Singh's primary theoretical aspiration is to further efforts to inject the study of racism and cultural orientations into the field of international relations. The book's boldest statement is surely the following: "At a broad level, the entire history of North–South trade may be read as a history of racial codes" (p. 47). In setting up the empirical findings, Chapter 2 draws a straight line from Western colonialism to the North's preferences and behavior in multilateral trade forums. Given its boldness, this book will become a crucial and oft-cited contribution to research on the intersection of race and international relations. But a work that is this bold is unlikely to convince on all fronts.

Most importantly, *Sweet Talk* does not always persuade the reader of the theoretical, explanatory payoff of the race and paternalism perspective. Only some of the case studies clarify and demonstrate precisely how a North that is motivated by racially tinged cultural preferences acts differently from a (hypothetical) North that is motivated strictly by strategic and political-economy demands (pp. 3, 129, 168). For a book that aspires to bring racial attitudes and culture to the forefront of the North's trade preferences, the (otherwise compelling) case studies are too silent on these matters. At times, the side payments themselves are taken to be prima facie evidence of the North's racially coded motivations (p. 137), but the mere presence of this common negotiating tactic is insufficient to signal racial paternalism.

Moreover, Singh's working definition of paternalism—so crucial to his argument—is vague and hard to decipher. Typically, scholars define paternalism as the notion that person A thinks s/he knows better than B what is best for B, although in practice, the concept is also applied to notions of putatively benevolent prejudice (e.g., Africans are like meek children). The author deploys the term, both in definition and in measurement, in a host of ways, only some of which are loosely related to these standard conceptualizations. One definition is unilateral handouts and side payments by the North to the South, such as the granting of quotas to one's friends and strategic allies (pp. 21, 129). Another definition is benevolent speech about the global poor (pp. 1, 14), which is contradicted by another one that includes "strongly negative . . . feelings toward sets of people" (p. 34). Still another is based on an apparent merger of these two, operationalizing paternalism as a "moralistic, preachy or patronizing" discourse about the South (p. 86), as exemplified by blaming the South for blocking liberalization efforts (p. 137). (In a book that is otherwise qualitatively rich, examples of paternalistic speech, along with explanations for precisely why they are paternalistic, are relatively absent.)

Singh's least defensible definition of paternalism, however, is political and cultural similarity to the United States. He develops a "paternalism strength index" (PSI) that is a quantitative, country-level indicator used in multiple chapters. The PSI is a composite of factors that include a country's cultural similarity to the United States (itself comprised of variables such as "the degree of inequality in society" and "connections of people to each other"), its similarity to the United States in UN General Assembly voting, and the concentration of its export markets (pp. 96–97). The author declines to explicate how any of these factors measure paternalism, or even how entire societies and nation-states can be deemed more or less paternalistic in the first place. He shows the indicator to be negatively correlated with the degree of agricultural trade concessions granted. Because the indicator is largely a proxy for societal wealth and proximity to the North, however, it is hard to see this finding as anything more than a restatement of the descriptive claim that rich countries concede less.

Still, *Sweet Talk* is a sweeping and ambitious work. It provides a valuable map and hypothesis for understanding the contours of international trade negotiations and outcomes over the past several decades. It will exert an important influence on scholarly understandings of trade and race in international relations.

European Civil Society and Human Rights Advocacy. By Markus Thiel. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017. 208p. $59.95 cloth.

Strategies of Compliance with the European Court of Human Rights: Rational Choice within Normative Constraints. By Andreas von Staden. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. 352p. $ 89.95 cloth.
doi:10.1017/S1537592719000859

— Jeffrey T. Checkel, *European University Institute*

Recent events in Europe—the rise of nationalist/populist governments and movements (some of which harbor xenophobic and anti-Semitic elements), the reaction to the refugee crisis, the Turkish government's response to a failed coup attempt—highlight the continent's deficiencies and backsliding on human rights. Somewhat paradoxically, these events have played out against a backdrop of European regional protections for rights that have perhaps never been stronger. Most notably, alongside the institutions and human rights law of the Council of Europe, the European Union has moved to give itself the juridical (Charter of Fundamental Rights) and institutional (Fundamental Rights Agency) means for addressing human rights as well.

The two books under review—both new additions to the Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights series—address this institutional complexity in largely complementary ways. In *European Civil Society and Human Rights Advocacy*, Markus Thiel examines civil society and human rights as applied to the EU and its rights institutions; theorizes in an eclectic way that brings together insights from normative, democratic, and international relations

(IR) theory; and with a stress on critical analysis, legitimacy, and his "own positionality in the process" (Preface), grounds the book in an interpretive ethos. Andreas von Staden, in *Strategies of Compliance with the European Court of Human Rights*, considers the Council of Europe and its Court; advances a tightly theorized rational-choice/constructivist IR argument; and with an emphasis on data sets, causality, and considering alternative explanations, grounds his work in positivism. In addition and on a more critical note, both books share a structure and design—where theory and data are kept largely separate—that makes it difficult for readers to assess the plausibility of their core analytic claims.

To begin with Thiel's exploration of civil society and the EU's rights institutions, this is an important, bottom-up (social actors shaping regional dynamics) view on rights promotion, governance, and democratic legitimacy in Europe. The focus is on how, by purposeful design, the Union's Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA)—founded in 2007 as a result of the Lisbon Treaty—seeks to empower civil society actors in the promotion of human rights. The book's core provides one-stop shopping on the FRA: Chapter 3 is a nice overview of the agency and how it functions, while chapters 4 (interviews) and 5 (survey) present fascinating data on how civil society actors both experience and use the FRA for rights promotion.

If these chapters are easy and insightful reading, the same unfortunately does not hold for the analytic sections (Chapter 2, Conclusion), with two factors limiting the theoretical power of Thiel's book. First, the theory chapter ("Theorizing Rights Advocacy through European CSOs") will be heavy-going for most readers. Partly, and to the author's credit, this is a function of the richness of the theory on offer, combing insights from literatures—IR theory, political sociology of the EU—that often tend to ignore one another. However, the main problem with the theorizing is that it leads to "three legitimacy-centered research propositions" (pp. 41–44) that are so broad and poorly specified that one is left wondering how they will inform the subsequent analysis. The first proposition, for example, is that "the insertion of CSOs [civil-society organizations] will have a transformative impact on agenda-setting in the EU Fundamental Rights Agency" (p. 42). This leaves the reader asking for more: How will "insertion" and "transformative impact" be operationalized and measured?

Second, despite claims (pp. 44, 69) that these research propositions will be probed and tested in the book's empirical core, this never happens. Instead, the propositions only reappear in the concluding chapter (pp. 159–64), where it is asserted, but not shown, that the empirical chapters provide evidence for them. Put differently, the book—apparently by design—exhibits a disconnect between theory and data. Readers thus cannot tell what work the theory actually does.

Turning to *Strategies of Compliance with the European Court of Human Rights*, von Staden develops a theory to explain why liberal democracies in Europe might comply with judgments of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). The theorizing and data collection—"an ambitious data set that covers the compliance status of all European Court of Human Rights judgments rendered until 2015" (dust cover)—are the main strengths of the book. The theory chapter, in particular, is a model of how to develop a plural (rational choice + constructivist), top-down (Court to national-level) argument on compliance that is then operationalized in the specific context of European liberal democracies. Readers will finish the chapter saying "Aha, so that's what the argument will look like when applied to his empirics."

Those empirics are two extended case studies—six chapters on the United Kingdom, followed by four chapters on Germany—in each instance, exploring the country's compliance record. While these 10 chapters make for a nuanced and detailed analysis of ECtHR rulings and national-level compliance, they share a frustrating trait with *European Civil Society*: The theory largely goes missing. There are some weak reconnects to the theory in Chapter 7 (for the UK), Chapter 11 (Germany), and in the concluding chapter. However, these key analytic sections are simply too short (three pages each) to demonstrate clear linkages between the theory and the data.

Another challenge when it comes to testing von Staden's compliance theory is the missing process-level data and methods that are needed to assess its plausibility. As a result, the extended case studies basically document correlations between compliance and the normative and rational-choice elements to his argument. Indeed, he is on particularly weak ground in claiming that normative motivations for compliance cannot be measured and observed (p. 44)—an assertion disproved by any number of constructivist studies utilizing fieldwork and interview/textual/process-tracing methods (e.g., see Alastair Iain Johnston, *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980–2000*, 2008).

To criticize von Staden in this way is, in fact, a testimony to the clarity of both his theory and design. The theory chapter (Chapter 1) is so clear and operational that a reader will finish it knowing exactly what to look for in the case studies. When the latter end up falling short on the actual theory testing, that same reader will quickly see and understand the limitations of the analysis.

Taken together, the two books are a welcome addition to the growing body of work on compliance and human rights in Europe. Readers will learn much about the two main human rights actors on the continent—the Council of Europe and the European Union—and the tools they use to promote and defend those rights: the European Court of Human Rights and the Fundamental Rights

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Agency. While neither book is perfect, which is anyway rarely the case, they provide both new theory and data from which others working in this area can only profit.

At a deeper level, each book demonstrates the power and limitations of its epistemological priors. Thiel, the interpretivist, weaves together a rich and deep theoretical argument and is quite conscious of his own role in shaping what he studies, but he is weak on operationalization and measurement. In contrast, von Staden's positivist study theorizes narrowly (pulling existing theory off the shelf and tweaking it)but does not know how to measure what it cannot see (constructivist/normative compliance pull), yet it does a superb job at operationalization and data collection.

These offsetting strengths and weaknesses suggest that we might learn more—in this case, on human rights and compliance—if researchers moved outside their comfort zones and worked across epistemological boundaries. For many reasons, the latter is not easy, but when done well, the payoff is high (e.g., see Ted Hopf and Bentley B. Allan, eds., *Making Identity Count: Building a National Identity Database*, 2016). However, recognizing that this will likely be an (epistemological) step too far for most scholars, we should thus commend Thiel and von Staden for what they do—providing contrasting (political-sociology/interpretive, mainstream-IR/positivist) takes on the institutional and social bases of human rights in Europe.

Outsourcing Welfare: How the Money Immigrants Send Home Contributes to Stability in Developing Countries. By Roy Germano. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. 240p. $29.95 cloth.
doi:10.1017/S1537592719000070

— Michael D. Tyburski, *Kansas State University*

In the present political climate, it is difficult not to read Roy Germano's book as a warning. With the rise in nationalistic rhetoric in some wealthy democracies focused on erecting barriers to migration, *Outsourcing Welfare* points to the serious harm that building walls may cause to people living in poorer states. Germano posits that individuals' courageous efforts to emigrate and send money home create a transnational safety net that substitutes for, or complements what remains of, state subsidies and social welfare payments that governments dismantled as a part of market reform (p. 19). This safety net reduces its beneficiaries' economic grievances and improves their assessments of incumbent governments' performances. These effects, he argues, reduce the likelihood of political instability and the appeal of leftist populism.

Germano tests his expectations by combining ethnography and survey research conducted in Mexico with an analysis of large public surveys from Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, and the Middle East. Thus, the book both adds to the growing literature on remittances and individual political preferences and posits a micro-level explanation for the aggregate positive association between remittances and political stability in recipient states. This, combined with its timeliness, magnifies the substantive importance, theoretical implications, and methodological contributions of this work.

The book is organized into seven chapters, with Chapter 1 highlighting how the politics of austerity during the 1990s created the welfare gap that remittances fill. Here, Germano's primary contribution is conceptual, comparing remittances to social welfare payments. This is a theoretically important distinction, as previous research has binned migrant remittances together with official development assistance and natural resource wealth. While it is true that all three might relieve economic pressure on governments, remittances flow across borders directly to families, helping them meet their consumption needs during economic hard times. Germano is not the first to note remittances' countercyclical, consumption-smoothing properties. However, he is among the first to make the comparison to social welfare payments so clearly, using both survey and interview data.

Chapters 2 and 3 present the theoretical framework and mechanisms between remittances and political stability. Germano traces the Mexican state's retrenchment of agricultural subsidies and subsequent dependence on migration as a de facto social policy in rural areas. As NAFTA began and agricultural supports ended, small-plot coffee farmers, pork producers, and other displaced workers sought work in the United States to mitigate their economic pain. Germano's in-depth interviews convincingly support his argument that remittances fill a welfare gap, reducing both economic grievances and demand for state-provided assistance. Respondents declare that, although their towns certainly suffered, remittances "lift the mood," helping people to feel less uncertain and anxious (p. 56). Further, community members benefiting from remittances describe their towns as "very laid back," and less concerned with what the state does or does not do (p. 57). Why worry about approaching the government for relief when a text message to a relative working in the United States will provide a quick and effective solution? Germano then poignantly presents his counterfactual, comparing his study areas to similar regions in the South where geographic distance made migration to the U.S. costlier. There, decidedly more anxious farmers formed the Zapatista movement and declared war on the Mexican state.

Original survey data analyzed in Chapter 3 further support the author's expectations; however, the quantitative evidence appears less impressive. Germano usefully leverages his survey to construct a richer measure of remittances' household significance. His remittance index improves upon standard measures of household significance by differentiating low-income households that