

**Human Rights, Governance, and Development:
*An Empirical Perspective Challenges Convention***

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www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/

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Human Rights Trust Fund at the World Bank,
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Note: This presentation is based on preliminary empirical research which has been written up in a volume resulting from the NYU Law School Human Rights Conference. Any data on governance and human rights is subject to margins of error, and thus caution is warranted. Views expressed here, and of course errors, are the responsibility of the author, and the views do not necessarily reflect the official position of the World Bank or its Board of Directors.

Human Rights and Governance:

Initial Empirical Exploration by an ‘outsider’

The Power of Data & Empirical Analysis – conspiring against political correctness?

- 1. Empirical ‘Unbundling’ & exploring trends**
- 2. Assess links across different types of Human Rights (1stGHRs & 2ndGHRs)**
- 3. Study links between Human Rights and Governance/Anti-Corruption (*incl. causality*)**
- 4. Unconventional Implications**
- 5. PINC Questions**

Note: Our use of 1 & 2 GHRs is intended as simple shorthand for political and civil liberties (1st), and Social/economic/development rights (2nd, and in fact also 3rd), & it is not implied here in the strict legal Human rights doctrine prevailing decades ago

Main Data Sources in initial exploration

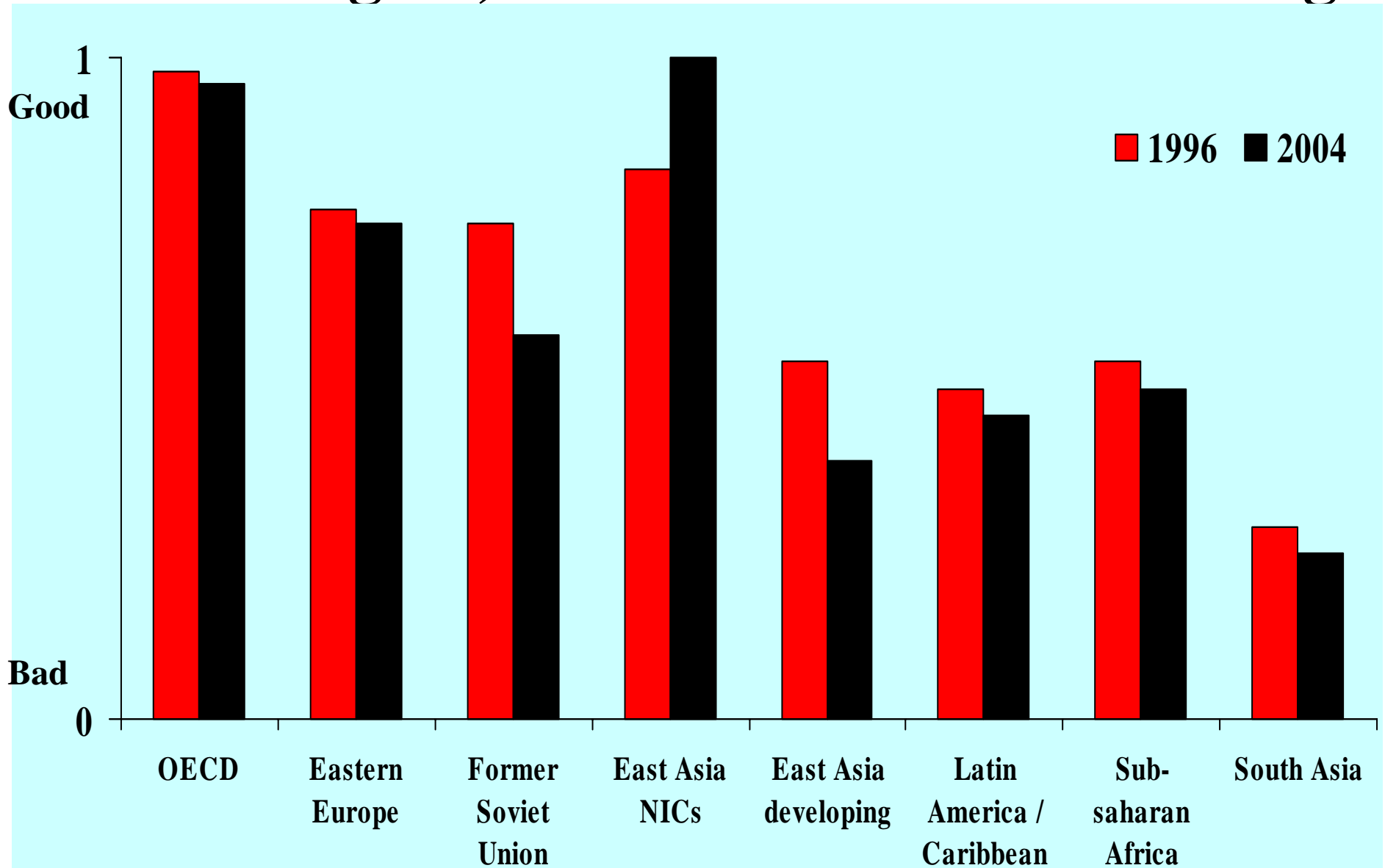
- **‘Macro’ (Aggregate) Dimension**
 - i) SUNY data coding from Amnesty & US State Dept.**
 - ii) Freedom of the Press (*Freedom House in particular*)**
 - iii) KK Aggregate Governance Indicators (WBI);**
- **‘Micro’, 1-- project: 1500 World Bank projects**
- **‘Micro’, 2 -- firms: worldwide enterprise surveys**
- **‘Micro’, 3 – country-based public officials surveys**

Move to 2nd Generation Human Rights (2GHRs): *Pendulum swinging too far away from 1GHRs?*

- **Has Worldwide progress been substantial and across the board on 1st Generation Human Rights (1GHRs)?**
- **What determines progress on 2ndGHRs?**

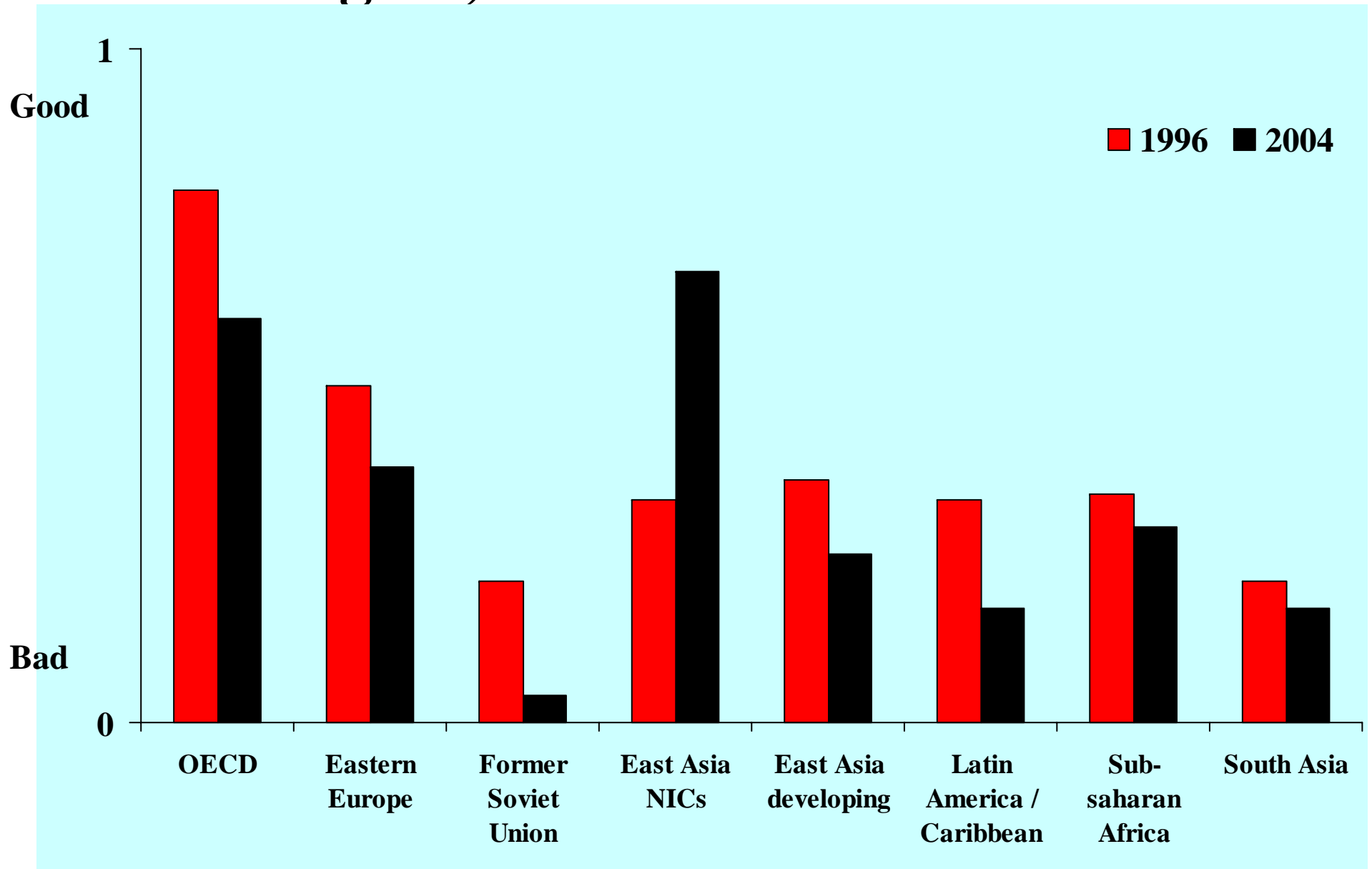
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Human Rights; 1stGHR: Absence of Killings



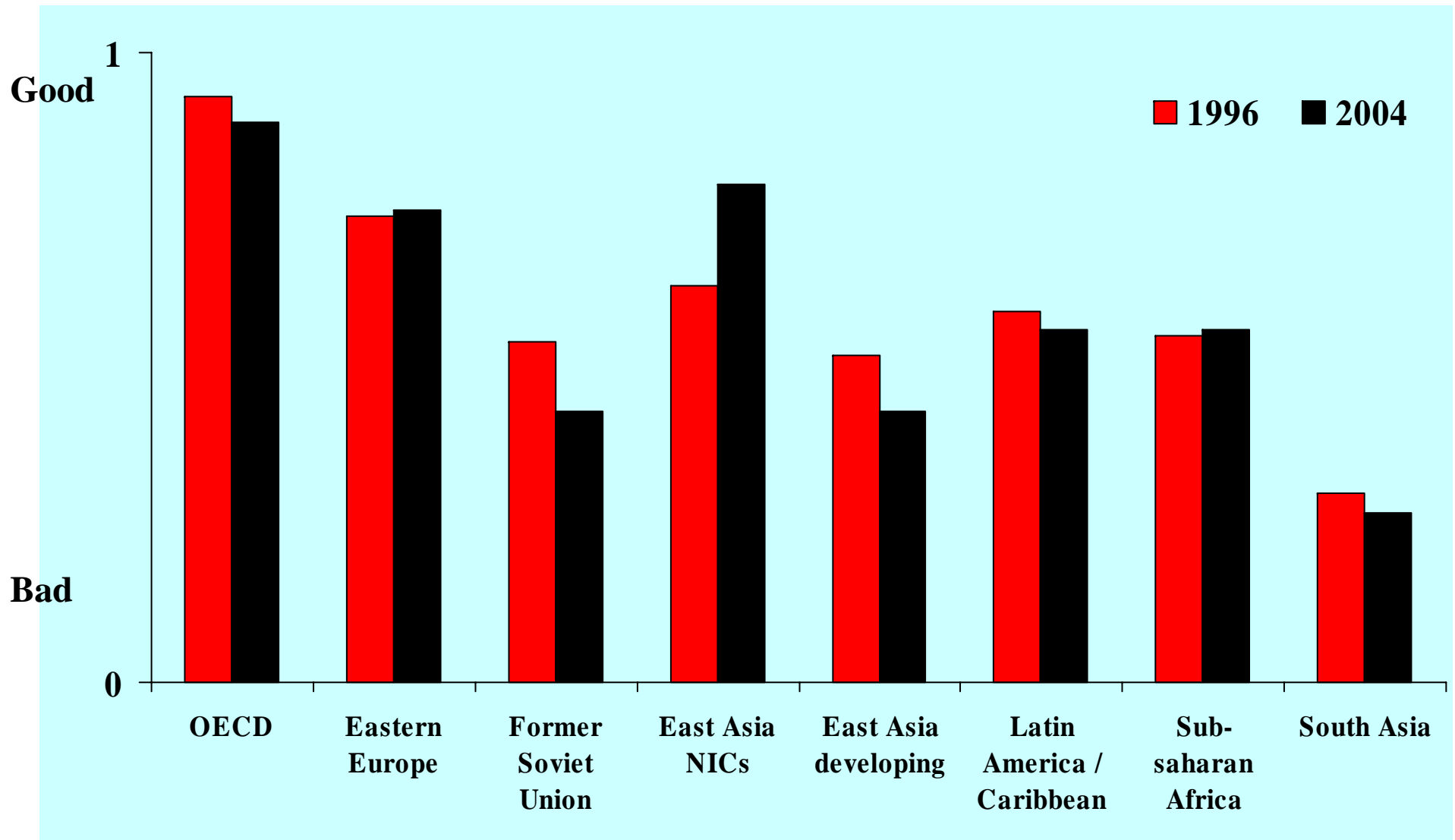
Source: Cingranelli / Richards (CIRI) human rights dataset – <http://www.humanrightsdata.com>. A high value reflects respect for human rights.

Human Rights; 1stGHR: Absence of Torture



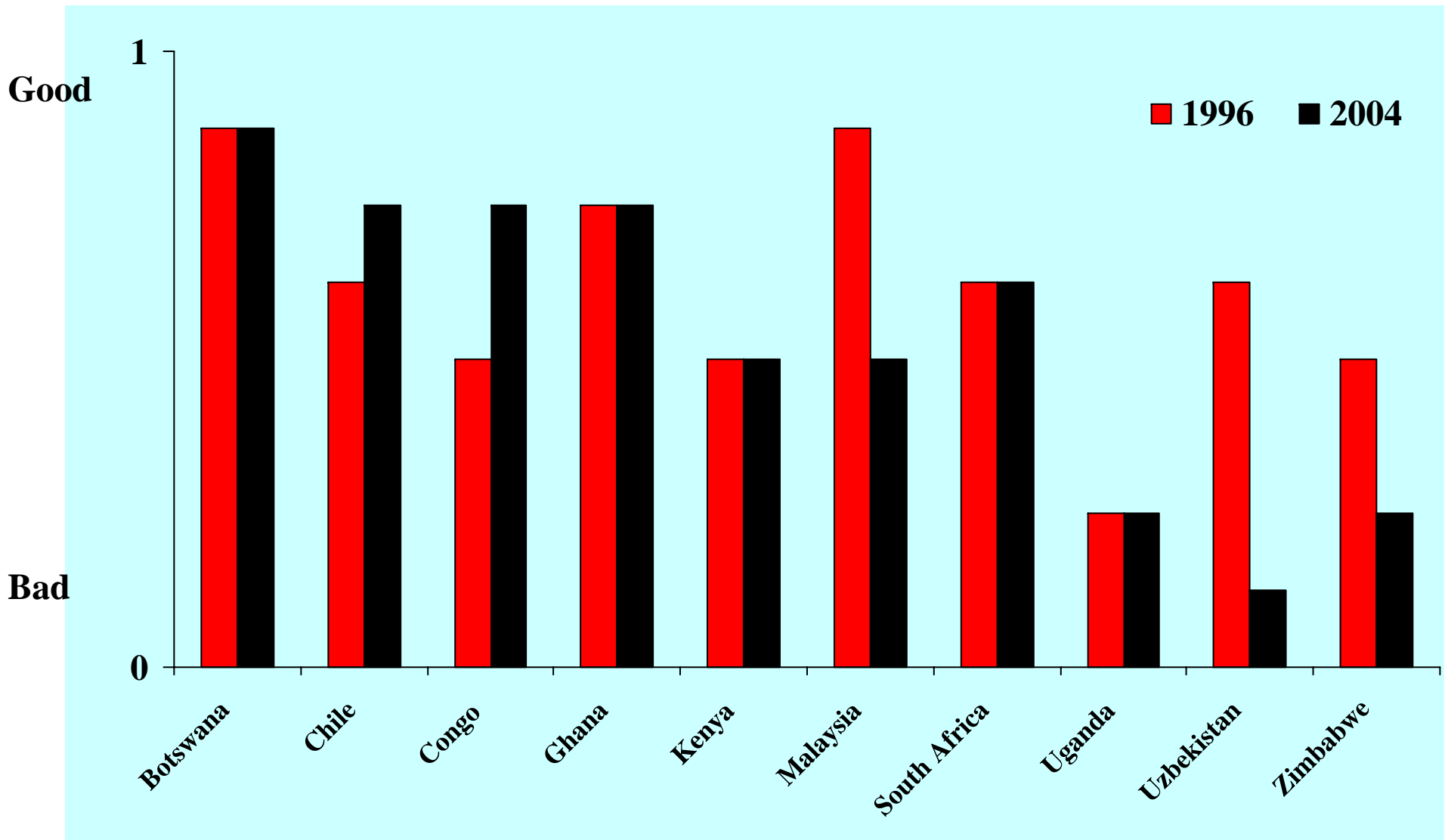
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Human Rights; 1stGHR: Life Protection (*Composite of Absence of Killings, Absence of Disappearances, Absence of Torture, & Absence of Imprisonments*)



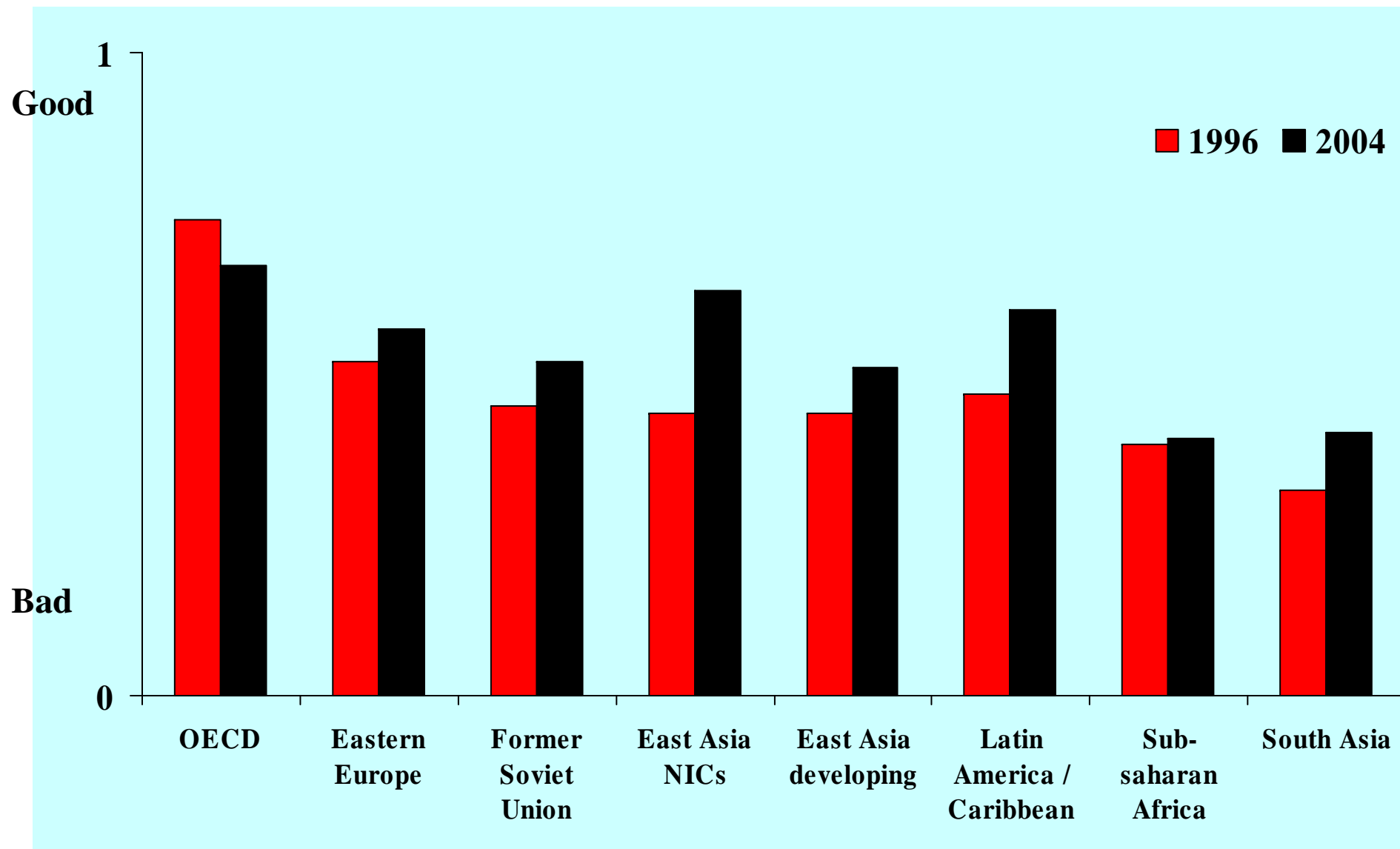
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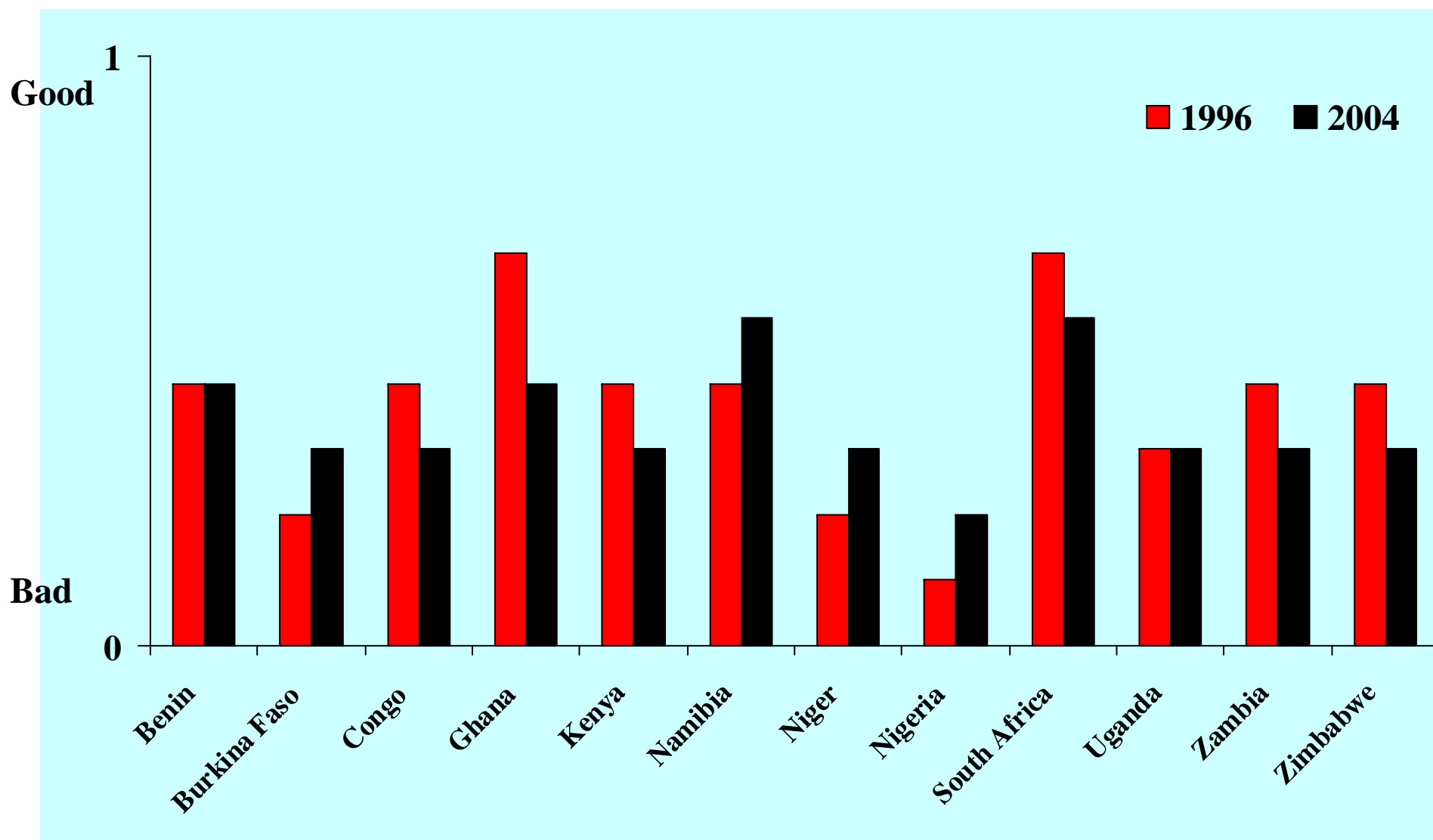
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Human Rights; 1stGHR: Women's Rights (*Composite of Economic, Social, and Political Rights*)



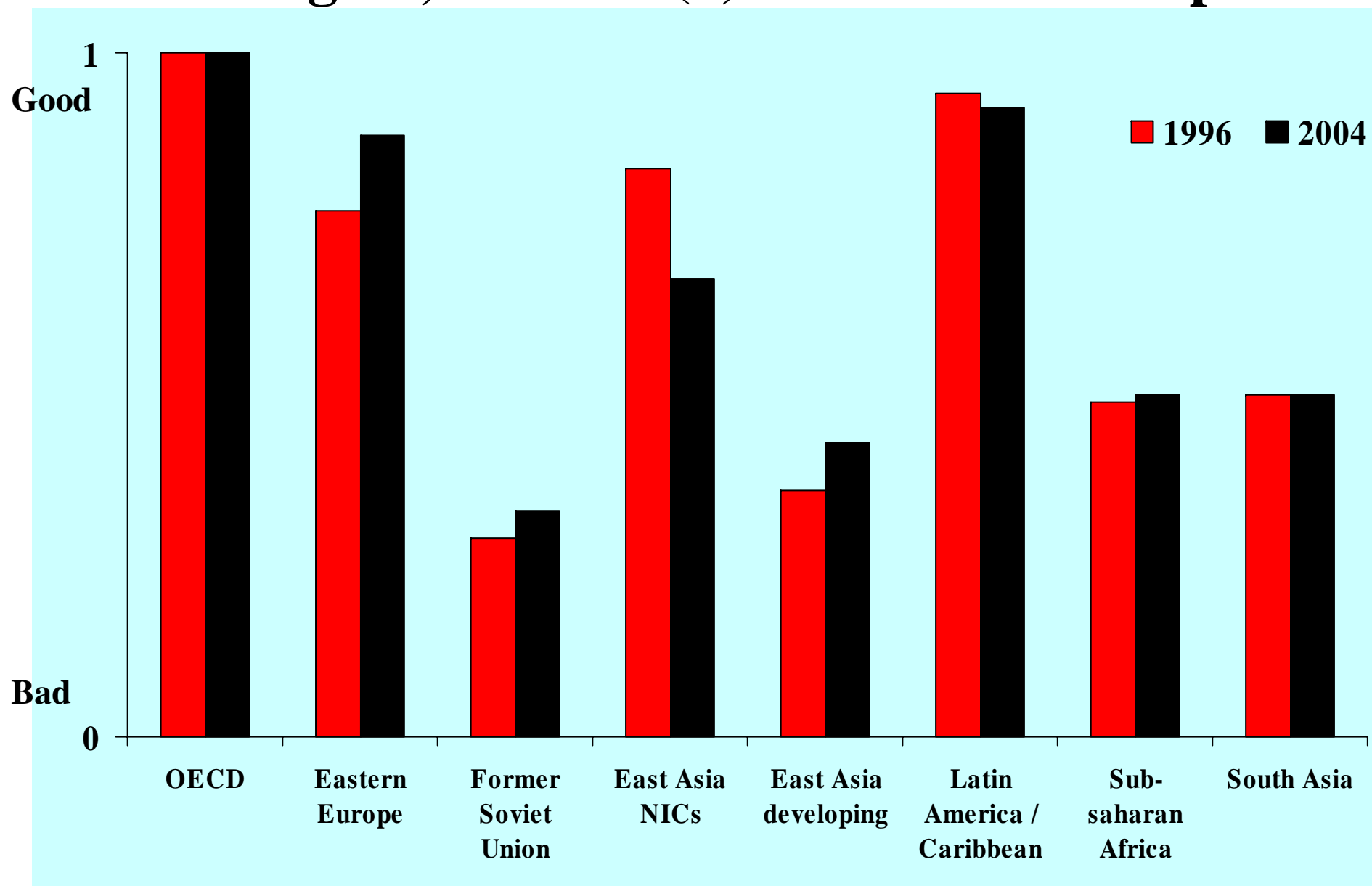
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Human Rights; 1stGHR: Women's Rights (*Composite of Economic, Social, and Political Rights*)



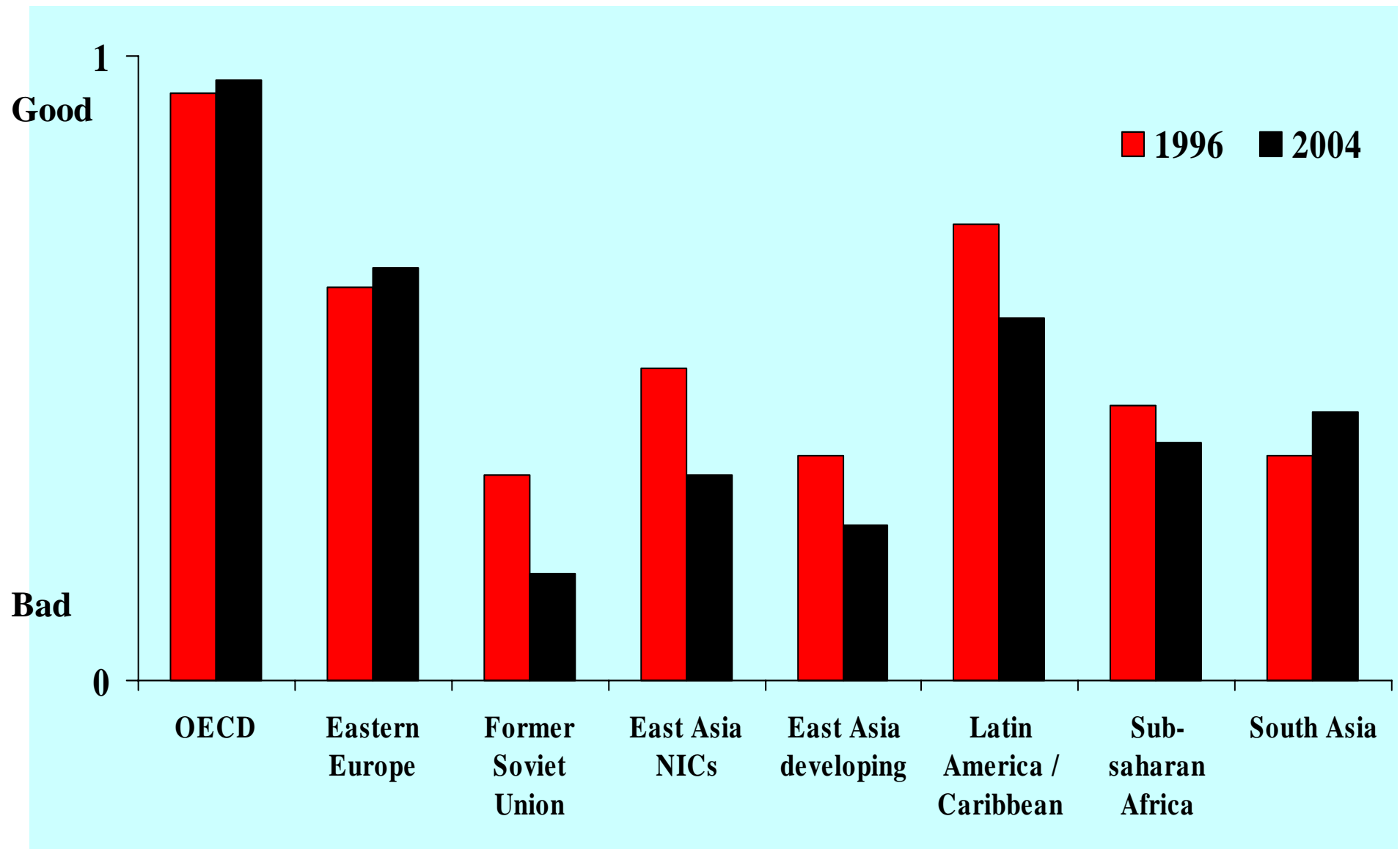
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Human Rights; 1stGHR (4): Political Participation



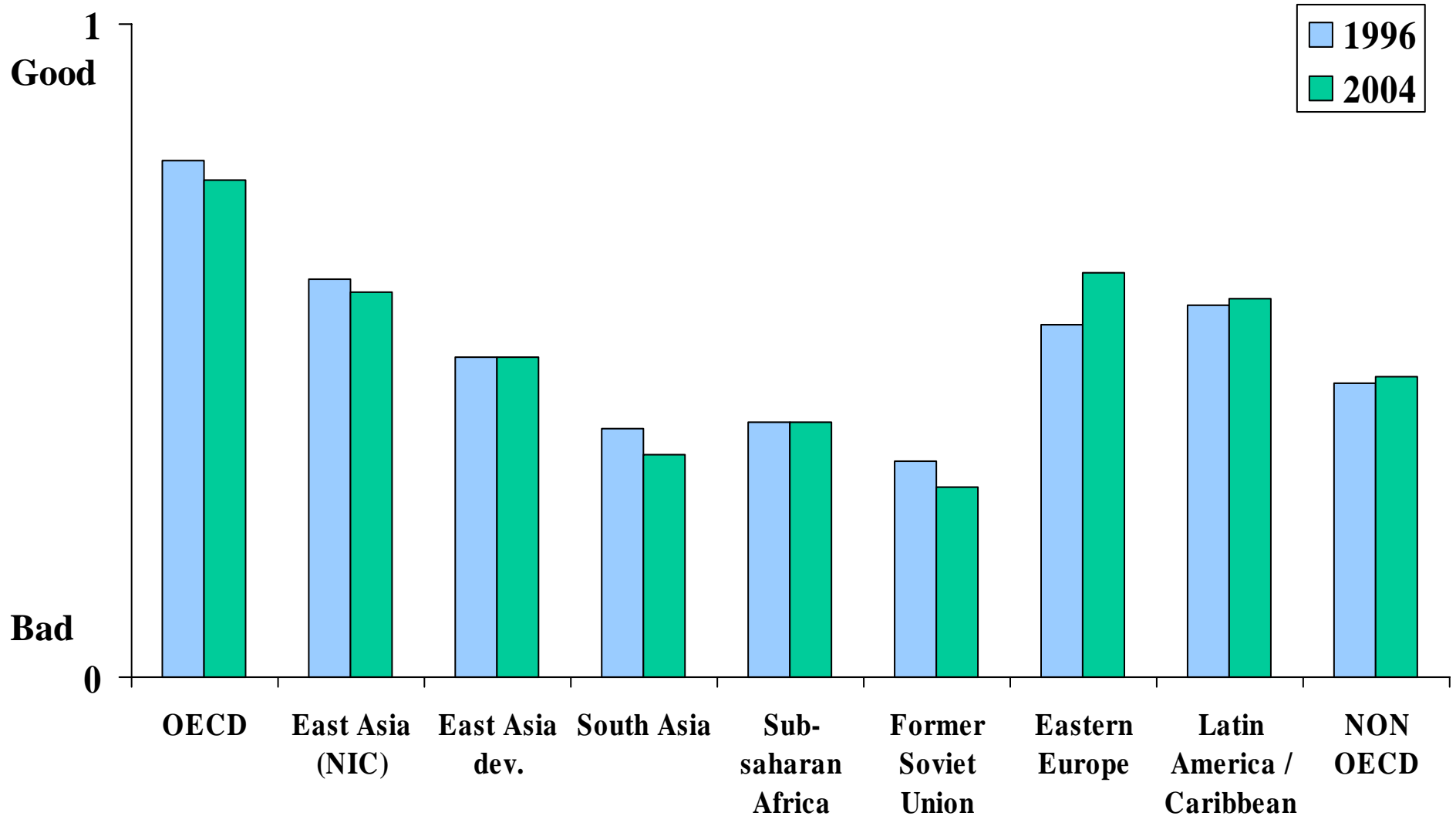
Source: Cingranelli / Richards (CIRI) human rights dataset – <http://www.humanrightsdata.com>. A high value reflects respect for human rights.

Human Rights; 1stGHR: Government Censorship



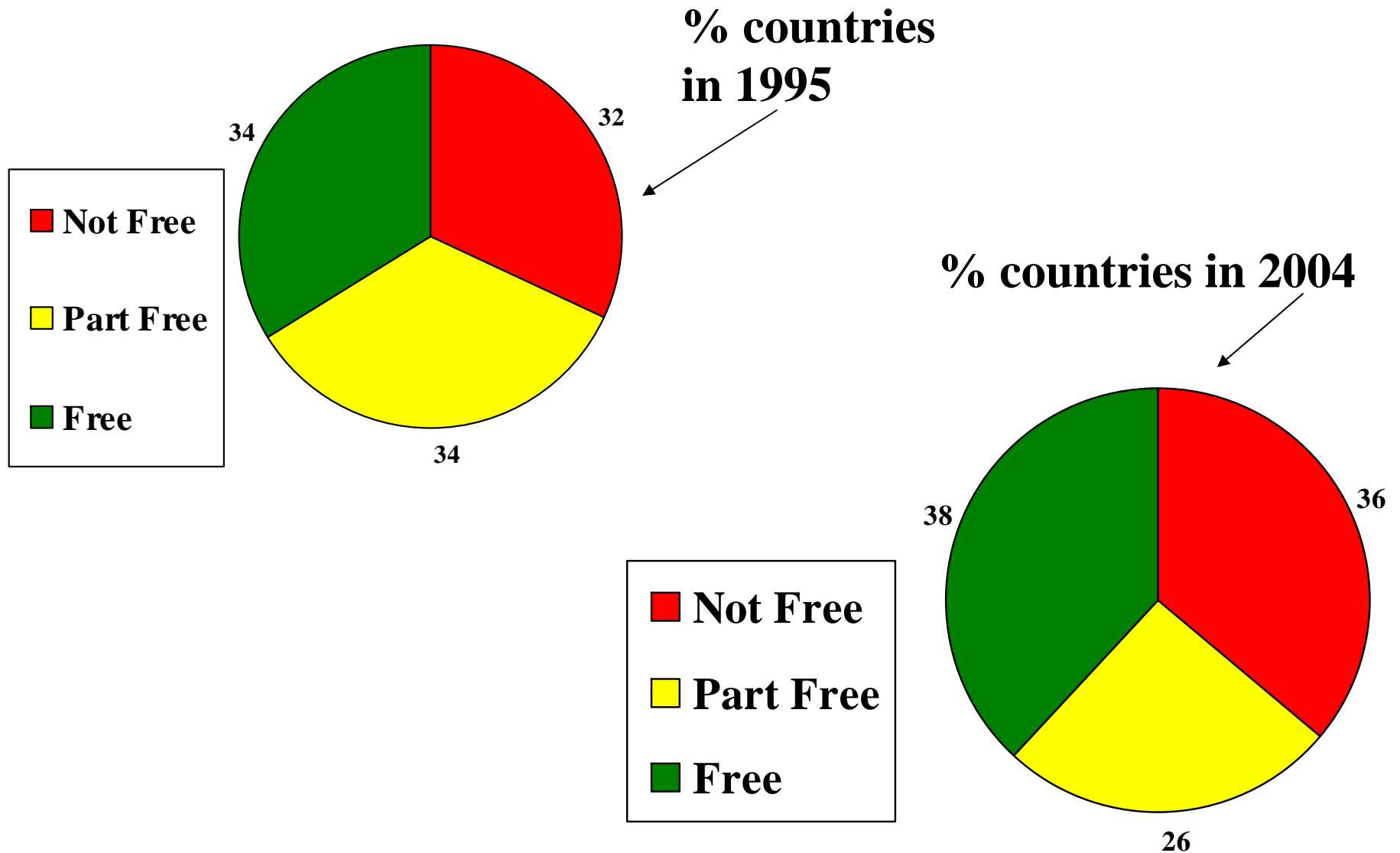
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Voice and Accountability, 1996/2004



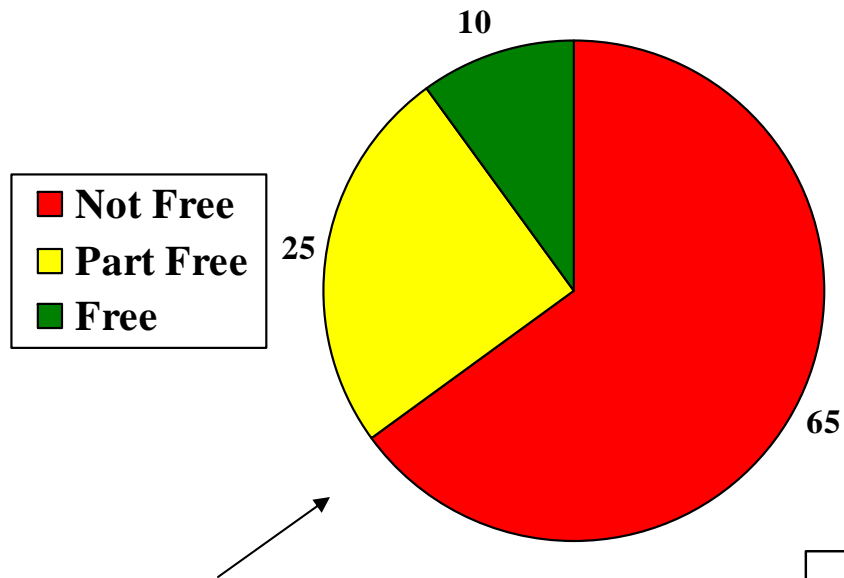
Source: Kaufmann, Kraay and Mastruzzi, Governance Matters IV (2005), <http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pubs/govmatters4.html>. Please note the values are rescaled from the original to 0-1. However they are not strictly comparable with the other 5 indicators in panels A-E because they are from a different source.

Press Freedom in the World, 1995 vs. 2004: *Stagnant?*

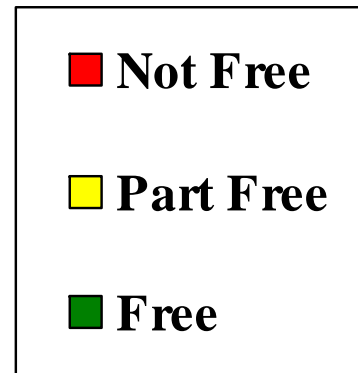


Source: Freedom House. Y axis measures percentage of countries in the region with free press (rating of 30 or below), partly free (ratings between 30 and 60) and not free (rating above 60).

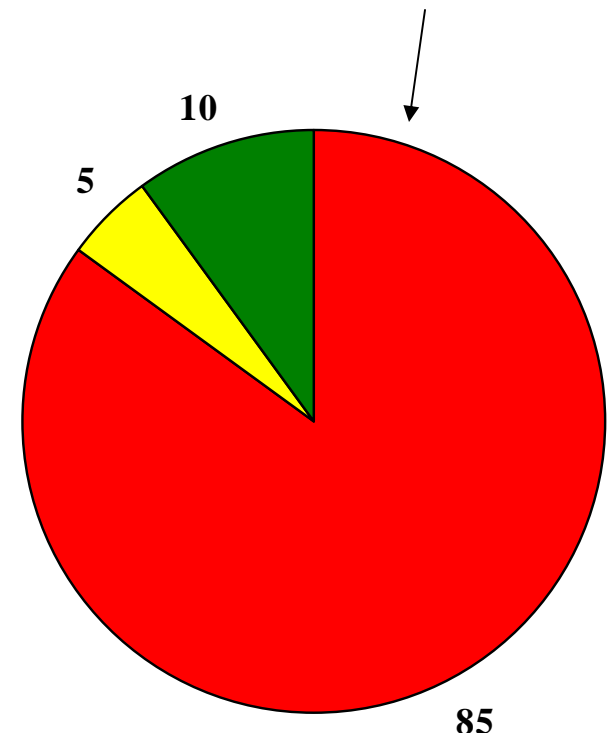
Press Freedom (FRH) in the Middle East and North Africa 1995 vs. 2004: Deteriorating? [*Freedom House Data*]



% countries in 1995



% countries in 2004



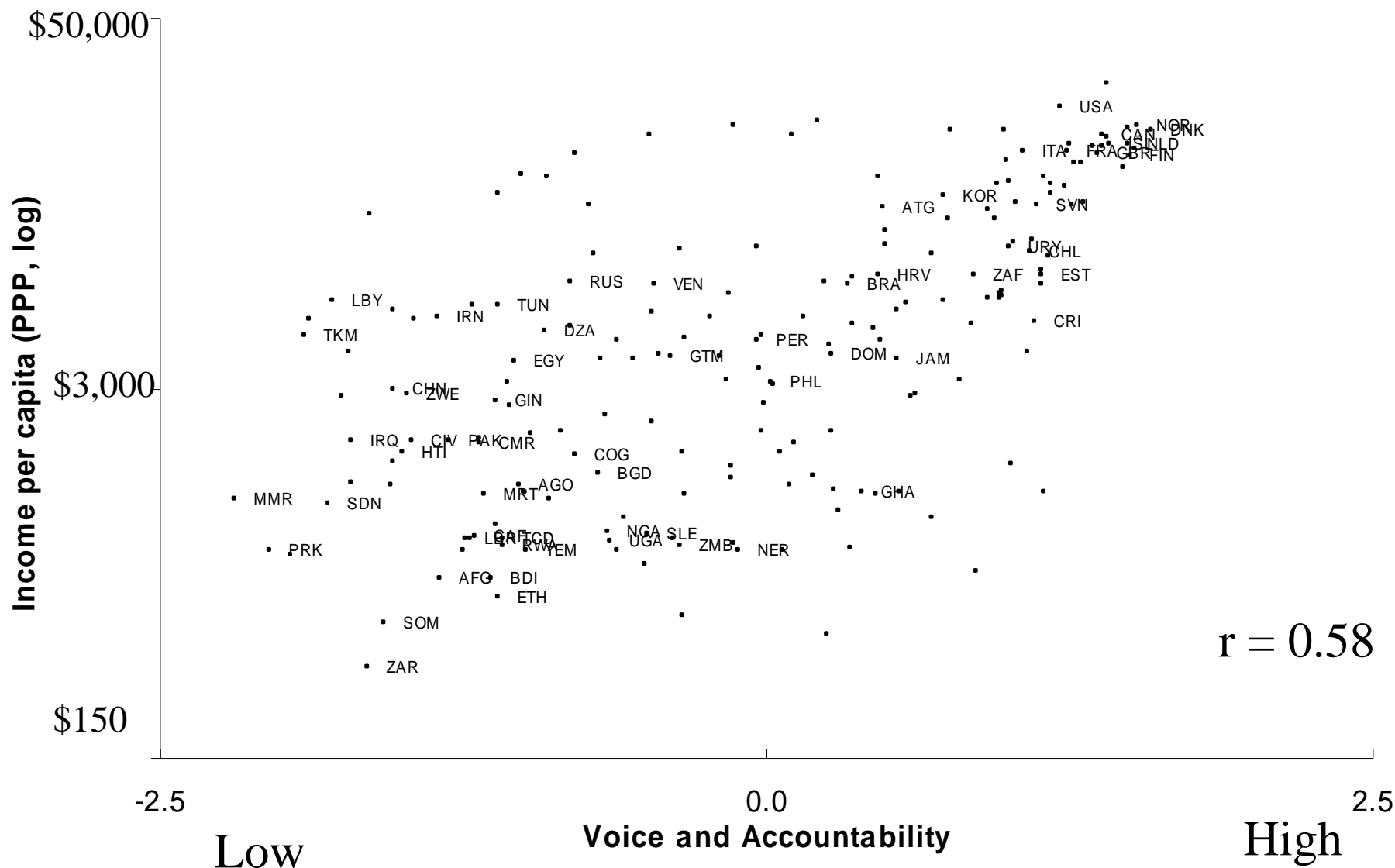
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Do 1stGHRs affect 2ndGHRs?

Why 1stGHR would affect 2nd GHRs?

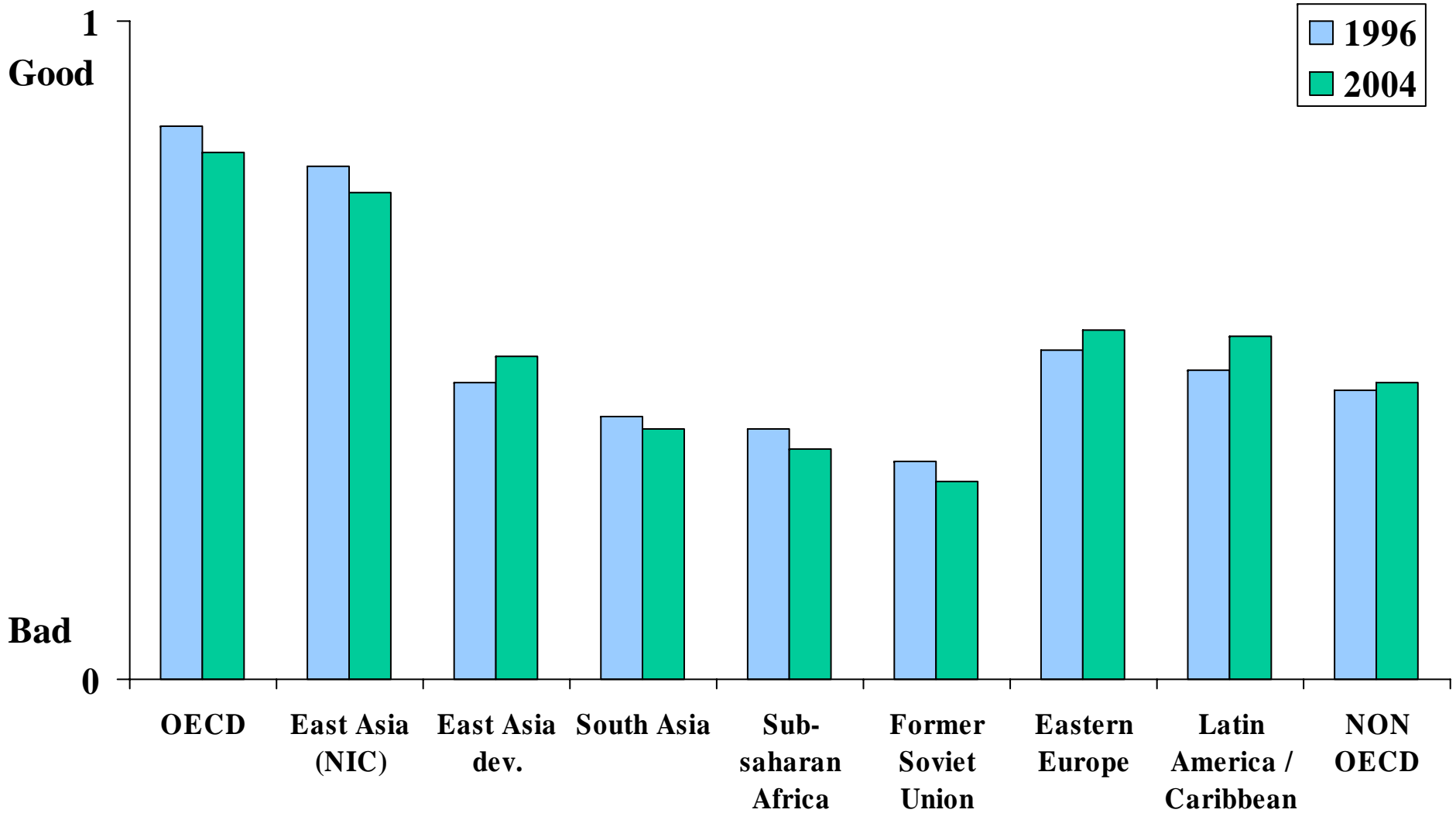
- **2GHRs largely *intermediate or final* development outcomes – vs. more fundamental determinant?**
- **1GHRs affecting 2GHRs directly (A. Sen, etc.)**
- **1GHRs affecting 2GHRs through mediating role of Corruption/Governance/Rule of Law**

Income per Capita vs. Voice & Accountability, 2004



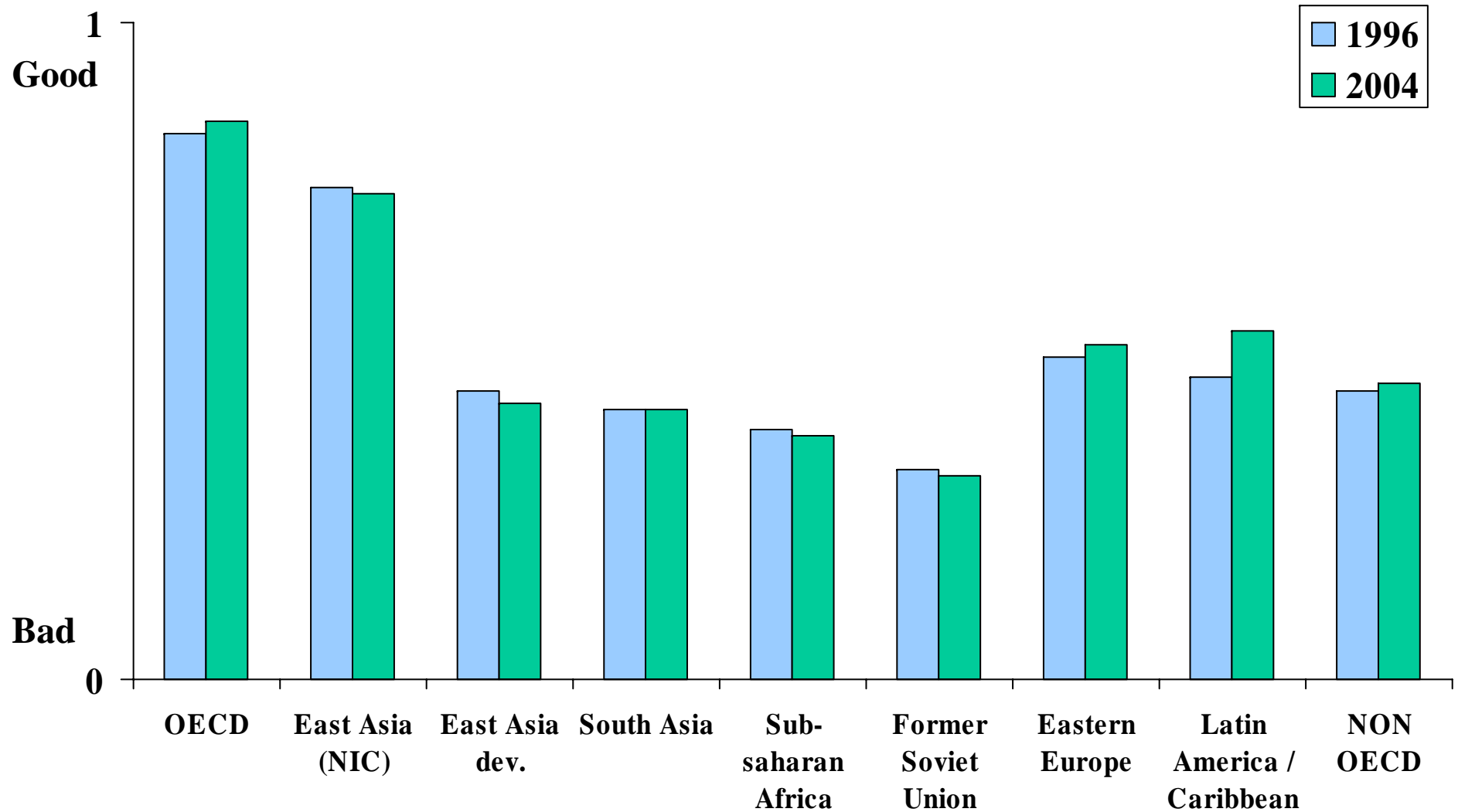
Source: KK 2004, Heston-Summers & CIA World Factbook

Rule of Law, 1996/2004



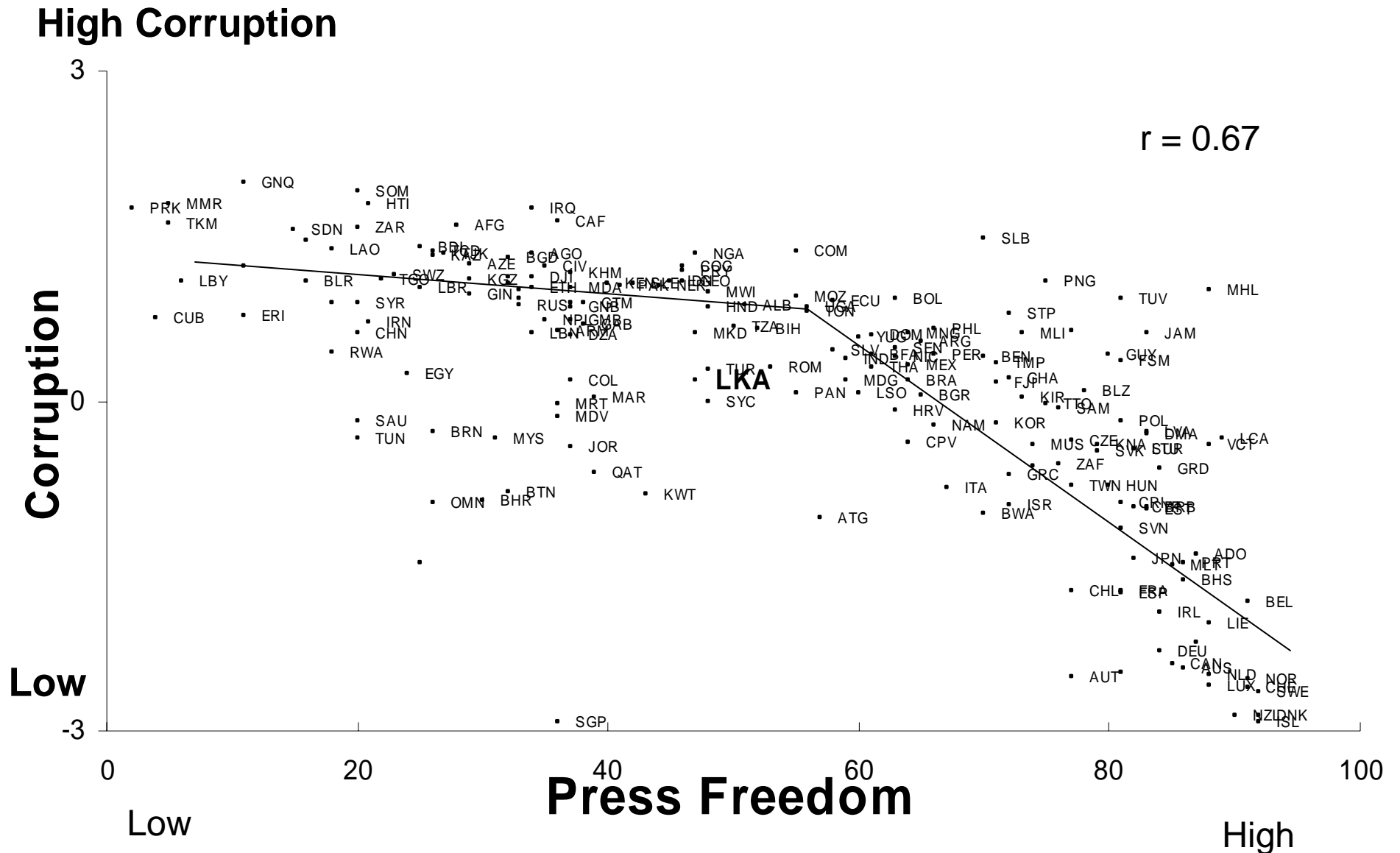
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Control of Corruption, 1996/2004



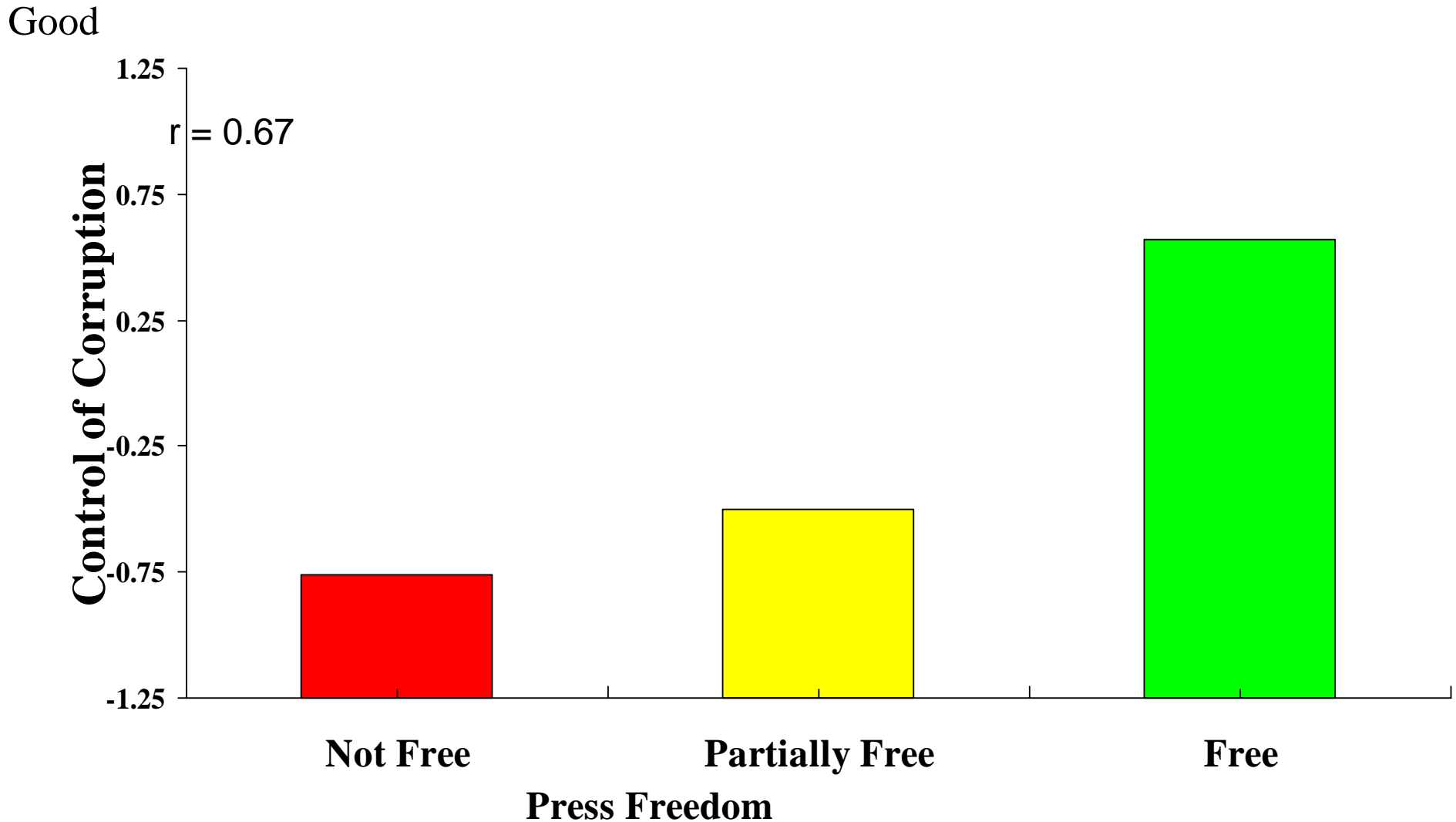
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Corruption is lower when the Press is Free



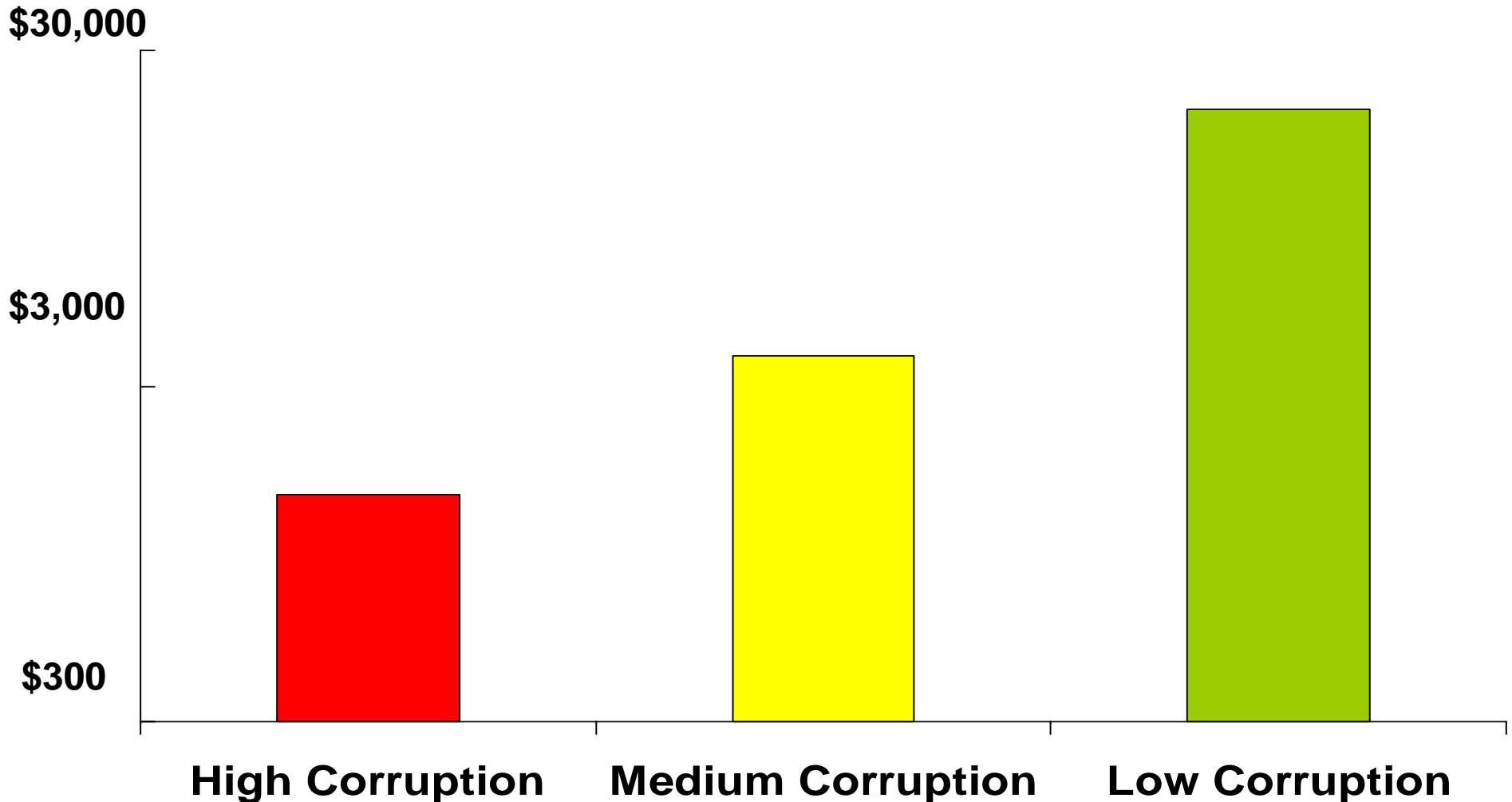
Source for control of corruption: : 'Governance Matters IV: Governance Indicators for 1996-2004', D. Kaufmann, A. Kraay and M. Mastruzzi, (<http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/govdata>). Source for Press Freedom: Freedom House.

Control of Corruption vs. Freedom of the Press



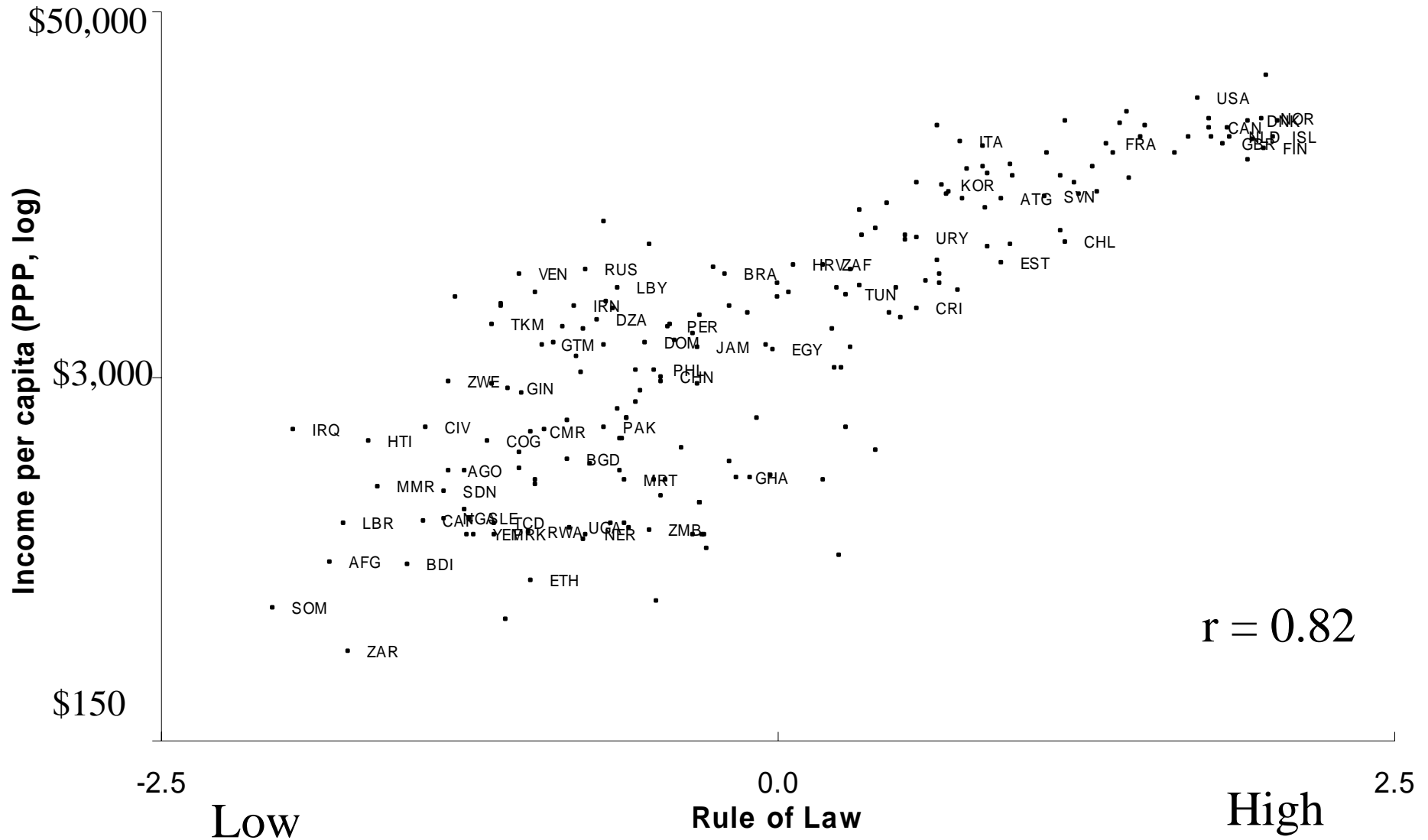
Source for Control of Corruption: : 'Governance Matters IV: Governance Indicators for 1996-2004', D. Kaufmann, A. Kraay and M. Mastruzzi, (<http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/govdata>); Source for Press Freedom: Freedom House. Terciles divided according to Press Freedom ratings (192 countries total). Free: 0-30 (39); Partly Free: 31-60 (63); Not Free: 61-100 (90).

The 300% Development Dividend From Controlling Corruption: Lowering Corruption increases Incomes per capita 3-fold (and not viceversa)



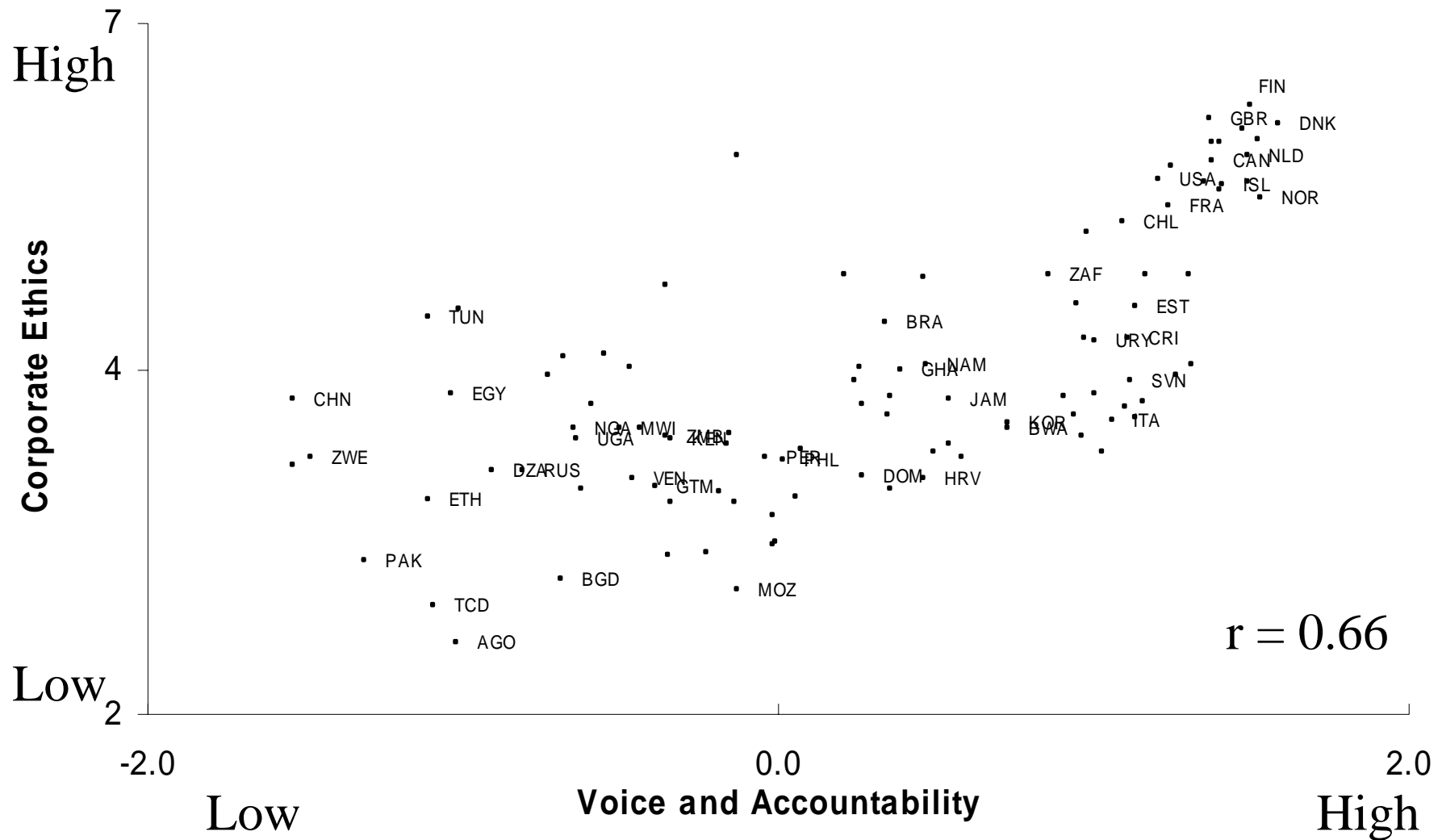
Data Source for calculations: KK 2004. Y-axis measures predicted GDP per capita on the basis of Instrumental Variable (IV) results for each of the 3 categories. Estimations based on various authors' studies, including Kaufmann and Kraay.

Income per Capita vs. Rule of Law, 2004



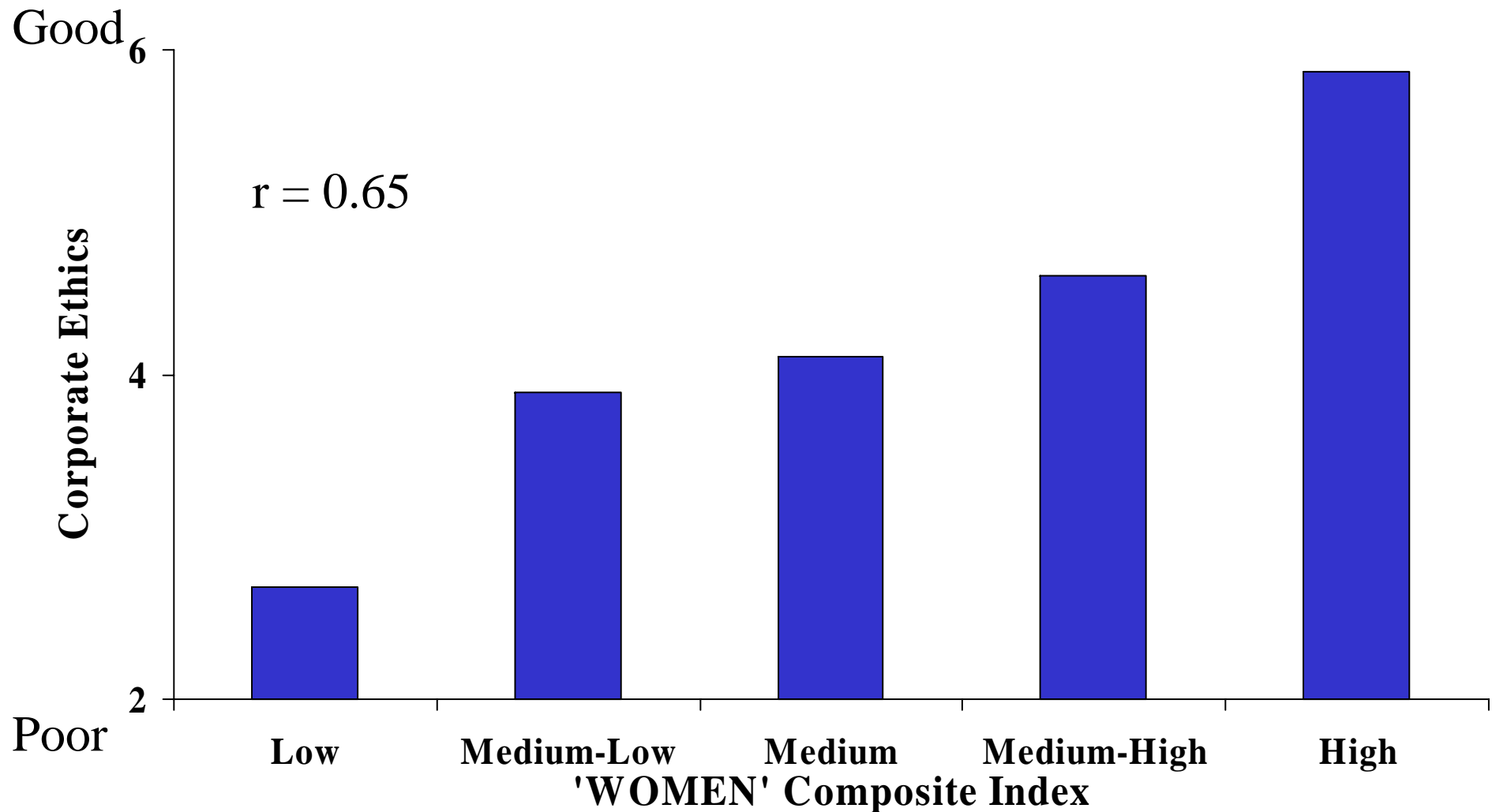
Source: KK 2004, Heston-Summers & CIA World Factbook

Corporate Ethics vs. Voice & Accountability, 2004



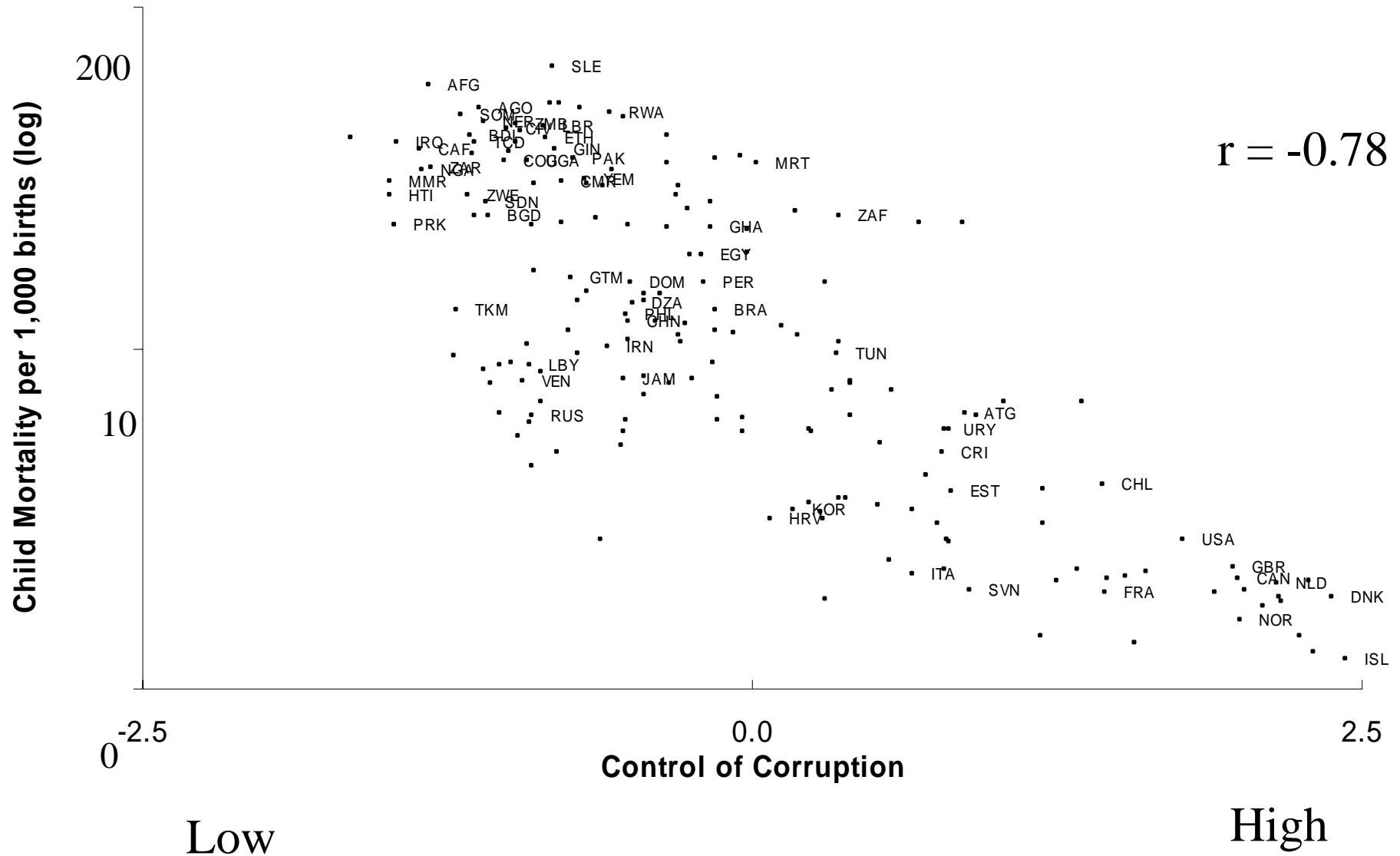
Corporate ethics drawn from EOS 2004. Question: “The corporate ethics (ethical behavior in interactions with public officials, politicians and other enterprises) of your country’s firms in your industry are among the world’s worst / best.”
 Voice and Accountability drawn from KK 2004.

Corporate Ethics vs. Human Rights ('Women'), 2004



Source: Cingranelli / Richards dataset – <http://www.humanrightsdata.com>. “WOMEN” is a composite indicator combining average country ratings for three categories: women’s political rights, women’s economic rights and social equality of women. Corporate ethics drawn from EOS 2004. Question: “The corporate ethics (ethical behavior in interactions with public officials, politicians and other enterprises) of your country’s firms in your industry are among the world’s worst/best.”

Child Mortality vs. Control of Corruption



Source: KK 2004, WDI 2003

Micro-Evidence and Research

- **Main Determinants of effectiveness of World Bank-funded projects?**
 - **Civil Liberties do matter (Isham, Kaufmann and Pritchett, WBEP 1997)**
- **In-depth country case studies:**
 - **Bolivia on Governance and Institutions being the missing link, and on ‘Voice’ matters**

Unconventional Implications – *for debate, 5 PINCs*

1. In HRs, Empirics Matter [PINC1] for: *advise, review popular notions (myths), monitoring, checks/balances*
2. Empirical analysis implies Unbundling [PINC2]
3. Progress in 1stGHRs is not dramatic [PINC3]
4. 1stGHR are key for 2ndGHR: *focus on link* [PINC4]
5. Some 2ndGHR require specific interventions as well
6. Rule of Law/Anti-Corruption key mediator between 1st and 2ndGHR issues (*A-C strategy; Judicial reform*)
7. 'Demand Side' of Governance is key [PINC5]:
Civil Liberties, Press Freedoms, Gender Rights –
crucial for Anti-Corruption and for 2ndGHR

Concluding--overall PINC questions to ourselves

- **Shouldn't we be more rigorous in clarifying what we mean by human rights, and not fear unbundling them?**
- **Overall PINC: Are 1GHRs and the Demand side of Governance getting the focus they deserve?**
- **How to guard against 'fig leafing' or posturing ('HR lite': *'we are doing so much already', water projects, PRSPs*)?**
- **Human Rights \neq Governance \neq Anti-Corruption**
- **Implications for CASs, CPIA, freedom of expression, etc**
- **Empirical Rigorous approach: *Indicators & Diagnostics***
- **How do we move forward with concrete initiatives that will have impact?—*requiring balancing political realism, country adaptation, concrete reforms & programs on the ground, while acknowledging that tiny ringfenced pilot projects may not be the answer?***