CONTENTS

Acknowledgments · xi

CHAPTER 1	Introduction	1
	The Argument in Brief	3
	A Brief Illustration: The WTO	11
	A Road Map	14
CHAPTER 2	Global Ideological Conflict: Concept and Measurement	2 HHTTA H
	What Are International Institutions?	18
	What Is Ideology?	19
	Ideology in the IR Literature Definition	19 21
	What Are Global Ideological Divisions About?	22
	Ideology and Constraint	25
	Measuring Ideological Positions	28
	Using UN Votes to Estimate State Ideal Points	29
	Ideal Point Estimation	32
	The Correlates of UN Ideal Points	37
	Conclusion	39
CHAPTER 3	Ideology and Theories of International Institutions	41
	Functionalism and Its Descendants	42
	Rational Institutionalism	46
	Liberal Internationalism	48
	Constructivism	51
	Conclusion	53

[viii] CONTENTS

CHAPTER 4	A Spatial Modeling Framework	54
	ASimpleSpatialModelwithInterdependence	54
	An Example with Two States	57
	High Interdependence (No Enforcement Problems)	58
	Moderate Interdependence	63
	MultipleActors	65
	Conclusions	69
CHAPTER 5	Expertise, Ideology, and Distributive Politics	70
	$The\ Informational\ Model$	71
	Information Acquisition	74
	Shared Interests	74
	Heterogeneous State Interests	76
	Information Sharing and Interpretation	78
	Trust and Distrust in Experts amid	
	Ideological Conflict	83
	The Trustee Ideal	84
	Trust, Institutions, and Verifiability	86
	Conclusion	88
CHAPTER 6	Ideological Structure and Membership in	
	International Institutions	90
	Ideology and IGO Memberships	91
	Ideological Sorting into IGOs	94
	A Regression Analysis	98
	Alliances	100
	NetworkAnalysisandIdeologicalStructure	104
	Conclusion	106

CONTENTS [ix]

CHAPTER 7	Ideology, Institutions, Power, and	0
	Militarized Disputes	108
	Information, Commitment, and	
	Bargaining Failure	110
	A Distributive Ideological Theory	113
	Ideology and the Portfolio of IGO Memberships	114
	The Dual Effects of Well-Functioning	114
	Exclusionary IGOs	114
	Observable Implications	117
	Data and Method	118
	Results	120
	Major Power Status and Contiguity	120
	Replications	122
	IGO Portfolios	125
	Conclusion	127
CHAPTER 8	Ideology and the Investment Regime	130
	Ideological Conflict and the Emergence of the	
	Investment Regime	132
	The Move to Investment Treaties	138
	Evidence from U.S. BIT Programs	140
	Moving beyond the Dyad	142
	Renegotiation	144
	Conclusion	146
CHAPTER 9	Populism and Backlashes against	
	International Courts	148
	$What Are\ Backlashes\ against\ International$	
	Courts?	150
	Explanations for Backlash	154
	Implementation Costs	154
	Democratization	155

[X] CONTENTS

	Populism and the International Judiciary	156
	What Is Populism?	157
	Why (International) Court Rulings	
	Sometimes Upset Populists	158
	Populism and Resistance to the Authorit	y
	of International Courts	160
	Empirical Evidence	161
	How Many Backlashes Are Initiated by	
	Populist Leaders?	162
	Property Rights	163
	Minority Rights and Identity	166
	Conclusions and Implications	170
CHAPTER 10	Conclusion: Implications for the Liberal	
	International Order	173
	Ideology and Multilateralism	
	Concession	173
	Ideological Challenges to the Liberal	
	Institutional Order	177

Notes · 183
Bibliography · 209
Index · 239