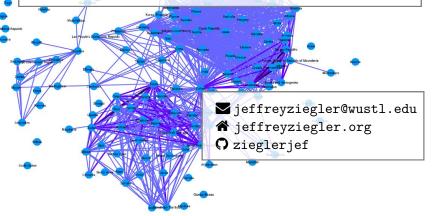


Jeffrey Ziegler, Washington University in St. Louis

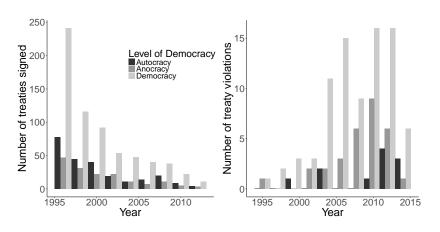


Investment treaty data: Basic overview.

```
1 # show biggest "suers" (origin country of plantiff)
2 head(sort(rowSums(BITadjMatTotalMatrix), decreasing = T))
3 # show biggest violators (countries that pass potentially expropriating policies)
4 head(sort(colSums(BITadjMatTotalMatrix), decreasing = T))
```

United Sta	ates United 30	Kingdom	-	Venezuela 13		
Argentina	Netherlands	Ecuador	German	ny Czechslo	ovakia	Italy

Empirically, democracies sign and violate, investment treaties more frequently (and importantly, more disproportionately).



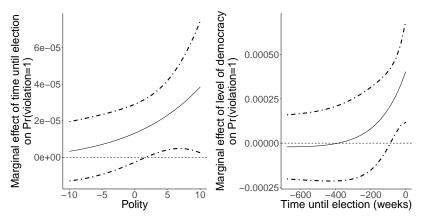
Puzzle: Why?

If elections are what make democracies democratic, and democracies are good treaty partners, then lack of elections should increase violations?

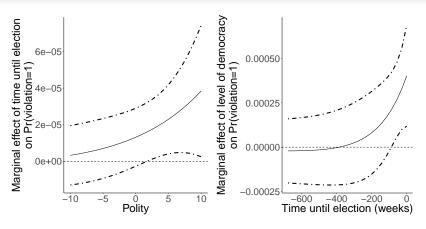
If elections are what make democracies democratic, and democracies are good treaty partners, then lack of elections should increase violations?

NO!

Governments, in general, are more likely to pass expropriating policies (i.e. violate BIT) when they soon face credible elections.



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Maybe arbitration timing is strategic (i.e. as $t \to \text{elections}$), and litigation is driven by the relationship between the two countries involved in the treaty?

Investment treaty network: Network overview.

[1] 0.01820728

```
reciprocity(yGraph)
2 # doesn't seem like passing expropriating policies
3 # leads to other countries to sue, and then pass expropriating
    policies
```

[1] 0

Investment treaty network: Latent Distance Model.

