

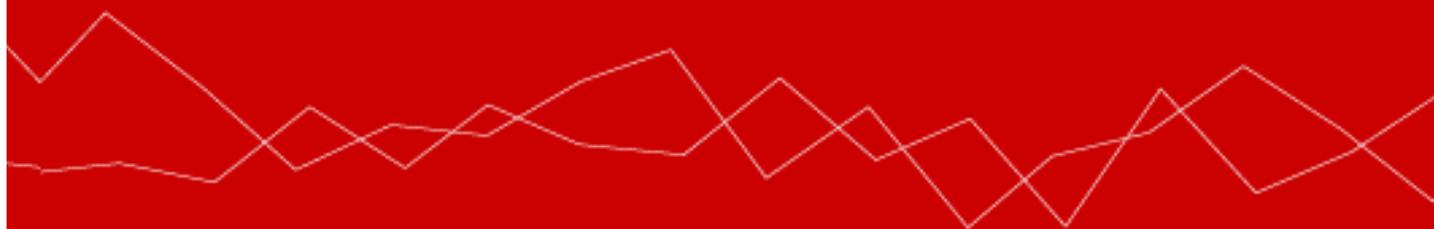
The Political Economy of Dignity:
monitoring the advancement of socio-
economic human rights in a globalized
economy

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The Political Economy of Dignity

Monitoring the advancement of socio-economic human rights in a globalized economy

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Abstract

The dichotomy between political and socio-economic rights has been subject to criticism ever since the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, almost sixty years ago. The declaration itself leaves little doubt regarding the interconnectedness between both types of human rights. The first article speaks of human beings “born free and equal in dignity and rights.” Article 22 of the declaration lists the economic, social and cultural rights of man as being ‘indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality’. On closer examination maintaining this separation based on the notions of ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ rights is not sustainable.

The claim that there is a trade-off between socio-economic development and compliance with human rights has been disproved on many occasions in the past. In this paper, ideas regarding the link between national income and adherence to socio-economic human rights are presented, accompanied by anecdotal evidence from the Cingranelli and Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset.

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1 Introduction

This paper provides input to the debate on the issue of socio-economic rights in a globalized world. A view shared by many is that national governments (of developed and developing countries alike) are less able to mitigate the negative effects on individuals resulting from globalization, i.e. the increase in international competition between countries. If this hypothesis is correct, then globalization may be expected to have severe negative effects on securing socio-economic rights on a global level.¹ Monitoring the advancement of socio-economic rights needs no justification, but if this negative connection with globalisation does indeed exist, it contributes to its urgency.

The first part of the paper deals with the division between economic, social and cultural rights on the one hand and political and civil rights on the other, as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The subsequent section touches upon the relationship between economic development and human rights. With the end of the cold war interest for these rights has increased and with it came attempts to measure their progressive realization. The third section presents ideas on the link between national income and the adherence to socio-economic human rights. At the end of the paper concluding remarks and suggestions are provided.

¹ This line of reasoning is similar to the discussion on the effects of globalization on International Labor Standards.

2 Rights Divided

More than fifty years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights saw the light of life the actual enjoyment of all of these rights is for most people still a mere idea and a distant one at that. Indeed it has hard not to agree with the Secretary General of the human rights organisation Amnesty International Irene Khan who commented: “Human rights are not only a promise unfulfilled, they are a promise betrayed.”²

The reasons why the human rights of so many people are not respected may be as diverse as there are many. One distinction can and should be made in the wide variety of reasons for non-compliance, namely between being unable and unwilling to provide those rights. Before taking a closer look at this particular issue a short overview of human rights will be provided with special attention for the divide between political and civil rights and economic, social and cultural rights.

Human Rights

Human rights are essentially the rights that one has because one is human.³ The rights deemed human rights are detailed under five headings as political, civil, economic, social and cultural human rights. They are legally defined in two parallel Covenants that together with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) provide the basis for the International Bill of Human Rights.

Human rights such as they are now recorded in several international treaties are usually divided into two groups. Originally it was the intention to use but one list of human rights in the universal declaration. On the insistence of the United States these became two separate covenants which could each be ratified independently of each other. The one group contains all the civil and political rights and the other all economic, social and cultural rights.⁴ (Shue, 1980, p. 6)

During the Cold War this division in human rights accentuated the East-West stand off. Whereas communist states reproached their capitalist counterparts for violating economic rights, the latter accused the former of abuses of civil and political rights.

Table 2/1 provides an overview of the rights listed as socio-economic rights in the UDHR. Article 22 is of particular interest as it simultaneously affirms their interconnectedness with other human rights as well as that these rights are ‘different’.

The link between these economic rights and the other political and civil rights becomes apparent among others in the usage of the concept of dignity. The first article of the of the UDHR states: “All human

² See the foreword of the Amnesty International Report 2005 - <http://www.amnesty.org>.

³ Unfortunately it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the elementary questions such as what it means to have a right and how humans and rights are related. For these and related issues see Donnelly (2003)

⁴ This division is also known as the three generations of human rights. The first generation contains all the individual rights, the second generation the economic and social rights and the third all group rights.

beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.” Article 22 asserts that the economic, social and cultural rights of man are ‘indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.’

The reason why the economic, social and cultural rights are treated differently compared to the other human rights listed in the UDHR can in part be attributed to the demands set for compliance. While adherence to the political and civil rights is expected from every country regardless of their political or economic circumstances, this is not the case for the socio-economic rights. This difference is clearly marked in Article 22 in the addition, ‘in accordance with the organization and resources of each state’. No demand is made for full compliance but countries are expected to ensure the ‘progressive realization’ of these rights.

Arguably the most important reason cited for the divide between the different human rights is that political and civil rights are generally considered to be negative rights in the sense that they only require forbearance on the part of others (i.e. the government)⁵. Socio-economic rights on the other hand are considered to be positive rights in the sense that require others to provide goods, services or opportunities. (Donnelly, 2003, p. 31)

⁵ It off course also requires that individuals do not interfere with other individuals but the responsibility for adherence is more often than not primarily assigned to governments

Table 2/1 Overview of socio-economic Rights as formulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Article 22	Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.
Article 23	(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work. (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. (4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.
Article 24	Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.
Article 25	(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.
Article 26	(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Source: UN (2005)

Over the years many appeals have been made for abolishing the divide among human rights, Henry Shue (1980) in his book “Basic Rights” for instance asserts that certain economic rights, those he calls ‘subsistence rights’, take precedence over all other rights. As for the position that economic, social and cultural rights are subordinate to civil and political rights he finds that this dichotomy and ranking is indefensible, not in the least because certain rights are neither specific economic nor political in nature.⁶ The foundation for his discarding the divide is the existence of basic human needs. These needs are so

⁶ At this one may think of the right to set up a union or the right to property (Shue, 1980, p.7)

basic that they may defined as ‘essential needs’, in the sense that they are essential for a person to be able to exercise other rights.⁷

A more abstract objection against the dichotomy and ranking is that the political and civil rights are not just negative rights in the sense that all human rights require both positive action and restraint on the part of the government (Donnelly, 2003).⁸

⁷ The rights that Shue considers to be basic rights are the right to security, to subsistence, and the right to liberty (Shue, 1980)

⁸ In this respect it is useful to mention that Shue distinguishes between three kinds of duties that are demanded by human rights: 1) duties to avoid depriving, 2) duties to protect from deprivation, and 3) duties to aid the deprived.

3 Human Rights and Development

Here I focus on the link between human rights and the level of economic development. Development was regularly held to be in conflict with human rights for the short- and medium-run time frame. It was thought that there is a trade-off between the two. Generally three types of trade-offs have been put forward: a) the needs trade-off, b) the equality trade-off and c) the liberty trade-off. (Donnelly, 2003, p. 197)

The central idea of the first trade-off is that in order to maximize return on investment, devoting scarce resources towards satisfying basic needs (such as food and health care) should initially take a backseat. The resulting returns in the medium/ long term will minimize the total economic and human cost of poverty.

One version of the equality trade-off is closely connected with the more general idea that inequality is necessary as an incentive or reward for better economic performance. Here inequality contributes to development. Another view is that some inequality is unavoidable during the transition from a traditional sector /economy to a modern sector/economy.

The idea underlying the liberty trade-off is that the development of an economy might be disrupted by the exercise of civil and political rights. This may for instance result in social unrest.

Donnelly (2003) notes that there is a growing belief that these ideas (sacrificing human rights in order to promote development) are misguided. Such trade-offs are now largely seen as unnecessary and often positively harmful:

“Human rights trade-offs, except perhaps at the very early stages of the move from a “traditional” to a “modern” economy, are not development imperatives but policy choices undertaken for largely political, not technical reasons.” (Donnelly, 2003, p. 198)

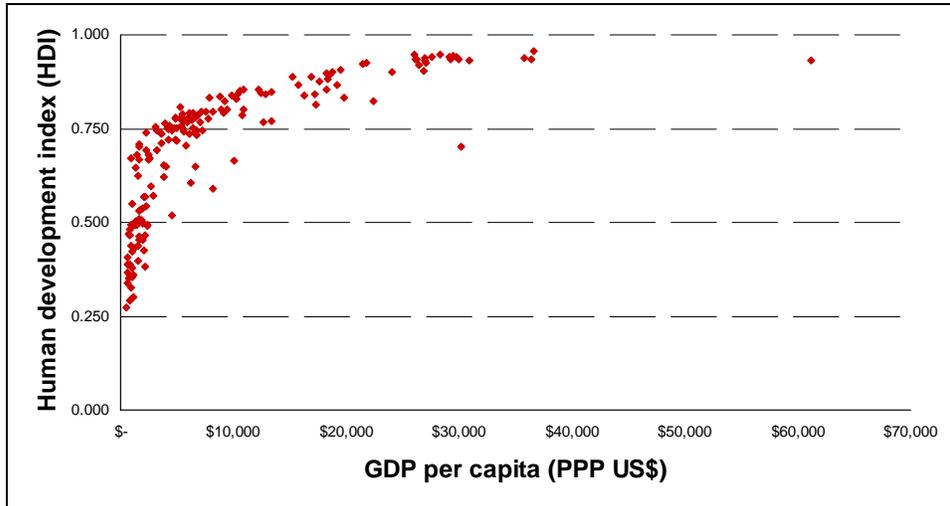
Measuring Advancement

When dealing with the issue of measuring the advancement of socio-economic rights several questions present themselves. For some of the rights listed in table 2/1 it is possible to assess to what extent they are actually enjoyed. Issues like healthcare, nutrition and education for instance are monitored by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the results published annually in the Human Development Report. There are, however, still many rights not currently monitored. An example is the ‘just and favourable conditions of work’. An additional problem is the existence of large informal economies in most developing nations for which none or only scarce and/or partial data is available.

Apart from the problems surrounding the availability of sound data there is still the question of what progressive realization ‘in accordance with the organization and resources of each state’ entails. Assessing what is achieved over time might help in determining whether there is progress in compliance, and leaves open the question what might be considered to be most achievable given the specific local circumstances.

Figure 2/1 is an illustration of the relationship between the Human Development Index (HDI) and GDP per capita. It is clear that there exists a positive relationship between the level of human development (as measured by the HDI) and the level of economic development. The fact that there is a correlation between the two conveys much about the conditions yet little about the practices underlying the relationship.⁹ This is the topic of the following section of the paper.

Figure 2/1 Relation between Human Development & GDP per capita (2002)



Source: UNDP (2004)

⁹ Apart from the issue of causality there are also other problems when using statistics in order to measure the advancement of socio-economic rights. An example of this can be found in the expenditures on healthcare in a country often presented as a percentage of GDP. If for example a country has a program of forced sterilization or mandatory abortion, these expenditures will most probably end up as healthcare expenditures.

4 Progressive realization

Whereas most measurements of the realization of (socio-economic) human rights provide information on the (current) state of affairs, as for example is the case with the above mentioned Human Development Index, there remains the issue of practices. What is it that the governments actually do with respect to the protection of human rights? And what (if any) is the connection between these practices and the level of economic development? In the text below a first attempt is made at providing some indicative answers to these questions.

In this section of the paper data will be used from the Cingranelli and Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Dataset.¹⁰ This dataset contains standards-based quantitative information on government for 13 human rights for 195 countries, annually from 1981-2003. The dataset includes coded information on human rights related to disappearances, extrajudicial killing, political imprisonment, torture, freedom of assembly and association, freedom of movement, freedom of speech, political participation, freedom of religion, worker's rights and women's rights (economic, political and social). The dataset also includes the values for the two indexes: the Physical Integrity Rights Index and the Empowerment Rights Index. The information about human rights practices is obtained from the annual United States Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices and the Amnesty International's Annual Reports.

The first index which will be used in this section is the Physical Integrity Rights Index. Physical integrity rights are defined as the entitlements individuals have in international law to be free from arbitrary physical harm and coercion by their government. (Cingranelli and Richards, 1999) This index indicates the level of government respect for four rights which deal with torture, extrajudicial killing, political imprisonment, and disappearance indicators. The index has a scale ranging from zero to eight whereby the former indicates that there is no government respect for these four rights and the latter indicates full government respect for these four rights).¹¹

The other index is the Empowerment Rights Index. This index provides an indication of government respect for five different human rights covering political, civil as well as economic and cultural rights: Freedom of Movement, Freedom of Speech, Workers' Rights, Political Participation, and Freedom of Religion indicators. The Empowerment Rights Index ranges from zero (no government respect for these five rights) to ten (full government respect for these five rights).¹²

In figure 3/1 the unweighted average scores of the Physical Integrity Rights Index (PHYSINT) for the year 2003 are plotted against the unweighted average scores on the Empowerment Rights Index (EMPINX) per sub-region as defined by the UN.¹³

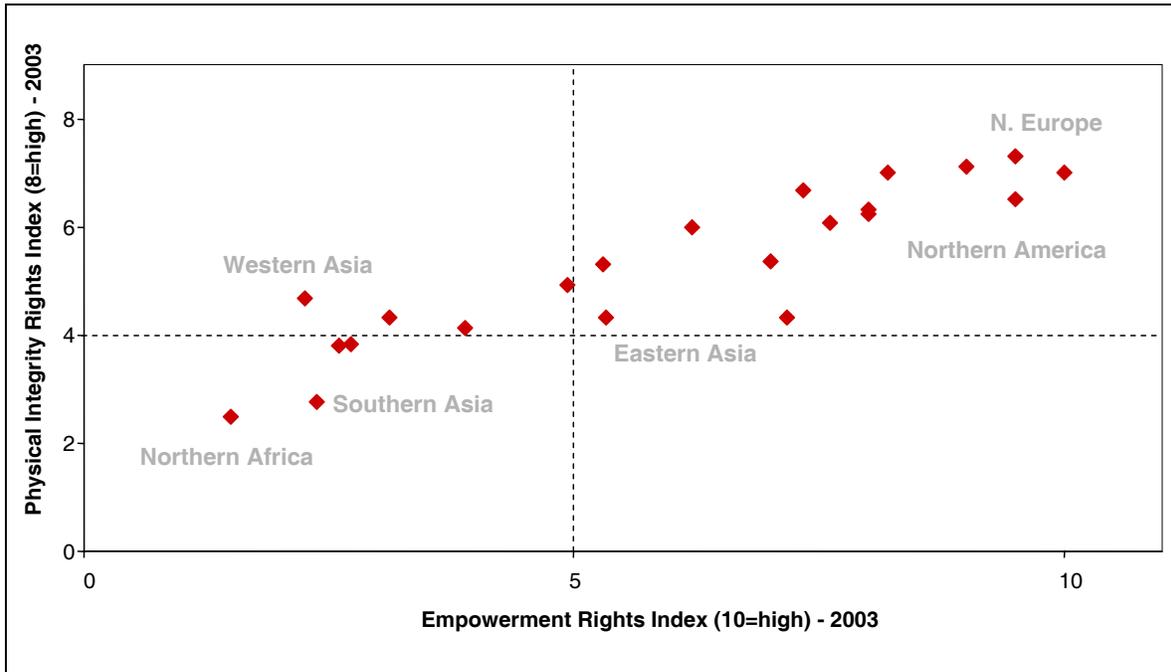
¹⁰ Available at www.humanrightsdata.com

¹¹ Details on its construction and use can be found in: David L. Cingranelli and David L. Richards. 1999. "Measuring the Level, Pattern, and Sequence of Government Respect for Physical Integrity Rights." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol 43.2: 407-18.

¹² Details on its construction can be found in: David L. Richards, Ronald Gelleny, and David Sacko. 2001. "Money With A Mean Streak? Foreign Economic Penetration and Government Respect for Human Rights in Developing Countries" *International Studies Quarterly*.45.2: 219-239.

¹³ See <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm>

Figure 3/1 Average scores on the Physical Integrity Rights Index and the Empowerment Index, by UN sub-region (2003)¹⁴



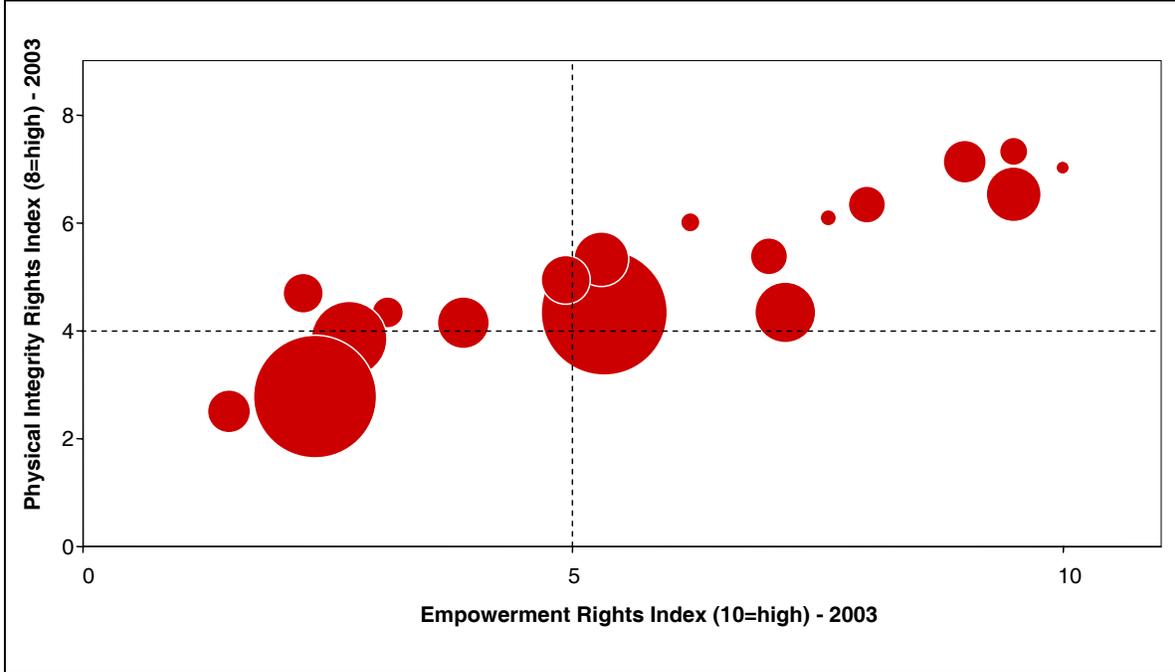
Source: Cingranelli & Richards (2004)/ own calculations (2005)

The first thing that captures the attention when reviewing figure 3/1 is that there would seem to be a positive correlation between both indexes on a sub-regional level. The relatively high average scores for 'Eastern Asia' can be attributed to the inclusion of Japan in that sub-region. The sub-region 'Northern Africa' has the lowest overall average scores on both indexes. The highest average scores are to be found in 'Northern Europe', 'Northern America' and the sub-region 'Australia and New Zealand'

Figure 3/2 is a reproduction of figure 3/1 with the addition that the sizes of the plots are now determined by the aggregate size of the population per sub-region. The suggestion this figure entails is that an overwhelming majority of the world's population is currently living under circumstances where government respect for Human Rights seems to be in short supply.

¹⁴ For a more detailed graph see figure A/1 in Appendix A

Figure 3/2 Average scores on the Physical Integrity Rights Index and the Empowerment Index, by UN sub-region and population (2003)



Source: Cingranelli & Richards (2004)/ CIA (2005)/ own calculations (2005)

Figure 3/3 is identical to figure 3/2 except that the sizes of the plots are now determined by the average GDP per capita (PPP) of the sub-region. High income and high scores on the Empowerment Rights Index and the Physical Integrity Rights Index would seem to be going hand in hand.

Figure 3/3 Average scores on the Physical Integrity Rights Index and the Empowerment Index, by UN sub-region and mean GDP per capita



Source: Cingranelli & Richards (2004)/ CIA (2005)/ own calculations (2005)

Human Rights and Income

Figure 3/3 would seem to give credence to the idea that respect for human rights is merely achievable for the more wealthy members of the United Nations. Although intuitively appealing it is not necessarily true. This idea should therefore be treated with caution as there is a certain amount of risk that the lack of funds might be seen as a legitimate reason for non-compliance.

A similar problem can be found in the debate on International Labour Standards as formulated by the International Labour Organisation. Fung, O'Rourke and Sabel (2001) proposed a strategy (called Ratcheting Labour Standards) whereby the ultimate goal is formulated so as to attain and realize the highest level of standards taking into consideration the local level of economic development.

The basic idea of their approach is that when reviewing working conditions in for example a factory in Vietnam the comparison should be done with a factory in Indonesia rather than one in Western Europe or North America. The larger purpose of RLS is to secure the most ambitious and feasible labour standards for workers possible given their economic development context.¹⁵

There are several reasons, however, why this approach is not useful when Human Rights are at stake. Foremost this is because some of them are so fundamental that the level of economic development in a country is irrelevant to the issue of adherence. Nevertheless it can still be insightful to look at what can be achieved in terms of compliance at certain levels of economic development¹⁶. In this paper a rudimentary indication is provided.

In table 3/1 the possible scores of the empowerment index (EMP) are listed, ranging from zero (no government respect for freedom of movement, freedom of speech, workers' rights, political participation and freedom of religion) to ten (full response). For each of these scores the associated number of observations (i.e. countries) is listed as well as the average GDP per capita (PPP) per EMP-score. In the second and third columns the lowest and one-but-lowest GDP per capita per EMP-score is presented.

Looking at the lowest GDP per capita per EMP-score seems to validate the idea that only the wealthier nations in the world are capable of securing complete government respect for the Human Rights that are included in the EMP. However the 'can' is slightly misleading as can be deduced from the other combinations of EMP-scores and GDP per capita.

In the group of countries that scored an eight on the empowerment index the lowest GDP per capita was 400 which was also the lowest overall. This would imply that no country with a GDP higher than that can justify violating these human rights solely by stating their lack of funds.¹⁷ This conclusion is also reached by simply reviewing the mean GDP per capita for each EMP-score (see column 4).

¹⁵ For a more elaborate discussion of the Ratcheting Labor Standards see Biermans (2004)

¹⁶ As measured by the level of GDP per capita alone

¹⁷ The third column, listing the one-but-lowest GDP per capita for each country group with the same EMP-score indicates that the combination 8-400 is an outlier. In that case the new lowest GDP – highest score combination is a GDP per capita of 740 with a score of 7.

Table 3/1 GDP per capita (PPP) per score on the Empowerment Index (2002)

Empowerment Rights Index	Lowest GDP per capita	One-but-lowest GDP per capita	Mean	Std. Dev.	Freq.
0	600	650	6,636	7,834	23
1	860	870	7,589	8,040	12
2	580	900	3,387	4,442	14
3	630	980	5,544	5,382	16
4	710	780	2,144	1,827	7
5	520	980	3,662	2,877	16
6	840	930	7,734	8,013	12
7	580	740	3,476	2,951	13
8	400	800	8,091	7,156	33
9	1,100	1,317	14,816	11,435	21
10	2,890	5,300	23,577	12,020	23
Total	-	-	9,010	9,960	190

Source: Cingranelli & Richards (2004)/ UNDP (2004)/ CIA (2005)/ own calculations (2005)

Although the evidence presented is anecdotal, it does convey the importance of institutional factors when assessing government respect for human rights. This type of maximum-minimum strategy (highest EMP-score with the lowest GDP per capita) might nevertheless be useful in future research as it can provide assistance in identifying the unable and the unwilling when it comes to governmental respect for Human Rights.¹⁸

Worker's Rights

A significant part of socio-economic human rights deals with the issue of employment. The dataset of Cingranelli & Richards includes an assessment of the government respect for worker's rights. The coding system divides countries into three categories based on the status of these rights: a) severely restricted, b) somewhat restricted, and c) fully protected.¹⁹ Using the data for the year, 2002 the average GDP per capita (PPP) for each of the three categories is computed. The results are presented in table 3/2.

¹⁸ See Cingranelli & Richards (2004b) for a more elaborate and sophisticated approach to assessing the gap between unwilling and unable using the Physical quality of life index (PQLI)

¹⁹ For a description of the underlying assumptions please consult the Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Database Coder Manuel Version 8.01.04, obtainable at www.humanrightsdata.com

Table 3/2 Average GDP per level of Worker's Rights adherence (2002)

Worker's Rights	GDP per capita \$ (PPP)	Std. Dev.	Freq.
Severely restricted	4,813	5,821	41
Somewhat restricted	5,733	6,337	66
Fully protected	16,069	12,889	52
Total	8,876	10,206	159

Source: Cingranelli & Richards (2004)/ UNDP (2004)/ CIA (2005)/ own calculations (2005)

The results in table 3/2 suggest that the protection of human rights, in this case worker's rights, is positively correlated with national income. When the distribution of income within each of the three categories is examined more closely the link becomes less evident. Figure 3/4 provides an overview of the distribution of levels of GDP per capita for each of the three possible levels of protection of worker's rights. It would seem that low levels of GDP are not necessarily associated with a poor worker's rights record. This can be clearly seen in the graph depicting the set of countries where these rights are 'fully protected'. It shows that this group also entails countries with low levels of income albeit not as often as in the other two categories.

Figure 3/4 Histogram of the log GDP per capita per category of protection of worker's rights (2002)



Source: Cingranelli & Richards (2004)/ UNDP (2004)/ CIA (2005)/ own calculations (2005)

Up till now the focus has been on the relationship between income and adherence to human rights. In the case of Worker's rights there is however another aspect that will be reviewed in the text below, namely the ratification of core labour standards.

The practice of Core Labour Standards

In recent years the ILO has striven to refocus its activities on the central unifying concept of “Decent Work”. This concept encapsulates the economic rights concerning employment listed in the Universal Declaration. The concept of Decent Work was launched in 1999 with the publication of the report of the Director-General, which opens with the words:

“This Report proposes a primary goal for the ILO in this period of global transition — securing decent work for women and men everywhere. It is the most widespread need, shared by people, families and communities in every society, and at all levels of development. Decent work is a global demand today, confronting political and business leadership worldwide. Much of our common future depends on how we meet this challenge.”(ILO, 1999)

This concept is also seen as the ILO’s response to the challenges of globalisation. One year before the launch of the Decent Work agenda saw the light of the ILO “Fundamental Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work”. The declaration (which binds all member States of the ILO to respect, promote and realize the principles contained in the so-called core labour standards) was the organisations first coherent response to the debate on the effects of international trade and labour standards.²⁰

The Core Labour Standards is a collection of eight ILO conventions grouped around four headings expressed in two conventions each: freedom of forced labour (conventions 29 & 105), non-discrimination at the workplace (conventions 100 & 111), the effective abolition of child labour (conventions 138 & 182) and freedom of association and the right to organize and bargain collectively (conventions 87 & 98).

Ratification of all Core Labour Standards indicates that a country has ratified the eight ILO conventions. In table 3/3 the number of ILO conventions (jointly referred to as the core labour standards) ratified is provided for each level of Worker’s Rights adherence.

²⁰ More on the Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, see Freeman & Elliott (2003) and Biermans (2004)

Table 3/3 Number of countries per number of core labour standards ratified and level of Worker's Rights adherence (2003)

<i>No. of CLS conventions ratified *</i>	Severely restricted	Somewhat restricted	Fully protected
8	41	31	27
7	17	13	3
6	7	3	4
5	6	2	2
4	4	5	0
3	4	0	0
2	2	1	0
1	1	1	0
0	0	2	1
Total	82	58	37

* Number of conventions ratified on December 31st 2003

Source: Cingranelli & Richards (2004)/ ILO (2005)/ own calculations (2005)

Table 3/3 provides interesting insights into the practice of core labour standards. In the category 'Fully Protected' there is one country that has ratified none of the eight ILO conventions. Even more interesting is the fact that none of the countries where worker's rights are severely restricted has failed to ratify all eight ILO conventions of the core labour standards. Indeed 50% of these countries have ratified all conventions. This last observation indicates that there is a serious gap between intentions (defined as ratification of the ILO conventions) and the actual practice of protecting worker's rights.

5 Concluding remarks

The advance of globalization and the idea of a global arena of competitiveness whereby countries compete with each other are assumed to have a negative influence on the freedom of governments to pursue their own national agendas.²¹ Following this reasoning, the increased international competition between companies has also been viewed with suspicion.²²

The difficulty in assessing the realization of socio-economic human rights is that it is not always clear whether non-compliance is due to a government being unable or unwilling to provide these rights. The way national income is distributed is a matter of politics, and hence falls in the realm of political economy. In analyzing the extent of compliance for a specific set of human rights in relation to GDP per capita, it is clear that high levels of compliance are possible with low national income. A similar picture emerges when focusing solely on the level of protection of Worker's Rights.

Human rights are rights humans possess because they are human, and because they have an inherent dignity. Socio-economic rights are formulated as being 'indispensable for the dignity of man and the free development of his personality.' In this sense dignity has become a representative yardstick for success and less an expression of self esteem:

"Our evaluation of dignity should not be a question of whether this person subjectively feels devalued or if a reasonable person in his position would feel devalued. Instead the focus should fall on the impact of the denial of basic needs and whether enough has been done by the society to remedy this situation."
(Liebenberg, 2005)

²¹ "It [globalization] stands for "There is no alternative to this", or, "Don't imagine you can follow distinctive national policies, labour standards or welfare rights, because there are chaps in Jakarta who would have your job". It is shorthand for getting people to accept their lot fatalistically." (Held & Hirst, 2002)

²² An example of this fear can be found in Benedek (2003, p. 231): "On the whole pay and working conditions *may* be pressured downwards. *Too often* exploitation, forced and child labor are the consequences" - Italics inserted

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Appendix A

Figure A/1 Average scores on the Physical Integrity Rights Index and the Empowerment Index, by UN sub-region (2003)



Source: Cingranelli & Richards (2004)/ own calculations (2005)