, -u, -p, 0]$
Not prepare (NP)	$[0, U-u, -L, L-U-a]$	$[0, -u, 0, 0]$
Case 8: $G_2$ Not subsidize $G_1$ (NS), $G_1$ Not destroy (ND), and $T_1$ Not proliferate (NPr)		
$G_2 \backslash T_2$	A regular attack (RA)	Not attack (NA)
Prepare (P)	$[0, 0, -p-rl, rl-a]$	$[0, 0, -p, 0]$
Not prepare (NP)	$[0, 0, -l, l-a]$	$[0, 0, 0, 0]$

\*Expected payoffs in brackets are for  $[G_1, T_1, G_2, T_2]$ , respectively.

Table 4 and Figure 6 illustrate the expected payoffs for this game. For example, as in Case 1 of Table 4 and indicated by the left-most branch in Figure 6, given  $G_2$  subsidizes  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$

destroys the black market and  $T_1$  proliferates, if  $G_2$  chooses to prepare and  $T_2$  chooses a WMD attack, the payoffs for  $[G_1, T_1, G_2, T_2]$  are  $[B-C, U-v, -B-p-rL, rL-U-a]$ .

**Table 5** Equilibrium solutions for the integrated game

Cases	Strategies*	Payoffs*	Conditions
#1.	[ND, Pr, (NS, P), WA] (Case 7 in Table 4)	$[0, U-u, -p-rL, rL-U-a]$	$\{U \geq v, p \leq L(1-r), a \leq rL-U\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, p \leq l(1-r), a \leq rl, B \geq r(L-l)\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, l(1-r) \leq p \leq B+l-rL, a \leq rl\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, p \leq l, rl \leq a \leq rL-U, B \geq rL\}$
#2.	[ND, Pr, (NS, NP), WA] (Case 7 in Table 4)	$[0, U-u, -L, L-U-a]$	$\{U \geq v, p > L(1-r), a \leq rL-U\}$ or $\{U \geq v, p > L, rL-U \leq a \leq L-U\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, p > L, rL-U \leq a \leq l, B \geq L-l\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, p > L(1-r), a \leq rL-U, B \geq L-l\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, p \geq L, l \leq a \leq L-U, B \geq L\}$
#3.	[ND, NPr, (NS, P), NA] (Case 8 in Table 4)	$[0, 0, -p, 0]$	$\{U \geq v, p \leq L, rL-U \leq a \leq L-U\}$ or $\{U < u, p \leq l, rl < a < l\}$ or $\{U \geq v, p > l, rL-U < a < l\}$
#4.	[ND, NPr, (NS, NP), RA] (Case 8 in Table 4)	$[0, 0, -l, l-a]$	$\{U < u, p > l, rl \leq a \leq l\}$ or $\{U < u, p > l(1-r), a \leq rl\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, l < p < L, rL-u < a < l\}$ or $\{U \geq v, l < p \leq L, rL-U < a < l\}$
#5.	[ND, NPr, (NS, NP), NA] (Case 8 in Table 4)	$[0, 0, 0, 0]$	$\{u \leq U < v, a > L-U\}$ or $\{U \geq v, a > L-U\}$ , or $\{U < u, a > l\}$ , or $\{u \leq U < v, p < L, l < a < L-U\}$
#6.	[D, NPr, (S, P), RA] (Case 2 in Table 4)	$[B-C, 0, -B-p-rl, rl-a]$	$\{u \leq U < v, p < l(1-r), a \leq rl, B \leq r(L-l)\}$
#7.	[D, NPr, (S, NP), RA] (Case 2 in Table 4)	$[B-C, 0, -B-l, l-a]$	$\{u \leq U < v, B+l-rL < p < L(1-r), a \leq rl\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, p > L(1-r), a \leq rL-U, B \leq L-l\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, l < p < L(1-r), rl \leq a \leq rL-U\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, p > L, rL-U \leq a \leq l, B \leq L-l\}$
#8.	[D, NPr, (S, P), NA] (Case 2 in Table 4)	$[B-C, 0, -B-p, 0]$	$\{u \leq U < v, p \leq l, rl \leq a \leq rL-U, B \leq rL\}$ or $\{u \leq U < v, p \leq l, rL-U \leq a \leq l\}$
#9.	[D, NPr, (S, NP), NA] (Case 2 in Table 4)	$[B-C, 0, -B, 0]$	$\{u \leq U < v, p \geq L, l \leq a \leq L-U, B \leq L\}$
#10.	[ND, NPr, (NS, P), RA] (Case 8 in Table 4)	$[0, 0, -p-rl, rl-a]$	$\{U < u, p \leq l(1-r), a \leq rl\}$

\*Strategies and payoffs in brackets are for  $[G_1, T_1, G_2, T_2]$ , respectively.

4.2. Solution

Solving the sequential game specified in Section 4.1, we get the following solution as shown in Table 5 and illustrated in Figure 7 (we only show the case of  $L(1-r) > l$ , the other case  $L(1-r) \leq l$  is analogous to Figure 7 and is omitted for space consideration). There are three possibilities: (a) when the proliferation payment from  $T_2$  to  $T_1$  is higher than or equal to its elevated cost given the black market is destroyed ( $U \geq v$ ); (b) when the proliferation payment is lower than its cost given the black market is not destroyed ( $U < u$ ); and (c) when the proliferation payment is medium ( $u \leq U < v$ ).

4.2.1. Possibility (a):  $U \geq v$ . From Table 5 and Figure 7 (a), we see that when the proliferation payment from  $T_2$  to  $T_1$  is higher than or equal to its elevated cost given the black market is destroyed ( $U \geq v$ ),  $T_1$  will proliferate when  $T_2$  chooses to attack. Therefore, at equilibria,  $G_2$  will always choose not to subsidize,  $G_1$  will always choose not to destroy the black market and  $T_1$  will choose to proliferate (Cases 1 and 2 in Table 5). Then, considering  $T_2$ 's equilibrium strategies, we have three cases: (1) when the attacking cost is low ( $a \leq rL-U$ ),  $T_2$  will always attack. When the preparation cost is low ( $p \leq L(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will prepare (Case 1). (2) When the

attacking cost is medium ( $rL-U < a \leq l$ ),  $T_2$ 's decision depends on  $G_2$ 's decision. When the preparation cost is low ( $p \leq l$ ),  $G_2$  will prepare and thus  $T_2$  will not attack (Case 3). In contrast, when the preparation cost is high ( $p > l$ ),  $G_2$  will not prepare and thus  $T_2$  will attack (Case 2). (3) When the attacking cost is high ( $a > l$  and  $p < L$ , or  $a > L-U$ ),  $G_2$  will not prepare and  $T_2$  will not attack (Case 5).

4.2.2. Possibility (b):  $U < u$ . From Table 5 and Figure 7 (b), we see that when the proliferation payment is lower than its cost given the black market is not destroyed ( $U < u$ ),  $T_1$  will not proliferate. Therefore, at equilibria,  $G_2$  will always choose not to subsidize,  $G_1$  will always choose not to destroy the black market and  $T_1$  will always choose not to proliferate (Cases 3, 4, 5, and 10 in Table 5). Then, considering  $T_2$ 's equilibrium strategies, we have three cases: (1) when the attacking cost is low ( $a \leq rl$ ),  $T_2$  will always attack (Cases 4 and 10). When the preparation cost is low ( $p \leq l(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will prepare (Case 10). (2) When the attacking cost is medium ( $rl < a \leq l$ ),  $T_2$ 's decision depends on  $G_2$ 's decision. When the preparation cost is low ( $p \leq l$ ),  $G_2$  will prepare and  $T_2$  will not attack (Case 3). (3) When the attacking cost is high ( $a > l$ ),  $G_2$  will not prepare and  $T_2$  will not attack (Case 5).



4.2.3. Possibility (c):  $u \leq U < v$ . From Table 5 and Figure 7 (c–e), there are three possibilities depending on the magnitude of  $B$ . We see that when the proliferation payment is medium ( $u \leq U < v$ ),  $T_1$ 's decision of proliferation depends on  $G_2$ 's decision of subsidizing  $G_1$  to destroy the black market. If  $G_2$  chooses to subsidize  $G_1$  to destroy the black market,  $T_1$  will not proliferate. If  $T_2$  will not attack,  $T_1$  will not proliferate. Otherwise,  $T_1$  will proliferate. One main difference among Figure 7 (c–e) is when  $p$  is low (eg,  $p < l(1-r)$  or  $p < B+l-rL$ ) and the attacking cost is low (eg,  $a \leq rl$ ), the equilibrium strategies are either [D, NPr, (S, P), RA] if  $B$  is low ( $B < r(L-l)$ ) or [ND, Pr, (NS, P), WA] if  $B$  is high ( $B \geq r(L-l)$ ). Another difference is when  $p$  is low (eg,  $p \leq l$ ) and the attacking cost is low (ie,  $rl \leq a \leq rL-U$ ), the equilibrium strategies are either [D, NPr, (S, P), NA] if  $B$  is low ( $B < rL$ ) or [ND, Pr, (NS, P), WA] if  $B$  is high ( $B \geq rL$ ). Considering  $T_2$ 's equilibrium strategies, we have five cases, which are illustrated in Figure 7.

(c<sub>1</sub>) The attacking cost is extremely low ( $a \leq rl$ ). In this case,  $T_2$  will always attack. When the preparation cost is extremely low ( $p \leq l(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will prepare, and if the subsidy level is low ( $B < r(L-l)$ ),  $G_2$  will subsidize  $G_1$  and  $G_1$  will destroy the black market (Case 6 in Table 5). Otherwise,  $G_2$  will not subsidize  $G_1$  and  $G_1$  will not destroy the black market

(Case 1). When the preparation cost is relatively low ( $l(1-r) < p \leq L(1-r)$  or  $B+l-rL < p \leq L(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will not prepare and in the meantime,  $G_2$  will subsidize  $G_1$  and  $G_1$  will destroy the black market (Case 7). When the preparation cost is relatively high ( $p > L(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will not prepare and if the subsidy level is low ( $B \leq L-l$ ),  $G_2$  will subsidize  $G_1$  and  $G_1$  will destroy the black market (Case 7). Otherwise,  $G_2$  will not subsidize  $G_1$  and  $G_1$  will not destroy the black market (Case 2).

(c<sub>2</sub>) The attacking cost is relatively low ( $rl < a \leq rL-U$ ). When the preparation cost is extremely or relatively low ( $p \leq l$ ),  $G_2$  will prepare,  $G_2$  will subsidize  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$  will destroy the black market, and  $T_2$  will not attack (Case 8 in Table 5). When the preparation cost is medium ( $l < p < L(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will not prepare,  $G_2$  will subsidize  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$  will destroy the black market,  $T_1$  will not proliferate and  $T_2$  will attack (Case 7). When the preparation cost is relatively high ( $p \geq L(1-r)$ ),  $G_2$  will not prepare and if the subsidy level is low ( $B \leq L-l$ ),  $G_2$  will subsidize  $G_1$  and  $G_1$  will destroy the black market and  $T_2$  will attack (Case 7). Otherwise,  $G_2$  will not subsidize  $G_1$  and  $G_1$  will not destroy the black market and  $T_2$  will attack (Case 2).

(c<sub>3</sub>) The attacking cost is medium ( $rL-U < a \leq l$ ). When the preparation cost is relatively low ( $p \leq l$ ),  $G_2$  will

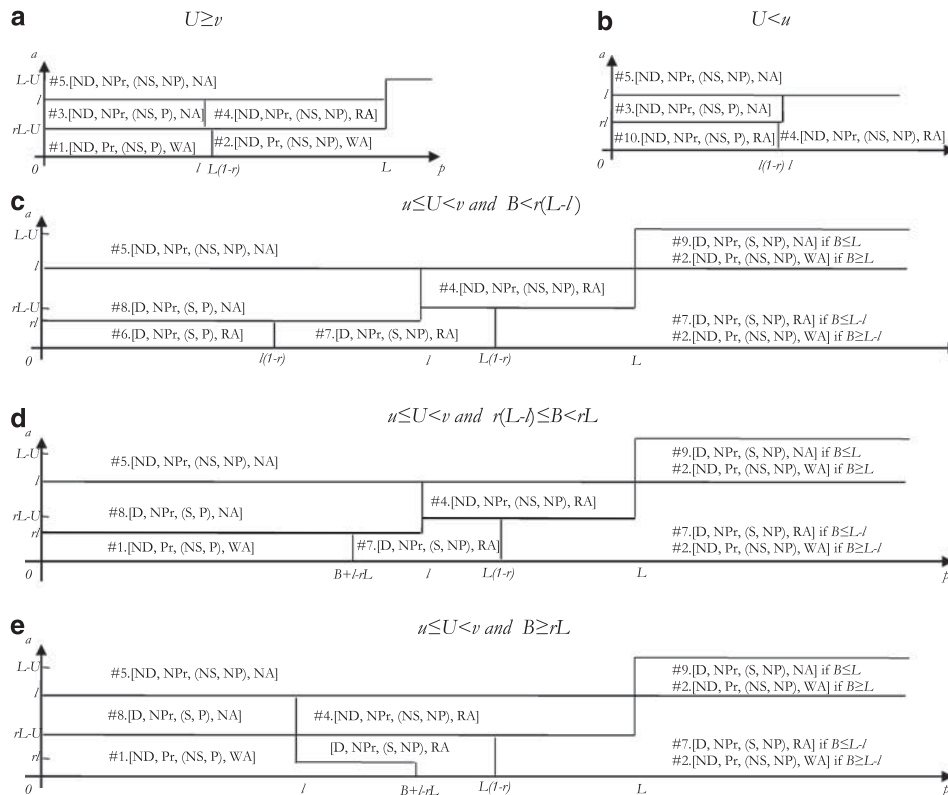


Figure 7 Possible equilibria (as specified in Table 5) in integrated game as a function of  $p$  and  $a$  when  $L(1-r) > l$ .

subsidize and prepare,  $G_1$  will destroy the black market, and  $T_2$  will not attack (Case 8 in Table 5). When the preparation cost is medium ( $l < p \leq L$ ),  $G_2$  will not prepare,  $G_2$  will not subsidize  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$  will not destroy the black market, and  $T_2$  will attack (Case 4). When the preparation cost is high ( $p > L$ ),  $G_2$  will not prepare and if the subsidy level is low ( $B \leq L - l$ ),  $G_2$  will subsidize  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$  will destroy the black market,  $T_2$  will attack (Case 7). Otherwise,  $G_2$  will not subsidize  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$  will not destroy the black market,  $T_2$  will attack (Case 2).

- (c<sub>4</sub>) The attacking cost is relatively high ( $l < a \leq L - U$ ).  $G_2$  will always not prepare. When the preparation cost is relatively low ( $p \leq L$ ),  $G_1$  will not subsidize  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$  will not destroy the black market and  $T_2$  will not attack (Case 5 in Table 5). When the preparation cost is high ( $p \geq L$ ), if  $B \geq L$ ,  $G_2$  will not prepare and will subsidize  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$  will destroy the black market and  $T_2$  will not attack (Case 9). Otherwise, if  $B < L$ ,  $G_2$  will not subsidize  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$  will not destroy the black market, and  $T_2$  will attack (Case 2).
- (c<sub>5</sub>) The attacking cost is extremely high ( $a > L - U$ ). In this case,  $T_2$  will not attack,  $G_2$  will not subsidize  $G_1$  and will not prepare, and  $G_1$  will not destroy the black market (Case 5 in Table 5).

We notice that in general, when  $p$  is high,  $G_2$  will not prepare; when  $p$  is low,  $G_2$  will prepare. When  $p$  is medium,  $G_2$ 's decision of preparation depends on its decision of subsidization. The desired equilibrium [D, NPr, (S, NP), NA] for the victim government can be obtained when the proliferation payment is medium ( $u \leq U < v$ ), the attacking cost is relatively high ( $l < a \leq L - U$ ) and the preparation cost is high ( $B < L \leq p$ , Case 9 in Table 5). In other words, under certain circumstances such as  $u \leq U < v$ ,  $l < a \leq L - U$  and  $B < L \leq p$ , the victim government could use the strategy of subsidy to deter the terrorist group from attacking.

**4.2.4. Branches that are not possible equilibria.** There are 22 branches that are not possible equilibria (branches marked 'N' in Figure 6). The four branches on the left (when  $G_2$  chooses to subsidize  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$  chooses to destroy the black market, and  $T_1$  chooses to proliferate) are not possible equilibria because when  $G_1$  chooses to destroy, it is generally not profitable/feasible for  $T_1$  to proliferate; and even if it was still profitable/feasible for  $T_1$  to proliferate, it would make  $G_2$ 's subsidy not worthwhile and thus  $G_2$  would not have subsidized  $G_1$  in the first place. Note that the middle 16 branches in Figure 6 (when  $G_2$  chooses to subsidize and  $G_1$  chooses not to destroy the black market, or when  $G_2$  chooses not to subsidize and  $G_1$  chooses to destroy the black market) are also not possible equilibria. This is because we assume that the reputation

loss for  $G_1$  is higher than the cost of destroying the black market, and as a result, if  $G_2$  subsidizes  $G_1$ ,  $G_1$  will only choose to destroy the black market. On the other hand, if  $G_1$  is not subsidized,  $G_1$  has no incentive to destroy the black market. Finally, the two branches on the right with negative payoff ( $-u$ ) for  $T_1$  can never be reached because when it is  $T_1$ 's turn to make a decision,  $T_1$  will not choose to proliferate if that leads to a negative payoff for  $T_1$ ; while choosing not to proliferate will lead to payoff 0.

## 5. Conclusion and future research directions

### 5.1. Conclusion

Terrorism with WMDs is an urgent threat to homeland security. One significant pattern in the development of terrorism and counter-terrorism is the intra-group collaboration between both governments (one potential WMD victim government subsidizes the host non-victim government, who could interfere with terrorist activities) and terrorist groups (one practical group who is handling the black market for profits proliferates to the other religion-based group to attack), and the inter-group competition between these two groups. The WMD proliferation process between terrorist groups is essentially a supply chain. Disrupting the upstream part in this terrorism supply chain could be a more effective mitigation strategy for the two governments than fighting with a WMD user (downstream terrorism supply chain player) directly. Game theory has been widely used to study strategic interactions between governments, and between one government and one terrorist group, but very few researchers have integrated them. In this paper, we studied a subsidization game between two governments and a proliferation game between two terrorist groups, and also integrated these two subgames to study how the victim government can mitigate WMD threats by subsidizing a host government to disrupt the terrorism supply chain in comparison to each subgame.

From the subsidization game between two governments, we find that when the condition is met such that the victim government subsidizes the host government for counter-terrorism activities at equilibrium, the victim government is less likely to prepare. Specifically, when the preparation cost or the subsidy level is medium, there is interdependency between the decisions of subsidizing and preparing. That is, given the subsidy level or the preparation cost is medium, if the victim government subsidizes the other government at equilibrium, they will not choose preparation as part of the equilibrium strategy. By contrast, from the proliferation game between the two terrorist groups, we find that the decisions of proliferation and attack depend on each other. The decision of proliferation not only depends on its reward and cost but also relates to the expected damage caused by the proliferated WMD. If the expected damage is higher, the

religion-based terrorist group is more likely to attack and thus is motivated to pay the practical terrorist group to proliferate.

From the integrated game, when proliferation profit is high or low, the practical terrorist group will proliferate and not proliferate, respectively, regardless of government decisions. Note that this result could not be found from the subsidization subgame between two governments, where the decision of subsidization merely depends on its cost. By contrast, when proliferation payment is medium, subsidizing the host government (to destroy the black market) directly determines whether proliferation will occur.

When the attacking cost is low, subsidization or preparation alone is never sufficient to deter attacks. The optimal strategy for the potential victim government is to both subsidize the host government and prepare for a WMD attack given these are not too costly. Therefore, subsidization is not an entire substitute for preparation. However, when the attacking cost is relatively high and the preparation cost is medium or high, subsidization alone can effectively deter attacks. Findings from our results may assist in government policymaking.

### 5.2. Discussion and future research directions

As a first step towards modelling this complex scenario involving strategic interactions among four players, this paper first employs a sequential game with a certain order of movements, assuming perfect and complete information. The next step might be to allow a continuous level of costs for destroying the black market. We could also model the possible retaliation of the victim government if the host country breaks the contract and fails to destroy the black market after receiving subsidy.

For simplicity, we assume the same preparation cost and the same success probability for both a WMD attack and a regular attack. In reality, the preparation cost would be much higher against a WMD attack than that against a regular attack. Similarly, the success probability of a WMD attack will be significantly lower than that of a regular attack. Moreover, games of incomplete information where asymmetric information of cost between governments and terrorist groups could be studied to provide additional insights and better reflect the real and complicated situations of cooperation and conflict among different parties of interest in terrorism and counterterrorism.

In this paper we mostly use binary decision variables for all the players as a first step towards tackling this important problem. However, in reality, players may make choices in a continuous manner (eg, Zhuang and Bier, 2007). For example, levels of proliferation, attack, defense, and subsidy could be continuous to model more realistic and interesting scenarios. Instead of subsidizing or not, the victim government might use a two-stage subsidy scheme

(ie, first provide small amounts of subsidies and second provide additional amounts according to the subsidized government's efforts in destroying the black market). This extension might be interesting because the victim government might be able to achieve more efficient cooperation with the host government through such a two-step subsidy mechanism. Finally, we could also consider a more complex terrorism supply chain network involving more than two terrorist groups.

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