

One of the most insightful segments of the book is the author's discussion of belief in God. He argues that this is a crucial theme in Kant's ethics, politics, aesthetics, teleology, and anthropology. This fact arguably poses problems for Kantians because God is accessible only through Christian theology and thematics. Molloy identifies the first as the tendency of Kantians to extend both Kant and his ideas as a "master" and the provider of resources for international relations. This extension of Kant and his ideas is seldom possible without the near-deceitful posture of pretending that Kant's ideas are not at base "political theology" derived from Christianity. This allows Kantians to propose Kant's ideas as a secular emancipatory script. Neither of these would be problematic if the nonsecular nature of other (non-Western) texts and modes of thought did not emerge as a point of contention. This fact is particularly salient with Islam and other supposed nonenlightened thought. Secondly, Kantians seems to substitute Europe for God in Kant's affirmation of God as the "orderer" of the universe. Consistently, the (European) God reigns supreme today even if in different modulations: for instance, by assuming greater than ordinary powers—and therefore quasi-imperial privileges—for Europe as a matter of reason, pragmatism, and deference. The inescapable conclusion is that the imaginary of ethics is the extension of a peculiar monotheistic tradition.

I take this latter point to be the most significant insight and an area of vulnerability of cosmopolitanism today, that is the blurring of the line between moralism and ethics and between the moral intellectual and the intellectual moralist. This is an important point to make and Molloy makes it poignantly.

Still, Molloy's arguments are at times mistaken. Regrettably, the book fails to transcend the Eurocentrism and Christian thematic of cosmopolitanism today. For instance, historically, the questions of being and becoming, and morality and freedom, figured prominently in moral reflections around the world. Not only were the questions of hospitality and moral laws matters of concern in most commercial societies around the world, but related thought also relied on theological and spiritual considerations. For example, the famed Silk Road, its industries of hospitality (including the caravanserais), the letter of credit, and other early instruments of capitalism existed outside Europe: in today's China, Persia, Southeast and South Asia, so-called Arabia, the "Barbary Coast," and the Indian Ocean, among other places. The comparative point for Molloy and his Kantian nemeses is that deliberations outside of Europe had distinct logical or metaphysical predicates, moral and ethical precepts, and therefore distinct propositions for peaceful coexistence. A contrast or comparison that highlighted some of these differences would have helped clarify further the limits of Kant's political theology without dismissing it or the associated

faculties. The lack of the required historical analysis is itself indicative of a troubling blind spot in Eurocentric critical traditions: to remain inherently tethered to the historical context, temporalities, and hermeneutics of the works that they set out to critique. This is indeed regrettable.

I wish, in concluding, to restate a point made in the beginning. Molloy's book is an invaluable contribution to Kant's scholarship in the discipline. Specifically, it rightly compels cosmopolitans to reconsider some of their own assumptions. For these and other reasons, I would more than recommend *Kant's International Relations*. I will personally assign it to my own graduate classes in the years to come because it adds substantially to ongoing debate on peace and the means to it.

The Performance of International Courts and Tribunals.

Edited by Theresa Squatrito, Oran R. Young, Andreas Follesdal, and Geir Ulfstein. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. 470p. \$140.00 cloth.

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— Alexander Thompson, *Ohio State University*

The proliferation of courts, tribunals, and other dispute settlement bodies is a remarkable feature of the international political and legal landscape. Scholarly interest has grown accordingly, evolving from the careful analysis of particular institutions to ambitious efforts to theorize, compare, and gather data across a broader range of them. Work in this area has focused variously on the origins, design, and effects of international courts (ICs) and is quite diverse in terms of methodological and theoretical approaches. It is also an area where political scientists and legal scholars engage each other's work routinely. The result is a rich and productive stream of research.

The Performance of International Courts and Tribunals is motivated by a specific and important puzzle: ICs vary dramatically in their level of activity, their efficiency, and their broader contributions to global governance. The editors capture these concerns with the concept of "performance." By engaging existing literatures on regime effectiveness and international organizations (IOs), they succeed in linking the study of ICs to broader debates in international relations that have occupied scholars for many years. Moreover, by incorporating the types of questions and analysis that are more typical of the international law (IL) field, they are able to bridge the IR and IL disciplines quite successfully (indeed, the contributors to the volume are almost equally divided between political science and law).

An introductory chapter, coauthored by the editors, provides a framework for evaluating and explaining the performance of international courts and tribunals. This framework is then applied across 10 substantive chapters, divided into two parts. The authors in Part I assess IC performance in particular issue areas, with chapters on

trade (Cosette Creamer and Anton Strezhnev), investment arbitration (Daniel Behn), human rights (Dinah Shelton), and international criminal courts (Nabuo Hayashi). Part II then turns readers' attention to an explanation of performance, mostly by identifying certain factors that are important but underexplored. Although some of these chapters focus on specific institutions (e.g., Hyeran Jo, Mitchell Radtke, and Beth Simmons focus on the International Criminal Court), most identify a particular determinant or mechanism of performance and consider its effect on some class of ICs. Thus, we have chapters on judicial fragmentation and overlap (Benjamin Faude), on the judicial practices of judges (Jeffrey Dunoff and Mark Pollack), on the socialization strategies of ICs (Nicole de Silva), on compliance mechanisms (Chiara Giorgetti), and on the underlying problem structure of an issue (Steinar Andresen). The volume ends with two concluding chapters, one by Theresa Squatrito on methodological considerations and one by all four editors that summarizes the findings and discusses the future of ICs and related research.

A valuable contribution of the volume is the analytical framework supplied in the first chapter, which offers a road map for research on ICs. The editors build on a conceptualization of performance by Tamar Gutner and Alexander Thompson ("The Politics of IO Performance: A Framework," *Review of International Organizations*, 5(3), 2010) that focuses on both *process* and *outcomes* as important dimensions for understanding organizational performance. The editors go further by supplying a number of specific criteria—some linked to process and others linked to outcomes—for analysts to use when assessing the performance of international judicial bodies. When they turn their attention to the determinants of IC performance, the editors do not attempt to provide a single theory or even to generate specific hypotheses. Instead, building on the IR and IL literatures, they theorize a range of factors that could matter in different circumstances and at different levels of analysis. Overall, the theoretical framework is sufficiently focused to guide the subsequent chapters and produce a coherent edited volume. At the same time, the framework is flexible enough to give the authors room to explore and deviate in interesting ways—which they certainly do.

The diversity and overall quality of the substantive chapters is excellent; they offer insights that will be interesting and novel even to mavens of these institutions. Some are quite ambitious empirically. For example, to study whether the International Criminal Court (ICC) successfully deters war crimes, Jo, Radtke, and Simmons combine cross-national data on the visibility and domestic imprint of ICC law with a detailed study of its impact in Uganda, looking over time at the relationship between different types of ICC intervention and attacks on civilians. Behn offers a creative approach to assess the

performance of investment arbitration, which is complicated by its decentralized patchwork of treaties and tribunals. He presents a number of indicators that allow him to assess performance related to access, outcomes, and process, using systematic data to evaluate some common (but often untested) complaints about the regime's effectiveness and fairness.

Other chapters are notable for their theoretical contributions. De Silva extends constructivist research on socialization to consider how ICs might use strategies to socialize key audiences into the court's norms and procedures. Dunoff and Pollack apply "practice theory" to examine the evidentiary and fact-finding practices of international judges, an aspect of process performance that is often informal and draws little attention. Moving to the macro level, in their respective chapters Faude and Andresen push us to think about ICs in their broader institutional context. Performance is affected by the degree of overlap and interaction among ICs (Faude), and in almost all cases we need to consider the court's role in a broader regime to understand its causal impact on outcomes (Andresen). To varying degrees, all of the authors apply but also extend the volume's theoretical framework in new and fruitful directions.

As a whole, the volume grapples with a number of methodological obstacles to studying performance systematically. For any given IC, knowing what to measure and how to measure it can be challenging. Even some common metrics, like compliance, are difficult to define and operationalize (as Creamer and Strezhnev demonstrate effectively in their discussion of trade disputes). Establishing a causal link between the activities of ICs and outcomes of interest is even trickier, especially given the presence of countless factors beyond the control of courts. The volume highlights these problems, and the penultimate chapter, by Squatrito, provides a thoughtful discussion of methodological issues and useful guidance to researchers.

In the end, there are many valuable insights and important lessons for studying IC performance, although the volume does not deliver a set of general conclusions based on the findings. Because each court is so different, and because the authors investigate different aspects of performance, the editors have limited opportunities to generalize. As they concede in their concluding chapter: "This extreme diversity makes it difficult to engage in systematic comparisons regarding the performance of international courts and tribunals" (p. 408). This raises the question of whether the scope of the volume is too broad, with the inclusion of many disparate issues and types of institutions. At this stage of the research agenda, this broad scope is appropriate, although future work will likely focus on more specific aspects of performance or narrower empirical domains.

There are contemporary issues that probably require more attention from scholars working in this area. First,

the role of power deserves more analysis, especially the question of whether courts need the support of powerful states to be successful. With the United States withdrawing from many international institutions, this issue is increasingly important. Second, the role of domestic politics merits more attention. The current, populist backlash against investment arbitration and the European Union, as well as other feared threats to sovereignty, could erode the legitimacy and thus performance of ICs over time. Those inspired and guided by *The Performance of International Courts and Tribunals* will be in a better position to study such issues in a systematic and politically interesting way.

From Here and There: Diaspora Policies, Integration, and Social Rights Beyond Borders. By Alexandra Délano Alonso. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. 256p. \$99.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper.

Ask What You Can Do for Your (New) Country: How Host States Use Diasporas. By Nadejda K. Marinova. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. 360p. \$74.00 cloth. doi:10.1017/S1537592718003547

— Myra A. Waterbury, *Ohio University*

Although they differ greatly in their focus and approach, the books of Alexandra Délano Alonso and Nadejda K. Marinova offer important insights into emerging and underexplored aspects of diaspora politics. Délano Alonso presents an empirically rich and compellingly written exploration of the ways in which home states, such as Mexico, are increasingly using consulates to provide social rights to diaspora members as part of a project to facilitate integration into their host society. Marinova focuses on the foreign policy implications of diasporas, and does so through an original analysis of how and why host states utilize diaspora groups to support foreign policy objectives relating to the diaspora's home state. Taken together, the two books provide a more complete picture of the complex ways in which diasporas interact with states at both the local and national levels.

Délano Alonso argues in *From Here and There* that Mexico has shifted the focus of its diaspora policies to promote the long-term integration of diaspora members into their host state societies, a development she describes as “one of the clearest manifestations of the reconceptualization of the boundaries of citizenship . . . beyond the territorial limits of the state” (p. 4). The first substantive chapter outlines the combination of variables that explain this shift in Mexican diaspora policy, and subsequent chapters detail Mexico's use of consulates as the primary vehicle for providing migrants with social services that could facilitate integration, such as access to health-care screenings and education programs.

A novel and important aspect of these services is that they target and were created partly in response to the

needs of the most precarious members of the diaspora, those with ambiguous or undocumented legal status. Délano Alonso utilizes ethnographic observation of consular activities and interviews with consular representatives and their clients in the diaspora community to document how consulates provided a safe space for precarious Latin American migrants in the United States to find various kinds of social assistance. By doing so, the author provides a much-needed expansion of our understanding of diaspora policies beyond the experiences of more settled, high-skilled, or politically connected diaspora actors. She also highlights the ways in which both host-state and home-state context matter in shaping the content and the reach of diaspora policies through a comparison of Mexican consular activity in Canada with a partially successful diffusion of Mexico's social rights model to other Latin American countries. Due to a less hostile political environment for Latin American migrants and a more active network of advocacy groups in Canada, the Mexican consulates there were less trusted by precarious migrants and less supported by the Mexican state. States such as Ecuador and Colombia were unable to provide the same level of support through their consulates as Mexico due to a lack of funding and state capacity.

Despite the novelty of Délano Alonso's subject matter, the major question driving her investigation is a long-standing one in the literature on migration and diasporas: Can the diaspora policies of active home states significantly impact the integration of migrants into their host societies? Délano Alonso cautiously makes the case that Mexico's policies have in fact contributed to migrant integration in the United States by connecting Mexican migrants “to institutions and organizations that provide education, health, and financial services, as well as tools for empowerment and protection of rights” (p. 83). Délano Alonso then tempers this argument by showing that the success of the social-rights model has been limited by the relatively small number of migrants that the consulates serve, and by the reproduction of racial and class disparities within the home state in the services they provide (p. 106).

As the author suggests briefly in the conclusion, we can also assume that increasingly restrictive immigration policies in the United States may impact both the possibilities for integration and the scope of consular services, which depend in large part on coordination with local and state actors and organizations. In addition, Délano Alonso highlights the disconnect between the promises of these policies and the real barriers that exist to their implementation in her fourth chapter, which focuses on the experiences of visiting “Dreamers” and deported Mexican migrants when they return to Mexico. On the other side of the border, it is difficult to escape the question of why Mexico is working to provide a menu of