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"WHAT IS UNIVERSAL IN HUMAN RIGHTS?"

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WHAT IS UNIVERSAL IN HUMAN RIGHTS?

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Introduction

A forthright definition of human rights (HR) considers them as individual rights that are inalienable in the sense that every human being should be entitled to them without any consideration of his or her social status or of the way the individual behaves in society. All individuals are considered equal in relation to these rights and nobody should prevent them from enjoying these rights.

The above definition led to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948. However, it is evident that human rights are not universally enforced. Moreover, one wonders to what extent a common definition of HR is really shared across boundaries between countries and cultures. This certainly remains an important question, and in this contribution, I will try to formulate an answer as a social psychologist. I should admit that the problem was rarely studied by social psychologists, who have apparently left the burden to anthropologists and political scientists. But recently social psychologists have joined the debate.

Human rights as social representations

Until now and generally speaking, HR, in social psychology, have been studied as social representations (SR). Authors such as Diaz-Veizades, Widaman, Little & Gibbs (1994), Moghaddam & Vuksanovic (1990) or Rogers & Kitzinger (1995), who do not use the theory of SR, have produced findings that are compatible with that theory.

SR can be considered as organizing principles of symbolic relationships between individuals and groups. Their study is based on three main assumptions (Doise, Clémence, Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993) that we consider also important for the study of HR.

A first assumption is that various members of a given population under study share common views about a social issue. SR are generated in systems of communication that necessitate common frames of reference for individuals and groups participating in the relationships. Studying HR as SR first of all implies the search for common reference systems and for their organization. Often, shared reference systems are institutionalized and a question that was addressed in the research to be reported here is: To what extent do institutional definitions of HR function as common references for members of different national and cultural groups?

A second assumption bears on the nature of individual positioning in the field of HR. SR theory does not imply that individuals sharing common references hold the same positions but it is of course important to investigate the organization of differences in individual positioning, namely in the area of HR.

A third assumption is that the meaning of SR cannot be exhaustively studied without analyzing its anchoring in other social systems of symbolic relationships. Anchoring of SR, and also of HR, has mainly been studied in three different ways (Doise, 1992). First, the relationship with general beliefs and values has been investigated. Such values and beliefs are considered general to the extent that they supposedly organize symbolic relationships in various domains. SR, and also attitudes toward HR, have also been studied as anchored in the views individuals develop on the structuring of their social environment, as for instance the representations they hold concerning the nature of relationships between social groups and categories. Finally, a third way of analyzing the anchoring of SR investigates how group memberships or social positions held by individuals influence their SR, the general hypothesis being that shared social insertions lead to specific interactions and experiences that also modulate SR in the field of HR.

Empirical results

1. The organization of the field of HR

Mainly two studies deal with this issue in a transcultural setting. In the first study (Clémence, Doise, De Rosa, Gonzalez, 1995), pupils and students aged 13 to 20 years, and living in four different countries (Costa Rica, France, Italy and Switzerland) were invited to answer 21 items presenting

various situations involving violations or limitations of individual rights. Some of these situations (for instance, situations of racial discrimination, imprisonment without trial or legal assistance, starvation) can easily be referred to classical definitions of HR contained in the Universal Declaration or in the European Convention. Other situations, dealing with the rights of children or with family affairs are less explicitly related to Articles of the Universal Declaration or of the European Convention. And finally some situations dealing with economic inequality or health matters (prohibition of smoking, hospitalization in case of contagious illness) are apparently not covered by official definitions of HR.

Table 1 lists the frequencies wherein situations (responses: "yes certainly" or "yes probably") were to be considered as violations of HR (other possible responses were "probably not" or "certainly not"). Can we speak about consensus? Surely not about absolute consensus, not even in the case of highest agreement (imprisonment without legal defense) where 14 % still consider that it is probably or certainly not a violation of HR. But when consensus is defined as a majority view it is reached for 17 situations. Opinions are divided about parents who oblige their children to attend church services and only minorities consider that unequal salaries, defense of smoking, or enforcing hospitalization upon contagiously ill people may be or are violations of HR. Overall, results for respondents of four different countries are highly similar: these four samples of respondents organize their opinions about human rights in a frame that can be related to official declarations of HR.

TABLE 1

In the second research, still in progress (for a presentation of the method and results of a feasibility study see Doise, Spini, Jesuino, Ng & Emler, 1994) the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was presented to students of 30 countries. Subjects were asked to answer eight questions about each of these articles on nine-point bipolar scales (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1

Until now data were analyzed of respondents from Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Czech

Republic, Finland, Greece, Hong Kong, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Mexico, Portugal, Switzerland, Tunisia, the United States of America. They were all students in psychology, law, science, social work and various other fields.

Other data were received or are expected from Belgium, Canada, Ecuador, England, Germany, India, Indonesia, Northern Ireland, Russia, Rumania, Serbia, South Africa, Spain, Zimbabwe, the Netherlands, and the Philippines.

Results (Doise, Spini, Clémence, 1996) from the first 18 countries already show that a common organization can be found in the answers to the 30 articles of the UDHR (see Figure 2). This organization consists in the division of the articles into two main classes that, in turn, subdivided into two subclasses. We were specially interested in these four subclasses of positions in the common space because there was a close correspondence between them and the categories developed by René Cassin, the chairman of the drafting committee of the Universal Declaration.

1) The first subclass was a combination of the category which Cassin called "foundations" (articles 1 and 2) with three articles concerning basic individual rights: protection from torture and slavery (articles 4 and 5) freedom, dignity (article 3) and privacy (article 12). This cluster will be called category of basic rights.

2) The second subclass was made up of the remaining individual judicial rights (articles 6-11) and of the rights concerning freedom of movement, asylum and nationality (13-15). This cluster will be called category of individual rights.

3) The third cluster was composed of articles 16 and 17 covering the right to family and property ownership, articles 18-21 concerning public rights and articles 23-27 dealing with economic, social and cultural rights. This cluster will be called category of social rights.

4) The fourth cluster was composed of the whole of Cassin's category of rights to societal and international order (articles 28-30) supplemented by article 22 concerning social security. This cluster will be called societal rights.

FIGURE 2

We conclude that sets of responses can be organized in a meaningful common structure. Although the result of our cluster analysis does not fully replicate Cassin's classification, his ideas are still applicable for describing the organization of the field of the UDHR extracted from the mean responses of national groups of respondents. The clusters we obtain differentiate in an important way general principles of basic rights, judicial rights, socio-economic rights and rights to societal order.

Of course, such results do not permit definite conclusions about the issue of the universality of HR, even if we asked relevant questions to the kind of people we did reach in more than 30 countries. However this suggests a sound way of participating in the debate on the universality of HR. That is to say, to ask members of different cultures to express their opinions on the content of official documents most often ratified by representatives of their governments. Recent research by various authors suggests that in similar matters (values, opinions about democracy) large-scale international studies with more systematic and representative samples are now possible (see Albala-Bertrand, 1995; Diener, Diener & Diener, 1995; Inglehart, 1995; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995).

2. Organizing Principles of Interindividual Differences

A common reference frame does not imply consensual definitions of HR as this section about systematic variations in individual positioning shall illustrate.

Diaz-Veizades, Widaman, Little and Gibbs (1994) have also used the UDHR for constructing a questionnaire on HR. However they realize an important adaptation of the text, reformulating the 30 articles in 116 more concrete items. For each item their respondents (mainly North American college students) express their degree of agreement on a 7-point scale. But many items "had very low variance because of high rates of endorsement, so they could not correlate highly with other items. After these low-loading items were deleted, 38 items were re-analyzed using an iterated principle factor analysis." (Diaz-Veizades, Widaman, Little & Gibbs, 1994, 317). Clearly, we are confronted here with another logic, one that favors the study of systematic interindividual variations. Four factors were retained and described in the following way:

Factor 1. "All items (...) concerned access or entitlement to an adequate standard of living (e.g., food, housing, medical care). This factor was called Social Security.

Factor 2: "(...) items dealt with the acceptability of limiting individual civil and political rights; another way of describing the second factor would be to say that it reflected an anti-human-rights orientation. The factor was labeled Civilian Constraint."

Factor 3: "The theme tying (...) items together was that of equality, evidenced most clearly by items dealing with equal access to basic rights for all individuals regardless of race, gender, or beliefs."

Factor 4: "On the six items, four involved individual privacy rights (...). One item concerned education (...), and one dealt with speech (...). Because a majority of the items, and those with the highest loadings, involved rights to privacy, we labeled this factor Privacy." (Ibidem, 317-321).

In our own research we have on several occasions investigated organizations of individual positioning using factor analytic methods. For instance in the research on SR of HR violations in four countries we found that the first two factors were clearly organized by judgements on violations of rights explicitly mentioned in the UDHR (see Clémence, Doise, De Rosa & Gonzalez, 1995), while the third factor was more directly organized around family relations, the fourth around relations with marginal groups and the fifth about issues (forced hospitalization of the contagiously ill and differences in salary) still less directly related to official declarations of HR.

The fact that common references organize SR of HR does not prevent individuals from taking different stands, and such differences occur as well within countries and groups as between them. This is also an indisputable conclusion of the results already obtained in our 30-country study. Four kinds of positions could clearly be defined in that investigation.

The subjects of a first group (more than one third of respondents) had the highest scores on all classes of articles for all types of scales. They can be considered advocates of the idea of HRs.

The subjects of group 2 (less than one tenth of respondents) may be called pessimists or skeptics. It was they

who had the lowest scores on all classes of articles concerning the three principles "importance given to HRs", "personal involvement", and "possible governmental enforcement".

The subjects of group 3 (about 25% of respondents) admit that none of the groups of articles really concerns them very much personally and that HRs are rather governments' business. These subjects gave importance to the various articles of the UDHR. This response pattern indicates that subjects think that governments are more effective than individuals in enforcing respect for HRs and we call them governmentalists.

The subjects of group 4 (about 30% of respondents) presented a picture different from that of group 3: they considered that HRs concern them personally but that it is not easy for governments to do something, whichever classes of articles are considered. They tend to attach greater importance to all UDHR articles than the governmentalists do. This response pattern could be typical of personalists.

In relation with the problem of universality of HR the conclusion of this section is obvious: various studies illustrate that individuals differ in their positionings toward HR, even when they share the same culture, live in the same area, are members of rather homogeneous socio-economic categories. For a social psychologist it is as important to analyze such differences as to analyze possible differences between countries and cultures.

3. Anchoring and contextualization in SR of HR

The first way of anchoring described above was practised in almost all research mentioned. Diaz-Veizades and colleagues (1995), for instance, have shown that respondents adhering more to a Civilian Constraint conception of HR are those who obtain also higher scores on a Nationalism scale and lower ones on Internationalism and Civil Liberties scales. Their political preferences are also more likely to favor Republicans over Democrats, whereas adherents to a Social Security conception of HR favor Democrats and have higher scores on Internationalism.

In the study with the articles of the UDHR we combined an analysis of anchoring in values and in representations of the social environment such as representations of conflict and injustice. The analysis of the data from 18 countries leads us

to the conclusion that, in general, strong support for the values of universalism, social harmony and happiness, linked to representations of societal dysfunctioning and ideological conflicts are systematically related to more favorable and personalistic human rights attitudes, whereas opposed positions result in skepticism or governmentalist attitudes. In addition, more intense awareness and experience of conflicts and injustice as inherent in economic systems and resulting from imperfections in human nature, together with less concern for personal happiness can lead to more specific personal involvement rather than to a general attitude of optimism or governmentalism. Finally, some forms of scepticism can result from beliefs in the role of affective socialization and perception of social tensions linked with other representations and experiences but opposed to experiences of ideological discriminations and beliefs in economical explanations, again linked with other specific representations.

The intricacies of these patterns of anchoring show that there exist no straight link between, on one hand, value choices, perception, experiences and explanations of human rights violations, and, on the other hand, positionings in the realm of human rights: identical positionings are not necessarily linked with identical sets of value choices, beliefs and experiences.

Other analyses of anchoring concern links with nationality. It is our purpose to analyze such anchoring taking into account the differences between countries on several dimensions, such as those described in the previous section. But also macro-economic, political and cultural dimensions will be introduced in the analysis, once we dispose of data for all the countries under study.

While analyzing the data from 18 countries we already sought for patterns of differences between countries, more specifically for variations in the way respondents of different countries position themselves in relation to different kinds of rights: basic rights, individual rights, social rights and societal rights. Up till now we are struck by the fact that respondents from different countries, at least on the average, deal in a rather similar way with the four groups of rights.

In the study on SR of violations their anchoring in other representations was also investigated. Respondents who

considered more situations to be violations of HR were those who considered a higher number of governmental actions as unacceptable, who were more concerned about protecting privacy in the case of queries made by government and business firms. Organizing principles of individual positioning in the SR of HR violations are therefore clearly related to the defense of individual rights against political and economic authorities.

Another kind of studies on anchoring could well be even more important for the contributions of social psychologists to the interdisciplinary debate on HR. They are studies that are experimental and that deal with problems of contextualization, as will be shown. They were initiated by Moghaddam and Vuksanovic (1990). In a first study, these colleagues ask undergraduate students in Montreal to answer a questionnaire about HR issues. The questionnaire is identical in three conditions except for the fact that in a first condition the context referred to was Canada, in a second condition the Soviet Union and in a third condition the Third World. Typical items for instance were: "All forms of censorship should be done away with in (Canada/Soviet Union/ Third World societies)" or "Everyone in (...) should have access to free health care". Overall support for HR was stronger in the context Soviet Union and Third World than in the Canadian context. In a second study, three scenarios were used concerning a television news anchor woman who was fired from her job, a tortured member of a terrorist group and a female shoplifter, again presented in three different contexts. As in the first study, support for HR was stronger in conditions Soviet Union and Third World than in condition Canada.

Such results tend to confirm the opinion of critics who consider HR as a Western export article, more useful for others than for Westerners themselves. However, beliefs about respect of HR in one's own country and in foreign countries are not merely ruled by a principle of ethnocentrism. In two studies (not yet published), Swiss subjects do not discriminate in their evaluations of respect of HR in their own country, Belgium and France. Nevertheless, general evaluation of these countries is correlated with the respect of HR attributed to them. Seemingly, at least for those countries rather similar to Switzerland regarding respect of HR, national membership of our subjects did not bias their judgement, but a subject's general evaluation of the country under consideration did.

In another experiment (see Clémence & Doise, 1995) pupils, aged 14 to 15 years, read different scenarios involving a person violating a basic right of another person who was in a rather irregular judicial or moral situation. The evaluation of the victim intervenes negatively in the evaluation of the gravity of violation, but more importantly, the fact of evoking explicitly HR weakened severity of judgments, in comparison with scenarios treating the violation merely as an incident, a news item (fait divers). As several of the scenarios were explicitly "contextualized" in Switzerland, it may be that respondents, having a positive evaluation of their country, could not admit severe violations of HR in their country or in other countries similar to their own.

Another result of the same investigation is equally important. When participants were asked to indicate their degree of consent with the rights involved (right not to be tortured, right to asylum, to education, to found a family, to privacy, to life) almost no reservations were made. However, when they were asked to condemn clear violations of these rights, reservations were made (Figure 3). A general acceptance of the principles of HR goes together with a certain degree of tolerance for their concrete violations. Rights that are contextualized allow for many sources of variation to intervene in the evaluations of their actualization or violation. Therefore, there is much room left for variations in individual positioning.

FIGURE 3

Conclusion

Indivisibility of HR, their inalienability seem firmly confirmed as long as rights are enunciated on a rather general and abstract level. However priorities are fixed, adhesion to different rights becomes less evident, as soon as these rights are no longer institutionally and normatively presented to respondents. When presented in a specific context, the links with a normative view become weaker and attitudes towards rights are anchored in value choices, in different representations of the social environment. Interindividual relations, intergroup and institutional dynamics, value priorities modulate the rights' universality, inalienability

and indivisibility. This modulability is also the case for other SR. Studying HR as SR is certainly a challenging undertaking.

Another avenue to the sociopsychological study of HR remains to be explored. It can be called the social contract approach.

Multiple relationships directly or indirectly unite human beings. Between different human groups circulate such important things as genes, viruses, pollutants, goods, money and also ideas. Practices of inhabitants of one country influence, to a certain extent, the fate of inhabitants of other countries, their way of cultivating crops, their health, the functioning of their institutions, their access to all kind of resources. Apartheid, defined as tight segregation does not exist, but there is also no clear and exhaustive representation or definition of the multiple relationships that exist between all human beings. Globalization is a new term to designate this general interdependency that remains far too complex to be analyzed thoroughly.

Nonetheless, mutual interactions and communications between humans generate normative representations. While interacting with somebody, an individual knows that his or her fate will be affected by that interaction, at least in certain domains, to a certain measure, at a certain cost. Normative representations of what these mutual effects should be exist. As there are many kinds of interactions, characterized by all sorts of differences in status, purposes, forms of interdependency, degree of formality (see for instance the classification by Morton Deutsch, 1985) we dispose of different models of acceptable relationships, of explicit or implicit contracts that should govern these relationships, of prototypes of fair relationships. Guiding principles of evaluating relationships are part of human cultures.

HR are such principles. They should, at least by intention, organize our interactions. For historical (i.e. economical, political, military, religious, and even scientific) reasons, Western societies were led to organize relationships not only within national and cultural boundaries, but also across such boundaries. Resulting prototypes of contracts are indeed complex as they concern more or less directly individuals or national entities. This is for instance the case with the UDHR, concerning

relationships between individuals and governments as well as between governments.

However, the intentionality of HR is universal. While interacting with others, whatever their origin, we are supposed to respect some contracts concerning corporal integrity, access to vital resources, societal order. If we want to remain credible, as nationals, as bearers of the so-called Western culture, we can only commit ourselves to relationships that respect such basic rights. Of course, problems are countless, as those resulting from economic conditions imposed on Third World countries, as those related to unemployment or differences in access to medical care in Western countries.

For furthering transcultural dialogue about HR it is important to recognize that the claims for universality of HR principles do not imply that they are fully respected even in the countries whose political authorities sustain such claims. Moreover, if one refers to one of the most operational institutional definitions of HR, the European Convention for the Protection of HR and Fundamental Freedoms, the idea that enforcement of basic rights can practically be very restricted, is part of the Convention itself. There are only very few rights that are the object of an absolute protection by this Convention. I quote a jurist listing the rights that under no circumstances can be suspended, even temporarily or exceptionally, according to the Convention. "En définitive seuls l'interdit de la torture et des peines ou traitements inhumains ou dégradants (art. 3) ainsi que celui des expulsions collectives (art. 4 Protocole additionnel n° 4) et du cumul des poursuites ou sanctions pénales à raison d'une même infraction (art. 4 Protocole additionnel n° 7) consacrent l'existence de droits à protection absolue." (Delmas-Marty, 1989, 12). This list should probably be completed with a mention of Article 15, paragraph 2, prohibiting slavery or servitude although several forms of "forced or compulsory labour" are not included in this prohibition. According to the European Convention the list of rights that are to be protected under all circumstances is indeed very short. For instance, the right to life is not absolute, exceptions are envisaged in Article 2 of the European Convention[1] and the

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[1] Article 2
1. Everyone's right to live shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally save in the execution of a sentence of court following his

countries which agreed to abolish the death penalty can restore it during war time, but torture can never be justified. To live is not an absolute right, but to live without torture and free from slavery is such a right.

To conclude, let me try to answer the question put at the beginning of this contribution: What is universal in HR? It is basically the fact that many citizens of so-called Western democracies, but also of other countries, use or declare to use HR principles for orienting and evaluating relationships within and across national and cultural boundaries. HR cannot be considered universal in the sense that all individuals, even in Western countries, would adhere to them with the same strength of conviction or that they would apply them in all situations. Nevertheless, their role as normative representations is not restricted to countries that adopted the HR principles as part of their political identity, they already provide evaluative standards for groups of people all over the world.

However, the distinction between a large-scale principled agreement and a much more restricted enforcement is perhaps the most universal characteristic of HR.

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conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law.

2. Deprivation of life shall not be regarded as inflicted in contravention of this Article when it results from the use of force which is no more than absolutely necessary:
a) in defense of any person from unlawful violence;
b) in order to effect a lawful arrest or to prevent the escape of a person lawfully detained;
c) in action lawfully taken for the purpose of quelling a riot or insurrection.

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Table 1: Violations of Human Rigths. Proportion (%) of respondents answering 'yes certainly' or 'yes probably'.

	France	Switzerl.	Italy	Costa-Rica	Total
1. Imprisonment without lawyer's defense	72.1	88.4	92.7	92.0	86.1
2. Parental child-beating	69.8	84.8	86.3	87.6	82.0
3. Men and women left to die of hunger	67.2	90.0	94.4	84.8	81.3
4. Prisonner condemned after riot without hearing by a tribunal	69.8	80.0	88.9	79.2	79.3
5. Obliging children to work in factories	65.1	87.6	90.2	75.6	79.3
6. Whites prevent Blacks from renting a flat	66.7	88.8	69.6	90.0	78.9
7. Neighbors prevent construction of AIDS center	58.1	87.2	89.8	80.0	78.4
8. Imprisonment due to protest against government	71.4	87.2	68.3	85.2	78.1
9. Divorce pronounced without informing children aged 10-14 years of future caretaker	68.6	84.8	79.6	84.4	76.9
10. Pronouncing someone insane followed by confinement without hearing	63.1	83.6	73.1	80.8	75.1
11. Obliging children to abandon their studies	53.4	80.0	90.6	77.2	75.0
12. Women obliged by government to veil their faces	63.5	83.6	57.3	86.8	73.0
13. Mayor prohibiting gypsies from settling	60.0	74.0	65.4	57.6	64.2
14. Husband preventing wife from going out alone	44.3	62.8	85.1	65.2	63.9
15. Refugee suspected of murder expelled without hearing	55.3	70.0	59.8	56.8	60.5
16. Wife preventing husband from going out alone	36.0	60.4	77.3	59.6	57.9
17. Killing a burglar who broke into one's home	54.6	52.0	64.5	52.0	55.6
18. Obliging children to attend mass	40.0	51.6	56.4	49.6	49.3
19. Contagiously ill people forcibly confined in hospital	40.0	34.8	63.3	34.0	42.7
20. Higher salaries for some people	34.9	48.8	48.0	36.8	41.8
21. Prohibiting smoking in a meeting	38.8	27.6	24.2	30.0	30.5

Figure 1: Example of a page of the questionnaire using the 30 articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.


Article 1- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

difficult article to understand	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	easy article to understand
difficult for governments to apply	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	easy for governments to apply
clear implications for individuals'responsibilities towards others	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	no clear implications for individuals'responsibilities towards others
political parties can do much to enforce this article	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	political parties cannot do much to enforce this article
article relevant to my rights as a private individual	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	article not relevant to my rights as a private individual
I can personally do a great deal for the respect of this article	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	I can personally do very little for the respect of this article
I don't agree with every aspect	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	I agree with every aspect
I am willing to join other concerned people to defend this article	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	I am not willing to join other concerned people to defend this article

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Article 2- Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.
Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, wether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.
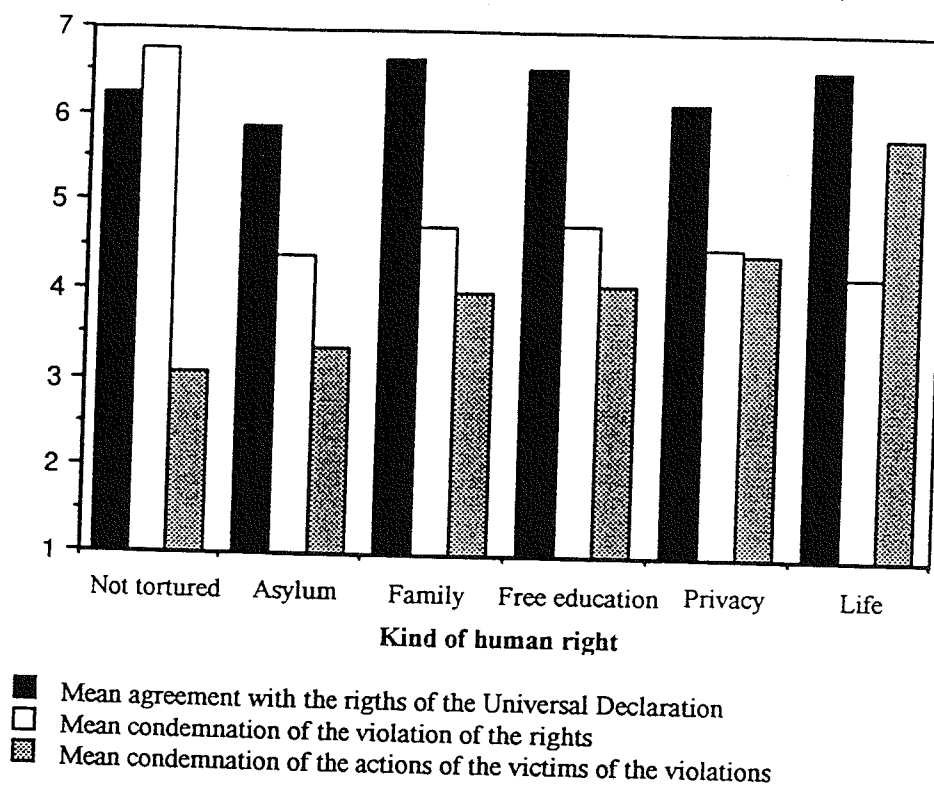
difficult article to understand	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	easy article to understand
difficult for governments to apply	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	easy for governments to apply
clear implications for individuals'responsibilities towards others	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	no clear implications for individuals'responsibilities towards others
political parties can do much to enforce this article	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	political parties cannot do much to enforce this article
article relevant to my rights as a private individual	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	article not relevant to my rights as a private individual
I can personally do a great deal for the respect of this article	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	I can personally do very little for the respect of this article
I don't agree with every aspect	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	I agree with every aspect
I am willing to join other concerned people to defend this article	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	I am not willing to join other concerned people to defend this article

Figure 2: Graphic representation of hierarchical cluster analysis (Ward's method) of distances between 30 UDHR articles on three dimensions of INDSCAL with indication of Cassin's classes
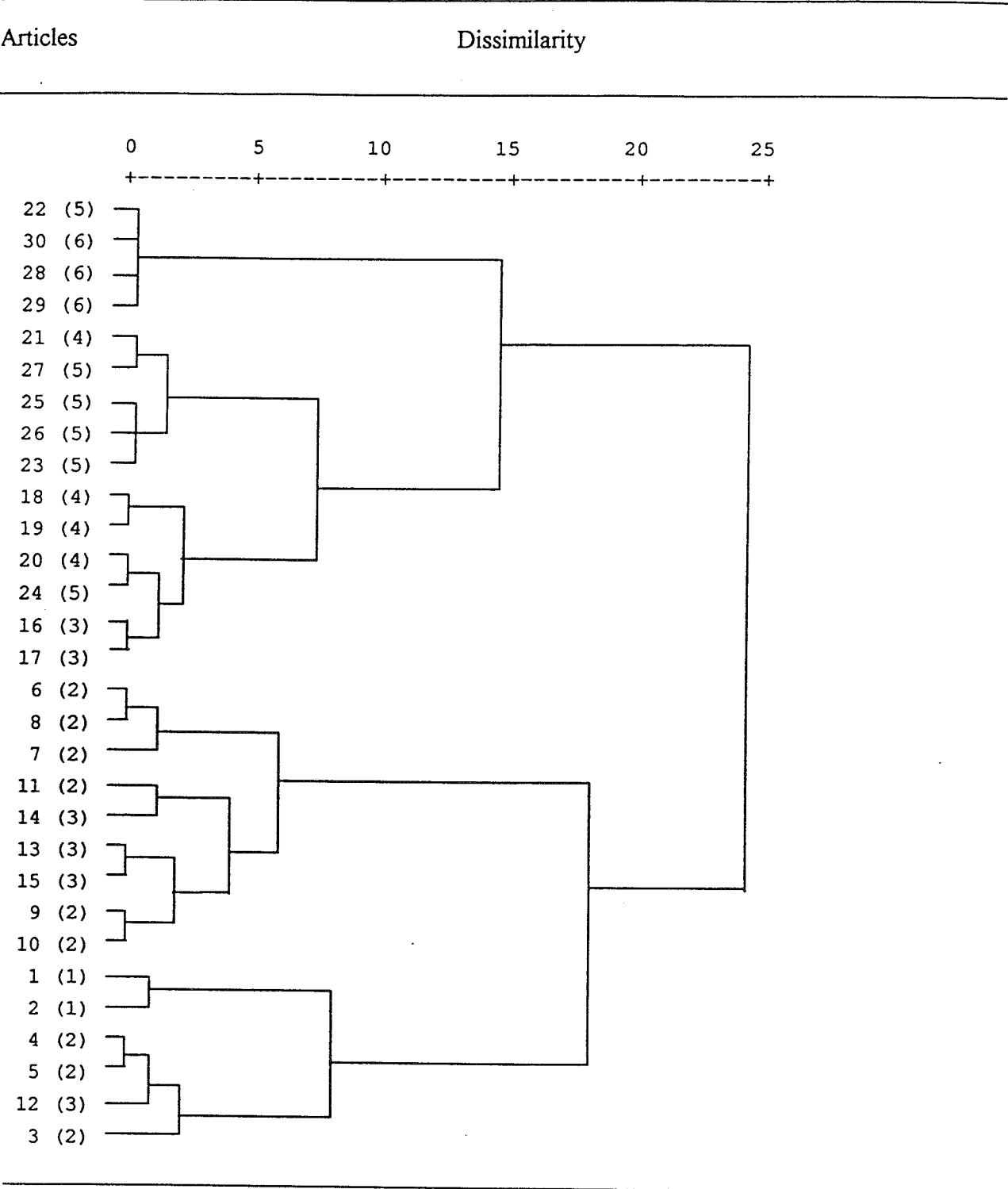
Note. The numbers in parentheses correspond to Cassin's six classes in the UDHR order (1=principles, 2=individual, 3=relations, 4=public, 5= economic, 6=international order)

Figure 3: Mean agreement with 6 human rights, mean condemnation of their violations and mean condemnation of the actions committed by victims of the violations

Legend:
- ■ Mean agreement with the rigths of the Universal Declaration
- □ Mean condemnation of the violation of the rights
- ▨ Mean condemnation of the actions of the victims of the violations

X-axis (Kind of human right): Not tortured, Asylum, Family, Free education, Privacy, Life

Note: Scale: agreement: 1, not at all; 7, totally; condemnation:1, not at all acceptable, 7, totally acceptable.