Universal Human Rights in a World of Difference

From the diverse work and often competing insights of women's human rights activists, Brooke Ackerly has written a feminist *and* a universal theory of human rights that bridges the relativists' concerns about universalizing from particulars and the activists' commitment to justice. Unlike universal theories that rely on shared commitments to divine authority or to an "enlightened" way of reasoning, Ackerly's theory relies on rigorous methodological attention to difference and disagreement. She sets out human rights as at once a research ethic, a tool for criticism of injustice, and a call to recognize our obligations to promote justice through our actions. This book will be of great interest to political theorists, feminist and gender studies scholars, and researchers of social movements.

BROOKE A. ACKERLY is Associate Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University. She is the author of *Political Theory and Feminist Social Criticism* (Cambridge, 2000) and co-editor of *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations* (Cambridge, 2006). Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-70755-8 - Universal Human Rights in a World of Difference Brooke A. Ackerly Frontmatter More information

Universal Human Rights in a World of Difference

BROOKE A. ACKERLY Vanderbilt University Political Science brooke.ackerly@vanderbilt.edu



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521707558

© Brooke A. Ackerly 2008

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2008

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Ackerly, Brooke A.
Universal human rights in a world of difference / Brooke A. Ackerly.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN-13: 978-0-521-88126-5
1. Human rights. 2. Feminist theory. I. Title.
JC571.A136 2008
323-dc22

2007051567

ISBN 978-0-521-88126-5 hardback ISBN 978-0-521-70755-8 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-70755-8 - Universal Human Rights in a World of Difference Brooke A. Ackerly Frontmatter More information

For Aasha

Contents

Ack	enowledgments	<i>page</i> ix
1	Universal human rights in a world of difference: challenging our thinking	1
	Part I Epistemology, diversity, and disagreement in theory and practice	41
2	Universal human rights?	43
3	Universalisms and differences	70
4	Immanent and universal human rights: more legitimate than reasonable	91
	Part II A methodology for immanent theory	125
5	Feminist curb cutting: a methodology for exposing silences and revealing differences for the immanent study of universal human rights	127
6	Listening to the silent voices, hearing dissonance: a methodology for interpretation and analysis	154
	Part III Immanent universal human rights: theory and practice	195
7	An immanent and universal theory of human rights	197
8	Terrain(s) of difficulty: obligation, problem-solving, and trust	232
9	Feminist strategies	271
10	"If I can make a circle"	307

Cambridge University Press						
978-0-521-70755-8 - Univers	al Human	Rights	in a	World	of Differe	ence
Brooke A. Ackerly						
Frontmatter						
More information						

viii	Contents
Bibliography	316
Interviews	360
Index	364

Writing is a privilege. Writing acknowledgments is a challenging privilege. How do I appreciatively bring to light the collective effort that this project has been *and* take single authorship of the ideas it generated?

My first thanks goes to Marie and her family for asking for help, instilling their trust, and (much later) allowing me to tell their story. Despite our challenges of communication and their accumulation of unbelievable misfortunes, they were continually courageous. I appreciate their renewable faith in the possibility of a better world and better life for the children. I am also grateful to the host of people who helped me understand their life situation and support their case. At times it was unreal to me; by listening to me retell their story and offering constructive advice or direct help, many friends sustained my commitment to Marie's family. These include Catia Confortini, Sarah Park, Klint Alexander, and Bina D'Costa. Holly Tucker and Anne Marie Goetz showed true friendship by helping me understand, fulfill, and find the boundaries of my obligations to Marie and her family.

During the beginning and middle of this project, I have had the privilege of being hosted away from home. I owe a special debt to the University of Southern California's Center for International Studies (CIS), in particular its then Director, Ann Tickner, and an enthusiastic graduate student, Catia Confortini, for encouraging the first workshop. Like the CIS, the Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities at Vanderbilt University created the ideal work environment for an academic – great colleagues, administrative smoothness, and tea. Thank you Marisela Schaffer, Mona Frederick, Galyn Martin, Lacey Galbraith, Tonya Mills, Tommy Womack, and Darlene Davidson, whose efficient administration enables so many to focus on ideas. And, though it wasn't home for long, thank you to Richa, Mrinalini, and Sonalini Sapra for giving me a home and family in Mumbai that was rich in food and conversation.

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-70755-8 - Universal Human Rights in a World of Difference Brooke A. Ackerly Frontmatter <u>More information</u>

Acknowledgments

I am also appreciative of the opportunity to participate in two interdisciplinary groups sponsored by the Center for the Study of Religion and Culture at Vanderbilt University. These groups, one on *Spirituality and Ecology* and one on *Poverty and Religion*, supported my individual work on human rights as an assistant professor with faith that ultimately my scholarship on global social justice and my tenure would enable me to make a contribution to collaborative scholarship on poverty, the environment, and religion. This faith is an essential ingredient of transdisciplinary collaboration that is inclusive of pre-tenure colleagues.

I am particularly privileged to have worked with Bina D'Costa – co-researcher, co-author, and co-traveler. I am grateful to her for collaborating on a related project through which much of the interview data in this book were generated. During our work together we explored many of the meanings and challenges of collaboration. These challenges and their fruit continue to inspire as does Bina through her scholarship, activism, and teaching.

Universal Human Rights in a World of Difference has benefited from critical engagement with so many. I include among these Vanderbilt colleagues who have stretched my disciplinary boundaries by sharing their own work: Ed Rubin, Lenn Goodman, Melissa Snarr, Monica Casper, and Jaya Kasibhatla.

Uma Narayan, Moira Gatens, Ted Fischer, Beth Conklin, and Jaya Kasibhatla were always looking over my shoulder reminding me that I too am claiming an epistemological authority. I particularly appreciate Ted and Moira reading my first chapter so reflectively (and quickly). I was holding my breath. By thanking them, I don't mean to indicate that they approve of my methodological solution to the always present challenge of making the exercise of the power of epistemology visible.

A number of specific conversations along the way had greater impacts on my work than perhaps the interlocutors realized. Many of these were with one person: the creative and generous Mona Frederick. Others, while not ongoing, had significant impact. Hayward Alker and Ted Slingerland led me to reflect on the work of Lakoff and Johnson and on the importance of metaphor. This influence is visible in the central role that the "right of way" metaphor plays in my view of human rights.

For discussions about justification and legitimacy, I am grateful to Michael Goodhart, Josh Cohen, and Moira Gatens. I am particularly

grateful to Michael for being the person I can call on a rainy day and to Moira for that great conversation underneath the L in Chicago.

For keeping me reflective about methodological challenges, I am privileged to have had ongoing and fruitful discussions with Bina D'Costa, Maria Stern, Jacqui True, Carol Cohn, Lyndi Hewitt, Sonalini Sapra, all of the participants in the edited volume *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, and my collaborators in the Global Feminisms Collaborative at Vanderbilt.

For great conversations and for hosting those conversations during the formative year of this project I thank Sarah Song and colleagues at the Gender and Political Thought seminar at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I am particularly appreciative of Jane Mansbridge, Josh Cohen, Sarah Song, and Sally Haslinger for making me consider the normative power I claim to be drawing from the study of activism. I am particularly grateful to Josh, forever the promoter of deliberation, for encouraging my criticism of his work.

For being a great discussant and host at University of North Carolina Chapel Hill's Political Theory Workshop, I thank Jeff Spinner-Halev for giving me a chance to reflect in public on human rights as a nonideal theory. The influence of the faculty and graduate students' reflections are visible mostly in chapter 2. In addition, Susan Bickford had a profound affect on my thinking about the role of listening in human rights praxis and her work is central to my exposition of immanent universal human rights theory in chapter 7.

At University of Pennsylvania Women's Studies Program, the Alice Paul Center for Research on Women, Gender, and Sexuality, and Political Science Department, I received generous feedback from Nancy Hirschmann, Rogers Smith, and their colleagues. Also thanks to Jim Bohman for inviting me to the Democracy and Global Justice Conference. Special thanks to Larry May and Marilyn Friedman for pushing me to clarify that one could hold deep religious convictions and a commitment to immanent universal human rights.

For important nudges here and there thanks to Michael, Bina, Don Herzog, Joanna Kerr, and Audie Klotz. For generously reading through the entire manuscript, Bina, Jessica Kruetter, Umi Lasmina, Ali Sevilla, and two anonymous reviewers, thank you so much. Special thanks to Adrian Stenton for attention to detail.

I am grateful for all of my colleagues at Vanderbilt, particularly James Booth and Neal Tate. George Graham, after reading the entire

manuscript, offered suggestions for where else I could go with this project. He never showed evidence of "chemobrain" and was an engaging colleague throughout his life and illness.

I am still grateful to Susan Okin, who was supportive, always engaging, and always insightful. I am grateful for the conversation that opens chapter 5 – and for so many other conversations.

For research assistant work at various points throughout this project, thanks to Katy Attanasi, Lyndi Hewitt, Jessica Kruetter, Sonalini Sapra, Ali Sevilla, Sarah VanHooser, and Sasha Zheng. And thanks to Chris DeSante for doing research for another project so that I could finish this one. Thanks to Vicky Abernathy for handling the repetitive bibliography entry work and to Stacy Clifford for editorial typing that I was unable to do due to a repetitive strain. For translation thanks to Guilherme de Araujo Silva, Maria Clara Bertini, Julie Huntington, Mingyan Li, Ararat Osipian, Fabrice Francois Alain Picon, and Sonalini Sapra.

For funding my work, I thank the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Vanderbilt's Center for the Study of Religion and Culture, the Center for the Americas, the Graduate School, the College of Arts and Science, and the Warren Center. For funding the meetings that made my participant observation possible, thanks to the Association of Women's Rights and Development, Women's World Congress, the World Social Forum, the Center for International Studies at the University of Southern California, and the Ford Foundation. Thanks particularly to all those administrators and service people whose excellence at their work is often best recognized by its invisibility.

Finally, in case sprinkling their names throughout these acknowledgments is seen to dilute their influence, to Bina D'Costa, Sonalini Sapra, and Lyndi Hewitt for being engaged colleagues throughout the research phase of this and related projects, this project owes a huge intellectual debt. Working with them is a privilege.

My greatest privilege is my near and far family who care for and complement each other. Not living in a feminist world, it is hard to live a feminist life in community. Yet, Aasha, Annlyn, and Bill Zinke, Beth Gaddes, Katherine Stevenson, Barbara Zinke, Rick Ackerly, and I have thoughtfully created a dynamic, supportive, and wonderful life. I appreciate the joy they bring to this way of living and working and the fun they create in the process!

Perhaps, despite all of its influences, a piece of feminist scholarship can be understood to be single-authored. (Certainly, I wouldn't want

xii

the reader to hold anyone other than me responsible for the mistakes herein.) However, with apologies to Mary Catherine Bateson, the project shows again that a feminist cannot compose her life or her scholarship alone. My particular circumstances and relationships have enabled me to compose *this* feminist life, and *this* feminist work on immanent universal human rights. At the center of this project are all of the contributors who generously gave of their time and reflection in public venues and in private. I hope that each is strengthened in her attempt to make it possible for others to live a feminist life in their not-so-feminist worlds.