

Emilie Marie Hafner-Burton

School of Global Policy and Strategy
Department of Political Science
University of California, San Diego
9500 Gilman Drive, MC 0519
La Jolla, CA 92093-0519
ehafner@ucsd.edu
<http://pages.ucsd.edu/~ehafner/>

Educational Degrees

Ph.D., University of Wisconsin—Madison, in political science, July 2003 (with Distinction)
Areas of examined specialization: International Relations and Methodology

M.A., Oxford University, department of politics, 2003 (honorary)

M.A., University of Wisconsin—Madison, in political science, 1999

B.A., Seattle University, in political science and philosophy, 1995 (Summa Cum Laude)

Educational Positions

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Professor of International Justice and Human Rights, 2014 to the present.

Professor, School of Global Policy and Strategy and Department of Political Science, University of California San Diego, 2013 to the present.

Director of the laboratory on International Law and Regulation, School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California San Diego, 2009 to the present.

Associate Professor, School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California San Diego, 2009 to 2013.

Assistant Professor, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and the Department of Politics, Princeton University, July 2006 to 2009.

Visiting Fellow, Stanford Law School, Stanford University, 2008 to 2009.

Postdoctoral Research Prize Fellow, Oxford University, Nuffield College, 2003 to 2006.

Associated Fellow, Stanford University, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, 2003 to 2006.

MacArthur Consortium Pre-Dissertation Scholar, Stanford University, Center for International Security and Cooperation, 2001 to 2003.

Research and Teaching Interests

International Organization, International Law, International Political Economy, Human Rights, Elections, Trade, Institutional Design and Selection, Social Networks, Social Movements, Political Psychology, Elite Decision Making, Behavioral Economics, Economic Sanctions, Gender Policy, Non-Proliferation, Research Design, Survey Experiments, Public Policy.

Peer Reviewed Books

“Making Human Rights a Reality” *Princeton University Press*, 2013.
Recipient of the International Studies Association Best Book Award, 2015.

“Forced to Be Good: Why Trade Agreements Boost Human Rights.” *Cornell University Press*, 2009.

Peer Reviewed Articles

“The Behavioral Revolution and International Relations.” With Steph Haggard, David Lake and David Victor. *International Organization*, forthcoming 2017.

“Uncertainty, Compliance and International Cooperation: An Experimental Approach.” With Brad L. LeVeck and David G. Victor. *International Studies Quarterly*, forthcoming.

“Surviving Elections: Election Violence, Incumbent Victory and Post-Election Backlash.” With Susan Hyde and Ryan Jablonski. *British Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming 2016.

“Predictability Versus Flexibility: Secrecy in International Investment Arbitration.” With Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld and David G. Victor. *World Politics*, 2016, 68(3): 413-453.

“Secrecy in International Investment Arbitration: An Empirical Analysis.” With David G. Victor. *Journal of International Dispute Settlement*, 2016, 7(1): 161-182.

“How Activists Perceive the Utility of International Law.” With Brad L. LeVeck and David G. Victor. *Journal of Politics*, 2016, 78(1): 167–180.

“A Behavioral Approach to International Cooperation.” With Brad L. LeVeck, David G. Victor and James H. Fowler. *International Organization*, 2015, 53 (4): 699-732.

“Sovereignty Costs, Human Rights Institutions, and Democratization.” With Ed Mansfield and Jon Pevehouse. *British Journal of Political Science*, 2015, 45(1): 1-27.

“The Role of Self-Interest in Elite Bargaining.” With Brad L. LeVeck, D. Alex Hughes, James H. Fowler and David G. Victor. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 2014, 111(52)

“A Social Science of Human Rights.” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2014, 51(2), pp. 273–286.

“When Do Governments Resort to Election Violence?” With Susan Hyde and Ryan Jablonski. *British Journal of Political Science*, 2014, 44(1), pp.149-179.

“The Cognitive Revolution and the Political Psychology of Elite Decision Making.” With D. Alex Hughes and David G. Victor. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2013, 11(2), pp. 368-386.

“The Latin Bias: Regions, the Anglo-American Media and Human Rights, 1981-2000.” With James Ron. *International Studies Quarterly*, 2013, 57(3), pp. 474-491. (Related: “What region gets the most coverage of its human rights abuses? *Columbia Journalism Review*, January 30th, 2013; ¿Por qué los medios de comunicación angloamericanos estuvieron tan interesados en las violaciones a los derechos humanos en latinoamérica? *Foreign Affairs Latino América*)

“International Human Rights Regimes.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2012, 15, pp. 265-286.

“International Relations for International Law.” With David G. Victor and Yanatan Lupu, *American Journal of International Law*, 2012, 106(1).

“Ward, Trade, and Distrust: Why Trade Agreements Don’t Always Keep the Peace.” With Alexander H. Montgomery. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 2012, 29(3).

“Emergency and Escape: Explaining Derogations from Human Rights Treaties.” With Laurence Helfer and Chris Farris. *International Organization*, 2011, 65(4), pp. 673-707.

“Mainstreaming International Governance: The Environment, Gender, and IO Performance in the European Union.” With Mark A. Pollack. *Review of International Organization*, 2010, 5, pp. 285-313.

“Tortured Relations: Human Rights Abuses and Counterterrorism Cooperation.” With Jacob Shapiro. *PS: Political Science and Policy*, 2010, 43, pp. 415-419.

“Seeing Double: Human Rights Impact Through Qualitative and Quantitative Eyes?” With James Ron. *World Politics*, 2009, 61(2), pp. 360-401.

“Network Analysis For International Relations.” With Miles Kahler and Alexander H. Montgomery. *International Organization*, Spring 2009, 63, pp. 559-92.

“Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem” *International Organization*, October 2008, 62, pp. 689-716.

“The Power Politics of Regime Complexity: Human Rights Conditionality in Europe.” *Perspectives on Politics*, March 2009, 7(1), pp. 33-38.

“Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union: Getting the Incentives Right.” With Mark A. Pollack. *Comparative European Politics*, April 2009, 7, pp. 114-138.

“Globalization and the Power Politics of International Economic Networks.” With Alexander H. Montgomery, in *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Government*. Miles Kahler, ed., Cornell University Press 2009.

“International Organizations Count: What Statistics Tell Us About IOs.” With Jana von Stein and Erik Gartzke, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, April 2008, 52(2), pp. 175-188.

“Power or Plenty: Do International Trade Organizations Shape Economic Sanctions?” With Alexander H. Montgomery. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, April 2008, 52(2), pp. 213-242.

“The Hegemon’s Purse: No Economic Peace Between Democracies.” With Alexander H. Montgomery. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2008, 45(1), pp. 111-120.

“International Human Rights Law and the Politics of Legitimacy: Repressive States and Human Rights Treaties.” With Kiyoteru Tsutsui and John Meyer. *International Sociology*, 2008, 23(1), pp. 115-141.

“Preventing Human Rights Abuse.” With James Ron. *Journal of Peace Research*, Hafner-Burton and Ron, eds., 2007, 44(4), pp. 379-383.

“Justice Lost! The Failure of International Human Rights Law to Matter Where Needed Most.” With Kiyoteru Tsutsui. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2007, 44(4), pp. 407-425.

“Power Positions: International Organizations, Social Networks, and Conflict.” With Alexander Montgomery. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2006, 50(1), pp. 3-27.

“Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression.” *International Organization*, 2005, 59(3), pp. 593-629.

“Human Rights Practices in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises.” With Kiyo Tsutsui. *American Journal of Sociology*, 2005, 110(5), pp. 1373-1411.

“Right or Robust? The Sensitive Nature of Political Repression in an era of Globalization.” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2005, 42(6), pp.679-698.

“Gender in Global Governance: Mainstreaming Gender in Four International Organizations.” With Mark A. Pollack. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 2003,10(3), pp. 285-298.

“Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance.” With Mark A. Pollack. *European Journal of International Relations*, September 2002, 8(3), pp. 339-373.

“Mainstreaming Gender in European Union Policymaking.” With Mark A. Pollack. *Journal of European Public Policy*, special issue on “Women, Power and Public Policy,” September 2000, 7(1), pp. 432-456.

Selected Book Reviews

“Interdisciplinary Perspectives on International Law and International Relations: The State of the Art.” Jeffrey L. Dunoff and Mark A. Pollack, eds. *American Journal of International Law*, 2014.

“Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics.” Beth A. Simmons. 2009. *American Journal of International Law*, 2010.

“Conflict and Compliance: State Responses to International Human Rights Pressure.” Sonia Cardenas. 2007. *Perspectives on Politics*, December 2007.

“Backwaters of Global Prosperity: How Forces of Globalization and GATT/WTO Trade Regimes Contribute to the Marginalization of the World’s Poorest Nations. Caf Dowlah, 2004. *International Studies Review*, 2005, 7(3), pp. 441-444.

“Coping with Globalization: cross-national patterns in domestic governance and policy performance. Chan, Steve & James R. Scarritt, 2002.” Book note. *Journal of Peace Research*, 2004, vol. 42, no. 6.

Selected Research in Progress

“Unequal Opportunity: Corporations and Congressional Foreign Policy Lobbying” With Thad Kousser and David G. Victor.

“The Corporate Human Rights Lobby.” With Heidi Hall. (Under review)

“Having Our Cake: Protecting Workers Abroad and U.S. Industries via the Generalized System of Preferences.” With Layna Mosley and Robert Galantucci. (Under review)

“Against International Settlement? Secrecy, Adjudication and the Transformation of International Law.” With Sergio Puig and David G. Victor. (Under review)

“The Dark Side of Cooperation: How International Organizations Spread Political Vice.” With Christina J. Schneider.

“Judicialization of International Relations.” With Karen Alter and Larry Helfer.

Selected Academic Presentations and Lectures

“Having Our Cake: Protecting Workers Abroad and U.S. Industries via the Generalized System of Preferences.” With Layna Mosley and Robert Galantucci. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco CA, 2015; International Political Economy Society, Stanford CA, 2015.

“The Corporate Human Rights Lobby.” With Heidi Hall. Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, March 2015; American Political Science Association, San Francisco CA, September 2015.

“Unequal Opportunity: Corporations and Congressional Foreign Policy Lobbying” With Thad Kousser and David G. Victor. American Political Science Association, September, 2014; University of California, San Diego, February 2015.

“Punitive Power: How International Law Helps Activists.” With Brad L. LeVeck and David G. Victor. Presented at Georgetown University, February 2015 and ASU, March 2015.

“Transparency of Investor-State Arbitration.” With Zachary C. Steinert-Threlkeld and David G. Victor. Presented at Cornell University, September 23, 2013; Yale University, September 25, 2013; University of California, San Diego, January 24, 2014; USC, February 21, 2014 and February 2015; Stanford University, February 28, 2014; McGill University, March 14, 2014; Princeton University, October 2015.

“Uncertainty, Compliance and International Cooperation: An Experimental Approach.” With Brad L. LeVeck and David G. Victor. Presented at the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, August 2013, Chicago; University of California, San Diego, January 9, 2014.

“Surviving Elections: Election Violence and Leader Tenure.” With Susan Hyde and Ryan Jablonski. Presented at the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, August 2013, Chicago.

“Do Elites Value Enforcement? A Behavioral Approach to International Cooperation.” With Brad L. LeVeck, David G. Victor and James H. Fowler. Presented at the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, August 2012, New Orleans; International Political Economy Society, Annual Meeting, November 9-10, 2012, Charlottesville, VA.

“A Behavioral Approach to International Cooperation.” With Brad L. LeVeck, David G. Victor and James H. Fowler. Presented at the University of Rochester, October 16, 2012; University of Pennsylvania, October 17, 2012; Ohio State University, 2012.

“Delegation to Firms Under Public International Law: Private Rights of Action under NAFTA Chapters 11 and 19.” With David G. Victor. Presented at NYU Law School, October 17, 2012; Princeton University, October 18, 2012.

“Making Human Rights a Reality.” Presented at Columbia University, September 2011; University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, September 18, 2013; Parliament, Copenhagen, January 30, 2014; University of California, Berkeley, March 7, 2014; University of San Diego, June 6, 2015; Claremont McKenna, November 2015.

“International Relations for International Law.” With David Victor and Yanatan Lupu. Presented at University of California, Los Angeles, Law School, October 2010; University of California, San Diego December 2010.

“Emergency and Escape: Explaining Derogations from Human Rights Treaties.” With Larry Helfer and Chris Farris. Paper presented at the Sandra Day O’Connor College of Law, February 2010; University of California, San Diego, May 2010 and October 2010; American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 2010, Washington, DC.

“Terrorizing Freedom: How Governments Use Repression to Subvert Electoral Democracy.” With Susan Hyde and Ryan Jablonski. Paper presented at the International Studies Association, Annual Meeting, February 2010, New Orleans, LA; Yale University, March 2010; UCSD Political Science November 2010; American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, August 2012, New Orleans.

“Networks for International Relations.” With Miles Kahler and Alexander H. Montgomery. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 27th – 30th August 2008, Boston, MA; Stanford University, February 2009.

“Seeing Double: Human Rights Impact Through Qualitative and Quantitative Eyes?” With James Ron. Paper presented at Harvard Law Symposium on Human Rights, May 2008.

“Democratization and Human Rights Organizations.” With Ed Mansfield and Jon Pevehouse. Paper presented at the Princeton University Law and Public Affairs seminar, September 2007; the University of Chicago Law School seminar in International Law, April 2008; the International Studies Association, Annual Meeting, April 2012, San Diego, CA.

“Coercing Human Rights: How Powerful Countries Regulate Repression Through Preferential Trade Agreements.” Paper presented at the University of Pittsburg and MIT, February 2008, and Yale and the International Studies Association, March 2008.

“Sticks and Stones: Can Bad Media Publicity Solve Human Rights Enforcement Problems?” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, August 2007, Chicago, IL; the International Studies Association meeting, March 2008, San Francisco, CA; University of British Columbia, Vancouver, International Relations Speaker Series, 6 October 2008; Northwestern Law School, November 2008; Northwestern Political Science, November 2008; University of California, San Diego, November 2008; USC Law School, November 2008; Duke Political Science, December 2009.

“No Revolution: Explaining the Disappointing Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the European Union.” With Mark A. Pollack. Paper presented at the International Studies Association annual meeting, March 2007, Chicago, IL and the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 27th – 30th August 2008, Boston, MA.

Moderator, “Is the Human Rights Regime Doomed?” Panel at 3rd Annual Conference of the Princeton Pre-Law Society, December 2nd, 2006.

“Getting Labor Laws on the Books: US Regional Trade Policy and the Commercial Path to Labor Reform.” Paper presented at the Workshop on Multinational Production and Labor Rights, September 22nd – 24th 2006, UNC Chapel Hill, NC.

“Power or Plenty: Do International Trade Organizations Shape Economic Sanctions?” Paper presented at the Workshop on Intergovernmental Organizations in Action, Penn, 30th August 2006, Philadelphia, PA.

“The New Power Politics of International Organizations: Social Structural Inequality in the International System.” With Alexander H. Montgomery. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 1st – 4th September 2006, Philadelphia, PA.

“The Power Politics of Institutional Nesting and Overlap: Human Rights Conditionality in Europe.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 1st – 4th September 2006, Philadelphia, PA.

“Forum Shopping for Human Rights: Trade Arrangements For Sale.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 1st – 4th September 2005, Washington D.C.

“Why Bad States Do Good Things And Why It Does Not Matter.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 1st – 4th September 2005, Washington D.C.

“War, Trade, and Envy: Why Trade Organizations Don’t Always Keep the Peace.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association, Annual Meeting, 2 – 5 March 2005, Honolulu.

“Why do Bad States do Good Things? International Human Rights Law and the Power Politics of Legitimation.” With John Meyer and Kiyo Tsutsui. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association, Annual Meeting, 14 - 17 August 2004. San Francisco.

“Forum Shopping for Human Rights: Why Choose Trade?” Prepared for participation in the workshop on Forum Shopping and Global Governance at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy, 23 - 24 April 2004.

“Are States Like Children? International Organizations, Social Networks, and Conflict.” With Alexander Montgomery. Paper presented at the International Studies Association, Annual Meeting, 18 - 21 March 2004. Montreal.

“The Decentralization of International Human Rights Law: Regional Economic Governance.” Paper presented at the Global Economic Governance Programme, Oxford University. 6 February 2004.

“Human Rights Practices in a Globalizing World.” With Kiyo Tsutsui. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association, Annual Meeting. 16 -19 August 2003. Atlanta.

“Power, Influence and Prestige: International Governmental Organizations as Social Networks.” With Alexander Montgomery. Paper presented at the International Studies Association, Annual Meeting. 25 February - 1 March 2003. Portland.

“Right or Robust? The Sensitive Nature of Government Repression.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting. 29 August 2002. Boston.

“Regional Trade and Institutional Design: Long After Hegemony?” With Jon Pevehouse and Matthew Zierler. Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, Annual Meeting. April 2002. Chicago.

“Human Rights in the Global Economy.” Paper presented at the Training Institute on Qualitative Research Methods, Arizona State University. January 2002. Phoenix.

“Who Belongs? The State of Intergovernmental Organizations.” Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association, Annual Meeting. 19 - 22 April 2001. Chicago.

“Trading Human Values: Individual Security in the Global Economy.” Paper presented at the International Studies Association, Annual Meeting. 23 February 2001. Chicago.

“Challenges for the European Union.” Discussant for panel at the International Studies Association, Annual Meeting. 24 February 2001. Chicago.

“Mainstreaming Gender in Global Governance.” With Mark Pollack. Paper presented at the European Union Center conference on Mainstreaming Gender In European Public Policy, 15 October 2000.

“Mainstreaming Gender in the European Union.” With Mark Pollack. Paper presented at the Conference of Europeanists, Annual Meeting. March 2000. Chicago.

Selected Grants, Fellowships and Gifts

Princeton University, Bobst Center for Peace and Justice, project grant, 2008.
Princeton University, Dean of Faculty, project grant, 2008.
Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School for Public and International Affairs, grant, 2008.
Princeton University, Dean of Faculty book grant, 2007.
Princeton University, Center for Globalization and Governance, for "Intergovernmental Organizations in Action," 2006.
International Studies Association Workshop Grant, for "Preventing Human Rights Abuse," 2006.
Postdoctoral Research Prize, Oxford University, Nuffield College. 2003 to 2006.
University Dissertator Fellowship, University of Wisconsin—Madison. 2002 to 2003.
National Science Foundation, Dissertation Improvement Grant in Political Science. 2002.
Scott Kloeck-Jenson International Pre-Dissertation Grant, University of Wisconsin. 2002.
Graduate Student Council, Vilas Travel Grant, University of Wisconsin—Madison. 2002.
Center for International Security and Cooperation, MacArthur Fellow, Stanford University. 2001 to 2003.
MacArthur Consortium, Global Studies Scholarship, University of Wisconsin. 2000 to 2001.
European Union Center Fellowship, University of Wisconsin—Madison. 2000.
European Networking Series, the British Council. June 1999.
Women in International Security: Graduate Symposium on International Security. Washington D.C. June 1999.
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) International Fellowship in Disarmament and Development. 1997 to 1998.
National Education Achievement Foundation Scholarship Award. 1994 to 1995.

Selected Honors and Awards

International Studies Association Best Book Award. 2015.
The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Endowed Professor of International Justice and Human Rights. 2014-to the present.
Karl Deutsch award: presented annually to a scholar under the age of 40 who is judged to have made, through a body of publications, the most significant contribution to the study of International Relations and Peace Research. 2012.
Princeton University, Class of 1934 University Preceptor, Woodrow Wilson School. 2009-2012.
American Political Science Association Helen Dwight Reid Award for Best Dissertation in International Relations, Law, and Politics. 2005.
American Political Science Association Prize Best Dissertation in Human Rights. 2004.
Distinction in International Relations, University of Wisconsin—Madison. 2001.
Distinction in Political Methodology, University of Wisconsin—Madison. 2000.
Scott Kloeck-Jenson Fellowship, University of Wisconsin—Madison. 2000.
Distinction, Seattle University. 1995.
Kennedy Award: highest student achievement in Political Science, Seattle University. 1995.
Her Story Award: highest student achievement in Women's Studies, Seattle University. 1995.