

# THE PERSISTENT POWER OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The Power of Human Rights (published in 1999) was an innovative and influential contribution to the study of international human rights. At its center was a "spiral model" of human rights change which described the various socialization processes through which international norms were internalized into the domestic practices of various authoritarian states during the Cold War years. The Persistent Power of Human Rights builds on these insights, extending its reach and analysis. It updates our understanding of the various causal mechanisms and conditions which produce behavioral compliance, and expands the range of rights-violating actors examined to include democratic and authoritarian Great Powers, corporations, guerrilla groups, and private actors. Using a unique blend of quantitative and qualitative research and theory, this book yields not only important new academic insights but also a host of useful lessons for policy-makers and practitioners.

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From Commitment to Compliance

Edited by
THOMAS RISSE
STEPHEN C. ROPP
and
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### **PREFACE**

In 1999, the three of us co-edited *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change* (PoHR; Cambridge University Press). In that volume, we proposed a spiral model of human rights change based on the "boomerang effect" which one of us had developed earlier with Margaret Keck (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Ten years later in 2009, we decided that it was time for some additional stock-taking. How had our original spiral model held up after a decade of much more intensive research on the issue of actual compliance with human rights norms? What new developments had there been in the human rights area and what did they say about the strengths and weaknesses of our initial work?

With questions such as these in mind, the three of us decided to reconvene parts of the old PoHR research team and to invite some other eminent scholars from Germany and the United States who were also doing important work on human rights. As was the case with our original volume, we kicked things off with a workshop held in Laramie at the University of Wyoming (August 27–29, 2009). During a coffee break there, we decided that we should get back into business and start working on a new book on human rights change. The result was a second workshop that took place in Berlin at the Freie Universität Berlin (June 3–5, 2010).

This second volume is not just about stock-taking concerning human rights change in general, but also more specifically about the scope conditions and processes leading from commitment to human rights norms to actual compliance with them. So, in addition to stock-taking (see Chapter 2), we initiated several dialogues during our two workshops. The first of these was between scholars doing comparative case studies and those using quantitative and statistical methods (see Chapters 3, 5, 7 and 13). And the second was with legal scholars working on human rights (see Chapter 6).

In addition to the need for stock-taking and dialogue, various events in the real world required that we expand our workshop agenda. A particular US administration's resort to torture in the post-9/11 world, China's continuing non-compliance with human rights norms, and the so-called "Arab Spring" strongly suggested that we revisit the central issue treated in PoHR – sustainable state compliance (see Chapters 8, 9 and 10). Other real-world events such



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as the disastrous effects of many states' limited capacity to enforce the rules (e.g. Sudan), as well as the human rights behavior of a wide range of non-state actors, needed additional attention (see Chapters 4, 11, 12, 13 and 14).

This book would not have been possible without generous financial support from several sources. First and foremost, the Research Center "Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood" (www.sfb-governance.de) funded by the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*) provided most of the financing for the two workshops in Wyoming and in Berlin. In addition, we are very grateful to the University of Wyoming's International Studies Program and its director, Jean Garrison, for both financial and intellectual support.

Many other scholars also accompanied us along the way. Arie Kacowicz from Hebrew University in Jerusalem participated in both workshops and commented in detail on various chapters and on the project as a whole. We also thank Stephanie Anderson, Martha Finnemore, Beate Rudolf, Eric Voeten, and the three anonymous reviewers of Cambridge University Press for their useful critical input.

Last not least, we wish to thank Dan dePeyer for his assistance during the Wyoming workshop, the SFB team for organizing the Berlin workshop, and Janine Pietsch for research assistance. Brooke Coe put together the bibliography for the volume. We also thank John Haslam and Carrie Parkinson from Cambridge University Press as well as Chris Reus-Smit for their continuous encouragement of and support for this project. Last not least, we are grateful to Brooke Coe, Alexandra Kuhles, Gail Welsh, and Rob Wilkinson for their help at various stages of the production process.