

# Patrick Kearney

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## Education

Ph.D. Political Science, University of Wisconsin Madison, 2017(expected).

First Field: International Relations

Second Field: Political Methodology

Minor Field: Comparative Politics

M.A. Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011.

M.A. Political Science, Purdue University, 2010.

B.A. History, Hope College, 2003 (*magna cum laude*).

## Dissertation

*The Domestic Politics of Non-Reciprocal Enforcement: Human Rights and Preferential Trade Agreements*

My dissertation explores the question of why states enforce human rights provisions attached to trade and development agreements. The past two decades have seen a marked increase in a particular form of issue linkage in international agreements. That is, developed nations (primarily the United States and European Union) have explicitly linked trade and development concessions to human rights behaviors in developing states. Many contend that, in so doing, these agreements create an additional form of hard law that can substantially bolster the international human rights regime. With such hard law, enforcement of violations should be the norm rather than sanctions being meted out ad hoc. In reality, rates of enforcement relative to violations remain quite low and enforcement is decidedly haphazard. What accounts for these inconsistencies? Since the developing states that are party to such agreements frequently have low strategic importance and the agreements themselves are largely non-reciprocal (i.e. the benefits to the developing state are far larger than those to the developed one), many of our existing explanations for international enforcement are inadequate to answer this question. To that end, I hypothesize that it is the domestic political concerns of decision makers in the potential enforcing state that are the primary driver of the decision to enforce a given violation. Since enforcement is costly and the benefits of human rights enforcement to the enforcing state are often small (relative to, say, security or trade enforcement), decision makers instead choose to act when the domestic political costs of inaction become too great. These domestic political costs can be calibrated by either the public, via the vote, or, more often, by interest groups through a variety of political channels. This question is representative of a broader puzzle; why might states take enforcement action when the externalities resulting from violations are non-existent? In exploring this puzzle, traditional explanations for (non)enforcement (e.g. reciprocity, reputation, or retaliation) do not hold. This dissertation lies at the nexus of domestic and international politics, and therefore is applicable to scholarship from multiple sub-fields.

In the dissertation, I conduct a large-N analysis of EU enforcement of human rights violations with regard to the Lome Agreement between the EU and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group of nations from 2000-2010. This analysis demonstrates that a domestic political environment favoring enforcement is both a substantively and statistically significant predictor of enforcement action. In subsequent chapters case

studies examine differences in enforcement patterns between the EU and the US and reveal that variations in both domestic constituencies and in institutional design go a long way in explaining the variation one observes in enforcement. Together, these findings regarding the decision to enforce, have implications not only for our understanding of the process of international law enforcement, but also our beliefs about the long-term normative impacts of such agreements with regards to human rights practices.

## Research

### *Papers Under Review*

“Veto Players and Conditional Commitments to UN Human Rights Agreements” (with Ryan Powers)

“The Effects of GATT/WTO Accession on Trade: A Matching Approach” (with Dave Ohls, Ryan Powers and Inken von Borzyskowski)

### *Working Papers*

“Selectively Trading Human Rights: Non-Compliance by Potential Enforcers of Human Rights Standards in Preferential Trade Agreements”

“The Use (and Abuse) of Conflict Data” (with Jon Pevehouse)

### *Conference Presentations*

“Human Rights Clauses in Economic Agreements: Domestic Politics of Enforcement” to be presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, PA, September 2016.

“The Domestic Politics of Human Rights Enforcement via Trade Agreements.” presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, September 2015.

“The Domestic Politics of International Enforcement: Public Opinion, Interest Groups and Information” presented at the International Studies Association Annual Conference, New Orleans, LA, February 2015.

“Leadership Tenure and Trade Commitments: The Domestic Political Benefits of GATT/WTO Membership” (with Dave Ohls, Ryan Powers and Inken von Borzyskowski) presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, April 2013.

“The Effects of GATT/WTO Accession on Trade: A Matching Approach” (with Dave Ohls, Ryan Powers and Inken von Borzyskowski) presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, IL, April 2012. An earlier version was presented at the University of Wisconsin-Madison’s International Relations Colloquium, February 2012.

“Veto Players, Domestic Politics, and Treaty Ratification: Explaining the Use of Reservations, Understandings, and Declarations on Human Rights Treaties” (with Ryan Powers) Presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA, September 2011. An earlier version was presented at the University of Wisconsin-Madison’s International Relations Colloquium, February 2011.

### *Research Interests*

Domestic Politics of International Relations; International Organizations; Human Rights; Foreign Policy; International Law.

## Fellowships and Awards

Departmental Nominee, University of Wisconsin-Madison Graduate School Dissertation Completion Fellowship, 2015

Student Research Grant, University of Wisconsin-Madison Graduate School, 2015-2016

Leon D. Epstein Political Science Fellowship, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2010-11

Ross Fellowship, Purdue University, 2008-2010

National Merit Scholarship, Hope College, 1999-2003

Travel Grants for conference presentations from the American Political Science Association (APSA 2015), International Studies Association (ISA 2015), UWMadison Department of Political Science (2010-2016)

## Teaching Experience

### *Lecturer*

Analysis of International Relations (Intro to Game Theory for IR), Spring 2014, Fall 2014

Understanding Political Numbers (Intro to R Statistical Computing), Fall 2013, Fall 2015, Spring 2016, Fall 2016

### *Teaching Assistant*

International Institutions and World Order, Professor Lisa Martin (Summer 2014, Summer 2015)

Understanding Political Numbers (Intro to R Statistical Computing), Professor Charles Franklin (Spring 2013)

Analysis of International Relations (Game Theory for IR), Professor Lisa Martin (Fall 2011; Fall 2012)

Problems in American Foreign Policy, Professor Jon Pevehouse (Summer 2012, Summer 2013)

Introduction to International Relations, Professor Jon Pevehouse (Spring 2012), Head TA

Modern Weapons in International Relations, Professor Keith Shimko (Spring 2010)

Introduction to International Relations, Professor Nicole Simonelli (Fall 2009)

## Research Experience

Research Assistant, Alex Tahk (Spring 2015)

Research Assistant, Professor Susannah Camic Tahk (Summer 2014)

Research Assistant, Professor Jon Pevehouse (Summer 2011)

Research Assistant, Professor Nicole Simonelli (Summer 2010)

## Service

Referee, *The American Journal of Political Science*, *International Organization*

Graduate Student Representative, Graduate Program Committee, Political Science Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2010-11 & 2013-14

President, Purdue University Political Science Graduate Student Association, 2008-2010

## Other Experience

Instructor, De La Salle Collegiate Preparatory High School (Warren, MI), Global Studies and Government, 2004-2008

## References

Jon Pevehouse, University of Wisconsin-Madison,  
pevehous@polisci.wisc.edu

Ann Marie Clark, Purdue University,  
clarkam@purdue.edu

Lisa Martin, University of Wisconsin-Madison,  
llmartin3@wisc.edu

Mark Copelovitch, University of  
Wisconsin-Madison, copelovitch@wisc.edu

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