# Translating International Norms
# between the Global and the Local

## Application to the DFG for a Reinhart Koselleck Project

Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse

Freie Universität Berlin

**Content**

## 1. Personal Information

Thomas Risse, Prof. Dr.

Universitätsprofessor (W3)

17.12.1955, German

Last proposal submitted to DFG: RI 798/11-1

*Office Address*

Otto Suhr Institut für Politikwissenschaft

Freie Universität Berlin

Ihnestr. 22

14195 Berlin

Tel.: 030-838 55527

Fax: 030-838 54160

thomas.risse@fu-berlin.de

*Private Address*

Fritschestr. 78

10585 Berlin

Tel.:    030-34540152

Mobil:  0179-6645316

## 2. Topic

**Translating International Norms between the Global and the Local**

**Die Übersetzung internationaler Normen zwischen globalen und lokalen Arenen**

## 3. Subject Area and Field

Political Science, International Relations

## 4. Requested Start of Funding

1.10.2018

## 5. Summaries

### English

The proposed Koselleck project examines the diffusion of international norms as translation processes between the global and the local in the areas of trade, climate change, human rights, and the rule of law across world regions with a particular emphasis on the Global South: How and under what conditions are norms translated "between the global and the local," leading to various degrees of change in institutions and behavior? The proposed project is *theoretically* innovative, as it seeks to integrate compliance and diffusion research, work on legal transfers, and translation studies in a unified framework to develop scope conditions for the effects of various translations on institutional and behavioral change. The *methodological* innovation consists of combining computerized, corpus-linguistic, as well as human-coded text analyses. Are these newly available quantitative content-analytical approaches suitable to understand meanings and subtle differences in norm translations? *Empirically*, the project will compare norm translations with regard to international trade and climate change, on the one hand, and human rights as well as the rule of law, on the other hand. Case studies involve countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia varying colonial legacies, regime type, and degrees of (limited) statehood resulting in different degrees of norms resonance, legal traditions, public arenas, as well as legal and normative pluralism.

### Deutsch

Das beantragte Koselleck-Projekt untersucht die Diffusion internationaler Normen als Übersetzungsprozesse zwischen globalen und lokalen Arenen in den Bereichen Welthandel, Klimaschutz, Menschenrechte und Rechtsstaatlichkeit mit einem Fokus auf den globalen Süden. Was folgt aus diesen Übersetzungsprozessen für den Wandel von Institutionen und Akteursverhalten? Die *theoretische* Innovation des Projekts besteht darin, Ansätze zu Normeinhaltung, Normendiffusion, Rechts-Transfers und zu kulturellen Übersetzungsprozessen in einem einheitlichen Analyserahmen zu integrieren, um so Rahmenbedingungen für die Wirkung von Übersetzungsprozessen auf institutionellen Wandel und Akteursverhalten herauszuarbeiten. Die *methodische* Innovation besteht in der Integration automatisierter und korpus-linguistischer Textanalysen mit herkömmlichen Inhaltsanalysen durch menschliche Kodierer. Inwieweit ist die automatisierte Inhaltsanalyse großer Textmengen geeignet, Bedeutungsgehalte und subtile Veränderungen in Normübersetzungen zu erfassen? *Empirisch* werden Länder in Lateinamerika, Afrika und Asien untersucht mit unterschiedlichen kolonialen Traditionen, Regimetypen und Graden von (begrenzter) Staatlichkeit, die zu unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen von Normresonanz, Rechtskulturen, öffentlichen Arenen und rechtlichem bzw. normativem Pluralismus führen.

### 6.    Project Outline
### 6.1    Research Objectives

The statute of the Andean Tribunal of Justice constitutes an almost complete replica of the European Court of Justice (ECJ, see Alter and Helfer 2010). Yet, the court's legal practice has differed substantially from the ECJ's rulings. While the latter has been an engine of European integration for decades, the Andean Tribunal has almost continuously re-inforced intergovernmentalism (Saldias 2007, 2010). When the EU tried to promote the rule of law in Bangladesh, it strengthened "Village Courts" as non-state justice systems in order to move them closer to the state judiciary. However, the local translations and implementations of the EU project resulted in transforming the village courts into Islamic non-state courts, even though the EU reached its ultimate goal, namely the furthering of access to justice for poor women in rural areas (Berger forthcoming). In both cases, something got "lost in translation."

What happens when norms travel from one place to another, from the global to the local, and are translated from one context to another? How do meanings change, and what are the effects for institutional changes as well as behavioral practices? To what extent does the diffusion of international norms and their translation into different domestic or local arenas change their content beyond recognition? When are core meanings being preserved, while adapted to local situations?

The proposed Koselleck project will examine the diffusion of norms as translation processes between the global and the local with regard to the rule of law and human rights, as well as trade and climate change agreements across world regions, with a particular emphasis on the global South: ***How and under what conditions are norms translated "between the global and the local," leading to various degrees of change in institutions and behavior?***

In particular, I ask:
1. *How does translation occur in these discursive spaces and what are the mechanisms of diffusion through translations?*
2. *Who are the "agents of translations", i.e. the main brokers in the spaces between the global and the local, and under what conditions are their translations successful?*
3. *Under what conditions do translational discourses between the global and the local lead to institutional and behavioral changes on the ground?*

*Theoretically*, the project will integrate compliance and diffusion research with work on legal transfers and on cultural translations in order to develop scope conditions under which different translation processes lead to various degrees of institutional and behavioral change on the ground. So far, these literatures have rarely talked to each other, partly because of allegedly incompatible ontological and epistemological assumptions. *Methodologically*, the project will explore to what degree newly available computerized and automated content analyses with their ability to process large amounts of text are suitable to understand subtle differences in meanings and whether and how these techniques can be complemented by manually coded text analyses. The theoretical and methodological risks of the project imply that it cannot be carried out in the framework of other DFG funding programs.

### 6.2    Theoretical Points of Departure and Preliminary Work

The proposed Koselleck project takes its theoretical points of departure from various literatures in political science, law, and cultural studies. First, research on *compliance* focuses on the domestic implementation of international norms (overview in Raustiala and Slaughter 2002; Simmons 1998; Börzel et al. 2010). In a similar way as early work on transnational *diffusion* (see e.g. the "Stanford School," Thomas et al. 1987; Meyer et al. 1997), this research has been rather outcome-oriented and has often conceptualized its dependent variables in rather dichotomous ways (compliance vs. non-compliance [but see Chayes and Chayes 1995; Zürn and Joerges 2005]; convergence vs divergence).

Second, *socialization* approaches in international relations (e.g. Checkel 2005; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Finnemore 1996) as well as more recent work on diffusion (e.g. Gilardi 2013; Simmons, Dobbin, and Garrett 2008; Holzinger, Knill, and Sommerer 2008; Börzel and Risse 2009) have been more process-oriented. They have developed complex models of norm change such as the "boomerang effect" (Keck and Sikkink 1998), or the "spiral model" (Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink

1999), and have distinguished between sender-driven as well as recipient-driven diffusion mechanisms. Critics have pointed out that these approaches have not taken into account the contestation of international norms (e.g. Wiener 2008, 2014; Deitelhoff and Zimmermann 2013) and have also assumed stable meanings when norms travel from one context to another. These criticisms have given rise to "localization" and "vernacularization" approaches in the study of norms (see e.g. Acharya 2004, 2009; Merry 2006; Levitt and Merry 2009; also Acharya 2004, 2009; Sandholtz and Stiles 2009; Zimmermann forthcoming).

Third, work on *legal transfers* as well as *translation studies* have focused on changes in meanings when norms travel. Studies on legal transfer have always argued that "the law" does not embody fixed meanings (Foljanty 2015), but that legal procedures are about interpreting whether a legal norm is applicable in the first place and what rule-consistent behavior actually entails (Koh 1997; on legal transfers in general see Choudry 2006; Farran 2015; Ginsburg 2008; Twining 2005; Hassenteufel and de Maillard 2013). In this context, Frankenberg has developed an "IKEA theory" of constitutional transfers as an iterative process of (domestic) contextualization, (global) de-contextualization, and (domestic) re-contextualization (Frankenberg 2010, 2013; also Brake and Katzenstein 2013). In a similar way, translation approaches, which originated in cultural studies conceptualize the transfer of a norm or idea from one cultural context to another as "translations" whereby the content of the norm changes meaning, if only slightly (e.g. Bachmann-Medick 2006, 2009, 2014; Buden and Nowotny 2009; Clifford 1997; Freeman 2009; Latour 1987; Merry 2006).[1] Translation as a cultural concept does not give prime of place to the local or to local actors. Rather, it draws the attention to the space and to actors "in between." An international norm, which is translated into a local environment changes this context, too. Moreover, translation and (discursive) power are linked (Chakrabarty 2000; Bhabha 2004): Translation might displace local understandings through hegemonic discourses, but it can also empower the powerless through appropriation. This work draws attention to the role of "cultural brokers" as translators between spaces (Lewis and Mosse 2006; Bierschenk, Chauveau, and De Sardan 2002).

These various approaches all focus on diffusion as "any process where prior adoption of a trait or practice in a population alters the probability of adoption for remaining non-adopters" (Strang 1991: 325). Yet, diffusion and socialization research rarely talks to scholarship on legal transfers and translations, while the latter have strongly criticized the former. Nevertheless, legal transfer and translation approaches complement the emphasis on causal mechanisms in recent diffusion and socialization research as they focus on changes in interpretations and understandings of norms when they travel from one context to another in "translational chains" (Latour 1999).

Neither research on legal transfers nor translation studies have developed many testable propositions linking transfer and translation processes to diffusion outcomes (but see Zimmermann forthcoming). Moreover, we know little about what causes degrees of shifting interpretations in translation processes "between the global and the local," about the "translators" or "brokers," and about the conditions under their translations are successful. We know even less about the scope conditions under which translations lead to institutional and behavioral changes on the ground. The proposed Koselleck project tries to fill this gap. I seek to integrate diffusion research, work on legal transfers, and translation approaches in a unified framework in order to formulate scope conditions under which various translation processes lead to new norm understandings as well as the institutional and behavioral consequences. This endeavor must overcome (meta-) theoretical hurdles, since translation scholars often argue from different ontological and epistemological premises (e.g. Chakrabarty 2000; Bhabha 2004; Spivak 1993) than diffusion researchers who tend to stick to conventional social science approaches.

The proposed project continues, but also moves beyond the trajectory of my previous research. First, my research on human rights has contributed to the above-mentioned socialization perspective on international norms (Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink 1999, 2013). Second, my work on Europeanization (Cowles, Caporaso, and Risse 2001; Börzel and Risse 2003) investigated how European policies affect domestic institutional change in the EU member states and formulated scope conditions for domestic adaptation. Third, more recently, I moved from Europeanization research to comparative regionalism from a diffusion as process perspective (Börzel and Risse

---

[1] An interesting example of such change of content is the German translation of "rule of law" as *Rechtsstaatlichkeit* where statehood enters the concept. See e.g. Krygier 2015.

2012; Risse 2016). Fourth, I have studied under which conditions external actors affect institutional change in areas of limited statehood (Risse 2011b; Krasner and Risse 2014). Last not least, I have employed various discourse-analytical approaches, in terms of Habermas' discourse theory (Risse 2000) and with regard to media analyses in the European public sphere (Risse 2015). The proposed Koselleck project uses these various research strands as starting points toward an integrated theoretical framework and a methodological tool-kit for studying norm translations.

## 6.3    Analytical Framework

### The "Dependent Variable:" Translation Outcomes

The proposed Koselleck project shares with compliance research its "explanandum," namely the degree of implementation of international norms in legal and other institutional frameworks (of states as well as non-state actors on the various domestic levels) as well as changes in behavioral practices.[2] I distinguish four outcomes of translation processes which form a continuum rather than separate categories (see also Zimmermann 2016).

*Adoption* connotes the full acceptance of international norms and the displacement of previous domestic or local norms, the implementation of these international norms in law and other institutions, as well as congruence between norms and behavioral practices. Here, little is "lost in translation." *Appropriation* covers a wide spectrum of possible variations. Originally theorized by postcolonial approaches (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2007, 15-17; Hart 1997), I understand appropriation as resulting from processes of contestation (Wiener 2014; Deitelhoff and Zimmermann 2013), from actively re-interpreting and translating international norms and adapting them to domestic or local conditions. Appropriation inevitably changes the norm content and, as an active process, is likely to lead to better compliance with the altered norm. It is the most interesting outcome for this project. *Decoupling* (see DiMaggio and Powell 1991) connotes a gap between the implementation of global norms in law and institutions, on the one hand, and incongruence between the norms and behavioral practices, on the other. *Resistance* means the active rejection of an international norm. It follows that there will be little or no implementation of the norms in law and other institutions, let alone changes in behavioral practices.

### Sites of Translation

The proposed project focuses on particular sites where global norms are being (re-) interpreted, contested, or even rejected, i.e., where diffusion occurs through discursive translations:

*(1) Implementation discourses* concern debates about the implementation of international agreements into domestic law or the corporate governance of companies including controversies about their behavioral consequences. This refers to, e.g., national ratification debates about international agreements as well as national legislations to implement these agreements. Implementation discourses inevitably consist of sense-making of international norms for domestic or local contexts (Iwasawa 2016; also Frankenberg 2010).[3] In this context, it should make a difference whether countries follow dualist or monist rules with regard to international law, i.e., whether or not international law has to be transposed into national law to take effect.

*(2) Adjudication discourses* refer to situations in which rule targets are accused of norm violations or non-compliant behavior. From a translational perspective, cases of alleged norm violation should be well suited to analyze the particular meaning and interpretation of the norm in question, in particular with regard to its behavioral consequences. Courts and other dispute settlement systems – whether national or international (Alter 2014), whether state or non-state – are sites where adjudication discourses take place and, thus, where the precise meaning of an international norm is not only debated, but also decided (see Nollkaemper 2011). Adjudication discourses are likely to vary according to a country's civil or common law tradition.

*(3) Translation chains* (Latour 1987, 1999) refer to processes of successive norm translations and re-translations between various global and local arenas, before they "hit the ground" leading to behavioral change. Ethnographic micro-studies are particularly well suited to study the

---

[2] This implies, unfortunately, that I can only trace one side of the translational chain, i.e., from the global to the local arenas, rather than the whole norms cycle (see Sandholtz and Stiles 2009), at least initially.
[3] Note that I do not imply that implementation discourses solely focus on the application of the respective norm. They can also involve justificatory debates (on the distinction see Deitelhoff and Zimmermann 2013).

underlying causal mechanisms as well as the role of particular cultural brokers linking the various translation sites to each other (Bierschenk, Olivier de Sardan, and Chauvau 2000; Lewis and Mosse 2006; overview in Hönke and Müller forthcoming).

*Guiding Assumptions*

At this stage, it is impossible to develop testable hypotheses under which conditions which type of diffusion through translational discourses leads to which outcome. I therefore indicate various "independent variables" likely to influence the processes and outcomes of translations. They are derived from literatures in International Relations, Law, and Comparative Politics. These factors will be specified, operationalized, and extended in the course of the project:

*Norm Properties*
- Degrees of legalization (obligation, precision, and delegation to a third-party decision-maker; Abbott et al. 2000) and - overlapping with the former categorisation - degrees of legal "bindingness" vs. "non-bindingness" ("hard" vs. "soft" law; see Pauwelyn, Wessel, and Wouters 2012; Abbott and Snidal 2000);
- Norm resonance with domestic or local cultural traditions (Checkel 1997; Cortell and Davis 1996);
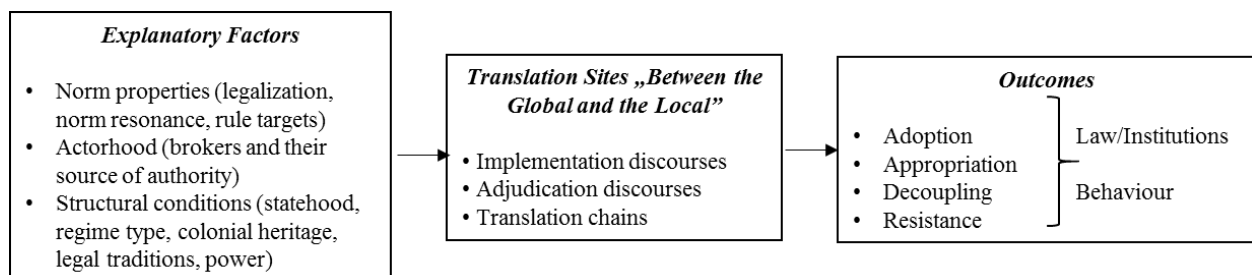- State vs. private non-state actors as rule targets (Börzel and Risse 2002; Noortmann and Ryngaert 2010).

*Actorhood: Brokers as Translators* (see above), whether state or non-state, domestic/local, or inter-/transnational actors
- Material resources, moral (Keck and Sikkink 1998) or epistemic (Haas 1992) authority, and/or institutional power (e.g. courts) as sources of power for brokers;
- Differential empowerment through international norms and law (cf. the Europeanization literature).

*Structural Conditions*
- (Limited) statehood, i.e. (lack of) state capacity to implement and enforce central decisions (Risse 2011a), leading to normative and legal pluralism in the absence of collision regimes (Fischer-Lescano and Teubner 2006; Kötter et al. 2015);
- Regime type (democracy; electoral authoritarianism; autocracy);
- Colonial heritage (e.g. early/late de-colonialization; British vs French vs Spanish colonial experience);
- Legal traditions (e.g., civil law vs common law; dualism vs monism);
- Material and ideational power of involved international or domestic actors.

**Figure 1: The Analytical Model**



*Explanatory Factors*
- Norm properties (legalization, norm resonance, rule targets)
- Actorhood (brokers and their source of authority)
- Structural conditions (statehood, regime type, colonial heritage, legal traditions, power)

*Translation Sites „Between the Global and the Local"*
- Implementation discourses
- Adjudication discourses
- Translation chains

*Outcomes*
- Adoption
- Appropriation
- Decoupling
- Resistance

Law/Institutions

Behaviour

## 6.4   Case Selection and Methods

The proposed Koselleck project covers several issue areas of global governance - the international political economy, climate change, human rights, and the rule of law - in order to cast the net as widely as possible. The project varies cases according to international norm properties, namely degrees of legalization/"bindingness," on the one hand, and rule targets – state or non-state actors, on the other (see above):

- *Preferential/Free Trade Agreements (PTA/FTA) including "deep integration PTAs"* (Börzel and Kim 2016): highly legalized "hard" law, states (PTA) and non-state actors ("deep PTAs") as

rule targets (Baccini, Dür, and Elsig 2015; Mansfield and Milner 1999; Mansfield and Pevehouse 2013);[4]

- *Intended Nationally Determined Contributions* (INDCs) of the 2015 Paris agreement to combat climate change: low degree of legalization/bindingness; non-state actors as rule targets;
- *Human Rights/Rule of Law*: e.g. the 1984 Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment (CAT; "hard law," highly legalized); the 2012 Declaration of the High Level Meeting of the UN General Assembly on the Rule of Law at the National and International Levels, and other non-binding instruments (inter-state "soft law", less legalized); industry and professional human rights and environmental standards underwritten by companies ("soft law" authored by or in collaboration with private non-state actors as rule targets).

The project will start inductively on some cases moving toward more rigorous hypothesis testing of different cases at later stages. First, the project will map the institutional and behavioral outcomes over time, based on various available data sets with regard to the issue areas under consideration.[5] Second, the project will analyze *implementation* (e.g. ratification debates in national legislations; media reports; industry association and company reports) and *adjudication discourses* (court and dispute settlement cases, among others) in selected countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Third, the proposed project will follow *translation chains* pertaining to human rights and rule of law cases with different outcomes, probably in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The country selection of steps 2 and 3 will be based on variation of the "dependent variable," i.e. institutional and behavioral outcomes mapped in step 1. I focus on the global South

- to vary colonial heritage as a background condition influencing both norm resonance and domestic legal systems (Latin American countries as early de-colonizers and Spanish colonial heritage; Sub-Saharan African countries as mostly late de-colonizers and British/French colonial heritage; Asian countries with little colonial heritage);
- to vary degrees of (limited) statehood as background condition leading to legal/normative pluralism and the lack of collision regimes.

The proposed Koselleck project uses a multi-method strategy including a) large-n statistical analyses of datasets pertaining to the outcomes of translation discourses; b) automatic computerized text-coding based on corpus-linguistic methods to initially map the translations from the global to the local; c) manual computer-assisted text-coding of selected discourses to get a more fine-tuned picture of various translation sites; and d) process-tracing and ethnographic case study research, in particular with regard to translation chains.

The text-coding methods constitute the methodological innovation and risk of the project. The challenge is to process large amounts of data and *still* generate fine-grained analyses of specific and sometimes rather subtle changes in the meaning and interpretation of norms. The project combines automatic and manual content-analytical methods. I plan to exploit recent advances in automated text-coding. The project will use classification methods to organize texts in selected categories (Blessing et al. 2015). It will primarily employ supervised coding methods, where human coders develop the categories for analysis on the basis of selected documents followed by "machine learning" and computerized coding (Grimmer and Stewart 2013). The project will also explore whether unsupervised topic modeling is feasible at all (Brett 2012; Blei 2012). An added value of the project will be to explore various means of automatic coding documents from several languages (on various techniques see Lucas et al. 2015). At the same time, the project will not fall victim to an over-reliance on automatic text-coding. Whenever necessary, the project will use standards methods of manual coding (e.g. Mayring 2015), albeit in a computer-assisted fashion.

---

[4] See also the Design of Trade Agreements (DESTA) database, https://www.designoftradeagreements.org/; Dür, Baccini, and Elsig 2014.
[5] E.g. World Bank's World Development Indicators, IMF Direction of Trade Statistics datasets, WTO's Trade Policy Reviews; Greenhouse Gas Inventory Data; Global Climate Change Legislation Database; Universal Human Rights Index Database, National Human Rights Institutions (NRHI) Data Collection Project, Physical Integrity Rights Index, WJP Rule of Law Index, Comparative Constitutions Project, Oxford Reports on International Law in Domestic Courts database, Business and Human Rights Resource Center.

# References

Abbott, Kenneth W., Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal. 2000. The Concept of Legalization. *International Organization* 54 (3): 401-419.

Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. 2000. Hard and Soft Law in International Governance. *International Organization* 54 (3): 421-456.

Acharya, Amitav. 2004. How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism. *International Organization* 58 (2): 239-275.

---. 2009. *Whose Ideas Matter? Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

Alter, Karen J. 2014. *The New Terrain of International Law: International Courts in International Politics*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Alter, Karen J., and Laurence R. Helfer. 2010. Nature or Nurture? Judicial Lawmaking in the European Court of Justice and the Andean Tribunal of Justice. *International Organization* 64 (4): 563-592.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. 2007. *Post-Colonial Studies. The Key Concepts, Second Edition*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Baccini, Leonardo, Andreas Dür, and Manfred Elsig. 2015. The Politics of Trade Agreement Design: Revisiting the Depth–Flexibility Nexus. *International Studies Quarterly* 59 (4): 765-775.

Bachmann-Medick, Doris. 2006. Meanings of Translation in Cultural Anthropology. In *Translating Others*, edited by Theo Hermans. Manchester: St. Jerome, 33-42.

---. 2009. Introduction: The Translational Turn. *Translation Studies* 2 (1): 2-16.

---, ed. 2014. *The Trans/National Study of Culture. A Translational Perspective*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Berger, Tobias. forthcoming. *Experiments in Justice – Translating the Rule of Law in Bangladesh*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bhabha, Homi K. 2004. *The Location of Culture*. London - New York: Routledge.

Biemann, Christian, Stefan Bordag, Gerhard Heyer, Uwe Quasthoff, and Christian Wolff. 2004. Language-independent methods for compiling monolingual lexical data. Paper presented at International Conference on Intelligent Text Processing and Computational Linguistics.

Bierschenk, Thomas, Jean-Pierre Chauveau, and Jean-Pierre Olivier De Sardan. 2002. Local Development Brokers in Africa. The rise of a new social category, Working Papers: Mainz: Department of Anthropology and African Studies, Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz,

Bierschenk, Thomas, Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, and Jean-Pierre Chauvau, eds. 2000. *Courtiers en développement. Les villages africaines en quête des projets*. Paris: Karthala.

Blei, David M. 2012. Topic Modeling and Digital Humanities. *Journal of Digital Humanities* 2 (1).

Blessing, André, Fritz Kliche, Ulrich Heid, Cathleen Kantner, and Jonas Kuhn. 2015. Computerlinguistische Werkzeuge zur Erschließung und Exploration großer Textsammlungen aus der Perspektive fachspezifischer Theorien. In *Grenzen und Möglichkeiten der Digital Humanities. Sonderband der Zeitschrift für digitale Geisteswissenschaften*, edited by Constanze Baum and Thomas Stäcker.

Börzel, Tanja A., Tobias Hofmann, Diana Panke, and Carina Sprungk. 2010. Obstinate and Inefficient. Why Member States Do Not Comply With European Law. *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (11): 1363-1390.

Börzel, Tanja A., and Soo Yeon Kim. 2016. The (International) Political Economy of Regionalism. In *The Oxford Research Encyclopedia for Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,

Börzel, Tanja A., and Thomas Risse. 2002. Die Wirkung internationaler Institutionen: Von der Normanerkennung zur Normeinhaltung. In *Regieren in internationalen Institutionen. Festschrift für Beate Kohler-Koch*, edited by Markus Jachtenfuchs and Michele Knodt. Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 141-181.

---. 2003. Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe. In *The Politics of Europeanization*, edited by Keith Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 57-80.

---. 2009. The Diffusion of (Inter-) Regionalism. The EU as a Model of Regional Integration. KFG Working Papers: Berlin: Research College "Transformative Power of Europe," Freie Universität Berlin.

---, eds. 2012. *From Europeanization to Diffusion. Special Issue of West European Politics,* Vol 35, No 1.

Brake, Benjamin, and Peter J. Katzenstein. 2013. Lost in Translation? Non-State Actors and the Transnational Movement of Procedural Law. *International Organization* 67 (4): 725-757.

Brett, Megan R. 2012. Topic Modeling: A Basic Introduction. *Journal of Digital Humanities* 2 (1).

Buden, Boris, and Stefan Nowotny. 2009. Translation Studies Forum: Cultural translation. *Translation Studies* 2 (2): 196-219.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 2000. *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Chayes, Abram, and Antonia Handler Chayes. 1995. *The New Sovereignty. Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. 1997. International Norms and Domestic Politics: Bridging the Rationalist-Constructivist Divide. *European Journal of International Relations* 3 (4): 473-495.

---, ed. 2005. *International Institutions and Socialization in Europe. Special Issue of International Organization*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Choudry, Sujit, ed. 2006. *The Migration of Constitutional Ideas*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes. Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Cortell, Andrew P., and James W. Jr. Davis. 1996. How Do International Institutions Matter? The Domestic Impact of International Rules and Norms. *International Studies Quarterly* 40: 451-478.

Cowles, Maria Green, James A. Caporaso, and Thomas Risse, eds. 2001. *Transforming Europe. Europeanization and Domestic Change*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Deitelhoff, Nicole, and Lisbeth Zimmermann. 2013. Things We Lost in the Fire. How Different Types of Contestation Affect the Validity of International Norms. PRIF Report: Frankfurt/Main: Peace Research Institute Frankfurt.

DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. 1991. The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. In *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, edited by Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 63-82.

Dür, Andreas, Leonardo Baccini, and Manfred Elsig. 2014. The design of international trade agreements: Introducing a new dataset. *The Review of International Organizations* 9 (3): 353-375.

Farran, Susan, ed. 2015. *The Diffusion of Law: The Movement of Laws and Norms Around the World*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Finnemore, Martha. 1996. *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Fischer-Lescano, Andreas, and Gunther Teubner. 2006. *Regime-Kollisionen. Zur Fragmentierung des globalen Rechts*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp.

Foljanty, Lena. 2015. Rechtstransfers als kulturelle Übersetzung. *Kritische Vierteljahresschrift für Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft* 98 (2): 89-107.

Frankenberg, Günter. 2010. Constitutional transfer: The IKEA theory revisited. *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 8 (3): 563-579.

---, ed. 2013. *Order from Transfer: Comparative Constitutional Design and Legal Transfer*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Freeman, Richard. 2009. What Is 'Translation?'. *Evidence & Policy* 5 (4): 429-447.

Gilardi, Fabrizio. 2013. Transnational Diffusion: Norms, Ideas, and Policies. In *Handbook of International Relations. Second Edition*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth Simmons. London: Sage, 453-477.

Ginsburg, Tom. 2008. Commitment and Diffusion: How and Why National Constitutions Incorporate International Law. *University of Illinois Law Review* 1: 201-237.

Grimmer, Justin, and Brandon M. Stewart. 2013. Text as Data: The Promise and Pitfalls of Automatic Content Analysis Methods for Political Texts. *Political Analysis* 21.

Haas, Peter M., ed. 1992. *'Knowledge, Power and International Policy Coordination,' International Organization, Special Issue*.

Hart, Jonathan. 1997. Translating and Resisting Empire. Cultural Appropriation and Postcolonial Studies. In *Borrowed Power. Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, edited by Bruce H. Ziff and Pratima V. Rao. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press,

Hassenteufel, Patrick, and Jacques de Maillard. 2013. Convergence, transferts et traduction. Les apports de la comparaison transnationale. *Gouvernement et Action Publique* 3 (3): 377-393.

Heyer, Gerhard, Uwe Quasthoff, and Thomas Wittig. 2006. Text Mining: Wissensrohstoff Text: Konzepte. *Algorithmen, Ergebnisse,* Bochum.

Holzinger, Katharina, Christoph Knill, and Thomas Sommerer. 2008. Environmental Policy Convergence: The Impact of International Harmonization, Transnational Communication, and Regulatory Competition. International Organization 62 (4): 553-587.

Hönke, Jana, and Markus Michael Müller. forthcoming. Brokerage, Intermediation, Translation. In *The Oxford Handbook of Governance and Limited Statehood*, edited by Thomas Risse, Tanja A. Börzel and Anke Draude. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Iwasawa, Yuji. 2016. *Domestic Application of International Law*. Vol. 378, *Collected Courses of the Hague Academy of International Law*. Leiden - Boston: Brill, Nijhoff.

Kantner, Cathleen. 2015. National Media as Transnational Discourse Arenas: The Case of Humanitarian Military Interventions. In *European Public Spheres: Politics Is Back*, edited by Thomas Risse. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 84-107.

---. 2016. *War and Intervention in the Transnational Public Sphere. Problem-Solving and European Identity-Formation*, *Routledge/UACES Contemporary European Studies*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

Kim, Soo Yeon. 2010. *Power and the Governance of Global Trade: From the GATT to the WTO*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

---. 2016. The Language of Institutional Design: Text Similarity in Preferential Trade Agreements. NUS Working Paper: Singapore: National University of Singapore,

Kim, Soo Yeon, Edward Mansfield, and Helen V. Milner. 2016. Regional Trade Governance. In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, edited by Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 323-350.

Klabbers, Jan, Anne Peters, and Geir Ulfstein. 2011. *The Constitutionalization of International Law, expanded paperback edition with new epilogue*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Klüver, Heike. 2009. Measuring Interest Group Influence Using Quantitative Text Analysis. *European Union Politics* 10 (4).

---. 2013. *Lobbying in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Koh, Harold Hongju. 1997. Why Do Nations Obey International Law? *The Yale Law Journal* 106: 2599-2659.

Kötter, Matthias, Tilmann Röder, Gunnar Folke Schuppert, and Rüdiger Wolfrum, eds. 2015. *Non-State Justice Institutions and the Law. Decision-Making at the Interface of Tradition, Religion and the State*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Krasner, Stephen D., and Thomas Risse, eds. 2014. *External Actors, State-Building, and Service Provision in Areas of Limited Statehood. Special Issue of "Governance"*. Hoboken NJ: John Wiley Publ.

Krygier, Martin E. J. 2015. Rule of Law (and Rechtsstaat). In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences, 2nd ed.*, edited by James D. Wright. Oxford: Elsevier, 780–787.

Latour, Bruno. 1987. *Science in Action*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

---. 1999. *Pandora's hope: Essays on the reality of science studies*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Levitt, Peggy, and Sally Merry. 2009. Vernacularization on the Ground: Local Uses of Global Women's Rights in Peru, China, India, and the United States. *Global Networks* 9 (4): 441-461.

Lewis, David, and David Mosse, eds. 2006. *Development Brokers and Translators. The Ethnography of Aid and Agencies*. Bloomfield CT: Kumarian Press.

Lucas, Christopher, Richard A. Nielsen, Margaret E. Roberts, Brandon M. Stewart, Alex Storer, and Dustin Tingley. 2015. Computer-Assisted Text Analysis for Comparative Politics. *Political Analysis*.

Mansfield, Edward D., and Helen V. Milner. 1999. The New Wave of Regionalism. *International Organization* 53 (3): 589-627.

Mansfield, Edward D., and Jon C. W. Pevehouse. 2013. The Expansion of Preferential Trading Arrangements. *International Studies Quarterly* 57: 592-604.

Mayring, Philipp. 2015. Qualitative Content Analysis: Theoretical Background and Procedures. In *Approaches to Qualitative Research in Mathematics Education: Examples of Methodology and Methods*, edited by Angelika Bikner-Ahsbahs, Christine Knipping and Norma Presmeg. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 365-380.

Merry, Sally E. 2006. *Human Rights and Gender Violence. Translating International Law Into Local Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Meyer, John W., John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez. 1997. World Society and the Nation-State. *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (1): 144-181.

Nollkaemper, André. 2011. *National Courts and the International Rule of Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Noortmann, Math, and Cedric Ryngaert. 2010. *Non-State Actor Dynamics in International Law. From Law-Takers to Law-Makers*. Aldershot UK: Ashgate.

Pauwelyn, Joost, Ramses A. Wessel, and Jan Wouters, eds. 2012. *Informal International Lawmaking*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peters, Anne. 2014. *Jenseits der Menschenrechte: Die Rechtsstellung des Individuums im Völkerrecht*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Peters, Anne, Lucy Köchlin, Till Förster, and Gretta Fenner Zinkernagel, eds. 2009. *Non-State Actors as Standard Setters*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Randeria, Shalini. 2003a. Cunning States and Unaccountable International Institutions: Legal Plurality, Social Movements and Rights of Local Communities to Common Property Resources. *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 44 (01): 27-60.

---. 2003b. Glocalization of Law: Environmental Justice, World Bank, NGOs and the Cunning State in India. *Current Sociology* 51 (3-4): 305-328.

Raustiala, Kal, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. 2002. International Law, International Relations, and Compliance. In *Handbook of International Relations*, edited by Walter Carlsnaes, Beth Simmons and Thomas Risse. London et al.: Sage, 538-558.

Risse, Thomas. 2000. 'Let's Argue!' Communicative Action in World Politics. *International Organization* 54 (1): 1-39.

---. 2011a. Governance in Areas of Limited Statehood: Introduction and Overview. In *Governance Without a State? Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood*, edited by Thomas Risse. New York: Columbia University Press, 1-35.

---, ed. 2011b. *Governance Without a State? Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood*. New York: Columbia University Press.

---, ed. 2015. *European Public Spheres. Politics Is Back*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

---. 2016. The Diffusion of Regionalism. In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, edited by Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 87-108.

Risse, Thomas, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds. 1999. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

---, eds. 2013. *The Persistent Power of Human Rights. From Commitment to Compliance*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Rohrdantz, Christian, Steffen Koch, Charles Jochim, Gerhard Heyer, Gerik Scheuermann, Thomas Ertl, Hinrich Schütze, and Daniel A Keim. 2010. Visuelle Textanalyse. *Informatik-Spektrum* 33 (6): 601-611.

Saldias, Osvaldo. 2007. Supranational Courts as Engines of Disintegration. The Case of the Andean Community. Berliner Arbeitspapiere zur Europäischen Integration, Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin.

---. 2010. Networks, Courts and Regional Integration. Explaining the Establishment of the Andean Court of Justice. KFG Working Papers, Berlin: Research College "Transformative Power of Europe," Freie Universität Berlin.

Sandholtz, Wayne, and Kendall W. Stiles. 2009. *International Norms and Cycles of Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Simmons, Beth A. 1998. Compliance with International Agreements. *The Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 75-93.

Simmons, Beth, Frank Dobbin, and Geoffrey Garrett, eds. 2008. *The Global Diffusion of Markets and Democracy*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Spivak, Gayatri C. 1993. The Politics of Translation. In *Outside in the Teaching Machine*, edited by Gayatri C. Spivak. New York: Routledge, 179-200.

Strang, David. 1991. Adding Social Structure to Diffusion Models. An Event History Framework. *Sociological Methods & Research* 19 (3): 324-353.

Thomas, George M., John W. Meyer, Francisco Ramirez, and John Boli, eds. 1987. *Institutional Structure: Constituting State, Society, and the Individual*. Newbury Park CA: Sage.

Twining, William. 2005. Social Science and Diffusion of Law. *Journal of Law and Society* 32 (4): 907-919.

Wiener, Antje. 2008. *The Invisible Constitution of Politics. Contested Norms and International Encounters*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

---. 2014. *A Theory of Contestation*. Berlin: Springer.

Zimmermann, Lisbeth. 2016. Same Same or Different? Norm Diffusion Between Resistance, Compliance, and Localization in Post-conflict States. *International Studies Perspectives* 17 (1): 98-115.

---. forthcoming. *Global Norms With a Local Face? Rule-of-Law Promotion and Norm-Translation*. Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Zürn, Michael, and Christian Joerges, eds. 2005. *Law and Governance in Postnational Europe. Compliance beyond the Nation-State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

14

## 7. Requested Funds (estimates)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Personnel** | Replacement Costs for PI Risse (one year) | 80.000 |
| | Postdoc and PhD Researchers | 670.000 |
| | Student Assistants | 120.000 |
| | Cooperation with Prof. Heyer, Computer Science, Leipzig, and Prof. Peters, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and Public International Law, Heidelberg | 250.000 |
| | *Sum* | 1.120.000 |
| **Other Costs** (travel and workshops) | | 130.000 |
| **Total Requested Funds** | | 1.250.000 |

**Budget Justification**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Principal Investigator** | The replacement funds and a sabbatical during the course of the project will allow me to work at least 1,5 years full time on the project (one semester in the beginning and one year toward the end).[6] I will<br>• work on diffusion, legal transfer, and translation approaches with a view to developing an integrated theoretical framework for the project;<br>• contribute empirical research to the human rights and rule of law cases of given my previous expertise (Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink 1999, 2013);<br>• coordinate the project including overseeing the cooperation with the various partners;<br>• work on the various publications. |
| **Postdoctoral and PhD Researchers** | A postdoctoral researcher will be employed for the duration of the project. S/he will oversee the automatic as well as manual text-coding across the various cases and, thus, will have the necessary quantitative and qualitative skills. The postdoc will also contribute to one of the case studies.<br><br>Two doctoral researchers will be employed for four years each to contribute to the various case studies. One doctoral researcher will be a social anthropologist by training and will be carrying out ethnographic "translation chain" studies in the rule of law case. |
| **Student assistants** | One student assistant will be in charge of supporting the PI and the project team with regard to literature searches and document analyses. Three student assistants will be employed for the manual computer-aided coding of selected texts in the countries under investigation. |
| **Cooperation Costs** | I will cooperate with **Prof. Dr. Gerhard Heyer,** chair in Automatic Language Processing at the Computer Science Department of the University of Leipzig, Germany (Biemann et al. 2004; Heyer, Quasthoff, and Wittig 2006; Rohrdantz et al. 2010). The project will |

---

[6] Possibly even more when I reach my retirement in early 2021.

| | contribute to personnel costs for various tasks concerning computer linguistic methods of sample preparation and analysis (see Blessing et al. 2015 for details). |
| | With regard to the human rights/rule of law cases, I will cooperate with **Prof. Dr. Anne Peters,** director of the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and Public International Law in Heidelberg, Germany (Klabbers, Peters, and Ulfstein 2011; Peters 2014; Peters et al. 2009). In this context, the project will contribute to personnel costs. |
| | With regard to the PTA cases, I will cooperate with **Prof. Soo Yeon Kim**, National University of Singapore, who has extensively worked on text analyses of PTA agreements (Kim 2016; Kim, Mansfield, and Milner 2016; Kim 2010). There will only be travel costs to sustain this cooperation. |
| **Other Costs** | The requested amount covers field research in the countries under investigation as well as conference participation and other project-related travel by the PI, the postdoc, and the doctoral researchers. In addition, there will be two international workshops, one at the beginning to discuss the project design, the other toward the end to discuss the results. |

***Advisors to the project:***

In addition to the cooperation partners, the following scholars have agreed to serve as advisors to the project:

- ***Prof. Dr. Cathleen Kantner***, University of Stuttgart, is an expert in the field of computerized text analysis including corpus linguistics (Kantner 2015, 2016). She heads Working Group 8 "Content Analysis in Social Sciences" of CLARIN-D, the German partner of the Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure.[7]

- ***Prof. Dr. Heike Klüver***, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, has pioneered automated text analysis in German political science (Klüver 2009; Klüver 2013). She will serve as an advisor for the methodological innovations of the project.

- ***Prof. Dr. Shalini Randeria*** is a social anthropologist and director of the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna (Randeria 2003a, b). She will serve as advisor to the ethnographic "translation chain" case studies of the project.

---

[7] http://de.clarin.eu/en/.

### 8. Academic Curriculum Vitae/Publications

#### 8.1 Ten Most Important Publications (Peer-Reviewed)

1. 2016: *Domestic Politics and Norm Diffusion in International Relations: Ideas Do Not Float Freely* (London – New York: Routledge)

2. 2016: (with Tanja A. Börzel [eds.]) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

3. 2010: *A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press)

4. 2002: (with Walter Carlsnaes and Beth Simmons [eds.]) *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage) (second revised edition: 2013)

5. 2001: (with James A. Caporaso and Maria Green Cowles [eds.]) *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press)

6. 2000: "Let's Argue! Persuasion and Deliberation in International Relations," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 1, 1-39

7. 1999: (with Stephen Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink [eds.]) *The Power of Human Rights. International Norms and Domestic Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

8. 1995: (ed.), *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-State Actors, Domestic Structures, and International Institutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

9. 1995: *Cooperation Among Democracies. The European Influence on U.S. Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press)

10. 1991: "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies," *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 4, July, 479-512

#### 8.2 Ten Subject-Related Publications (Peer-Reviewed)

1. 2016: "The Diffusion of Regionalism," in Tanja A. Börzel/Thomas Risse (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 87-108

2. 2015: (ed.) *European Public Spheres. Bringing Politics Back In* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press)

3. 2014: (with Stephen D. Krasner [eds.]) *External Actors, State Building, and Service Provision in Areas of Limited Statehood*, Special Issue of *Governance,* Vol. 27, No. 4

4. 2013: (with Stephen Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink [eds.]) *The Persistent Power of Human Rights. From Commitment to Compliance* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press)

5. 2012: (with Tanja A. Börzel [eds.]) *From Europeanization to Diffusion*, Special Issue of *West European Politics*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (2014 re-print: London: Routledge)

6. 2011: (ed.) *Governance Without a State? Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood* (New York NY: Columbia University Press)

7. 2003: (with Tanja A. Börzel) „Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe," in Kevin Featherstone/ Claudio M. Radaelli (Hrsg.) *The Politics of Europeanisation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 57-80

8. 2001: (with James A. Caporaso and Maria Green Cowles [eds.]) *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and Domestic Change* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press)

9. 2000: "Let's Argue! Persuasion and Deliberation in International Relations," *International Organization*, Vol. 54, No. 1, 1-39

10. 1999: (with Stephen Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink [eds.]) *The Power of Human Rights. International Norms and Domestic Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

#### 8.3 Academic Curriculum Vitae (see appendix)

### 9.  Other Information

n/a

## Declarations

### 1.  Rules of Good Scientific Practice

"In submitting my proposal for a Reinhart Koselleck project to the DFG, I agree to adhere to the rules of good scientific practice."

### 2.  Publication List and Bibliography

"In preparing my proposal, I have adhered to the guidelines for publication lists (section III.8) and the bibliography (section III.6)."

Berlin, April 11, 2017                                          Prof. Dr. Thomas Risse