HUMAN RIGHTS QUARTERLY

CIRIGHTS: Quantifying Respect for All Human Rights

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ABSTRACT

The CIRIGHTS Data Project scores a representative sample of all internationally recognized human rights. In this article, we use CIRIGHTS scores to discover global patterns in government respect for human rights. The findings show that worker rights, including the right to form a trade union and bargain collectively, are among the least protected human rights. The right to be protected from torture is also among the least protected rights, but, on average, other physical integrity rights—protection from extrajudicial killing, political imprisonment, and disappearance—are among the most protected rights. We introduce an Overall Human Rights Protection Index for all countries, which shows that nearly two-thirds of the world's countries score less than 65 on the 100-point scale. A heat map shows that countries tend to have similar index scores if they share an international border. We discuss the implications of these patterns for future research and policymaking.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, scholars, mainly in the fields of law, political science, and sociology, have led the human rights quantification effort.[1] Quantifying respect for human rights requires the assignment of numeric ratings to governments reflecting their level of conformity with international human rights standards.[2] Human rights scores provide an accountability mechanism telling the world how well each nation is meeting its human rights protection obligations.[3] More broadly, if our aim is to understand, test, and convey the empirical interdependence and universality of human rights, we need metrics that cover a wide array of human rights. If scores are expressed on the same scale, then comparisons of the mean level of protection for different rights tell us which rights governments respect the most and least.

The CIRIGHTS Data Project produces annual scores for a representative sample of internationally recognized human rights for almost all countries, and has done so since 1981.[4] CIRIGHTS builds upon the previous Cingranelli and Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Data Project introduced in this journal in 2010.[5] CIRIGHTS updates and combines the CIRI and WorkR datasets, enlarges the number of countries included in the previous data sets, corrects for past scoring errors, and updates scoring guidelines to reflect changes in international human rights law and topics covered in more recent annual human rights reports.[6]

CIRIGHTS also scores many rights not previously scored by either the CIRI or WorkR data projects.[7] CIRIGHTS includes over seventy different measures of human rights.[8] Some scores measure the strength of constitutional or statutory protection of a right.[9] Some measure the degree of protection the government provides in practice.[10] Still, others score multiple dimensions of a single right, such as the right to freedom from discrimination. CIRIGHTS scores are transparent and replicable, and the CIRIGHTS website allows users to download scores and create heat maps and other visualizations of scores.[11]

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1. Todd Landman, *Measuring Human Rights: Principle, Practice, and Policy,* 26 Hum. Rts. Q. 906 (2004).
2. *Id*.
3. *Id*.
4. CIRIGHTS, https://cirights.com/ [https://perma.cc/RQC8-TY85]; Skip Mark, David Cingranelli, Mikhail Filippov & David L. Richards, *The CIRIGHTS Data Project Scoring Manual* V2.11.06.23 (Nov. 6, 2023), https://ssrn.com/abstract=4625036.
5. David L. Cingranelli & David L. Richards, *The Cingranelli and Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Data Project*, 32 Hum. Rts. Q. 401, 403 (2010).
6. Colin M. Barry, David L. Cingranelli & K. Chad Clay, *Labor Rights in Comparative Perspective: The WorkR Dataset*, 48 Int'l Interactions 327 (2022).
7. *Id*.
8. *Id*.
9. *Id*.
10. *Id*.
11. Mark et al., *supra* note 4.

In this article, we utilize data from the CIRIGHTS Project to compare the average amount of protection provided to various human rights globally and introduce an Overall Human Rights Protection Index for all countries. This Index ranges from zero to one hundred, based on the degree of protection each country provides for twenty-five different rights. Countries receive zero points for widespread violations of a right, two points for minor violations, and four points for no violations. The cumulative index score for a country is the sum of scores across these twenty-five rights. The Overall Human Rights Protection Index is designed to be comprehensible to the public, policymakers, media personnel, educators, and researchers.

In an era dominated by misinformation and skepticism toward science, it is crucial for scholars to make data and human rights measures more accessible and understandable. The Index introduced here provides easy-to-understand information about the global state of human rights protection, and how each country compares in terms of the protection its government provides for different rights. It helps pinpoint rights that are not adequately protected, but should be, and whether the higher levels of protection of some rights are associated with lower levels of protection of others. If human rights are interdependent, then high levels of protection for some should be accompanied by high levels of protection for other rights. And progress in civil and political rights should lead to progress in economic and social rights.

A growing body of research suggests that human rights may not all respond the same way to changes in wealth or democracy,[12] that improvements in some rights are associated with declines in others,[13] and that human rights practices are improving in some types of countries but not in others.[14] Research also suggests that decisions by governments to violate some rights rather than others may be strategic, allowing leaders to avoid the spotlight, and thereby escape accountability for rights violations.[15] It also shows that the degree of government respect for physical integrity rights is strongly affected by the amount of protection provided by neighboring countries.[16]

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12. Daniel W. Hill Jr. & K. Anne Watson, *Democracy and Compliance with Human Rights Treaties: The Conditional Effectiveness of the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, 63 Int'l Stud. Q. 127 (2019).
13. Jan Essink, Alberto Quintavalla & Jeroen Temperman, *The Indivisibility of Human Rights: An Empirical Analysis*, 23 Hum. Rts. L. Rev. (2023); David Cingranelli, Mark Skip, & Almira Sadykova-DuMond, *Democracy, Capacity, and the Implementation of Laws Protecting Human Rights*, 12 Laws 6 (2023).
14. David Cingranelli & Mikhail Fillipov, *Path Dependence and Human Rights Improvement*, 19 J. Hum. Rts. 19 (2020).
15. Jacqueline H. R. DeMeritt, *The Strategic Use of State Repression and Political Violence*, *in* Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics (William R. Thompson ed., 2016); Caroline L. Payne & M. Rodwan Abouharb, *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Strategic Shift to Forced Disappearance*, 15 J. Hum. Rts. 163 (2016).
16. David L. Richards, Alyssa Webb, & K. Chad Clay, *Respect for Physical-Integrity Rights in the Twenty-First Century: Evaluating Poe and Tate's Model 20 Years Later,* 14 J. Hum. Rts. 291 (2015).

Physical integrity rights refer to the internationally recognized entitlements to be protected from government torture, extra-judicial killing, political imprisonment, and disappearances.[17]

Besides assisting research, human rights scores aid evidence-based policymaking. Human rights scores produced by CIRIGHTS and other human rights measurement projects are used by donor countries and international governmental organizations like the World Bank to make decisions based, in part, on the human rights practices of nations.[18] They are used by policy analysts to conduct research to identify trends in average respect for various rights, the factors associated with rights violations of various types, the consequences of different types of violations, and whether humanitarian interventions work and under what circumstances.[19] By measuring human rights, we create a better understanding of the human rights protected by human rights treaties and what the international community expects every national government to do to fully respect each right.

In the first part of this article, we explain how the CIRIGHTS Data Project generates annual numerical scores measuring the degree to which governments respect different human rights and compare our measurement project with some prominent alternative human rights measurement projects. We describe the rights scored by CIRIGHTS that were not previously scored by the CIRI Data Project. In the second part of this article, we use scores from the CIRIGHTS Data Project to discover which *human rights* countries respect the most and to determine what *countries* have the best overall record for protecting human rights.

We show that three physical integrity rights are among the most respected rights while children's rights and worker rights, including the right to unionize and collectively bargain, are among the least respected rights.[20] Using a scale from 0 to 100, we show that Canada (96), Sweden (96), New Zealand (94), Norway (94), and Portugal (94) have the best overall human rights records. All have democratic institutions and are relatively wealthy. Iraq (12), China (10), North Korea (6), Syria (6), and Iran (2) have the worst records. Finally, we show that a nation's regional neighborhood strongly affects its Overall Human Rights Protection Score.

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17. *Id*.
18. *Id*.
19. *Id*.
20. Robert G. Blanton, Shannon Lindsey Blanton & Dursun Peksen, *The Impact of IMF and World Bank Programs on Labor Rights*, 68 Pol. Rsch. Q. 324 (2015); Barry et al., *supra* note 6, at 327-44; David Cingranelli, *International Election Standards and NLRB Representation Elections*, *in* Justice ~~On The~~ Job 41 (Richard N. Block et al. eds., 2006); David L. Cingranelli, *Democratization, Economic Globalization, and Workers' Rights*, *in* Democratic Institutional Performance: Research and Policy Perspectives 139 (2002).

II. HOW CIRIGHTS SCORES ARE ASSIGNED

Efforts to measure government respect for all internationally recognized human rights by scholars like Charles Humana have given way to a narrower focus. Today, political scientists focus on measuring and explaining global human rights variations in connection to physical integrity.[21] Physical integrity rights include the rights to be protected from extrajudicial killing, political imprisonment, disappearance, and torture.[22] The Political Terror Scale (PTS)[23] and Sub-National Analysis of Repression Project (SNARP)[24] also produce numerical indicators of national respect for physical integrity rights using annual human rights reports as source material.

The Social and Economic Rights Fulfillment (SERF) project produces numerical scores measuring respect for economic and social rights for most countries using other sources of information to produce scores.[25] Other projects such as the Human Rights Measurement Initiative (HRMI) measure government respect for multiple internationally recognized human rights but only focus on a small set of countries.[26] While these other measurement projects are well suited to answering many essential questions about human rights, they have limitations. If we are interested in understanding, testing, and communicating whether human rights are empirically interdependent and universal, we need to measure human rights on the same scale.[27]

CIRIGHTS evaluates a representative sample of all internationally recognized human rights. It pursues two main objectives. The first is to overcome the limitations of existing human rights indices by providing annual scores for the broadest set of internationally recognized human rights for all countries worldwide since 1981, based on the same source(s) and measured on the same scale. The second objective is to ensure the transparency and replicability of the human rights scores.

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21. Charles Humana, World Human Rights Guide (1986).
22. Richards et al., *supra* note 16.
23. Reed M. Wood & Mark Gibney, *The Political Terror Scale (PTS): A Re-introduction and a Comparison to CIRI*, 32 Hum. Rts. Q. 367 (2010); Mark Gibney et al., *Data Archive*, The Political Terror Scale (2022), https://www.politicalterrorscale.org/Data/Data-Archive.html [https://perma.cc/64K7-W3MT].
24. Rebecca Cordell et al., *Disaggregating Repression: Identifying Physical Integrity Rights Allegations in Human Rights Reports*, 66 Int'l Stud. Q. 16 (2022).
25. Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Terra Lawson-Remer & Susan Randolph, *An Index of Economic and Social Rights Fulfillment: Concept and Methodology*, 8 J. Hum. Rts. 195 (2009).
26 Anne-Marie Brook, K. Chad Clay & Susan Randolph, *Human Rights Data for Everyone: Introducing the Human Rights Measurement Initiative (HRMI)*, 19 J. Hum. Rts. 67 (2020).
27. Andrew D. McNitt, *Some Thoughts on the Systematic Measurement of the Abuse of Human Rights*, *in* Human Rights: Theory and Measurement (Policy Studies Organization Series) 89 (David Louis Cingranelli ed., 1988).

The CIRIGHTS data project applies content analysis to generate numerical scores measuring the extent of government protection of many human rights. The project's long-term goal is to produce annual numerical scores of all internationally recognized human rights. Human rights scores are necessary for testing theories explaining why national governments choose to violate human rights and the consequences of human rights violations. Numerical scores are also essential for monitoring government performance, evaluating the human rights consequences of policy interventions, and determining whether government protection of various rights is improving or declining. The data can be used to estimate the human rights effects of various institutional changes and public policies, including democratization, foreign aid, structural adjustment, treaty ratification, conflict, humanitarian intervention, and transitional justice mechanisms.

The source material for all CIRIGHTS (and PTS) scores are annual textual reports by governmental or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that cover all or almost all countries. The project generates scores based on the application of publicly available written measurement guidelines that allow other investigators to precisely repeat the measurement procedures used to score each human rights law or practice. Repeating our scoring methodology using the same source material should produce identical scores. The validity of any human rights score can be challenged, but the CIRIGHTS (and PTS) measurement procedures are concerned with creating data with high transparency and replicability. The source material and measurement guidelines are publicly available, allowing anyone to replicate the scores or change the scoring procedure to produce different scores.

As noted, CIRIGHTS builds on two past human rights measurement initiatives: the CIRI project[28] and the WorkR project[29] while adding scores for many additional rights.[30] The CIRI data covered the period 1981-2011. The WorkR project covered 1994-2011. Each earlier project included countries having a population of over one million people (about 140 countries).[31] The CIRIGHTS project has expanded the scoring of all rights in these projects through 2021, included every country in the world (about 195 countries), and updated the scoring guidelines to reflect changes in international human rights law and changes in the topics discussed in annual human rights reports. A longer more complete description of the CIRIGHTS method for creating human rights scores is available.[32]

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28. Cingranelli & Richards, *supra* note 5.
29. Barry et al., *supra* note 6.
30. Mark et al., *supra* note 4.
31. Barry et al., *supra* note 6.
32. David L. Cingranelli, Mikhail Filippov & Brendan Skip Mark, *Quantifying and Visualizing Human Rights: The CIRIGHTS Data Project*, *in* Technologies of Human Rights Representation (Alexandra S. Moore & James Dawes eds., 2022).

The CIRIGHTS project uses the same methodology as CIRI[33] and WorkR[34] for quantifying human rights: content analysis or "textual analysis." Content analysis is an accepted methodology used in many social science fields for summarizing the meaning of a text by assigning a numerical score. Researchers consult written reports of government human rights performance for each human right and apply measurement rules derived from international law as authoritative sources have interpreted them.[35] CIRIGHTS scores are "standards-based," because requirements contained in human rights treaties such as the United Nations (UN) Convention Against Torture are the standards against which each nation's laws and practices are compared and measured.

One of the reports researchers use to quantify nearly all rights currently in the data set is the annual United States (U.S.) Department of State's *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*. Depending on the right, researchers also use the *Amnesty International Annual Report,* the U.S. Department of State's *International Religious Freedom Report*, the U.S. Department of State's *Trafficking in Persons Report, or* the *Indigenous World Report*. These reports provide an expanded version of material included in the *Country Reports* in previous years.

Each right for each country is scored independently by at least two scorers who compare and reconcile scoring if necessary. When issues cannot be reconciled, a principal investigator breaks the tie. The principal investigators also check scores for errors providing a second form of oversight. Over time we have updated the measurement guidelines to incorporate new human rights violations (for example, censorship of social media is a contemporary problem but would not have been a concern in the pre-internet age). We also continually look for patterns or shifts in violations that might suggest a mistake or bias and move to correct old scores. As a result, the CIRIGHTS scores differ from some of the previous CIRI or WorkR scores.

As an example of changes in the annual reports and their consequences for scoring, the previous CIRI project did not have any guidelines on how to account for restrictions on access to social media when scoring the right to free speech. Early annual human rights reports did not mention such restrictions, but many recent country reports do.[36] The CIRIGHTS project has updated the scoring guidelines to better reflect new ways states violate freedom of speech. Table 1 lists the rights scored by the CIRIGHTS Data Project annually since 1981, dividing them into four categories—physical integrity rights, empowerment rights, worker rights, and justice rights.

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33. Cingranelli & Richards, *supra* note 5.
34. Barry et al., *supra* note 6.
35. *Id.*
36. *Id*.

TABLE 1.
Twenty-five Human Rights Scored Annually by the CIRIGHTS Data Project

Physical Integrity	*Empowerment*	*Worker Rights*	*Justice Rights*
Protection from Disappearances	Rights of Assembly & Association	Unionize*	Independent Judiciary
Protection from Extrajudicial Killings	Freedom of Foreign Movement	Collective Bargaining*	Fair Trial*
Protection from Political ~~imprisonment~~	Freedom of Domestic ~~movement~~	Limitation on Working Hours*	Human Rights NGO ~~freedom~~
Protection from Torture	Free Speech and Press	Protection from Forced Labor*	
Protection from Mass Atrocity ~~Child labor*~~	Electoral Self-Determination	Protection from Exploitation of	
	Religious Freedom	Minimum Wage*	
	Women's Economic Rights	Occupational Safety & Health*	
	Women's Political Rights	Protection from Human Trafficking*	
	Women's Social Rights*		

*Rights with a * are scored in law and practice. Rights with a + have multiple sub-components.

III. ARE SCORES BIASED?

Peter Haschke and Daniel Arnon[37] argue that producing standards-based human rights scores as both we and they do can introduce two forms of bias: one from the compilation of the source material and another introduced by scorers who may make mistakes.[38] Arnon, Haschke, and Baekkwan Park compare human scoring to those produced via machine learning and find that bias in scores comes from the source material rather than scorer bias.[39] Fortunately, we have a good understanding of the types of bias introduced in source materials and what can be done to correct for it in empirical models.[40]

The U.S. Department of State's annual *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* may contain biases in favor of allies or against countries with authoritarian institutions or against countries led by politicians with far-left

37. Peter Haschke & Daniel Arnon, *What Bias? Changing Standards, Information Effects, and Human Rights Measurement*, 19 J. Hum. Rts. 33 (2020).
38. *Id.*
39. *See also* Daniel Arnon, Peter Haschke, & Baekkwan Park, *The Right Accounting of Wrongs: Examining Temporal Changes to Human Rights Monitoring and Reporting*, 53 Brit. J. Pol. Sci. 163 (2023)
40. *Id.*

ideologies.[41] NGOs like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch may sometimes exaggerate violations to achieve organizational goals like increasing membership and donations.[42] Recent work suggests that while U.S. Department of State reports were previously largely immune from the partisan influence of presidents, reports produced under the Trump administration were significantly different, with bias emerging particularly in areas related to gender, LGBTQ+ rights, and abortion.[43]

Recent work has examined human rights scores over time and found that there is a changing standard of accountability when using content analysis and standards-based measures as we do.[44] All else equal, leaders may be engaging in actions today that would not have been considered violations in the past, and we may be finding more violations today than we did before. Other scholars have argued that human rights are not improving.[45] A growing body of literature shows that leaders have various strategies to avoid the human rights regime's ability to document violations.[46] New technologies have given leaders more tools to violate human rights today than in the past and made it easier to disguise and hide violations.[47] This suggests that while we may have gotten better at finding human rights violations, leaders may also be getting better at hiding them or violating rights in ways that are not covered by existing human rights laws. The *Journal of Human Rights* dedicated a special issue[48] to human rights measurement issues and more work is needed to unpack how this bias plays out over time.[49]

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41. Steven C. Poe, Sabine C. Carey & Tanya C. Vasquez, *How Are These Pictures Different? A Quantitative Comparison of the US State Department and Amnesty International Human Rights Reports, 1976-1995*, 23 Hum. Rts. Q. 650 (2001).
42. Daniel W. Hill Jr., Will H. Moore & Bumba Mukherjee, *Information Politics Versus Organizational Incentives: When Are Amnesty International's "Naming and Shaming" Reports Biased?*, 57 Int'l Stud. Q. 219 (2013).
43. Rebecca Cordell et al., *Changing Standards or Political Whim? Evaluating Changes in the Content of the US State Department Human Rights Reports Following Presidential Transitions*, 19 J. Hum. Rts. 3 (2020).
44. Haschke & Arnon, *supra* note 37; Christopher J. Fariss, *Yes, Human Rights Practices Are Improving Over Time*, 113 Am. Pol. Sci. Rev. 868 (2019); Christopher J. Fariss, *Respect for Human Rights Has Improved Over Time: Modeling the Changing Standard of Accountability*, 108 Am. Pol. Sci. Rev. 297 (2014).
45. David L. Richards, *The Myth of Information Effects in Human Rights Data: Response to Ann Marie Clark and Kathryn Sikkink*, 38 Hum. Rts. Q. 477 (2016); David Cingranelli & Mikhail Filippov, *Are Human Rights Practices Improving?*, 112 Am. Pol. Sci. Rev. 1083 (2018); David Cingranelli & Mikhail Filippov, *Problems of Model Specification and Improper Data Extrapolation*, 48 Brit. J. Pol. Sci. 273 (2017).
46. Tiberiu Dragu & Yonatan Lupu, *Digital Authoritarianism and the Future of Human Rights*, 75 Int'l. Org. 991 (2021); Kate Cronin-Furman, *Human Rights Half Measures: Avoiding Accountability in Postwar Sri Lanka*, 72 World Pol. 121 (2019); Steven Feldstein, *The Road to Digital Unfreedom: How Artificial Intelligence is Reshaping Repression*, 30 J. Democracy 40 (2019); DeMeritt, *supra* note 15; Payne & Abouharb, *supra* note 15.
47. Dragu & Lupu, *supra* note 46.
48. Mark Gibney & Peter Haschke, *Special Issue on Quantitative Human Rights Measures*, 19 J. Hum. Rts. 1 (2020).
49. *Id*.

Jack Donnelly[50] argues that human rights are socially determined and serve as reminders of past atrocities and as the culmination of collective dissent aimed at codifying human rights in law.[51] As new violations cause harm and new problems emerge, we expand the rights and laws to prevent, correct, or redress those harms. Rather than viewing the changing standard of accountability as a purely empirical problem, we view it as a theoretical one and push scholars to focus on the cause of violations rather than the tactic used. We encourage scholars to examine the ways that leaders have updated their repressive tactics to overcome changing standards of accountability and the human rights regime.[52] We opt for a standards-based approach to human rights measurement as there are many advantages to this approach both for understanding human rights causes and consequences, despite the limitations discussed above.

IV. WHY CIRIGHTS USES ORDINAL SCALES

If we had accurate counts of the number of violations of each type of right for each country every year, the CIRIGHTS Data Project would record them. But counts of violations are almost never included in annual human rights reports. Instead, the project utilizes scoring guidelines consistent with international human rights law that group variables such as protection against torture into descriptive ordinal categories.[53] A ZERO indicates that there are widespread violations, a ONE indicates some violations, and a TWO indicates the right is fully protected. While some rights are scored slightly differently, this scale applies to all rights in the project. The scale uses standards-based measures, and all states are held to the same standard regardless of population size, state capacity, regime type, or other circumstances.

Using an ordinal scale allows us to capture some measurement errors inherent in identifying human rights violations. For example, it is well documented that estimates of those killed in genocides can be wildly inaccurate.[54] By using an ordinal scale, we reduce measurement error and improve intercoder reliability and replicability of scores. We can be more confident

50. Jack Donnelly & Daniel J. Whelan, International Human Rights (6th ed. 2020).
51. *Id*.
52. Cingranelli & Richards, *supra* note 5; Sam R. Bell, K. Chad Clay, & Amanda Murdie, *Join the Chorus, Avoid the Spotlight: The Effect of Neighborhood and Social Dynamics on Human Rights Organization Shaming*, 63 J. Confl. Resolut. 167 (2019); Jacqueline H. R. DeMeritt & Courtenay R. Conrad, *Repression Substitution: Shifting Human Rights Violations in Response to UN Naming and Shaming*, 21 Civ. Wars 128 (2019); Payne & Abouharb, *supra* note 15; DeMeritt, *supra* note 15.
53. Margaret L. Satterthwaite & Justin C. Simeone, *A Conceptual Roadmap for Social Science Methods in Human Rights Fact-finding*, *in* The Transformation of Human Rights Fact-Finding 321 (2016).
54. David A. Armstrong, Christian Davenport & Allan Stam, *Casualty Estimates in the Rwandan Genocide*, 22 J. Genocide Rsch. 104 (2020).

in identifying whether states engage in widespread violations, some violations, or no violations of a human right than we can be about the number of violations. Using these categories also helps address some of the potential biases in reporting and human error. Finally, an ordinal scoring system is easier to understand than more complex methodologies since anyone can replicate our findings without advanced statistical training.

Some human rights projects attempt to adjust scores based on the capacity of states to meet their human rights obligations. For example, the SERF Index[55] measures for education, infant mortality, food, health, work, and housing are weighted by GDP per capita. [56] Richer countries must respect these rights more than poorer countries to receive the same score.[57] The PTS weights physical integrity violations by population size so that highly populous countries like China are not held to the same standard as smaller countries like Trinidad and Tobago.[58] One benefit of this approach is that it does not make apples-to-apples comparisons between rich and poor or small and large countries.

One limitation of a weighted approach to human rights violations is that researchers will likely have different ideas about the appropriate weight. GDP and population are two weights we might apply. Whether states have signed a relevant treaty, their conflict status, whether they have suffered a natural disaster, their public dedication to rights, whether they have changed their domestic laws, or several additional considerations might also matter to researchers. We opt for a standards-based approach, as researchers can add weights based on the theory they seek to test.

V. OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS MEASUREMENT PROJECTS

There are many human rights data generation projects today, such as the PTS,[59] SNARP,[60] and the HRMI.[61] Below, we focus on the comparative advantages of the CIRIGHTS project and instances where alternative human rights measures may be more useful. The comparative advantage of the CIRIGHTS project is fourfold. First, the scores are easily understood by the public, policymakers, the media, educators, and researchers. Second, the project is transparent and replicable. The methodology we use to generate our scores is publicly available, as are the sources we use. Third, CIRIGHTS

55. Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Terra Lawson-Remer & Susan Randolph, Fulfilling Social and Economic Rights (2015).
56. *Id*.
57. *Id*.
58. Gibney et al., *supra* note 23.
59. *Id*.
60. Cordell et al., *supra* note 24.
61. Brook et al., *supra* note 26.

scores each right for every Member State in the UN, whereas most other data projects exclude more than a quarter of states (those with a population under a million).[62]

Finally, CIRIGHTS' most significant comparative advantage is the scope of rights scored. Many of the rights scored by CIRIGHTS are not measured elsewhere. Prisoner rights, Indigenous rights, human rights NGOs, and many others in our dataset are under-studied in political science. CIRIGHTS scores more than 75 percent of the rights that Donnelly lists in Table 2.1 of his seminal book, *Universal Human Rights*.[63] CIRIGHTS also provides scores for several rights that have emerged since the International Bill of Human Rights was created, such as Indigenous peoples' rights, prisoner rights, the freedom of human rights NGOs to conduct their activities, LGBTQ+ rights, and disability rights.

For some research purposes, the scores produced by other projects may be more helpful. CIRIGHTS produces ordinal scores reflecting the amount of human rights protection provided by countries. It does not provide information about within-country inequalities in the amount of protection provided for various rights. CIRIGHTS scores cannot be broken down to show differences in government treatment of ethnic or religious groups. Nor can they be broken down by gender. Anyone interested in human rights variation at the sub-national, sub-annual, or capacity-weighted scores should use data produced by another data generation project.[64] For example, SNARP provides allegations of physical integrity rights, while the Societal Violence Scale from the PTS project identifies the targets and perpetrators of human rights violations.[65] While CIRIGHTS uses human rights reports to generate its scores, the HRMI project uses expert surveys for civil and political rights scores and statistics from the World Bank, World Health Organization, UNICEF, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and Food and Agricultural Organization to generate economic and social rights scores.[66] CIRIGHTS holds all countries to the same standard, while PTS weights violations by population, and the economic and social rights

62. Governments of states with very small populations provide significantly greater respect for nearly all physical integrity rights and civil and political rights. The CIRIGHTS data project will facilitate future research to explain why very small population states respect human rights more than larger population states do, *see* Cingranelli et al., *supra* note 32.
63. Jack Donnelly, Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice 27 (2013).
64. *See* for example Matthew Rains & Daniel W. Hill Jr, *Nationalism and Torture*, J. Peace Rsch. (2023); Graig R. Klein, José Cuesta, & Cristian Chagalj, *The Nicaragua Protest Crisis in 2018–2019: Assessing the Logic of Government Responses to Protests*, 14 J. Pol. Latin Am. 1, 55 (2022); Amanda A. Licht & Susan Hannah Allen, *Repressing for Reputation: Leadership Transitions, Uncertainty, and the Repression of Domestic Populations*, 55 J. Peace Rsch. 582 (2018).
65. *Id*.
66. *Id*.

scores in HRMI are weighted by GDP per capita. CIRIGHTS includes several measures of worker rights, but currently does not measure other economic rights like food, healthcare, housing, poverty, or unemployment, measured by the HRMI project. Each project offers something unique, and other human rights measures may be more appropriate than CIRIGHTS depending on the research question.

VI. NEW SCORES

This section describes the rights scored by CIRIGHTS that were not previously scored by the CIRI or WorkR Data Projects. The newly added rights are women's social rights, Indigenous rights, freedom from discrimination, the right to a fair trial, prisoner rights, NGO freedom, and the right to be protected from human trafficking. Scores for some of the newly added rights are only available for recent years or only for a subset of countries (e.g., Indigenous Rights), and, for these reasons, could not be included in the Overall Human Rights Protection Index.

Women's social rights refer to the right to equal inheritance, marriage on a legal basis equal to men, travel abroad without the consent of a man, obtain a passport without the consent of a man, confer citizenship to children or a husband, initiate a divorce, own, acquire, manage, and retain property brought into a marriage, participation in social, cultural, and community activities, seek education, choose a residence/domicile, and raise and make decisions regarding children with equal authority to men or husbands. Scoring guidelines are based on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.[67] It also now includes freedom from female genital mutilation (FGM) of children and adults (without their consent), forced sterilization, and child marriage (where the laws differ between boys and girls). The original women's social rights measure in CIRI did not include these latter criteria but is still available in the CIRIGHTS data set. CIRI provided one score for each country each year reflecting both *de jure* and *de facto* protection. CIRIGHTS provides scores for law and practice from 2005-2021 for all countries in the world. Both the legal protection of women's social rights and protection in practice are now separately scored on a zero to three scale, based on the degree of access to the entitlements listed above.

Indigenous rights refer to the entitlements in the UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples formally adopted by the UN General Assembly in

67. *See* the scoring guidelines for the particular articles.

2007. The Declaration's main points centered around respecting Indigenous culture, ensuring Indigenous peoples have access to adequate government services, and empowering them to have authority over decisions concerning their traditional land and practices. The report used to score countries is the *Indigenous World Report*. Scores range from ZERO (no respect) to TWO (full respect) for each of the eight criteria. Scores are available for the sixty-seven countries with Indigenous populations for 2018-2021.

Freedom from discrimination—or what Donnelly[68] referred to as "equal protection of the law" is a foundational right reiterated in almost every human rights treaty. Equality and discrimination are intertwined concepts as indicated by the language in Article 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR): "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law," as well as Article 23 granting the right to worker rights without discrimination.[69] This is further elaborated in the ICESCR and numerous International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions. CIRIGHTS measures the respect states give to this principle by separately scoring the degree of employment discrimination the state tolerates towards the members of different groups. Employment discrimination is a state-tolerated process in which members of one or more disadvantaged social groups are less likely to be hired. If they are hired, they may be prevented from filling high-level positions, paid less for the same work, or treated worse than other employees.[70] We provide scores measuring freedom from discrimination against the members of groups defined by *race, gender, nationality, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, HIV-AIDS status, social origin, political beliefs, disability, and age*. The degree of discrimination against each group is scored separately, leading to scores for eleven categories of discrimination. These scores are only available for 2018-2021.

The Right to a fair trial (or due process) refers to the entitlement to a set of fourteen scoring criteria associated with equitable and fair treatment in criminal trials.[71] The UDHR and ICCPR outline these criteria and include: equality before the court, a fair and impartial hearing, public trial and judgment, innocence until proven guilty, promptly informing of charges, preparation of one's defense, tried without undue delay, choice of legal defense, legal defense without charge, an interpreter for those who speak another language, freedom from self-incrimination, the right to call witnesses, the right to appeal, and protection from double jeopardy.[72] Each country year has been scored separately for the strength of the legal protection adopted by

68. Donnelly, *supra* note 63.
69. G.A. Res. 217 (III) A, Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Dec. 10, 1948) [hereinafter UDHR].
70. Mark et al., *supra* note 4.
71. U.S. Const. amend. V.
72. UDHR, *supra* note 69.

the state and the degree of effort the state made to protect the right. Denial of due process is included in most definitions of repression but excluded from all widely used measures.[73] We generate scores for protection in law and protection in practice from 1981 to 2021.

Prisoner rights refer to indicators of whether each country has adopted prison policies that conform with the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Mandela Rules), adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 17, 2015. The norms included in this resolution endorse a prison system focused on rehabilitation rather than punishment.[74] Based on information in the U.S. Department of State's annual reports, CIRIGHTS scores each country for whether it protects prisoners against torture, discrimination, overcrowding, and unsanitary conditions. The project also scores countries based on whether they provide rehabilitation programs, adequate health care, adequate food and water, and access to family members. These scores are only available for 2018 and 2019 and will be updated annually and scored for previous years.

Human rights NGO freedom indicates how much human rights NGOs are affected by government censorship, violence, coercion, intimidation, and institutional operational barriers. Human rights NGOs should be able to operate within a country, investigate human rights violations and publicize those violations, operate without being targeted by the state or its affiliates for retaliation, and receive and utilize resources (including from abroad) to protect human rights. Where human rights NGOs and defenders are targeted, there should be government remediation. The Declaration on Human Rights Defenders was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1998 and laid out the obligations that states have towards human rights defenders and their crucial role in the realization of the UDHR.[75] This Declaration articulates rights in other legally binding human rights instruments, specifically as they apply to human rights organizations. Scores are available for 2015-2021 and will be expanded as we move forward to cover previous years.

Human trafficking—refers to all acts involving the recruitment, abduction, transport, harboring, transfer, sale, or receipt of persons that occur within national or across international borders; involving the use of force, coercion, fraud, or deception; and resulting in persons being subjected to slavery or slavery-like conditions, or subjected to forced labor or services, domestic servitude, forced or bonded sweatshop labor, or other debt bond-

73. DeMeritt, *supra* note 15.
74. U.N. General Assembly, *United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (the Nelson Mandela Rules)* (2016).
75. U.N. Office of the High Commissioner, *Declaration on Human Rights Defenders: Special Rapporteur on Human Rights Defenders* (2024), https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-human-rights-defenders/declaration-human-rights-defenders [https://perma.cc/RCM4-6Z3M].

age.[76] We generate scores for protection in law and protection in practice from 1997 to 2019. The scoring guidelines are based on the UN Palermo Protocol, the UN Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea, and Air, the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, and numerous ILO Conventions.

Human rights indices—CIRIGHTS also includes a set of composite indices measuring different combinations of human rights. We discuss the Overall Human Rights Protection Index in some detail below. However, we have also included an additive index of physical integrity rights, an additive index of worker rights (excluding human trafficking), an additive index of repression (consisting of the four physical integrity rights: right to a fair trial, freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of religion), and an additive index of civil and political rights (consisting of freedom of speech and press, freedom of assembly and association, and freedom of religion). The specific rights included in the indices can be found in the CIRIGHTS scoring guide. Our hope is that scholars will examine different categories of rights and examine whether theories that apply to physical integrity rights impact other categories of human rights in theoretically interesting ways.[77]

VII. WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS ARE PROTECTED THE MOST AND LEAST?

Table 2 below divides twenty-four human rights scored by CIRIGHTS into three categories—most protected, somewhat protected, and least protected for all rights besides atrocities. The mean level of protection in 2019 for each right is shown, and where measures in law exist, these are shown in parentheses. We examine scores for 2019 as this occurs prior to the COVID-19 pandemic which significantly altered human rights respect around the world.[78] Scores for 2020 and 2021 may not be representative because

76. U.N. General Assembly, *Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime* (Nov. 15, 2000), https://www.refworld.org/legal/agreements/unga/2000/en/23886 [https://perma.cc/2HDQ-3G9P].

77. For a discussion of the original CIRI variables (disappearances, extrajudicial killings, political imprisonment, torture, freedom of association and assembly, freedom of foreign movement, freedom of domestic movement, free speech, electoral self-determination, freedom of religion, women's economic rights, women's political rights, and independence of the judiciary) *see* Cingranelli & Richards, *supra* note 5; *see* Barry et al., *supra* note 6 for a discussion of the original WorkR rights (the right to unionize, collective bargaining, limitation on hours, forced labor, child labor, minimum wage, occupational safety and health); *see* David Cingranelli et al., *A Brutality-Based Approach to Identifying State-Led Atrocities*, 66 J. Confl. Resolut. 1676 (2022) for a discussion of the brutality-based atrocity measure and atrocity intensity

78. K. Chad Clay et al., *The Effect of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Human Rights Practices: Findings from the Human Rights Measurement Initiative's 2021 Practitioner Survey*, 21 J. Hum. Rts. 317 (2022).

many countries restricted some rights such as freedom of foreign and domestic movement to combat the pandemic. CIRIGHTS scores for 2022 are in process. Protection in constitutional or statutory law is ignored. The means only reflect national practices.

For each right, the mean protection score could range from ZERO to TWO. A country received ZERO points if it provided no protection of the right, ONE if it provided some protection, and TWO if it provided full protection. The mean reflects the sum of the scores for protection of each right divided by the number of countries for which protection scores were available in 2019. For women's rights, the right to a fair trial, and NGO protections, the range is from ZERO to THREE. For the purpose of constructing the table below, the ranges of all variables were adjusted so that the maximum possible score is TWO. Thus, the statistical means shown in parentheses are directly comparable.

TABLE 2.
Twenty-four Rights Categorized by the Level of Protection Provided in 2019; Mean Level of Respect in Parentheses.*

Most Protected	*Somewhat Protected*	*Least Protected*
Protection from Disappearances (1.7)	Women's ~~social rights~~ (1.15)	Protection from Torture (0.85)
Freedom of Foreign ~~movement~~ (1.61)	Free ~~speech and press~~ (1.09)	Protection from Exploitation of Child ~~labor~~ (0.82)
Freedom of Domestic ~~movement~~ (1.46)	Electoral ~~self-determination~~ (1.06)	Protection from Trafficking (0.77)
Protection from Extrajudicial Killings (1.39)	Minimum ~~wage~~ (1.04)	Unionize (0.76)
Human Rights NGO ~~freedom~~ (1.34)	Religious ~~freedom~~ (1.03)	Safe ~~working conditions~~ (0.74)
Protection from Political ~~imprisonment~~ (1.33)	Women's ~~economic rights~~ (0.95)	Fair ~~trial~~ (0.68)
Freedom of ~~association~~ (1.31)	Independent ~~judiciary~~ (0.89)	Working ~~hours~~ (0.56)
Women's ~~political rights~~ (1.23)	Protection from Forced ~~labor~~ (0.86)	Collective ~~bargaining~~ (0.55)

*For all rights, higher mean scores indicate more respect. We exclude our atrocity measure from this table.

Table 2 above shows that almost all the least protected human rights are worker rights. We rank ordered the average score for each rank and split

them into three categories. It shows that physical integrity rights, except for the right to be protected from torture, are all in the "most protected" category. Torture, with a mean protection score of 0.82 is among the least protected rights. On average, most countries allow human rights NGOs to operate without restrictions. Most political liberties and women's rights are in the "somewhat protected" category, with women's economic rights (mean of 0.95) protected less than women's political rights (mean of 1.23) and social rights (mean of 1.15). Our only indicator of children's rights, the right to be protected from exploitation of child labor, also ranked among the least protected human rights.

Table 2 reports results for 2019 to provide the most recent pre-pandemic snapshot of global human rights protections. Analyses substituting the 2010-2019 aggregates do not substantially alter the findings concerning which rights are most protected. We calculated the annual mean protection scores for each of the twenty-five human rights variables from 2010-2019. We then compared the 2019 means to the aggregate 2010-2019 averages. Across most rights, the 2019 scores were similar to the previous decade's averages. For example, the mean protection against disappearances was 1.69 in 2019 and 1.71 for the 2010-2019 period. For protection against extrajudicial killings, the 2019 mean was 1.39 and the 2010-2019 average was 1.33. This pattern held for the large majority of variables, with only minor fluctuations between the 2019 and 2010-2019 means. The overall Spearman's rank correlation between the two sets of means was 0.94, indicating very high correspondence.

VIII. THE OVERALL HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION INDEX SCORE FOR COUNTRIES

International human rights law stipulates that national governments have the primary responsibility for protecting human rights. Since all rights are interrelated, interdependent, and indivisible, it's valuable to evaluate which governments excel when considering the numerous rights scored by the CIRIGHTS data project. Following the initial approach by Humana, who created the first human rights "report cards" for most countries worldwide, we assess each country on a scale from zero to one hundred, with one hundred being the perfect score. Humana divided his scores into sub-scores reflecting his subjective opinion on how well each country respected fifty human rights.[79] His scoring, however, could not be replicated. In contrast, the CIRIGHTS methodology allows us to evaluate nearly all countries in a less subjective and more methodologically rigorous manner.

79. Humana, *supra* note 21, at 24-224.

In line with Humana's approach, the CIRIGHTS team assigns grades to each country that can range from zero to one hundred, based on their protection of the twenty-five rights listed in Table 2 above. For the index, we selected rights with the broadest country coverage and those scored from the year 2000 onwards, to enable examination of changes over time. We used an additive index due to its simplicity and strong correlation with more complex latent measures we tested.

Table 3 below examines the best and worst performing national governments in the world for 2019 for the 186 countries for which there was complete information for all of the rights. The U.S. could not be included in this comparison, because many scores are derived only from information included in the annual U.S. Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices. The U.S. Department of State does not prepare a report on the U.S.

TABLE 3.
The Five Highest and Lowest Scoring Countries on the CIRIGHTS Overall Human Rights Protection Index for 2019

Country	*Overall HR Protection Index*	*Physical Integrity*	*Empowerment Rights*	*Worker*	*Justice*
Maximum Score	100	20	36	32	12
Canada	96	20	34	30	12
Sweden	96	20	36	28	12
New Zealand	94	20	36	26	12
Norway	94	20	34	28	12
Portugal	94	18	34	30	12
Iraq	12	2	8	2	0
China	10	0	4	2	0
North Korea	6	0	6	0	0
Syria	6	0	4	2	0
Iran	2	0	0	2	0

A country that scores a score of fifty can achieve that score through many different combinations of rights such as fully respecting half of the rights and fully violating another half, or it can provide moderate respect for all rights. Canada and Sweden tie for the best overall human rights protection, while Iran with a score of two had the worst score. Among the top human rights scorers, physical integrity and justice rights are never violated while worker rights are always violated to some extent. All the highest-scoring countries are wealthy and have regular free and fair elections with universal adult suffrage. All of the lowest-scoring countries are poorer and less democratic. The list of lowest-scoring countries is unsurprising for other reasons as well. Previous research has shown that countries with very large populations (like China) and countries that are experiencing violent internal conflict (like Syria) tend to provide less respect for human rights.[80]

80. Richards et al., *supra* note 16.

Figure 1 below shows the distribution of scores on our scale for the 186 countries for which we had complete data. This distribution is close to normal and looks like a bell curve. The mean level of respect around the world on our index is fifty-four (median score of fifty-two). No country scores a zero, and no country scores a perfect one hundred. The overall human rights protection index for 2019 has a Cronbach alpha scale reliability statistic of 0.94 and an interitem covariance of 0.21, suggesting that the scale is capturing a latent dimension which we have called overall human rights protection.[81]

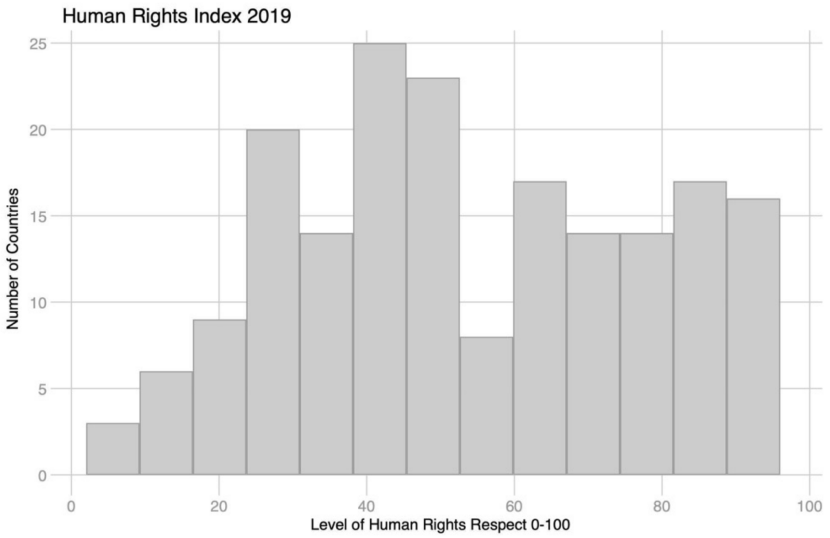

Figure 1. Histogram of the Overall Human Rights Protection Index for 2019

There is a slight skew to the distribution because there are more countries close to the top than the bottom. Sixteen countries scored a ninety or higher while only four countries scored a ten or lower. A positive view of this performance distribution is that most countries are closer to full respect than no respect. A negative view would be that about two-thirds of countries in the world would fail (scoring less than sixty-five) if this was a report card, and only 14 percent of countries would score a B (eighty-three) or higher.

As shown in Figure 2, scores for overall government respect for human rights cluster geographically. Nations that share an international border tend to have similar scores. The heat map below illustrates this geographic

81. Mohsen Tavakol & Reg Dennick, *Making Sense of Cronbach's Alpha*, 2 Int'l. J. Med. Educ. 53 (2011).

pattern. Darker colors indicate greater human rights respect, while lighter colors indicate less respect. The U.S. and seven other countries are missing from the map due to missing data for some of the scores.

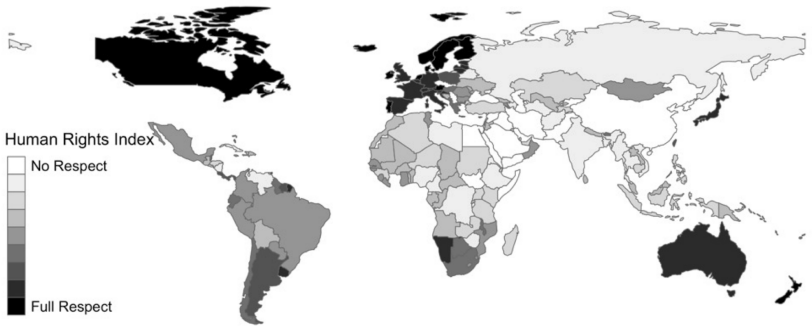

Figure 2. Heat Map of the World for the Overall Human Rights Protection Index in 2019

Higher scores on the Overall Human Rights Protection Index are achieved by wealthy countries with democratic institutions. For example, as shown in the map, Western European and other OECD countries have similarly high levels of respect, while countries in the Middle East and North Africa have similarly low levels of respect. On average, Latin American countries provide more respect for human rights than Asian or African countries do. The BRICS countries, with the fastest-growing economies in the world, have a wide range of human rights scores: Brazil (fifty), Russia (twenty), India (twenty-two), China (ten), and South Africa (sixty-eight).

The map also shows that countries with populations over one hundred million such as China and India tend to have relatively poor human rights records.[82] There are large differences among regions, but small differences within them. This map supports arguments that human rights respect clusters geographically; if a country's neighbors have good human rights they are more likely to have good human rights themselves. More research is needed to determine why this is the case.[83]

82. Cingranelli et al., *supra* note 32.
83. *Id.*

IX. CONCLUSION

The CIRIGHTS Data Project can contribute to human rights education, research, policy evaluation, and public debate about human rights conditions worldwide. Most existing scholarship on human rights has focused narrowly on explaining cross-national variation in government respect for physical integrity rights—whether governments engage in torture, extrajudicial killings, political imprisonment, and forced disappearances. While explaining violations of these crucial rights remains imperative, a near exclusive focus on physical integrity risks promoting a distorted understanding of global patterns in human rights protection.

The CIRIGHTS project measures more human rights for more countries than any other human rights measurement project. Because our measurement strategy is consistent, we can directly compare scores of countries and rights protections over time. The measurement procedure and scores are easy to understand, making them more accessible to educators, the media, policymakers, and students without advanced statistical training. Our project uses standards-based measures which hold all countries to the human rights obligations stated in human rights treaties. The CIRIGHTS website,[84] which is updated annually, allows users to download scores and create visualizations of human rights scores.

The findings presented in this article have implications for future research and policymaking. We used CIRIGHTS scores to answer some empirical questions that would be more difficult or impossible to answer using data produced by any other data generation project. For example, we discovered that almost all of the least protected human rights were worker rights including the right to form a trade union and the right to collectively bargain. Is this the tip of an iceberg, indicating that, on average, governments provide less respect for nearly all economic and social rights than for other types of rights? If so, why?

We introduced a new measure of each country's overall respect for human rights and discovered that the average national score on the Overall Human Rights Protection Index is poor. If we think of the index score as a national grade on a report card, about two-thirds of countries in the world would fail (scoring less than sixty-five) and only 14 percent of countries would score a B (eighty-three) or higher. Even those countries with the best scores tended to lose points because of their lack of respect for workers' rights. Wide dissemination of country scores would shine a spotlight on the high and low-scoring countries and on countries that score much higher than their regional neighbors. The spotlight effect might lead to improvements in respect for human rights by poor-performing national governments. The

84. Mark et al., *supra* note 4.

CIRIGHTS Data Project plans to improve the construction of the overall score mainly by adding more social and economic rights components.

All the highest-scoring countries on the Overall Human Rights Protection Index are wealthy and have regular free and fair elections with universal adult suffrage. All the lowest-scoring countries are less democratic. Most are less economically developed. The same factors that are drivers of higher or lower respect for physical integrity rights[85] also appear to explain levels of Overall Human Rights Protection.

Are some human rights practices leading indicators in the sense that, if their protection increases or decreases, most other human rights protections will improve or decline as well? Worker rights to form trade unions and collectively bargain may be leading indicators, predicting the level of respect governments provide all the others. In fact, these rights have been identified by the ILO as two of the most fundamental worker rights.[86] Additional research is necessary, but the evidence presented in this article suggests that any country that fully protects those rights will tend to fully respect most, if not all, others as well.

There is a spatial pattern in Overall Human Rights Scores. Countries tend to have similar index scores if they share an international border. For example, all Western European countries have relatively high scores. All Middle East and North African countries have relatively low scores. More research is necessary to understand why this spatial pattern exists. Possible explanatory factors include history, geography, climate, population flows, culture, and conflict patterns.[87] One policy implication is that international policies designed to improve human rights protection should be different depending upon the regions where the target countries are located.

The analysis in this article underscores the need to expand human rights scholarship beyond its predominant focus on physical integrity protections. While vital, physical integrity is merely one category in the panoply of binding international human rights law. To fully grasp where nations succeed or fail in fulfilling their human rights duties necessitates evaluating protections across empowerment, justice, social, and worker rights as well. The availability of comprehensive new human rights measures spanning most internationally recognized rights provides an opportunity to broaden research horizons. Rather than extrapolating from physical integrity to overall human rights performance, scholars can now directly analyze protections across the spectrum of codified human rights. This article provides a small sample of the insights attainable through expanded measurement and analysis.

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85. Richards et al., *supra* note 16.
86. ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, International Labour Organization, https://www.ilo.org/declaration/lang—en/index.htm [https://perma.cc/E7AE-696K] (last visited Feb. 20, 2024).
87. Adam S. Chilton & Eric A. Posner, *The Influence of History on States' Compliance with Human Rights Obligations*, 56 Va. J. Int'l L. 212 (2017); Sam R. Bell, K. Chad Clay, & Amanda Murdie, *Neighborhood Watch: Spatial Effects of Human Rights INGOs*, 74 J. Pol. 354 (2012); Richards et al., *supra* note 16.