

When the Clocks Strike Thirteen: Political Repression in Modern America (1990-2015)

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WHEN THE CLOCKS STRIKE THIRTEEN: POLITICAL REPRESSION IN MODERN
AMERICA (1990-2015)

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Honors in the Major Program in Political Science
in the College of Sciences
and in the Burnett Honors College
at the University of Central Florida
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Abstract

Abounding acts of repression committed in democracies have continued to be overlooked and under-analyzed by many researchers and scholars due to “democratic exceptionalism”. As the United States enters yet another consecutive year of declining political satisfaction and freedom. It has become pertinent that as conflict study researchers, scholars, and readers alike that there is a basic understanding of coercion including acts that have been committed within our own countries. Countless scholars have focused conflict study research on underdeveloped or emerging democracies, yet many have overlooked the seamy side of developed ones. This article aims to explain the relationship between the United States and state-sponsored repression from the 1990s to 2015. In hopes to better understand how variables like economic, social, and political vulnerabilities as well as race and sex influence repressive trends in the United States. In addition, this article hopes to extend the scope of conflict study research by including mass incarceration as a form of repression that has been used to control not only dissent but also satisfy the needs of elites to maintain a present state of affairs. This article tests various hypothesis to understand how repression continues to function in modern American society.

Keywords: Repression, Democratic Repression, United States, Coercion, Mass and Elite Attitudes, Repression in the US, Human Rights

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Introduction

Over the past 25 years, the United States has gone through three major recessions, two major wars, and population fluctuations that have tested the state's ability to maintain legitimacy and control. However, such control has often come at a price. Repression has often been a tool used by governments to maintain stability or control any disruption to the status quo. States have often gotten creative with the ways they have chosen to control dissent. Some states have resorted to using political imprisonments others mass surveillance and the list goes on. The study of repression used to control dissent has gone way back. However, what conflict study researchers have failed to account for are current trends, especially in democracies like the United States. Either due to democratic exceptionalism or just overall negligence to delve deeper into non-lethal forms of repression such as mass incarceration and disappearances, conflict study researchers have done a disservice to the study of repression by not studying the ways in which repression has transformed and continues to function in all forms of governing. As Robert Goldstein states "Political repression is a disease of the world and not of any one country". This article aims to explain the relationship between the United States and state-sponsored repression from the 1990s to 2015. In hopes to better understand how variables like economic, social, and political vulnerabilities as well as race and sex influence repressive trends in the United States. In addition, this article hopes to extend the scope of conflict study research by including mass incarceration as a form of repression that has been used to control not only dissent but also satisfy the needs of elites to maintain a familiar present state of affairs.

The purpose of this research is to help further expand understanding of the continued use of repression in democracies like the United States and on existing literature using current trends in the world today. Repression of any sort has many negative consequences, and both violent and

non-violent should be taken into consideration. In addition, finding research on the relationship between democracies and the use of state-sponsored coercive tactics have been ambiguous and has continued to leave many questions unanswered. Although repression varies in form and intensity from country to country and often covers a broad spectrum of disciplines, repression studies have often focused on very limited, often violent, forms of coercion (Davenport, 2007a) such as genocide or murder¹.

Due to the lack of violent, repressive use in democracies, research has often overlooked democratic repression altogether (Davenport,2007a; Goldstein, 1991). It is important to understand the relationship between states and the use of coercion first, since many acts of repression committed in democracies have continued to be misjudged and under-analyzed by many researchers and scholars. Secondly, research on repression is still very new and lacks scholarly research, very little has been written about repression after the 1990s thus current trends have not been accounted for. (Davenport, 2007b; Goldstein,1991). Lastly, it is important to study the relationship between democracies and repression because often governments and elites have placed great focus on building the "American model" or democratizing as a prescription to deal with civil and human rights abuses and allow for greater political freedoms. However, as Regan and Henderson (2002) and Poe and Tate (1994) mention, democracies like the United States should not be seen as the most idealistic way to rid abuses, rather attention

¹ Davenport (2007a) points out that the study of the influence of democracies on state repressive behavior is not commonly studied or well-known, largely since conflict studies have often focused on interstate war because it is assumed that war is most destructive. He points out that it is rather the opposite and that repression has killed more people than war (Davenport,2007a).

should be paid to state vulnerabilities and rising levels of threat that may inflame situations further.

To remedy these limitations, this article hopes to take on a more intersectional approach addressing multiple forms of repression with updated research and trends. As we enter another consecutive year of declining political satisfaction and freedom², it is pertinent to scholars and the world that there is a basic understanding of coercion including acts that have been committed within our own countries. As Davenport (2007a) states “To date, researchers have paid far more attention to the evils done against governments (and citizens) by dissidents, rebels, and terrorists than to the evils done by presidents, the police, military, secret service, national guard, and death squads against those within their territorial jurisdiction”. Governments have at times killed more people than wars (Davenport,2007b). America can no longer shield the truth with arrogance and attempt to rid the world of atrocities it too has committed against its people. There continues to be an ever-present need for transparency and accountability on behalf of scholars, researchers, and governments where we must ask ourselves what has led to this outcome. What is the significant relationship between America and the use of state repression? And what does this information presented in this research mean for the future of democracies worldwide?

2 1.Aghekyan, Elen, Rukmani Bhatia, Jennifer Dunham, Shannon O’Toole, Arch Puddington, Sarah Repucci, Tyler Roylance, and Vanessa Tucker, Freedom House (2018) States that Seventy-one countries in 2017 have suffered major declines in political rights and civil liberties making the 12th consecutive year of decline in global freedom.

For the intention of this research, repression is defined as the use of coercion, either on individuals or organizations who are thought to pose a threat to the stability of government (Goldstein,1978). Such individuals or organizations that challenge the status quo or power relationships of government are dealt with by legal or illegal action or inaction by the state (Goldstein,1978). These actions include but are not limited to: illegal detention, deportation, imprisonment, torture, harassment, restriction on unionization, voting, and collective bargaining, mass murder, espionage, mass surveillance, denial of any human, civil, and/or first amendment type rights and freedoms (Davenport, 2007a; Davenport and Inman,2012; Goldstein,1978, Poe and Tate, 1994). In addition, this article seeks to guide its research by expanding on this definition by including Pamela E. Oliver's (2008) addition of mass incarceration as a form of political repression in modern America. Since the 1960s incarceration rates in the United States have continued to rise steadily (Pettit, B., & Sykes,). In 2010 alone, black men were six times as likely to be incarcerated than whites (Pew Research, 2013). Imprisonment in the United States has affected a large population of Black and Hispanic minorities from being able to engage in politics. With ex-felon disenfranchisement, many people who have been imprisoned lose their ability to vote. This meant in 2010, 5.85 million Americans were not allowed to vote (Uggen, C., Shannon, S., & Manza, J, 2012). These repressive acts have continued today in many states like Tennessee and Florida (Miller, B. L., & Agnich, L. E., 2016).

Literature Review

To build on previous work done on repression and conflict studies I have divided the literature review into five parts. The first section will focus on defining political repression. Secondly, I focus on the relationship between democracies and liberalization (or the reduction of repression). Third, this article goes more in-depth with the origins of repression including why states choose to repress. Fourth, the focus will be on the influence of elite and mass attitudes. And lastly, we end with types of repression and studies done on the relationship between the US and state-sponsored coercion.

Defining Repression

Repression, like many theoretical concepts, is very complex and spans many disciplines, and thus there are many ways to define it. To begin with, the perspective put forth by Robert Goldstein (1991) analyzes the use of repression in modern American history starting during the 1870s. He sees repression as one of the many factors that have led to the decreased visibility of labor and socialist movements, the reason for large income disparities in the US, and the lack of government-funded programs (Goldstein, 1991). Political repression is defined by Goldstein as:

"government action which grossly discriminates against persons or organizations viewed as presenting a fundamental challenge to existing power relationships or key governmental policies, because of their perceived political beliefs." From a practical standpoint the focus is on violations of the peaceful exercise of First Amendment type freedoms (e.g., freedom of the press, speech, assembly, and association) as the result of arrest, physical attack, harassment, surveillance, deportation and government-sponsored

or implemented political blacklists and inquisitions. Such action can be either illegal or "legal" (such as the post-World War II prosecutions of the Communist Party leadership under the 1940 Smith Act) and can involve direct government action as well as government inaction in the face of private action depriving individuals of such rights”.

Goldstein points out two important ideas in his definition of repression. First, the fact that such governmental action can come in both illegal or legal forms. For example, as Goodstein mentions, post-World War II leftist groups, although working within legal boundaries, endured large-scale surveillance, arrests, and torture (Kuzmarov, 2012). Secondly, that repression can be both direct action by government or inaction. Inaction which Goldstein mentions can be more harmful than direct action. Inaction by the government has led to mass killings, genocide, and denial of basic human rights. The definition by Goldstein was used to help create the operationalization of this phenomenon for this research.

Empirical Research on Democracy and Liberalism

The way scholars have viewed repression has also varied over time. In the early understandings of American state development, repression was obligatory to maintaining order and protection. However, with the ideas presented by philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, western political philosophy expanded around the ideas of liberalism, where political development and stability could only be achieved through an engaged civil society (that fully participated in politics) and a government that respects its citizen’s civil rights (Winborne,2008). Soon after liberalization, scholars had associated or “pathologized” repression to belong to specific forms of unstable governing (Davenport, 2007a). It was often assumed that repression was bound to all authoritarian governments while democracies had long been the most realistic way to reduce conflict and oppression (Davenport, 2007a; Henderson, 1991). Democracies like the United

States were applauded for their abilities to manifest and balance both inclusivity in political activity and civil liberties without resorting to violence to maintain stability.

However, this kind of exceptionalism is problematic and counterintuitive for many reasons. To begin with, liberalization and democracy are not homogeneous; rather they move independently from one another and at different paces (Regan and Henderson, 2002; Davenport,2007b). Liberalization, which can be defined by the lifting of restrictions on civil liberties and the lowering of repressive activity, was established in America before democracy (Davenport,2007b). Secondly, many countries that are defined as democracies today either lack civil liberties or political liberties. In his book “The rise of illiberal democracy” Fareed Zakaria (1997) states, “Today the two strands of liberal democracy, interwoven in the Western political fabric, are coming apart in the rest of the world. Democracy is flourishing; constitutional liberalism is not”. Countries like Armenia and Bahrain have adopted democracy by having open elections, but civil liberties continue to be restricted. Zakaria terms democracies with greater political liberties than civil liberties or vice versa, illiberal democracies. Of which, Davenport (2007b) states can be seen in both ancient Greece and the United States during the period of slavery.

In both Davenport (2007a) and Regan and Henderson (2002) studies regime type and level of repression are not synonymous. Research has shown there is an inverted U when it comes to the relationship between regime type and repression (Regan and Henderson, 2002). There have been many instances of stable autocratic countries that have high levels of civil rights and liberalism, and there have also been instances where democracies have high levels of repression (Regan and Henderson, 2002; Zakaria,1997). As Zakaria (1997) mentioned, even the United States isn't a perfect example of a modern liberal country. As he illustrates “[the judicial

branch in the US is] headed by nine unelected men and women with life tenure. Its Senate is the most unrepresentative upper house in the world. Similarly, in legislatures all over the United States, what is striking is not the power of majorities but that of minorities”. Indonesia and Turkey have also followed this path where people in these countries have more civil liberties, thus greater liberalization, than political liberties (Freedom House,2018a).

However, studies have found that a positive relationship between democracy and liberalism or lower levels of repression does exist but only when all aspects of democracy are available (Armstrong,2009). Davenport (2007a) finds that full autocracies and full democracies have low amounts of repression. However, if the regime is mixed or transitional, there is more utilization of coercive tactics due to vulnerabilities in the system (Regan and Henderson,2002; Davenport, 2007a). When states find themselves vulnerable either do to war, economic downturn, or other such susceptibilities they resort to coercion to maintain legitimacy or when dealing with threats. The threat is increased when a government is unable to meet the demands of it’s public, which is seen in transitional or mixed democracies (Regan and Henderson,2002). This has frequently been seen during the development of newer democracies. Henderson (1991) finds that democracies have a strong relationship with repression when it isn’t in its perfect form. As he states, “Democracy in its full term should almost guarantee the absence of repression, but democracy is a matter of degree and may not perform perfectly to the exclusion of repression” (1991). Complete reduction of repression can only be achieved in the full form. Meaning that regime type is not synonymous with lower or higher levels of repression, this only applies with the exception of transitioning or mixed governments (Davenport, 2007a). As Davenport illustrates,

“In particular, the level of democracy (high placement on a continuum of democraticness) decreases civil liberties restriction and personal integrity violation whereas democratization (movement up a continuum of democraticness) increases both forms of repression (especially state-sponsored restrictions). The road to political openness is thus paved with political coercion but the arrival is generally pacific.”

As mentioned by both Gartner and Regan (1996) and Regan and Henderson (2002) democracies are no less repressed than authoritarian governments. However, differences arise when democracies face different types of demands or threats compared to autocracies. In democracies 1) there are more channels to filter dissent 2) democratic culture emphasizes non-violence 3) acts of dissent are not considered threats to the status quo and 4) there is greater governmental transparency (Davenport, 1999; Poe and Tate, 1999; Regan and Henderson, 2002). Davenport's (2007b) Voice and Veto theory explains that Domestic democratic peace is sustained because, in Voice, leaders face re-election and try to satisfy the mass public to get re-elected. In order to do so they abstain from repression and create laws and policy that have the interest of the elite and mass public in mind (Armstrong, 2009) and in Veto if the person elected isn't up to par with the public, they can influence political actors, agents, and institutions to get involved and remove the elected official. These aspects are very important to the durability of democracies, without these channels, democracies like the United States and those appearing around the world can become unstable breeding grounds for state terrorism (Poe and Tate, 1994).

Empirical Research on Source of Repression

Repression can be divided into two sources, centralized and decentralized. According to Rivera (2010) states are non-unitary actors where centralized decisions are made by the leaders, adversely, decentralized decisions are made by the bureaucracy in charge of enforcing laws and public safety (Rivera, 2010). Repression in the centralized context is used with the leader's interest in mind. When the benefits exceed the costs, repression is usually used to maintain stability or power, as seen in the examples of the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989 and the Mexican Student Movement protest in 1968 (Rivera, 2010). On the other hand, decentralized repression, which is illegal, is done by intermediaries of security such as the police force that violates legitimate rules and laws that protect citizens civil and political liberties.

It is important to distinguish between the two origins of repression firstly because each has varying motivations and interests. Secondly, because they involve different actors and lastly, they use different forms of restrictions or repressive tactics (Rivera, 2010).

Empirical Research on Why States Repress

Gartner and Reagan (1996) and Regan and Henderson (2002) studies argue that threat, rather than the level of democracy, has a direct connection with the use of repression. However, Regan and Henderson (2002) find that democracies are less likely to be threatened by dissent because they have better channeling mechanisms. The utilization of coercion depends on cost and benefits which are often determined by the ruling elites (Gartner and Reagan, 1996). Rulers in this situation increase or decrease repression in increments depending on their sought outcome or payoff (Poe and Tate, 1999; Gartner and Reagan, 1996). Repression tends to be gradual and usually comes as a response to multiple challenges or threats (Poe and Tate, 1999; Gartner and

Reagan, 1996). Threats can come in two forms 1) domestic, such as civil war 2) International, such as international/ interstate war (Poe and Tate, 1999). Political conditions that may increase use of repression include, economic scarcity and inequality (Mitchell and McCormick, 1988; Henderson,1991), population growth (Henderson,1991; Poe and Tate 1994;1999; David L. Richards et al.,2005), trade and globalization, and involvement in civil or international war (Henderson,1991; Poe and Tate 1994;1999). Decreases in political repression have been shown to come from increases in democracy (Davenport, 2007b, Poe and Tate, 1994; Henderson, 1991) and economic development (Poe and Tate 1994;1999).

In Poe and Tate's study in 1994, they find that state repression has a significant linear relationship when democracies participate in civil or international wars. Involvement in international war has shown in multiple studies that it increases the level of repression (Rasler,1986; Richards et al.;2005) Davenport,2007b). When countries engage in conflict level of threat amongst its public starts to increase and as a result, the use of repression follows. During a crisis such as war, the state is tested on its capacity to maintain legitimacy in the eyes of its public. Between fighting wars and running a country, great pressure is placed on the state, in a moment of vulnerability states will act immediately on any threats to its order. As Karen Rasler (1986) states "Since government officials have been cited as the official agents of civil conflict, it follows that their behavior is a crucial intervening variable in the overall relationship between crisis and domestic violence.

Elite attitudes and international war and conflict are correlated often when it comes to the use of repression (Gibson.;1988;1989; Rasler 1986). Examples of the use of repression during times of high pressure on the state can be seen during World War I where many Germans were imprisoned under the assumption, they had unamerican motivations. In Karen Rasler's research

on the effects of war on domestic violence, she found that during World War I there was a 717% increase in social violence and 603% rise in political violence which was mainly committed by the government towards leftists and pacifist protesting the war (Rasler, 1986). In addition, the Vietnam War saw an increase in political violence by 949% especially as the clashes between anti-war protesters and government agents increased (Rasler, 1986). This was similarly seen during World War II which led to Japanese discrimination and racism, the Mexican- American war and most recently during the September 11th attacks that also led to racialized violence.

Poe and Tate (1994;1999) and David L. Richards et al. (2005) studies find there is a positive relationship between population growth and use of state coercion. As a country grows larger, the state struggles to keep up with the demands of the public and thus resorts to repression to maintain stability. In addition, larger populations put stress on resources making dissent and rebellion more likely (Poe and Tate, 1999; David L.Richards et al. ,2005). In David L. Richards et al. (2005) article he found a positive relationship between population growth and increases in torture and political imprisonment.

Economic scarcity has been linked to increased levels of repression (Henderson,1991) However, Poe and Tate (1994;1999) studies found a statistically significant relationship between economic growth and repression. In addition, Economic growth may increase inequalities further exacerbating political climates and levels of repression or it could decrease repression if money were spread equally making dissent less likely (Poe and Tate, 1999). Richards et al. (2005) echoes this uncertainty when his research finds there is no statistically significant relationship between nation wealth and respect for physical-integrity rights. However, to delve further into this subject:

Empirical Research on Elite and Mass Attitudes

Studies on repression have often taken macro-level approaches to operationalize repression. However, micro-level approaches have rarely been studied. There have been scarce studies on the influence of elites and the mass public on repression (Davenport, 2007b). To begin with, in order to analyze how elites and the mass public influence repression we must understand what motivates them to get involved. Elites continue to play a major role when it comes to state terrorism. In Gartner and Reagan's (1996) study they argue that the elites will only step into decision making 1) when there has been a disturbance to the status quo and 2) when they see the government losing control either by being insufficient with their repression or too excessive. In Karen Rasler's article "War, Accommodation, and Violence in the United States 1890-1970" she finds that after wars like World War I and World War II repression was statistically significant. She contributes this to elites and the mass public for repressing leftist groups because there was an increase in negative attitudes after the war.

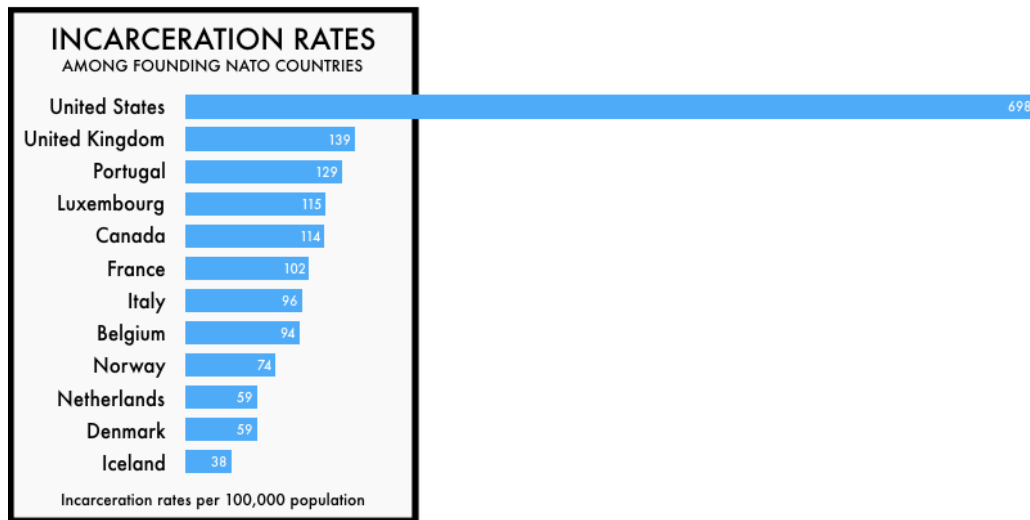
Types of Repression

In Richards et al. (2005) study finds there are many variations in the types of repressive actions that different forms of governments choose. First, they found that disappearances were the least likely method of repression used in all forms of governments. Secondly, they find that full democracies have high respect for avoiding extrajudicial killings, however, as the democracy levels lower there is a high use of extrajudicial killings (Richards et al., 2005). Similarly, full democracies have higher levels of respect against political imprisonment. In addition, Mitchell and McCormick (1988) also find that wealthier countries tend to hold less political prisoners, However, as the levels from democracy to autocracy become lower, there is less respect against

political imprisonment. Lastly, they find that in all forms of governing torture is statistically significant (Richards et al., 2005).

Mass Incarceration

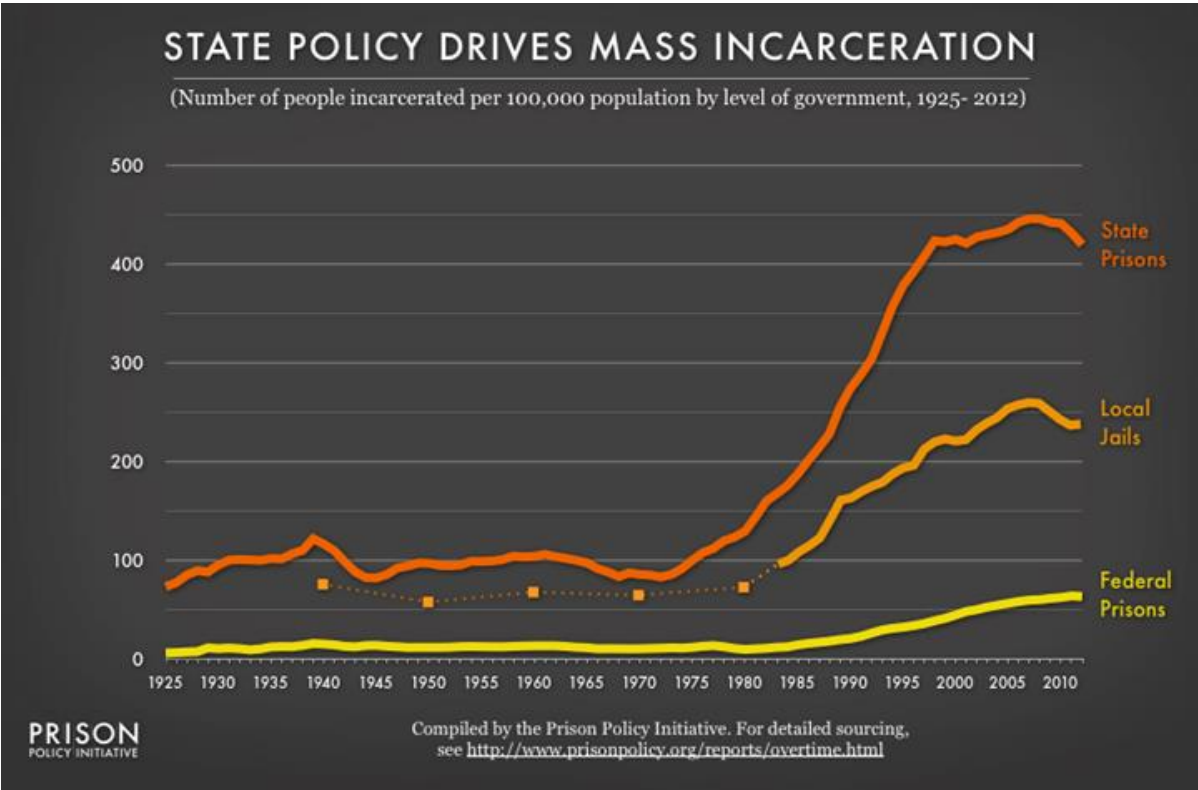
Mass incarceration as a form of repression has become unique to the United States. As of today, the United States has the largest prison population in the world (Oliver,2008). In democracies, rates of imprisonment are low (Ruddell and Urbina,2007). However, the United States is an exceptional case. In the United States, crime rates have decreased but incarceration rates have increased (Smith, 2004). Incarceration has often been used by the government as a way to maintain control and decrease threats to political order (Smith, 2004). Minorities, as Smith argues, have been perceived to be a threat to the existing order. Many have blamed the portrayal of minorities in the media which have led to high incarceration rates (Smith,2004; Embrick, 2015; Golash-Boza, T.,2016). As Embrick (2015) states " The media portrayal of minorities as violent perpetrators in need of social control allows for legitimization in White's eyes for extreme police brutality and mass incarceration as a new form of lynching for the 21st century ".



Source: <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/global/2018.html>

(Image 1 Note: The data shown above is adapted from the Prison Policy Initiative, Peter Wagner and Wendy Sawyer, 2018 <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/global/2018.html#methodology>.)

In Smith (2004) analysis he hypothesizes that governments when using mass incarceration, aren't acting on threats rather they are satisfying public opinion or the interests of the elites (Republican elected officials) which help to promote their agenda. After being tested, he found a statistically significant relationship between elites and the use of repression to increase political support. As Pamela Oliver describes, crime rates since the 1960s have increased, however, many scholars have overlooked mass incarceration because it doesn't fit their definitions of repression. In addition, the connection between black minorities and mass incarceration has yet to be considered with other wider forms of repression happening nationwide (Oliver,2008). As she states, "The attempt to distinguish political dissent from apolitical crime has led to a failure to appreciate the ways in which regimes criminalize dissent and the ways in which dissent is expressed in crime".



(Image 2: Note: the data showed above is adapted from Joshua Aiken and Peter Wagner (2017) “Graph showing the number of people (per 100,000 national population at that time) that is confined in state, local and federal correctional facilities from 1925 to the present. State prisons are the largest part” retrieved from (https://www.prisonpolicy.org/graphs/state_driver_rates_1925-2015.html))

History of repression

In Poe and Tate's (1999) study, a history of repression is likely to determine increases in repression in the future. This was seen in their lagged dependent variable that was put in place to control autocorrelation, which is also used to show how governments use past techniques to deal with repression.

Many scholars have focused on population size and growth as a whole (Henderson,1991; Poe and Tate 1994;1999; David L. Richards et al.,2005). However, as history has shown, repression has often targeted specific groups of people; Many times, a particular race, ethnicity, or gender. Examples of such race motivated repression towards African American and Black people can be seen during the time of slavery from the years 1619 to the 1860s, police enforced segregation from the 1860s to 1950s (Which many scholars argue still continues on today), and even now with police killings and brutality. When it comes to Native Americans and Alaskan Natives, repression was seen with the attempts by the FBI to dissolve the American Indian Movement in the 1960s and the excessive forced used during the No DAPL or Dakota Access Pipeline Protests in 2016. Hispanics in the United States have endured segregation and illegal and mass deportations that also exist on today (Golash-Boza, T. 2016)³. Asian Americans in the United States have endured the government ordered incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans in internment camps during World War II (Daniels, R. 2013).

A great deal of attention has been placed on repression that goes against the promises of safety and freedom granted by the state such as first amendment rights. However, repression can

³ (Golash-Boza, T. 2016) Between 1997 and 2015, there were over five million deportations from the United States—two and a half times the sum total of all deportations prior to 1997” Golash-Boza(2016) contributes the rise of deportations in the 90s to two laws (1) the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) and (2) the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) both which have eliminated the need for judicial review over deportation orders in the US.

also be done legally, through the enactment of laws that are inherently oppressive towards human rights. Instances of this can be seen in in the Naturalization Act of 1790 where only white Americans were granted citizenship or the Indian Removal Act of 1830 that led to the forced displacement of many Native Americans from their homes. It wasn't until 1924 when Native Americans were granted citizenship under the Snyder/ Indian Citizenship act and years later before they had the right to vote. It was seen during the implementation of Jim Crow laws from the late 1870s up until 1965 where the "separate but equal" status was given to Blacks or the 1882 Chinese Exclusion act which banned Chinese immigration into the United States, which led to racial hostility and families being split up. This is also examples of how the mass public can influence political discourse. In each setting people felt threatened to such an extent that elites enacted policies to meet the demands of their public. Fear often fueled governments to enforce repressive laws either because it would help elites maintain their position or allow elites to promote their self-interests. As Corey Robin (2004) states,

“Whether condemning Jacobin terror, Soviet despotism, Balkan genocide, or September 11 terrorism, they see opportunities for collective renewal in the fear of these evils. Not for the victims, but for us, who look upon these evils from without. Political fear is supposed to teach us the worth of specific political values. The fear of civil war, for instance, is supposed to breed a respect for the rule of law, the fear of totalitarianism an appreciation for liberal democracy, the fear of fundamentalism support for toleration and pluralism. Afraid of contracting these ills, we are persuaded to take appropriate measures to ward them off. Once persuaded, we appreciate and cherish, as we did not before, the value of antidotes like the rule of law, liberal democracy, and so on”.

Age and sex have also played a major role in the state's fluctuations in the use of repression. When it comes to age, it has been witnessed many times in history that the biggest threat to the status quo are young individuals who want change. Youth have often been at the forefront of political movements and dissent (Nordås, Ragnhild & Davenport. Christian, 2013). This was recognized in the French Revolution, Vietnam protests, and even today in movements like Occupy Wallstreet, Black Lives Matter, and No DAPL. However, when youth become a sign of threat, the state comes down with extreme displays of force. This was seen in the infamous Tiananmen Square protests in 1989 where thousands of students gathered to protest for more freedom of speech and civil rights but were faced with a government that would stop at nothing to maintain legitimacy, ending with hundreds murdered (Pattengale, J. A.,2017). Similarly, this attitude towards youth was seen in the Kent State shootings in 1970 where students who were protesting the war in Vietnam were shot and in the 1968 South Carolina protests where Black students protesting against segregation were shot and killed by police. This was recently seen on the UC Davis college campus where excessive force was used on students peacefully protesting in 2011 during the Occupy movement.

Often the targets of such violent repression are young men (Nordås, Ragnhild & Davenport. Christian, 2013). As Nordås & Davenport state, "Young people, particularly males, dominate insurgent armies, protests, images of terrorists and rioters, and are the most frequently associated with violent crime" and due to this are often the main targets of repression. During the Arab Spring, many of the protesters were made up of young men and again violent repression was used to suppress them (Nordås, Ragnhild & Davenport. Christian, 2013).

Hypothesis

With the information provided, this research is interested in examining and exploring the relationship between repression or physical integrity abuse and the fluctuations in the United States political, social, and economic climates from the years 1990-2015. Which we have defined as a period being “Modern America”. In addition, we hope to understand the role in which sex and age play when it comes to level of political threat and the forms of repression used to hinder dissent or any break from the status quo. Thus, it is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 1: *This article hypothesizes that as the size of the population in the US grows level of repression also grows as more stress is put on resources and government*

Hypothesis 2: *This article hypothesizes that economic growth will decrease levels of repression in the US because there is more financial security and more availability of resources.*

Hypothesis 3: *This article hypothesizes that the more the United States participates in international conflict and war the more likely there will be increases in repression due to strain on the economy and greater level of threat and fear.*

Hypothesis 4: *This article hypothesizes that when threatened elites will resort to repression to maintain stability. In addition, political parties that are more conservative will resort or agree with the use of repression to maintain the status quo.*

Hypothesis 5: *This article hypothesizes that repression used on minorities in the past will continue to be used in the present especially when there are population growth spurts and economic insecurity. Specifically, repression will target more males than female as and youth versus adults.*

Hypothesis 6: *Lastly this article hypothesizes that over the past 25 years the United States has grown more unaccepting of dissent which has caused repression to steadily increase from the years 1990-2015*

Data and Methods

Repression is gradual and usually comes as a response to multiple challenges (Gartner and Reagan, 1996). It may take years to truly understand and study the phenomena of repression, so building on previous work is very important to test the robustness of these findings. In order to study repression, this article focuses on the models provided by Poe and Tate (1994;1999) and Richards et. Al (2015). Their models have proven to be efficient over the years and have been cited and used by many scholars to understand state repression (Rivera, 2010; Regan and Henderson,2002; Bueno De Mesquita et al., 2005). However, because both Poe and Tate (1994;1999) and Richard's et al. (2015) studies focus on comparing multiple states with levels of repression, there have been changes made to their models to customize it to the study being done, which focuses solely on the United States. Due to this, there will be changes made when it comes to the sources of data for certain categories. Categories such as the Lagged Dependent and International War will be replaced with different sources to find information relevant to the United States. In addition, the democracy variable will be omitted from this study because both the Freedom House Index (2018) and Polity IV (2018) index show consistently high rates of democracy that have no variation from the years 1990-2015.

In addition, this research will include the addition of two new independent variables. First, the variable Political party will be added to test elite attitudes and to analyze whether there is a relationship between political party and different forms of repression or physical integrity abuse. Secondly, we will use disaggregate data to analyze the influence of certain demographic population changes specifically focusing on races that have been or currently continue to be targeted by repression in the United States. Specifically, Black, Asian, Native American, and

Hispanic populations will be concentrated on using the University of Minnesota's IPUMS-USA database from the years 1990-2015.

It is also very important that repression is specifically and carefully defined for proper operationalization and to decrease confusion (Poe and Tate, 1994). For the purpose of this research, repression has been divided into categories such as torture, extrajudicial killings, political imprisonment, and disappearances that specify the forms of repression that may be present in the United States. Some scholars have operationalized repression by grouping together torture and political imprisonment in one variable as mentioned by Poe and Tate (1999). This was seen used in the "Political Terror Scale". However, Like Poe and Tate (1999) this analysis hopes to provide more detailed specifications, so both variables will be in their separate categories and instead this research will replace the "Political Terror Scale" with the CIRI Human Right's Index which provides a more detailed analysis over the years.

Lastly, we will add the additional dependent variable of incarceration. Compared to political imprisonment which many scholars have used to operationalize repression in the past, the incarceration variable measures how repression can occur steadily on a daily basis rather than be associated with certain events such as protests and riots where most of the data for political imprisonments have been taken from. For example, as Pamela E. Oliver points out, conflict study researchers tend to focus on the repression of political organizations that dissent such as the Black Panthers Party yet overlook wider forms of repression within Black and African American communities.

[Independent Variables to Measure State Repression]

Variables and Expected Effects	Operationalization
Population Size (Negative)	Logged Population, World Bank Index (https://data.worldbank.org/)
Specific Population Demographics (Consisting of four races: Black/African American, Asian, Native American/Alaskan Native, and Hispanic) (Negative)	IPUMS-USA, University of Minnesota www.ipums.org
Population Growth % (Negative)	Logged Population, World Bank Index (https://data.worldbank.org/)
Yearly Economic Standing (Positive)	GDP Per Capita (Measured Yearly) World Bank Index (https://data.worldbank.org/)
International War and Conflict (Negative)	Major Episodes of Political Violence (MEPV) (500 directly-related deaths over the course of the episode) http://fundforpeace.org/fsi
State Fragility (Negative)	State Fragility Index http://fundforpeace.org/fsi
Political Party (Negative)	Presidents from 1990-2015 (0= Democrat 1=Republican)

(Table 1: Independent Variables used to help explain fluctuations in physical integrity Abuses)

Independent Variables

Population Size, Population Growth, and Economic Growth: Following Poe and Tate's (1994:1999) model population size, population growth, economic standing, and economic growth measured yearly will be used to find the level of state repression. This will be completed using the World Bank Index from 1990-2015 (World Bank, 2018) similar to the model used by Richards et al. (2015).

Specific Demographics: For this particular study, the focus will be placed on races that have endured repression in the United States previously. Categorically being Black/African American, Asian, Native American/Alaskan Native, and Hispanic (Split into three separate categories being Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban). This will be done using the IPUMS-USA, University of Minnesota database that uses the U.S. Census and American Community Survey microdata from 1850 to the present. These demographics have been split up into the two separate categories being age and gender. Age is split up into youth, from the ages of 15-24 and adult from the ages of 25 and above. Gender will be split up into male and female. By doing so, we will not only be able to see the possible correlations between race and repression but also whether age and sex population fluctuations are perceived by the state as challenges.

Conflict/International War: Will be used to measure the level of involvement in war and conflict we will use the State Fragility Index (2018) and Matrix 2017 by Monty G. Marshall and Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall Center for Systemic Peace and the Major Episodes of Political Violence (MEPV) and Conflict Regions, 1946-2016 index (2018). Compared to the PRIO data based used in Richards Et al. (2015) study The State Fragility Index and MEPV matrixes span over a greater amount of time whereas PRIO only had data from 2001-2008, inadequate for this research to make proper assumptions on the relationship between conflict and repression.

When it comes to the Major Episodes of Political Violence (MEPV) and Conflict Regions, 1946-2016 index (2018). Marshalls et al (2018) defines major episodes of political violence as “the systematic and sustained use of lethal violence by organized groups that result in at least 500 directly-related deaths over the course of the episode”. This analysis will be testing the variable INTOT which is a combination of the variables INTVIOL and INTWAR. INTVIOL measures international state violence in a state within the specific year and INTWAR measures international warfare in a state within the specific year. Both are ranked on a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest (Marshalls et al, 2018).

State Fragility: State Fragility will be used to see the overall condition of the United States during a given year. As stated by Marshall et al (2018) “A country’s fragility is closely associated with its state capacity to manage conflict, make and implement public policy, and deliver essential services, and its systemic resilience in maintaining system coherence, cohesion, and quality of life, responding effectively to challenges and crises, and sustaining progressive development”. The State Fragility Index includes 167 countries with populations greater than 500,000 (Marshall et al, 2018).

Using the State Fragility Index, we measure the combination of the Effectiveness Score and Legitimacy Score both of which are measured on four different dimensions: Security, political, economic, and social effectiveness and legitimacy from a scale of 0 being “no fragility” to 3 being “high fragility”. According to Marshall et al (2018) Effectiveness Score measures a total of security (Using the total Residual War measure provided by MEPV, a measure of general security and vulnerability to political violence)⁴, political (Which measures regime/governance

⁴ Source: Marshall, Monty G et al., Major Episodes of Political Violence, 1946- 2017, (www.systemicpeace.org)

stability using the Polity V Project)⁵, economic (Using GDP per capita in constant 2005 US dollars), and social effectiveness (Using the human development indicator; HDI). While the Legitimacy scores measures a total of security (based on state repression, a measure of state repression, 2003-2016 using the Political Terror Scale)⁶, political (regime/governance Inclusion), economic (measured by manufacturing exports as a percent of merchandise exports), and social legitimacy (measured by infant mortality rate) (Marshall et al ,2018). When combining the other 8 scores to find State Fragility, there is a maximum possibility of 25 points 0 being “no fragility” and 25 being “extreme fragility”. However, for the purpose of this research only two indicators, the effectiveness score and legitimacy score will be used.

Political Party: In order to analyze elite attitudes and their influence on repression this research will focus on the presidents from the years 1990-2015. Focus will be placed on the two parties’ being Democrat and Republican. Democrat and republican will be operationalized using the dummy variables of 0 and 1. 0 being Democrat and 1 being Republican.

Time: To truly measure the fluctuations of repression in the United States time is an important variable. In order to find the influence of repression in modern America as well as keeping in mind the amount of current information available, this article has focused its study on the years from 1990-2015 giving a 25-year span to test highs and lows in repressive trends.

⁵ Source: Marshall, Monty G et al. Polity V Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2017 (www.systemicpeace.org)

⁶ Source: Gibney, Mark, et al Political Terror Scale (PTS; www.politicalterrorsscale.org)

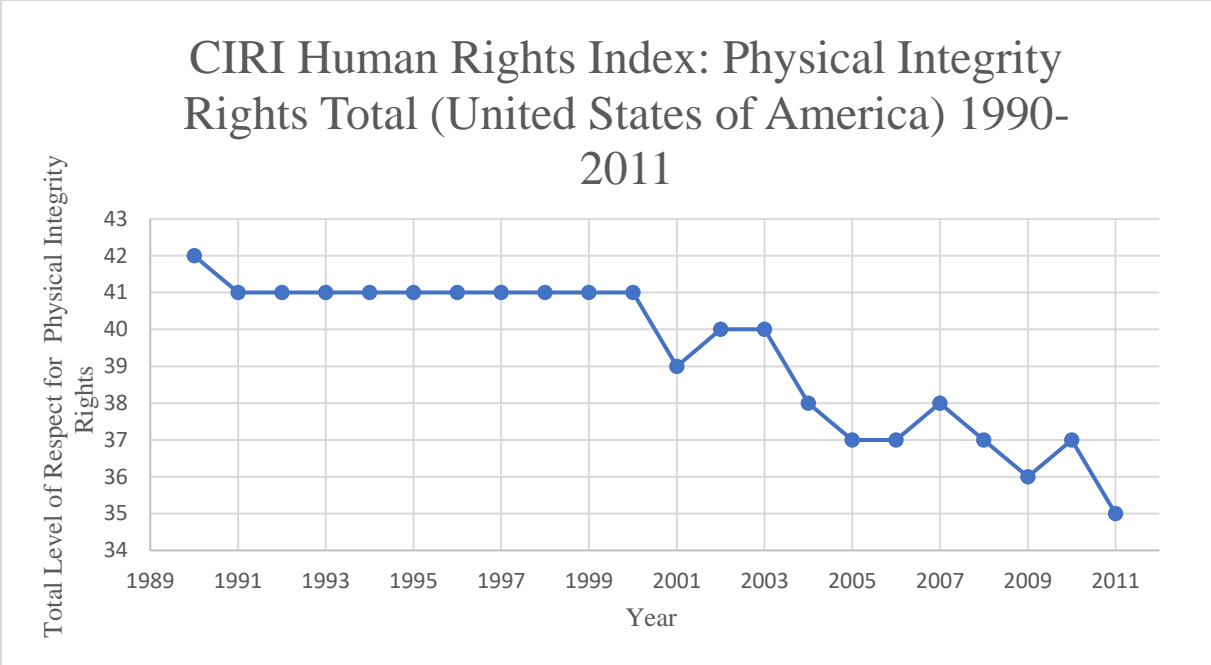
[Dependent Variables to Measure State Repression]

Variables and Expected Effects	Operationalization
Lagged Dependent Variable (Positive)	CIRI Human Rights Index (http://www.humanrightsdata.com/p/data-documentation.html)
Disappearances (Negative)	CIRI Human Rights Index (http://www.humanrightsdata.com/p/data-documentation.html)
Extrajudicial Killings (Positive)	CIRI Human Rights Index (http://www.humanrightsdata.com/p/data-documentation.html)
Political Imprisonment (Positive)	CIRI Human Rights Index (http://www.humanrightsdata.com/p/data-documentation.html)
Torture (Positive)	CIRI Human Rights Index (http://www.humanrightsdata.com/p/data-documentation.html)
Incarceration (Positive)	Bureau of Justice and Labor Statistics (https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=nps)

(Table 2: Dependent Variables and operationalization)

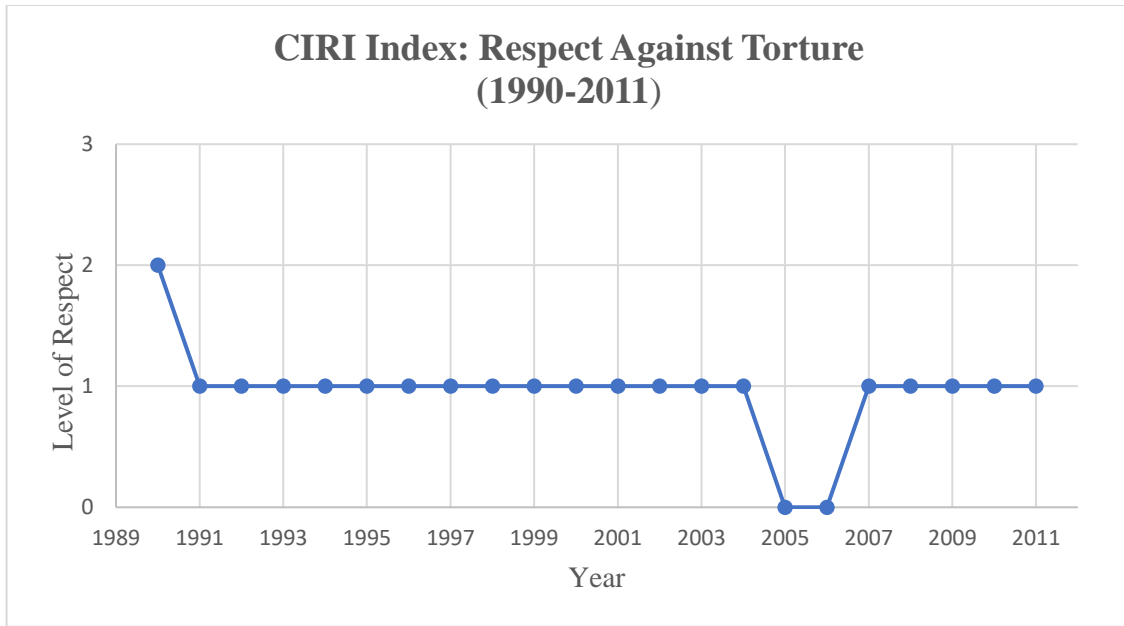
Dependent Variables

For the purpose of this research, the CIRI Human Rights Index will be used in substitution of the Political Terror Scale used in Poe and Tate's Study as the dependent variable (1994;1999). While the Political Terror Scale does span over more years than the CIRI Index which only goes up to 2011, The CIRI Index, does however, provide better disaggregate data and more specification as to what forms of repression were used over the course of the years (Richards et al., 2015). Similar to Richards et al. (2015) this article uses the Physical Integrity Rights Index provided by CIRI. However, to better understand fluctuations in respect for physical integrity rights averages were totaled from CIRI's 18 categories that span from respect against disappearances to women's social rights. Each category was created from the 15 internationally recognized human rights (David L. Cingranelli, et al. 2014) and placed on a 0-2 scale. The scale starts with 0 being no governmental respect for physical integrity rights to 2 being full governmental respect for physical integrity rights (The CIRI Human Rights Dataset, 2014).



(Graph 1: shows the fluctuations in the CIRI Human Rights Index over the years 1990-2011, Data of total respect for physical integrity rights from the years 1990-2011 adapted from “The CIRI Human Rights Dataset” By David L. Cingranelli, David L. Richards, and K. Chad Clay (2014) Retrieved from [URL:http://www.humanrightsdata.com](http://www.humanrightsdata.com))

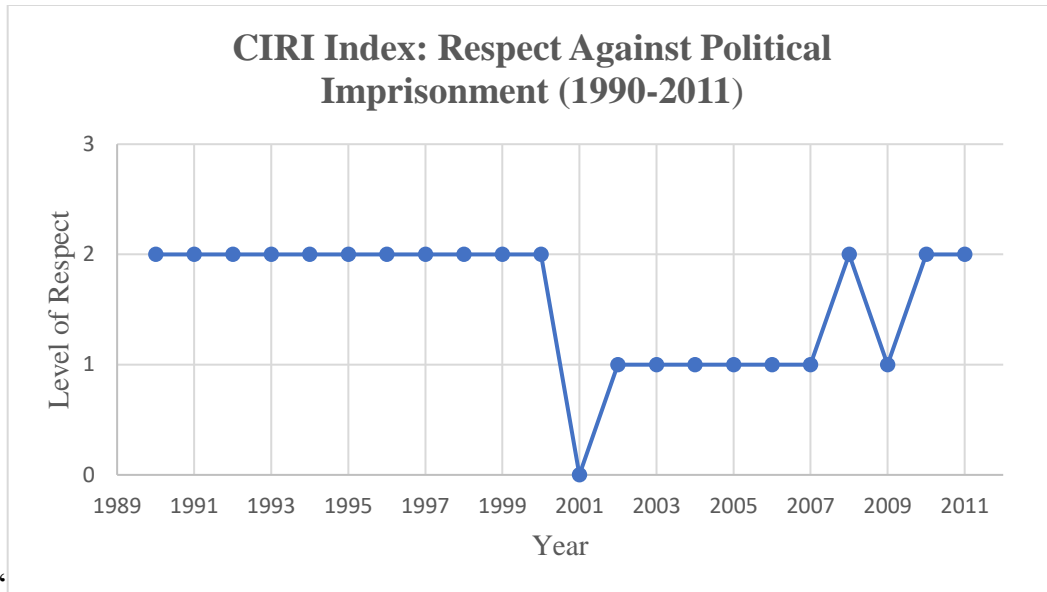
In addition to Physical Integrity Rights Index totals provided by CIRI, we will also be using addition data. Specifically placing emphasis on four individual categories of repression provided by the index: torture, extrajudicial killings, political imprisonment, and disappearances. Similarly placed on a three-point scale from 0-2, 0 being no respect for this right and 2 being full respect for the right. Unlike Poe and Tate’s studies done in 1999 this research ignores Poe and Tate’s (1999) British Cultural influence, Military Control, Civil War, and Leftist Government variables because they do not apply to the research being conducted as well as “j” for countries in the first equation because we are only focusing on the United States in this equation (pg. 295).



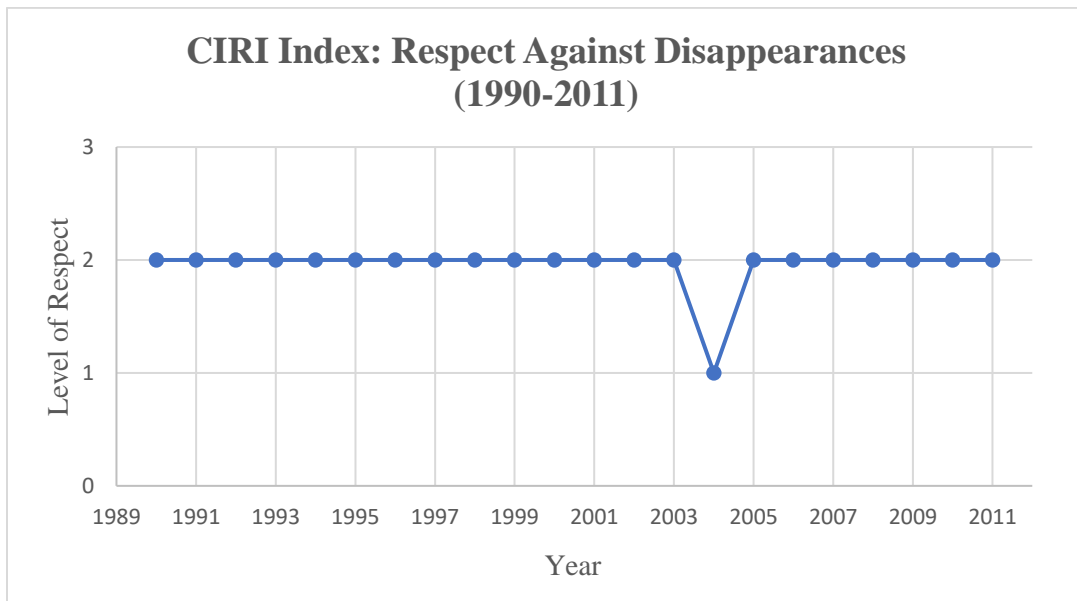
(Graph 2: Data on respect against torture from the years 1990-2011 adapted from “The CIRI Human Rights Dataset” By David L. Cingranelli, David L. Richards, and K. Chad Clay (2014) Retrieved from [URL:http://www.humanrightsdata.com](http://www.humanrightsdata.com))



(Graph 3: Data on respect against extrajudicial killings from the years 1990-2011 adapted from “The CIRI Human Rights Dataset” By David L. Cingranelli, David L. Richards, and K. Chad Clay (2014) Retrieved from [URL:http://www.humanrightsdata.com](http://www.humanrightsdata.com))

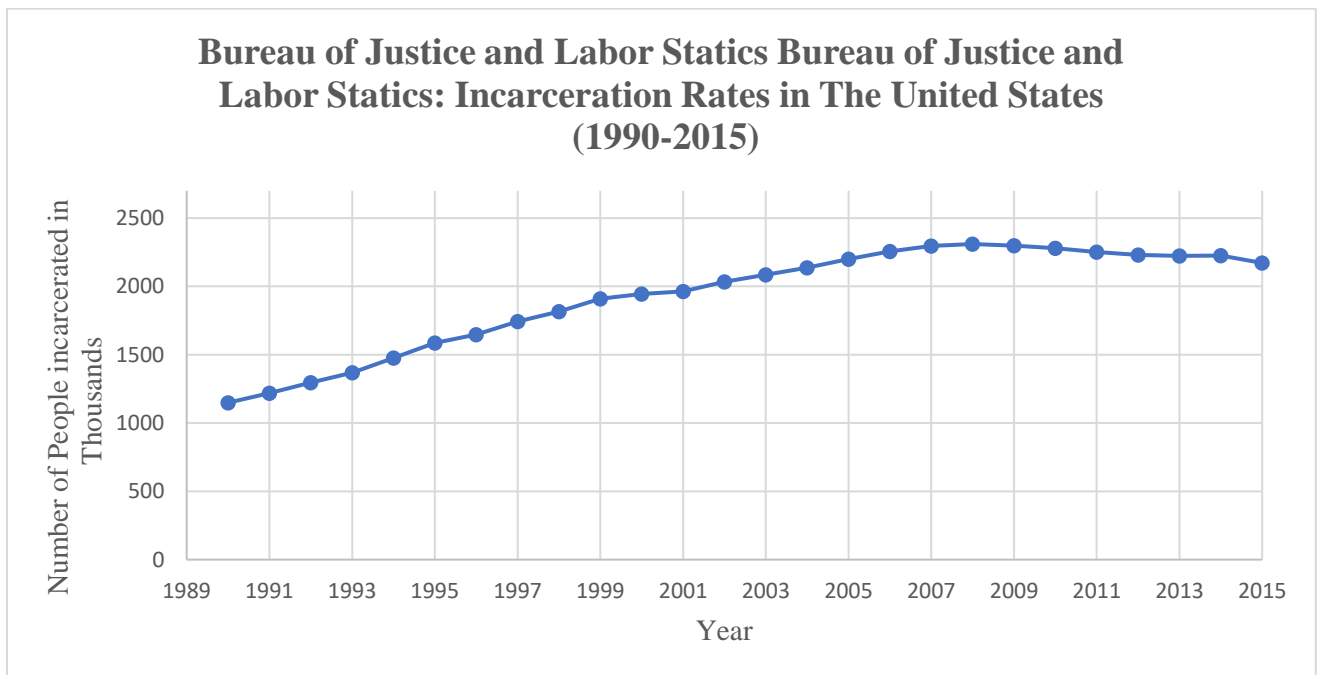


(Graph 4: Data on respect against political imprisonment from the years 1990-2011 adapted from “The CIRI Human Rights Dataset” By David L. Cingranelli, David L. Richards, and K. Chad Clay (2014) Retrieved from [URL:http://www.humanrightsdata.com](http://www.humanrightsdata.com))



(Graph 5: Data on respect against disappearances from the years 1990-2011 adapted from “The CIRI Human Rights Dataset” By David L. Cingranelli, David L. Richards, and K. Chad Clay (2014) Retrieved from [URL:http://www.humanrightsdata.com](http://www.humanrightsdata.com))

Secondly, this research would also like to place an individual focus on mass incarceration as a form of political repression to be measured in this study. In order to measure mass incarceration, this research will gather data from the Bureau of Justice and Labor Statistics. “Estimated number of inmates held in local jails or under the jurisdiction of state or federal prisons and incarceration rate, 1980-2016” from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, Annual Probation Survey, Annual Parole Survey, Annual Survey of Jails, Census of Jail Inmates, and National Prisoner Statistics Program, 1980-2016 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2018). From 1980 to 2016 their index provides incarceration populations which were used to determine fluctuations in incarcerations rates over the years.



(Graph 6: Data on incarceration rates from the years 1990-2015 adapted from the Bureau of Justice and Labor Statics (Bureau of Justice Statistics (2018) “Estimated number of inmates held in local jails or under the jurisdiction of state or federal prisons and incarceration rate, 1980-2016” Bureau of Justice Statistics, Annual Probation Survey, Annual Parole Survey, Annual Survey of Jails, Census of Jail Inmates, and National Prisoner Statistics Program, 1980-2016 <https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=kfdetail&iid=493>)

Method

For the purpose of this research, we will be using SPSS to create bivariate correlations and linear regressions between the many independent variables and the dependent. Once data is retrieved from the sources listed in Table 1 they will be organized from the years of 1990-2015. Once categorized they will be inputted into SPSS where the software will be able to find the correlations and regressions between the many variables and see if there is a significant relationship. In addition, due to CIRC only having data up to 2011, averages were used to input data from the years 2012-2015.

Findings

The goal of this study was to find correlations between repression used in the United States and factors such as time, economic growth, population growth, total population, and international conflict that help to explain rising levels of state repression in democracies over the course of the years 1990-2015.

As the United States engaged in wars abroad, repression seemed to also steadily increased at home. In the Years 1990 through 1991 using the CIRI Human Rights Dataset, there was a stark increase in political imprisonment, torture, and censorship over freedom of speech. Similarly, there was an increase in repression in 2001 with the aftermath of September 11th and the invasion of Afghanistan where political imprisonment started to rise. From 2004-2006 during the time of the invasion of Iraq extrajudicial killings and disappearances increased and once again there was an increase in political imprisonment, torture, and limitations of freedom of speech. However, restriction on foreign movement, freedom of religion, and worker's rights remained consistently low both with and without the involvement in conflict.

Bivariate Correlations

Correlation Matrix #1 from Years 1990-2015

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables						
	YEAR	GDP per capita Annual	Population Growth %	Total Population	International Conflict	State Fragility	Political Party
Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	-.915**	-.916**	.861**	-.910**	-.776**	-.925**	
Disappearances Extrajudicial Killings	.834**	.864**	-.713**	.816**	.850**	.904**	
Political Imprisonment		.437*	-.511*	.429*	.582**		.552**
Torture Incarceration Rates		.429*			.455*		
	.918**	.924**	-.865**	.938**	.769**	.847**	

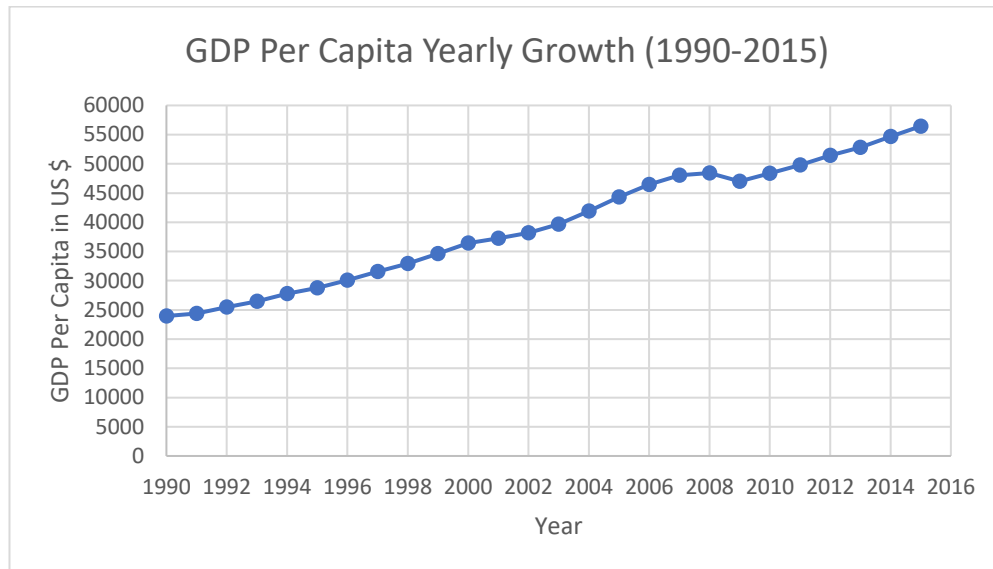
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

(Table 3: SPSS correlations amongst dependent and independent variables displaying the results of the analysis over the period of 1990-2015)

Time: After testing our variables over a span of 25 years from 1990 to 2015 our analysis finds the strongest statistically significant relationship was between year and incarceration. Respect for Physical Integrity Rights displays a strong downhill linear relationship ($r = -.915^{**}$), possibly showing that as years go by Physical Integrity rights decrease. In addition, Extrajudicial Killings ($r = .834^{**}$) and Incarceration Rates ($r = .918^{**}$) show a strong uphill linear relationship with year. Showing an increase in those particular repressive tactics over time. However,

exceptions were the dependent variables of disappearances, political imprisonment, and torture which have no linear relationship to year.



(Graph 7: GDP Per Capita yearly growth from 1990-2015 data adapted from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators (2018), The World Bank Group.

<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL/1ff4a498/Popular-Indicators#>)

GDP Per Capita yearly growth: From the years 1990-2015 there have been three major recessions, (1) from 1990-1991, (2) in the year 2001, and (3) from 2007-2009 (World Bank, 2018). All three were projected in both the World Bank Index and Hamilton’s GDP-based recession indicator (2018). In 1990-1991 GDP Per Capita went down -1.4% (World Bank, 2018) but after that year it once again increased and balanced out. However, during those years there was also a decrease in respect for Physical Integrity rights. Then in the years 2007-2009, GDP per capita hits its lowest in 10 years with the lowest year being 2009 at -3.624% (World Bank, 2018). When tested against our six dependent variables GDP per capita yearly growth had one of the strongest relationships. As GDP Per Capita increased from the years 1990-2015 respect for

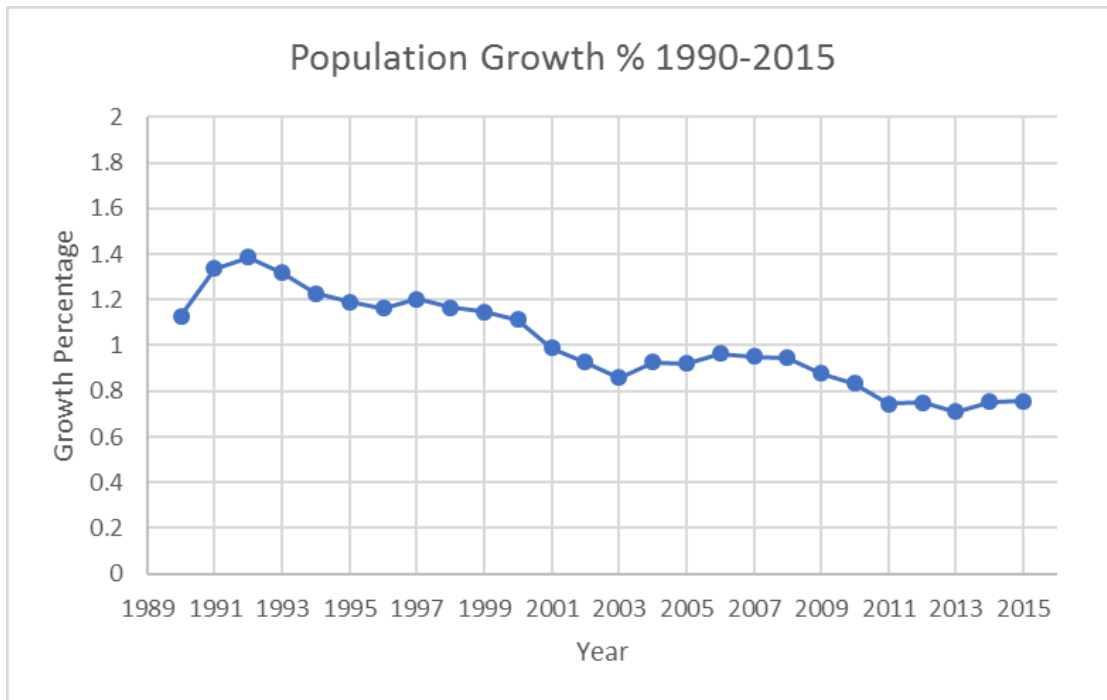
physical integrity rights decreased. Respect for physical integrity rights ($r = -.916$) show a strong negative downhill linear relationship with GDP per capita. However, as GDP increased there was a positive uphill linear relationship between extrajudicial killings ($r = .864^{**}$) and incarceration ($r = .924^{**}$). It is important to also keep in mind that growth of incarceration primarily happens at the local and state level rather than at the national level so each state if tested would show different probabilities and may have a stronger relationship to GDP per capita (Aviram, 2015). Weaker correlations were found with political imprisonment ($r = .437^*$) and torture ($r = .429^*$) showing a weak uphill relationship. Again, disappearances have no linear relationship and incarceration rates display the strongest correlation between the dependent variables.



(Figure 1: SPSS Correlation between GDP per capita and Physical Integrity Rights from 1990-2015 data adapted from the World Bank's World Development Indicators (2018), The World Bank Group.

<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL/1ff4a498/Popular-Indicators#>)

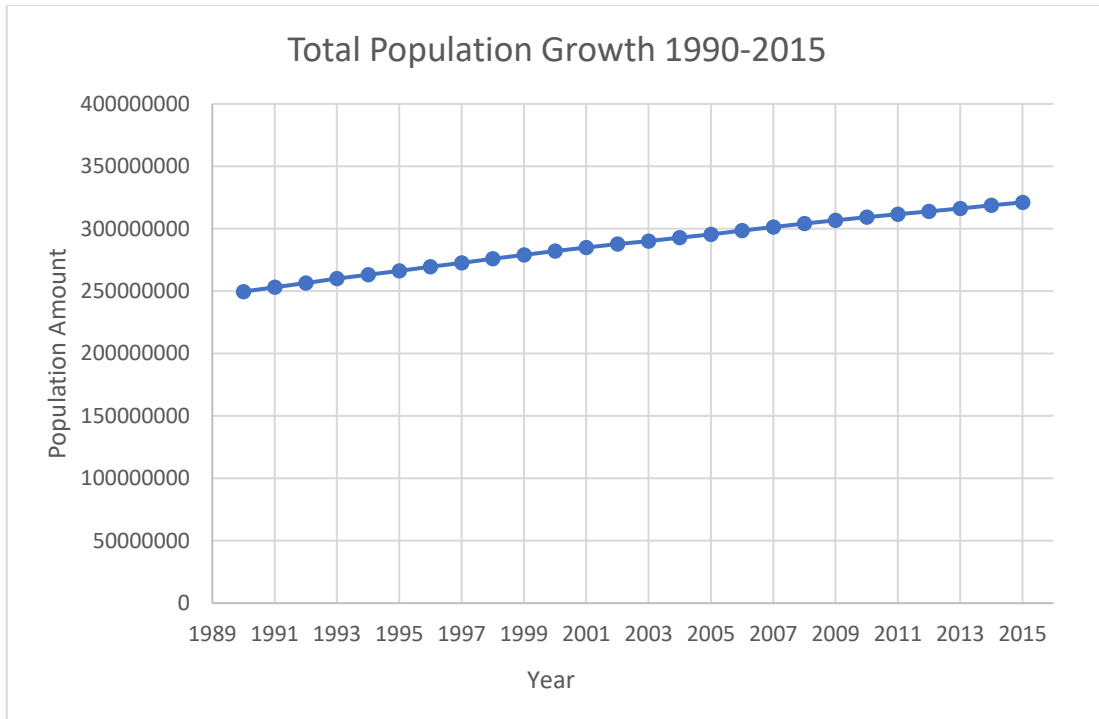
Population Growth percentage yearly: As population rises there are more demands made to the government to provide adequate resources. This can put major stresses on government and leads to state instability (Henderson, 1993) which is why it was very important to study the rises and drops in population growth over the course of years. Over the years 1990-2015 there have been many fluctuations in population growth. According to the World Bank index (2018), population growth started to decrease in 1995 and continued to do so up until 2015. As growth declined Physical Integrity rates followed. The correlations show a strong negative linear relationship with extrajudicial killings ($r = -.713^{**}$) and incarceration ($r = -.865^{**}$). However, there is a strong uphill positive correlation between respect for physical integrity rights ($.861^{**}$) and population growth percentage. In Henderson's (1993) analysis of the relationship between repression and population, he found that population density had very little to do with repression when he was comparing multiple states. He found that in the beginning population size may cause problems. However, after some time growth in population begins to improve the economy because there are more people entering the work force. In this analysis, there was a weak negative correlation with political imprisonment ($r = -.511^*$) and no relationships between disappearances and torture.



(Graph 8: Yearly population percentage growth from 1990-2015 data adapted from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators (2018), The World Bank Group.

<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL/1ff4a498/Popular-Indicators#>

Total Population Growth: Total population has been mostly stable over the years. Rising steadily from 1990-2015 especially with more innovation in medical technology and overall well-being as a country. As total population rose, respect for physical integrity rights started to decrease showing a strong negative linear relationship with a coefficient of ($r=-.910^{**}$). It also showed a positive linear relationship between extrajudicial killings ($r=.816^{**}$) and incarceration ($r=.938^{*}$) In Henderson’s study (1993), Henderson felt as though total population was a better indicator of political repression because it showed a state’s capacity at any given time and it’s able to handle population pressures. Our analysis finds that in the United States population growth and respect for physical integrity rights move in opposite directions, which may also be correlated with other factors and variables.

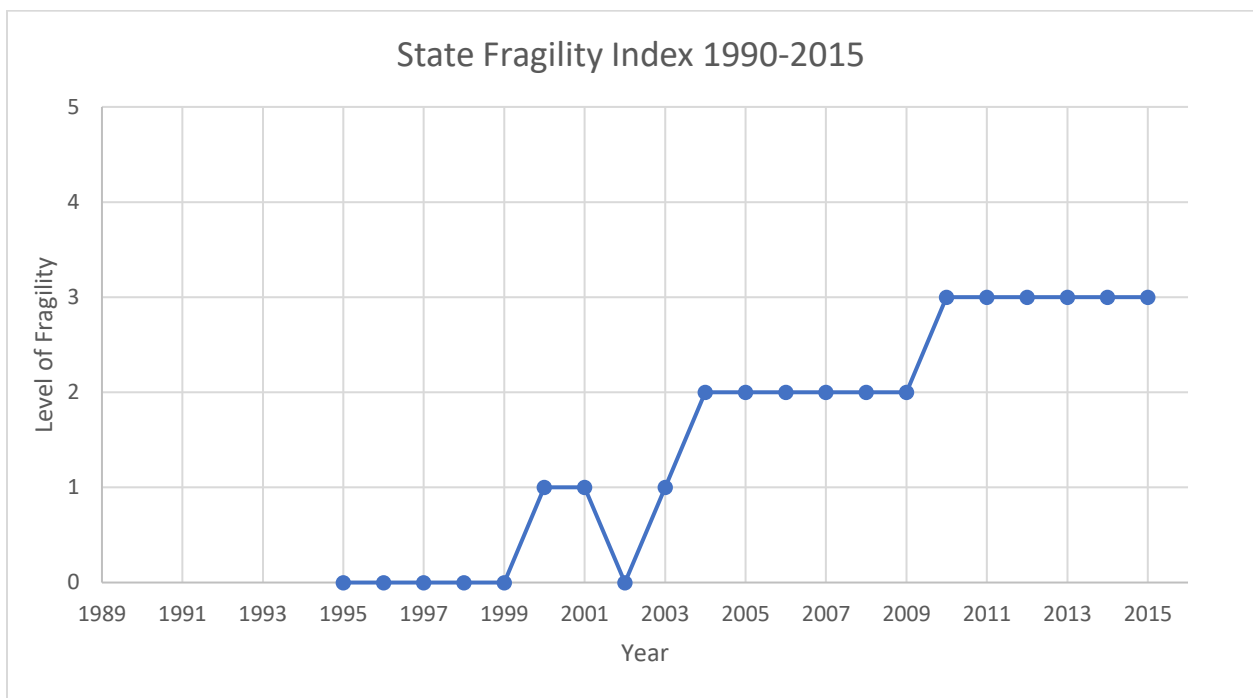


(Graph 9: Yearly population growth from 1990-2015 data adapted from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators (2018), The World Bank Group.

<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL/1ff4a498/Popular-Indicators#>)

International War and Conflict: After engaging in the Persian Gulf War from 1990-1991 Physical Integrity Rights started to decline. However, it was after 9/11 and the invasion of both Afghanistan and Iraq starting from the years 2001 and 2003 where there was a dramatic increase in repression specifically in political imprisonment and torture. As the US engaged in international wars abroad respect for physical integrity rights declined. The correlations between international war and physical integrity rights show a strong downhill linear relationship with a coefficient of ($r = -.776^{**}$). However, there were significant positive linear correlations with extrajudicial killings ($r = .850^{**}$), political imprisonment ($r = .582^{**}$), and incarceration ($r = .769^{**}$). Weaker correlations were associated with torture ($r = .455^*$). Across all studies, international war and conflict had a linear relationship with repression.

State Fragility: Over the span of 25 years state fragility has gone through many ups and downs. Spikes in fragility were first witnessed during 2000-2001 were they steadily increased. Both effectiveness and legitimacy scores started to see increasing instability going from low fragility to medium fragility. The strongest correlation was between state fragility and respect for physical integrity rights which showed a strong negative linear relationship with a correlation of $r = -.925^{**}$. Strong relationships were also seen with extrajudicial killings ($r = .904^{**}$) and incarceration ($r = .847^{**}$) which displayed an upward linear relationship. Results of this study show no relationship between independent variable of state fragility and the dependent variables of disappearances, political imprisonments, and torture.



(Graph 10: Shows the fluctuations in State fragility from the years 1995-2015, data adapted from State Fragility Index and Matrix 2017 by Monty G. Marshall and Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall Center for Systemic Peace (2018)

<http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/SFImatrix2017c.pdf>

Political Party: From 1990-2015 we've had four presidents being George H.W. Bush a Republican candidate from 1989-1993, Bill Clinton a Democrat from 1993-2001, George W. Bush a Republican from 2001-2009, and Barack Obama a Democrat from 2009-2017. The political party variable was one of the weakest independent variables. However, it had a strong positive linear correlation with political imprisonment ($r=.552^{**}$). A positive correlation meant that under Republican rule there was a strong correlation with political imprisonment. In the study there was no relationship between the independent variable of political party and the dependent variables of respect for physical integrity rights, disappearances, extrajudicial killings, torture, and incarceration.

Correlation Matrix #2 Race (Black/African American) Yearly Population from Years 1990-2015

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables			
	Black Adult Male Pop	Black Adult Female Pop	Black Male Youth	Black Female Youth
Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	-.757**	-.766**	-.787**	-.809**
Disappearances				
Extrajudicial Killings	.724**	.743**	.749**	.746**
Political Imprisonment	-.616*		-.596*	
Torture				
Incarceration Rates	.678**	.646**	.766**	.746**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

(Table 4: SPSS correlations amongst dependent and independent variables of Black and African American populations demographics displaying the results of the analysis over the period of 1990-2015)

Black Population: Black and African American populations witnessed many fluctuations in population over the years in the year 2000 adult male Black populations saw a decrease of about one million, the year after youth and adult female Black and African American population witnessed a similar decrease. Again in 2015 both black female and male youth witness a slight decline in population. However, as Black and African American populations in the United States grew the study witnessed a strong negative linear correlation between respect for physical integrity rights and all Black and African American ages and sexes. Of the independent categories' population fluctuations of Black and African American female youth (from the ages of 15-24) had the strongest negative linear correlation with respect for physical integrity rights with a coefficient of ($r = -.809^{**}$). In addition, Extrajudicial Killings and Incarceration showed a strong positive linear relationship across all Black and African American ages and sexes. When it came to extrajudicial killings and incarceration rates the strongest relationship was with Black and African American male youth with coefficients of ($r = .749^{**}$) and ($r = .766^{**}$) respectively. Between the Black and African American youth and adult categories, youth witnessed the strongest relationships between the dependent variables. Political imprisonments showed a weaker relationship between the categories Black and African American male adult and youth. Whereas, Black and African American female adults and youth had no significant relationship with political imprisonment. Across all categories, disappearances and torture showed no significant relationship.

Correlation Matrix #3 Race (Asian) Yearly Population from Years 1990-2015

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables			
	Asian Adult Male	Asian Adult Female	Asian Youth Male	Asian Youth Female
Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	-.745**	-.735**	-.695**	-.666**
Disappearances				
Extrajudicial Killings	.775**	.745**	.650*	.591*
Political Imprisonment			-.683*	-.672*
Torture				
Incarceration Rates	.611*	.588*	.555*	.508*

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

(Table 5: SPSS correlations amongst dependent and independent variables of Asian populations demographics displaying the results of the analysis over the period of 1990-2015)

Asian Population: Asian populations trends show a strong downward linear relationship with respect for physical integrity abuse. Of the four categories, Asian Adult male was the strongest with a coefficient of ($r = -.745^{**}$). Extrajudicial killings dependent variables showed a strong positive linear relationship with Asian adult males ($r = .775^{**}$) and females ($r = .745^{**}$), while showing weaker relationships among Asian male ($r = .650^*$) and female ($r = .591^*$) youth. Weaker negative correlations were seen between both Asian male ($r = -.683^*$) and female ($r = -.672^*$) youth and political imprisonment. However, there was no linear relationship between Asian adults and political imprisonment. Lastly, incarceration rates show a weak positive linear relationship across both Asian sex and age.

Correlation Matrix #4 Race (Native American) Yearly Population from Years 1990-2015

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables			
	Native AM Adult Male	Native AM Adult Female	US Native Youth Male	US Native Youth Female
Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	-.694**	-.724**	-.738**	-.768**
Disappearances				
Extrajudicial Killings		.578*	.670*	.608*
Political Imprisonment	-.675*	-.612*	-.671*	-.630*
Torture				
Incarceration Rates	.546*	.550*	.651**	.631**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

(Table 6: SPSS correlations amongst dependent and independent variables of Native American populations demographics displaying the results of the analysis over the period of 1990-2015)

Native American Population: Similarly, Native American population fluctuations show a strong negative linear relationship with respect for physical integrity rights. Of the categories, Native American female youth had the strongest negative relationship with a correlation coefficient of ($r=-.768^{**}$). Incarceration rates show a positive linear relationship among Native American youth, the strongest being amongst male youth ($r=.651^{**}$). However, weaker correlations are associated with Native American adults. When it comes to extrajudicial killings, weak relationships were shown in relation to Native American female adults, male youth, and female youth. There was no correlation between Native American male adults. Lastly, weak correlations were shown with political imprisonment across both sexes and age groups. There was no linear relationship between both Native American sex and age groups and disappearances and torture.

Correlation Matrix #5 Race (Hispanic Adult) Yearly Population from Years 1990-2015

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables					
	Adult Male Mexican	Adult Male PR	Adult Male Cuban	Adult Female Mexican	Adult Female PR	Adult Female Cuban
Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	-.852**	-.745**	-.752**	-.821**	-.747**	-.765**
Disappearances						
Extrajudicial Killings	.823**	.694*	.738**	.772**	.694*	.736**
Political Imprisonment						
Torture						
Incarceration Rates	.794**	.571*	.617*	.718**	.551*	.605*

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

(Table 7: SPSS correlations amongst dependent and independent variables of Hispanic Adult populations demographics displaying the results of the analysis over the period of 1990-2015)

Correlation Matrix #6 Race (Hispanic Youth) Yearly Population from Years 1990-2015

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables					
	Youth Male Mexican	Youth Male PR	Youth Male Cuban	Youth Female Mexican	Youth Female PR	Youth Female Cuban
Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	-.790**	-.674**	-.792**	-.779**	-.691**	-.848**
Disappearances						
Extrajudicial Killings	.693*		.744**	.708**		.754**
Political Imprisonment						
Torture						
Incarceration Rates	.661**		.628**	.633**	.530*	.673**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

(Table 8: SPSS correlations amongst dependent and independent variables of Hispanic Youth populations demographics displaying the results of the analysis over the period of 1990-2015)

Hispanic Population: Of the four categories of races, the Hispanic population in the United States has grown the fastest from the years 1990-2015. Correspondingly, across all age groups and sexes respect for physical integrity rights shows a strong negative linear relationship. Of the categories presented Hispanic adult males had the strongest correlations, of them Mexican adult Males showed the greatest downhill relationship with a correlation coefficient of ($r=-.852^{**}$). Among Hispanic youth, the greatest correlation with respect for physical integrity rights was with Cuban youth females showing a strong negative correlation of ($r=-.848^{**}$). The strongest correlations between extrajudicial killings and adults starting from greatest was between adult Mexican males ($r=.823^{**}$), adult Mexican females($r=.772^{**}$), adult Cuban males ($r=.738^{**}$), and adult Cuban females ($r=.736^{**}$). When it comes to youth, strong correlations were associated with youth Cuban females ($r=.754^{**}$), youth Cuban males ($r=.744^{**}$), and youth Mexican females ($r=.708^{**}$). Weaker correlations with extrajudicial killings associated with Both Puerto Rican adult males and females and Mexican male youth. Lastly, there were strong positive linear correlations with incarceration and the independent variables of both Adult Mexican male and female adults and youth and Cuban male and female youth. Of those categories, adult male Mexicans have the strongest upward linear relationship with incarceration with a coefficient of ($r=.794^{**}$) and with youth female Cubans with a correlation of ($r=.673^{**}$). Weaker correlations with incarceration were witnessed with Puerto Rican and Cuban adult males and females and with youth Puerto Rican females. Among all the categories disappearances, political imprisonment, and torture had no linear relationship.

Regression Analysis

To truly understand the complex political phenomena of repression, repression must be tested against many different environments and conditions. All of which are constantly changing. Along with technology and innovation, repression has also transformed over the years. It is no longer only physical, in the form of torture and kidnappings. It has changed to mass incarcerations and nationwide surveillance.

Although using previous studies has provided a great foundation for this study, other variables were added for additional robustness and understanding of repression specific to the United States. Using the data provided by IPUMS-USA, University of Minnesota we went further than Richards et al (2015) and Poe and Tate (1994;1999) by testing and splitting the Total population variable into categories based on race and sex to study the effects of minority and gender population fluctuations on level and forms of repression. In addition, incarceration was added because many conflict study researches have overlooked the role mass incarceration has played as a form of repression. Which has limited the scope of tactics governments use to crackdown on dissent and any form of unconformity to the state ⁷(Boykoff, 2007). Furthermore, elite attitudes and their influence on repression has rarely been studied. In order to measure this variable, we studied the effect of both democrat and republican political party on repression.

In agreement with Richards et al. (2015) study, this research also sought to study the trends in repression over time. As mentioned earlier, repression is gradual and cannot be truly understood in short segments. The aim of studying trends over a period of time was to test how

⁷ Boykoff, J. (2007).” Research that only considers protest policing sacrifices breadth on the altar of depth, as it does not take into consideration either the wide range of alternative dissident practices or the variety of subtler ways the state attempts to exert social control.”

resilient the United States was against repression in the face of economic, political, or social strife and harmony.

Liner regressions were performed to assess the effects of our total 31 independent variables on our 6 dependent variables to measure the durability of our findings. During this process, we hoped to find strong relationships between our variables that could help explain what factors motivate states to resort to repression. Significance in the data is shown by the use of asterisks after the beta coefficients listed on the table. Political party is the only dichotomous variable.

Regression Matrix #1 from Years 1990-2015

Dependent Variables

Independent	Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	Disappearances	Extrajudicial Killings	Political Imprisonment	Torture	Incarceration
YEAR	-6.5	6.327	8.569*	-9.715	-7.031	-5.565**
GDP per capita	0.992	-6.413	-0.112	-0.309	6.84	1.233*
Annual Population Growth %	-0.305	1.753	0.724	-0.953	-1.575	-0.153
Total Population	4.698	-0.16	-7.495*	8.872	-0.952	5.229**
International Conflict	-0.106	-0.773	0.028	0.754	0.599	0.156*
State Fragility	-0.301	2.091*	0.475	-0.144	-0.253	-0.184
Political Party	-0.221	1.596	0.311	0.183	-0.829	-0.077
Adjusted R Squared	0.87	-0.029	0.88	0.542	0.032	0.987

**p<.01

*p<.05

(Table 9: SPSS linear regression amongst dependent and independent variables displaying the results of the analysis over the period of 1990-2015)

Regression Matrix #1

In Regression Matrix #1 the strongest relationships were between the dependent variable of incarceration. In our matrix, both year and total population have a strong statistically significant relationship with incarceration. The beta coefficient of incarceration and its relationship with year is negative meaning as the years go on incarceration rates have slightly declined. Secondly, incarceration has a strong, significant positive relationship with total

population growth. Weaker relationships were seen with the dependent variable of incarceration and the independent variables of GDP per capita and International Conflict. The seven dependent variables in our study explain 98.7% of the variation in the independent variable of incarceration leaving 1.3% unexplained.

Secondly, the only independent variable in our study that shows a relationship with dependent variable of Disappearances, was state fragility, which shows a weak significant positive relationship with a beta of ($r^2 = 2.091^*$). The seven dependent variables explain only 2.9% of the variation in the independent variable of disappearances leaving 97.1% unexplained

Lastly, when it comes to the dependent variable of Extrajudicial killings both year and total population show a weak relationship. Total population shows a weak negative relationship with extrajudicial killings meaning there may be a correlation with population growth and less use of extrajudicial killings. However, year and extrajudicial killings have a positive relationship. Meaning that as the years go by use of extrajudicial killings also increases. The seven dependent variables explain only 88% of the variation in the independent variable of extrajudicial killings leaving 12% unexplained

The independent variables of population growth percentage and political party have no relationship with any of our dependent variables in this study.

Regression Matrix #2 Race (Black and Asian) Yearly Population from Years 1990-2015

Independent Variable	Dependent Variables					
	Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	Disappearances	Extrajudicial Killings	Political Imprisonment	Torture	Incarceration
Male Black Adult	8.118**	-8.038	-10.395**	-7.822	-6.401	-10.125**
Female Black Adult	-4.606**	5.566	5.271**	0.862	1.83	5.295**
Male Black Youth	-3.922*	6.995	8.707**	1.686	4.617	6.945**
Female Black Youth	-0.475	-4.632	-2.698	4.708	-0.048	-1.267
Adjusted R Squared	0.803	-0.004	0.85	0.491	-0.336	0.909
Independent Variable	Dependent Variables					
	Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	Disappearances	Extrajudicial Killings	Political Imprisonment	Torture	Incarceration
Male Asian Adult	2.725	-11.031	1.584	-4.063	7.367	3.238
Female Asian Adult	-4.607	11.298	-0.447	5.484	-7.06	-1.635
Male Asian Youth	-5.288	9.756	4.363	-1.388	-2.275	6.038*
Female Asian Youth	6.462*	-10.321*	-4.813*	-0.667	1.946	-7.072*
Adjusted R Squared	0.631	0.206	0.82	0.531	-0.321	0.689
**p<.01						
*p<.05						

(Table 10: SPSS correlations amongst dependent and independent variables of Black and Asian populations demographics displaying the results of the analysis over the period of 1990-2015)

Regression Matrix #2

Black and African American Population: The strongest relationship was seen in the regression of Black and African American populations. The strongest effects were noticed between the variables Adult male Black and African American with the dependent variables of Extrajudicial Killings ($r^2 = -10.395^{**}$) and Incarceration ($r^2 = -10.125^{**}$). Both of which move in opposite directions to the fluctuating population of adult Black and African American males. Showing that as Black male adult populations decrease there is an increase extrajudicial killings and incarcerations. Extrajudicial killings showed a strong positive relationship with male Black and African American youth ($r^2 = 8.707^{**}$) and female Black and African American adult ($r^2 = 5.271^{**}$). Meaning as Black and African American populations of adult women and youth men increase there is also an increase in imprisonment and extrajudicial killings. In this case, the seven dependent variables explain 85% of the variation in the independent variable of extrajudicial killings leaving 15% unexplained

Incarceration similarly shows a strong positive relationship with male Black and African American youth ($r^2 = 6.945^{**}$) and female Black and African American adult ($r^2 = 5.295^{**}$). The seven dependent variables explain 90.9% of the variation in the independent variable of incarceration leaving 9.1% unexplained.

Lastly, respect for physical integrity rights also shows strong relationship. With male Black and African American adults, there was a strong positive relationship of ($r^2 = 8.118^{**}$). Meaning that as Adult Black and African American populations decrease there is also a decrease in physical integrity rights. On the other hand, with female Black and African American adults, there was a strong negative relationship with our dependent variable with a linear regression of ($r^2 = -4.606^{**}$). In addition, there was a weak negative relationship shown with respect for

physical integrity rights and Black male youth with a linear regression of ($r^2 = -3.922^*$). The seven dependent variables explain 80.3% of the variation in the independent variable of respect for physical integrity rights leaving 19.7% unexplained.

Of the independent variables, female Black youth population fluctuations have no relationship with any of our dependent variables.

Asian Population: When it comes to Asian population fluctuations the relationships between our dependent and independent variables were weak. When it came to incarcerations, male Asian youth showed a weak positive linear regression of ($r^2 = 6.038^*$) while female Asian youth showed a negative linear regression of ($r^2 = -7.027$). Possibly meaning that as male Asian youth populations increase there is also an increase in incarceration. While a decrease in female Asian youth shows an increase in incarceration. The seven dependent variables explain 68.9% of the variation in the independent variable of incarceration leaving 31.1% unexplained.

A decrease in female Asian youth shows a weak linear relationship with rising levels of disappearances ($r^2 = -10.321^*$) and extrajudicial killings ($r^2 = -4.813^*$). The dependent variables explain 20.6% of the variation in the independent variable of disappearances leaving 79.4% unexplained and explain 82% of the variation in the independent variable of extrajudicial killings leaving 18% unexplained

In addition, as the Asian female youth population decreases physical integrity rights also decrease. Which explains 63.1% of the variation in the independent variable of respect for physical integrity rights leaving 36.9% unexplained

In our study both adult Asian females and males have no relationship with any of our dependent variables.

Regression Matrix #3 Race (Native American and Hispanic Mexican) Yearly Population from Years 1990-2015

Dependent Variables

Independent Variable	Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	Disappearances	Extrajudicial Killings	Political Imprisonment	Torture	Incarceration
Male Native Am Adult	7.274**	-4.308	-5.329	-4.958	-3.422	-5.713
Female Native Am Adult	-6.123**	2.973	4.122	3.739	1.487	4.107
Male Native Am Youth	-2.012*	2.403	3.027*	0.836	0.52	2.606*
Female Native Am Youth	0.063	-1.28	-1.105	-0.224	1.272	-0.35
Adjusted R Squared	0.759	-0.115	0.496	0.43	-0.225	0.474
Independent Variable	Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	Disappearances	Extrajudicial Killings	Political Imprisonment	Torture	Incarceration
Male Mexican Adult	-1.243	3.447	4.588	-5.455	0.328	2.565
Female Mexican Adult	-0.578	-6.445	-5.221	11.342	1.783	0.623
Male Mexican Youth	-0.549	-2.53	-0.818	0.902	0.979	0.973
Female Mexican Youth	1.543	5.403	2.269	-7.363	-3.131	-3.435*
Adjusted R Squared	0.68	-0.419	0.666	0.169	-0.305	0.94

**p<.01

*p<.05

(Table 11: SPSS correlations amongst dependent and independent variables of Native American and Hispanic

Mexican populations demographics displaying the results of the analysis over the period of 1990-2015)

Regression Matrix #3

Native American and Alaskan Native Population:

Of all the dependent variables Respect for physical integrity rights showed the strongest linear relationships. Male Native American adults show a strong positive relationship with respect for physical integrity rights with a linear regression of ($r^2 = 7.274^{**}$). Meaning as the population of male Native American adults declines there is also a decline in respect for physical integrity rights. On the other hand, female Native American adult's regression shows a moderate negative relationship with a linear regression of ($r^2 = -6.123^{**}$). Showing that as female Native American adult populations increase there is a decrease in respect for physical integrity rights. This linear regression explains 75.9% of the variation in the independent variable of respect for physical integrity rights leaving 24.1% unexplained.

Weaker positive linear relationships exist between male Native American youth population increases and the dependent variables Extrajudicial Killings ($r^2 = 3.027^*$) and incarceration ($r^2 = 2.606^*$). Showing that as male Native American youth populations increase there is also an increase in incarceration and extrajudicial killings. This linear regression explains 49.6% of the variation in the independent variable of extrajudicial killings leaving 50.4% unexplained and explains 47.4% in the independent variable of incarceration leaving 52.6% unexplained. In addition, there is a weak negative linear regression between male Native American youth and respect for physical integrity rights ($r^2 = -2.012^*$). Explains 75.9% in the independent variable of respect for physical integrity rights leaving 24.1% unexplained

Regression Matrix #4

Hispanic Population: A weak negative linear relationship exists between Female Mexican youth and incarceration with regression of ($r^2 = 3.435^*$) and Puerto Rican youth Male ($r^2 = -3.669^*$) Showing that as incarceration rates increase there is a slight relationship to the increase population of youth Mexican and Puerto Rican males. For youth Mexican females this explains 94% in the independent variable of incarceration leaving 6% unexplained and for Puerto Rican youth males this explains 47.3% in the independent variable of incarceration leaving 52.7% unexplained. On the other hand, Cuban female youth show a weak positive linear relationship with a regression of ($r^2 = 2.561^*$). For Cuban youth females this is explain 45.2% leaving 54.8 unexplained and show a negative relationship with physical integrity abuse which explains 71.7% in the independent variable of physical integrity abuse and 28.3% unexplained

Regression Matrix #4 Race (Hispanic Puerto Rican and Cuban) Yearly Population from Years 1990-2015

Independent Variable	Dependent Variables					
	Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	Disappearances	Extrajudicial Killings	Political Imprisonment	Torture	Incarceration
Male PR Adult	-1.233	-2.485	1.283	-1.989	-1.056	4.406
Female PR Adult	-0.569	3.04	0.594	2.95	2.157	-2.605
Male PR Youth	1.532	1.562	-1.302	-0.462	-2.141	-3.669*
Female PR Youth	-0.454	-2.244	0.061	-1.014	0.828	2.409
Adjusted R Squared	0.488	-0.061	0.447	0.282	0.107	0.473
Independent Variable	Dependent Variables					
	Respect for Physical Integrity Rights	Disappearances	Extrajudicial Killings	Political Imprisonment	Torture	Incarceration
Male Cuban Adult	-0.881	-2.31	1.725	-2.621	-2.01	3.546
Female Cuban Adult	1.529	2.287	-2.248	2.383	0.543	-4.06
Male Cuban Youth	0.874	-0.561	-0.819	-0.013	2.671	-1.367
Female Cuban Youth	-2.348*	0.451	2.106	-0.26	-1.292	2.561*
Adjusted R Squared	0.717	-0.371	0.367	-0.044	-0.359	0.452

**p<.01

*p<.05

(Table 12: SPSS correlations amongst dependent and independent variables of Hispanic Puerto Rican and Cuban

populations demographics displaying the results of the analysis over the period of 1990-2015)

Relationship between Population Growth and Repression

Total Population growth in the United States has been steady and slow, yet across the board, population growth has had one of the strongest linear relationships with repression. As population grows, there are stresses put on resources. These economic pressures and instability lead many political authorities to use repression as a means of maintaining control and legitimacy (Henderson, 1993). Race and sex factors also play a major role in this. If the elites feel threatened by a particular race or sex, they may resort to repressive measures to ensure they aren't threatened. This pattern has been seen across the world as well as in the United States. It was also seen when we tested the dependent variables dealing with minority population demographics, where all in the correlations showed a strong positive linear relationship. As minority populations increased, there was a decrease in respect for physical integrity rights. In this study, there was a positive linear relationship between incarceration rates and the growing population of adult black females and black male youth. High incarceration rates were also correlated with Mexican population demographics and a majority of youth.

Relationship Between International War and Conflict and repression

In the twenty-first century, the United States has been involved in two major wars: the wars in Afghanistan starting in 2001 and the Iraq war starting in 2003. The data presented by the research shows large increases in repression or disrespect for physical integrity rights following similar patterns to the increasing engagement of the US in wars abroad. Wars have often been known to reverse laws, enact new ones, create relationships, and break relationships (Rasler, 1986). Often driven by fear the elites and public may come to an agreement on the use of repression in order to maintain stability. In our study incarceration rates, extrajudicial killings, and political imprisonment all saw dramatic increases in the year 2001. A positive relationship

was found between incarceration and extrajudicial killings in our bivariate correlations. Showing that the involvement in wars and conflicts have an influence on repressive trends in the US.

From our analysis, there was a positive relationship between GDP per capita and incarceration rates. As GDP per capita rose so did incarceration from the years 1990-2015. It has been shown in the past that when states are financially stable, they can allocate more money into services such as incarceration. (PEW, 2008). For example, Florida, in 2015 alone the average cost per inmate was \$19,069 and total prison expenditures were \$2,175,001,882 (Mai and Subramanian, 2017) In 2012, Florida used \$39 billion tax payer dollars for incarceration (Henrichson and Delaney, 2012). States were able to repress at a larger scale when they had the resources available to them. However, what was interesting about the data was that even during the economic recessions in 2007 through 2009 incarceration rates as shown in our study did not decrease, rather they continued to increase over the years. In 2017 during the onset of the recession, all states combined spent \$44 billion on incarceration a stark rise from 1987s \$10.6 billion. As mentioned by Aviram (2015) “In 2007 an average state spent 60 cents on corrections for every dollar spent on education, compared to 32 cents in 1987”. Governments were able to maintain incarceration rates by cutting from other important programs such as education and transportation. (Pew, 2008)

Discussion

Although this research did come back with substantial results, there are many factors still left to be considered when it comes to research on repressive trends. Such as the influence mass attitudes have on levels of repression. Mass attitudes have been studied in the past (James L. Gibson.;1988). Yet current trends have yet to be accounted for. In James L. Gibson. (1988) article “Political Intolerance and Political Repression During the McCarthy Red Scare” he describes how the mass public can become mobilized to push policy makers to enforce repressive tactics when they feel there is a threat to the status quo. They describe this phenomenon as “pluralistic intolerance” where a more intolerant mass public leads to more repressive public policies (James L. Gibson.;1988). This can be seen during the period of segregation and during the McCarthy era where the mass public's distaste of certain political and racial groups led to changes in public policy. Although it has widely been seen that elites have the upper hand when it comes to the enforcing and creating such policies (James L. Gibson.;1988,1989). The mass public

In addition, very little has been reported on how repression can be transferred through policing programs and intervention abroad through the process of "Exported Repression" (Kuzmarov, J. 2012). This has often been seen when democracies like the United States have taken its own template of governing and rule of law and tried to apply it around the world. Not taking into consideration however, how different every country's situation is. This idea of using the “American Model” is extremely exceptionalist. As Brooks, R. E. (2003) states,

“This model simply does not work. What this type of approach fails to fully recognize or acknowledge is that creating the rule of law is most fundamentally an issue of norm creation. The rule of law is not something that exists “beyond culture” and that

can be somehow added to an existing culture by the simple expedient of creating formal structures and rewriting constitutions and statutes. In its substantive sense, the rule of law *is* a culture.”

The concept of "Exporting repression" as mentioned in Jeremy Kuzmarov's Book "Modernizing Repression" focuses on US-sponsored police programs and their link to the spread of repression in other countries. Kuzmarov's mentions that the United States has spent a lot of money abroad training and creating police forces and nation-building in many countries that have led to the American policing model being spread across the world. There have been many studies on British culture/colonial influence (Poe and Tate 1994;1999) but very little on American influence in other countries. This may be in part due to it being a new phenomenon that hasn't been thoroughly studied. As Mitchell and McCormick (1988) state " There is an increase in human rights violations by countries that are involved with external capitalistic interests. In other words, the greater the economic association with the United States or other advance capitalistic countries, the greater the degree of human rights violations". In addition, Mitchell and McCormick (1988) state that although the relationship between British colonialism may have increases in respect for human rights other colonial experiences, such as that of the Spanish, have more authoritarianism. In their research, they found a significant tau coefficient when testing the relationship between trade and investment with capitalistic countries. They found higher levels of repression and human rights violations, such as imprisonment and torture, as countries got more involved with capitalistic countries. On the other hand, countries that had a relationship with the British had lower amounts of torture.

Conclusion

When mentioning the United States, many words come to mind. The rule of law, freedom, and equality. Over the past few decades democracies like the United States have long been held to high esteem as the antidote to human rights abuses and violent state-repressive behavior (Bueno De Mesquita, Cherif, Down and Smith, 2005; Davenport, 2007; Regan and Henderson, 2002). This antidote and model of democracy has been prescribed all across the world. Replacing governments abroad with more western cultures of governing. However, there are many flaws in this antidote. The founding of this country came from the blood, sweat, and tears of native Americans, blacks, immigrants, and minorities alike. The rule of law in the United States once legitimized slavery and segregation, didn't allow native Americans the right to citizenship on their own land, and allowed the formation of internment camps where thousands of Japanese were held. Countless scholars have focused conflict study research on underdeveloped or emerging democracies, yet many have overlooked the seamy side of developed ones. Exceptionalism like this has been the downfall of truly understanding how governments have modernized their techniques to contain dissent or any change to the status quo.

By refusing to analyze democracies in the modern time conflict study researchers have done a disservice to the study of political repression. Especially when many western democracies like Australia, Canada, and the United States were founded through colonialism and the use of coercion. As a world we have made a lot of progress violent forms of repression have declined, more countries have started having multiparty elections, and respect for civil liberties have increased. According to Linda Keith as of year 2012 "173 states are parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (89 percent), where 186 have ratified or acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination

Against Women (96 percent), and 146 are parties to the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (75 percent).” However, as this study has shown the United States continues to have an active relationship with repression even in the modern era. Positive correlations have been associated with GDP per Capita, Total Population Growth, Total population growth of minorities, especially Black and Africans and Native Americans, International War, and State fragility. Causing respect for physical integrity rights to decline while the use of extrajudicial killings and incarceration to increase.

Throughout our study incarceration has stood as a strong tactic used against dissent, yet many conflict study researchers have yet to consider it amongst wider forms of repression happening around the world. Incarceration tends to be more gradual and doesn't necessarily come as a result of dissent rather it can occur when governments are threatened by large populations of minorities.

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