

The Growing Trends of Human Rights Research in EconLit-Indexed Journals from 1972-2018

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Abstract

From 1972-2018, searching the term “human rights” in EconLit academic journals generates as many as 131 unique search hits (2016) and, at a minimum, zero hits (1973-1974, 1976-1977, and 1984-1987). With respect to average search hits on the same term, interesting trends emerge over three distinct, approximately 15-year periods: (1) 1.06 from 1972-1987; (2) 19.41 from 1988 to 2004; and (3) 99.64 from 2005 to 2018. Cumulatively, the term “human rights” reached 1,742 hits in 2018, growing at an average annual rate of approximately 19.7%. Searching the terms “economic rights,” “environmental rights,” and “women’s rights” yields fewer hits, with “environmental rights” peaking at 3 articles in 2011 and 26 cumulatively by the end of 2018. Over the same time period, the number of journals indexed in EconLit has grown from 224 in 1972 to 1,921 in 2018, while the number of articles indexed in 1972 was 6,127 compared to a peak of 61,920 in 2014. Based on these data, this paper addresses the following questions: (1) is the economics profession expanding its vision to encompass broader human rights concerns or is its vision obscured; (2) in hindsight, what can we learn about the trends in and distribution of topics covered in rights-based articles; and (3) how can the broader economics profession better engage topics in human rights?

¹ This paper was submitted to the call for papers (CFP) for the sub-meetings of the Association for Social Economics at the 2020 Allied Social Science Association Annual Meeting in San Diego, California (January 3-5). The theme of the CFP was “2020: A Vision for Economics and Social-Political Economy,” where this paper aimed to “examine the vision (or lack thereof) in the economics profession, some professional blind spots, whether economics has done better of the past few decades and how it might be propelled to do better in the future.”

A. Introduction

Set against the backdrop of mainstream or neoclassical economics, Reddy (2011) outlined three main conceptual differences for why economists and human rights advocates do not communicate – he called it a “non-conversation.” The three reasons are as follows: (1) narrowly consequentialist versus procedural concerns; (2) monistic versus pluralistic evaluative perspectives; and (3) subjective individualism and inter-subjective assessment. While presenting a purely philosophical take on why economists and human rights advocates do not communicate, his analysis does not offer substantive justification or evidence of a (lack of) conversation. Reddy concludes by noting the many ways in which human rights scholars and (neoclassical) economists can learn from each other. The following excerpt nicely summarizes the spirit of his suggestions:

The fuller integration of normative (including rights) considerations with empirical analyses and speculative imagination can produce better economics and better human rights studies. The real point, however, is to create a better world. (Reddy, 2011, pp. 69).

Rather than relying solely on the disciplinary perspectives and tools of either economics or human rights, Reddy thus advocates for an interdisciplinary approach to engender incremental policy improvements across time and space.

Reddy’s microfounded macro-level analysis of the non-conversation is an important step in the direction of broadening the lines of communication and mirrors the research of Seymour and Pincus (2008). Using a more nuanced and detailed set of arguments highlighting the reasons why economists and human rights theorists “talk past, rather than to, each other (pp. 387),” Seymour and Pincus provide even more examples of where a conversation doesn’t exist but perhaps should. They outline

various concepts endemic to neoclassical economic analyses and compare these concepts to elements of human rights theory and offer varying conclusions about why it's difficult for practitioners of each discipline to incorporate the ideas and research of the other discipline into their own research. Despite this reality, Seymour and Pincus also argue for an interdisciplinary approach for policy prescriptions and note that:

The benefits of a combined approach emerge most clearly in relation to development issues within which the process of voluntary exchange is unlikely to generate results that are satisfactory from a human rights perspective. (Seymour and Pincus, 2008, pp. 401).

To the extent that there is growth in rights-based research in economics outlets, Seymour and Pincus (2008), Reddy (2011) and, relatedly, Branco (2012) highlight the importance of expanding economics and human rights research to encompass the ideas and values of the other discipline. There are fundamental reasons why economists and human rights practitioners fail to communicate but opening the interdisciplinary lines of communication will likely lead to improved policy prescriptions and outcomes, and possibly a better path forward. Since at least the 1980s, this is perhaps the path that Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum have been publicly walking in their independently and jointly developed “capabilities approach,” and Henry Shue in his “basic rights” approach.²

Given that the basic moral and philosophical reasons for a lack of conversation and the need for a conversation have both been eloquently hashed out elsewhere, the focus of this paper is to tangibly examine the conversation (or lack thereof) and across

² For more on the capabilities approach, see Sen (2004) and Nussbaum (2003). For more on basic rights, see Shue (1980).

all brands of economics, not just the neoclassical flavor. Having personally emerged from a relatively neoclassical program and branched out into the interdisciplinary unknown, pointing out that neoclassical economists and human rights scholars do not communicate well (or at all) is a bit old hat and I don't intend to further lament the point. Instead, by examining instances of rights-based research in EconLit-indexed academic journals, I'll focus on where conversations exist and the subject areas in which they persist.³ To meet this end, the rest of the paper proceeds in the following way. The next section outlines the reasons for choosing the search terms used in this analysis. This is followed by an overview of the search process and data. Several descriptive analyses follow, including the distribution of publications on four different types of rights, publications by journal, and publications by subject area. The final section summarizes the results and provides some concluding remarks about the perceived direction of rights-based research within the realm of *all* brands of economics.

B. The Selection of Search Terms

The analysis presented below focuses on four different types of rights or rights-based terms: human rights; economic rights; environmental rights; and women's rights. The reasons for selecting these four different types of rights are straightforward. First, human rights are

³ According to the American Economic Association's website, EconLit "includes the most sought-after economics publications including peer-reviewed journal articles, working paper from leading universities, PhD dissertations, collective volume articles, conference proceedings, and book reviews -- all expertly indexed, classified, and linkable to full-text library holdings." The site continues, "students and professionals at all levels rely on EconLit's broad scope and authoritative, up-to-date coverage with nearly 1.3 million records and coverage as far back as 1886. Nearly 65,000 entries are added each year." The focus of this paper is on peer-reviewed journal articles indexed in EconLit from 1972-2018.

generally outlined in the three components of the International Bill of Human Rights (IBHR): The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948); the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966/1976); and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966/1976). For human rights scholars who believe that human rights are “given,” “agreed upon,” “fought for,” and/or “talked about” (Dembour, 2010), these are the foundational documents on which modern international human rights laws, theories, and concepts are based. Second, a brief reading of any one of these three components of the IBHR and subsequent documents and General Comments produced by the United Nations reveals the plethora of human rights derived or further developed therefrom. This includes, economic rights, environmental rights, and women’s rights. While the IBHR covers a lot of ground, from dignity and liberty to civil and political rights to the rights to health, education, and an adequate standard of living, it doesn’t properly address how signatory nations should expend resources to respect, protect, and fulfill these myriad rights. Further complicating this issue, for example, is the progressive realization clause of the ICESCR which notes that signatory states have to “take steps” to the “maximum of its available resources” to “progressively realize” the rights outlined within the ICESCR. States are thus free to define the resource base it considers most feasible for the purpose of progressive realization of the right outlined within the ICESCR. The fundamental problem of resource allocation and the autonomy to choose zero resources as the maximum pervade one of the leading international documents on human rights. In short, and despite the shortcomings of the UDHR, searching on these four terms broadly covers all human rights, and some specific rights related the economy, the natural environment, and gender/identity.

C. The Search Process and Data

By year, each of the four rights outlined above was searched in quotation marks and limited to academic journal articles. For the 47-year period from 1972-2018, the detailed results of each yearly search were downloaded to a spreadsheet and organized by right and year, a summary of which is displayed in Table 1. The search results included many details, but the subsequent analysis focuses on the year of publication, distribution of journals, and distribution of EconLit keywords (“subjects”) associated with each article.

D. The Distribution of Publications on Rights

Within academic journals indexed in Econ-Lit and from 1972-1995, research on these four types of rights – human, economic, environmental, and women’s – was relatively stagnant. The number of search hits on “human rights” yielded roughly two unique papers per year on average, and the corresponding figure for the other three rights was less than one, or better put, closer to zero. During the same period, the number of indexed journals increased from 224 (1972) to 669 (1995), and the total quantity of articles ranged from 6,127 (1972) to 16,340 (1995). The increase in journal space and article quantity, however, did not appear to translate into publications on these types of rights, at least not in the indexed journals. These trends are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2. By each of the four types of rights discussed above, Figure 1 shows the cumulative count of academic journal articles indexed in EconLit from 1972-2018. While there are relatively few articles published, across all four types of rights, through the mid-1990s, there is a stark, positive change in the trend around 1998. Figure 2 highlights the

seemingly exponential growth trend in the cumulative count of EconLit-indexed academic journal articles and journals from 1972-2018.

E. The Distribution of Publications by Journal

Of course, one can argue that the lack of publications on these four rights stems from the relative age of the journals and that there simply weren't "enough" publication outlets. Upon examination of Figures 3 and 4, however, this is not necessarily the case. Figure 3 supports the argument that from the mid-1990s forward, the share of rights-based articles out of all indexed articles has been growing for human rights and women's rights. While there is a positive break in the trend for economic rights and environmental rights, there is relatively little growth beyond that trend-break. Figure 4 displays a similar set of stylized facts but for the share of rights-based articles per indexed journal. Given that there is clearly growth in the number of rights-based articles published in EconLit-indexed journals, it is important to examine the distribution of journals publishing these articles. This will potentially shed some light on where the conversation between economics and human rights is happening.

To consider this aspect of the growth in research, Table 2 concentrates on the top-five journals publishing research on human rights, economic rights, environmental rights, and women's rights for the 20-year period from 1999-2018. This time period was chosen because of the quantity of journals and scarcity of data by year and journal. From 1972-2018, articles using the term "human rights" appeared in 445 different journals. In 2018, there were 121 publications on "human rights" and the top five journals with the most publications account for only 15% of the cumulative publications as of 2018. Furthermore, the (cumulative) average

number of publications for the period 1972-2018 for all 445 journals is 3.91, and 296 of these journals have 2 or fewer publications. Of the 380 total publications in these 296 journals, 362 of them were during the period 1999-2018. Similar distributions exist for papers written that mention economic rights, environmental rights, or women's rights. While these trends lend some evidence to the notion that publications about these four types of rights are increasing in prevalence within the broad sphere of heterodox and orthodox economics journals, law journals, and other journals indexed in EconLit, said research is not necessarily at the forefront of topics researched (or at least the topical terms are not). Furthermore, journals with "development" in the title or Aims and Scope appear to draw the most publications on these four types of rights.

Consider, for example, the top five journals in the human rights category: *Development*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Chicago Journal of International Law*, *New York University Journal of International Law & Politics*, and *International Law: Revista Colombiana de Derecho Internacional*. The Aims and Scope of each of these journals are listed below.

Development

Created in 1957, *Development*, the journal of the Society for International Development, aims to:

- Provide unique resource and point of reference for the dialogue between activists and intellectuals committed to the search for alternative paths of social transformation towards a more sustainable and just world.
- Tackle the hard hitting issues of today, listening to the oppositional voices and bringing in local and innovative perspectives from the margins to the global development discourse.
- Explore collective initiatives at local, regional and international levels which promote sustainable livelihoods and women's empowerment.

Journal of Peace Research

Journal of Peace Research is an interdisciplinary and international peer reviewed bimonthly journal of scholarly work in peace research. This journal is a member of the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE). Edited at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), by an international editorial committee, *Journal of Peace Research* strives for a

global focus on conflict and peacemaking. From its establishment in 1964, authors from over 50 countries have published in JPR. The Journal encourages a wide conception of peace, but focuses on the causes of violence and conflict resolution. Without sacrificing the requirements for theoretical rigour and methodological sophistication, articles directed towards ways and means of peace are favoured.

Chicago Journal of International Law

The University of Chicago Law School's Chicago Journal of International Law is an interdisciplinary forum for discussion and analysis of international law and policy issues. CJIL is committed to presenting timely and concise scholarly work. CJIL is published twice yearly.

New York Journal of International Law and Politics

Founded in 1968 with the aid of a Ford Foundation Grant, the New York University Journal of International Law and Politics (JILP) features articles on international legal topics by leading scholars and practitioners, as well as notes, case comments, and book annotations written by Journal members. JILP readers include students, scholars, practitioners, and policymakers in more than sixty countries around the world. JILP publishes four issues per year on diverse topics in both public and private international law. Recent issues have included articles on international human rights law, privatization in Eastern Europe and Latin America, international aspects of intellectual property law, the future of nationalism, and asset securitization in Japan. The Journal attracts some of the leading scholars and practitioners in their fields.

International Law: Revista Colombiana de derecho Internacional (Colombian Journal of International Law)

The journal seeks to present to the academic community research results and articles of reflection of the different specialties of International Law, International Humanitarian Law, Human Rights and Global Law. Aimed at academics, litigants and law students, political scientists, professionals in international relations and in general scholars of the social sciences, as well as persons responsible for public policies.

Clearly the first two journals are not within the realm of traditional or neoclassical economics journals, and the last three are law journals focusing on rights-based issues.

Relative to human rights, there were fewer publications on the other three types of rights. The journal with the most publications on economic rights – *World Development* – only had 4 publications against a backdrop of 85 total publications on economic rights distributed across 72 different journals. With respect to environmental rights, there are only 26 articles published that referenced this term at least once and these articles were distributed across 20

different journals. The journal *Ecological Economics* had the most articles (4), and the last one referencing environmental rights was in 2014. Although *Environmental Planning A* had 2 articles on the topic, they were both in 1993. Publications on women's rights were more widespread. There were 51 publications in *Development*, followed by 9 in *Feminist Economics*. In total, 180 articles were published that referenced women's rights at least once and these were distributed across 82 different journals.

F. The Distribution of Publications by Subject

While publications on these types of rights have grown across time, especially since the 1990s, and there exists a relatively broad distribution of journals that have published one or more articles on said rights, what exactly were the papers written about? To better understand this question, Table 3 outlines the top five subjects by type of right and, as an example of how to read the table, consider the "shadow economy" in the human rights section. Of the 1,742 human rights publications, 462 listed this as a subject area of the paper. It's important to note, however, that the distribution of subjects presented in Table 3 is broken down by existing EconLit subject codes into single subjects. Therefore, for example, formal and informal sectors, institutional arrangements, and shadow economy are each listed 462 times as all three are listed in EconLit subject code O17. Continuing with this simplification by EconLit subject code yields 12,286 total subject areas from 1972-2018, which takes into consideration the fact that the EconLit subject codes are often very broad and encompass many subject areas.

Upon further examination and by comparing the distribution of data to Table 2, a similar distribution exists by subject. There are considerably more subjects tackled in the human rights arena than there are for any other type of right. More subjects in women's rights have been

explored than subjects in economic rights and environmental rights, and the order of most subjects explored to least is human rights, women's rights, economic rights, and environmental rights. This mirrors the order of the count of publications and the number of journals having published papers referencing the four types of rights. In general, there is some subject area overlap across the four types of rights such as on topics directly and indirectly related to development thereby supporting the argument made by Seymour and Pincus (2008).

G. Conclusion

Although the volume may be a whisper, those with a concern for rights-based aspects of academic, law, and policy research are attempting to speak to the broader economics profession. Without knowing if the economics profession is talking back by way of publishing economics-based research in human rights outlets, it is difficult to discern (from this analysis) if the conversation is two-sided. Within EconLit-indexed journals, there is clear growth in the nominal quantity of publications on human rights, economic rights, environmental rights, and women's rights, but not necessarily in the relative share of publications on economic or environmental rights by the total number of indexed articles and journals. The conversation appears to be growing louder and across a variety of topics.

By type of right, heterodox economics journals and law journals appear to publish more articles about these types of rights than their orthodox counterparts. The distribution of topics includes, but is not limited to, political processes, formal and informal sectors, institutional arrangements, the shadow economy, non-labor discrimination, human development, migration, renewable resources, energy, the environment, economics of gender, and income distribution. Philosophically, a conversation may not exist between orthodox economists and

human rights scholars despite the obvious areas of topical overlap, need to use resources to meet goals and outcomes, and basic applications of cost-benefit principles to policy formation and implementation. The lack of a mainstream conversation is also apparent in the distribution of rights-based publications by journal. At the same time, however, there has been steady growth in the scale and scope of conversations outside of this orthodoxy. In my view – and it's a rights-based, heterodox view – maintaining a fruitful conversation is what matters, regardless of one's worldview or the "dominant" worldview. We're all humans after all, and constraints are real (which is something all brands of economists surely recognize).

Accepting these two fundamental premises of economics and human rights should hopefully allow for broader engagement across the disciplines. By recognizing the obvious subject/topic areas of overlap and detaching from discipline-specific dogmas, economists and human rights scholars/advocates can better focus on the basic elements of life that are inextricably linked to economic principles and human rights theory. Lastly, by attempting to better understand the areas where overlap is not obvious – which is a monumental asymmetric information problem – economists and human rights scholars can better understand the philosophical and conceptual differences driving discipline-specific policy recommendations and perhaps positively contribute to the conversation rather than holding potentially antagonistic positions against the other discipline.

Table 1 – Counts and Summary Statistics

Year	HumR	EcoR	EnvR	WomR	Journals	All Articles
1972	1	1	0	1	224	6,127
1973	0	0	1	0	242	6,313
1974	0	0	0	0	249	6,324
1975	1	0	0	1	260	6,268
1976	0	0	0	1	275	6,741
1977	0	0	0	0	286	7,382
1978	3	0	0	0	299	7,988
1979	2	0	0	0	311	8,188
1980	4	1	0	1	321	8,578
1981	2	0	0	0	327	8,691
1982	3	2	0	0	331	9,448
1983	1	0	0	0	359	9,638
1984	0	0	0	0	382	9,850
1985	0	0	0	0	401	10,354
1986	0	0	0	0	417	10,252
1987	0	0	0	0	425	10,247
1988	2	0	0	0	436	10,918
1989	2	0	0	0	452	11,211
1990	1	0	0	0	469	12,038
1991	6	0	0	0	489	12,632
1992	4	1	0	0	542	14,131
1993	3	0	0	0	572	14,161
1994	5	1	2	0	618	15,138
1995	10	1	0	0	669	16,340
1996	30	0	1	1	727	18,986
1997	9	0	1	1	778	19,285
1998	22	3	1	1	826	21,589
1999	27	2	0	2	870	22,994
2000	26	0	0	2	916	22,705
2001	44	0	0	6	969	23,636
2002	47	2	0	3	1,010	24,963
2003	45	0	0	4	1,069	25,844
2004	47	3	0	6	1,139	27,826
2005	64	1	1	12	1,212	30,763
2006	68	2	1	17	1,269	33,806
2007	81	3	2	5	1,325	35,710
2008	94	7	1	5	1,402	39,505
2009	71	4	0	10	1,468	40,522
2010	111	9	1	8	1,562	44,680
2011	108	9	3	8	1,610	46,375
2012	117	2	2	18	1,691	49,366
2013	93	4	1	5	1,772	42,019
2014	116	5	3	17	1,827	61,920
2015	105	9	2	14	1,862	50,633
2016	131	6	2	4	1,892	52,108
2017	115	5	0	10	1,914	47,053
2018	121	2	1	17	1,921	42,881
Total	1,742	85	26	180	N/A	1,064,127
Average	37.1	1.8	0.6	3.8	859	22,641
Std. Dev.	44.7	2.6	0.9	5.5	568	15,767

Figure 1 – Cumulative Count of “Rights” Papers Indexed in EconLit, 1972-2018

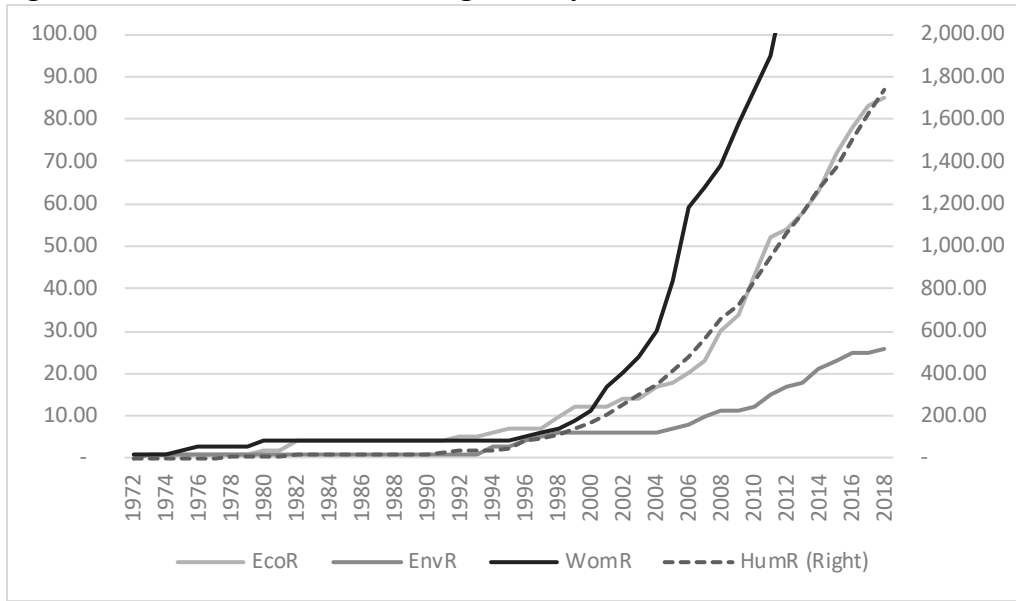


Figure 2 – Cumulative Count of Articles and Journals Indexed in EconLit, 1972-2018

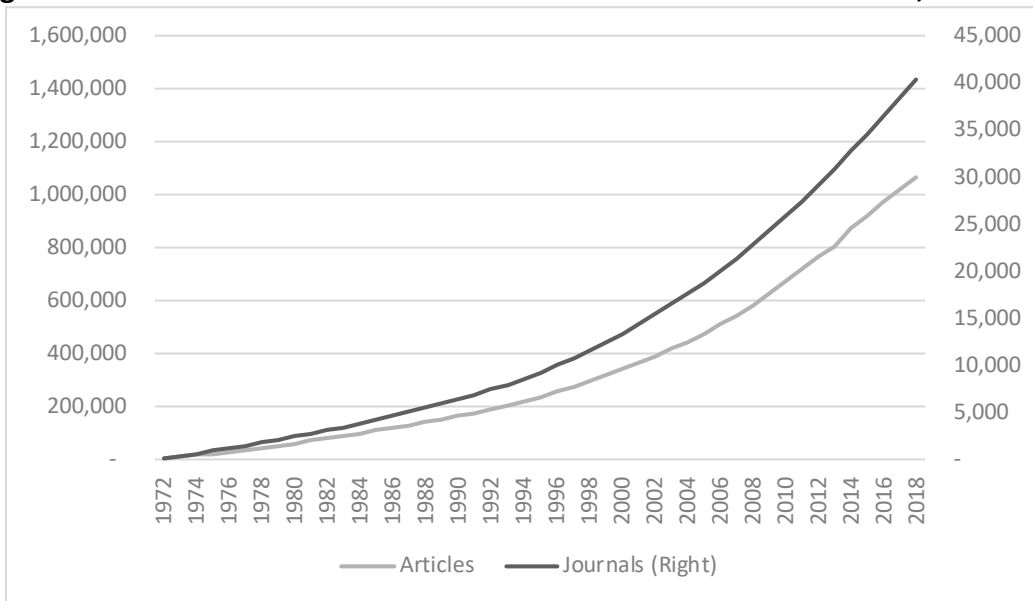


Figure 3 – Share of “Rights” Papers in EconLit per Indexed Article, 1972-2018

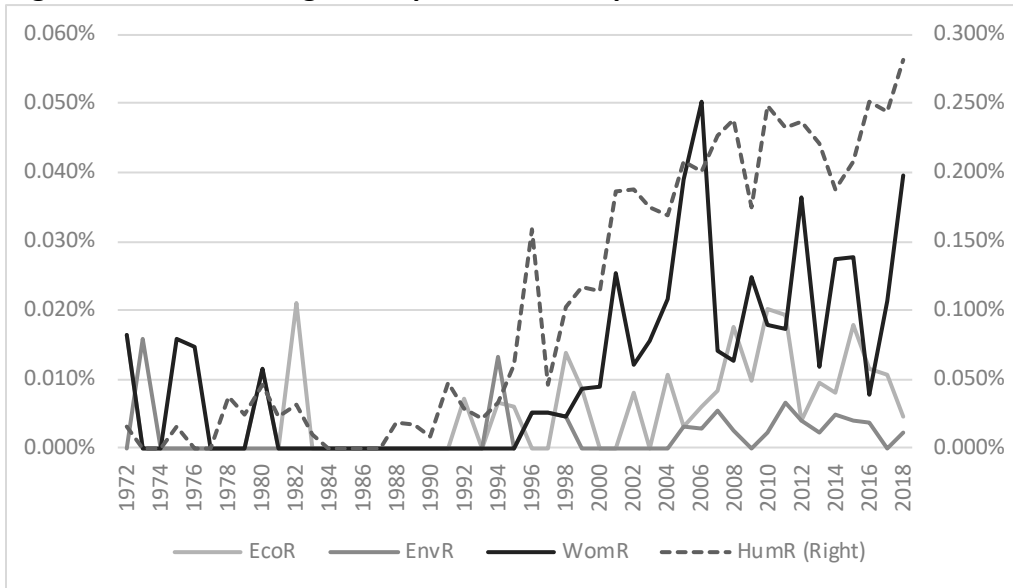


Figure 4 – Share of “Rights” Papers in EconLit per Indexed Journal, 1972-2018

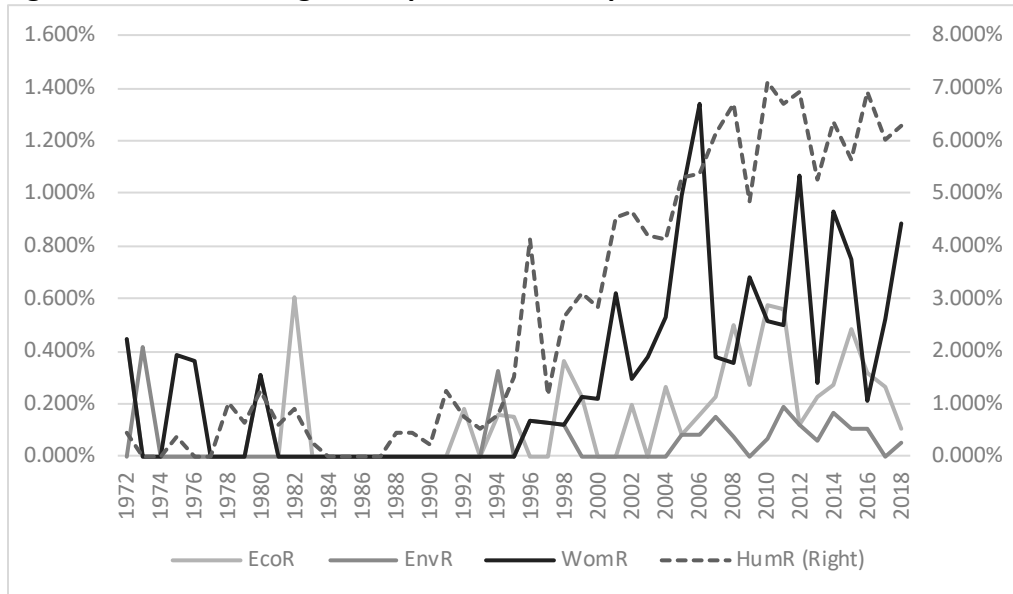


Table 2 – Published Articles by Type of Right and Journal Name, 1999-2018

Type of Right and "Top Five" Corresponding EconLit-Indexed Journals	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
Human Rights																					
Development (1957)	2	-	4	1	7	5	4	5	3	2	4	4	2	2	3	7	1	3	3	-	62
Journal of Peace Research (1964)	3	-	-	-	2	1	2	2	9	1	7	2	4	3	5	6	2	4	2	5	60
Chicago Journal of International Law (2000)	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	2	3	4	1	3	2	3	5	5	6	5	8	51
New York University Journal of International Law & Politics (1968)	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	12	2	5	5	5	4	11	49
International Law: Revista Colombiana de Derecho Internacional (2002)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	2	4	5	6	6	2	-	-	-	-	42
Total (for 445 different journals)	27	26	44	47	45	47	64	68	81	94	71	111	108	117	93	116	105	131	115	121	1,742
Economic Rights																					
World Development (1973)	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4
International Journal of Social Economics (1974)	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Review of Social Economy (1942)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Constitutional Political Economy (1990)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Feminist Economics (1994)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
Total (for 72 different journals)	2	-	-	2	-	3	1	2	3	7	4	9	9	2	4	5	9	6	5	2	85
Environmental Rights																					
Ecological Economics (1989)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
Environment and Planning A (1969)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Global Environmental Politics (2000)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy (1983)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
African Journal of Social Sciences (2011)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Total (for 20 different journals)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	1	3	2	1	3	2	2	-	1	26
Women's Rights																					
Development (1957)	-	-	5	-	-	2	4	13	-	-	5	2	2	7	-	3	-	2	6	-	51
Feminist Economics (1994)	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	3	1	-	-	-	9
World Development (1973)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	4	8
Development & Change (1970)	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	7
American Journal of Economics & Sociology (1941)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	5
Total (for 82 different journals)	2	2	6	3	4	6	12	17	5	5	10	8	8	18	5	17	14	4	10	17	180

Table 3 – Distribution of Subject Areas by Type of Right, 1999-2018

Type of Right and "Top Five" Corresponding EconLit Subjects	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
Human Rights																					
Political Processes: Rent-seeking, Lobbying, Elections, Legislatures, and Voting Behavior	3	2	-	1	3	5	9	12	19	16	19	32	35	34	36	49	50	43	50	44	465
Formal and Informal Sectors	3	3	4	7	7	10	20	14	26	24	16	33	34	34	34	32	35	43	36	41	462
Institutional Arrangements	3	3	4	7	7	10	20	14	26	24	16	33	34	34	34	32	35	43	36	41	462
Shadow Economy	3	3	4	7	7	10	20	14	26	24	16	33	34	34	34	32	35	43	36	41	462
Economic Development: Human Resources	8	6	15	9	11	14	19	14	20	14	12	25	22	22	22	24	19	21	26	17	359
Total (for 714 different subjects)	119	122	244	265	268	332	420	413	581	572	442	745	745	980	795	1003	927	1175	1094	1049	12686
Economic Rights																					
Non-labor Discrimination	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	4	6	2	1	3	4	2	1	-	27
Economic Development: Human Resources	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	25
Human Development	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	25
Income Distribution	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	25
Migration	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	2	1	1	4	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	25
Total (for 244 different subjects)	14	-	-	9	-	37	10	4	24	58	25	71	88	32	47	40	112	46	46	18	715
Environmental Rights																					
Environmental Economics: Government Policy	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	1	2	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	11
Renewable Resources and Conservation: Government Policy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	7
Energy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	6
Environment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	6
Political Processes: Rent-seeking, Lobbying, Elections, Legislatures, and Voting Behavior	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	1	6
Total (for 99 different subjects)	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	11	11	14	-	1	24	21	14	41	12	21	-	5	198
Women's Rights																					
Non-labor Discrimination	2	1	5	2	4	4	10	5	6	4	11	8	9	11	6	17	15	5	9	16	153
Economics of Gender	2	1	5	2	4	4	9	5	5	4	10	8	8	11	5	17	12	4	9	15	143
Economic Development: Human Resources	1	1	1	1	4	4	7	5	1	3	6	4	5	9	2	14	9	4	4	6	92
Human Development	1	1	1	1	4	4	7	5	1	3	6	4	5	9	2	14	9	4	4	6	92
Income Distribution	1	1	1	1	4	4	7	5	1	3	6	4	5	9	2	14	9	4	4	6	92
Total (for 268 different subjects)	15	13	44	26	36	36	107	66	58	56	114	90	92	146	59	235	170	60	105	176	1734

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