

Collective Action or Exchange?: Framing International Cooperation in Alliance Politics

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**How do elite frames of allied military
spending affect public support for
cooperation in alliances?**

Why Should You Care?



1. Brief Argument Overview.

Outline

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2. Experimental Design.

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3. Results from Mechanical Turk pretest.

Argument

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1. **Collective Action:** Cooperate by contributing to some common/public good.
2. **Exchange:** Cooperate by trading different goods.

Framing Spending by Alliance Members

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1. **Collective Action:** Free-riding and disproportionate contributions.
2. **Exchange:** Trading different foreign policy goods-security for influence.

Predictions

When applied to low allied military spending:

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1. **Collective Action:** Reduces support for cooperation: conditional cooperation and exploitation aversion.

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2. **Exchange:** Greater support for cooperation: reciprocity.

Experimental Design

Emphasis

Attitudes towards NATO in the United States. Randomly assign neutral, collective action or exchange vignette about NATO and military spending.

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2. Support for withdrawal.
3. Support for nonintervention.

Vignettes

1. **Neutral:** The United States has an important role in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). NATO is a military alliance where members promise to support one another in war. According to an expert at the Council on Foreign Relations, a non-partisan think tank, some NATO members spend a smaller share of their resources on the military than the United States.

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2. **Collective Action:** adds *because the United States provides a disproportionate share of security resources for the whole alliance.*
3. **Exchange:** adds *because they support US initiatives and goals in international politics in exchange for US protection.*

Response Questions

1. **Favorability:** 1-5 scale from Very Unfavorable to Very Favorable.

Response Questions

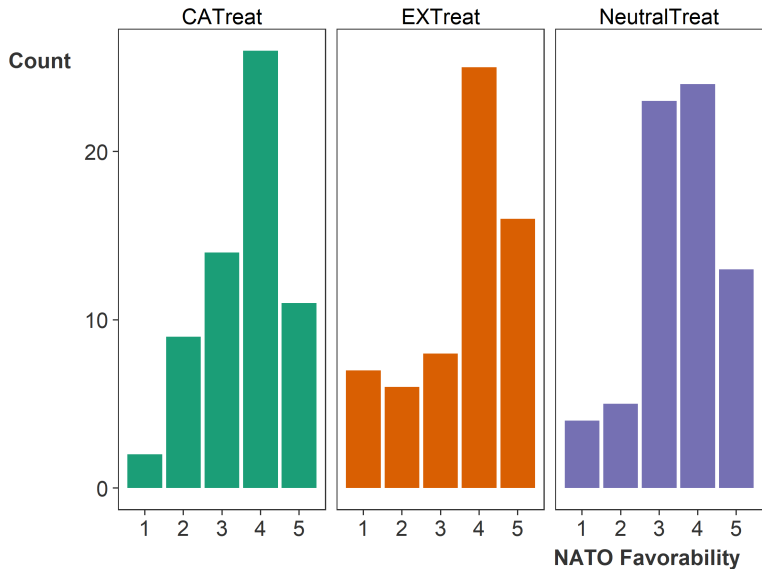
1. **Favorability:** 1-5 scale from Very Unfavorable to Very Favorable.
2. **Policy Response:** *What should US leaders do, if anything, in response to allied defense spending?:*
 - Cooperate more with allies in defense planning.
 - Nothing.
 - Give a verbal warning.
 - Impose economic sanctions.
 - Withdraw from the NATO alliance.

Response Questions

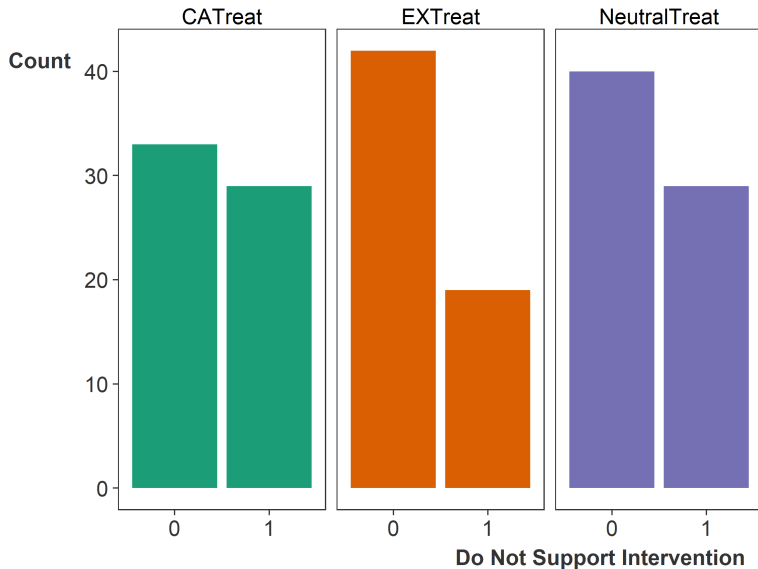
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3. **Intervention:** *If Russia got into a serious military conflict with one of its neighboring countries that is our NATO ally, do you think the United States should or should not use military force to defend that country?*

Pretest Results

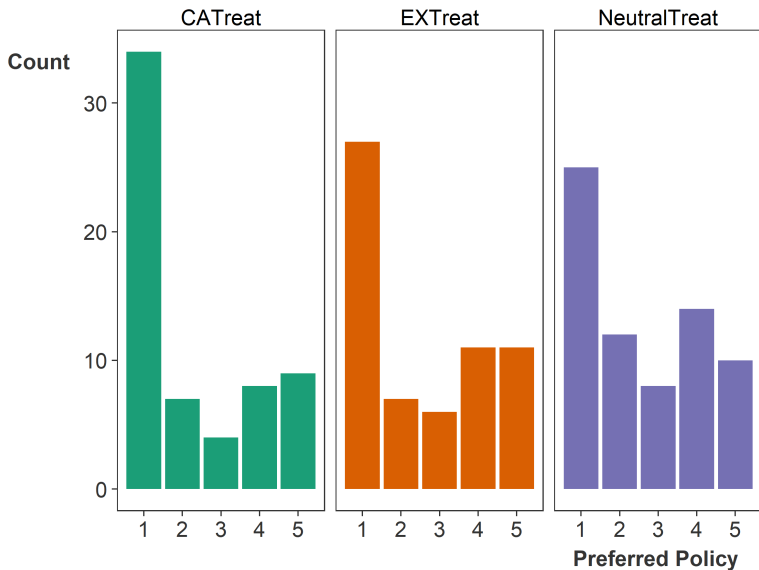
Favorability



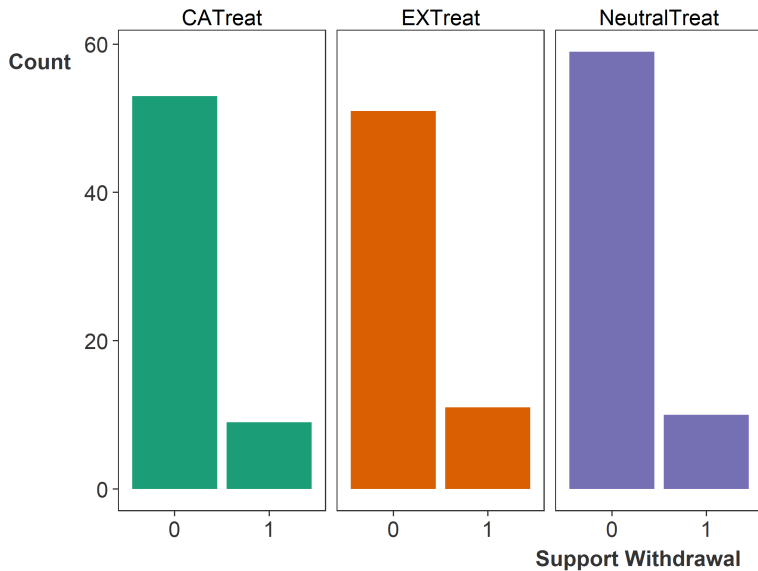
Nonintervention



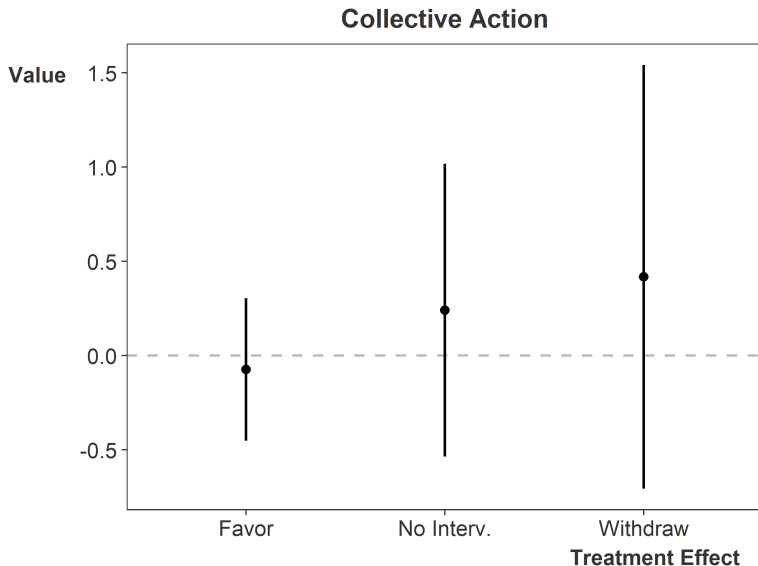
Preferred Policy Response



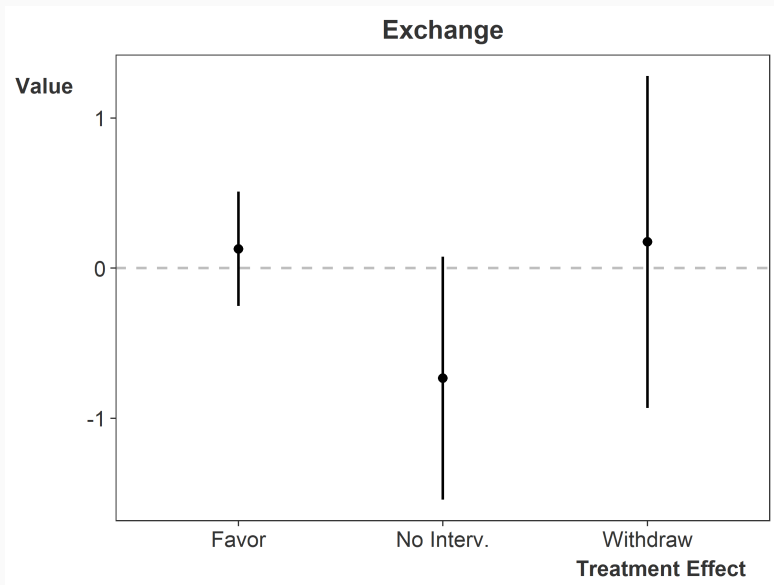
Withdrawal



Collective Action Treatment Effects



Exchange Treatment Effects



Conclusion

Mixed evidence at best: would love your thoughts on:

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2. The experimental design.

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2. The experimental design.
3. Anything else of note.

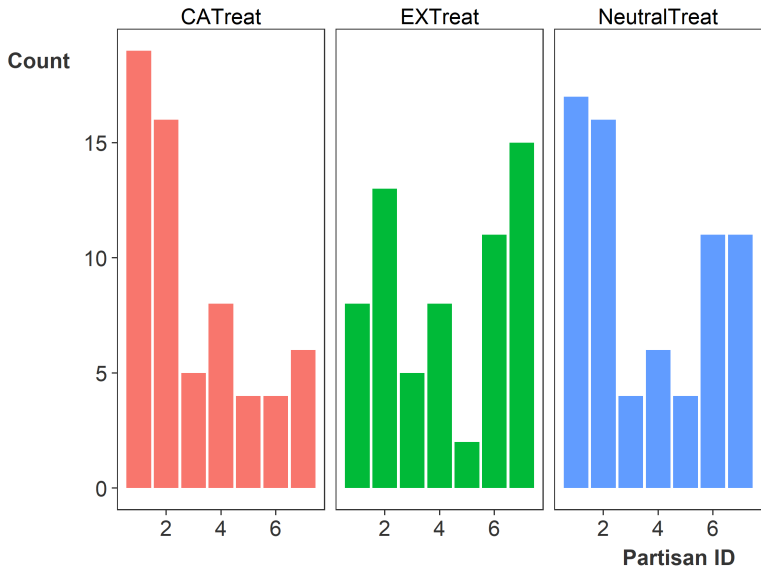
Demographic Variables/Controls

- Partisanship
- Ideology
- Foreign Policy Knowledge
- National Pride
- Military Service
- College Education

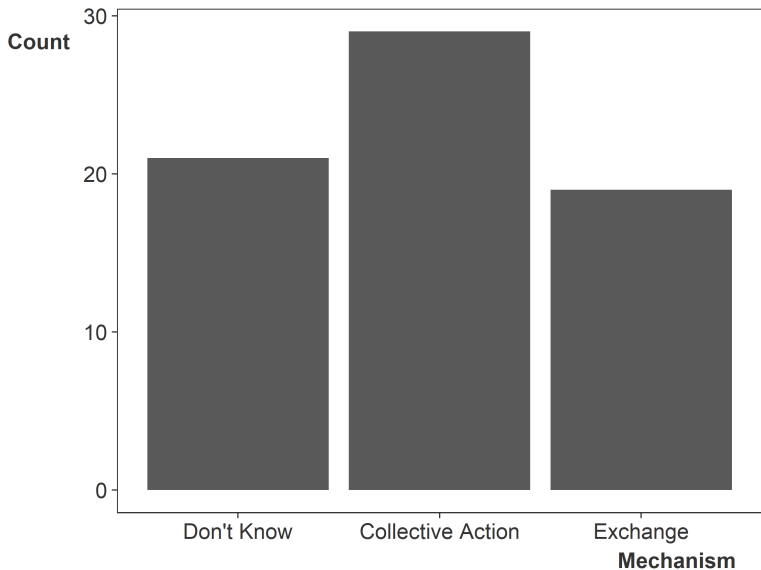
MTurk Sample Concerns

- Lots of Democrats
- Above-average education
- Above-average foreign policy knowledge.

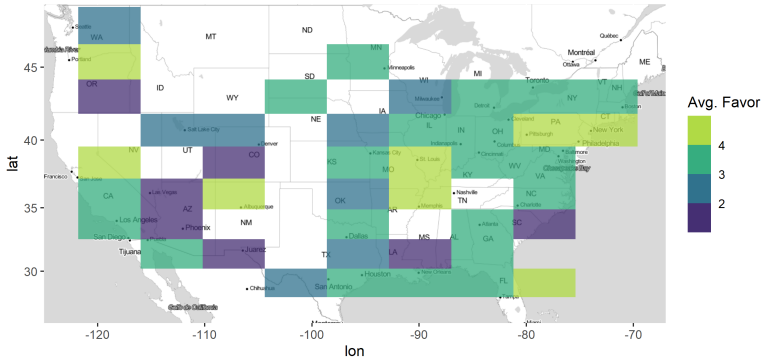
Partisanship by Group



Mechanism in Neutral Frame



Map of Favorability



Map of Support for Nonintervention

