Moral Movements and Foreign Policy

Why do advocacy campaigns succeed in some cases but fail in others? What conditions motivate states to accept commitments championed by principled advocacy movements? Joshua W. Busby sheds light on these core questions through an investigation of four cases – developing-country debt relief, climate change, AIDS, and the International Criminal Court – in the G-7 advanced industrialized countries (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States). Drawing on hundreds of interviews with policy practitioners, he employs qualitative, comparative case study methods, including process-tracing and typologies, and develops a framing/gatekeepers argument, emphasizing the ways in which advocacy campaigns use rhetoric to tap into the main cultural currents in the countries where they operate. Busby argues that when values and costs potentially pull in opposing directions, values will win if domestic gatekeepers who are able to block policy change believe that the values at stake are sufficiently important.

Joshua W. Busby is an assistant professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin. He is also the Crook Distinguished Scholar at the Robert S. Strauss Center for International Security and Law and a fellow with the RGK Center for Philanthropy and Community Service.
Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-76872-6 - Moral Movements and Foreign Policy
Joshua W. Busby
Frontmatter
More information

Cambridge Studies in International Relations: 116

Moral Movements and Foreign Policy

EDITORS
Christian Reus-Smit
Nicholas J. Wheeler

EDITORIAL BOARD
James Der Derian, Martha Finnemore, Lene Hansen, Robert Keohane,
Rachel Kerr, Colin McInnes, Jan Aart Scholte, Peter Vale,
Kees van der Pijl, Jutta Weldes, Jennifer Welsh, William Wohlforth

Cambridge Studies in International Relations is a joint initiative of Cambridge University Press and the British International Studies Association (BISA). The series will include a wide range of material, from undergraduate textbooks and surveys to research-based monographs and collaborative volumes. The aim of the series is to publish the best new scholarship in International Studies from Europe, North America, and the rest of the world.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org
Cambridge Studies in International Relations

115 Sèveine Autesserre
The trouble with the Congo
Local violence and the failure of international peacebuilding

114 Deborah D. Avant, Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell
Who governs the globe?

113 Vincent Pouliot
International security in practice
The politics of NATO–Russia diplomacy

112 Columba Peoples
Justifying ballistic missile defence
Technology, security, and culture

111 Paul Sharp
Diplomatic theory of international relations

110 John A. Vasquez
The war puzzle revisited

109 Rodney Bruce Hall
Central banking as global governance
Constructing financial credibility

108 Milja Kurki
Causation in international relations
Reclaiming causal analysis

107 Richard M. Price
Moral limit and possibility in world politics

106 Emma Haddad
The refugee in international society
Between sovereigns

105 Ken Booth
Theory of world security

104 Benjamin Miller
States, nations, and the great powers
The sources of regional war and peace

Series list continues after index
Moral Movements and Foreign Policy

JOSHUA W. BUSBY
University of Texas at Austin
LBJ School of Public Affairs
To my wife Bethany whose willingness to share in adventures is a constant joy
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of figures</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of tables</td>
<td></td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td></td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>States of grace</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1A:</td>
<td>Transnational principled advocacy movements in the post-Cold War era (1990–)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Movement success and state acceptance of normative commitments</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bono made Jesse Helms cry: Jubilee 2000 and the campaign for developing country debt relief</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Climate change: the hardest problem in the world</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>From God’s mouth: messenger effects and donor responses to HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 5A:</td>
<td>Evaluations of actual fair share contributions to global AIDS efforts</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 5B:</td>
<td>Mission and dominant frame of various advocacy organizations</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 5C:</td>
<td>Reasons for foreign assistance</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 5D:</td>
<td>Aggregating support for foreign assistance</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The search for justice and the International Criminal Court</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 6A:</td>
<td>Additional opinion polls on support for human rights</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Conclusions and the future of principled advocacy</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bibliography | 273  
Index | 314
Figures

2.1 Stages of issue development  page 38
2.2 Coercion–conversion continuum  39
2.3 Veto players in the G-7  62
3.1 G-7 disbursements to the HIPC Trust Fund  78
3.2 Mapping of bilateral debt burdens and religiosity  84
4.1 Mapping of emissions and environmental values  124
5.1 Messengers, messages, and gatekeepers  169
5.2 Mapping of fair shares and support for foreign assistance  175
6.1 Financial Times articles on the International Criminal Court, 1997–2007  228
6.2 Mapping of troop deployments and support for human rights  234
Tables

2.1 Intersection of influence and outcomes
2.2 Intersection of costs and values
2.3 Costs/values, gatekeepers, and advocacy success
3.1 Pledges and shares to the HIPC Trust Fund
3.2 G-7 debt holdings circa 1998–1999
3.3 G-7 measures of religiosity
3.4 Costs/values, veto players, and advocacy success
4.1 Kyoto and EU bubble commitments and emissions trends
4.2 Environmental values and distance from Kyoto target
4.3 Constitutional veto players for international treaty ratification
4.4 The number of treaty gatekeepers
5.1 G-7 Global Fund contributions and share of world income
5.2 G-7 bilateral aid to combat HIV/AIDS, 2000–2005
5.3 Average GDP growth rate, 1999–2003
5.4 Initial AIDS contribution fair shares and foreign assistance
5.5 Number of international NGO secretariats, 2003
5.6 Interest-based accounts of AIDS spending
5.7 Messenger similarity in the United States
5.8 Intersection of fair share costs and public support for foreign assistance
5.9 US funding for global HIV/AIDS
5.10 Public opinion and global AIDS efforts
5A.1 G-7 share of world GDP
5A.2 Assessments of fair shares and contributions
### List of tables

5C.1 Public opinion: reasons for supporting foreign assistance

5D.1 Public opinion: support for foreign assistance

6.1 G-7 signature and ratification of the Rome Statute


6.4 Support for human rights, 2008

6.5 Continuum of rhetorical entrapment

7.1 Comparison of financial costs of major expenditures by the US government
I would especially like to thank my parents Mark and Linda Busby who read the entire manuscript and helped make the prose crisper and the writing more accessible. Thank you so much.

Over the course of this project, I was able to conduct hundreds of interviews in a variety of locations including Berlin, Bonn, Brussels, The Hague, London, New York, Paris, Seattle, Tokyo, Vienna, and Washington, DC. I would like to thank all of the people who agreed to be interviewed for this project. Only a fraction of them are ultimately cited in the manuscript, but I learned so much from all of you.

I would like to thank colleagues and friends at a variety of institutions where I had the opportunity to write and develop this research including Georgetown University’s Department of Government, the Brookings Institution’s program in foreign policy studies, Harvard University’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Princeton University’s Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance, and the LBJ School of Public Affairs, including the Strauss Center and the RGK Center where I enjoy affiliations. I would especially like to thank my dissertation committee: John Ikenberry, Andrew Bennett, Jeff Anderson, and Leslie Vinjamuri.

I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers and the editors at Cambridge University Press, especially John Haslam and Carrie Parkinson for their skillful guidance of the manuscript through the publication process.

I also received support from the Berlin-based Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) during one of my research trips and want to thank the people at SWP, particularly Josef Braml and Alexander Ochs, for providing me with office space in winter 2003. I would also like to thank Joe Cerrell and Michelle Milford from the Gates Foundation for supporting me with office space in summer 2008 in Seattle. I would like to thank Mohamed Bouabdallah for his translation help and research support during my trip to Paris in spring 2007. Thanks to Klaus
Acknowledgments

Dingwerth, Philipp Pattberg, and Andrew and Philippa Tucker for their generosity with their flats during my research trips to Europe.

I would like to thank Jon Rosenwasser and Janine Davidson whose comments and camaraderie on this project at the dissertation stage were extremely valuable. I would especially like to thank Ron Krebs, Mike Tierney, and Kate Weaver whose advice in the publishing stage was especially helpful.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends from activism days at the University of East Anglia where this interest in global social movements really flourished. I would particularly like to thank and honor my late friend Guy Hughes who was the most serious and seriously organized advocate I ever met. We miss you every day.