# **International Human Rights**

Prof. Christian Davenport Thursday: 9:30-12:15 GVPT856 Tydings 1111

One searches in vain through the thousands of articles and Books written by political scientists, political sociologists, economists, and anthropologists for references to the awful and bloody deeds of governments and for explanations of how and why these deeds are done.

John McCammant

All I ask is that, in the middle of a murderous world, we agree to reflect on murder and to make a choice

Albert Camus

### Course Outline

This course is directed towards filling the gap within the literature on human rights violation/state repression. We will address the "state of the art" research on personal integrity (genocide/politicide, torture, disappearances, mass killing/atrocities, mass arrests, detention) as well as civil liberties (restrictions on speech, association, assembly and religion). We will rigorously go through the available work and then attempt to develop it further - pushing the discipline as far as possible. The student taking this class will be at the forefront of the discipline. Knowledge of empirical strategies not essential but would be helpful.

## Course Requirements

The course in run on six principles:

- 1) careful reading of the assigned material;
- 2) active participation in class (15% of the grade);
- 3) clear and concise oral presentations (30% of the grade);
- 4) brief (5 page) and well constructed review essays of each reading (20% of the grade);
- 5) a 3-5 page outline of the final paper (5%) Due 10/18/07
- 6) 1 final paper (30% of the grade) **Due 12/20/07**

Number 4 and 6 are discussed in more detail below.

<u>Review essays</u> - each class different individuals will be selected to prepare and submit written assignments (the assignments will rotate between students). The paper is due at the end of the class. Late assignments will not be eligible for an A.

The assignments themselves will be 5 pages in length and will address the criteria provided within the appendix. Students will be evaluated on how well they meet these criteria.

**Final paper** - submitted on - here will be a paper concerning a topic of the students choice (discussed with the Professor). Primarily the student should seek to extend the already existing literature or take the area in a new direction. The paper should not exceed 30 pages in text (not including notes, tables, references and so forth).

As the area that we are addressing is relatively underdeveloped this task should not be that difficult. The paper is open to geographic location, time period, and methodological technique (i.e., econometrics, computer simulation, case studies, or some combination [preferred]), as long as the one(s) selected is(are) appropriate for the particular research question put forth. Throughout the course we shall be going over all of these differences in some detail, so if you do not feel comfortable with one, you will be.

8/30 – Orientation

## **Beginning an Inquiry**

9/6 – What is Repression/Human Rights Violation/State Coercion?

Landman (2006) – Studying Human Rights (Book)

Schmid (1991) – "Repression, State Terror and Genocide: Conceptual Clarifications," in *State Organized Terror* (Book chapter)

Ferree (2005) – "Soft Repression: Ridicule, Stigma and Silencing in Gender-Based Movements, in *Repression and Mobilization* (Book chapter)

Davenport (2007) – "State Repression and Political Order." *Annual Review of Political Science* (Journal Article)

Earl (2003) – "Tanks, Tear Gas, and Taxes: Toward a Theory of Movement Repression" *Sociological Theory* (Journal Article)

#### 9/13 – General Theorization

Levene (2005) – Genocide in the Age of the Nation-State: The Meaning of Genocide (Book)

Giddens (1987) – The Nation State and Violence (Book)

Rejali (1994) – Torture & Modernity: Self, Society, and State in Modern Iran (Book)

Wrong (1994) – *The Problem of Order* (Book)

Garland (1990) – Punishment and Modern Society (Book)

Clegg (1989) – Frameworks of Power (Book)

McCammant, J. (1984). Governance without Blood: Social Sciences Antiseptic View of Rule; or, the Neglect of Political Repression. In *The State as Terrorist: The Dynamics of Governmental Violence and Repression*. (Book Chapter)

### The Rationalist Formulation

- Duvall and Stohl (1983) "Governance by Terror," in *The Politics of Terrorism* (Book chapter)
- Gurr (1986) "Persisting Patterns of Repression and Rebellion: Foundations for a General Theory of Political Coercion," in Persistent Patterns and Emergent Structures in a Waning Century (Book chapter)
- Lichbach (1984) An Economic Theory of Governability: Choosing Policy and Optimizing Performance." *Public Choice* (Journal Article)

9/20 - Data

#### General Discussion

- Carr Center Project (2006) Measurement and Human Rights: Tracking Progress, Assessing Impact (Manuscript/Report – from Professor)
- Landman (2001) "Measuring Human Rights: Principle, Practice and Policy." *Human Rights Quarterly* (Journal Article)
- Green (2001) "What We Talk About When We Talk About Indicators: Current Approaches to Human Rights Measurement." *Human Rights Ouarterly* (Journal Article)
- Desrosières (2001) "How Real Are Statistics?" *Social Research* (Journal Article)
- Dipak Gupta et al. (1993) "Creating a Composite Index for Assessing Country Performance in the Field of Human Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* (Journal Article)

Types of data (Information provided by Professor)

World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators – Codebook Political Terror Scale – Codebook CIRI (Cingranelli and Richards dataset) – Codebook Genocide/Politicide from State Failure Task Force – Codebook Violations (Ball) – Codebook Restrictions on Civil Liberties (Freedom House) – Codebook

One-Sided Violence (Eck and Hultzman) – Codebook

#### **Problems**

- Davenport (2007) *The Rashomon Effect* (Manuscript provided by Professor)
- Millett (1994) *The Politics of Cruelty* (Book)
- Koopmans (2005) "Repression and the Public Sphere: Discursive Opportunities for Repression against the Extreme Right in Germany in the 1990s," *Repression and Mobilization* (Book chapter)
- Davenport and Ball (2002) "Views to a Kill: Exploring the Implications of Source Selection in the Case of Guatemalan State Terror, 1977-1995." *Journal Article of Conflict Resolution* (Journal Article)
- Maney and Oliver (2001) "Finding Collective Events: Sources, Searches, Timing." *Sociological Methods & Research* (Journal Article)
- Oliver and Myers (1999) "How Events Enter the Public Sphere: Conflict, Location, and Sponsorship in Local Newspaper Coverage." *American Journal Article of Sociology* (Journal Article)
- Cingranelli and Richards (1999) "Measuring the Level, Pattern, and Sequence of Government Respect for Physical Integrity Rights." *International Studies Quarterly* (Journal Article)
- Alison Brysk (1994) "The Politics of Measurement: The Contested Count of Disappeared in Argentina." *Human Rights Quarterly* (Journal Article)
- Robert White (1993) "On Measuring Political Violence: Northern Ireland, 1969 to 1980." *American Political Science Review* (Journal Article)
- Robert Goldstein (1986) "The Limitations of Using Quantitative Data in Studying Human Rights Abuses." *Human Rights Quarterly* (Journal Article)
- Michael Stohl et al. (1986) "State Violation of Human Rights: Issues and Problems of Measurement." *Human Rights Quarterly* (Journal Article)
- Bollen (1986) "Political Rights and Political Liberties in Nations: An Evaluation of Human Rights Measures, 1950 to 1984." *Human Rights Quarterly* (Journal Article)

#### **Process**

Ball – Who Did What to Whom: Planning and Implementing a Large Scale Human Rights Data Project (Book available electronically: http://shr.aaas.org/www/contents.html)

#### **Domestic Influences**

## 9/27 – Democracy

Davenport (2007) – *State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace* (Book) Rummel (1997) – *Power Kills* (Book) Goldstein (1983) – *Political Repression in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Europe* (Book)

- Davenport and Armstrong (2004) "Democracy and the Violation of Human Rights: A Statistical Analysis from 1976 to 1996." *American Journal Article of Political Science* (Journal Article)
- Keith (2002) "Constitutional Provisions for Individual Human Rights (1977-1996): Are They More than Mere "Window Dressing?" *Political Research Quarterly* (Journal Article)
- Zanger (2000) "A Global Analysis of the Effect of Political Regime Changes on Life Integrity Violations, 1977-93." *Journal Article of Peace Research* (Journal Article)
- Davenport (1997) "From Ballots to Bullets: an Empirical Assessment of How National Elections Influence State Uses of Political Repression." *Electoral Studies* (Journal Article)
- Fein (1995). "More Murder in the Middle Life-Integrity Violations and Democracy in the World, 1987." *Human Rights Quarterly* (Journal Article)
- Gibson (1990) "Pluralism, Federalism and the Protection of Civil Liberties." The Western Political Quarterly (Journal Article)

#### 10/4 – Autocracy

Dallin and Breslauer (1970) – *Political Terror in Communist Systems* (Book) Walter (1969) – *Terror and Resistance* (Book)

Linz (2000) – Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes (Book)

Wintrobe (1998) – *The Political Economy of Dictatorship* (Book)

Rummel (1990) – Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1917 (Book)

Friedrich and Brzezinski (1962) – *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (Book)

Davenport (2007) – "State Repression and the Tyrannical Peace" *Journal Article of Peace Research* (Journal Article)

10/11 – Behavioral (Threat/Response)

Davenport et al. (2005) – Repression and Mobilization (Book) Della Porta and Reiter (1998) – Protest Policing (Book) Goldstein (1978) – Political Repression in Modern America (Book)

- Davenport (2005) "Introduction. Repression and Mobilization: Insights from Political Science and Sociology," in *Repression and Mobilization* (Book chapter)
- Boudreau (2005) "Precarious Regimes and Matchup Problems in the Explanation of Repressive Policy," in *Repression and Mobilization* (Book chapter)
- Shellman (2007) "Taking Tactical Turns: Political Survival & Government-Dissident Sequential Interactions." *Security Studies* (Journal Article)
- Moore (2000) "The Repression of Dissent." *Journal Article of Conflict Resolution* (Journal Article)
- Gartner and Regan (1996) "Threat and Repression: The Non-Linear Relationship between Government and Opposition Violence." *Journal Article of Peace Research* (Journal Article)
- Davenport (1995) "Multidimensional Threat Perception." *American Journal of Political Science* (Journal Article)

### 10/18 – Economic Explanations

Hirshleifer (2001) – The Dark Side of the Force: Economic Foundations of Conflict Theory (Book)

Stanley (1996) – *The Protection Racket State* (Book) Tilly (1993) - *Coercion, Capital and European States* (Book)

#### **International Influences**

10/25 – Economic Explanations

- Cingranelli and Abouharb (2007) *Human Rights and Structural Adjustment* (Book)
- Pion-Berlin (1989) The Ideology of State Terror: Economic Doctrine and Political Repression in Argentina and Peru (Book)
- Lopez and Stohl (1989) Dependence, Development and State Repression (Book) Chomsky and Herman (1979) – The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism (Book)
- Cingranelli and Abouharb (2006) "The Human Rights Effects of World Bank Structural Adjustment, 1981-2000." *International Studies Quarterly* (Journal Article)
- Hafner-Burton (2005) Right or Robust? The Sensitive Nature of Repression to Globalization. *Journal Article of Peace Research* (Journal Article) Richards and Gelleny (2001) "Money with a Mean Streak? Foreign Economic

- Penetration. and Government Respect for Human. Rights in Developing Countries" (Journal Article)
- Franklin, (1997). "IMF Condtionality, Threat Perception and Political Repression: A Cross-National Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* (Journal Article).
- Landman and Larizza (2007) "Power and Human Rights: Who Controls What When and How" (APSA Conference Paper)

### 11/1 – International Agreements

- Adams and Ratner (2001) Accountability for Human Rights Atrocities in International Law: Beyond the Nuremberg Legacy (Book)
- Hafner Burton (2005) "Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression." *International Organization* (Journal Article)
- Hathaway (2002) "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *The Yale Law Journal Article* (Journal Article)
- Keith (1999) "The United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: Does It Make a Difference in Human Rights Behavior?" *Journal Article of Peace Research* (Journal Article)

## 11/8 – Advocacy and Humanitarianism

- Davenport (2007) (N)ever Again, Until Tomorrow: Understanding and Ending Repressive Violence (Manuscript provided by Professor)
- Hawkins (2002) International Human Rights and Authoritarian Rule in Chile (Book)
- Keck and Sikkink (1998) Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics (Book)
- Ron, Ramos and Rodgers (2005) "Transnational Information Politics: NGO Human Rights Reporting, 1986-2000" *International Studies Quarterly* (Journal Article)
- Krain (2005) "International Intervention and the Severity of Genocides and Politicides." *International Studies Quarterly* (Journal Article)
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie. "Sticks and Stones: Can Naming and Shaming Solve Human Rights Enforcement Problems? Unpublished Manuscript. http://www.princeton.edu/~ehafner/pdfs/sticks\_stones.pdf

## **Moving Forward**

#### 11/15 – Limitations/Puzzles

The Role of the Security Forces

Cunningham (2004) – There's Something Happening Here: The New Left, The Klan and Counterintelligence (Book)

Mitchell (2004) – Agents of Atrocity: Leaders, Followers, and the Violation of Human Rights in Civil War (Book)
Donnor (1990) – The Protectors of Privilege (Book)

Earl and Soule (2006) – "Seeing Blue: A Police-Centered Explanation of Protest Policing." *Mobilization* (Journal Article)

#### Aftereffects

Truth and Reconciliation

Brahms (2006) – "Truth and Rights: Truth Commissions and Human Rights Practice in a Cross-National Context" (APSA Conference Paper)

State Building

Thies (2004) – "State Building, Interstate and Intrastate Rivalry: A Study of Post-Colonial Developing Country Extractive Efforts, 1975–2000." *International Studies Quarterly* (Journal Article)

Preece (1998) – "Ethnic Cleansing as an Instrument of Nation-State Creation: Changing State Practices and Evolving Legal Norms." *Human Rights Quarterly* (Journal Article)

#### Migration

Rubin and Moore (Forthcoming) – "Risk Factors for Forced Migrant Flight." *Conflict Management & Peace Science* (Journal Article)

Moore and Shellman (2006) – "Refugee or Internally Displaced Person? To Where Should One Flee?," *Comparative Political Studies* (Journal Article)

Moore and Shellman (2004) – "Fear of Persecution: Forced Migration, 1952-95," *Journal Article of Conflict Resolution* (Journal Article)

Davenport, Moore, and Poe (2003) – "Sometimes You Just Have to Leave: Threat and Refugee Movements, 1964-1989," International Interactions (Journal Article)

War

Enterline and Gleditsch (2000) – "Threats, Opportunity, and Force: Repression and Externalization of Domestic Pressure by Political Leaders, 1948-82." (Journal Article)

Davis and Ward (1990) – "They Dance Alone: Deaths and the Disappeared in Contemporary Chile." (Journal Article)

Economic Liberalization Trade Democracy

11/29 – Student Presentations

12/6 – Student Presentations

## Useful Resources:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human\_rights http://www.hrweb.org/ www.idealist.org http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/