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HRMI 2021 Civil and Political Rights Methodology
Handbook
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2021 Civil and Political Rights Methodology Handbook

This document briefly details the methodology HRMI uses to generate metrics of the intensity of government respect for eight different civil and political rights, as well as two overarching categories of civil and political rights, using information from HRMI's annual expert survey. To learn more about what sets HRMI's methodology apart for other human rights metrics, we encourage you to read and cite:

- K. Chad Clay, Ryan Bakker, Anne-Marie Brook, Daniel W. Hill, and Amanda Murdie. 2020. [Using practitioner surveys to measure human rights: The Human Rights Measurement Initiative's civil and political rights metrics](#). *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (6): 715-727.
- Anne-Marie Brook, K. Chad Clay, and Susan Randolph. 2020. [Human rights data for everyone: Introducing the Human Rights Measurement Initiative \(HRMI\)](#). *Journal of Human Rights* 19 (1): 67-82.

For more information on the 2021 HRMI expert survey, please read and cite:

- K. Chad Clay, Mennah Abdelwahab, Morgan Barney, Anne-Marie Brook, Catherine Chong, Thalia Kehoe-Rowden, Meridith LaVelle, Matthew Rains, and Susan Randolph. 2021. "HRMI 2021 Annual Survey & People Data Report." <https://humanrightsmeasurement.org/methodology-handbook/>.

Information on prior years' surveys can also be found in previous survey and methodology guides, all of which can be viewed here: <https://humanrightsmeasurement.org/methodology-handbook/>.

What are civil and political rights?

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) is an international treaty adopted by the United Nations in 1966 and currently ratified by 113 countries. The ICCPR sets out a list of civil and political rights that we are all entitled to simply by virtue of being human. Civil and political human rights ensure your ability to live and to engage in religious, political, intellectual, and other activities free from coercion, abuse, or discrimination. HRMI's metrics cover the following eight rights, each listed together with reference to the relevant article in the ICCPR or other core UN treaties further elaborating those rights, such as the International Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance, and the Convention against Torture:

- the right to be free from torture and ill-treatment (Article 7 and the Convention against Torture),
- the right to be free from extrajudicial execution (Article 6),
- the right to be free from the death penalty (Article 6 and the Second Optional Protocol to the ICCPR),
- the right to be free from arbitrary or political arrest and detention (Articles 2, 9, 11, 18, 19, 21, 22, and 26),

- the right to be free from forced disappearance (Articles 9 and 10, and the Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearance),
- the right to political participation (Article 25),
- the right to opinion and expression (Article 19), and
- the rights to assembly (Article 21) and association (Article 22).

In our work, we often group these rights into two overarching categories of civil and political rights: safety from the state rights (i.e. physical integrity rights) and empowerment rights (i.e. rights that grant one the ability to take an active role in society without fear of reprisal).

Over time, we aim to produce metrics that cover the full range of rights listed in international law.

How does HRMI measure civil and political rights?

Obtaining reliable, unbiased, and comprehensive information is perhaps the most serious impediment to the collection of quantitative civil and political rights data. When violations by government agents are reported, states often attempt to frame the abuse as either necessary or carried out without state permission. Many violations of civil and political rights take place in secret, with the violator seeking to conceal their actions entirely, and the degree to which violators conceal their complicity only serves to exacerbate the problems.

Because objective statistics on levels of respect for these human rights are either unavailable or unreliable, HRMI collects information on the scope and intensity of abuse using an expert survey approach and converts it into metrics using Bayesian measurement techniques. HRMI also collects information from survey respondents about the people who are most at risk for violations or restrictions of their rights. Overall, the advantages of using this approach are that it allows us to:

- Directly collect previously inaccessible information from human rights researchers and practitioners (in their own language wherever possible) who are actively gathering information and monitoring human rights issues in each country.
- Produce not only central estimates of the intensity of each type of abuse in each country, but also uncertainty bands around those central estimates. This results in much more accurate and honest reporting of the level of uncertainty about the intensity of abuses.
- Collect data not only on the scope and intensity of abuse, but on the range of abuse as well, i.e., information on which groups of people are particularly vulnerable to each type of abuse within each country.

The HRMI Annual Expert Survey's Civil and Political Rights Sections

Every year, HRMI develops a survey that is then used to collect, in part, annual data on the eight civil and political rights listed above. For each right, we (1) provide a definition of the right under consideration, (2) ask questions about the intensity of respect for that right, and (3) ask questions regarding the range of respect for that right, that is, who is targeted for abuse. The definition of each right is based on international law and its interpretation by the appropriate

treaty bodies at the United Nations, drawing, for instance, on the ICCPR, the CAT, the CED, the Second Optional Protocol to the ICCPR, and general comments from the Human Rights Committee.

We then ask our respondents about the intensity of violations by state actors. For instance, in our 2021 survey, we asked the following question about torture and ill-treatment in 2020:

In 2020, how many people had their right to be free from **torture or ill-treatment violated by government agents** (such as soldiers, police officers, or others working for or with the government)?

None

Few

Some

Many

A great many

An extremely large number

When then follow up by asking respondents to answer the same question for the previous year as well.

Further, for each right, we ask our respondents to answer this same question for three hypothetical countries. These hypothetical cases and their related are included to account for differences in the interpretation of the question and/or the conditions in their country across different respondents. As such, responses to questions about these hypothetical cases contribute meaningfully to the final intensity scores produced for each country, as we discuss in our model section below.

We also ask our respondents to provide us with information about which people were especially likely to experience rights violations of each of these eight civil and political rights in their country in the previous year. In response to this question, respondents can select all that applied from a list of several generic identifiers, as well as provide other alternatives that are not covered by one of those identifiers. Finally, we ask respondents open-ended questions about the “specific identities, affiliations, groups, activities, locations, or other attributes” that made one likely to

experience the rights violation described. This allows us to collect more specific information than given by the generic identifiers. For more information on the people at risk data and how it is collected in each year's survey, see the Survey and People Data Reports and the 2018 and 2019 HRMI Methodology Notes here: <https://humanrightsmasurement.org/methodology-handbook/>.

Selection of Countries & Survey Respondents

The 2021 survey was our fourth time distributing the HRMI annual survey to human rights experts around the globe, with our most expansive country coverage yet. In our 2017 pilot, we rolled out our expert survey to human rights experts in the following 13 countries: Angola, Australia, Brazil, Fiji, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Liberia, Mexico, Mozambique, Nepal, New Zealand, Saudi Arabia, and the United Kingdom. For the 2019 HRMI expert survey, we added the Democratic Republic of Congo, Jordan, South Korea, the United States, and Vietnam. In 2020, we expanded our administration of the survey to a total of 39 countries and territories, focusing the expansion on Pacific countries: American Samoa, Cook Islands, French Polynesia, Guam, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, New Caledonia, Niue, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna. Finally, in 2021, we added three more East Asian countries: Hong Kong, Malaysia, and Taiwan. We expect that the survey will continue to be conducted annually and, over time, will expand to cover most countries in the world.

A significant benefit of our approach to measuring civil and political rights is the ability to avoid some of the biases that exist in the public documentation of abuses of these rights, by collecting information directly from experts on the human rights situation in each country being studied. However, this raises the question: Who qualifies to be an expert respondent to the HRMI civil and political rights survey?

Thus far, we have focused primarily on human rights practitioners directly monitoring the civil and political rights situation in each country. These experts are often working for an international or domestic non-governmental organisation or a civil society organisation. However, we also allowed for participation by human rights lawyers, journalists covering human rights issues, and staff working for national human rights institutions if that institution has been given A-level accreditation by the International Coordinating Committee and its Sub-Committee on Accreditation, showing that it is rated as fully compliant with the Paris Principles (United Nations, 2010; GANHRI, 2020). Many of our respondents serve in several of these roles simultaneously.

Wherever possible we rely on respondents who are located within the country on which they provide information. In cases of more closed and repressive countries, it has been necessary to rely on a higher proportion of respondents that are based outside of the country of interest. The 2021 survey was available to take in ten languages (Arabic, Chinese (Traditional), English, French, Korean, Nepali, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Vietnamese) ensuring that it was accessible to as many human rights experts in our sample as possible. This approach ensures that our expert survey is serving as a tool that gives a voice to experts located in countries around the world, to share their knowledge with the outside world in the form of quantitative scores of civil and political rights.

This is especially valuable for human rights experts from outside of the oft over-represented “Western” and high-income countries. Our main goal is to collect information from respondents who are first points of contact for human rights information in the country of interest and who often have access to primary sources. As such, we did not invite people who only work as academics that are rarely involved in the collection of primary information and tend to rely more heavily on secondary sources to be respondents. In countries with populations greater than 120,000, staff at government-organised NGOs and government officials outside of A-level national human rights institutions were also excluded.

Starting with the 2020 survey, we began to allow for the participation of a limited set of government employees ONLY in countries and territories with a population under 120,000 people. Given the nature of less-populated states, it is often difficult to find many local human rights experts who have absolutely no government affiliation. As such, for these small population countries, we allow respondents with some government involvement, but still a low conflict of interest, to participate. Individuals who work with or for the government and have very high conflicts of interest on our human rights questions (e.g. police, politicians, military) are never permitted to participate in the survey, regardless of population size. Further, when finding survey respondents for countries and territories with smaller populations, we still prioritise the recruitment of non-government affiliated respondents as often as possible in these small population states.

We relied on input from HRMI country ambassadors as well as self-reporting questions in the survey to gauge the level of government involvement of survey respondents. In addition, we collect information from every potential survey respondent’s nominator on whether the respondent in question is completely independent of the government or has some level of involvement. Based on this information, we filter out potential respondents who have a high level of government involvement that may cause a large conflict of interest. For all other countries we surveyed with populations greater than 120,000, government employees continued to be ineligible to participate in the survey.

We carefully evaluated the data to determine whether there is any difference in responses between those with no government connection and those with some degree of government connection and found no significant effects. Nevertheless, for complete transparency, countries that include government respondents in their samples are denoted with a “g” on our Rights Tracker.

We have distributed the HRMI survey four times; however, the first survey in 2017 was a pilot that measured issues on a different time scale from our annual data that we now collect. As such, only data from three surveys, distributed in 2019, 2020, and 2021, currently contribute to the HRMI civil and political rights data found on the Rights Tracker. For more information on each survey’s sample, see the Survey and People Data Reports and the 2018 and 2019 HRMI Methodology Notes here: <https://humanrightsmeasurement.org/methodology-handbook/>.

Producing Intensity Scores: Model Summary

Once the survey period ends, we begin converting information collected from the survey responses into more meaningful scores. The statistical model we employ to convert responses to our questions about intensity of abuse into HRMI metrics is a Bayesian variant of the common factor model. Developed to study unobservable factors such as knowledge, intelligence, and personality, this approach allows us to estimate unobserved traits (in this case the level of respect for a specific human right) for individual countries, from a set of observed outcomes (in our case the responses to our survey questions) that were caused by that trait. We use this approach for three main reasons.

First, it allows us to derive sensible results from quite small sample sizes. It is important to use a methodology that works with small sample sizes because the number of human rights experts in some countries is quite small, and it would be unrealistic to expect all of them to complete our survey every time we conduct it. Because our models are Bayesian, they produce a central estimate of the score for each country along with an estimate of uncertainty, around each score. A higher level of uncertainty (larger uncertainty band) results when there is more variance among survey respondents' scores on a particular right and/or when the number of survey respondents is smaller.

Second, this approach enables us to place each country on a common scale, even though different survey respondents may interpret the numeric values on the scale differently. For example, respondent A may give a score of 4/6, while respondent B gives the same country a score of 2/6 even if the two respondents have the same set of knowledge about what is going on in that country, simply because they interpret the scale differently from one another. Our methodology allows us to correct for that by using their responses to the questions surrounding the anchoring vignettes mentioned above.

Third, in relation to the above, it allows us to correct for any country-specific differences in interpretation of the scales. For example, if survey respondents in country X have become accustomed to a particular intensity of abuse, it is possible they could see it as "more normal" than respondents in country Y. In this case and the one above, responses to our questions about the hypothetical countries are used as "bridging observations" to correct for any such bias and create a scale that is cross-nationally comparable.

In the section that follows, we describe these model attributes in detail, with some of the specifics pertaining to the 2021 HRMI civil and political rights data.

Producing the 2021 Civil and Political Rights Intensity Scores: Detailed Explanation

The simplest way to combine expert survey responses on the intensity questions into a single score for each country-year would be to report the average of the survey responses for that question. While this technique is straightforward and commonly employed in many settings, there are several potential problems with this method that would bring the validity of the scores into question. Namely, simply averaging the survey responses assumes that each survey question and each expert should contribute equally to the underlying quantity being estimated. Additionally, the simple approach assumes that experts in different countries will view the scale of the survey questions in comparable ways. In order to overcome these potential problems, we use statistical models that estimate unobserved, latent traits/characteristics for individual

observations (in our case, countries) from a set of observed outcomes (in our case, survey questions).

The models we use are Bayesian variants of the common factor model, which were developed primarily in the fields of psychology and sociology (Bollen 1989). These models have been developed to uncover the latent dimensionality within a set of observed indicators of some concept. For example, a survey that is designed to measure an individual's political ideology, might ask a battery of questions about a respondent's position on a variety of policies/issues, such as position toward same-sex marriage, gun control, and redistribution of wealth. We would expect that a given respondent would answer these questions in similar ways, representing either more left or right-wing ideological views.

Formally, the factor model is as follows:

$$Y_{ij} = \alpha_j + \beta_j \Theta_i$$

Here Y_{ij} is individual i 's response to survey question j . Θ_i is individual i 's ideology and β_j is the factor loading that maps individual i 's response to question j to their latent position Θ . Larger values of β represent a stronger association between the survey question and the latent trait. α_j is an intercept that is often omitted by standardising both Y and Θ .

In our case, the unobserved concept of interest is the intensity of human rights respect in a given country and the observed outcomes are survey responses from experts, as defined above, in that country. In our surveys, we ask experts to rate countries on their performance in the areas of the rights to:

- freedom from torture and ill-treatment,
- freedom from arbitrary or political arrest and imprisonment,
- freedom from extrajudicial execution,
- freedom from death penalty execution,
- freedom from disappearance,
- political participation,
- opinion and expression,
- assembly and association.

Respondents placed their respective countries on a scale, where higher values correspond to worse conditions.¹ Questions about each country serve as the questions/items for the factor analysis, analogous to questions on a public-opinion survey, and the human rights performance of a given country is analogous to an individual's ideology in the previous example.

As in the standard setup, we treat each of our survey responses partly as a function of the "true" human rights conditions in each country. Unlike the standard approach, our model estimates a latent trait for each *item*, i.e. country-year, which is assumed to be fixed across respondents. In

¹ The survey question is inverted from the final score presented in our results, in which higher scores represent better respect for the right in question.

this setup the α and β parameters discussed above vary across respondents rather than items, so that each survey response is also a function of respondent-specific parameters that represent how each respondent translates the underlying human rights conditions in their country into a response on the survey question. This allows for the fact that survey respondents may respond differently to the same objective conditions. That is, Respondent 1 may give a score of 4/6 in response to a particular set of objective conditions, whereas Respondent 2 could give the same country a score of 2/6. This feature of the model, combined with anchoring vignettes (described below), allows us to place each country on a common scale even when respondents treat the numeric values on the scale differently.

Because we are estimating a Bayesian version of the model, we must supply distributional information that is not necessary in the standard approach. Treating our responses as normally distributed, we can write our model:

$$\begin{aligned} Y_{ij} &\sim N(\mu_{ij}, \tau_{ij}) \\ \mu_{ij} &= \alpha_i + \beta_i \Theta_j \\ \tau_{ij} &= \tau_i \tau_j \end{aligned}$$

where Y_{ij} is respondent i 's rating of country j 's human rights conditions and Θ_j is the “true” value of human rights performance in country j . Each α_i represents respondent i 's tendency to place countries lower/higher on the scale. A respondent with a negative α tends to rank countries on the low end of the scale, while one with a positive α tends to push their rankings towards the high end. Each β_j represents how well a respondent distinguishes between poor and good human rights conditions. Respondents with β s closer to 0 place countries with different human rights performances relatively close together on the scale, while those with more positive β s place countries with different performances relatively far apart on the scale. A negative value of β would indicate that the respondent ranks countries with worse performance higher than those with better performance, which is something we allow for but which we did not observe happening in practice. Finally, we allow the variation in survey responses, τ_{ij} to be a function of both respondent and item level variation.²

One of the advantages of our approach versus a simpler approach to aggregating survey responses to the country level (e.g. taking the simple mean of the responses) is that our approach can handle differences in how experts may view the underlying response across different countries. That is, what one expert may view as a 4 another may view as a 2. As our respondents are country-specific, we include a set of hypothetical countries, described in the survey, that all experts place regardless of their country of expertise. These “anchoring vignettes” combined with the Bayesian factor model described above, allow us to correct for any potential differences in how experts view the underlying scales in our survey. That is, we use questions about hypothetical countries as “bridging observations” in order to estimate the model and to create a scale that is cross-nationally comparable. An example data matrix for our model, with 6 respondents from 3 countries, is shown in Table 2.³

² This is a variation of the Bayesian Aldrich-McKelvey model. See Hare, et al (2014) for more detailed information.

³ For a more detailed discussion of anchoring vignettes and expert surveys, see Bakker et al (2014).

Table 2: Example data for Bayesian Aldrich-McKelvey model

| Respondent | Country 1 | Country 2 | Country 3 | Vignette 1 | Vignette 2 | Vignette 3 |
|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1 | 5 | – | – | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| 2 | 3 | – | – | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 3 | – | 1 | – | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 4 | – | 4 | – | 3 | 4 | 6 |
| 5 | – | – | 6 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6 | – | – | 5 | 1 | 3 | 4 |

We estimate our model via Markov chain Monte Carlo simulation. We adopt the following non-informative conjugate prior distributions for the parameters in our model:

$$\alpha_i \sim U(-100, 100)$$

$$\beta_i \sim U(-100, 100)$$

$$\Theta_{ij} \sim N(0, 1)$$

$$\tau_j \sim \text{Gamma}(0.1, 0.1)$$

$$\tau_i \sim \text{Gamma}(v, \omega)$$

$$v \sim \text{Gamma}(0.1, 0.1)$$

$$\sigma \sim \text{Gamma}(0.1, 0.1)$$

We let our model run for 20,000 iterations and store the last 2,000 draws from the posterior distributions to summarise the model parameters. We assessed convergence via visual inspection of density plots and the Gelman-Rubin statistic, and all parameters show strong evidence of convergence.

This produced posterior intensity distributions with means that range from approximately -1.15 at the lowest up to 1.46 at the highest, and standard deviations that range from approximately 0.001 to 0.69. For the purposes of presentation, we rescaled these distributions to generate means that varied between around 0 and 10, with higher scores indicating better government performance with regard to that right.⁴

Producing Scores for Safety from the State and Empowerment Rights

Using the scores produced from the survey responses, we also create two overarching indicators indicating overall safety from the state, i.e. government respect for physical integrity rights, and

⁴ For freedom from death penalty execution, countries that did not execute anyone in the year under analysis were excluded from the model and assigned the same score as the best performing vignette with a standard deviation of 0. The subsequent rescaling of the death penalty measure ensured that those countries received a “perfect” score of 10.

overall enjoyment of empowerment rights, i.e. the ability to take an active role in society without fear of reprisal.⁵ In doing so, we use similar logic to that laid out for the common factor model above. However, in this instance, we are treating each of our five disaggregated physical integrity rights indicators (i.e. freedom from torture, disappearance, extrajudicial execution, death penalty execution, and arbitrary or political arrest and imprisonment) and three disaggregated empowerment rights indicators (i.e. assembly and association, opinion and expression, and political participation), calculated via the methods described above, as caused by the unobserved variables of overall safety from the state and overall empowerment, respectively.

In order to accurately report uncertainty in the overarching indicators, we had to take into account the uncertainty calculated for each of our disaggregated indicators. As such, we took 10 draws from the posterior distributions of each of our disaggregated indicators. Then, for both safety from the state and empowerment, we ran our Bayesian measurement models ten times apiece, one for each set of draws. Each of our disaggregated rights indicators are continuous and normally distributed, so, following Bakker, Hill, and Moore (2016), we can write our model:

$$y_{i,t} \sim N(\mu_{i,t}, \sigma^2)$$
$$\mu_{i,t} = \beta X_{i,t}$$

We assumed standard normal prior distributions for the latent variables, while the β parameters were assigned normal prior distributions with a mean of 1 and a variance of 2. We assigned the σ parameter a Gamma prior distribution with scale and shape parameters of 1. We let our models run for 10000 iterations and saved the last 5000 iterations to summarize the parameters. All models showed strong evidence of convergence. Finally, we produced the final means and standard deviations for each of our overarching indicators by using Rubin's (1987) rules for combining analyses following multiple imputation.

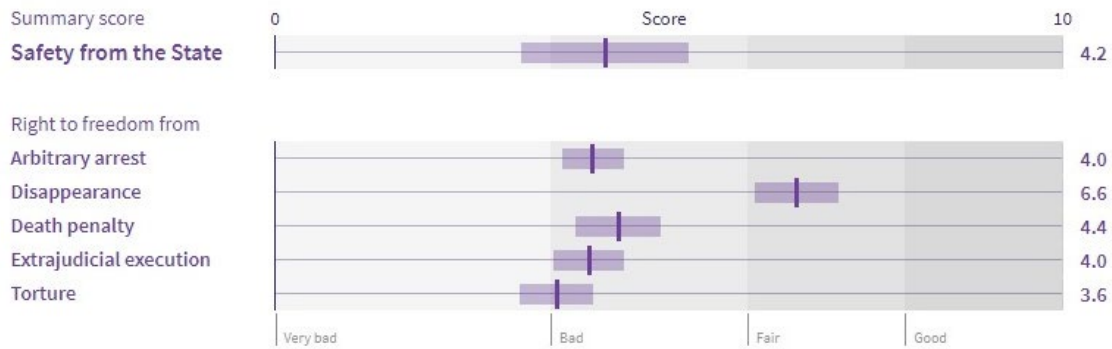
The resulting safety from the state (i.e. physical integrity rights) variable had means ranging from -1.05 to 1.68, with standard deviations ranging from 0.25 to 0.63; the empowerment variable had means ranging from -1.77 to 1.59 with standard deviations ranging from .32 to .55. As with our disaggregated indicators, these variables were rescaled to have means that varied between 0 and 10, with higher scores indicating better government performance with regard to that category of rights.

Data Presentation on Rights Tracker

On the Rights Tracker website (<https://rightstracker.org/en>), we summarize the posterior distributions produced by these models, rescaled to vary from 0 to 10, as mean scores with 80% credible intervals. For instance, the 2020 data for the rights to safety from the state in the United States are summarized as follows:

⁵ These two overarching dimensions have a long history in the quantitative human rights literature. Physical integrity rights largely represent the single dimension measured by both the Political Terror Scale (Gibney et al., 2015) and Fariss (2014), while both dimensions were previously measured by the CIRI Human Rights Data Project (Cingranelli and Richards 1999; Richards, Gelleny, and Sacko 2001; Cingranelli, Richards, and Clay 2014).

How well is the United States' government respecting each right?



Source: HRMI 2021 rightstracker.org

We label certain points on the scale to give some indication of how these scores should be interpreted. For the civil and political rights metrics, scores above 8 are in the “Good” range, scores between 6 and 8 are in the “Fair” range, scores between 3.5 and 6 are in the “Bad” range, and scores below 3.5 are deemed “Very bad.” These ranges were based on the general distribution of scores across the various civil and political rights. In the 2020 data, the median mean score across the seven civil and political rights metrics (excluding death penalty), as well as the two categorical scores, range from 4.7 for torture to 7.4 for disappearance, providing the reference for setting “6” as the midpoint where the descriptor “Fair” is assigned. Likewise, the 10th percentile mean score ranges from 2.3 for Empowerment to 4.1 for disappearance, providing the reasoning for assigning 3.5 as the cut point between “Bad” and “Very Bad.” Finally, the 90th percentile mean score ranges from about 7.3 for torture to 8.8 for disappearance, providing the reasoning for assigning 8 as the “Good” cut point.

Conclusion

We believe the 2020 HRMI civil and political rights data continue to demonstrate the benefits of collecting information on the full scope, intensity, and range of government respect for civil and political rights directly from human rights experts in countries around the world. Further, the statistical methods we use to convert this information into quantitative metrics allow us to be honest about uncertainty and permit sensible cross-country comparisons. This work represents a significant advance over existing human rights data projects, and we plan to extend coverage to a wider sample of countries as soon as possible. Indeed, the goal for HRMI going forward is to gradually expand the sample of countries to include the global population, while at the same time expanding our coverage of rights to include all of those included in the broader corpus of core international human rights treaties.

Nevertheless, much work remains to be done. How should we incorporate information on the actions of non-state actors into our metrics? How might we obtain even better disaggregated data on targeted and discriminated classes, groups, and identities? What can these data help nations learn about the importance of human rights and the best path for reforms toward greater respect for them? These questions will continue to drive our efforts as we move forward and attempt to innovate. To accomplish these goals, we will continue to need help. Indeed, as an initiative that is founded on innovation through collaboration, we sincerely hope to get feedback

on our approach and move forward in a way that makes our data as useful as possible for the largest number of people we can.

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