Wayne Sandholtz

5 June 2024

John A. McCone Chair in International Relations Professor of International Relations and Law School of International Relations and Gould School of Law University of Southern California Los Angeles, CA 90089-0043

wayne.sandholtz@usc.edu

Professional experience

2012 -	John A. McCone Chair in International Relations; Professor of International Relations and
	Law; University of Southern California
2016-2018	Director, School of International Relations, University of Southern California
2002-2012	Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Irvine
1998-2004	Director, Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, University of California, Irvine (on leave 2000-2002)
1994-2002	Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of California, Irvine
1992-1994	Assistant Professor, Department of Politics and Society, University of California, Irvine
1989-1992	Assistant Professor of Political Science, Scripps College, Claremont, CA
1989	Post-doctoral Fellow, Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy, Berkeley, CA
1988	Research Fellow, Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy, Berkeley, CA

Visiting appointments

2023	Visiting Scholar, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg, Germany
2019	Visiting Fellow, Berlin-Potsdam Research Group "International Rule of Law – Rise or Decline?", Berlin, Germany
2018	Visiting Scholar, Center for Global Governance, Graduate Institute, Geneva
1993	Visiting Scholar, Department of Political Science, Stockholm University
1987	Visiting Researcher, Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Paris

Education

Ph.D.	University of California, Berkeley; Department of Political Science, May 1989
M.A.	University of California, Berkeley; Department of Political Science, June 1983

Honors

2023	Distinguished Scholar Award, International Studies Association Human Rights Section
2015	Outstanding Teaching Award, College of Letters, Arts and Sciences, University of
	Southern California
2009	Outstanding Faculty Mentor Award, Pi Omicron Chapter (UC Irvine) of Pi Sigma Alpha

2000	Excellence in Teaching, Division of Undergraduate Education, Committee on Teaching (UC Irvine)
1997	Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Research (UC Irvine)
1992	Faculty Achievement Award in Research, Scripps College
Books	
2025	The Rule of Law under Pressure: The Enmeshment of National and International Trends. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Forthcoming. Co-edited with Gregory Shaffer.
2024	The Law and Politics of International Human Rights Courts: The Dilemma of Effectiveness. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Co-authored with Alec Stone Sweet.
2017	<i>Research Handbook on the Politics of International Law.</i> Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar. Co-edited with Christopher A. Whytock.
2009	International Norms and Cycles of Change. New York: Oxford University Press. Co- authored with Kendall Stiles.
2007	Prohibiting Plunder: How Norms Change. New York: Oxford University Press.
2001	<i>The Institutionalization of Europe.</i> Oxford: Oxford University Press; co-edited with Alec Stone Sweet and Neil Fligstein.
1998	<i>European Integration and Supranational Governance</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press; co-edited with Alec Stone Sweet.
1992	High-Tech Europe: The Politics of International Cooperation. Berkeley: University of California Press.
1992	<i>The Highest Stakes: The Economic Foundations of the Next Security System.</i> New York: Oxford University Press; co-authored with John Zysman, Michael Borrus, et al.

Articles and chapters

* Graduate student or former graduate student co-author ** Undergraduate student co-author

2024	"Integration, Supranational Authority, and Human Rights." <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 31(10): 3465-3485.
2024	"The Rule of Law Under Pressure: A Transnational Perspective." <i>Hague Journal on the Rule of Law</i> 16(2): 393-438. Co-authored with Gregory Shaffer.
2024	"Do Human Rights Treaty Obligations Matter for Ratification?" <i>Journal of Human Rights</i> 23(1): 1-18. Co-authored with Suzie Mulesky* and Kelebogile Zvobgo*.
2023	"Resurgent Authoritarianism, Rights, and Legal Change." In Nico Krisch and Ezgi Yildiz, eds., <i>The Many Paths of Change in International Law</i> . 179-200. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2023	"The Rule of Law in Transnational Context: Introduction to the Symposium." <i>UC Irvine Journal of International, Transnational, and Comparative Law</i> 8(1): 1-4. Co-authored with Gregory Shaffer.
2023	"The Law and Politics of Transnational Rights Protection: Trusteeship, Effectiveness, De- delegation." <i>Governance</i> 36(1): 105-124. Co-authored with Alec Stone Sweet.

- 2023 "Is Winter Coming? Norm Challenges and Norm Resilience." In Heike Krieger and Andrea Liese, eds., *Tracing Value Change in the International Legal Order*. 41-63. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2023 "Resurgent Authoritarianism and the International Rule of Law." *Southwestern Journal of International Law* 28(2): 209-231.
- 2022 "Why Norms Rarely Die." *European Journal of International Relations* 28(4): 934-954. Co-authored with Sarah V. Percy.
- 2022 "Authoritarianism, International Human Rights, and Legal Change." In David L. Sloss, ed., *Is the International Legal Order Unraveling*? 363-96. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2022 "The Failure to Destroy the Authority of the European Court of Human Rights: 2010-2018." *Journal of the Law and Practice of International Courts and International Tribunals* 21: 244-277. Co-authored with Alec Stone Sweet and Mads Andenas.
- 2022 "The Sources of Resilience of International Human Rights Courts: The Case of the Inter-American System." *Law & Social Inquiry* 47(1): 95-131. Co-authored with Ezequiel Gonzalez Ocantos.
- 2022 "Self-Spreading Vaccines: Base Policy on Evidence—Response." Science 375 (no. 6587, March 25, 2022): 1363. Co-authored with Filippa Lentzos, Edward P. Rybicki, Margret Engelhard, Pauline Paterson and R. Guy Reeves.
- 2022 "Eroding Norms Over Release of Self-Spreading Viruses." Science 375 (no. 6576, Jan 7, 2022): 31-33. Co-authored with Filippa Lentzos, Edward P. Rybicki, Margret Engelhard, Pauline Paterson, and R. Guy Reeves.
- 2021 "Dissenting Opinions and Rights Protection in the European Court." *European Journal of International Law* 32(3): 897-906. Co-authored with Alec Stone Sweet and Mads Andenas.
- 2021 "Constructing a Regional Human Rights Legal Order: The Inter-American Court, National Courts, and Judicial Dialogue, 1988 2014." *International Journal of Constitutional Law (I-CON)* 19(5): 1559-1596. Co-authored with Ezequiel Gonzalez Ocantos.
- 2021 "Human Rights Courts and Global Constitutionalism: Coordination through Judicial Dialogue." *Global Constitutionalism* 10:3 439-64.
- 2020 "The ECtHR, Transregional Dialogues and Global Constitutionalism." *Global Constitutionalism* 9(3): 543-551.
- 2020 "International Human Rights Law: Progress and Prospects." In Michael Stohl and Alison Brysk, eds., *A Research Agenda for Human Rights*. 51-74. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar. Co-authored with Kyle Rapp*.
- 2020 "Reserving Rights: Explaining Human Rights Treaty Reservations." *International Studies Quarterly* 64(4): 785-97; co-authored with Kelebogile Zvobgo* and Suzie Mulesky*.
- 2020 "Law and Politics in the Inter-American System: The Amnesty Cases." *Journal of Law and Courts* 8(1): 151-75; co-authored with Mariana Rangel Padilla*.
- 2019 "The Transnational Legal Ordering of the Death Penalty." *Journal of International, Transnational, and Comparative Law* 4:124-60; co-authored with Stefanie Neumeier*.

Revised version published in *Transnational Legal Ordering of Criminal Justice*, Gregory Shaffer and Ely Aaronson, eds. 293-332. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

- 2019 "Universal Human Rights and Constitutional Change." *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 27(4): 1183-1262; co-authored with David Sloss.
- 2019 "Norm Contestation, Robustness, and Replacement." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4(1): 139-46.
- 2019 "The Trans-regional Construction of Human Rights." In Alison Brysk and Michael Stohl, eds., *Contesting Human Rights: Norms, Institutions and Practice*. 107-24. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar; co-authored with Adam Feldman*.
- 2018 "Backlash and International Human Rights Courts." In Alison Brysk and Michael Stohl, eds., *Contracting Human Rights: Crisis, Accountability, and Opportunity.* 159-78. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar; co-authored with Yining Bei** and Kayla Caldwell**.
- 2017 "International Norm Change." In William Thompson, ed., *Oxford Research Encyclopedia* of Empirical International Relations Theory. Oxford Research Encyclopedias. Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.588.
- 2017 "Expanding Rights: Norm Innovation in the European and Inter-American Courts of Human Rights." In Alison Brysk and Michael Stohl, eds., *Expanding Human Rights: 21st Century Norms and Governance*. 156-76. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.
- 2017 "Domestic Law and Human Rights Treaty Commitments: The Convention against Torture." *Journal of Human Rights* 16(1): 25-43.
- 2016 "U.S. Military Assistance and Human Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* 38(4): 1070-1101.
- 2015 "How Domestic Courts Use International Law." *Fordham International Law Journal* 38(2): 595 637.
- 2013 "Treaties, Constitutions, Courts, and Human Rights." In Charles Anthony Smith, ed., *Globalizing Human Rights: Emerging Issues and Approaches*. New York: Routledge. (An earlier version appeared in the *Journal of Human Rights*, 2012.)
- 2013 "Treaties, Constitutions, and Courts: The Critical Combination." In Alison Brysk, ed., *The Politics of the Globalization of Law.* 29 46. New York: Routledge.
- 2012 "Neo-functionalism and Supranational Governance." In Erik Jones, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*. 18–33. Oxford: Oxford University Press; co-authored with Alec Stone Sweet.
- 2012 "Patterns of Death Penalty Abolition, 1960-2005: Domestic and International Factors," *International Studies Quarterly* 56: 275 – 89; co-authored with Anthony McGann.
- 2012 "European Integration, Nationalism, and European Identity," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 50th Anniversary Edition 50(S1): 106 22; co-authored with Neil Fligstein and Alina Polyakova.
- 2012 "Treaties, Constitutions, Courts, and Human Rights," *Journal of Human Rights* 11(1): 17 32.
- 2010 "Plunder, Restitution, and International Law," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 17(2): 147-76.
- 2009 "Closing Off the Torture Option." *Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal* 18(3): 589 601.
- 2009 "The Iraq War and International Law." In David Armstrong, ed., *Routledge Handbook of International Law.* 222 38. London: Routledge.

2009	"Europe, the United States, and the International Criminal Court," <i>Politique Étrangère</i> 2009(1): 117 – 30.
2008	"Dynamics of International Norm Change: Rules against Wartime Plunder." <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> 14(1): 101-131.
2008	"Creating Authority: The International Tribunals." In Bruce Cronin and Ian Hurd, eds., <i>The Institution of International Authority: Law, Politics, and the U.N. Security Council</i> , 131-53. London: Routledge.
2006	"Women and Globalization: A Study of 180 Countries, 1975-2000." <i>International Organization</i> 60(2): 293-333; co-authored with Mark M. Gray and Miki Caul Kittilson.
	Reprinted in David A. Baldwin, ed., <i>Key Concepts in the New Global Economy</i> . Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2012.
	Reprinted in John Scott Masker, ed., <i>Introduction to Global Politics: A Reader</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
2005	"The Iraqi National Museum and International Law: A Duty to Protect." <i>Columbia Journal of Transnational Law</i> 44(1): 185-240.
2005	"Corruption, Culture, and Communism." <i>International Review of Sociology</i> 15 (1): 109-31; co-authored with Rein Taagepera.
2005	"International Determinants of National Corruption Levels." In Transparency International, <i>Global Corruption Report 2005</i> , 268-70. London: Pluto Press; co-authored with Mark Gray.
2004	"Law, Politics, and International Governance." In Christian Reus-Smit, ed., <i>The Politics of International Law</i> , 238-71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; co-authored with Alec Stone Sweet.
2003	"International Integration and National Corruption." <i>International Organization</i> 57 (4): 761-800; co-authored with Mark Gray*.
	Reprinted in David A. Deese, <i>Globalization: Causes and Effects</i> . Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2012.
2002	"Humanitarian Intervention: Global Enforcement of Human Rights?" In Alison Brysk, ed., <i>Globalization and Human Rights</i> , 201-225. Berkeley: University of California Press.
2002	"After Empire: National Identities and Post-Colonial Families of Nations." <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> 8(2): 267-305; co-authored with Alison Brysk and Craig Parsons*.
2001	"Dogfight over Asia: Airbus v. Boeing." <i>Business and Politics</i> 3(2): 135-56; co-authored with William Love*.
2001	"The Institutionalization of European Space." In Alec Stone Sweet, Wayne Sandholtz, and Neil Fligstein, eds., <i>The Institutionalization of Europe</i> , 1-28. Oxford: Oxford University Press; co-authored with Alec Stone Sweet and Neil Fligstein.
2001	"Policing and Immigration: The Creation of New Policy Spaces." In Alec Stone Sweet, Wayne Sandholtz, and Neil Fligstein, eds., <i>The Institutionalization of Europe</i> , 194-220. Oxford: Oxford University Press; co-authored with Penelope Turnbull.
2001	"David and Goliath: Airbus vs. Boeing in Asia." In Vinod K. Aggarwal, ed., <i>Winning in Asia, European Style: Market and Nonmarket Strategies</i> , 187-224. New York: Palgrave; co-authored with William Love*.

2000	"Accounting for Corruption: Economic Structure, Democracy, and Trade." <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> 44: 31-50; co-authored with William Koetzle.
1999	"European Integration and Supranational Governance Revisited: Rejoinder to Branch and Øhrgaard." <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 6: 144-54; co-authored with Alec Stone Sweet.
1999	"Globalization and the Evolution of Rules." In Aseem Prakash and Jeffrey Hart, eds., <i>Globalization and Governance</i> , 77-102. London: Routledge.
1998	"L'union Monétaire: Une Route Semée D'embûches sans Espoir de Retour." In Anne- Marie Le Gloannec, ed., <i>Entre Union et Nations: L'état en Europe</i> , 191-226. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
1998	"Integration, Supranational Governance, and the Institutionalization of the European Polity." In Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet, eds., <i>European Integration and</i> <i>Supranational Governance</i> , 1-26. Oxford: Oxford University Press; co-authored with Alec Stone Sweet.
1998	"The Emergence of a Supranational Telecommunications Regime." In Wayne Sandholtz and Alec Stone Sweet, eds., <i>European Integration and Supranational Governance</i> , 134-63. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
1997	"European Integration and Supranational Governance." <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> 4: 297-317; co-authored with Alec Stone Sweet.
	Reprinted in Richard Little and Michael Smith, eds., <i>Perspectives on World Politics</i> , 3 rd ed, 195-203. London: Routledge, 2006.
1996	"Membership Matters: Limits of the Functional Approach to European Institutions." <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> 34(3): 404-29.
1996	"Europe's Monetary Malaise: International Institutions and Domestic Policy Commitments." <i>Review of International Studies</i> 22(3): 257-73.
1995	"Institutions and Leadership: Germany, Maastricht, and the ERM Crisis." In S. Mazey and C. Rhodes, eds., <i>The State of the European Community, Vol. 3</i> , 245-65. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner; co-authored with Michael Smith.
1993	"Institutions and Collective Action: The New Telecommunications in Western Europe." <i>World Politics</i> 45(2): 242-70.
	Reprinted in Neill Nugent, ed., <i>The European Union II</i> (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997).
1993	"Choosing Union: Monetary Politics and Maastricht." <i>International Organization</i> 47: 1-39.
	Reprinted in Brent F. Nelsen and Alexander C-G. Stubb, eds., <i>The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration</i> (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994).
	Reprinted in Neill Nugent, ed., <i>The European Union II</i> (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997).
	Reprinted in John J. Kirton, ed., International Finance, 489-528 (London: Ashgate, 2009).
1993	"Monetary Bargains: The Treaty on EMU." In Alan W. Cafruny and Glenda G. Rosenthal, eds., <i>The State of the European Community, Vol. 2</i> , 125-42. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

1989 "1992: Recasting the European Bargain." *World Politics* 42(1): 95-128; co-authored with John Zysman.

Reprinted in: Nelsen, Brent F. and Alexander C-G. Stubb, eds. 1994. *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Reprinted in: Neill Nugent, ed. 1997. *The European Union II*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate.

Working papers

- 2019 *Human Rights Courts and Global Constitutionalism: Coordination through Judicial Dialogue.* Working Paper No. 35. Berlin Potsdam Research Group "The International Rule of Law Rise or Decline?" Berlin.
- 2019 *Resurgent Authoritarianism and the International Rule of Law.* Working Paper No. 38. Berlin Potsdam Research Group "The International Rule of Law – Rise or Decline?" Berlin.

Book reviews and review essays

2015	"A New Age of International Courts.	<i>" Tulsa Law Review</i> 51(2): 471-85.
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- 2015 *"Lost" Causes: Agenda Vetting in Global Issue Networks and the Shaping of Human Security, by Charli Carpenter. Political Science Quarterly* 130(2): 364-65.
- 2011 *Integrating Europe: Informal Politics and Institutional Change*, by Jeffrey Stacy. *West European Politics* 34(5): 1143-45.

Current data projects

"The Political Question Doctrine in Action: Court Access, Foreign Relations, and the Role of the Judiciary in Constitutional Democracy." Co-PI: Christopher Whytock, UCI Law School. This will be the first database of all federal court cases in which the court makes a decision on admissibility based on the political question doctrine. The data will allow us to test propositions about executive-judicial relations, access to justice, among other topics.

Grants

2011	National Science Foundation, "Courts and the Globalization of Law," Principal Investigator, SES-1401525, \$299,000 (three years).
2007	Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, UCI, Faculty Seed Grant, "Human Rights, Legal Cultures, and the International Criminal Court," \$1,500.
2004	Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, Block Grant Awarded to CGPACS, P.I., \$15,000.
2003	Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, Block Grant Awarded to CGPACS, P.I., \$15,000.
2001	National Science Foundation, SES-0094550, "Art and War: Dynamics of International Norm Change," Principal Investigator, \$109,998.
2001	Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, "Globalization and Women," P.I., \$5,000.
1999	Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, "Ending Executions: The Transnational Movement Against Capital Punishment," P.I., \$6,000.
1999	Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, Block Grant Awarded to GPACS, P.I.,

	\$12,500.
1999	Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, grant for the UCI International Relations Workshop, P.I., \$3,880.
1997	Center for German and European Studies, "The Institutionalization of European Space," Collaborative Research Project. Project co-director with Alec Stone Sweet, \$51,000.
1997	Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, Block Grant awarded to Global Peace and Conflict Studies, \$12,500.
1997	Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, Grant for the GPACS Faculty-Student Research Program, \$2,000.
1997	Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, Grant for the GPACS Colloquium Series on International Society and Institutions, \$3,000.
1997	Global Peace and Conflict Studies, grant to establish a Center for the Study of Regional Integration. Project co-director with Alec Stone Sweet, \$8,000.
1996	Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, "Culture and Corruption: The International Diffusion of Democratic Norms," P.I., \$6,000.
1995	Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, "Trade Taboos: The Emergence of Ethical Rules in International Society," P.I., \$7,000.
1995	Committee for Instructional Development, UCI, "Nationalism and World Politics," P.I., \$1,800.
1994 - 95	Center for German and European Studies (Berkeley), "European Integration and Domestic Politics," Co-P.I. with Alec Stone Sweet, \$40,915.
1994	Global Peace and Conflict Studies Faculty Research Grant, "European Integration and Domestic Politics," Co-P.I. with Russell Dalton and Alec Stone Sweet, \$8,500.
1994	Office of Research and Graduate Studies, UCI, Conference Research Support, "European Integration and Domestic Politics," P.I., \$2,000.
1994	Center for German and European Studies (Berkeley), Research Assistantship in European Studies, P.I., \$3,139.
1993	Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation Research Grant, "In Search of Union: The Politics of Monetary Integration in Europe," P.I., \$15,000.
1993	Center for German and European Studies (Berkeley), Research Assistantship in European Studies, P.I., \$3,139.
1993	
	Center for German and European Studies, University of California, Berkeley, Junior Faculty Travel Grant, "The Politics of European Monetary Integration," P.I., \$5,000.
1992	
1992 1992	Travel Grant, "The Politics of European Monetary Integration," P.I., \$5,000. German Marshall Fund of the United States Research Fellowship, "Choosing Union: The

Research projects directed

2011 - 2020	Courts and the Globalization of Law
2004 - 2008	Dynamics of International Norm Change (co-director with Kendall Stiles)
1997 – 1999	The Institutionalization of European Space (co-director with Alec Stone Sweet)
1994 - 1997	European Integration and Domestic Politics (co-director with Alec Stone Sweet)

Other professional activities

Editorial Board, *Journal of Human Rights* (2017 –) Editorial Board, *Journal of European Public Policy* (1997 – 2004) Editorial Board, *International Studies Quarterly* (1995-1998)

Referee (last ten years):

Acta Politica American Journal of International Law American Journal of Political Science American Journal of Sociology American Political Science Review British Journal of Political Science Business and Society Cambridge Review of International Affairs Canadian Journal of Political Science **Comparative European Politics Comparative Political Studies Cornell University Press** *Economics of Governance* Edward Elgar European Journal of International Relations European Journal of Political Research European Political Science Review Global Constitutionalism Global Governance Governance Human Rights Review International Interactions International Journal of Comparative Sociology International Journal of Cultural Property International Organization International Security International Studies Quarterly International Studies Review International Theory

Journal of Common Market Studies Journal of Conflict Resolution Journal of Development Studies Journal of Economic Policy Reform Journal of Economics and Statistics Journal of Global Security Studies Journal of Human Rights Journal of International Dispute Resolution Journal of International Organization Studies Journal of Law and Courts Journal of Peace Research Journal of Politics Journal of Public Policy Law and Society Review Leiden Journal of International Law Lynne Rienner Publishers **Oxford University Press** Perspectives on Politics **Political Parties** Political Research Quarterly **Political Studies Review of International Organizations** Review of International Political Economy **Review of International Studies** Social Problems Social Science Journal Social Science Quarterly Social Science Research Studies in Comparative Political Development Swiss National Science Foundation World Politics