

---

# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

# IO

WINTER 2024 VOLUME 78 NUMBER 1 ISSN 0020 8183

---

## ARTICLES

### **Advisers and Aggregation in Foreign Policy Decision Making**

Tyler Jost, Joshua D. Kertzer, Eric Min, and Robert Schub

### **The Underside of Order: Race in the Constitution of International Order**

Owen R. Brown

### **Economic Determinants of Attitudes Toward Migration: Firm-level Evidence from Europe**

Leonardo Baccini, Magnus Lodefalk, and Radka Sabolová

### **The Diplomacy of Whataboutism and US Foreign Policy Attitudes**

Wilfred M. Chow and Dov H. Levin

### **Courting Civilians During Conflict: Evidence from Taliban Judges in Afghanistan**

Donald Grasse, Renard Sexton, and Austin Wright

## RESEARCH NOTE

### **Do Preliminary References Increase Public Support for European Law? Experimental Evidence from Germany**

Sivaram Cheruvu and Jay N. Krehbiel

# IO International Organization

Edited at the Department of Political Science, Rice University;  
and the School of Public and International Affairs  
and Department of Politics, Princeton University  
Published quarterly by Cambridge University Press  
Founded in 1947 by the World Peace Foundation

---

Brett Ashley Leeds *Editors*

Layna Mosley

B. Peter Rosendorff *Associate Editors*

Ayşe Zarakol

Elana Matthews

Stephanie Rickard

*Managing Editor*

*Editorial Board Chair*

Rebecca Adler-Nissen

J. Lawrence Broz

Allison Carnegie

David B. Carter

Alexandre Debs

James Fearon

Martha Finnemore

Virginia Page Fortna

Jeffrey Frieden

Kristian Skrede Gleditsch

Judith Goldstein

Stephan Haggard

Judith Kelley

Joshua Kertzer

In Song Kim

Sarah E. Kreps

David Lake

Edward D. Mansfield

Michaela Mattes

Helen Milner

Megumi Naoi

Kai Quek

Dennis P. Quinn

Stephanie Rickard

Thomas Risse

Nita Rudra

Elizabeth N. Saunders

Kenneth Scheve

Christina J. Schneider

Kenneth Schultz

Joel W. Simmons

Randall W. Stone

Jonas Tallberg

Jakana Thomas

Dustin Tingley

Erik Voeten

James Raymond Vreeland

Stefanie Walter

Jessica Chen Weiss

*Editorial Board*

Emanuel Adler

Benjamin J. Cohen

Peter Gourevitch

Miles Kahler

Peter Katzenstein

Robert O. Keohane

Stephen D. Krasner

Lisa L. Martin

John Odell

Louis Pauly

Ronald Rogowski

Janice Gross Stein

*Senior Advisors*

*INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION* invites the submission of original manuscripts on all aspects of international affairs. Authors should follow the guidelines found at <http://journals.cambridge.org>.

*Address for submissions:* <http://io.edmgr.com>

*For all other inquiries:*

International Organization

School of Public and International Affairs, Robertson 448, Princeton University, Princeton NJ 08544.

Statements and opinions expressed in *International Organization* are the responsibility of the authors alone and do not imply the endorsement of the Board of Editors, the Board of Trustees of the World Peace Foundation, Cambridge University Press, the Department of Political Science at Rice University, or the School of Public and International Affairs and Department of Politics at Princeton University.

For abstracting listing and price information, please refer to the back of this issue.

---

Periodicals postage is paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices.

© 2024 by The IO Foundation. ISSN 0020-8183

---

# International Organization

Volume 78, Number 1, Winter 2024

---

## Articles

- Advisers and Aggregation in Foreign Policy Decision Making *Tyler Jost, Joshua D. Kertzer, Eric Min, and Robert Schub* 1
- The Underside of Order: Race in the Constitution of International Order *Owen R. Brown* 38
- Economic Determinants of Attitudes Toward Migration: Firm-level Evidence from Europe *Leonardo Baccini, Magnus Lodefalk, and Radka Sabolová* 67
- The Diplomacy of Whataboutism and US Foreign Policy Attitudes *Wilfred M. Chow and Dov H. Levin* 103
- Courting Civilians During Conflict: Evidence from Taliban Judges in Afghanistan *Donald Grasse, Renard Sexton, and Austin Wright* 134

## Research Note

- Do Preliminary References Increase Public Support for European Law? Experimental Evidence from Germany *Sivaram Cheruvu and Jay N. Krehbiel* 170