Human Rights Politics

Syllabus

MA Seminar "Advanced Topics in International Politics" University of Mannheim, Fall 2022

Course Details: Thursdays 10:15-11:45

A5, 6, Bauteil C, Room C112

Instructor: Dr. Christoph Steinert

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Office Hours: Thursdays 14:00-15:00 in A5, B124 (please send an email in advance)

1 Course Description

This seminar focuses on human rights violations as a theoretical concept and as an empirical phenomenon. It tackles questions such as: What are human rights violations? How can we study human rights violations empirically? When are human rights violations most likely to occur? Which groups of individuals face an elevated risk of human rights violations? And which types of interventions are effective to promote human rights? The seminar will be structured according to different political contexts analysing distinct dynamics of repression during 'peace' and armed conflicts. The seminar sheds light on different perpetrators of human rights abuse and on patterns of civilian victimization and sexual violence during armed conflicts. The seminar also covers selective types of external interventions to conflict-torn societies such as UN Peacekeeping missions or international criminal prosecutions. To bridge the gap between theory and practice, current real-world examples of human rights violations will be discussed in relation to the theoretical concepts introduced in class. By the end of the seminar, students are expected to write their own empirical research paper on a topic of their own choice related to the field of human rights.

2 Course Objectives

The course will provide students with an understanding of the theoretical and methodological background that enables them to conduct their own empirical analyses in the field of human rights research. Besides introducing students to the current state of research in the field as well as the research designs and methods political scientists have used to address these topics, this course will encourage students to critically discuss and evaluate the literature and develop and answer their own empirical research questions. To facilitate this process, students will have the opportunity to present their research proposals in class and receive feedback from their peers and their instructor.

3 Organizational information

3.1 Formal Procedures

E-mail: All e-mails concerning this course will be sent to your university e-mail address (username@mail.uni-mannheim.de) via ILIAS. Please make sure to regularly check the inbox or that e-mails get forwarded in order to not miss important information.

You can contact me with the following e-mail address: christoph.steinert@uni-mannheim.de

Attendance: Even though attendance in lectures and seminars is not mandatory anymore, I strongly advise you to regularly attend the seminar and to participate in class since we will discuss and practice the material and skills that are necessary to successfully complete the seminar. While not obligatory, it would be kind if you could inform me of any absences so I can adjust planning of the seminar sessions accordingly.

Late work policy: In general, I will not allow extensions on any of the assessments. Start early with them, so you do not run into time issues once the deadline approaches. However, should you find yourself in an exceptional situation where you will not be able to turn something in on time, please advise me of this as soon as you can. We will try together to come up with a solution.

Evaluation and suggestions: Suggestion for improvement and your feedback are welcome at any time (either in-class or during a personal appointment with me). Also, I will appreciate if you fill in the online evaluation from the university towards the end of the semester. I take your feedback very seriously and will make every effort to ensure that you benefit from the seminar.

Feedback: Students are provided with detailed feedback on their research proposals. If you would like to receive feedback on your presentations, feel free to contact me about it and I will provide comments on the content and style of your presentation. Also, you can come to my office hour if you need advice for the development of your final paper.

Students with disabilities or chronic illness: Contact me or the Studienbüro if you need special assistance because of disabilities or chronic illness. Please do so early in the semester so we can immediately make the appropriate accommodations.

Academic Integrity: Cheating and plagiarism can result in failing the course and possible expulsion from the university. To clarify, all the following are considered plagiarism:

- turning in someone else's work as your own
- copying words or ideas from someone else without giving credit
- failing to put a quotation in quotation marks
- giving incorrect information about the source of a quotation
- changing words but copying the sentence structure of a source without giving credit
- copying so many words or ideas from a source that it makes up the majority of your work, whether you give credit or not¹

 $^{^{1}} https://www.plagiarism.org/article/what-is-plagiarism$

3.2 Assessment

It is expected that students participate regularly and actively in the seminar. In accordance with the most recent study regulations, course evaluations have two components: **Course requirements** (Studienleistungen) and **examinations** (Prüfungsleistungen). Course requirements are graded as pass/fail, but students must pass all course requirements to be eligible to participate in the examination requirement. The examination requirement will be graded on a scale from 1.0 (sehr gut) to 5.0 (nicht ausreichend), and this will be the grade for the entire course. Further, there will be one voluntary element which gives students the opportunity to receive a bonus (of 0.3) on their final grade.

Term Paper (= "Examination")

In order to receive the credit points for this class, students have to hand in an empirical research paper on a topic of their own choice in the context of human rights. Students are expected to come up with their own research question and to develop their own theory and hypotheses building on existing research. The empirical research paper must have 7,000-10,000 words and contain an original qualitative or quantitative analysis. The paper must include an introduction, a literature review and a theory section (can be combined), hypotheses, a research design section, an empirical section, and conclusions. The grade of the empirical research paper is equivalent to the overall grade of this seminar. The key criteria for the grading are the coherence of your theoretical argument, the inclusion of the relevant literature, the quality of the research design, the level of writing, and the explicit acknowledgement and discussion of the limitations of your study. If you feel like you need help with finding or developing a topic or research question, please make an appointment for an office hour meeting.

Term papers must be submitted latest by **January 20, 2023** at noon (12 am). The term paper has to be handed in as an electronic copy to my email address. You are expected to sign a statement of non-plagiarism, which you can scan in and attach to your term paper or hand in as a hard copy in my office. Should you fail to submit a term paper by the above mentioned deadline, you will receive the grade 5.0 (fail). It is not possible to retake the term paper since it is part of the overall assessment, which is only able to be retaken in its entirety in one of the following semesters.

"Course requirements'

- Completion of the assigned reading and active participation: This class is a seminar and therefore focuses on the in-depth discussion of the materials. The goal is to develop a collective understanding of the literature together with your colleagues. Hence, it is necessary that you complete the required reading by class time each week and come prepared to engage in the discussion of each text. You can identify the required readings by two asterisks (**) on the Syllabus. You are not expected to know all details of these readings, but to understand the key arguments and findings. The rest of the listed readings are optional and you are not expected to have read them in class if you are not assigned to present one of them.
- Presentation of one optional reading: Each student is expected to present one of the optional readings on the Syllabus together with another student in the course of the seminar. The presentation should take between 10 and 15 minutes and cover the key findings of the respective academic article. Please focus on the main research question, the key arguments, the hypotheses, the key logic of the research design, and the article's main findings. Ideally,

you are able to connect the article's arguments to the mandatory readings discussed in class. You may use Power Point or Latex for your presentation. You will be randomly assigned to the week when you have to present and you may chose one article among the optional readings (readings without **). In case you are unable to present in the week you have been assigned to, please contact me timely that we can change the slot with another pair of students. The presentation will not be graded.

- Submission and presentation of research proposal: You have the opportunity to hand in a 800-2,000 words research proposal for the term paper by November 4, 2022 (to my email address) and to receive feedback on your research project. It should include the research question, a brief theory, working hypotheses, and the research design you are planning to use. Each student will shortly summarize their term paper idea during the "mini-conference" in the sessions 12 and 13 and receive feedback from another student. We will discuss the format of these presentations in class in session 11. You will receive feedback on your research proposal from your peers and your instructor, providing you with some suggestions for improvement for the final paper. The research proposal and your presentation will not be graded. It is strongly recommended to hand in a research proposal, but the task is voluntary.
- Case study of a real-world example of systematic human rights abuse: Each student has the opportunity to write a case study of a real-world case of systematic human rights abuse. The case study should cover a specific group of people in any given state that is target of systematic human rights violations (e.g. repression of the political opposition in Iran, human rights abuses against the LGBTQI+ community in Uganda, repression of the Hazara in Afghanistan, etc.). Please try to address the following questions: Which human rights are violated in this case? Who were the key actors involved in the human rights abuses? What is the political rationale for the systematic human rights abuse? Which domestic and international actors are involved in advocacy against these human rights violations? What political repercussions are linked to the repressive action? The case study should be submitted as a 2,500 words (+/-5%) essay. Please send me your ideas via email and we will decide together on a topic. This task is **voluntary** and will result in a bonus of -0.3 on your final grade.

4 Outline

Session 1: Introduction

Introduction to the seminar and explanation of the expectations. Human rights quiz. $No\ readings$

Session 2: The concept of human rights

What are human rights? Where do they come from? How can they be justified?

- ** Shestack. Jerome J. 1998. "The Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* 20(2): 201-234.
- ** Elkins, Zachary, and Tom Ginsburg. 2022. "Imagining a World without the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." World Politics 74(3): 327-366.
- Nickel, James W. 2008. "Rethinking indivisibility: Towards a theory of supporting relations between human rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* 30: 984.
- Donnelly, Jack. 1982. "Human rights and human dignity: An analytic critique of non-Western conceptions of human rights." *American Political Science Review* 76(2): 303-316.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. 1998. "Transnational politics, international relations theory, and human rights." PS: Political Science & Politics 31(3): 517-523.
- Landman, Todd. 2005. "The political science of human rights." British Journal of Political Science 35(3): 549-572.
- Sen, Amartya. 2004. "Elements of a theory of human rights." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 32(4): 315-356.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 2018. "The concept of human dignity and the realistic utopia of human rights." *Metaphilosophy* 41(4): 464-480
- Rawls, John. 2009. A theory of justice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, chapter 1.
- Kant, Immanuel. 1795. "Perpetual peace: A Philosophical Essay."
- Carey, Sabine C., Mark Gibney, and Steven C. Poe. 2010. The politics of human rights: the quest for dignity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sriram, Chandra Lekha, Olga Martin-Ortega, and Johanna Herman. 2017. War, conflict and human rights: theory and practice. London: Routledge.
- Freeman, Michael. 2017. Human rights. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
- Donnelly, Jack. 2013. Universal human rights in theory and practice. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Ishay, Micheline. 2008. The history of human rights: From ancient times to the globalization era. Berkeley: University of California Press.

• Morsink, Johannes. 1999. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Origins, drafting, and intent. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Data: Wood, Reed, and Mark Gibney. 2010. "The Political Terror Scale (PTS): A Re-Introduction and Comparison to CIRI." *Human Rights Quarterly* 32(2): 367-400. Online access: www.politicalterrorscale.org

Session 3: Political institutions and human rights violations

How and to what extent are human rights abuses malleable through political institutions? Under which conditions do political institutions restrain or facilitate human rights abuse? Which types of political institutions are most effective to curb human rights abuse?

- ** Magaloni, Beatriz, and Luis Rodriguez. 2020. "Institutionalized Police Brutality: Torture, the Militarization of Security, and the Reform of Inquisitorial Criminal Justice in Mexico." American Political Science Review 114(4): 1013-1034.
- ** Greitens, Sheena Chestnut. 2016. Dictators and their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.
- Conrad, Courtenay R., J. Daniel W Hill and W. H. Moore. 2018. "Torture and the limits of democratic institutions." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(1): 3-17.
- Butler, Christopher K., Tali Gluch, and Neil J. Mitchell. 2007. "Security Forces and Sexual Violence: A Cross-National Analysis of a Principal-Agent Argument." Journal of Peace Research 44: 669-87.
- Conrad, Courtenay R., S. E. Croco, B. T. Gomez and W. H. Moore. 2018. "Threat Perception and American Support for Torture." *Political Behavior* 40(4): 989-1009.
- Jackson, J. L., S. L. Hall and D. W. Hill. 2018. "Democracy and police violence." Research & Politics 5(1).
- Hill Jr, Daniel W. 2010. "Estimating the effects of human rights treaties on state behavior." The Journal of Politics 72(4): 1161-1174.
- Carey, Sabine C., Michael P. Colaresi, and Neil J. Mitchell. 2015. "Governments, informal links to militias, and accountability." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(5): 850-876.
- Mitchell, N. J., S. C. Carey and C. K. Butler. 2014. "The Impact of Pro-Government Militias on Human Rights Violations." *International Interactions* 40(5): 812-836.
- Scharpf, Adam, and Christian Gläßel. 2020. "Why underachievers dominate secret police organizations: Evidence from autocratic Argentina." American Journal of Political Science 64(4): 791-806.
- Scharpf, Adam. 2018. "Ideology and state terror: How officer beliefs shaped repression during Argentina's 'Dirty War'." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(2): 206-221.
- Dworschak, Christoph. 2020. "Jumping on the Bandwagon: Differentiation and Security Defection during Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(7-8): 1335-1357.

- Clayton, G. and A. Thomson. 2016. "Civilianizing Civil Conflict: Civilian Defense Militias and the Logic of Violence in Intrastate Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 60(3): 499-510.
- Acemoglu, D., J. A. Robinson and R. J. Santos. 2013. "The Monopoly of Violence: Evidence from Colombia." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 11: 5–44.
- Kleinfeld, R. and E. Barham. 2018. "Complicit States and the Governing Strategy of Privilege Violence: When Weakness Is Not the Problem." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21(1): 215-238.
- Carey, S. C., M. P. Colaresi and N. J. Mitchell. 2016. "Risk Mitigation, Regime Security, and Militias: Beyond Coup-proofing." *International Studies Quarterly* 60(1): 59-72.
- Rejali, Darius. 2009. Torture and democracy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Data: The Pro-Government Militias Database. Online access: www.militias-database.com. Cohen, Dara Kay, and Ragnhild Nordås. 2014. "Sexual violence in armed conflict: Introducing the SVAC dataset, 1989–2009." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(3): 418-428.

Session 4: Targets of human rights abuses

Who is most likely to become a target of human rights abuse? Which types of individuals are especially at risk? Under which conditions are human rights abuses more likely in democracies?

- ** Carey, Sabine C., and Anita R. Gohdes. 2021. "Understanding journalist killings." *The Journal of Politics* 83(4): 1216-1228.
- ** Polo, Sara MT, and Julian Wucherpfennig. 2022. "Trojan Horse, Copycat, or Scapegoat? Unpacking the Refugees-Terrorism Nexus." *The Journal of Politics* 84(1): 33-49.
- Greitens, Sheena Chestnut, Myunghee Lee, and Emir Yazici. 2019. "Counterterrorism and preventive repression: China's changing strategy in Xinjiang." *International Security* 44(3): 9-47.
- Tschantret, Joshua. 2020. "Revolutionary Homophobia: Explaining State Repression against Sexual Minorities." *British Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 1459-1480.
- Mittal, Shalini, and Tushar Singh. 2020. "Gender-based violence during COVID-19 pandemic: a mini-review." Frontiers in Global Women's Health 1(4).
- Wirtz, Andrea L., et al. 2020. "Gender-based violence against transgender people in the United States: a call for research and programming." *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* 21(2): 227-241.
- Klein, Graig R., and Efe Tokdemir. 2019. "Domestic diversion: Selective targeting of minority out-groups." Conflict Management and Peace Science 36(1): 20-41.
- Rüegger, Seraina. 2019. "Refugees, ethnic power relations, and civil conflict in the country of asylum." *Journal of Peace Research* 56(1): 42-57.
- Finkel, Evgeny. 2015. "The phoenix effect of state repression: Jewish resistance during the Holocaust." American Political Science Review 109(2): 339-353

- Vandeginste, Stef. 2014. "Governing ethnicity after genocide: ethnic amnesia in Rwanda versus ethnic power-sharing in Burundi." Journal of Eastern African Studies 8(2): 263-277.
- Newbury, David. 1998. "Understanding genocide." African Studies Review 41(1): 73-97.
- Zenz, Adrian. 2019. "'Thoroughly reforming them towards a healthy heart attitude': China's political re-education campaign in Xinjiang." *Central Asian Survey* 38(1): 102-128.
- Gohdes, Anita R. and Sabine C. Carey. 2017. "Canaries in a coal-mine? What the killings of journalists tell us about future repression." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(2): 157-174.
- Bell, Sam R., K. Chad Clay, and Carla Martinez Machain. 2017. "The effect of US troop deployments on human rights." Journal of Conflict Resolution 61(10): 2020-2042
- Diehl, Paul F. 2016. "Exploring peace: Looking beyond war and negative peace." *International Studies Quarterly* 60(1): 1-10.
- Fariss, Christopher J. 2018. "The changing standard of accountability and the positive relationship between human rights treaty ratification and compliance." *British Journal of Political Science* 48(1): 239-271.
- Poe, Steven C. 2019. Understanding Human Rights Violations: New Systematic Studies. Abingdon: Routledge.

Data: CIRI Human Rights Data Project. Online access: http://www.humanrightsdata.com/; Ethnic Power Relations Dataset Family: https://icr.ethz.ch/data/epr/

Session 5: Types of human rights violations and the measurement of human rights

Which types of human rights violations occur under which circumstances? Which factors explain changes of repressive tactics? How can we measure human rights violations empirically?

- ** Bagozzi, Benjamin E., Daniel Berliner, and Ryan M. Welch. 2021. "The diversity of repression: Measuring state repressive repertoires with events data." *Journal of Peace Research*.
- ** Brook, Anne-Marie, K. Chad Clay, and Susan Randolph. 2020. "Human rights data for everyone: Introducing the Human Rights Measurement Initiative (HRMI)." *Journal of Human Rights* 19(1): 67-82.
- Wood, Reed M., and Mark Gibney. 2010. "The Political Terror Scale (PTS): A re-introduction and a comparison to CIRI." *Human Rights Quartely* 32: 367.
- Fariss, Christopher J., et al. 2019. "Human rights texts: converting human rights primary source documents into data." *PloS One* 10(9).
- Esberg, Jane. 2021. "Anticipating Dissent: The Repression of Politicians in Pinochet's Chile." The Journal of Politics 83(2): 689-705.
- DeMeritt, Jacqueline HR, and Courtenay R. Conrad. 2019. "Repression substitution: Shifting human rights violations in response to UN naming and shaming." *Civil Wars* 21(1): 128-152.

- Frantz, Erica & Andrea Kendall-Taylor. 2014. "A dictator's toolkit: Understanding how co-optation affects repression in autocracies." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(3): 332–346.
- Gohdes, Anita R. 2020. "Repression technology: Internet accessibility and state violence." American Journal of Political Science 64(3): 488-503.
- Xu, Xu. 2021. "To repress or to co-opt? Authoritarian control in the age of digital surveillance." American Journal of Political Science 65(2): 309-325.
- Steinert, Christoph Valentin. 2022. "The impact of domestic surveillance on political imprisonment: Evidence from the German Democratic Republic." Journal of Conflict Resolution.
- Kiyani, Ghashia. 2021. "US aid and substitution of human rights violations." Conflict Management and Peace Science.
- Grimm, Jannis, and Cilja Harders. 2018. "Unpacking the effects of repression: The evolution of Islamist repertoires of contention in Egypt after the fall of President Morsi." Social Movement Studies 17(1): 1-18.
- Liu, Howard, and Christopher M. Sullivan. 2021. "And the Heat Goes On: Police Repression and the Modalities of Power." Journal of Conflict Resolution 65(10): 1657-1679.
- Ferraz, Octavio LM. 2008. "Poverty and human rights." Oxford Journal of Legal Studies 28(3): 585-603.
- Vizard, Polly. 2006. Poverty and human rights: Sen's' capability perspective' explored. OUP Oxford.
- Meyers, Diana Tietjens, ed. 2014. Poverty, agency, and human rights. Oxford University Press.
- Queralt, Jahel, and Bas Van der Vossen, eds. 2019. Economic liberties and human rights. London: Routledge.
- Bilchitz, David. 2007. Poverty and fundamental rights: The justification and enforcement of socio-economic rights. OUP Oxford.

Data: The Human Rights Measurement Initiative.

Session 6: The outbreak of armed conflicts

Why are some states more prone to armed conflicts than others? Does economic inequality increase the risk of armed conflicts? How does this relate to human rights abuses?

- ** Cederman, Lars-Erik, Seraina Rüegger, and Guy Schvitz. 2022. "Redemption through Rebellion: Border Change, Lost Unity, and Nationalist Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 66(1): 24-42.
- ** Cohen, Dara Kay, and Sabrina M. Karim. 2021. "Does More Equality for Women Mean Less War? Rethinking Sex and Gender Inequality and Political Violence." *International Organization* 76(2): 414-444.

- Blair, Graeme, Darin Christensen, and Aaron Rudkin. 2021. "Do Commodity Price Shocks Cause Armed Conflict? A Meta-Analysis of Natural Experiments." American Political Science Review 115(2): 709-716.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Nils B. Weidmann, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2011. "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonational Civil War: A Global Comparison." American Political Science Review 105(3): 478–495.
- Chiba, Daina, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2017. "The Shape of Things to Come? Expanding the Inequality and Grievance Model for Civil War Forecasts With Event Data." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(2): 275-297.
- McGuirk, Eoin, and Marshall Burke. 2020. "The Economic Origins of Conflict in Africa." Journal of Political Economy 128(10): 3940-3997.
- Bartusevičius, Henrikas, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2019. "A Two-Stage Approach to Civil Conflict: Contested Incompatibilities and Armed Violence." *International Organization* 73(1): 225-248.
- Thomson, Henry. 2017. "Grievance Attribution, Mobilization and Mass Opposition to Authoritarian Regimes: Evidence from June 1953 in the GDR." Comparative Political Studies 51(12): 1594-1627.
- Wucherpfennig, Julian, Philipp Hunziker, and Lars-Erik Cederman. 2016. "Who Inherits the State? Colonial Rule and Postcolonial Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(4): 882-898.
- Buhaug, Halvard, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Helge Holtermann, Gudrun Østby, and Andreas Forø Tollefsen. 2011. "It's the Local Economy, Stupid! Geographic Wealth Dispersion and Conflict Outbreak Location." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(5): 814-840.
- Berman, Nicolas, Mathieu Couttenier, Dominic Rohner, and Mathias Thoenig. 2017. "This Mine Is Mine! How Minerals Fuel Conflicts in Africa." *American Economic Review* 107(6): 1564-1610.
- Cotet, Anca M., and Kevin K. Tsui. 2013. "Oil and Conflict: What Does the Cross Country Evidence Really Show?" *American Economic Journal* 5(1): 49-80.
- Fearon, James, and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil Wars." American Political Science Review 97(1): 75-90.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Oxford Economic Papers 56(4): 563-595.
- Lujala, Päivi. 2010. "The Spoils of Nature: Armed Civil Conflict and Rebel Access to Natural Resources." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(1): 15-28.
- Buhaug, Halvard, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2008. "Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(2): 215-233.
- Blair, Robert A., and Nicholas Sambanis. 2020. "Forecasting Civil Wars: Theory and Structure in an Age of "Big Data" and Machine Learning." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 64(10): 1885-1915.

• Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug. 2013. *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Data: UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset; The Correlates of War Project.

Session 7: Civilian victimization and conflict-related sexual violence

Which factors increase the likelihood of civilian victimization during armed conflicts? Why do levels of conflict-related sexual violence vary between conflicts? What explains restraint towards civilians?

- ** Nordås, Ragnhild, and Dara Kay Cohen. 2021. "Conflict-Related Sexual Violence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24: 193-211.
- ** Schubiger, Livia Isabella. 2021. "State Violence and Wartime Civilian Agency: Evidence From Peru." The Journal of Politics 83(4): 1383-1398
- Balcells, Laia, and Jessica A. Stanton. 2021. "Violence Against Civilians During Armed Conflict: Moving Beyond the Macro-and Micro-Level Divide." Annual Review of Political Science 24: 45-69.
- Valentino, Benjamin. 2014. "Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence against Civilians." Annual Review of Political Science 17: 89-103
- Lis, Piotr, Michael Spagat, and Uih Ran Lee. 2021. "Civilian Targeting in African Conflicts: A Poor Actor's Game That Spreads Through Space." *Journal of Peace Research* 58(5): 900-914.
- Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence Against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 291-313.
- Dawkins, Sophia. 2021. "The Problem of the Missing Dead." *Journal of Peace Research* 58(5): 1098-1116.
- Costalli, Stefano, Francesco Niccolò Moro, and Andrea Ruggeri. 2020. "The Logic of Vulnerability and Civilian Victimization: Shifting Front Lines in Italy (1943–1945)." World Politics 72(4): 679-718.
- Hoover Green, Amelia. 2016. "The Commander's Dilemma: Creating and Controlling Armed Group Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(5): 619-632.
- Valentino, Benjamin, Paul Huth and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. "'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare." *International Organization* 58(2): 375–407.
- Hägerdal, Nils. 2019. "Ethnic Cleansing and the Politics of Restraint: Violence and Coexistence in the Lebanese Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63(1): 59-84.
- Hammond, Jesse. 2017. "Maps of Mayhem: Strategic Location and Deadly Violence in Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(1): 32-46.
- Kreft, Anne-Kathrin. 2019. "Responding to Sexual Violence: Women's Mobilization in War." Journal of Peace Research 56(2): 220-233.

- Hirose, Kentaro, Kosuke Imai, and Jason Lyall. 2017. "Can Civilian Attitudes Predict Insurgent Violence? Ideology and Insurgent Tactical Choice in Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(1): 47-63.
- Fjelde, Hanne, and Lisa Hultman. 2014. "Weakening the Enemy: A Disaggregated Study of Violence Against Civilians in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(7): 1230-57.
- Butler, Christopher K., Tali Gluch, and Neil J. Mitchell. 2007. "Security Forces and Sexual Violence: A Cross-National Analysis of a Principal-Agent Argument." *Journal of Peace Research* 44(6): 669-87.
- Beber, Bernd, and Christopher Blattman. 2013. "The Logic of Child Soldiering and Coercion." *International Organization* 67(1): 65-104.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Balcells, Laia. 2017. Rivalry and Revenge: The Politics of Violence During Civil War. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stanton, Jessica A. 2016. Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in the Shadow of International Law. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weinstein, Jeremy. 2007. Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Data: Cohen, Dara Kay, and Ragnhild Nordås. 2014. "Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict: Introducing the SVAC Dataset, 1989–2009." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(3): 418-428; Schneider, Gerald, and Margit Bussmann. 2013. "Accounting for the Dynamics of One-Sided Violence: Introducing KOSVED." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(5): 635-644.

Session 8: UN Peacekeeping

To what extent can UN Peacekeeping operations (PKOs) stabilize peace? Which factors influence the effectiveness of PKOs? How do PKOs affect the risk of electoral violence?

- ** Blair, Robert A., Jessica Di Salvatore, and Hannah M. Smidt. 2021. "When Do UN Peace-keeping Operations Implement Their Mandates?" *American Journal of Political Science*.
- ** Fjelde, Hanne, and Hannah M. Smidt. 2021. "Protecting the Vote? Peacekeeping Presence and the Risk of Electoral Violence." *British Journal of Political Science*.
- ** Karim, Sabrina, and Kyle Beardsley. 2016. "Explaining sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping missions: The role of female peacekeepers and gender equality in contributing countries." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(1): 100-115.
- Smidt, Hannah. 2020. "Mitigating Election Violence Locally: UN Peacekeepers' Election-Education Campaigns in Côte D'Ivoire." *Journal of Peace Research* 57(1): 199-216.
- Bove, Vincenzo, Jessica Di Salvatore, and Leandro Elia. 2022. "UN Peacekeeping and Households' Well-Being in Civil Wars." *American Journal of Political Science* 66(2): 402-417.

- Blair, Robert A. 2021. "UN Peacekeeping and the Rule of Law." American Political Science Review 115(1): 51-68.
- Bove, Vincenzo, and Andrea Ruggeri. 2019. "Peacekeeping Effectiveness and Blue Helmets' Distance From Locals." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63(7): 1630-1655.
- Smidt, Hannah. 2021. "Keeping Electoral Peace? Activities of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Their Effects on Election-Related Violence." Conflict Management and Peace Science 38(5): 580-604.
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- Hegre, Håvard, Lisa Hultman, and Håvard Mokleiv Nygård. 2019. "Evaluating the Conflict-Reducing Effect of Un Peacekeeping Operations." *The Journal of Politics* 81(1): 215-232.
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Session 9: Transitional Justice

How can means of transitional justice alleviate the consequence of armed conflicts?

- ** Trejo, Guillermo, Juan Albarracín, and Lucía Tiscornia. 2018. "Breaking State Impunity in Post-authoritarian Regimes: Why Transitional Justice Processes Deter Criminal Violence in New Democracies." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(6): 787-809.
- ** Balcells, Laia, Valeria Palanza, and Elsa Voytas. 2022. "Do Transitional Justice Museums Persuade Visitors? Evidence From a Field Experiment." *The Journal of Politics* 84(1): 496-510.

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- McAllister, Jacqueline R. 2019. "Deterring Wartime Atrocities: Hard Lessons From the Yugoslav Tribunal." *International Security* 44(3): 84-128.
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- Dancy, Geoff. 2018. "Deals With the Devil? Conflict Amnesties, Civil War, and Sustainable Peace." *International Organization* 72(2): 387-421.
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- Binningsbø, Helga Malmin, and Ragnhild Nordås. 2022. "Conflict-Related Sexual Violence and the Perils of Impunity." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
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- Quinn, Joanna R. 2021. Thin Sympathy: A Strategy to Thicken Transitional Justice. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Clark, Janine Natalya, and Michael Ungar. 2021. Resilience, Adaptive Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lixinski, Lucas. 2021. Legalized Identities: Cultural Heritage Law and the Shaping of Transitional Justice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

• Jeffery, Renée. 2021. Negotiating Peace: Amnesties, Justice and Human Rights. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Data: Transitional Justice Database Project: http://www.tjdbproject.com/; UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset. Online access: https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/ucdp-data/

Session 10: Intergovernmental human rights organizations and civil society organizations

Which domestic and international actors are involved in advocacy against human rights abuses? Which factors influence 'naming and shaming' dynamics in the international arena?

- ** Smidt, Hannah, Perera, Dominic, Mitchell, Neil J., Bakke, Kristin M. 2021. "Silencing Their Critics: How Government Restrictions Against Civil Society Affect International 'Naming and Shaming'." *British Journal of Political Science* 51(3): 1270-1291.
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- DeMeritt, Jacqueline HR, and Courtenay R. Conrad. 2019. "Repression substitution: Shifting human rights violations in response to UN naming and shaming." *Civil Wars* 21(1): 128-152.
- Murdie, Amanda, and Dursun Peksen. 2014. "The impact of human rights INGO shaming on humanitarian interventions." *The Journal of Politics* 76(1): 215-228.
- Adhikari, Bimal. 2021. "UN Human Rights Shaming and Foreign Aid Allocation." *Human Rights Review*: 1-22.
- Ausderan, Jacob. 2014. "How naming and shaming affects human rights perceptions in the shamed country." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(1): 81-95.
- Kahn-Nisser, Sara. 2019. "When the targets are members and donors: Analyzing intergovernmental organizations' human rights shaming." The Review of International Organizations 14(3): 431-451.
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- Milewicz, Karolina M., and Robert E. Goodin. 2018. "Deliberative capacity building through international organizations: The case of the universal periodic review of human rights." *British Journal of Political Science* 48(2): 513-533.
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- Hug, Simon, and Simone Wegmann. 2016. "Complying with human rights." *International interactions* 42(4): 590-615.

Data: Pevehouse, Jon, Timothy Nordstrom, and Kevin Warnke. 2004. "The Correlates of War 2 international governmental organizations data version 2.0." Conflict Management and Peace Science 21(2): 101-119; Bailey, Michael A., Anton Strezhnev, and Erik Voeten. 2017. "Estimating dynamic state preferences from United Nations voting data." Journal of Conflict Resolution 61(2): 430-456.

Session 11: Remedies against human rights violations

What types of interventions are capable to prevent, or at least to diminish, the frequency of human rights violations?

- ** Kelley, Judith G., and Beth A. Simmons. 2015. "Politics by number: Indicators as social pressure in international relations." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1): 55-70.
- ** Armand, Alex, Paul Atwell, and Joseph F. Gomes. 2020. "The reach of radio: Ending civil conflict through rebel demobilization." *American Economic Review* 110(5): 1395-1429.
- Myrick, Rachel, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2021. "Making Sense of Human Rights Diplomacy: Evidence from a US Campaign to Free Political Prisoners." *International Organization* 1-35.
- Gruffydd-Jones, Jamie J. 2021. "International Attention and the Treatment of Political Prisoners." *International Studies Quarterly*.
- Jordan, Jenna. 2014. "Attacking the leader, missing the mark: Why terrorist groups survive decapitation strikes." *International Security* 38(4): 7-38.
- Escribà-Folch, Abel, and Joseph Wright. 2010. "Dealing with tyranny: International sanctions and the survival of authoritarian rulers." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 335-359.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. 2008. "Sticks and stones: Naming and shaming the human rights enforcement problem." *International Organization* 62(4): 689-716.
- Peksen, Dursun. 2009. "Better or worse? The effect of economic sanctions on human rights." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(1): 59-77.
- Aguilar, Paloma; Balcells, Laia; and Héctor Cebolla. 2011. "Determinants of Attitudes towards Transitional Justice." Comparative Political Studies 44 (10): 1397-1430.
- Bearce, David H., and Daniel C. Tirone. 2010. "Foreign aid effectiveness and the strategic goals of donor governments." The Journal of Politics 72(3): 837-851.
- DeMeritt, Jacqueline HR. 2012. "International organizations and government killing: does naming and shaming save lives?" *International Interactions* 38(5): 597-621.

- Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. "Demobilization and reintegration." Journal of Conflict Resolution 51(4): 531-567.
- Donno, Daniela, and Michael Neureiter. 2018. "Can human rights conditionality reduce repression? Examining the European Union's economic agreements." The Review of International Organizations 13(3): 335-357.
- Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. 2013. "United Nations peacekeeping and civilian protection in civil war." American Journal of Political Science 57(4): 875-891.
- Peksen, Dursun. 2012. "Does foreign military intervention help human rights?" *Political Research Quarterly* 65(3): 558–571.
- Bove, Vincenzo, and Andrea Ruggeri. 2019. "Peacekeeping Effectiveness and Blue Helmets' Distance from Locals." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*: 1-26.
- Bove, Vincenzo, and Ruggeri, Andrea . 2015. "Kinds of Blue. Diversity in U.N. Peacekeeping Missions and Civilian Protection." *British Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 681-700.

Data: UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset. Online access: https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/ucdp-data/

Session 12: Student presentations of research proposals I

During this session students will present their research ideas and receive comments by the course instructor and their peers.

The readings of this week focus on security alliances and the R2P. Key questions are: Which factors drive military interventions and are they motivated by normative concerns? How do security alliances shape patterns of inter-state wars? To what extent does the principle of collective security deter aggressors?

- ** Brysk, Alison, and Aashish Mehta. 2014. "Do rights at home boost rights abroad? Sexual equality and humanitarian foreign policy." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(1): 97-110.
- ** Kreps, Sarah, and Sarah Maxey. 2018. "Mechanisms of Morality: Sources of Support for Humanitarian Intervention." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(8): 1814-1842.
- Ralph, Jason. 2018. "What Should Be Done? Pragmatic Constructivist Ethics and the Responsibility to Protect." *International Organization* 72(1): 173-203.
- Welsh, Jennifer M. 2019. "Norm Robustness and the Responsibility to Protect." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4(1): 53-72.
- Pattison, James. 2021. "The International Responsibility to Protect in a Post-liberal Order." *International Studies Quarterly* 65(4): 891-904.
- Crossley, Noele. 2018. "Is r2p Still Controversial? Continuity and Change in the Debate on 'Humanitarian Intervention'." Cambridge Review of International Affairs 31(5): 415-436.
- Edry, Jessica, Jesse C. Johnson, and Brett Ashley Leeds. 2021. "Threats at Home and Abroad: Interstate War, Civil War, and Alliance Formation." *International Organization* 75(3): 837-857.

- Horowitz, Michael C., Paul Poast, and Allan C. Stam. 2017. "Domestic Signaling of Commitment Credibility: Military Recruitment and Alliance Formation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(8): 1682-1710.
- Kenwick, Michael R., John A. Vasquez, and Matthew A. Powers. 2015. "Do Alliances Really Deter?" *The Journal of Politics* 77(4): 943-954.
- Johnson, Jesse C. 2022. "Designing Alliances: How Adversaries Provoke Peacetime Military Coordination." *International Interactions* 48(1): 49-74.
- Johnson, Jesse C. 2017. "External Threat and Alliance Formation." *International Studies Quarterly* 61(3): 736-745.
- Kinne, Brandon J. 2018. "Defense Cooperation Agreements and the Emergence of a Global Security Network." *International Organization* 72(4): 799-837.
- Moller, Sara Bjerg, and Sten Rynning. 2021. "Revitalizing Transatlantic Relations: NATO 2030 and Beyond." *The Washington Quarterly* 44(1): 177-197.
- Peksen, Dursun. 2012. "Does Foreign Military Intervention Help Human Rights?." *Political Research Quarterly* 65(3): 558-571.
- Kisangani, Emizet F., and Jeffrey Pickering. 2015. "Soldiers and Development Aid: Military Intervention and Foreign Aid Flows." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(2): 215-227.
- Murdie, Amanda, and Dursun Peksen. 2014. "The Impact of Human Rights INGO Shaming on Humanitarian Interventions." *The Journal of Politics* 76(1): 215-228.
- Thakur, Ramesh. 2016. The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Orakhelashvili, Alexander. 2011. Collective Security. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sayle, Timothy Andrews. 2019. Enduring Alliance: A History of NATO and the Postwar Global Order. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Coady, Cecil AJ, Ned Dobos, and Sagar Sanyal. 2018. Challenges for Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical Demand and Political Reality. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Data: Pickering, Jeffrey, and Emizet F. Kisangani. 2009. "The International Military Intervention Dataset: An Updated Resource for Conflict Scholars." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(4): 589-599; Gibler, Douglas M., and Meredith Reid Sarkees. 2004. "Measuring Alliances: The Correlates of War Formal Interstate Alliance Dataset, 1816–2000." *Journal of Peace Research* 41(2): 211-222.

Session 13: Student presentations of research proposals II

During this session students will present their research ideas and receive comments by the course instructor and their peers.

The readings of this week cover human rights abuses in the digital age. How does the emergence of new information technologies affect the type and frequency of human rights violations? Is cyberwar a complement or a substitute of conventional warfare? Do cyber attacks increase the risk of conventional wars?

- ** Pan, Jennifer, and Alexandra A. Siegel. 2020. "How Saudi crackdowns fail to silence online dissent." *American Political Science Review* 114(1): 109-125.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan and Margaret E. Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 326-343.
- Breuer, Anita, Todd Landman, and Dorothea Farquhar. 2015. "Social media and protest mobilization: Evidence from the Tunisian revolution." *Democratization* 22(4): 764-792.
- Gohdes, Anita R. 2015. "Pulling the plug: Network disruptions and violence in civil conflict." Journal of Peace Research 52(3): 352-367.
- Steinert-Threlkeld, Zachary C., Delia Mocanu, Alessandro Vespignani and James Fowler. 2015. "Online social networks and offline protest." *EPJ Data Science* 4(1): 4–19.
- Tufekci, Zeynep and Christopher Wilson. 2012. "Social Media and the Decision to Participate in Political Protest: Observations From Tahrir Square." *Journal of Communication* 62(2): 363–379.
- King, Gary, Jennifer Pan and Margaret E. Roberts. 2017. "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument." *American Political Science Review* 111(3): 484-501.
- Gohdes, Anita R. 2018. "Studying the Internet and Violent conflict." Conflict Management and Peace Science 35(1): 89-106.
- Kostyuk, Nadiya, and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2019. "Invisible Digital Front: Can Cyber Attacks Shape Battlefield Events?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63(2): 317-347.
- Maschmeyer, Lennart. 2021. "The Subversive Trilemma: Why Cyber Operations Fall Short of Expectations." *International Security* 46(2): 51-90.
- Goldfarb, Avi, and Jon R. Lindsay. 2022. "Prediction and Judgment: Why Artificial Intelligence Increases the Importance of Humans in War." *International Security* 46(3): 7–50.
- Milner, Helen V., and Sondre Ulvund Solstad. 2021. "Technological Change and the International System." World Politics 73(3): 545-589.
- Egloff, Florian J., and Max Smeets. 2021. "Publicly Attributing Cyber Attacks: A Framework." *Journal of Strategic Studies*.
- Kello, Lucas. 2013. "The Meaning of the Cyber Revolution: Perils to Theory and Statecraft." *International Security* 38(2): 7-40.
- Zeitzoff, Thomas. 2017. "How Social Media Is Changing Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(9): 1970-1991.
- Gartzke, Erik. 2013. "The Myth of Cyberwar: Bringing War in Cyberspace Back Down to Earth" *International Security* 38(2): 41-73.
- Rid, Thomas. 2012. "Cyber War Will Not Take Place." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 35(1): 5-32.

- Farwell, James P., and Rafal Rohozinski. 2012. "The New Reality of Cyber War." Survival 54(4): 107-120.
- Gohdes, Anita R. 2015. "Pulling the Plug: Network Disruptions and Violence in Civil Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(3): 352-367.
- Weidmann, Nils B., and Espen Geelmuyden Rød. 2019. The Internet and political protest in autocracies. Oxford: Oxford University Press Oxford Studies in Digital Politics.

Data: University of Maryland CISSM Cyber Attacks Database.

Session 14: Leftover presentations and wrap-up

If there have been left-overs from the previous session students will have the opportunity to present during the final session and receive comments by their peers. Further, we will synthesize and summarize the learning from this seminar.

No reading