

## Assignment: L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X

You should use L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X to replicate everything that appears on the following pages.

# The Unintended Consequences of Human Rights Advocacy on State Repression<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

Leaders have a variety of repressive techniques at their disposal. We develop a theory of the impact of international advocacy campaigns on the government's choice of repressive tactics, and show that shaming one physical integrity rights violation leads to increases in other types of repression.

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<sup>1</sup>Note: Previous versions of this paper were presented at the 2011 and 2014 annual meetings of the International Studies Association, the 2011 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, and the Department of Political Science at Binghamton University. We thank Sabine Carey, Christian Davenport, Kristine Eck, Ryan Jablonski, Matthew Krain, and Keith Schnakenberg for helpful comments and suggestions and Christine Balarezo, Taylor Lee, Steve Liebel, Omar Salem, and Delina Wright for invaluable research assistance.

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# 1 Introduction

State leaders have a wide variety of repressive techniques at their disposal. Although many states repress as a matter of course, their methods of abuse vary. Following Davenport (2007, 476), we define personal integrity violations as “state or state-affiliated activities which target the integrity of the person (i.e., which directly threaten human life).” In this context, governments can imprison their political opposition, torture them once they are under state control, disappear them, or kill them extrajudicially (Poe and Tate, 1994; Cingranelli and Richards, 1999).

## 2 Theory and Hypotheses

In this paper, we investigate (1) why states differ in their choice of repressive tactics, and (2) how individual states trade-off between repressive tactics. To do so, we focus on the effect of international advocacy campaigns, also called “naming and shaming,” on repressive tactics.

### 2.1 The Effect of International Advocacy

We assume that being targeted with an international naming and shaming campaign increases leaders’ costs for continuing the status quo with regard to repression. Yet the status quo may be more fine-grained than “repression” as a unidimensional concept. If so, then international attention for one form of human rights abuse should increase leaders’ costs for continuing that type of abuse, *but should not affect the costs of other forms of repression.*

- **Hypothesis 1:** In response to international advocacy condemning one repressive tactic, states decrease the use of that repressive tactic.
- **Hypothesis 2:** In response to international advocacy condemning one repressive tactic, states increase the use of other repressive tactics.

### 3 Data and Methods

In this model, let  $i$  index country observations and  $t$  index the country observations for each year from 1995 to 2011. Let  $j = 1, \dots, 4$  represent each of the CIRI physical integrity rights indicators.  $\theta_{i,t-1}$  is the estimated value of the latent level of respect for physical integrity rights of country-year  $i, t - 1$ . The probability of the four ordered outcomes is specified as follows.

$$P[y_{itj} = k] = [F(\alpha_{tjk} - (\theta_{it-1}\beta_j + X_{it-1}\gamma_j)) - F(\alpha_{tjk-1} - (\theta_{it-1}\beta_j + X_{it-1}\gamma_j))] \quad (1)$$

For each of the ordered dependent variables, the cutpoints are,  $y_{itj} = k$  if  $\alpha_{tjk-1} < \theta_{it}\beta_j + \varepsilon_{itj} < \alpha_{tjk}$ , where  $\varepsilon_{itj}$  is an error term and  $\alpha_{tj0} = -\infty$  and  $\alpha_{tjk_j} = \infty$ . Further, we let  $\varepsilon_{itj}$  correlate across the four equations. We also incorporate the uncertainty from the latent repression variable estimates into the model by taking a new draw from the posterior distribution during each iteration of the MCMC chain. This strategy allows us to look at the four CIRI physical integrity measures as ordered dependent variables with correlated errors in the same model.

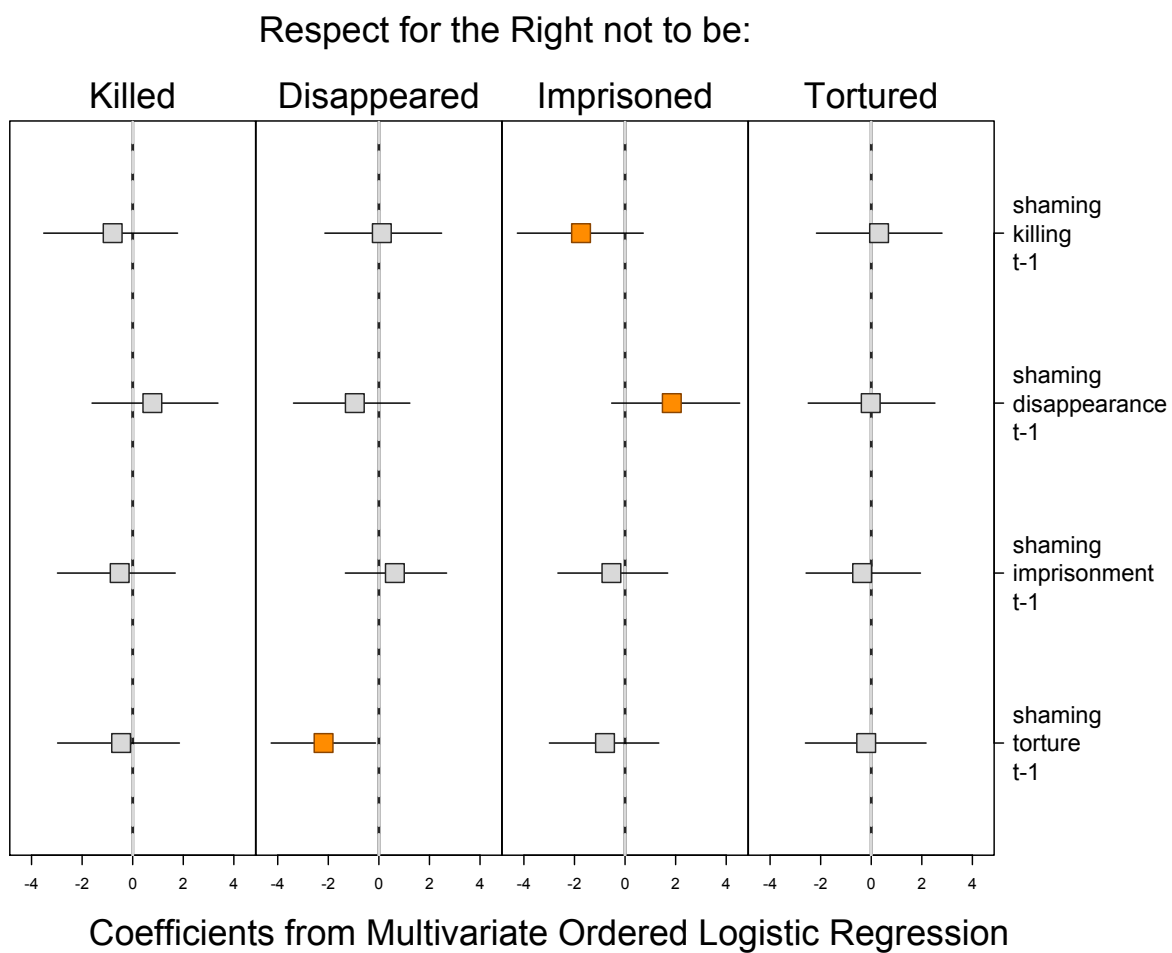
### 4 Results and Discussion

Table 1 and Figure 1 provide the results of our preliminary estimation for each of the four CIRI physical integrity measures. Parameter estimates, standard deviations, and 95% credible intervals are listed across Columns 2, 3, and 4.

Table 1: Parameter Estimates and Credible Intervals from Multivariate Ordered Logistic Regression

	Parameter	Standard Deviation	95% Credible Interval
<b>DV: CIRI Killing</b>			
Latent Repression	1.462	(0.139)	1.212 1.753
ln population	0.159	(0.093)	-0.013 0.347
ln gdppe	0.078	(0.107)	-0.117 0.295
Polity	0.011	(0.020)	-0.029 0.049
prior war	-2.676	(0.387)	-3.480 -1.960
shaming killing	-0.792	(1.315)	-3.519 1.775
shaming disappearance	0.778	(1.297)	-1.608 3.372
shaming prison	-0.514	(1.199)	-2.975 1.682
shaming torture	-0.458	(1.228)	-2.970 1.848
<b>DV: CIRI Disappearance</b>			
Latent Repression	0.989	(0.094)	0.817 1.180
ln population	-0.253	(0.084)	-0.445 -0.097
ln gdppe	0.128	(0.087)	-0.035 0.296
Polity	0.110	(0.020)	0.073 0.148
prior war	-2.984	(0.310)	-3.629 -2.389
shaming killing	0.116	(1.168)	-2.136 2.481
shaming disappearance	-0.952	(1.140)	-3.377 1.226
shaming prison	0.633	(1.022)	-1.326 2.678
<b>shaming torture</b>	-2.187	(1.058)	-4.259 -0.134
<b>DV: CIRI Imprisonment</b>			
Latent Repression	0.451	(0.040)	0.375 0.532
ln population	-0.019	(0.061)	-0.143 0.097
ln gdppe	0.181	(0.065)	0.055 0.303
Polity	0.218	(0.013)	0.192 0.243
prior war	-1.408	(0.206)	-1.811 -0.998
<b>shaming killing</b>	-1.741	(1.248)	-4.259 0.720
<b>shaming disappearance</b>	1.849	(1.317)	-0.530 4.533
shaming prison	-0.540	(1.122)	-2.657 1.686
shaming torture	-0.793	(1.121)	-2.992 1.334
<b>DV: CIRI Torture</b>			
Latent Repression	0.951	(0.079)	0.811 1.110
ln population	-0.110	(0.073)	-0.245 0.032
ln gdppe	0.030	(0.088)	-0.132 0.220
Polity	0.073	(0.015)	0.043 0.101
prior war	-1.690	(0.338)	-2.365 -1.024
shaming killing	0.310	(1.276)	-2.167 2.799
shaming disappearance	-0.020	(1.267)	-2.493 2.519
shaming prison	-0.360	(1.168)	-2.577 1.947
shaming torture	-0.200	(1.164)	-2.603 2.169

Figure 1: Multivariate Ordered Logistic Regression Results



## References

- Cingranelli, David L. and David L. Richards. 1999. "Measuring the Level, Pattern, and Sequence of Government Respect for Physical Integrity Rights." *International Studies Quarterly* 43(2):407–418.
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- Poe, Steven C. and C. Neal Tate. 1994. "Repression of Human Rights and Personal Integrity in the 1980s: A Global Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 88(4):852–872.