

POL 667: The Scientific Study of Human Rights and Repression

FALL 2019

Description of Course

When do governments engage in repression of citizens, and how do those citizens (and the international community) respond in turn? This course provides a survey of the foundational and more recent research on human rights and repression around the world. We will start off by defining different forms of human rights violations and how these violations are observed in the real world (and subsequently translated into the data used in our research projects). We will then examine what factors influence the occurrence and degree of government-perpetrated repression in its various forms, and the effectiveness of tactics civilians use to counter human rights violations. We will also consider the role of the international community on influencing domestic processes of human rights protection and violation, via the diffusion of norms and the threatened or actual use of intervention strategies by third parties. While this course is principally focused on large-N cross-national quantitative studies of human rights, we will frequently discuss real-world examples of repression as well.

Course Locations and Times:

Time: Wednesdays 12:30-3:00

Location: 332 Social Sciences

Instructor Information

Instructor: Jessica Braithwaite

Contact: jbraith@email.arizona.edu

Office: 343 Social Sciences

Office hours: By appointment

Course Objectives and Expected Learning Outcomes

Develop an extensive knowledge of patterns of repression over time and space.

Gain an increased understanding of quantitative approaches to social science questions.

Nurture critical thinking skills by assessing applicability of general theories to specific cases.

Topics

Defining and coding human rights violations; domestic determinants of repression; domestic responses to repression by opponents; international norms of human rights; diffusion of norms and repression; international responses to repression.

Course Format and Teaching Methods

Each session will involve a combination of brief introductory presentations by instructor and students as well as general discussions of the week's readings. Do not be surprised to be asked to write, discuss, and present arguments and evidence. Please come prepared to ask and answer important questions about the topics and readings assigned for the session.

Grading Policy

University policy regarding grades and grading systems is available at:
<http://catalog.arizona.edu/2014-15/policies/grade.htm>

Grade distribution for this course:

- A: 90-100
- B: 80-89.9
- C: 70-79.9
- D: 60-69.9
- E: 59.9 and below

Requests for incompletes (I) and withdrawal (W) must be made in accordance with university policies which are available at <http://catalog.arizona.edu/2015-16/policies/grade.htm> and <http://catalog.arizona.edu/2015-16/policies/grade.htm> respectively.

Assignments and Evaluation

The grade in this course will be based on the following requirements:

Dataset summary (5%)

After we go over the definitions and some available cross-national datasets on human rights and repression, your assignment for week 3 (in lieu of class that week) is to fill out a worksheet describing various details about a human rights dataset. You will be expected to upload this to D2L by 11:59 pm on **Wednesday 9/7**, and upon instructor approval it will be shared with the class so we can compile a comprehensive collection summarizing data that could be used in your own research on this topic.

Case study (5%)

Your assignment for week 4 will be to study in detail the human rights environment in a country of your choosing. You should use some of the datasets we've gone over in course materials to assess what the government has been doing, and also some data on civil conflict (e.g. NAVCO, SCAD, UCDP) to consider what domestic threat environment exists as well. You might also want to consider some things like regime type, economic conditions, and participation in international human rights treaties that might affect the ways in which states respond to civilian dissent (hint, hint). Upload a brief summary of your case study to D2L by 11:59 pm on **Wednesday, 9/14**.

Weekly responses (30%)

Beginning in week 5, on the Tuesday before class (by 11:59 pm), you are asked to upload to the D2L dropbox a brief response paper that critically evaluates the readings for the upcoming session. Each response should be approximately 2 pages in length. The response should treat the set of readings for the upcoming session as a whole. You are asked to focus your responses on the following four topics:

- What is the main finding of each reading? (1-2 sentences per reading, ideally)
- Do the readings indicate that there is a general consensus on the week's topic? Explain.
- What would you propose as an original extension of the readings for this week?
- How would you propose to address this question (e.g. useful data, methods)?

Research Paper (40%)

This exercise is aimed at encouraging you to think about the scientific process behind studying a phenomenon like repression. You will be working on this project throughout the course of the semester, and I will provide you with feedback along the way. This should be either a replication and extension of an existing article or a quantitative study of an original question concerning the study of human rights and repression; it can focus on any aspect of these behaviors. Ideally, this will serve as the first draft of a manuscript that can eventually be submitted for consideration at a peer reviewed journal. Papers should be approximately 9-11,000 words long, including tables and figures (this is pretty standard for most journals), and will be due during finals week.

Attendance and Participation (20%)

Your participation grade is threefold: first, you are expected to engage in respectful and thoughtful discussion with your peers about the week's assigned readings. Second, you must come up with **two questions each week**, based on individual articles or the set of readings as a whole. Ideally, these questions will engage the readings on a critical level, but also they can be about something you didn't understand in an article or something related that you

want to know more about. Questions must be uploaded to the D2L dropbox by 11:59 pm Tuesdays.

Third, and in addition to attendance and general discussion, your participation score will be based on your leadership of one or two class sessions. Each week, one or two students will lead discussions on the assigned readings. The primary purpose of this exercise is not to merely review the articles but, rather, to pose questions to stimulate further discussion.

Late Work Policy

As a rule, work will not be accepted beyond the terms described in this syllabus, except in case of documented emergency or illness. You may petition the professor in writing for an exception if you feel you have a compelling reason for turning work in late.

Attendance and Participation

You are graduate students, so attendance is not required by me but instead is your responsibility. Attending class and participating in discussion is vital to the learning process and constitutes an important part of your grade—so it is in your best interest to attend class every week. The UA policy regarding absences on and accommodation of religious holidays is available at <http://deanofstudents.arizona.edu/policies-and-codes/accommodation-religious-observance-and-practice>.

Classroom Behavior

To foster a positive learning environment, students may not text, chat, make phone calls, play games, read the newspaper or surf the web during lecture and discussion. Students are asked to refrain from disruptive conversations with people sitting around them during lecture. Students observed engaging in disruptive activity will be asked to cease this behavior. Students who continue to disrupt the class will be asked to leave lecture or discussion and may be reported to the Dean of Students.

The Arizona Board of Regents' Student Code of Conduct, ABOR Policy 5-308, prohibits threats of physical harm to any member of the University community, including to one's self. See: <http://policy.arizona.edu/threatening-behavior-students>.

Notification of Objectionable Materials

Although course content may be deemed offensive by some students, such materials are deemed important for the learning process. Students are not excused from interacting with such materials, but they are certainly encouraged to express well-formed opinions that express those objections and their reasons for them.

Accessibility and Accommodations

It is the University's goal that learning experiences be as accessible as possible. If you anticipate or experience physical or academic barriers based on disability, please let me know immediately so that we can discuss options. You are also welcome to contact Disability Resources (520-621-3268) to establish reasonable accommodations. For additional information on Disability Resources and reasonable accommodations, please visit <http://drc.arizona.edu/>.

If you have reasonable accommodations, please plan to meet with me by appointment or during office hours to discuss accommodations and how my course requirements and activities may impact your ability to fully participate.

Student Code of Academic Integrity

Students are encouraged to share intellectual views and discuss freely the principles and applications of course materials. However, graded work/exercises must be the product of independent effort unless otherwise instructed. Students are expected to adhere to the UA Code of Academic Integrity as described in the UA General Catalog. See: <http://deanofstudents.arizona.edu/academic-integrity/students/academic-integrity>.

I take academic integrity violations very seriously. Plagiarism and cheating of any sort will not be tolerated. Any violation of academic integrity results in a failing grade for this course and will be reported immediately to the dean's office; they reserve the right to administer additional sanctions on top of my rules. The University Libraries have some excellent tips for avoiding plagiarism available at: <http://www.library.arizona.edu/help/tutorials/plagiarism/index.html>.

Confidentiality of Student Records

<http://www.registrar.arizona.edu/ferpa/default.htm>

Subject to Change Statement

Information contained in the course syllabus, other than the grade and absence policy, may be subject to change with advance notice, as deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Additional Resources for Students

UA Non-discrimination and Anti-harassment policy is available at:

<http://policy.arizona.edu/human-resources/nondiscrimination-and-anti-harassment-policy>

UA Academic policies and procedures are available at:

<http://catalog.arizona.edu/2015-16/policies/aaindex.html>

Student Assistance and Advocacy information is available at:

<http://deanofstudents.arizona.edu/student-assistance/students/student-assistance>

Outline of Course Topics and Required Readings

Week 1 (8/28): Course introduction (no required readings)

Week 2 (9/4): Defining repression

- Landman, Todd. “Measuring human rights: principle, practice and policy.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 26.4 (2004): 906-931.
- Landman, Todd. “The political science of human rights.” *British Journal of Political Science* 35.03 (2005): 549-572.
- Davenport, Christian. “State repression and political order.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (2007): 1-23.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. “A social science of human rights.” *Journal of Peace Research* 51.2 (2014): 273-286.
- response to Hafner-Burton (2014) from Amanda Murdie:
<http://duckofminerva.com/2014/03/a-social-science-of-human-rights-some-new-social-science.html>

Recommended readings:

- Carey, Sabine C., Mark Gibney, and Steven C. Poe. *The politics of human rights: the quest for dignity*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Earl, Jennifer. “Tanks, tear gas, and taxes: Toward a theory of movement repression.” *Sociological Theory* 21.1 (2003): 44-68.
- Goldstein, Robert Justin. “The limitations of using quantitative data in studying human rights abuses.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 8.4 (1986): 607-627.
- Landman, Todd, and Edzia Carvalho. *Measuring human rights*. Routledge, 2009.
- McCormick, James M., and Neil J. Mitchell. “Human rights violations, umbrella concepts, and empirical analysis.” *World Politics* 49.4 (1997): 510-525.

Week 3 (9/11): NO CLASS – dataset summary

Recommended readings on measuring repression:

- Armstrong, David A. “Stability and change in the Freedom House political rights and civil liberties measures.” *Journal of Peace Research* 48.5 (2011): 653-662.
- Caprioli, Mary, Valerie M. Hudson, Rose McDermott, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Chad F. Emmett, and S. Matthew Stearmer. “The Womanstats Project database: Advancing an empirical research agenda.” *Journal of Peace Research* 46.6 (2009): 839-851.

- Cingranelli, David L., and David L. Richards. “Measuring the level, pattern, and sequence of government respect for physical integrity rights.” *International Studies Quarterly* 43.2 (1999): 407-417.
- Cingranelli, David L., and David L. Richards. “The Cingranelli and Richards (CIRI) human rights data project.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 32.2 (2010): 401-424.
- Clark, Ann Marie, and Kathryn Sikkink. “Information effects and human rights data: Is the good news about increased human rights information bad news for human rights measures?” *Human Rights Quarterly* 35.3 (2013): 539-568.
- Conrad, Courtenay R., Jillienne Haglund, and Will H. Moore. “Disaggregating Torture Allegations: Introducing the Ill-Treatment and Torture (ITT) Country-Year Data.” *International Studies Perspectives* 14.2 (2013): 199-220.
- Earl, Jennifer, Andrew Martin, John D. McCarthy, and Sarah A. Soule. 2004. “The use of newspaper data in the study of collective action.” *Annual review of Sociology* 65-80.
- Eck, Kristine, and Lisa Hultman. “One-Sided Violence Against Civilians in War Insights from New Fatality Data.” *Journal of Peace Research* 44.2 (2007): 233-246.
- Fariss, Christopher J. “Respect for human rights has improved over time: Modeling the changing standard of accountability.” *American Political Science Review* 108.02 (2014): 297-318.
- Fariss, Christopher J., and Keith E. Schnakenberg. “Measuring mutual dependence between state repressive actions.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2013)
- Gohdes, Anita R., and Sabine C. Carey. “Canaries in a coal-mine? What the killings of journalists tell us about future repression.” *Journal of Peace Research* 54.2 (2017): 157-174.
- Harff, Barbara. “No lessons learned from the Holocaust? Assessing risks of genocide and political mass murder since 1955.” *American Political Science Review* 97.01 (2003): 57-73.
- Harff, Barbara, and Ted Robert Gurr. “Toward empirical theory of genocides and politicides: Identification and measurement of cases since 1945.” *International Studies Quarterly* 32.3 (1988): 359-371.
- Hill, Daniel W., Will H. Moore, and Bumba Mukherjee. “Information Politics Versus Organizational Incentives: When Are Amnesty International’s ‘Naming and Shaming’ Reports Biased?” *International Studies Quarterly* 57.2 (2013): 219-232.
- Iqbal, Zaryab, and Christopher Zorn. “Sic semper tyrannis? Power, repression, and assassination since the second world war.” *Journal of Politics* 68.3 (2006): 489-501.

- Poe, Steven C., Tanya Vazquez, and Sabine Carey. “How Are These Pictures Different? An Empirical Comparison of the U.S. State Department and Amnesty International Human Rights Reports, 1976-1995.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 23 (2001): 650-677.
- Rosga, Ann Janette, and Margaret L. Satterthwaite. “The trust in indicators: measuring human rights.” *Berkeley J. Int’l Law* 27 (2009): 253.
- Rummel, Rudolph J. “Power, genocide and mass murder.” *Journal of Peace Research* 31.1 (1994): 1-10.
- Rummel, Rudolph J. “Democracy, power, genocide, and mass murder.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39.1 (1995): 3-26.
- Taylor, Charles Lewis and David A. Jodice. *World handbook of political and social indicators*. Yale University Press, 1983.
- Wimmer, Andreas, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Brian Min. “Ethnic politics and armed conflict: a configurational analysis of a new global data set.” *American Sociological Review* 74.2 (2009): 316-337.
- Wood, Reed M., and Mark Gibney. “The Political Terror Scale (PTS): A re-introduction and a comparison to CIRI.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 32.2 (2010): 367-400.

Week 4 (9/18): NO CLASS – case study research

Week 5 (9/25): Determinants of repression I – general

- Poe, Steven C., and C. Neal Tate. “Repression of human rights to personal integrity in the 1980s: a global analysis.” *American Political Science Review* 88.04 (1994): 853-872.
- Nordas, Ragnhild, and Christian Davenport. “Fight the youth: Youth bulges and state repression.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57.4 (2013): 926-940.
- Hill, Daniel W., and Zachary M. Jones. “An Empirical Evaluation of Explanations for State Repression.” *American Political Science Review* 108.03 (2014): 661-687.
- Richards, David L., Alyssa Webb, and K. Chad Clay. “Respect for Physical-Integrity Rights in the Twenty-First Century: Evaluating Poe and Tate’s Model 20 Years Later.” *Journal of Human Rights* 14.3 (2015): 291-311.

Recommended readings:

- Moore, Will H. “Repression and dissent: Substitution, context, and timing.” *American Journal of Political Science* (1998): 851-873.
- Poe, Steven C., Neal Tate, and Linda Camp Keith. “Repression of the human right to personal integrity revisited: A global cross-national study covering the years 1976-1993.” *International Studies Quarterly* (1999): 291-313.

- Scharpf, Adam. “Ideology and state terror: How officer beliefs shaped repression during Argentina’s ‘Dirty War’.” *Journal of Peace Research* 55.2 (2018): 206-221.
- Sullivan, Christopher M. “Undermining Resistance: Mobilization, Repression, and the Enforcement of Political Order.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2015).
- Siegel, David A. “When does repression work? Collective action in social networks.” *The Journal of Politics* 73.04 (2011): 993-1010.
- Wood, Reed M., and Thorin M. Wright. “Responding to Catastrophe Repression Dynamics Following Rapid-onset Natural Disasters.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2015).

Week 6 (10/2): Determinants of repression II – domestic institutions

- Davenport, Christian. “State repression and the tyrannical peace.” *Journal of Peace Research* 44.4 (2007): 485-504.
- Conrad, Courtenay Ryals, and Will H. Moore. “What stops the torture?” *American Journal of Political Science* 54.2 (2010): 459-476.
- Bhasin, Tavishi, and Jennifer Gandhi. “Timing and targeting of state repression in authoritarian elections.” *Electoral Studies* 32.4 (2013): 620-631.
- Licht, Amanda A., and Susan Hannah Allen. “Repressing for reputation: Leadership transitions, uncertainty, and the repression of domestic populations.” *Journal of Peace Research* 55.5 (2018): 582-595.

Recommended readings:

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, George W. Downs, Alastair Smith, and Feryal Marie Cherif. “Thinking inside the box: A closer look at democracy and human rights.” *International Studies Quarterly* 49.3 (2005): 439-458.
- Cole, Wade M., and Francisco O. Ramirez. “Conditional decoupling: Assessing the impact of national human rights institutions, 1981 to 2004.” *American Sociological Review* (2013)
- Conrad, Courtenay R. “Divergent Incentives for Dictators Domestic Institutions and (International Promises Not to) Torture.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58.1 (2014): 34-67.
- Davenport, Christian A. “Constitutional Promises and Repressive Reality: A Cross-National Time-Series Investigation of Why Political and Civil Liberties are Suppressed.” *The Journal of Politics* 58.03 (1996): 627-654.
- Davenport, Christian. *State repression and the domestic democratic peace*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

- Davenport, Christian, and David A. Armstrong. “Democracy and the violation of human rights: A statistical analysis from 1976 to 1996.” *American Journal of Political Science* 48.3 (2004): 538-554.
- Eck, Kristine. “Repression by Proxy: How Military Purges and Insurgency Impact the Delegation of Coercion.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.5 (2015): 924-946.
- Fein, Helen. 1995. “More murder in the middle: Life-integrity violations and democracy in the world, 1987.” *Human Rights Quarterly*.
- Frantz, Erica, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. “A dictator’s toolkit Understanding how co-optation affects repression in autocracies.” *Journal of Peace Research* (2014)
- Hendrix, Cullen S., and Idean Salehyan. “A House Divided:Threat Perception, Military Factionalism, and Repression in Africa.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2016).
- Hill Jr, Daniel W. “Democracy and the concept of personal integrity rights.” *The Journal of Politics* 78.3 (2016): 822-835.
- Keith, Linda Camp. “Constitutional provisions for individual human rights (1977-1996): Are they more than mere ‘window dressing?’” *Political Research Quarterly* 55.1 (2002): 111-143.
- Keith, Linda Camp, C. Neal Tate, and Steven C. Poe. “Is the law a mere parchment barrier to human rights abuse?” *The Journal of Politics* 71.2 (2009): 644-660.
- Lake, Milli. “Organizing hypocrisy: providing legal accountability for human rights violations in areas of limited statehood.” *International Studies Quarterly* 58.3 (2014): 515-526.
- Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin, Jonathan J. Ring, and Mary K. Spellman. “Domestic legal traditions and states’ human rights practices.” *Journal of Peace Research* 50.2 (2013): 189-202.
- Regan, Patrick M., and Errol A. Henderson. “Democracy, threats and political repression in developing countries: are democracies internally less violent?” *Third World Quarterly* 23.1 (2002): 119-136.
- Richards, David L., and Ronald D. Gelleny. “Good things to those who wait? National elections and government respect for human rights.” *Journal of Peace Research* 44.4 (2007): 505-523.
- Rivera, Mauricio. 2016. “Authoritarian Institutions and State Repression: The Divergent Effects of Legislatures and Opposition Parties on Personal Integrity Rights.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Skaar, Elin. *Judicial independence and human rights in Latin America: violations, politics, and prosecution*. Springer, 2011.
- Young, Joseph K. “State capacity, democracy, and the violation of personal integrity rights.” *Journal of Human Rights* 8.4 (2009): 283-300.

Week 7 (10/9): Determinants of repression III – economics

Research question and initial annotated bibliography due Sunday at 11:59 pm MST

- Landman, Todd, and Marco Larizza. “Inequality and human rights: Who controls what, when, and how.” *International Studies Quarterly* 53.3 (2009): 715-736.
- DeMeritt, Jacqueline HR, and Joseph K. Young. “A political economy of human rights: Oil, natural gas, and state incentives to repress.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30.2 (2013): 99-120.
- De Soysa, Indra, and Krishna Chaitanya Vadlammanati. ”Do pro-market economic reforms drive human rights violations? An empirical assessment, 1981?2006.” *Public choice* 155.1-2 (2013): 163-187.
- Peterson, Timothy M. “Export Diversity and Human Rights.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2015).

Recommended readings:

- Bader, Julia, and Ursula Daxecker. “A Chinese resource curse? The human rights effects of oil export dependence on China versus the United States.” *Journal of Peace Research* 52.6 (2015): 774-790.
- Bodea, Cristina, and Fangjin Ye. ”Investor Rights versus Human Rights: Do Bilateral Investment Treaties Tilt the Scale?” *British Journal of Political Science* (2018): 1-23.
- Cao, Xun, Brian Greenhill, and Aseem Prakash. “Where is the tipping point? Bilateral trade and the diffusion of human rights.” *British Journal of Political Science* 43.01 (2013): 133-156.
- Clay, K. Chad, and Matthew R. Digiuseppe. “The Physical Consequences of Fiscal Flexibility: Sovereign Credit and Physical Integrity Rights.” *British Journal of Political Science* 47.4 (2017): 783-807.
- De Soysa, Indra, and Krishna Chaitanya Vadlamannati. “Does being bound together suffocate, or liberate? The Effects of economic, Social, and Political Globalization on Human Rights, 1981?2005.” *Kyklos* 64.1 (2011): 20-53.
- Englehart, Neil A. “State capacity, state failure, and human rights.” *Journal of Peace Research* 46.2 (2009): 163-180.
- Grauvogel, Julia, Amanda A. Licht, and Christian von Soest. “Sanctions and signals: How international sanction threats trigger domestic protest in targeted regimes.” *International Studies Quarterly* 61.1 (2017): 86-97.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. “Trading human rights: How preferential trade agreements influence government repression.” *International Organization* 59.03 (2005): 593-629.

- Mitchell, Neil J., and James M. McCormick. “Economic and political explanations of human rights violations.” *World Politics* 40.04 (1988): 476-498.
- Peterson, Timothy M., Amanda Murdie, and Victor Asal. ”Human rights, NGO shaming and the exports of abusive states.” *British Journal of Political Science* 48.3 (2018): 767-786.
- Pogge, Thomas W. *World poverty and human rights*. Polity, 2008.
- Richards, David L., Ronald D. Gelleny, and David H. Sacko. “Money with a mean streak? Foreign economic penetration and government respect for human rights in developing countries.” *International Studies Quarterly* 45.2 (2001): 219-239.

Week 8 (10/16): Determinants of repression IV – international

- Bell, Sam R., K. Chad Clay, and Amanda Murdie. “Neighborhood watch: spatial effects of human rights INGOs.” *The Journal of Politics* 74.02 (2012): 354-368.
- DeMeritt, Jacqueline HR. “International Organizations and Government Killing: Does Naming and Shaming Save Lives?” *International Interactions* 38.5 (2012): 597-621.
- Wright, Thorin M. “Territorial revision and state repression.” *Journal of Peace Research* (2014).
- Danneman, Nathan, and Emily Hencken Ritter. “Contagious rebellion and preemptive repression.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58.2 (2014): 254-279.

Recommended Readings

- Brysk, Alison. “Beyond framing and shaming: Human trafficking, human security and human rights.” *Journal of Human Security* 5.3 (2009).
- Abouharb, M. Rodwan, and David L. Cingranelli. “The human rights effects of World Bank structural adjustment, 1981-2000.” *International Studies Quarterly* 50.2 (2006): 233-262.
- Cingranelli, David L., and Thomas E. Pasquarello. “Human rights practices and the distribution of US foreign aid to Latin American countries.” *American Journal of Political Science* (1985): 539-563.
- DeMeritt, Jacqueline HR. “Delegating Death: Military Intervention and Government Killing.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.3 (2015): 428-454.
- Drury, A. Cooper, and Yitan Li. “US economic sanction threats against China: Failing to leverage better human rights.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 2.4 (2006): 307-324.
- Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. “International norm dynamics and political change.” *International Organization* 52.04 (1998): 887-917.

- Greenhill, Brian. “The company you keep: International socialization and the diffusion of human rights norms.” *International Studies Quarterly* 54.1 (2010): 127-145.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. “Trading human rights: How preferential trade agreements influence government repression.” *International Organization* 59.03 (2005): 593-629.
- Meernik, James, Rosa Aloisi, Marsha Sowell, and Angela Nichols. “The impact of human rights organizations on naming and shaming campaigns.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56.2 (2012): 233-256.
- Murdie, Amanda. *Help Or Harm: The Human Security Effects of International NGOs*. Stanford University Press, 2014.
- Murdie, Amanda, and Dursun Peksen. “The Impact of Human Rights INGO Shaming on Humanitarian Interventions.” *The Journal of Politics* 76.01 (2014): 215-228.
- Peksen, Dursun. “Better or worse? The effect of economic sanctions on human rights.” *Journal of Peace Research* 46.1 (2009): 59-77.
- Poe, Steven C. “Human Rights and US Foreign Aid: A Review of Quantitative Studies and Suggestions for Future Research.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 12 (1990): 499.
- Wong, Wendy H. *Internal affairs: How the structure of NGOs transforms human rights*. Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Wood, Reed M. “A Hand upon the Throat of the Nation?: Economic Sanctions and State Repression, 1976-2001.” *International Studies Quarterly* 52.3 (2008): 489-513.
- Wright, Thorin M., and Shweta Moorthy. “Refugees, economic capacity, and host state repression.” *International Interactions* 44.1 (2018): 132-155.

Week 9 (10/23): Dissent and repression I

- Moore, Will H. “The repression of dissent.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44.1 (2000)
- Ritter, Emily Hencken. “Policy Disputes, Political Survival, and the Onset and Severity of State Repression.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58.1 (2014): 143-168.
- Sutton, Jonathan, Charles R. Butcher, and Isak Svensson. “Explaining political jiu-jitsu: Institution-building and the outcomes of regime violence against unarmed protests.” *Journal of Peace Research* (2014).
- Chenoweth, Erica and Evan Perkoski. “How Risky is Nonviolent Dissent? Nonviolent Uprisings and Mass Killings.” (2017). Working paper.

Week 10 (10/30): Dissent and repression II

- Carey, Sabine C. “The use of repression as a response to domestic dissent.” *Political Studies* 58.1 (2010): 167-186.
- Young, Joseph K. “Repression, dissent, and the onset of civil war.” *Political Research Quarterly* 66.3 (2013): 516-532.
- Bell, Sam R., and Amanda Murdie. “The Apparatus for Violence: Repression, Violent Protest, and Civil War in a Cross-National Framework.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2016).
- Sullivan, Christopher M. “Undermining Resistance: Mobilization, Repression, and the Enforcement of Political Order.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60.7 (2016)

Recommended readings:

- Bell, Sam R., David Cingranelli, Amanda Murdie, and Alper Caglayan. “Coercion, capacity, and coordination: Predictors of political violence.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30.3 (2013): 240-262.
- Besley, Timothy, and Torsten Persson. 2009. “Repression or civil war?” *The American Economic Review* 99(2): 292-297.
- Bob, Clifford, and Sharon Erickson Nepstad. “Kill a leader, murder a movement? Leadership and assassination in social movements.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 50.10 (2007): 1370-1394.
- Carey, Sabine C. “The dynamic relationship between protest and repression.” *Political Research Quarterly* 59.1 (2006): 1-11.
- Chenoweth, Erica, Evan Perkoski, and Sooyeon Kang. “State repression and nonviolent resistance.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61.9 (2017): 1950-1969.
- Chenoweth, Erica, and Jay Ulfelder. “Can Structural Conditions Explain the Onset of Nonviolent Uprisings?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2015).
- Conrad, Courtenay R., Justin Conrad, James Igoe Walsh, and James A. Piazza. “Who tortures the terrorists? Transnational terrorism and military torture.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* (2014).
- Davenport, Christian. “Multi-dimensional threat perception and state repression: An inquiry into why states apply negative sanctions.” *American Journal of Political Science* 39.3 (1995): 683-713.
- Davenport, Christian. *How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

- Dugan, Laura, and Erica Chenoweth. “Moving Beyond Deterrence The Effectiveness of Raising the Expected Utility of Abstaining from Terrorism in Israel.” *American Sociological Review* 77.4 (2012): 597-624.
- Earl, Jennifer, Sarah A. Soule, and John D. McCarthy. 2003. “Protest under fire? Explaining the policing of protest.” *American Sociological Review* 581-606.
- Escriba-Folch, Abel. “Repression, political threats, and survival under autocracy.” *International Political Science Review* (2013)
- Fjelde, Hanne. “Generals, Dictators, and Kings: Authoritarian Regimes and Civil Conflict, 1973-2004.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27.3 (2010):195-218.
- Francisco, Ronald A. “The Relationship between Coercion and Protest: An Empirical Evaluation in Three Coercive States.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39.2 (1995): 263-282.
- Francisco, Ronald A. “Coercion and protest: An empirical test in two democratic states.” *American Journal of Political Science* (1996): 1179-1204.
- Gartner, Scott Sigmund, and Patrick M. Regan. “Threat and repression: The non-linear relationship between government and opposition violence.” *Journal of Peace Research* 33.3 (1996): 273-287.
- Gurr, Ted. 1970. *Why men rebel*. Princeton University Press.
- Jakobsen, Tor G., and Indra De Soysa. “Give me liberty, or give me death! State repression, ethnic grievance and civil war, 1981-2004.” *Civil Wars* 11.2 (2009): 137-157.
- Lichbach, Mark Irving. “Deterrence or escalation? The puzzle of aggregate studies of repression and dissent.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31.2 (1987): 266-297.
- Martin, Brian, Wendy Varney, and Adrian Vickers. “Political Jiu-jitsu Against Indonesian Repression: Studying Lower-profile Nonviolent Resistance.” *Pacifica Review: Peace, Security & Global Change* 13.2 (2001): 143-156.
- Mason, T. David. *Caught in the Crossfire: Revolution, Repression, and the Rational Peasant*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004.
- Mason, T. David, and Dale A. Krane. “The political economy of death squads: Toward a theory of the impact of state-sanctioned terror.” *International Studies Quarterly* (1989): 175-198.
- Mitchell, Neil. *Agents of atrocity: Leaders, followers, and the violation of human rights in civil war*. Springer, 2004.
- Murdie, Amanda, and Tavishi Bhasin. “Aiding and abetting: Human rights INGOs and domestic protest.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55.2 (2011): 163-191.

- Pierskalla, Jan Henryk. “Protest, deterrence, and escalation: The strategic calculus of government repression.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2009).
- Rasler, Karen. “Concessions, repression, and political protest in the Iranian revolution.” *American Sociological Review* (1996): 132-152.
- Ritter, Emily Hencken, and Courtenay R. Conrad. “Preventing and responding to dissent: The observational challenges of explaining strategic repression.” *American Political Science Review* 110.1 (2016): 85-99.
- Soule, Sarah, and Christian Davenport. “Velvet glove, iron fist, or even hand? Protest policing in the United States, 1960-1990.” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 14.1 (2009): 1-22.
- Staniland, Paul. “Cities on fire: social mobilization, state policy, and urban insurgency.” *Comparative Political Studies* 43.12 (2010): 1623-1649.
- Sullivan, Christopher Michael. “The (in)effectiveness of torture for combating insurgency.” *Journal of Peace Research* 51.3 (2014): 388-404.
- Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From mobilization to revolution*. McGraw-Hill College.
- Thoms, Oskar NT, and James Ron. “Do human rights violations cause internal conflict?” *Human Rights Quarterly* 29.3 (2007): 674-705.

Week 11 (11/6): NO CLASS

Research design due Sunday 11/10 at 11:59 pm MST

Week 12 (11/13): Human rights and repression after conflict

- Murdie, Amanda, and David R. Davis. “Problematic potential: The human rights consequences of peacekeeping interventions in civil wars.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 32 (2010).
- Uzonyi, Gary, and Richard Hanania. “Government-Sponsored Mass Killing and Civil War Reoccurrence.” *International Studies Quarterly* 61.3 (2017): 677-689.
- Keels, Eric, and Angela D. Nichols. “State repression and post-conflict peace failure.” *Conflict, Security & Development* 18.1 (2018): 17-37.
- Carey, Sabine C. and Belen Gonzalez. “The legacy of war: The effect of militias on post-war repression.” Working paper (2018)

Recommended readings:

- Braithwaite, Jessica Maves and Kirssa Cline Ryckman. “In search of peace: Government repression in post-war states.” Working paper (2018).

- Herreros, Francisco. “Peace of cemeteries: Civil war dynamics in postwar states’ repression.” *Politics & Society* 39.2 (2011): 175-202.
- Høglund, Kristine, Anna K. Jarstad, and Mimmi Soderberg Kovacs. “The predicament of elections in war-torn societies.” *Democratization* 16.3 (2009): 530-557.
- Kathman, Jacob D., and Reed M. Wood. “Stopping the killing during the “peace”: Peacekeeping and the severity of postconflict civilian victimization.” *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12.2 (2016): 149-169.
- Meernik, James D., Angela Nichols, and Kimi L. King. “The impact of international tribunals and domestic trials on peace and human rights after civil war.” *International Studies Perspectives* 11.4 (2010): 309-334.
- Pankhurst, Donna, ed. *Gendered Peace: Women’s Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation*. Routledge, 2012.
- Poe, Steven C., Nicolas Rost, and Sabine C. Carey. “Assessing risk and opportunity in conflict studies: A human rights analysis.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50.4 (2006): 484-507.
- Uzonyi, Gary. “Civil war victory and the onset of genocide and politicide.” *International Interactions* 41.2 (2015): 365-391.

Week 13 (11/20): Transitional justice and human rights

- Sikkink, Kathryn, and Carrie Booth Walling. “The impact of human rights trials in Latin America.” *Journal of Peace Research* 44.4 (2007): 427-445.
- Meernik, James D., Angela Nichols, and Kimi L. King. “The impact of international tribunals and domestic trials on peace and human rights after civil war.” *International Studies Perspectives* 11.4 (2010): 309-334.
- Escriba-Folch, Abel, and Joseph Wright. “Human rights prosecutions and autocratic survival.” *International Organization* 69.02 (2015): 343-373.
- Dancy, Geoff, Bridget E. Marchesi, Tricia D. Olsen, Leigh A. Payne, Andrew G. Reiter, and Kathryn Sikkink. “Behind Bars and Bargains: New Findings on Transitional Justice in Emerging Democracies.” *International Studies Quarterly* 63.1 (2019): 99-110.

Recommended readings:

- Adhikari, Prakash, Wendy L. Hansen, and Kathy L. Powers. “The Demand for Reparations Grievance, Risk, and the Pursuit of Justice in Civil War Settlement.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56.2 (2012): 183-205.
- Arthur, Paige. “How Transitions Reshaped Human Rights: A Conceptual History of Transitional Justice.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 31.2 (2009): 321-367.

- Binningsbo, Helga Malmin, Cyanne E. Loyle, Scott Gates, and Jon Elster. 2012. “Armed conflict and post-conflict justice, 1946-2006 A dataset.” *Journal of Peace Research* 49(5): 731-740.
- Dancy, Geoff, Hunjoon Kim, and Eric Wiebelhaus-Brahm. “The turn to truth: Trends in truth commission experimentation.” *Journal of Human Rights* 9.1 (2010): 45-64.
- Hayner, Priscilla B. *Unspeakable truths: Transitional justice and the challenge of truth commissions*. Routledge, 2010.
- Hillebrecht, Courtney. *Domestic politics and international human rights tribunals: the problem of compliance*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Kim, Hunjoon, and Kathryn Sikkink. “Explaining the Deterrence Effect of Human Rights Prosecutions for Transitional Countries.” *International Studies Quarterly* 54.4 (2010): 939-963.
- Kim, Nam Kyu, and Gary Uzonyi. “Government Mass Killing and Post-Conflict Domestic Trials.” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2018): 1-18.
- Landsman, Stephan. “Alternative responses to serious human rights abuses: of prosecution and truth commissions.” *Law and Contemporary Problems* (1996): 81-92.
- Meernik, James. “Victor’s Justice or the Law? Judging And Punishing At The International Criminal Tribunal For The Former Yugoslavia.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47.2 (2003): 140-162.
- Nalepa, Monika. *Skeletons in the closet: Transitional justice in post-communist Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Nichols, Angela D. *Impact, Legitimacy, and Limitations of Truth Commissions*. Springer, 2019.
- Olsen, Tricia D., Leigh A. Payne, and Andrew G. Reiter. 2010. “Transitional justice in the world, 1970-2007: Insights from a new dataset.” *Journal of Peace Research* 47(6): 803-809.
- Roht-Arriaza, Naomi, and Javier Mariezcurrena, eds. *Transitional justice in the twenty-first century: beyond truth versus justice*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Sandholtz, Wayne. “Treaties, constitutions, courts, and human rights.” *Journal of Human Rights* 11.1 (2012): 17-32.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics*. WW Norton & Company, 2011.
- Subotic, Jelena. “Expanding the scope of post-conflict justice: Individual, state and societal responsibility for mass atrocity.” *Journal of Peace Research* 48.2 (2011): 157-169.

Week 14 (11/27): International human rights treaties

- Neumayer, Eric. “Do international human rights treaties improve respect for human rights?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49.6 (2005): 925-953.
- Vreeland, James Raymond. “Political institutions and human rights: Why dictatorships enter into the United Nations Convention Against Torture.” *International Organization* 62.01 (2008): 65-101.
- Conrad, Courtenay R., and Emily Hencken Ritter. “Treaties, tenure, and torture: the conflicting domestic effects of international law.” *The Journal of Politics* 75.02 (2013): 397-409.
- Lupu, Yonatan. “Best evidence: the role of information in domestic judicial enforcement of international human rights agreements.” *International Organization* 67.03 (2013): 469-503.

Recommended readings:

- Chapman, Terrence L., and Stephen Chaudoin. “Ratification patterns and the international criminal court.” *International Studies Quarterly* 57.2 (2013): 400-409.
- Cole, Wade M. “Government Respect for Gendered Rights: The Effect of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women on Women’s Rights Outcomes, 1981?2004.” *International Studies Quarterly* 57.2 (2013): 233-249.
- Conrad, Courtenay R. “Divergent Incentives for Dictators: Domestic Institutions and (International Promises Not to) Torture.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58.1 (2014): 34-67.
- Conrad, Courtenay R., and Emily Hencken Ritter. *Contentious Compliance: Dissent and Repression Under International Human Rights Law*. Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Dancy, Geoff, and Kathryn Sikkink. “Ratification and human rights prosecutions: toward a transnational theory of treaty compliance.” *NYU Journal of International Law & Politics* 44 (2011): 751.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., and Kiyoteru Tsutsui. “Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises.” *American Journal of Sociology* 110.5 (2005): 1373-1411.
- Hathaway, Oona A. “Do human rights treaties make a difference?” *Yale Law Journal* (2002): 1935-2042.
- Hawkins, Darren. “Explaining costly international institutions: Persuasion and enforceable human rights norms.” *International Studies Quarterly* 48.4 (2004): 779-804.
- Hill, Daniel W. “Estimating the effects of human rights treaties on state behavior.” *The Journal of Politics* 72.04 (2010): 1161-1174.

- Hollyer, James R., and B. Peter Rosendorff. “Why do authoritarian regimes sign the convention against torture? Signaling, domestic politics and non-compliance.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 6 (2011): 275-327.
- Goodliffe, Jay, and Darren G. Hawkins. “Explaining commitment: States and the convention against torture.” *Journal of Politics* 68.2 (2006): 358-371.
- Grewal, Sharanbir, and Erik Voeten. “Are New Democracies Better Human Rights Compliers?” *International Organization* 69.02 (2015): 497-518.
- Lupu, Yonatan. “Legislative Veto Players and the Effects of International Human Rights Agreements.” *American Journal of Political Science* (2015).
- Payne, Caroline L., and M. Rodwan Abouharb. “The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the strategic shift to forced disappearance.” *Journal of Human Rights* 15.2 (2016): 163-188.
- Posner, Eric A. *The twilight of human rights law*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Powell, Emilia Justyna, and Jeffrey K. Staton. “Domestic judicial institutions and human rights treaty violation.” *International Studies Quarterly* 53.1 (2009): 149-174.
- Ryckman, Kirssa Cline. “Ratification as accommodation? Domestic dissent and human rights treaties.” *Journal of Peace Research* (2016)
- Simmons, Beth A. *Mobilizing for human rights: international law in domestic politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Von Stein, Jana. “Making promises, keeping promises: democracy, ratification and compliance in international human rights law.” *British Journal of Political Science* (2015): 1-25.
- Waltz, Susan Eileen. “Universalizing human rights: The role of small states in the construction of the universal declaration of human rights.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 23.1 (2001): 44-72.
- Welch, Ryan M. “National Human Rights Institutions: Domestic implementation of international human rights law.” *Journal of Human Rights* 16.1 (2017): 96-116.

Week 15 (12/4): Women’s rights are human rights

- Htun, Mala, and S. Laurel Weldon. “The civic origins of progressive policy change: Combating violence against women in global perspective, 1975–2005.” *American Political Science Review* 106.3 (2012): 548-569.
- Englehart, Neil A., and Melissa K. Miller. “The CEDAW effect: International law’s impact on women’s rights.” *Journal of Human Rights* 13.1 (2014): 22-47.

- Brysk, Alison, and Aashish Mehta. “When Development Is Not Enough: Structural Change, Conflict and Gendered Insecurity.” *Global Society* 31.4 (2017): 441-459.
- Donno, Daniela, and Anne-Kathrin Kreft. “Authoritarian Institutions and Women’s Rights.” *Comparative Political Studies* 52.5 (2019): 720-753.

Recommended readings:

- Bonner, Michelle D. *Sustaining human rights: Women and Argentine human rights organizations*. Penn State Press, 2010.
- Bunch, Charlotte. “Women’s rights as human rights: Toward a re-vision of human rights.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 12 (1990): 486.
- Caprioli, Mary. “Democracy and human rights versus women’s security: A contradiction?” *Security Dialogue* 35.4 (2004): 411-428.
- Caprioli, Mary, Valerie M. Hudson, Rose McDermott, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Chad F. Emmett, and S. Matthew Stearmer. “The Womanstats Project database: Advancing an empirical research agenda.” *Journal of Peace Research* 46.6 (2009): 839-851.
- Cohen, Dara Kay, and Ragnhild Nordas. “Do states delegate shameful violence to militias? Patterns of sexual violence in recent armed conflicts.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.5 (2015): 877-898.
- Ferree, Myra Marx. “Soft repression: Ridicule, stigma, and silencing in gender-based movements.” In *Repression and Mobilization*, eds. Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston, and Carol Mueller. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Hill Jr, Daniel W. “Estimating the effects of human rights treaties on state behavior.” *The Journal of Politics* 72.4 (2010): 1161-1174.
- Hudson, Valerie M., Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott, and Chad F. Emmett. “The heart of the matter: The security of women and the security of states.” *International Security* 33.3 (2009): 7-45.
- Htun, Mala, and S. Laurel Weldon. *The logics of gender justice: state action on women’s rights around the world*. Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Kalev, Henriette Dahan. “Cultural rights or human rights: The case of female genital mutilation.” *Sex roles* 51.5-6 (2004): 339-348.
- MacKinnon, Catharine A. “Rape, genocide, and women’s human rights.” *Harv. Women’s LJ* 17 (1994).
- Murdie, Amanda, and Dursun Peksen. “Women’s rights INGO shaming and the government respect for women’s rights.” *The Review of International Organizations* 10.1 (2015): 1-22.

- Pankhurst, Donna, ed. *Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation*. Routledge, 2012.
- Peksen, Dursun. "Foreign military intervention and women's rights." *Journal of Peace Research* 48.4 (2011): 455-468.
- Richards, David L., and Jillienne Haglund. *Violence against women and the law*. Routledge, 2015.
- Weldon, S. Laurel, and Mala Htun. "Feminist mobilisation and progressive policy change: why governments take action to combat violence against women." *Gender & Development* 21.2 (2013): 231-247.

Week 16 (12/11): What have we been missing/ignoring when we talk about repression?

- Earl, Jennifer. "Tanks, tear gas, and taxes: Toward a theory of movement repression." *Sociological Theory* 21.1 (2003): 44-68.
- **Pick (at least) two pieces from the recommended readings below to read for class this week - whichever ones interest you!**

Recommended readings:

- Barkan, Steven. "Criminal prosecution and the legal control of protest." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 11.2 (2006): 181-194.
- Berliner, Daniel, Anne Greenleaf, Milli Lake, and Jennifer Noveck. "Building capacity, building rights? State capacity and labor rights in developing countries." *World Development* 72 (2015): 127-139.
- Boykoff, Jules. "Limiting dissent: The mechanisms of state repression in the USA." *Social Movement Studies* 6.3 (2007): 281-310.
- Brysk, Alison, and Gershon Shafir, eds. *People out of place: globalization, human rights and the citizenship gap*. Routledge, 2004.
- Busse, Matthias. "Transnational corporations and repression of political rights and civil liberties: An empirical analysis." *Kyklos* 57.1 (2004): 45-65.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. "Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis." *World Politics* 62.1 (2010): 87-119.
- Davenport, Christian. *Media bias, perspective, and state repression: The Black Panther Party*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- della Porta, Donnatella. "Social Movements and the State: Thoughts on the Policing of Protest." In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, eds. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. Cambridge University Press, 1996.

- Deng, Yanhua, and Kevin J. O'Brien. "Relational repression in China: using social ties to demobilize protesters." *The China Quarterly* 215 (2013): 533-552.
- Earl, Jennifer. "Political Repression: Iron Fists, Velvet Gloves, and Diffuse Control." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37.37 (2011): 261-84.
- Eck, Kristine. "Repression by proxy: How military purges and insurgency impact the delegation of coercion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.5 (2015): 924-946.
- Ferree, Myra Marx. "Soft repression: Ridicule, stigma, and silencing in gender-based movements." In *Repression and Mobilization*, eds. Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston, and Carol Mueller. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Gohdes, Anita R. "Repression technology: Internet accessibility and state violence." *American Journal of Political Science* (2019).
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. "How censorship in China allows government criticism but silences collective expression." *American Political Science Review* 107.2 (2013): 326-343.
- Marx, Gary T. "Thoughts on a neglected category of social movement participant: The agent provocateur and the informant." *American Journal of Sociology* 80.2 (1974): 402-442.
- Moller, Jorgen, and Svend-Erik Skaaning. "Autocracies, democracies, and the violation of civil liberties." *Democratization* 20.1 (2013): 82-106.
- Moore, Jennifer. "From Nation State to Failed State: International Protection from Human Rights Abuses by Non-State Agents." *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* 31 (1999).
- Moroff, Anika. "Party bans in Africa—an empirical overview." *Democratization* 17.4 (2010): 618-641.
- Mosley, Layna, and Saika Uno. "Racing to the bottom or climbing to the top? Economic globalization and collective labor rights." *Comparative Political Studies* 40.8 (2007): 923-948.
- Timberlake, Michael, and Kirk R. Williams. "Dependence, political exclusion, and government repression: Some cross-national evidence." *American Sociological Review* (1984): 141-146.
- Tir, Jaroslav, and Michael Jasinski. "Domestic-level diversionary theory of war: Targeting ethnic minorities." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52.5 (2008): 641-664.
- Wimmer, Andreas. *Nationalist exclusion and ethnic conflict: Shadows of modernity*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Zhukov, Yuri M. "Population resettlement in war: Theory and evidence from Soviet archives." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.7 (2015): 1155-1185.