Public perceptions of human rights conditions: a values-based approach using a multi-level method of estimation
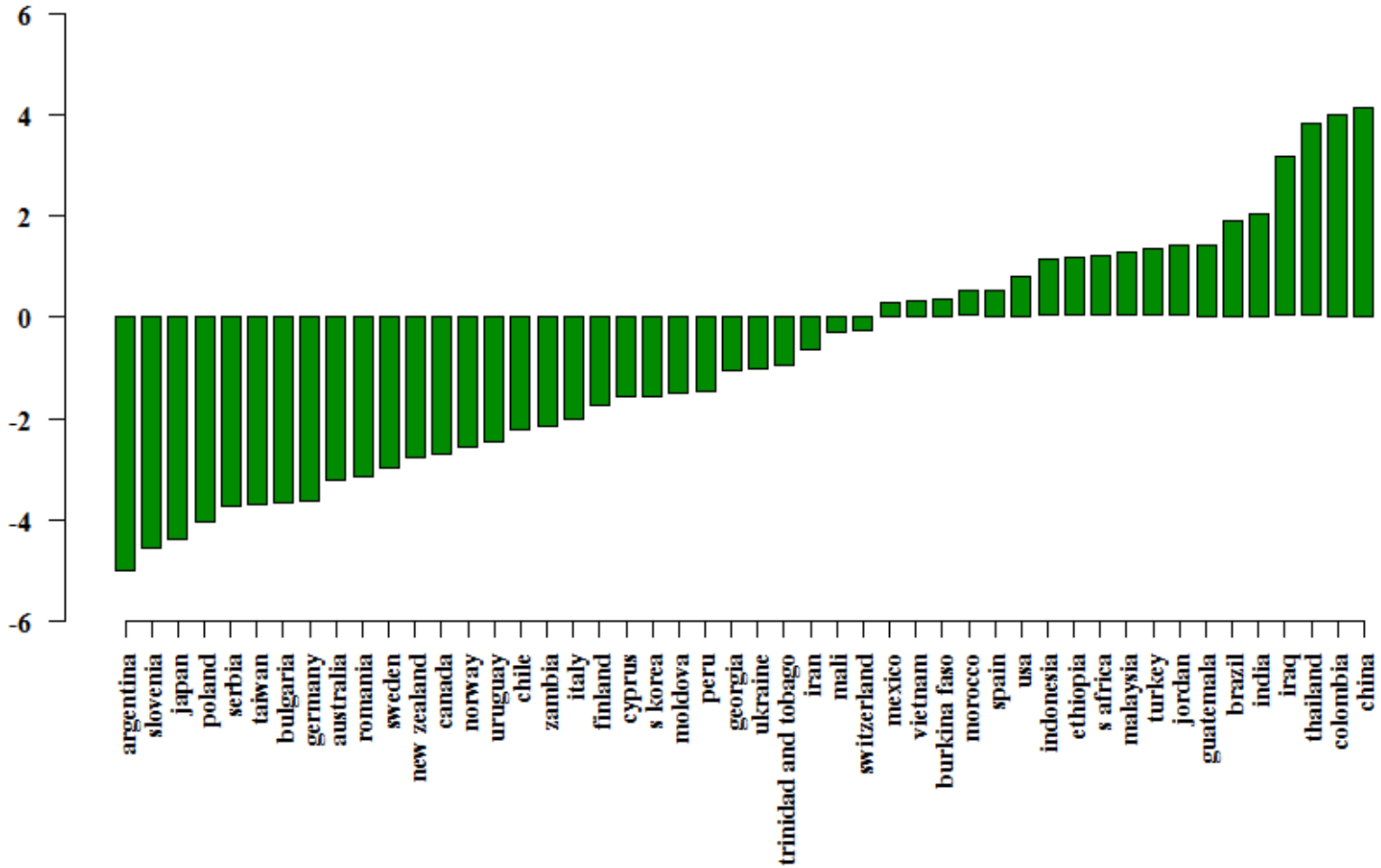
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Puzzle:

Difference between objective and subjective evaluation
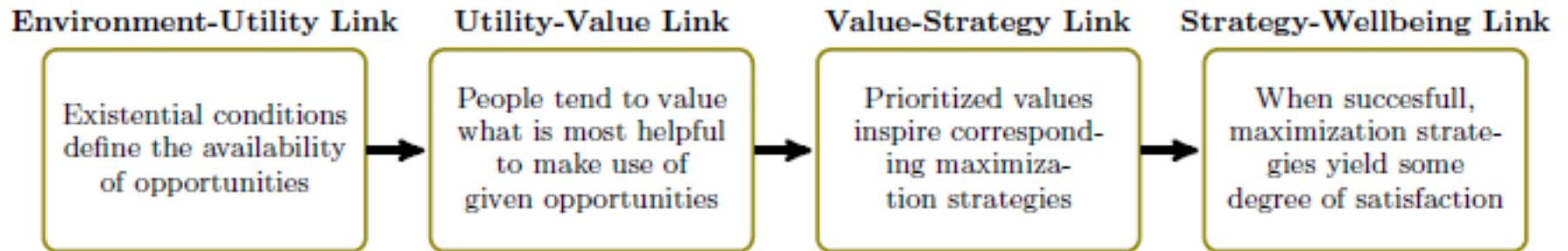of human rights practices in 48 countries
2005-2008

Previous studies:

- **Anderson and colleagues (2002):** objective vs. subjective evaluations

- **Anderson et al. (2005):** individual predispositions (effect of education)

- **Carlson & Listhaug (2007) :** effect of political attitudes and education

- **Ackerly & Cruz (2011)**: bivariate analysis on the agregate level

CULTURE MATTERS!

Human Development Theory

Environment-Utility Link

Existential conditions define the availability of opportunities

→

Utility-Value Link

People tend to value what is most helpful to make use of given opportunities

→

Value-Strategy Link

Prioritized values inspire corresponding maximization strategies

→

Strategy-Wellbeing Link

When succesfull, maximization strategies yield some degree of satisfaction

Source: Welzel & Inglehart (2010)

Emancipative values and Public Opinion on Human Rights Practices

Emancipative values promote interpersonal trust and tolerance:

 - *emancipative people who have self-respect and emphasize their liberty also have strong respect for the liberty of their fellow citizens* (Welzel, Inglehart & Klingemann, 2003, 355)

- emancipated people are more sensitive to the manifestation of rights violations in the society, even if such violations happen unsystematically and do not affect them personally.

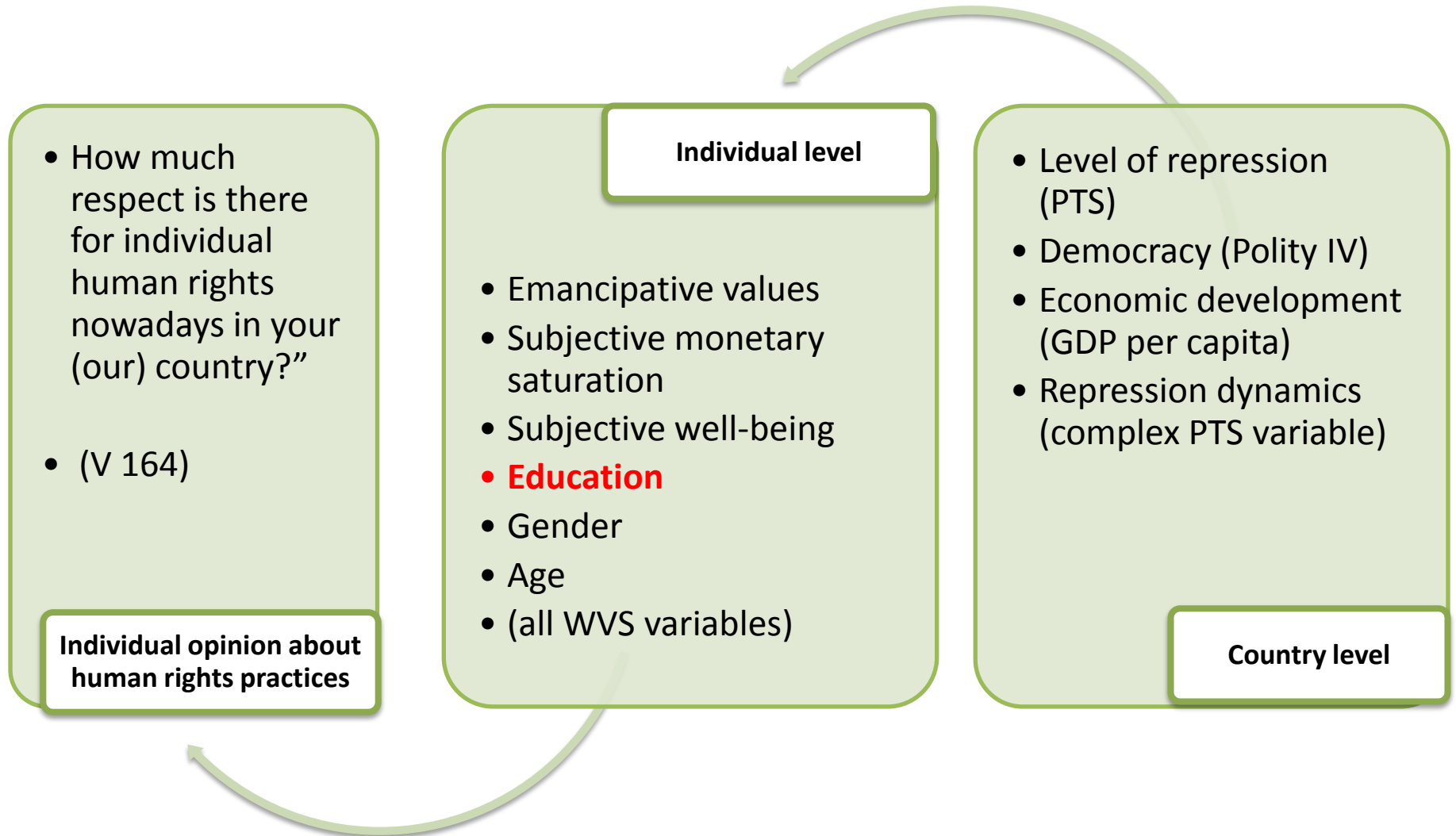# Emancipative values and Public Opinion on Human Rights Practices

Hypothesis 1:

ceteris paribus, individuals with strongly pronounced emancipative values will assess human rights situation in their states more critically than individuals with weakly pronounced emancipative values.

Hypothesis 2:

ceteris paribus, emancipative people shall hold more critical opinions on human rights practices in more repressive societies, than emancipative people living in the societies where levels of repression are low.

Emancipative values and Public Opinion on Human Rights Practices

Individual opinion about human rights practices

- How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays in your (our) country?"

- (V 164)

Individual level

- Emancipative values
- Subjective monetary saturation
- Subjective well-being
- **Education**
- Gender
- Age
- (all WVS variables)

Country level

- Level of repression (PTS)
- Democracy (Polity IV)
- Economic development (GDP per capita)
- Repression dynamics (complex PTS variable)

Emancipative values and Public Opinion on Human Rights Practices

Table 1: Composition of the Emancipative Values Index

ITEMS													
Agree that woman can be by herself (V59)	Disagree that men better political leaders (V61)	Disagree education to be more important for boys (V62)	Disagree that men have more right for job (V44)	Agree that abortion can be justified (V204)	Agree that homosexuality is justified (V202)	Agree that divorce is justified (V205)	Goal in education - autonomy (V12)	Goal in education - imagination (V15)	Not a goal in education - obedience (V19)	Not a goal in education - faith (V21)	Priority on giving people more say in local affairs (V69-70)	Priority of giving people more say in government affairs (V71-71)	Priority on protecting freedom of speech (V71-72)
for each item 0, .33, .66, 1.0 from least to most egalitarian position				for each item 0, .1, ...,1.0 from least to most liberal position			for each item 0 for the non-autonomy and 1.0 for the autonomy position				for each item 0, .5, 1.0 from least to most expressive position		
SUBINDICES													
Equality: priority on gender equality over patriarchy item scores added and divided by 4 (multi-point 0 to 1.0 scale)				**Liberty**: priority on sexual freedom over restriction item scores added and divided by 3 (multi-point 0 to 1.0 scale)			**Autonomy**: priority on self determination over obedience item scores added and divided by 4 (multi-point 0 to 1.0 scale)				**Expression**: priority on voice over security item scores added and divided by 3 (multi-point 0 to 1.0 scale)		
EMANCIPATIVE VALUES INDEX Subindex scores added and divided by 4 (multi-point 0 to 1.0 scale)													

Source: Welzel & Inglehart (2010)

Data and Method:

- ## WVS 2005-2008
  - 46 countries representing 7 regions of the world: Europe, North America, Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East.
  - over 48, 000 respondents

- ## Multi-level method of estimation:
  - it provides the most comprehensive estimation, by simultaneously accounting for the determinants at several levels;
  - it helps to predict whether findings apply to all contexts or are relative

Steenbergen and Jones (2002)

Findings and Analysis

Table 2: Multilevel Analysis of Subjective Assessments of Human Rights Practices

|	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	2.261***	2.243***	2.141***
	(0.497)	(0.485)	(0.484)
Emancipative Values	−0.150***	−0.148***	0.105*
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.059)
Age	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	0.006***	0.003*	0.003*
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Gender (1=Female)	−0.032***	−0.031***	−0.031***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Subjective Well-being	0.363***	0.234***	0.232***
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Repression	−0.137**	−0.134**	−0.085
	(0.062)	(0.061)	(0.062)
Democracy	−0.044***	−0.043***	−0.042***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
GDP per capita	0.092*	0.088*	0.085*
	(0.050)	(0.049)	(0.049)
Repression dynamics	−0.062	−0.060	−0.060
	(0.081)	(0.079)	(0.078)
Subjective financial situation		0.262***	0.264***
		(0.015)	(0.015)
Emancipative Values X Repression			−0.112***
			(0.024)
Variance			
Country level	0.116***	0.110***	0.110
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Individual level	(0.528***	0.524***	0.524
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Log–likelihood	−53290.046	−52750.360	−52741.865
Deviance	106511.263	105425.044	105402.362
AIC	106604.091	105526.720	105511.730
BIC	106709.517	105640.842	105634.631
N	48317	47984	47984

Findings and Analysis

Variable	Value change in units (with 95 % intervals)
Emancipative Values (average)	-0.12 [-0.08 , -0.15]
Interaction term (for higher levels of repression)	-0.27 [-0.20, -0.35]
Subjective monetary saturation	0.21 [0.18, 0.23],
Subjective well-being	0.18 [0.16, 0.21]
Gender (1=female)	0.03 [-0.02, -0.04]
Education	-
Age	-
Repression	- 0.38 [-0.08, -0.68]
Democracy	-0.63 [-0.20 to -1]
GDP per capita	-
Repression dynamics	-

* expected values for each variable based on 1000 replications from the modelled parameters

Findings and Analysis

Figure 3: The first difference calculation

The 'first difference' calculation for the effect of emancipative values on public evaluations of human rights practices with the 95% confidence intervals
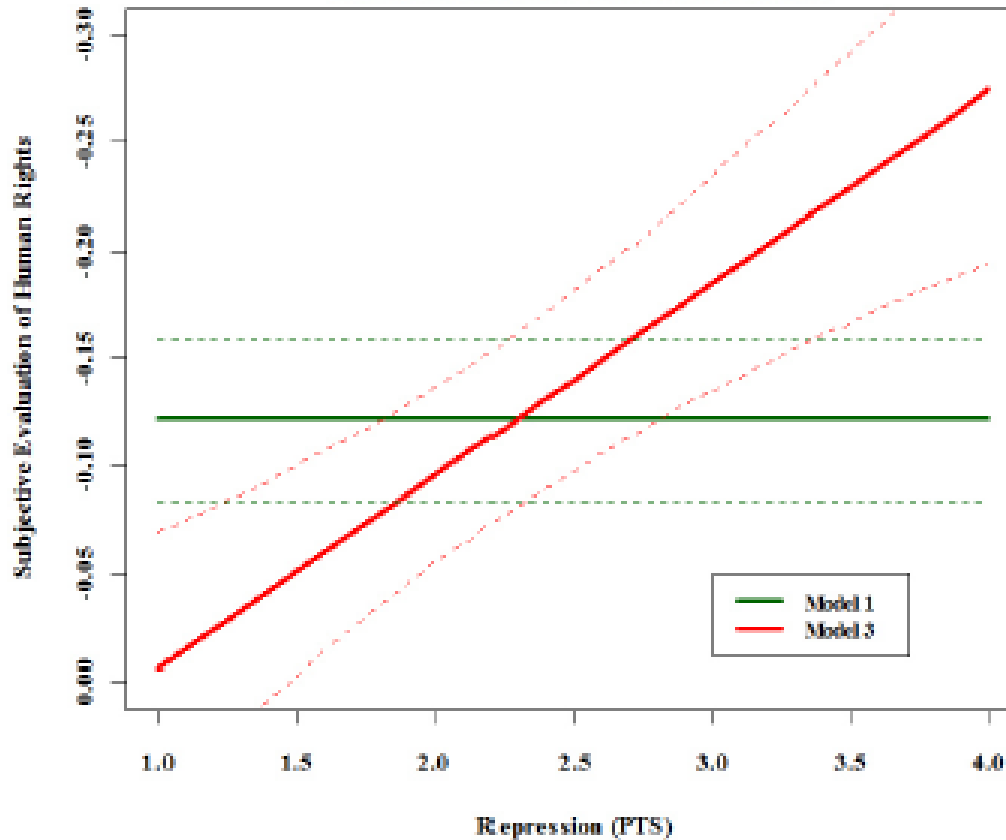
Scenario 1= low emancipated values (emval=0.1)
Scenario 2= high emancipated values (emval=0.9)

FD= Expected Values (scenario 2) – Expected Values (scenario1)

THUS:
The more negative the difference, the more negative is the effect of eman values on the opinion

Summary of results:

- Values are important orientations in reasoning about the scope of desired rights and their provision (they set standards of what rights and how much of them should be provided)

- Political reality either meets or fails to meet these standards

- Emancipative people are more critical (because liberties are linked to swb, making the scope of necessary rights wider and people aspiring to them more sensitive towards observed rights violation)

- Effect of values was not challenged by the inclusion of financial satisfaction in the model (individual differentiate between material and cultural incentives)

- Education is a predictor of emancipative orientations

- Democracy might have different image than theoretically assumed

- Research provided no evidence that individuals reflect past memories in their judgements (neither age, nor repression dynamics variable is significant)

Table 5. Multilevel Analysis: Democracy = Freedom House Political Rights Index*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	2.808***	2.770***	2.660***
	(0.525)	(0.512)	(0.511)
Emancipative Values	−0.150***	−0.148***	0.105*
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.059)
Age	−0.000	−0.000	−0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	0.006***	0.003*	0.003*
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Gender (1=Female)	−0.032***	−0.031***	−0.031***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Subjective Well-being	0.363***	0.234***	0.232***
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Repression	−0.168**	−0.164**	−0.114
	(0.072)	(0.071)	(0.071)
Democracy	−0.137**	−0.131**	−0.128**
	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.063)
GDP per capita	0.092	0.088	0.085
	(0.059)	(0.058)	(0.058)
Dynamics	−0.051	−0.049	−0.049
	(0.085)	(0.083)	(0.083)
Subjective financial situation		0.262***	0.264***
		(0.015)	(0.015)
Emancipative Values X Repression			−0.112***
			(0.024)
Log-likelihood	−53290.703	−52750.982	−52742.524
Deviance	106516.028	105429.727	105407.130
AIC	106605.407	105527.964	105513.048
BIC	106710.833	105642.086	105635.949
N	48317	47984	47984

Originally, this index ranges from 1 - "free society", to 7 - "not free" (Freedom House, 2011) In these estimations the scale was reversed.