# POLI 7941/7971: Human Rights

Fall 2022 Monday, 9:00am-12:00pm 234 Stubbs Hall

#### Instructor

Christopher Sullivan
219 Stubbs Hall
Email: csullivanlsu@gmail.com
Office Hours: by appointment

A note on office hours – please email me ahead of time to let me know what you would like to discuss during office hours so that I can prepare to assist in the best way possible.

Course Description: This course is directed towards filling gaps within the empirical literature on human rights violation/state repression. We will address the "state of the art" research on personal integrity violations (genocide/politicide, torture, disappearances, mass killing/atrocities, mass arrests, detention) as well as civil liberties restrictions (constraints on speech, association, assembly and religion). We will rigorously go through the available work on the causes and consequences of human rights violations as well as the constraints that can be imposed to limit repression. We will then attempt to develop it further, through discussion of existing limitations, novel contributions, and original research.

The primary focus of review, discussion, presentation, and writing will be geared towards understanding (1) how contemporary research on human rights develops through article length manuscripts and (2) how to reproduce the organizational form of such manuscripts in order to advance new research towards publication. We will also read two pioneering recently published books as well as selections from a few other books. The objective is to push students taking this class to the forefront of the subfield.

**Required Books:** We will also read the following book.

Conrad, Courtenay R., and Emily Hencken Ritter. *Contentious Compliance: Dissent and Repression Under International Human Rights Law.* Oxford University Press, 2019.

Davenport, Christian and Benjamin Appel. *The Death and Life of State Repression: Understanding Onset, Escalation, Termination and Recurrence*. Oxford University Press (available October 20, 2022 <a href="mailto:bit.ly/tdalosr">bit.ly/tdalosr</a>)

### **Course Requirements:**

The course involves four components

<u>Oral Discussion</u> – These represent brief, efficient, and cogent summarizations of an article assigned for class. We will likely begin with these being assigned and then move forward to cold calling.

<u>Review Essays</u> – each class a different student will be selected to prepare and submit a written assignment (the assignments will rotate between students). The paper is due at the beginning of the class. Late assignments will not be eligible for an A.

The assignments themselves will be 5 pages in length and comparatively assess the articles assigned for a given class. Students will be evaluated on how well they meet these criteria.

Review of the course materials for the week:

- **research questions** (what do they want to know)
- **literature review** (what is known)
- **theories** (why does the phenomenon of interest take place, what competition exists between theories)
- **hypotheses** (what do they expect)
- data (what information do the various authors examine to test the theory)
- methods (what approach do the different authors use to test their arguments, how effective are these different methodologies for proving the authors points)
- **findings** (what do the authors find, are the finding conclusive or in competition with one another)
- **critique:** are the research questions clear, is the literature review complete, do the various authors describe their theories clearly, do the hypotheses logically follow from the theory, does the data seem appropriate and are reasonable alternatives ignored, does the method seem appropriate for the research question/existing literature and are potential/standard problems with the method addressed, what are the findings specifically and how do they address the initial question, does the conclusion logically follow given all the evidence presented, and what is missed/what should be done (if you note a problem with something make sure to have a solution for it you can get away with doing this once in a review but not more)

<u>Paper Proposals</u> - To assist in the development of the project, a two-page proposal. The proposal will present your research question, a summary of

your preliminary argument and research design, and include as much detail as possible on the data you will use to test the argument.

<u>Final paper</u> — At the end of the semester, a paper will be submitted concerning a topic of the students choice (discussed ahead of time with the Professor). Primarily the student should seek to extend the already existing literature reviewed in the course or take the area in a new direction (exploring unexamined arguments, sequences of tactics or comparisons across types of civil conflict). The paper should not exceed 30 pages in text (not including notes, tables, references and so forth). This work will not represent a complete piece of scholarship. Rather, it represents an article length paper up until the actual empirical analysis is undertaken: i.e., the puzzle, research question, literature review, theoretical contribution, hypotheses and research design. Preliminary data analysis will be an additional benefit.

Final papers are due by noon on **December 5**<sup>th</sup>.

**Grading Policy:** The grading breakdown is as follows:

Class Participation & Oral Discussion: 30%, Review Essay 10%; Paper Proposal: 10%, Final Paper: 50%

| Highest  | Lowest  | Letter         |
|----------|---------|----------------|
| 100.00 % | 97.00 % | A+             |
| 96.99 %  | 93.00 % | A              |
| 92.99 %  | 90.00 % | A-             |
| 89.99 %  | 87.00 % | $\mathbf{B}+$  |
| 86.99 %  | 83.00 % | В              |
| 82.99 %  | 80.00 % | B-             |
| 79.99 %  | 77.00 % | $\mathbf{C}$ + |
| 76.99 %  | 73.00 % | C              |
| 72.99 %  | 70.00 % | C-             |
| 69.99 %  | 67.00 % | D+             |
| 66.99 %  | 63.00 % | D              |
| 62.99 %  | 60.00 % | D-             |
| 59.99 %  | 0.00 %  | F              |
|          |         |                |

- The letter grade A, including A+ and A-, denotes distinguished mastery of the course material.
- The letter grade B, including B+ and B-, denotes good mastery of the course material.

- The letter grade C, including C+ and C-, denotes acceptable mastery of the course material.
- The letter grade D, including D+ and D-, denotes minimally acceptable achievement.
- F denotes failure.

Cell / Internet Policy – Put your cell phones on vibrate and refrain from using them during class. Laptops can be used for note taking. But your attention should be directed exclusively to the subject matter being discussed in class. (This means no facebook, no email, no google, etc.) Most of us are wired most of the time—and being wired has amazing advantages. However, being unwired also has major advantages. Your engagement in the course and opportunities for collective learning will be enhanced by maintaining focus on the classroom here and now.

**Late Papers** – Late papers will not be accepted except in instances of medical necessity (with a doctor's note) or death of an immediate relative (with an obituary or other official notice).

## **General Statement on Academic Integrity:**

Louisiana State University adopted the Commitment to Community in 1995 to set forth guidelines for student behavior both inside and outside of the classroom. The Commitment to Community charges students to maintain high standards of academic and personal integrity. All students are expected to read and be familiar with the LSU Code of Student Conduct and Commitment to Community, found online at <a href="https://www.lsu.edu/saa">www.lsu.edu/saa</a>. It is your responsibility as a student at LSU to know and understand the academic standards for our community.

Students who are suspected of violating the Code of Conduct will be referred to the Office of Student Advocacy and Accountability. For undergraduate students, a first academic violation could result in a zero grade on the assignment or failing the class and disciplinary probation until graduation. For a second academic violation, the result could be suspension from LSU. For graduate students, suspension is the appropriate outcome for the first offense.

### **Plagiarism and Citation Method:**

As a student at LSU, it is your responsibility to refrain from plagiarizing the academic property of another and to utilize appropriate citation method for all coursework. The most frequently used citation method in political science is internal citation (e.g., Sullivan 2015). I would encourage you to follow this format and include footnotes where relevant; leaving full citations for a 'Works Referenced' page that follows the main text. Ignorance of the citation method is not an excuse for academic misconduct. Remember there is a difference between paraphrasing and quoting and how to properly cite each respectively. If you have questions regarding what is appropriate, please consult with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> http://www.lib.umd.edu/tl/guides/citing-chicago-ad

library's tutorials on avoiding plagiarism and proper citation formats.

# Group work and unauthorized assistance:

All work must be completed without assistance unless explicit permission for group or partner work is given by the faculty member. This is critical so that the professor can assess your performance on each assignment. If a group/partner project is assigned, the student may still have individual work to complete. Read the syllabus and assignment directions carefully. You might have a project with group work and a follow up report that is independently written. When in doubt, e-mail the faulty member or ask during a class session. Seeking clarification is your responsibility as a student. Assuming group/partner work is okay without permission constitutes a violation of the LSU Code of Student Conduct.

**Students requiring special accommodation:** Louisiana State University is committed to providing reasonable accommodations for all persons with disabilities. Any student with a documented disability needing academic adjustments is requested to speak with the Disability Services and the instructor, as early in the semester as possible. All discussions will remain confidential. This publication/material is available in alternative formats upon request. Please contact the Disability Services, 115 Johnston Hall, (225) 578-5919.

### **Course Outline:**

### Week 1

### - August 22

### **Introduction and Discussion**

## Supplemental Reading

- Davenport. 2007a. "State repression and political order." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 1-23.
- Davenport, C., & Inman, M. (2012). The state of state repression research since the 1990s. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 24(4), 619-634.
- Moore, Will H., and Ryan M. Welch. "Why Do Governments Abuse Human Rights?." *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences: An Interdisciplinary, Searchable, and Linkable Resource* (2015).
- Earl, Jennifer. "Tanks, tear gas, and taxes: Toward a theory of movement repression." *Sociological Theory* 21.1 (2003): 44-68.
- Gurr, T. R. 1988. "War, Revolution and the Growth of the Coercive State." *Comparative Political Studies* 21 (1): 45–65.
- Earl, Jennifer. "Political repression: Iron fists, velvet gloves, and diffuse control." *Annual review of sociology* 37 (2011): 261-284.
- Jacqueline, H. R. "The strategic use of state repression and political violence." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 2016.
- https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-32

### Week 2

### – August 29

### - Threat-Response Models

- Hill Jr, Daniel W., and Zachary M. Jones. 2014. "An Empirical Evaluation of Explanations for State Repression." *The American Political Science Review*. 108(3): 661-687.
- Davenport, Christian. 1995. "Multi-dimensional threat perception and state repression: An inquiry into why states apply negative sanctions." *American Journal of Political Science* 39(3): 683-713.
- o Gartner, Scott Sigmund, and Patrick M. Regan. 1996. "Threat and repression: The non-linear relationship between government and opposition violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 33(3): 273-287.
- Ritter, Emily Hencken. "Policy Disputes, Political Survival, and the Onset and Severity of State Repression." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58.1 (2014): 143-168.

# Supplemental Reading

- Hendrix, Cullen S., and Idean Salehyan. "A house divided: Threat perception, military factionalism, and repression in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61.8 (2017): 1653-1681.
- Richards, David L., Alyssa Webb, and K. Chad Clay. Forthcoming. "Respect for Physical Integrity Rights in the 21st Century: Evaluating Poe & Tate's Model 20 Years Later." *Journal of Human Rights*
- Carey, Sabine C. 2010. "The use of repression as a response to domestic dissent." *Political Studies* 58(1): 167-186.
- Moore, Will H. 2000. "The Repression of Dissent A Substitution Model of Government Coercion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(1): 107-127.
- Gartner, Scott Sigmund, and Patrick M. Regan. 1996. "Threat and repression: The non-linear relationship between government and opposition violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 33(3): 273-287.

### Supplemental Reading – What is the State and why does it kill?

- Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576.
- Scott, James. 1999. Seeing Like a State
- Giddens, Anthony. 1987. The Nation State and Violence, Ch. 7
- Tilly, Charles. 2003. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wrong, Dennis. 1994. *The Problem of Order: What Unites and Divides Society*. Simon and Schuster.
- Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. New York: Paradigm Press.
- Goldstein, Robert Justin. 1978. *Political repression in modern America from 1870 to the present*. Boston: GK Hall.
- Foucault, Michel. 1977. Discipline & punish: The birth of the prison. New York: Vintage.
- Ted Robert Gurr. 1993. *Minorities at Risk*, Washington: United States Institute of Peace
- Martin, Andrew W., John D. McCarthy, and Clark McPhail. "Why targets matter: Toward a more inclusive model of collective violence." *American Sociological Review* 74.5 (2009): 821-841.
- Walter, Eugene Victor. 1969. *Terror and resistance: A study of political violence with case studies of some primitive african communities*. Vol. 1. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2013. "States of war: how the nation-state made modern conflict." Foreign Affairs.
- Tilly, Charles. 1985 "War making and state making as organized crime."

- September 5
  - Class Cancelled Labor Day

### Week 4

- September 12
  - International Law and the Endogenous Repression-Dissent Relationship
    - Conrad, Courtenay R., and Emily Hencken Ritter. Contentious Compliance: Dissent and Repression Under International Human Rights Law. Oxford University Press, 2019.

## Week 5

- September 19
  - The Conflict-Repression Nexus
    - o Moore, Will H. 1998. "Repression and dissent: Substitution, context, and timing." *American Journal of Political Science*: 851-873.
    - Lyall, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 53, no. 3: 331-362
    - Sullivan, Christopher M. "Political repression and the destruction of dissident organizations: Evidence from the archives of the Guatemalan national police." World Politics 68.4 (2016): 645-676.
    - o Chaudhry, Suparna. "The Assault on Civil Society: Explaining State Crackdown on NGOs." International Organization (2022): 1-42.

# Supplemental Reading

- Brockett, Charles D. 2005. *Political Movements and Violence in Central America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dugan, Laura, and Erica Chenoweth. 2012. "Moving Beyond Deterrence: The Effectiveness of Raising the Expected Utility of Abstaining from Terrorism in Israel." *American Sociological Review* 77, no 4: 597-624.
- Cunningham, David, and John Noakes. 2008. ""What if she's from the FBI?" The Effects of Covert Forms of Social Control on Social Movements." *Sociology of Crime Law and Deviance* 10: 175-197.
- Sullivan, Christopher M., Cyanne E. Loyle, and Christian Davenport. "The Coercive Weight of the Past: Temporal Dependence and the Conflict-Repression Nexus in the Northern Ireland "Troubles"." *International Interactions* 38.4 (2012): 426-442.

- Goldstone, Jack A., and Charles Tilly. 2001. "Threat (and opportunity): Popular action and state response in the dynamics of contentious action." In Ronald Alminzade (ed). *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gupta, Dipak K., Harinder Singh, and Tom Sprague. 1993. "Government Coercion of Dissidents Deterrence or Provocation?." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37, no. 2: 301-339.
- Gurr, Ted Robert, and Will H. Moore. 1997. "Ethnopolitical Rebellion: A Cross-sectional Analysis of the 1980s with Risk Assessments for the 1990s." *American Journal of Political Science* 41, no. 4: 1079-1103.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 1997. "Dynamics of Repression and Mobilization: The German Extreme Right in the 1990s." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 2, no. 2: 149-164.
- Sullivan, Christopher Michael, and Christian Davenport. "The rebel alliance strikes back: Understanding the politics of backlash mobilization." *Mobilization* 22.1 (2017): 39-56.
- LaFree, Gary, Laura Dugan, and Raven Korte. 2009. "The Impact of British Counterterrorist Strategies on Political Violence in Northern Ireland: Comparing Deterrence and Backlash Models." *Criminology* 47, no. 1: 17-45.
- Francisco, Ronald A. 2004. "After the Massacre: Mobilization in the Wake of Harsh Repression." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 9, no. 2: 107-126
- Daxecker, Ursula E., and Michael L. Hess. 2013. "Repression Hurts: Coercive Government Responses and the Demise of Terrorist Campaigns." *British Journal of Political Science* 43, no. 3: 559-577.
- Lyall, Jason. 2010. "Are coethnics more effective counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War." *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 1: 1-20.
- Walsh, James and James Piazza. 2010. "Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism." *Comparative Political Studies*. 43, no. 5: 551-577.
- Zwerman, Gilda and Patricia Steinhoff. 2005. "When Activists Ask for Trouble: State-Dissident Interactions and the New Left Cycle of Resistance in the United States and Japan." In Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston and Carol Mueller, (Eds.), *Repression and Mobilization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review*, 61:132-52.
- Earl, Jennifer and Sarah A. Soule. 2010. "The Impacts of Repression: The Effect of Police Presence and Action on Subsequent Protest Rates." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 30: 75-113.
- 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.
- Condra, Luke N., and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2012. "Who Takes the Blame? The Strategic Effects of Collateral Damage." *American Journal of Political Science* 56, no. 1: 167-187.

### – September 26

## - Democracy and Repression

- o Davenport, Christian 2007b. *State repression and the domestic democratic peace*. Cambridge University Press.
  - Ch 1, 2, (provided)
- o Conrad, Courtenay R., and Will H. Moore. "What Stops the Torture?." *American Journal of Political Science* 54.2 (2010): 459-476.
- Chilton, Adam S., and Mila Versteeg. "Do constitutional rights make a difference?." *American Journal of Political Science* 60.3 (2016): 575-589.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Edward D. Mansfield, and Jon CW Pevehouse. "Human rights institutions, sovereignty costs and democratization." *British Journal of Political Science* 45.1 (2015): 1-27.

## Supplemental Readings -

- Bueno De Mesquita, Bruce, Feyal Cheriff, George Downs, and Alastair Smith. 2005. "Thinking inside the box: A closer look at democracy and human rights." *International Studies Quarterly* 49(3): 439-458.
- Maves Braithwaite, Jessica and Seiki Tanaka. 2013. "Human Rights Violations and Competitive Elections." Unpublished Manuscript.
- Moore, Will. 2010. "Incarceration, Interrogation, and Counterterror: Do (Liberal) Democratic Institutions Constrain Leviathan?" *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 43(2): 421-424.
- Davenport, Christian. "When democracies kill: Reflections from the US, India, and Northern Ireland." *International Area Studies Review* 15.1 (2012): 3-20.
- ---. 1997. "From ballots to bullets: an empirical assessment of how national elections influence state uses of political repression." *Electoral Studies* 16(4): 517-540.
- --- 2007c. "State repression and the tyrannical peace." *Journal of Peace Research* 44(4): 485-504.
- Fein, Helen. "More murder in the middle: life-integrity violations and democracy in the world, 1987." *Hum. Rts. Q.* 17 (1995): 170.
- Davenport, Christian, and David A. Armstrong. 2004. "Democracy and the violation of human rights: A statistical analysis from 1976 to 1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(3): 538-554.
- Tilly, Charles. *Regimes and repertoires*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.

#### October 3

### Courts and Veto

- Hu, Shengkuo, and Courtenay R. Conrad. "Monitoring via the Courts: Judicial Oversight and Police Violence in India." *International Studies Quarterly* 64.3 (2020): 699-709.
- Powell, Emilia Justyna, and Jeffrey K. Staton. 2009. "Domestic judicial institutions and human rights treaty violation." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(1): 149-174.
- Woo, Ae sil, and Courtenay R. Conrad. "The Differential Effects of "Democratic" Institutions on Dissent in Dictatorships." The Journal of Politics 81.2 (2019): 000-000.
- Conrad, Courtenay R. 2014. "Divergent Incentives for Dictators Domestic Institutions and (International Promises Not to) Torture." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(1): 34-67.

## Supplemental Reading

- Naming and Shaming
  - Krain, Matthew. 2012. "J'accuse! Does Naming and Shaming Perpetrators Reduce the Severity of Genocides or Politicides?" *International Studies Quarterly* 56(3): 574-589.
  - Murdie, Amanda M., and David R. Davis. 2012. "Shaming and Blaming: Using Events Data to Assess the Impact of Human Rights INGOs." *International Studies Quarterly* 56(1): 1-16.
  - Wood, Reed M., Jacob D. Kathman, and Stephen E. Gent. "Armed intervention and civilian victimization in intrastate conflicts." *Journal of Peace Research* 49.5 (2012): 647-660.
  - Kathman, Jacob D., and Reed M. Wood. 2011. "Managing Threat, Cost, and Incentive to Kill: The Short-and Long-Term Effects of Intervention in Mass Killings." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(5): 735-760.
  - Murdie, Amanda, and Dursun Peksen. 2013. "The impact of human rights INGO activities on economic sanctions." *The Review of International Organizations* 8(1): 33-53.
  - ---. 2014. "The Impact of Human Rights INGO Shaming on Humanitarian Interventions." *The Journal of Politics* 76(1): 215-228
  - Bell, Sam R., K. Chad Clay, and Amanda Murdie. 2012. "Neighborhood watch: spatial effects of human rights INGOs." *The Journal of Politics* 74(2): 354-368
  - 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.

- Hendrix, Cullen S., and Wendy H. Wong. 2013. "When is the Pen Truly Mighty? Regime Type and the Efficacy of Naming and Shaming in Curbing Human Rights Abuses." *British Journal of Political Science* 43(3): 651-672.

# Week 8

#### - October 10

- Preemptive Repression
  - o Truex, Rory. "Focal points, dissident calendars, and preemptive repression." Journal of Conflict Resolution 63.4 (2019): 1032-1052
  - De Jaegher, Kris, and Britta Hoyer. "Preemptive repression: Deterrence, backfiring, iron fists, and velvet gloves." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63.2 (2019): 502-527.
  - o Sullivan, Christopher M. "Undermining resistance: Mobilization, repression, and the enforcement of political order." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60.7 (2016): 1163-1190.
  - Nordås, Ragnhild, and Christian Davenport. 2013. "Fight the youth: Youth bulges and State Repression." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 926-940.

## Supplemental Readings –

- Ritter, Emily Hencken. 2014. "Policy Disputes, Political Survival, and the Onset and Severity of State Repression." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(1): 143-168.
- Danneman, Nathan, and Emily Hencken Ritter. 2014. "Contagious rebellion and preemptive repression." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 58(2), 254-279.
- Frantz, Erica, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. 2016. "A dictator's toolkit Understanding how co-optation affects repression in autocracies." *Journal of Peace Research*
- Licht, Amanda A., and Susan Hannah Allen. "Repressing for reputation: Leadership transitions, uncertainty, and the repression of domestic populations." Journal of Peace Research (2018): 0022343317750215.
- Ron, James. 1997. "Varying methods of state violence." *International Organization* 51(2): 275-300.

### Week 9

#### - October 17

- Surveillance and Digital repression

- Sullivan, Christopher M., and Christian Davenport. "Resistance is mobile: Dynamics of repression, challenger adaptation, and surveillance in US 'Red Squad'and black nationalist archives." *Journal of Peace Research* 55.2 (2018): 175-189.
- Gohdes, Anita R. "Repression technology: Internet accessibility and state violence." *American Journal of Political Science* 64.3 (2020): 488-503.
- Pan, Jennifer, and Alexandra A. Siegel. "How Saudi crackdowns fail to silence online dissent." *American Political Science Review* 114.1 (2020): 109-125.
- Xu, Xu. "To repress or to co-opt? Authoritarian control in the age of digital surveillance." *American Journal of Political Science* 65.2 (2021): 309-325.

## Supplemental Readings – Varieties of Repression

- Gohdes, Anita R. "Pulling the plug: Network disruptions and violence in civil conflict." Journal of Peace Research 52.3 (2015): 352-367.
- Zhukov, Yuri M. forthcoming. "Population Resettlement in War: Theory and Evidence from Soviet Archives". *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Balcells, Laia. 2011. "Continuation of Politics by Two Means: Direct and Indirect
- Violence in Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55(3), 397-422.
- Valentino, B., Huth, P., & Balch-Lindsay, D. (2004). : Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare. *International Organization*, 58(02), 375-407.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan and Margaret Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." American Political Science Review. 107(2): 1-18
- Cunningham, David. 2004. *There's Something Happening Here: The New Left, the Klan, and FBI Counterintelligence*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press,.
- Harff, Barbara. "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955." American Political Science Review 97.1 (2003).
- Sullivan, Christopher Michael. "The (in) effectiveness of torture for combating insurgency." *Journal of Peace Research* 51.3 (2014): 388-404.
- Herreros, Francisco and Henar Criado. 2009. "Preemptive or Arbitrary: Two Forms of Violence in Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 53(3): 419-445.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. "Armed groups and sexual violence: when is wartime rape rare?." *Politics & Society* 37.1 (2009): 131-161.
- Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair and Kosuke Imai. 2013. "Explaining Support for Combatants in Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review*, 107, no. 4: 679-705

- Shellman, Stephen M. 2006. "Process Matters: Conflict and Cooperation in Sequential Government-Dissident Interactions." *Security Studies* 15(4): 563-599.
- Young, Joseph K. "Repression, dissent, and the onset of civil war." *Political Research Quarterly* (2012): 1065912912452485.
- De Juan, Alexander, and André Bank. "The Ba 'athist blackout? Selective goods provision and political violence in the Syrian civil war." *Journal of Peace Research* 52.1 (2015): 91-104

#### – October 24

# State Building and the Police

- Lake, Milli. "Policing insecurity." *American Political Science Review* (2022): 1-17.
- Curtice, Travis B., and Brandon Behlendorf. "Street-level repression: Protest, policing, and dissent in Uganda." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65.1 (2021): 166-194.
- Magaloni, Beatriz, Edgar Franco-Vivanco, and Vanessa Melo.
   "Killing in the slums: Social order, criminal governance, and police violence in Rio de Janeiro." *American Political Science Review* 114.2 (2020): 552-572
- Liu, Howard, and Christopher M. Sullivan. "And the Heat Goes On: Police Repression and the Modalities of Power." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65.10 (2021): 1657-1679.

### Supplemental Readings –

- Eck, Kristine, Courtenay R. Conrad, and Charles Crabtree. "Policing and Political Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65.10 (2021): 1641-1656.
- Earl, Jennifer, Sarah A. Soule, and John D. McCarthy. 2003. "Protest under fire? Explaining the policing of protest." *American Sociological Review* (): 581-606.
- Wisler, Dominique, and Marco Giugni. 1999. "Under the spotlight: The impact of media attention on protest policing." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 4(2): 171-187.
- Englehart, Neil A. "State capacity, state failure, and human rights." *Journal of Peace Research* 46.2 (2009): 163-180.
- Christensen, Darin. "The geography of repression in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62.7 (2018): 1517-1543
- Jackson, Joshua L., Shelby L. Hall, and Daniel W. Hill Jr. "Democracy and police violence." *Research & Politics* 5.1 (2018): 2053168018759126.

- Cole, Wade M. "Mind the gap: State capacity and the implementation of human rights treaties." *International Organization* 69.2 (2015): 405-441.

### Week 11

### - October 31

#### - International Law

- Lupu, Yonatan. "Legislative Veto Players and the Effects of International Human Rights Agreements." *American Journal of Political Science* (2015).
- Lupu, Yonatan, and Geoffrey PR Wallace. "Violence, nonviolence, and the effects of international human rights law." American Journal of Political Science 63.2 (2019): 411-426.
- o Terman, Rochelle, and Joshua Byun. "Punishment and Politicization in the International Human Rights Regime." *American Political Science Review* 116.2 (2022): 385-402.
- Von Stein, Jana. "Making promises, keeping promises: democracy, ratification and compliance in international human rights law." *British Journal of Political Science* 46.3 (2016): 655-679.

## Supplemental Readings

- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. "International regimes for human rights." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (2012): 265-286.
- Hill, Daniel Jr, W. "Estimating the Effects of Human Rights Treaties on State Behavior." *The Journal of Politics* 72.4 (2010): 1161-1174
- Lupu, Yonatan. "The informative power of treaty commitment: using the spatial model to address selection effects." *American Journal of Political Science* 57.4 (2013): 912-925.
- Hendrix, Cullen S., and Wendy H. Wong. "When is the pen truly mighty? Regime type and the efficacy of naming and shaming in curbing human rights abuses." *British Journal of Political Science* (2013): 651-672.
- Simmons, Beth A. 2009. *Mobilizing for human rights: international law in domestic politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Keith, Linda Camp. "The United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: Does it make a difference in human rights behavior?." *Journal of Peace Research* 36.1 (1999): 95-118.
- Wood, Reed M., and Christopher Sullivan. "Doing Harm by Doing Good? The Negative Externalities of Humanitarian Aid Provision during Civil Conflict." *The Journal of Politics* 77.3 (2015): 736-748.
- Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. "Beyond keeping peace: United Nations effectiveness in the midst of fighting." *American Political Science Review* 108.04 (2014): 737-753.

#### – November 7

- Psychological and Sociological Models.
  - Shesterinina, Anastasia. "Civil war as a social process: actors and dynamics from pre-to post-war." *European Journal of International Relations* (2022): 13540661221095970.
  - Young, Lauren E. "The psychology of state repression: Fear and dissent decisions in Zimbabwe." American Political Science Review (2018): 1-16
  - o Nugent, Elizabeth R. <u>"The Psychology of Repression and Polarization."</u> *World Politics* 72.2 (2020), 291-334
  - Olar, Roman-Gabriel. "Do they know something we don't? Diffusion of repression in authoritarian regimes." *Journal of Peace Research* 56.5 (2019): 667-68

## Supplemental Reading

- Balcells, Laia, Spencer Dorsey, and Juan F. Tellez. "Repression and Dissent in Contemporary Catalonia." *British Journal of Political Science*: 1-9
- Shadmehr, Mehdi, and Dan Bernhardt. 2015. "State Censorship."
- American Economic Journal: Microeconomics 7 (2): 280–301
- 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.
- Costalli, Stefano, Francesco Niccolò Moro, and Andrea Ruggeri. "The logic of vulnerability and civilian victimization: Shifting front lines in Italy (1943-1945)." *World Politics* (2020).
- Davenport, Christian, Sarah A. Soule, and David A. Armstrong. 2011. "Protesting while black? The differential policing of American activism, 1960 to 1990." *American Sociological Review* 76, no. 1: 152-178.
- Tschantret, Joshua. "Revolutionary Homophobia: Explaining State Repression against Sexual Minorities." British Journal of Political Science (2019): 1-22.

### Week 13

#### – November 14

- Repressive Agents

- Svolik, Milan W. "Contracting on violence: the moral hazard in authoritarian repression and military intervention in politics." Journal of Conflict Resolution 57.5 (2013): 765-794.
- Cohen, Dara Kay. "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)." *The American Political Science Review* 107.3 (2013): 461.
- Cunningham, David. "The patterning of repression: FBI counterintelligence and the New Left." *Social Forces* 82.1 (2003): 209-240.
- o Sullivan, Heather. "Sticks, stones, and broken bones: Protest violence and the state." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63.3 (2019): 700-726.

# Supplemental Reading

- Mitchell, Neil. 2004. *Leaders, Followers, and the Violation of Human Rights in Civil War*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mitchell, Neil J., Sabine C. Carey, and Christopher K. Butler. "The Impact of Pro-Government Militias on Human Rights Violations." *International Interactions* 40.5 (2014): 812-836.
- Tyson, Scott A. "The Agency Problem Underlying Repression." The Journal of Politics 80.4 (2018): 1297-1310.
- Jentzsch, Corinna, Stathis N. Kalyvas, and Livia Isabella Schubiger. Forthcoming "Militias in Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
- Butler, Christopher, Tali Gluch and Neil Mitchell. 2007. "Security forces and sexual violence: A cross- national analysis of a principal-agent argument." *Journal of Peace Research* 44 (6): 669–687.
- Cohen, Dara Kay, and Ragnhild Nordås. "Do States Delegate Shameful Violence to Militias? Patterns of Sexual Violence in Recent Armed Conflicts." Journal of Conflict Resolution (2015)
- Leiby, Michele L. "Wartime Sexual Violence in Guatemala and Peru\*." *International Studies Quarterly* 53.2 (2009): 445-468.
- Eck, Kristine. "Repression by proxy: How military purges and insurgency impact the delegation of coercion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.5 (2015): 924-946.

### Week 14

# - November 21

### - Repressive Spells

 Davenport, Christian and Benjamin Appel. The Death and Life of State Repression: Understanding Onset, Escalation, Termination and Recurrence. Oxford University Press. 2022.

## Supplemental Reading -

- Stanley, William. 2010. *The Protection Racket State: Elite Politics, Military Extortion, and Civil War in El Salvador*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. *Dictators and their secret police: Coercive institutions and state violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Blaydes, Lisa. "State of repression." *State of Repression*. Princeton University Press, 2018.
- Goldstein, Robert Justin. *Political repression in modern America from 1870 to 1976*. University of Illinois Press, 2001.
- Lustick, Ian. *Trapped in the War on Terror*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. 1986. "Persisting patterns of repression and rebellion: Foundations for a general theory of political coercion." *Persistent patterns and emergent structures in a waning century* (): 149-68.
- Gurr, T. R. 1986. "The Political Origins of State Violence and Terror: A Theoretical Analysis." In *Government Violence and Repression: An Agenda for Research*, ed. M. Stohl and G. A. Lopez. New York: Greenwood.
- Greitens, Sheena E. 2013. "Coercive Institutions and State Violence Under Authoritarianism." Unpublished Manuscript.
- Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1992*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Carter, Brett Logan. *Inside Autocracy: Political Survival and the Modern Prince*. Diss. 2014. Harvard Unviersity
- Ron, James. 2003. Frontiers and ghettos: State violence in Serbia and Israel. Univ of California Press.
- Cunningham, David. *There's something happening here: the new left, the Klan, and FBI counterintelligence*. Univ of California Press, 2004.
- Cingranelli, David, Paola Fajardo-Heyward, and Mikhail Filippov. "Principals, Agents and Human Rights." British Journal of Political Science 44.03 (2014): 605-630.
- Bellamy, Alex. 2016. "When states go bad: The termination of state perpetrated mass killing." *Journal of Peace Research*.

#### Week 15

#### - Nov 28

### - Legacies of Repression

 Rozenas, Arturas, and Yuri Zhukov. "Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's' Terror by Hunger'." *American Political Science Review* (2019).

- Neundorf, Anja, and Grigore Pop-Eleches. "Dictators and their subjects: Authoritarian attitudinal effects and legacies." *Comparative Political Studies* 53.12 (2020): 1839-1860.
- o Dinas, E., & Northmore-Ball, K. (2020). The ideological shadow of authoritarianism. Comparative Political Studies, 53(12), 1957–1991.
- o Davenport, Christian, et al. "The consequences of contention: understanding the aftereffects of political conflict and violence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019): 361-377.

### Supplemental Reading -

- Rozenas, Arturas, and Yuri M. Zhukov. "Mass repression and political loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's 'terror by hunger'." *American Political Science Review* 113.2 (2019): 569-583.
- Rozenas, Arturas, Sebastian Schutte, and Yuri Zhukov. "The political legacy of violence: The long-term impact of Stalin's repression in Ukraine." *The Journal of Politics* 79.4 (2017): 1147-1161
- Finkel, Evgeny. "The phoenix effect of state repression: Jewish resistance during the Holocaust." *American Political Science Review* 109.2 (2015): 339-353.
- Wang, Yuhua. "The Political Legacy of Violence during China's Cultural Revolution." *British Journal of Political Science* (2019): 1-25.
- Finkel, Evgeny. "The phoenix effect of state repression: Jewish resistance during the Holocaust." *The American Political Science Review* 109.2 (2015): 339.