

PSCI 5820
A Research Seminar on International Human Rights
University of North Texas
Spring 2002

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Office Hours: My office hours will be from 1:50-2:50, Monday and Wednesday, and 12:30 to 2:50 on Thursday. I am also available by appointment at many times Monday thru Friday when I'm not in class or a meeting. See me and we'll set up a satisfactory time.

Introduction

In the last three decades we have seen a substantial increase in interest in human rights, and discussion of human rights-related issues in the international arena. We have witnessed a proliferation of treaties, as well as the foundation of international institutions designed to enforce agreed upon human rights standards. In spite of this undeniable progress, however, social scientists have barely started to examine human rights related phenomena in a systematic manner.

Our major aim in this seminar will be to work toward the "cutting edge" of knowledge on this topic, putting seminar participants in a position where they can conduct scientific research in this field, with substantial knowledge of the development of the human rights movement.

A first step toward this goal is to gain the background sufficient to conduct such research. Toward this end we will first get a feel for the human aspect of the problem, by reading personal accounts of serious human rights abuses, histories, and case studies. We will discuss scholarly squabbles over the definition and measurement of the term "human rights," and the philosophies that underlie these differences.

Having fulfilled these goals, we will be able to examine and evaluate the movement to incorporate the scientific method to understand human rights-related phenomena. We will explore the work that has attempted to identify "the causes" of human rights shortcomings, and a second vein of research that seeks to understand how human rights criteria affect the foreign policy decisions of the U.S. government. Finally seminar students will have the opportunity to test their own abilities to conduct meaningful research in this subfield.

It is hoped that at the end of this class students will have created a project that after some refinement will be appropriate for presentation at a scholarly conference and/or as a submission to a scholarly journal. Student paper presentations will provide students with much needed practice at presenting their research to a critical, informed audience, that will ask the tough questions.

Student Responsibilities

1. **Discussion:** Since this is a seminar class your participation and attendance are requisite. Note that to achieve an acceptable performance level you will be required to complete a fairly large amount of reading PRIOR to each meeting. In order to achieve an 'A' participation grade students must know all the material, and be able to critique the work effectively. It is expected that 'A' students will read some of the suggested readings, and will come to class with ideas as to routes future research should take.

Students will be expected to hand in a set of three (3) questions about the readings for each week. These questions should be comparable to final examination or Comprehensive Examination (essay) questions, designed to provoke thought and discussion among class participants. Participants' questions will be used in part to structure seminar discussions. They should be sent via e-mail to me by 9 A.M. each Tuesday morning, so I can include them as a part of the agenda for class discussion. (See my e-mail address, above.) The quality of questions will be included in the instructor's assessment of your in-class performance. Also, in some weeks students will be expected to make oral presentations.

2. **Midterm Test:** An in-class essay test will be given. That test is scheduled for Tuesday, March 26. The Wooten Computer Lab will be reserved for this exercise.

3. **Research Paper:** Students should follow the style manual of the APSA, which is used for the APSR. You should choose topics as early in the semester as is possible. It is hoped that the results of your research will, after revisions, be suitable for use as a conference paper and/or a submission to a scholarly journal. The due date for papers is Tuesday, April 30. A one page research proposal with preliminary bibliography will be due on Tuesday February 19. One purpose of this exercise is to force seminar participants to begin their papers early, for their own good. It is also hoped that professorial feedback will prevent students from sprinting down dark alleys that are dead ends.

4. **Final Exam Research Presentation:** As a final exam students will be expected to share the results of their research with the rest of the class, and to field questions from other participants in the seminar. The length of the presentations will be determined at a later date, depending on the size of the seminar, but will be roughly the length that would one might be asked to give at a scholarly conference.

5. **Grading:**

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| Participation | 20% |
| Midterm Test | 20% |
| Research Paper | 40% |
| <u>Final Exam Presentation</u> | <u>20%</u> |
| | 100% |

Required Reading Materials

1. Donnelly, Jack. 1989. *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca.
2. Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. Anchor Books: New York.
3. Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca.
3. A collection of article length readings that will be made available on reserve at the UNT Copy Center.

Recommended

1. Michael Lewis-Beck. 1980. *Applied Regression: An Introduction*. Beverly Hills: Sage. (For those who need an introduction to statistical methodologies. Copies are floating around the Political Science Department.)

2. Perusing a book on research design and methodology is strongly recommended for those that have not had, or are not currently taking a Political Science Scope and Methods course.
Course Outline and Readings

Tentative Class Schedule

Note: For each week there is a list of required assigned readings. For most weeks I have also listed a set of suggested readings. These citations are provided for students interested in pursuing the topic further and are not made available in the readings packet.

Part One: Introduction

Week 1. (January 15) Orientation Session

Required:

A careful reading of this syllabus. Discussion of Expectations.

Week 2. (January 22): Normative Theories of Human Rights

Required:

Donnelly (Chapters 1-6, 9-13) Reminder--Do not forget to do your questions, see above.

Suggested:

Shue, Henry. 1996. *Basic Rights: Subsistence, Affluence and US Foreign Policy*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ.

John Locke. *First Treatise on Government*, Chapter 6, paragraphs 57-8., and the *Second Treatise on Government*, 1, 2,5,7,8,19.

Thomas Hobbes. *Leviathan*.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau. *The Social Contract*, Book 1.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *On the Jewish Question*.

The U.S. Declaration of Independence, and the U.S. Bill of Rights.

Jerome J. Shestack. 1998. "The Philosophic Foundations of Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 20:201-234.

Scan *Human Rights Quarterly* in recent years for other pieces relating to Third World conceptions of human rights, and human rights conditions in those areas.

Part 2: The Quest for an Empirically Based Understanding of Human Rights

Week 3. (January 29) Explaining why Personal (or Physical) Integrity is Violated

Required:

Pion-Berlin, David and George Lopez. 1991. "Of Victims and Executioners: Argentine State Terror, 1975-1979," *International Studies Quarterly* 35:63-86.

Steven C. Poe, C. Neal Tate and Linda Camp Keith. 1999. "Repression of the Human Right to Personal Integrity Revisited: A Global Crossnational Study Covering the Years 1976-1993," *International Studies Quarterly* 43:291-313.

McCormick, James M and Neil J, Mitchell. 1997. Human Rights Violations, Umbrella Concepts, and Empirical Analysis *World Politics* 49(4)510-525.

Matthew Krain. 1997. State Sponsored Mass Murder: The Onset and Severity of Genocides and Politicides *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41:331-360.

Moore, Will. 2000. "The Repression of Dissent: A Substitution Model of Government Coercion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44:107-27.

Suggested:

Christian Davenport. 1995. "Multidimensional Threat Perception and State Repression: An Inquiry into Why States Apply Negative Sanctions," *American Journal of Political Science* 39:683-713.

David Louis Cingranelli (Ed.) *Human Rights and Developing Countries* JAI: Greenwich, CT.

T. David Mason and Dale A. Krane. 1989. "The Political Economy of Death Squads: Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror," *International Studies Quarterly*, 33:175-198.

Dipak Gupta, Harinder Singh, and Tom Sprague. 1993. "Government Coercion of Dissidents: Deterrence or Provocation?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 37:301-39.

Edward N. Muller. 1985. "Income Inequality, Regime Repressiveness, and Political Violence." *American Sociological Review*. 50: 47-61.

Conway Henderson. 1991. "Conditions Affecting the Use of Political Repression." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 35(1):120-42.

Conway Henderson. 1993. "Population Pressures and Political Repression." *Social Science Quarterly* 74:322-333.

Dean Hoover and David Kowalewski. 1992. "Dynamic Models of Dissent and Repression" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36:150-182.

Scott Sigmund Gartner and Patrick M. Regan. 1996. "Threat and Repression: The Non-Linear Relationship Between Government and Opposition Violence," *Journal of Peace Research*, 33:273-287.

Ronald A. Francisco. 1996. "Coercion and Protest: An Empirical Test in Two Democratic States," *American Journal of Political Science* 40:1179-1204.

Will H. Moore. 1998. "Repression and Dissent: Substitution, Context, and Timing." *American Journal of Political Science* 42:851-873.

4. Week 4 (February 5): Measurement of PI Violations

Required:

George A. Lopez and Michael Stohl. 1992. Problems of Concept and Measurement in the Study of Human Rights," in Thomas B. Jabine and Richard P. Claude (eds.), *Human Rights and Statistics: Getting the Record Straight*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Robert Goldstein. "The Limitations of Using Quantitative Data in Studying Human Rights Abuses" in the Jabine and Claude volume cited immediately above.

Mark Gibney and Matthew Dalton. 1996. "The Political Terror Scale," In David Louis Cingranelli (Ed.) *Human Rights and Developing Countries*.

Cingranelli David and David Richards. 1999. Measuring the Level, Pattern and Sequence of Government Respect for Physical Integrity Rights," *International Studies Quarterly*. 43:407-417.

Steven C. Poe, Tanya Vazquez and Sabine Carey. 2001. "How are These Pictures Different? An Empirical Comparison of the U.S. State Department and Amnesty International Human Rights Reports, 1976-1995," 23:650-677.

Suggested:

Several other articles in the Jabine and Claude book, including "A Guide to Human Rights Data Sources," by Cain, Claude, and Jabine, that you might find useful in locating data for research papers, and the piece by Bollen..

Dipak K. Gupta, Albert J. Jongman, and Alex P. Schmid. 1993. "Creating a Composite Index for Assessing Country Performance in the Field of Human Rights: Proposal for a New Methodology," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 15:131-62.

David L Cingranelli (ed.). 1988. *Human Rights: Theory and Measurement*, New York: St. Martins Press.

Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr. 1988. "Toward Empirical Theory of Genocides and Politicides: Identification and Measurement of Cases Since 1945." *International Studies Quarterly* 32:359-371.

Week 5. (February 12) The Linkage Between Development and Freedom

Required:

Sen (all)

Suggested:

Donnelly, Jack. 1999. "Human Rights, Democracy and Development." *Human Rights Quarterly* 21:608-632.

Milner, Wesley T., Steven C. Poe and David LeBlang. 1999. Security Rights, Subsistence Rights and Liberties: A Theoretical Survey of the Empirical Landscape *Human Rights Quarterly* 21:403-443.

Morris David Morris. 1979. *Measuring the Condition of the World's Poor: The Physical Quality of Life Index 1960-1990*. New York: Pergamon.

Bruce E. Moon and William J. Dixon. 1992. "Basic Needs and Growth-Welfare Trade-offs," *International Studies Quarterly*, 36:191-212.

Bruce E. Moon. 1991. *The Political Economy of Basic Human Needs*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

William J. Dixon and Bruce E. Moon. 1987. "The Military Burden and Basic Human Needs," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 30:660-685.

Week 6: (February 19) Globalization and Human Rights

Required:

William H. Meyer. 1996. "Human Rights and MNCs: Theory Versus Quantitative Analysis" *Human Rights Quarterly* 18:368-397.

Jackie Smith, Melissa Bolyard and Anna Ippolito. 1999. "Human Rights and the Global Economy: A Response to Meyer" *Human Rights Quarterly* 21:207-219.

William H. Meyer. 1999. "Confirming, Infirmiting and "Falsifying" Theories of Human Rights: Reflections on Smith, Bolyard and Ippolito Through the Lens of Lakatos" *Human Rights Quarterly* 21:220-228.

David Richards, Ronald Gelleny and David Sacko. 2001. "Money With A Mean Streak? Foreign Economic Penetration and Government Respect for Human Rights in Developing Countries" *International Studies Quarterly*.

Cingranelli, David L., and David L. Richards. 2000. "Measuring the Impact of

Human Rights Organizations" In *NGOs and Human Rights: Promise and Performance*, ed. Claude Welch, University of Pennsylvania Press.

A one page research proposal is due today, complete with a preliminary bibliography.

Suggested:

McCorquodale, Robert. with Richard Fairbrother. 1999. "Globalization and Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 21:735-766.

Week 7. (February 26) Transnational Advocacy Networks

Required:

Keck and Sikkink, all.

Suggested:

Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp, Kathryn Sikkink (Eds.). 1999. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*, Cambridge University Press: London.

Week 8 (March 5): Human Rights and Foreign Policies

Required:

David L. Cingranelli and Thomas Pasquarello. 1985. "Human Rights Practices and the U.S. Distribution of Foreign Aid to Latin American Countries." *American Journal of Political Science*, 29:539-63.

James M. McCormick, and Neil J. Mitchell. 1988. "Is U.S. Aid Really Linked to Human Rights in Latin America?" *American Journal of Political Science* 32:231-239.

Clair Apodaca and Michael Stohl. 1999. "United States Foreign Policy and Foreign Assistance," *International Studies Quarterly* 43:185-198.

Patrick M. Regan. 1995. "U.S. Economic Aid and Political Repression: An Empirical Evaluation of U.S. Foreign Policy," *Political Research Quarterly* 48:613-29.

Shannon Lindsey Blanton. 2000. "Promoting Human Rights and Democracy in the Developing World: U.S. Rhetoric vs. U.S. Arms Exports," *American Journal of Political Science* 44:123-131.

Suggested:

Shannon Lindsey Blanton. 1994. "Impact of Human Rights on U.S. Foreign Assistance to Latin America" *International Interactions* 19:339-358.

Shannon Lindsay Blanton. 1999. "Instruments of Security or Tools of Repression? Arms Imports and Human Rights Conditions In Developing Countries," *Journal of Peace Research* 36:233-244.

Daniel J. B. Hofrenning. 1991. "Human Rights and Foreign Aid: A Comparison of the Reagan and Carter Administrations," *American Politics Quarterly*, 18:514-26.

David P. Forsythe. 1993. *Human Rights and Peace: International and National Dimensions*, Lincoln NB: University of Nebraska Press.

David Carleton and Michael Stohl. 1987. "The Role of Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Assistance Policy." *American Journal of Political Science*, 31:1002-18.

James M. McCormick, and Neil J. Mitchell. 1989. "Human Rights and Foreign Assistance: An Update." *Social Science Quarterly*, 70(4):969-79.

Steven C. Poe. 1990. "Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Aid: A Review of Quantitative Studies and Prescriptions for Future Research," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 12:499-512.

Steven C. Poe . 1991. "Human Rights and the Allocation of U.S. Military Assistance," *Journal of Peace Research*, 1991, 28:1-12.

Steven C. Poe. 1992. "Human Rights and Economic Assistance under Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter," *American Journal of Political Science*, 36:147-167.

Steven C. Poe and Rangsim Sirirangsi. 1994 "Human Rights and U.S. Economic Aid During the Reagan Years," *Social Science Quarterly*, 75: 494-510.

David Cingranelli. 1993. *Ethics, American Foreign Policy and the Third World*, New York: St. Martins Press.

Part 3: Questions in Need of Further Study¹

Week 9: (March 12) Democracy, Constitutionalism, Women's Rights

Required:

Helen Fein. 1995. "More Murder in the Middle: Life Integrity Violations and Democracy in the World, 1987." *Human Rights Quarterly* 17:170-191.

Gibson, James L. 2001. "Social Networks, Civil Society and the Prospects for Russia's Democratic Transition," *American Journal of Political Science* 45:51-69.

Linda Camp Keith, C. Neal Tate and Steven C. Poe 2002. "Constitutional Protections, Judicial Independence and State Repression of Personal Integrity: Is the Law a Mere Parchment Barrier to Human Rights Abuse? Unpublished manuscript.

Clair Apodaca. 1998. "Measuring Women's Economic and Social Rights Achievement" *Human Rights Quarterly* 20:139-172.

¹ This is not meant to imply that the issues above don't need further study!

Suggested:

There is much traditional, non-quantitative research on women's rights, but not much that is empirical and scientific.

For some studies in the traditional vein see Rebecca J. Cook. 1994. *Human Rights of Women: National and International Perspectives*, University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.

Davenport, Christian. 1996. "'Constitutional Promises' and Repressive Reality: A Cross-National Time-Series Investigation of Why Political and Civil Liberties are Suppressed," *Journal of Politics* 58: 627-654.

Sabine Zanger (Carey) 2000. "A Global Analysis of the Effect of Political Regime Changes on Life Integrity Violations 1977-1993," *Journal of Peace Research* 37:213-233.

Week 10. (March 19) Refugees, Humanitarian Disasters and Early Warning

Required:

Gibney, Mark, Claire Apodaca and J. McCann. 1996. "Refugee Flows, the Internally Displaced and Political Violence (1908-1993): An Exploratory Analysis." In Alex Schmid, ed., *Whither Refugee? The Refugee Crisis: Problems and Solutions*. Leiden: PLOOM.

Schmeidl, Susanne. 1997. "Exploring the Causes of Forced Migration: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis, 1971-1990," *Social Science Quarterly*, 78:284-308.

Juha Auvinen and E. Wayne Nafziger. 1999. "The Sources of Humanitarian Emergencies." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43:267-290.

Peter Brecke. 1998. "Finding Harbingers of Violent Conflict: Using Pattern Recognition to Anticipate Conflicts" *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 16:31-56.

Ted Robert Gurr 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* 41:1079-1103.

Suggested:

Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr. 1998. "Systematic Early Warning of Humanitarian Emergencies," *Journal of Peace Research* 35:551-579.

Leon Gordenker. 1992. "Early Warning of Disastrous Population Movement." *International Migration Review* 20:(2)170-189.

Susanne Schmeidl, and J. Craig Jenkins. 1998. "The Early Warning of Humanitarian Disasters: Problems in Building an Early Warning System" *International Migration Review* 26:471-486.

Week 11. (March 26) Midterm Test

Required:

Completion of the cumulative in-class essay exam. Students will be given 2:15 minutes to complete the exam, which will be given in the Computer Lab on the first floor of Wooten Hall.

Part Four: Preparing and Presenting Studies of Human Rights Related Phenomena

Weeks 12, 13, 14: Time Off for Good Behavior

This period should be used to finish research papers, and to meet on an individual basis with the instructor so that he can be of assistance.

Weeks 15 and 16 (April 30, May 7)

Students present their own research in a simulated academic conference as a Final Exam. The rest of the class will act as an audience.

A final thought: Graduate seminars are similar to bullfighting--what matters most in both arenas is the quality of the bull. In the current arena I have found that the bull is much greater when students are prepared.