

# Who Complies? International Agreements and Non-State Actors

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# Non-State Actors and International Agreements

- ▶ Pollution
- ▶ Terrorism
- ▶ Money Laundering
- ▶ Resource Use
- ▶ Narcotrafficking
- ▶ Intellectual Property

## Research Questions

- ▶ Why do states make agreements in which the locus of compliance is at the level of non-state actors?

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- ▶ Do such agreements influence non-state actor behavior?
- ▶ Can foreign powers use subsidies to build political order?

## State Capacity

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- ▶ For international cooperation to occur, states must have both the ability and will to adjust policy.
- ▶ Unilateral defection by non-state actors can decrease the ability of states to cooperate.

# Concepts

- ▶ Theoretical Concepts
  - ▶ Decisionmaking
  - ▶ Strategic interaction
  - ▶ Expectations
  - ▶ Learning

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- ▶ Theoretical Concepts
  - ▶ Decisionmaking
  - ▶ Strategic interaction
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  - ▶ Learning
- ▶ Theoretical Analogues
  - ▶ Utility maximization
  - ▶ Conditional Expectation
  - ▶ Bayesian Learning

## Set-Up

- ▶ State 1 and State 2 with available resources  $r_1$  and  $r_2$ , respectively.
- ▶ Nonstate actor (T) in State 1 who can engage in an activity that is costly to State 1 at the rate of  $\beta_1$  and to State 2 at the rate  $\beta_2$ . State 2 does not know  $\beta_1$ , the cost of T's activity to State 1.

## State Capacity & Subsidies

- ▶ State 2 can provide a subsidy to State 1,  $s \in [0, r_2]$
- ▶ State 1 can invest in enforcement,  $e \in [0, r_1 + s]$
- ▶ States consume resources they don't spend.

# Enforcement

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- ▶ Nonstate actor (T) is caught being non-compliant with probability  $q = f(e)$  where  $f(\cdot)$  is an increasing function in  $e$  which maps  $e \in [0, \infty)$  onto  $q \in [0, 1]$  s.t.  $f(e = 0) = 0$ ,  $f(e)$  is right continuous, and  $\lim_{e \rightarrow \infty} f(e) = 1$

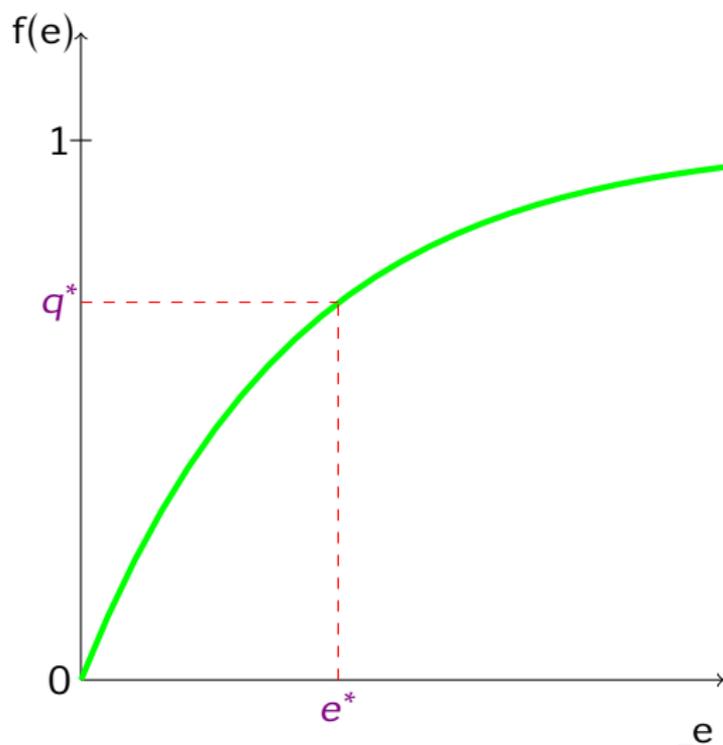
## Enforcement

- ▶ If T complies, they receive payoff from "normal commerce"  
 $l \in [0, \infty)$
- ▶ If T doesn't comply, they receive payoff from illicit activity  
 $b \in (l, \infty)$
- ▶ Therefore T complies if  $q \geq q^* = 1 - \frac{l}{b}$

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 $b \in (l, \infty)$
- ▶ Therefore T complies if  $q \geq q^* = 1 - \frac{l}{b}$
- ▶ The necessary investment in enforcement to deter T, a "robust" enforcement policy, is  $e \geq e^* = f^{-1}(q^*)$

# Enforcement



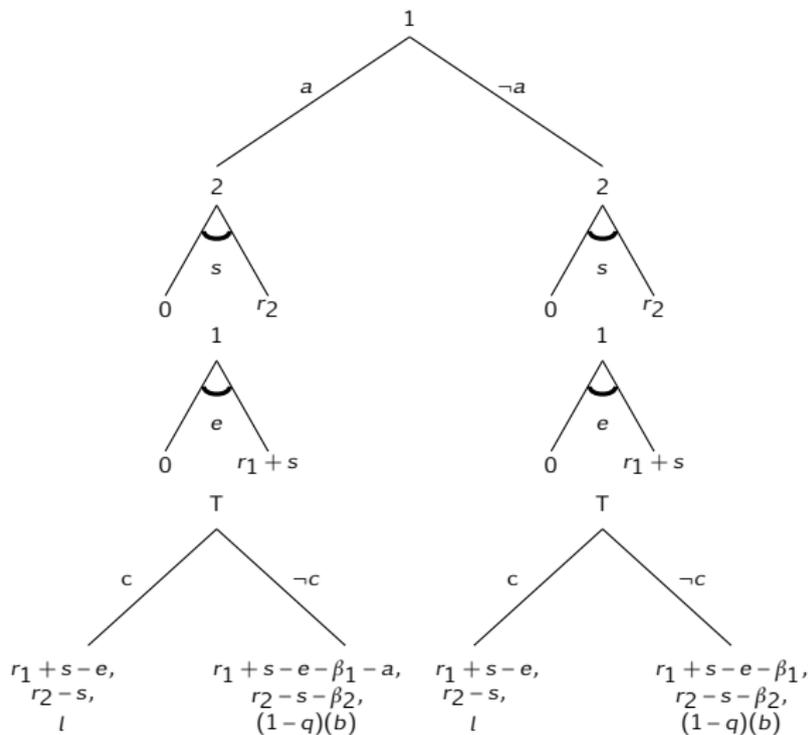
## International Agreements and the Aid Recipients Commitment Problem.

- ▶ Because 2 doesn't know how much interest 1 has in curbing T's behavior ( $\beta_1$ ), they do not know that subsidies provided will go to enforcement rather than consumption.
- ▶ If non-state actors are non-compliant and State 1 signed an international agreement, they suffer a reputation cost, a.

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- ▶ Because 2 doesn't know how much interest 1 has in curbing T's behavior ( $\beta_1$ ), they do not know that subsidies provided will go to enforcement rather than consumption.
- ▶ If non-state actors are non-compliant and State 1 signed an international agreement, they suffer a reputation cost,  $a$ .
- ▶ Therefore signing an agreement allows weak states to commit to use subsidies on enforcement.

# Game Tree



## PBNE: Case I and II - Separation

If  $r_1 < e^*$  and  $a \geq e^* - r_1$  (Case I and II)

$$S_1 \begin{cases} \text{Don't agree and } e = 0 \text{ if } \beta_1 < r_1 \text{ (Case I)} \\ \text{agree and } e = e^* \text{ else (Case II)} \end{cases}$$

$$S_T \begin{cases} \text{Don't Comply if } e < e^* \text{ (Case I)} \\ \text{Comply else (Case II)} \end{cases}$$

$$S_2 \begin{cases} s = 0 \text{ if 1 doesn't agree (Case I)} \\ s = e^* - r_1 \text{ else (Case II)} \end{cases}$$

Beliefs: If 1 agrees, 2 believes  $\beta_1 \geq r$ , If 1 doesn't agree, 2 believes  $\beta_1 < r$

## PBNE: Case III and IV - Pooling (High Trust)

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If  $r_1 < e^*$  and  $a < e^* - r_1$

$$\text{When } \hat{p} \geq \frac{e^* - r_1}{\beta_2}$$

$$S_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Agree and } e = 0 \text{ if } \beta_1 < e^* - a \text{ (Case III)} \\ \text{agree and } e = e^* \text{ else (Case IV)} \end{array} \right.$$

$$S_T \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Don't Comply if } e < e^* \text{ (Case III)} \\ \text{Comply else (Case IV)} \end{array} \right.$$

$$S_2 \left\{ s = e^* - r_1 \right.$$

Beliefs: 2 doesn't learn anything from 1's actions.

## PBNE: Case III and IV - Pooling (Low Trust)

If  $r_1 < e^*$  and  $a < e^* - r_1$   
 When  $\hat{p} < \frac{e^* - r_1}{\beta_2}$

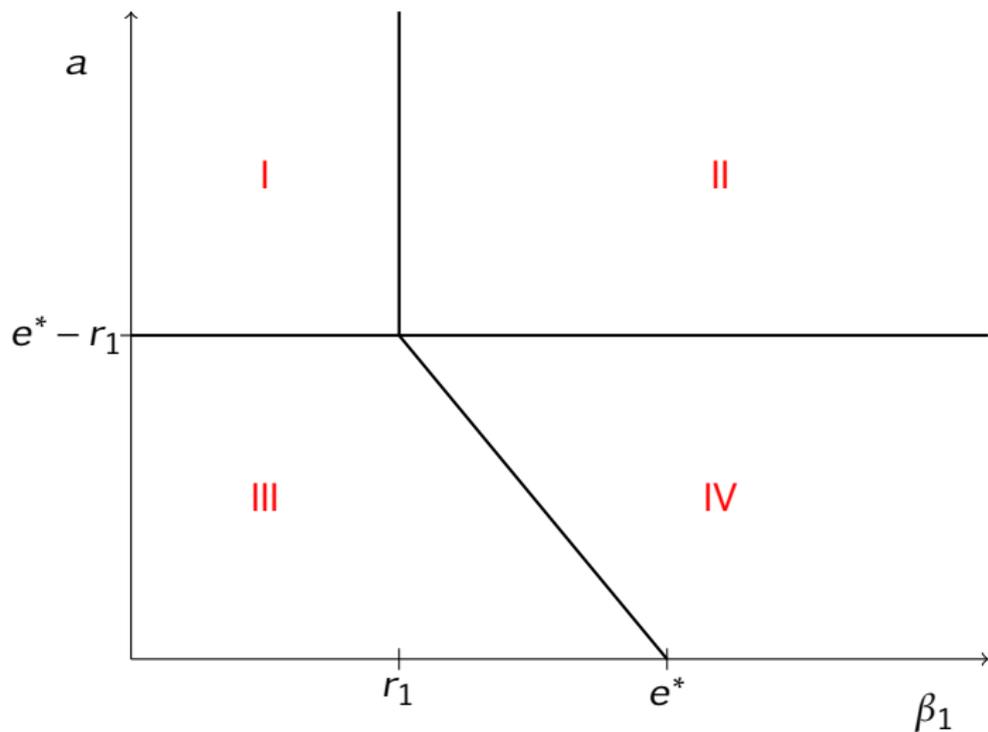
$S_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Don't agree and } e = 0 \text{ if } \beta_1 < e^* - a \text{ (Case III)} \\ \text{Don't agree and } e = 0 \text{ if } \beta_1 \geq e^* - a \text{ and } s < e^* - r \text{ (Case IV)} \\ \text{Don't agree and } e = e^* \text{ else} \end{array} \right.$

$S_T \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Don't Comply if } e < e^* \\ \text{Comply else} \end{array} \right.$

$S_2 \left\{ s = 0 \text{ (no subsidy)} \right.$

Beliefs: 2 doesn't learn anything from 1's actions.

## Equilibrium Space: $r_1 < e^*$



## PBNE: Case V and VI

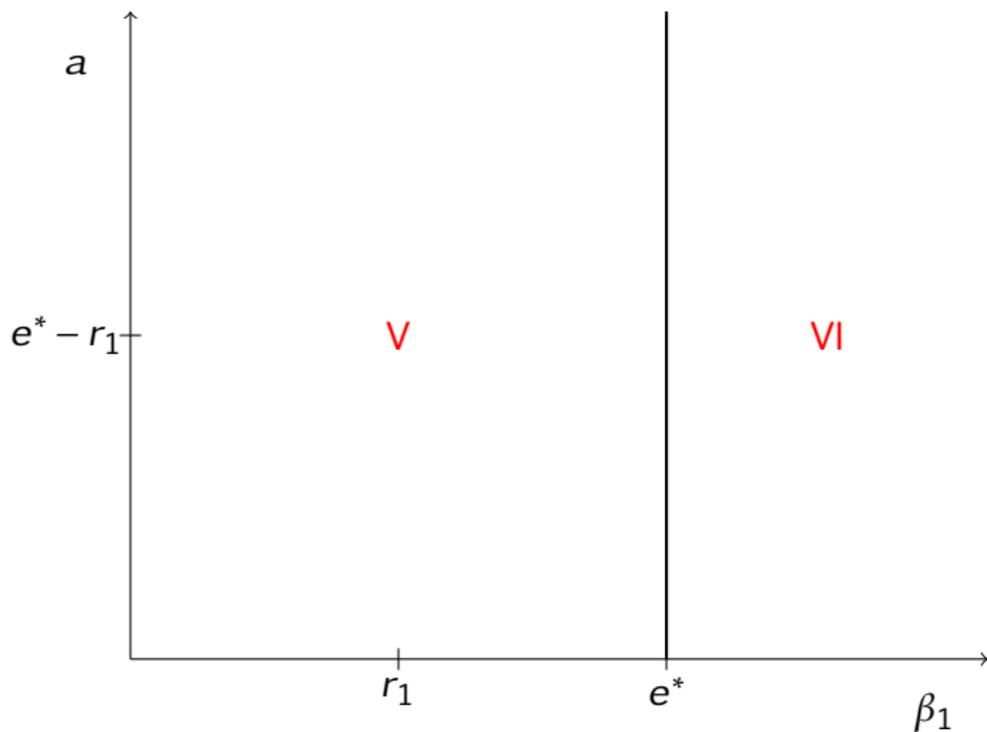
If  $r_1 \geq e^*$

$$S_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Don't agree and } e = 0 \text{ if } \beta_1 < e^* \text{ (Case V)} \\ \text{Agree and } e = e^* \text{ if } \beta_1 \geq e^* \text{ (Case VI)} \end{array} \right.$$

$$S_T \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Don't Comply if } e < e^* \text{ (Case V)} \\ \text{Comply else (Case VI)} \end{array} \right.$$

$$S_2 \left\{ s = 0 \text{ (no subsidy)} \right.$$

## Equilibrium Space: $r_1 \geq e^*$



## Summary

- ▶ Weak states can use international agreements to credibly commit to use foreign aid for its intended purpose.
- ▶ High capacity states are indifferent between joining international agreement or not when they expect to comply because they do not expect to receive subsidies from other states.

# Hypotheses

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- ▶ For weak states, as the cost of breaking agreement increases ( $a$ ), Compliance rate increases.
- ▶ Joining an agreement should increase compliance in weak states, but should have less, or no significant impact on noncompliance in strong states.
- ▶ Weak states ( $r < e^*$ ) who join agreements receive more issue specific foreign aid than those who do not.

# Hypotheses

- ▶ Issue specific aid is effective when given to states who join strong agreements ( $a > e^* - r$  or  $a > e^* - B_1$ )
- ▶ Weak states are more likely to join an agreement than small states.

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- ▶ Issue specific aid is effective when given to states who join strong agreements ( $a > e^* - r$  or  $a > e^* - B_1$ )
- ▶ Weak states are more likely to join an agreement than small states.
- ▶ In weak agreements ( $a < e^* - r$ ) trust increases, aid is more likely to be used for consumption rather than enforcement.

# Statistical Concepts

- ▶ Nominal choice
- ▶ Random utility maximization
- ▶ Selection effects

## Next Steps and Extensions

- ▶ Reciprocity

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- ▶ Reciprocity
- ▶ Spoilers
- ▶ Compliance Rates

# Conclusion

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- ▶ Foreign Powers and Political Order
- ▶ Aid Allocation and Effectiveness