

**EXPLORING HUMAN RIGHTS
CONCEPTUALISATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES:
A study into knowledge and attitudes of participants
connected to a social justice NGO
Sharon Natt**

Master's Thesis
Master's Programme: Development and International Cooperation
Spring Term 2016
Department of Education
University of Jyväskylä

ABSTRACT

Natt, Sharon. 2016. Exploring Human Rights Conceptualisations in the United States: A study into knowledge and attitudes of participants connected to a social justice NGO. University of Jyväskylä. Department of Education.

Concepts of human rights are present within our social, global and geo-political frameworks, yet their understandings are subject to infinite influences and interpretations. This localised and exploratory study importantly addresses a gap in previous research by investigating such conceptualisations against the backdrop of the United States. Centring on knowledge and attitudes, it focuses specifically on US participants with a connection to a social justice NGO. Representations of negative and positive rights are compared against demographics and awareness of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) to draw deeper conclusions within the wider context. Furthermore, attitudes towards human rights education are explored.

The 151-sized sample was derived from NGO The Advocates for Human Rights' mailing list and Minneapolis State Fair between August-September 2015. The mixed-methods survey results were then analysed using data-driven quantitative and qualitative content methods.

The results found that human rights were often articulated through naturalistic and ethical language, and most participants deemed the concepts relevant to their lives. The majority also believed that human rights education should be taught in schools. Negative rights were referred to more than positive rights, and just over half reported an awareness of the UDHR. Consequently, this awareness was shown to significantly impact how certain issues were viewed. The research produced significant findings and thus gives recommendations for further research in this area.

Keywords: human rights, conceptualisations, USA, civil-political, socio-economic, education

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Foremost, I would like to thank my two thesis advisors for their immense knowledge and inspiration along the way. I am deeply grateful to Dr Tiina Kontinen for her continued patience, unfailing support and consistent encouragement from day one of this research journey. I would also like to thank Professor Hannu Savolainen for his insightful advice and words of wisdom when I started to self-doubt. I could not have wished for better thesis advisors.

My sincere gratitude also goes to my D&IC 2014 group for the stimulating conversations and thought-provoking feedback during the seminar days. Likewise, thank you to my wonderful classmates and friends who have been incredibly supportive and motivating.

Lastly, I would like to thank my Mum and sister Kiz for being inspirational role-models throughout my life. And, of course, thank you Ben, for being my rock and best friend.

CONTENTS

FIGURES	iv
TABLES	v
1. INTRODUCTION	6
2. THEORETICAL DEBATES	8
2.1 Human rights within development	9
2.2 Human rights within education.....	12
2.3 Key concepts within human rights theory	14
2.4 Negative and positive rights.....	18
2.5 Historical evolution and politicisation of rights language.....	21
2.6 Historiography of human rights	26
2.7 Critics: neo-colonialism and post-September 2001 politics.....	28
2.8 United States and human rights.....	31
2.8.1 Human rights and American exceptionalism.....	34
2.8.2 Constitutional rights vs international human rights	36
2.8.3 Looking deeper into American exceptionalism: The death penalty	39
2.9 Literature review: Conclusions	43
3. AIM OF STUDY	44
3.1 Research questions	45
4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	47
4.1 Objectives and significance	47
4.2 Background and context to NGO.....	49
4.3 Previous studies.....	50
4.4 Data collection approach: reliability and limitations	53
4.5 Ethics	55

4.6	Research design	56
4.7	Pilot study.....	58
4.8	Relevance to research questions.....	58
4.9	Participants.....	60
4.10	Data Analysis	62
4.10.1	Word cloud analysis	64
4.10.2	Quantitative content analysis.....	64
4.10.3	Qualitative content analysis	65
5.	RESULTS	67
5.1	Demographics	67
5.2	Research Question 1: How are knowledge and attitudes towards human rights framed by US citizens with a connection to a social justice NGO?.....	69
5.2.1	Naturalistic language	71
5.2.2	Use of negative and positive rights.....	72
5.2.3	Reference to US particularism.....	80
5.2.4	Fairness and ethical framing	82
5.3	Research Question 2: What themes are depicted and understood to be human rights issues?	84
5.3.1	Negative/positive rights.....	86
5.3.2	Death penalty	88
5.3.3	Domestic violence	90
5.3.4	Educational inequality	91
5.3.7	Sex trafficking.....	94
5.4	Research Question 3: How does human rights and education factor into domestic interpretations by participants?	98

6. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS	101
7. DISCUSSION	105
Examination of results	105
7.1 Participant knowledge and attitudes towards human rights	106
7.2 Themes depicted and understood to be human rights issues	113
7.3 Human rights and education	116
8. CONCLUSION	118
8.1 Limitations of study and recommendations.....	118
8.2 Implications of study for future research.....	119
8.3 Conclusion	121
9. REFERENCES	123
10. APPENDICES	148
Appendix A: Human rights survey	148

FIGURES

FIGURE 1: Survey questions addressing Research Question 1	59
FIGURE 2: Survey questions addressing Research Question 2	59
FIGURE 3: Survey questions addressing Research Question 3	60
FIGURE 4: Data driven analysis methodology	63
FIGURE 5: Map showing participants' home states.....	68
FIGURE 6: Word cloud analysis of top 40 words in Q2 & 5	69
FIGURE 7: Bar graph of words and phrases Q2 & Q5	70
FIGURE 8: Use of naturalistic language in Q2 & Q5	72
FIGURE 9: Venn diagram of negative and positive rights categories	73
FIGURE 10: Pie chart of negative and positive rights in Q2 and Q5	74
FIGURE 11: Bar graph of UDHR awareness.....	75
FIGURE 12: Bar graph of state political orientation and UDHR awareness.....	76
FIGURE 13: Bar graph of negative/positive rights and UDHR awareness.....	79
FIGURE 14: Bar graph of UDHR awareness and HR relevance.....	80
FIGURE 15: Bar graph of US particularism and UDHR awareness.....	81
FIGURE 16: Bar graph of ethics and negative/positive framing	83
FIGURE 17: Word cloud analysis of top 40 words in Q6.....	84
FIGURE 18: Diagram illustrated word frequencies and relationships between negative and positive rights.....	85
FIGURE 19: Pie chart of use of negative and positive rights in Q6.....	86
FIGURE 20: Bar graph of how certain human rights issuesare viewed	88
FIGURE 21: Bar graph of attitudes towards immigration and political orientation of home state	92
FIGURE 22: Bar graph of attitudes towards poverty and UDHR awareness.....	94
FIGURE 23: Bar graph of attitudes towards sex trafficking and UDHR awareness.....	95
FIGURE 24: Bar graph of attitudes towards racism and participant ethnicity...	96
FIGURE 25: Bar graph of attitudes towards racism and UDHR awareness.....	97
FIGURE 26: Bar graph of Q7 responses.....	98

FIGURE 27: Bar graph of political orientation of home state and views on the responsibility for human rights education	99
--	----

TABLES

TABLE 1: Demographics table of participants	67
TABLE 2: Table illustrating use of negative/rights and UDHR awareness	77

1. INTRODUCTION

Alongside money and the internet, human rights have been described as ‘one of the universal languages of globalisation’ (Ignatieff, 2005). Vast and multidisciplinary, the set of moral principles have evolved to span academic fields from law to education, and today impacts government policies from immigration to international development (Mertus, 2009). Entwined in a global framework and bound to the international arena, human rights have consequently been embedded into worldwide discourses and effectively mainstreamed. Yet, not too unlike money and the internet, human rights are sensitive to external influences and interpretations. Throughout its history there have been disputes and controversies connected to the formation of what we know today as ‘human rights’, and arguments have been made against its politicisation, western-centric ideology and self-professed universalism. Whilst its widely known tenets stand for liberty, openness and freedom, therefore, its pervasive philosophy should be discussed, especially as words that have been made familiar ‘are not necessarily clear’ (Henkin, 1979, p.408).

One self-proclaimed bastion of human rights is the United States. A key actor in international policies, it champions itself as the ‘land of the free’, yet it has been paradoxical in its approach to human rights. Its exceptionalism has set it apart from other western nations in its failure to ratify key treaties, and it is the only western country to maintain capital punishment. A curious paradigm, the United States therefore takes centre stage to contextualise this study, from which interpretations, knowledge and attitudes towards human rights will be explored.

This thesis sets out in particular to investigate human rights conceptualisations of US participants with a connection to a social justice and development NGO. The empirical research was conducted in Minnesota (USA) during August and September 2015 and concentrated largely on how participants articulated definitions of human rights, and which issues formed

the focus of discussion. Based on previous studies, including the BEMIS study (2013) and The Opportunity Agenda (2007), this research chose to utilise survey methods with a mixed-method design, and successfully collected information from 151 respondents. As a result, both quantitative and qualitative data was generated and established a rich foundation for in-depth analyses.

The structure of the following research thesis is as follows. Firstly, chapter 2 opens with broad theoretical debates, investigating human rights within development and education. Key concepts, with specific reference to negative and positive rights, are discussed, and the historical evolution of rights and historiography are examined in detail. Criticisms of rights are next dealt with, before zooming into the specific context of this study – the US and human rights. Theoretical debates regarding American exceptionalism, constitutionalism and the death penalty will here be considered. Next, inspired from the in-depth literature review, the aims of the study and accompanying research questions are presented in chapter 3. The fourth chapter comprises the research methodology, which sketches the research design and data collection before discussing the quantitative and qualitative content methods of data analysis used. Chapter 5 presents a close examination of results, and chapter 6 gives a summary of the research findings. Chapter 7 forms the discussions section, which closely examines the key findings and interprets the results in relation to theoretical debates and context outlined in chapter 3. Finally, the last chapter outlines the limitations of this study and implications for future research, and concludes with an indication of support for human rights education both within development and education fields.

2. THEORETICAL DEBATES

As shall be discussed throughout this thesis, the concept of human rights is boundless. It stretches far beyond the basic values and needs of human survival and reaches towards philosophies of freedom, dignity and the quality of life. Poverty alleviation, participation, gender equality and democracy fall under its tenets, and modern rights practice has been fundamental in shaping socioeconomic and political dimensions in international development. Today few concepts are as 'frequently invoked in contemporary political discussions as human rights' (Sen, 2004 p.315), yet before the 1940s the expression was rarely used (Cmiel, 2004 p.117). So how has human rights evolved in the past century, and how has it come to be defined and understood in an international arena? In what way has its language grown, and why has it become so central to development theory and education? Furthermore, how has the United States - arguably the most powerful nation in the west - handled the growing human rights phenomena both domestically and abroad?

There is no denying that the answers to these questions are as complex as the nature of human rights itself, yet they are important to address in providing a framework for this study. Focusing primarily on the motif of human rights therefore, this analytical literature review will sketch its background and explore the context for surrounding themes. It will begin by firstly looking at where human rights fit within the development sphere, and how global actors have forged a relationship between the two. Then, it will address the significance of human rights education to this thesis. Following this, the historical discourse of what we today know as human rights will be examined, as language brings the past, present and future of the subject together. Next, it will analyse how key concepts are defined within human rights, and how they have developed and changed over the last century. Criticisms of human rights as western-centric and overly politicised in the post-September 11th years will be explored as we then zoom in on the United States. A nation riddled with

inconsistencies in its human rights approach, the US will be closely analysed in both its constitutionalism and exceptionalism, and in the paradoxes that have arisen in wake of the nation's behaviour and attitude to human rights. Throughout, the evolving historiography and critical discourse will be examined in depth, and provide rich insights from different perspectives. This analytical review of contemporary academic debates will act to establish chapter 4, in which I will illustrate in more detail the empirical research for this study. By looking at a scope of theoretical narratives and related key themes within empirical literature, this theoretical framework will endeavour to seek answers to these initial questions, and act further as a rich springboard for this study's research problems. Moreover, it will aim to shape a clear conceptual foundation for the analysis in chapter 7, where the findings of this study will be related back to these theoretical debates.

2.1 Human rights within development

This thesis is written from the context of development cooperation and collects empirical data from a development-centred NGO; thus, it is therefore important to address where human rights fits into this sphere. At first glance, the relationship may seem obvious to contemporary actors as human rights is deeply embedded into current international development bodies and in the ethos of widely known NGOs (Amnesty International, 2015). However, before World War II such terms were in seldom use, and when they first entered the political vernacular in the 1940s practices of development were often separated from ethics and focused more on economic growth and the modernisation of the developing world (Elliot in Desai & Potter, 2014 p.66). Indeed, as Peter Uvin succinctly writes, until recently 'the development enterprise lived in splendid isolation from the human rights world' (Uvin, 2004 p.1). So how has human rights been linked with development, and why is this study investigating the perceptions of human rights relevant to the development field?

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights transformed the historic concept of human rights from a marginal notion to a political centrepiece after the experiences of the Second World War, and it later grew into a standard setting document, trumpeting human rights setting standards in countless legal frameworks and heralding an international statement of fundamental freedoms for every human being. Development was a much more recent phenomenon, growing in the 1960s as colonial territories gained their independence and was further shaped by 1970s neoliberal interests (Elliot p.68 in Desai & Potter, 2014). The two originally dealt with distinctly different areas: human rights concerned abuses of power and negative freedoms, whereas development was dedicated to basic needs and economic growth (Tomasevski, 1989 p.113).

The synchronicity between human rights and development in international relations grew during the latter half of the century. In this period, both development and human rights moved from outside notions to key features in geopolitics and formed the basis of international treaties and charters (Cmiel, 2004 p.117). The 1986 UN Declaration on the Right to Development formally cemented human rights and development together, and by the end of the century both concepts were thoroughly entwined in international practices. The Millennium Development Goals and current post-2015 Development Agenda, for example, captivate the ethics and ethos of human rights, and many contemporary development actors use human rights as a model, adopting rights-based approaches to their development practice (Uvin, 2007). Human rights have been a response to political turbulence and international conflict, and in this way, Shabbir Cheema (2005) argues that human rights and development are fundamentally linked, as governance reform in developing countries needs a solid human rights framework to build democratic institutions (*ibid.*). Development and democracy, he puts forward, are the products of fair and balanced economic, social and cultural human rights (Cheema, 2005 p.99). For scholars like Cheema, development and human rights are inextricably linked: the essential characteristics of democracy are based on human rights, and human rights are impossible to foster in a place

without it (Cheema, 2005 p.99). Following this, Carl Jung's interpretation of synchronicity – that ideas can be important coincidences connected by meaning (Jung, 1993) – can be invoked in the sense that both rights and development have shared a symbiotic relationship and give meaning to the other.

Furthermore, in recent years, the focus of the United Nations has moved from standards setting to human rights monitoring and international development. In Julie Mertus's work 'The United Nations and Human Rights' (2009), the UN is shown to have expanded its approach from detached policy makers to closer development agents, aiding in human rights implementation on the ground and making human rights policy applicable to non-state actors (Mertus, 2009). Mertus also explains how foundational instruments that make up the international human rights framework – like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights – have evolved to further focus on holding non-state actors to account – importantly trans and multinational corporations which can greatly affect developing countries (Mertus, 2009 p.2). Academic scholar Jerry Pubantz goes further with linking the two fields together, contending that the creation of the UN human rights framework fosters greater intercultural democracy between those in the Global North and South (2005, p.1293).

Thus, it is clear that debates in the human rights community echo and influence those in the development community, and the same is true in the inverse (Uvin, 2004 p.16). From the global to the local, geopolitics to socioeconomic welfare, human rights has evolved to play a role and be integrated into all levels of development. Yet, human rights are not a straightforward model that can be applied directly to development – they are multifaceted and have been highly contested throughout its history (Uvin, 2004 p.16). Thus, it is critical for those in the development sphere to be conscious of its debates and hold human rights to scrutiny, much as the concept of 'development' has been before it.¹ For a more in-depth examination into the

¹ For example, post-development theorists, such as Arturo Escobar (1995)

background of the development and human rights based NGO for this particular study, see section 4.2.

2.2 Human rights within education

This study is also written within the context of education, and thus how human rights interact with education must be addressed. The following section takes a closer look at the conceptualisation of human rights education (HRE) and the dominant discourse that surrounds it.

The relationship between human rights and education is complex. Whether human rights education is approached as a catalyst for social transformation or as a means to enforce political norms depends upon the conceptualisation of human rights. Moreover, HRE has the potential to impact human rights knowledge and attitudes on a large scale. A growing number of NGOs now focus on building human rights awareness in schools, educating domestic advocates and promoting rights curriculums (Davis et al., 2012 p.204). By looking at modes of human rights education and how it has been framed, we can further our understanding about the role of HRE in society.

The UN has been a key actor in the establishment of an international human rights education discourse, increasingly unifying and organising the language and definitions used in international instruments (Coysh, 2014 p.92). In 1974, the UN issued the 'Recommendation Concerning Education and International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms' (UN Commission on HR resolution 3). This initial proposal was far-reaching, and had fundamental significance for the course of HRE, stating that education should 'include critical analysis of the historical and contemporary factors of an economic and political nature' (UNESCO 1974). The Vienna World Conference echoed this, stating that human rights should involve 'people at all levels in development and all strata of society [to] learn respect for the dignity of others' (Vienna Declaration, 1993).

Yet with no recommendations or methods, HRE was not regulated or enforced (Coysh, 2014).

The years 1995-2004 aspired to address this gap in the HRE framework, and were declared by the UN to be the People's Decade for Human Rights Education (PDHRE). The decade aimed to place human rights education at the forefront of UN policy in the global North and South, and promote human rights values and awareness. After the self-declared People's Decade, HRE moved from UNESCO's responsibility to the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). There was an emphatic shift in its discourse, from peace and ethics towards democracy and social justice in the language used, relocating HRE in a more politically global framework. This educational scaffolding, engineered by the UN, framed the world in HRE terms that the UN had created, and gave the global institution the capacity to greatly influence global human rights education policies and understanding (Keet, 2012). Whilst the decade itself was fundamental in creating a platform for HRE classrooms around the world, today relatively little takes place in western primary and secondary education (Coysh, 2014). Western governments appear to have fallen short of translating the UN's policy into their learning strategies or articulating the UN's PDHRE into comprehensive public policies (Stone, 2002). Furthermore, some scholars like Coysh (2014) have argued that by controlling the construction of human rights education discourse, the UN played a key role in directing knowledge and attitudes of human rights for individuals and communities (Coysh, 2014 p.94).

With the creation of the People's Decade, the UN established its role –and therefore power – on the centre stage of HRE, revising previous approaches to human rights education (Coysh, 2014 p.94). Historical knowledge was therefore submerged under the structures of HRE discourse laid by the UN (ibid.). Furthermore, Keet (2012) argues that human rights have been exploited by processes of globalisation, and in turn modern rights and educational practices create a moral framework aligned with the 'exploits associated with the

globalisation of the 20th and 21st centuries' (p.18). By codifying HRE discourse through international structures, the culture of human rights education is subject to UN-framed knowledge, textbooks and lessons (Keet, 2012 p.20), and thus the very transformative nature of human rights is upturned. Yet, what does this transformative nature entail, and how has human rights theory evolved? The next section will attempt to address definitions of human rights and the core concepts embedded within it.

2.3 Key concepts within human rights theory

Before we delve deeper into the literature, it is important to establish what is meant by 'human rights' – what motifs and characteristics lie at the centre of this vast and multifaceted term? In the immediate post-World-War II aftermath human rights were still an abstract concept, yet in the last half century the phrase has been propelled into international discourse and cemented a global awareness. Whether human rights have been used to improve living standards over the decades or engineered in the purposes of state interests, there is no denying that these concepts now take centre-stage in international relations and controversies. With this institutionalisation, some commentators claim that we now live in an 'age of rights' (Henkin, 1990 and Nickel, 2002 in: Hitchcock, 2015 p.106). Others discuss that human rights should move away from being all-encompassing 'trumps', and instead ought to set the foundation for a shared vocabulary that 'creates the basis for deliberation' (Ignatieff, 2003 p.349). How have human rights been defined in the twentieth century, and what concepts exist at its very foundation? In this section, we shall examine the core concepts that are evoked when summoning human rights, and how they coexist in defining each other. Values, needs and capabilities, human dignity and freedom shall be discussed in their relationship with human rights.

Human rights are often explained as the moral principles and values we share simply by being human (UDHR, 1948). Equality, inalienability and

universality are three qualities that are entrenched within its definition. These particular expressions, found fully in the UDHR model (1948) and partially in the US founding documents² are inextricably linked in their own interpretations and cross paths in defining human rights. In their equality for example, rights should be absolute and bear no prejudice; in their inalienability the denial of rights is prohibited and all beings should be treated in the same way; and in their universality rights brings humanity together, sparking unity in its realisation. Put simply, the human rights violations of today can be somewhat described as the neglect of these three key features (Donnelly, 2013, p.11). Furthermore, as Donnelly explains (2013, p.11), these three concepts are not just abstract values. Human rights are the specific practices to represent and actualise these commonly quoted and shared values (ibid., p.12). Far from being a set of hypothetical ideals and moralistic principles, human rights hold political legitimacy and can empower citizens and societies to articulate, defend and uphold their rights. Thus, rights – as equal, inalienable and universal – hold a distinct purpose in translating rights theories into more tangible ideas for a wider audience.

Needs and capabilities are two concepts also interwoven within the fabric of human rights. In basic terms, needs theory advocated by Christian Bay (1982) is the understanding that human needs are pivotal to politics as they establish the legitimacy of rights. Yet needs are more than a simple checklist of physiological requirements to keep one healthy. Psychologist Abraham Maslow created his theory of a hierarchy of needs in his 1943 paper 'A Theory of Human Motivation', categorising needs in the terms of 'physiological', 'safety', 'belongingness/love', 'esteem', 'self-actualisation' and 'self-transcendence' to describe human patterns of behaviour and motivation. His expansive model admits that 'man's instinctoid tendencies, such as they are, are far weaker than cultural forces' (Maslow 1970, 129). Also acknowledging the

² References are made to 'unalienable' and 'equal' the Declaration of Independence, (1776)

limitations of the 'needs' approach, Donnelly points out that we must turn to philosophy in order to understand the source of human rights (2013, p.14). Amartya Sen does this, recognising that the two concepts 'go well with each other, so long as we do not try to subsume either entirely within the other' (2005, p.152) and advocates the capabilities approach as a channel for human rights, grounding it in morality (Sen, 2005; Donnelly, 2013 p.14-15). Whereas needs are descriptive, human moral nature is prescriptive – and this more fully encapsulates human rights, as a medium for a life of dignity (Donnelly, 2013 p.15). In other words, human rights enable respect and individuals to realise their own self-worth and capabilities.

Dignity is widely used in human rights discourse and surrounding academic debates. It is an important and deep-rooted ethical concept, frequently making appearances in post-war human rights treaties and documents, and the very idea of human rights depends upon the 'vague but powerful idea of human dignity' (Dworkin, 1977 p.198). It is central to claiming and interpreting the morality, politics and legality of rights, yet what does human dignity mean, and how is it applied in the human rights framework? As with other key concepts that circumscribe human rights, the meaning of dignity can change on interpretation. To philosophers like Aristotle, for instance, 'dignity consists not in possessing honours, but in the consciousness that we deserve them' (Aristotle in: Lebeck, 2009 p.59-69). To others, like legal scholar Jeremy Waldron, 'dignity is a principle of morality and a principle of law' (2012, p.13). One of the first applications of dignity in international law came in the immediate post-war aftermath. The Preamble of the 1945 Charter of the United Nations states that it hoped to 'reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small' (1945). This was a marked key shift in previous international discourses (Chaskalson 2002, p.133). Three years later, it was similarly showcased in the preamble of the UDHR 'recognising that these rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person' (1948) and in the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man

- 'the American peoples have acknowledged the dignity of the individual' (1948). These international rights documents illustrate how human dignity rationalised rights legislation, and how human rights and human dignity are interdependent (Malpas & Lickiss, 2007 p.75).

The concept of freedom ties human rights and development together. To Nobel-Prize winning economist Amartya Sen, development is freedom - it is the advancement of liberties that would benefit lives that 'have reason to value' (Sen, 2001 p.85). His deeper analysis identifies five different opportunities: political freedom, economic structures, social opportunities, transparency, and safety through security (Sen, 2001 chapter 1). Each freedom is interconnected and fosters the development of the others. Increasing the wealth of a nation can help secure some freedoms, but it is only part of the story - freedoms hinge on a range of elements from socio-political to economic rights (ibid. p.3). Thus political, economic and social freedoms are symbiotic, and their unity connects with the 'enhancement of human freedom in general' (ibid. p.37). In this way, Sen (2001) argues that substantive freedom has extensive implications for improving both understanding and access to development. Freedom is simultaneously a means to, and consequence of, development and human rights.

The universal concepts of equality, freedom and dignity may in their very essence be infinite, unbounded by space or time, yet social frameworks are subject to change, and it is these that act to shape worldviews and dictate mainstream understandings (Lebech, 2009 p.227). Words commonly found in human rights prose - such as 'liberty', 'freedom' and 'dignity' - can be described as 'essentially contested concepts' (Pzeworski, 1985 p.2; Jahren, p.2), and these concepts therefore are intricately bound to social frameworks. Their meanings are socially constructed and depend on interpretations within society (Malpas, 2007 p.25). Such concepts are complex; multi-layered in meaning, and evoke different subtexts and references depending on the subject. These 'essentially contested concepts' create further challenges for a universal

interpretation of human rights, making the case for a deeper examination into individual perceptions on the topic.

2.4 Negative and positive rights

Rights can be broadly grouped into two categories – negative (civil and political) and positive (socio-economic) rights. This categorisation of rights is of particular importance to this thesis as critics such as Joseph Wronka (1998) and Jennifer Elliot (in Desai & Potter, 2014) note that the United States has largely focused on negative rights, positioning them higher than positive rights. Here we shall briefly outline the distinctions between the two, draw parallels between Amartya Sen's positive and negative freedoms (2001), and investigate why perhaps the distinction between the two may not be so clear cut.

Negative rights are strongly individualistic and impose limits on external forces, such as the government, and can be described as 'freedoms from' (Sen, 2001). This means that states are prevented from interfering in personal freedom, such as the freedom of speech, and is what Tomuschat (2008) presents as the 'first generation' of rights. In contrast, 'second generation' (ibid.) positive rights imply positive action by the state and encompass social rights and economic rights, which translates as the right to work and right to basic healthcare such as the fulfilment of basic needs, like healthcare and education. Often referred to as 'welfare rights' (Donnelly, 2013), positive rights have been incorporated into the UDHR (1948) particularly in the reference to economic, cultural and social rights (such as Articles 23 and 25 for example). The third generation often refers to collective-development rights which represent claims against a state or transnational organisation (Tomuschat, 2008 p.137).

Positive and negative rights draw parallels with Amartya Sen's categorisation of freedoms (2001) and Isaiah Berlin's 'two concepts of liberty' (1958). Sen (2001) divides freedoms into 'positive' and 'negative' groups – positive freedoms emphasise action and capabilities, whereas the latter

describes freedoms from and stresses non-interference of state actors – much like positive and negative rights. To Sen, positive freedoms are ‘intrinsically important as the preeminent objective of development’ (2001, p.37), empowering individual capabilities and actions. Negative freedoms are much like negative rights – the right to be free from abuse, such as assault, enslavement and theft. Positive and negative freedoms were first outlined in Berlin’s essay (1958) and are often referred to in ‘free-market’ economics, stressing freedom from government interference (Sen, 2001 p.26; Gasper & Staveren, 2003 p.139). In terms of development, negative freedom has little value by itself as it does not facilitate substantive freedoms and capabilities, and therefore requires positive freedoms, or rights, to succeed (Sen, 2001 p.24).

During the latter half of the twentieth century, a distinct pattern emerged between those countries which prioritised negative freedoms and rights, and those which ranked positive rights higher. For the former, civil and political rights were championed by the USA and the West followed suit, supporting their ratification into constitutional and legal frameworks (Elliot p.67 in Desai & Potter, p.2014). Scholars, such as Chandra Muzaffar (1995) and Adamatia Pollis (1996) have argued that ‘the Western doctrine of human rights excludes economic and social rights’ (Pollis, p.18) and that the dominant rights conceptualisation in the West emphasises ‘only civil and political rights’ (Muzaffer, p. 29). On the other hand, it was largely nations in the Global South and socialist states which sought positive rights – chiefly economic, social and cultural – with greater urgency (Elliot, 2014 p.67).

Yet, differences between the two categories of rights and freedoms are not so well-defined. Henry Shue (1996) explains that civil, political, economic and social rights can be fluid in definition, and therefore harder to separate clearly as ‘positive’ or ‘negative’ (Donnelly, 2013 p.42). The right to privacy, for example, can seemingly be understood as a negative right as it places the responsibility on others to abstain from violating it. Yet, positive actions by the state are required for privacy laws to be realised, as privacy protection is not

simply guaranteed by non-interference, thereby translating the right to privacy as a positive right. This is a particularly relevant debate today amidst the National Security Agency's (NSA) post September 11th mass surveillance expansion. The European Court of Justice has ruled against the NSA as violating privacy rights and 'compromising the essence of the fundamental right to respect for private life' (Kehl, 2015; Court of Justice of the EU Press Release, 2015). This muddling between negative and positive rights can be further seen when examining rights against the protection of torture - although in essence it embodies the characteristics of a true 'negative' right, fulfilling this right constantly necessitates trainings, supervision and checks and balances on authority - profoundly 'positive' acts (Donnelly, 2013 p.43). Negative rights and freedoms, therefore, often require positive actions to achieve their goals, and thus there is a blurring between 'negative' and 'positive' definitions of rights. Proactive endeavours and restraint on behalf of the state are necessary for the realisation of all rights (Donnelly, 2013 p.43) and must be in balance to be effective. Furthermore, rights are far more interlinked than on the surface. Economic and social rights are directly dependent on socio-political and economic circumstances, and often poverty is the direct cause of politics at play (Amnesty International, 2015). In this way, civil-political rights and economic, social and cultural rights exist as not the antithesis to the other, but rather two categories that are truly linked (Donnelly, 2013 p.40).

If positive and negative freedoms and rights are closely interconnected, then they must be in balance to facilitate development and capabilities (Sen, 2001 p.37). In the US, however, it is arguable that freedoms and rights are out of sync (Cook, 2015). A case in point emerges when looking at African American communities in the US. A notoriously deprived group in a rich country, black Americans have a lower life expectancy and high infant mortality rate compared to their Caucasian counterparts and even those in much poorer countries like Costa Rica and Sri Lanka (Sen, 2001 p.21; Cook, 2015). This is despite their higher levels of income in comparison with groups in these countries (even after correcting for living costs (Sen, 2001 p.21; p.23).

Prejudice, and the lack of positive freedoms and rights – such as free public health care, education and social services – combine together to create unfair conditions within the ‘leader of the free world’. If, as Sen argues, positive and negative freedoms and rights are co-dependent and strengthen one another, how robust are US interpretations of freedom and rights? And how can the negative rights and freedoms that the country boasts – such as economic security and political liberty – be sustained if the nation lacks social freedoms and rights like free education and welfare (Sen, 2001 p.11)? The use of positive and negative rights therefore will be analysed later in relation to the results of this study and compared to the wider context of the United States.

2.5 Historical evolution and politicisation of rights language

Whether it has been used to aid the bourgeois (Marx, 1843), further western imperialism (Spivak p.84 in: Rathore & Cistelecan 2011), or conversely challenge prevailing hegemonic structures (Evans, 2001 p.34) human rights have been subject to intense politicisation during its history. Addressing this political history is imperative in establishing the context for this study, and it brings to light key controversies which have shaped contemporary material, social and political reality (Koselleck, 2004). Indeed, it has been stated that if today’s global discourse had a unifying moral language, it would be that of human rights (Beitz, 2009 p.1). Discourse is never simply one text or one statement, it is the manner of thinking and the conditioned understanding of knowledge – the episteme (Hall, 2005 p.44; Foucault 2002, p.79). Analysing the evolving politicisation of human rights language, therefore, can help establish how we have used its framework to construct the world around us, and how its concepts have been used to construct our world. This section introduces core human rights documents and examines their rise as written expressions of political ‘speech acts’ (Skinner, 1970) of their time. It will also look at how core concepts such as naturalism and equality have been treated in fundamental western historical human rights texts like the US Declaration of Independence

(1776), the French Declaration (1789) and the UDHR (1948). Throughout, it will also analyse how rights language has been transformed over the course of its development.

Novel ideas of power and politics often reflect emerging philosophies in society, and in this way, rights movements are often not only the outcome of change, but the catalyst for it. In the USA, for example, rights discourse arose during the time when the country was gaining independence from the British. For the French, the 1789 Declaration of Rights came at a key moment in history, during a period of wars, exploitation and revolution. From the 18th century to 1948, rights moved from the periphery to the centre of national and constitutional frameworks. More recently, in the post-war era and under the dominating machine of globalisation, the conceptualisation of human rights has been dichotomous in both supporting prevailing systems of hegemony and providing an influential tool to challenge the establishment (Evans, 2001 p.34). In this way, founding human rights documents can be described as the contextualisations of political acts of speech, and its concepts are manifestations of contemporaneous political debates (Skinner, 1970). The sheer range of interpretations shows that human rights ideas are both historical and controversial, and that the notions themselves are neither timeless nor resistant to shifting in meaning. Its evolution from 'natural' rights to 'civil' to 'human' rights, for example, illustrates the scope for varied conceptual approaches. Rights have long been disputed and used to further ideological and political ends, and by delving into its history, we can ask who has been included in its key concepts, and who have been excluded?

One such key concept is naturalism. Naturalism is the notion that rights are possessed by all human beings in a state of nature, simply 'in virtue of their humanity'; because they are natural, they are therefore 'innate and cannot be lost' (Simmons, 2001 p.185). We can see evidence of this model throughout the evolution of rights we know today. The United States Declaration of Independence in 1776, for example, uses naturalistic language to explain rights:

'we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness'. This philosophical account of natural rights also appears in the French reading of rights - *droits de l'homme*, for example, translates into English as the 'rights of man'; literally, one has rights because they are human (Donnelly, 2013 p.7), invoking the naturalistic sense of universality. More recently, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was drafted in 1948, the language summoned this natural concept and invoked values of dignity and universality. It stated that human rights are 'inalienable' (UDHR, 1948), and in its very naturalistic tone it drew similarities with the US Declaration written two centuries before. This linguistic motif of naturalism reinforces the argument that natural rights are pre-social, independent of politics and uncompromisingly universal. Powerful and emotive, this language stresses a shared sense of humanity and has been used to evoke historical political reforms, from the US independence to the French revolution, against oppression to justify and legitimatise political change.

Yet, this naturalistic argument faced criticism from prominent 17th and 18th century scholars who had varied approaches towards which rights were 'natural'. Social contract theorists, such as Thomas Hobbes (1651), John Locke (1689) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762), argued that rights ought to be included in a social contract, thus distancing them from the natural world and positioning them within the political order. Hobbes, having experienced the English Civil War (1642-48) writes about the natural right to self-preservation, the conservation of life and survival in *Leviathan* (1994; originally 1651), and of 'the liberty each man hath' (chapter XIV, 1994). To John Locke (1632-1702), property and the right to revolution against tyrannical rule were central to his argument, and his ideas were influential to the American Revolution. Locke's philosophy on natural rights - that they require a state structure to be instigated and defended - was invoked in the US Declaration almost a century later (Donnelly, 2013 p.34). To more scathing critics like Jeremy Bentham though, natural rights were simply 'nonsense upon stilts' (Bentham, 1843).

Even to these theorists, however, it was inconceivable for women, the lower classes and 'savages' to be included in this so-called 'universalism' (Donnelly, 2013 p.91). Natural rights to life, liberty and property were only valid for white Christian men. An example of this can be seen in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789). Forged in the French revolutionary landscape fighting an absolutist monarchy, the Declaration contains the standards for a modern democracy, calling for the sovereignty of the people, the freedom of speech and the freedom of religion. With no reference to king or church, its secularism meant that in theory, everyone would be equal before the law, and, on paper, the universality of its claims eliminated privilege based on birth. Yet, in reality, it did discriminate. Children, women, slaves and the mentally ill were not included; 'universal' rights only included white adult males (Donnelly, 2013 p.91).

Indeed, throughout its history, rights have been criticised for its self-styled 'naturalism' and its failure to acknowledge inequalities. Karl Marx disparaged the concept, arguing that natural rights are only the rights of the bourgeois, and stated that: 'the so called rights of man, the rights of man distinct from the rights of the citizen are nothing but the rights of the member of civil society, i.e. egoistic man, man separated from other men and the community' (On the Jewish Question, 1843). Similarly, Mary Wollstonecraft, a prolific figure of first-wave feminism, noted the patriarchal bias of supposed natural rights, arguing: 'women ought to have representatives, instead of being arbitrarily governed' (chapter ix, 1792; Sapiro, 2015). More recently, critics have drawn parallels between human rights and colonialism, writing that the Christian missionaries of the preceding century have been supplanted by the 'human rights zealot of the modern era' (Keet, 2010 p.17). Bonny Ibhawoh's historical analysis of human rights discourses during colonial rule in Africa, for example, is an important contribution to the canon (2008). He looks at how a language of rights and liberties fundamentally challenged and manipulated 'local customary orthodoxies' (Ibhawoh, 2008 p.45) throughout the country's colonial history to further the imperialistic interests of the West. The early rights

discourse combined Christian humanism with concepts of the 'noble savage', natural rights and 'inherent values of liberty in society' (Ibhawoh, 2008 p.45), nurturing imperialistic hegemony.

The language in such prolific human rights texts are politically significant and illustrate how carefully selected expressions can impact their effect. Comparing the draft UDHR proposal with its final version (1948) provides a case in point. The former manuscript proposes that 'everyone has the right to seek and *be granted* in other countries asylum from persecution' [my emphasis] (UDHR manuscript, 1947). In the published form, it was later changed to: 'everyone has the right to seek *and enjoy* in other countries asylum from persecution' (Article 14, UDHR 1948). The first draft poses a moral duty to grant asylum, yet the latter - although acknowledging the right to seek asylum - proposes no obligations for the state. Hannah Arendt recognised this gap in the UDHR's definition and criticised the self-proclaimed 'inalienability' and naturalism of rights in light of the devastation in Europe, and declared that the 'universal' rights of man had lost all validity (Arendt, 1951). The aftershocks of the Holocaust saw the increase of stateless people and refugees, and naturalistic claims for rights went unheeded as the 'world found nothing sacred in the abstract nakedness of being human' (Arendt, 1951).

Examining the selective use of language in historical documents like the UDHR demonstrates how human rights understandings can be affected. Foucault writes that discourse 'governs the way a topic can be meaningfully talked about' and is the production of knowledge through language (Foucault in Hall, 1997 p.44). Discourse exists simultaneously at the definitions and consequences of meaning. Social practice, like the practice of human rights, produces human rights knowledge and is also a product of it, and in this way, human rights knowledge is intensively discursive (Foucault, 2002 p.75). By looking at where the meaning comes from, we can examine the knowledge that exists around certain concepts. Michel Foucault discussed how subjects, like 'madness', 'punishment' and 'sexuality', only have meaning when embedded

within surrounding discourse (Hall, 1997 p.45). In this study, I hope to extend this to certain concepts within human rights and the construction of them: for instance, 'freedom', 'universality' and 'liberty'. Foucault also wrote that power in society is expressed through language, and therefore thus is a source of power (Foucault, 2002). If language has the power to shape outward perceptions, then such definitions and interpretations must be addressed if we are to further our understanding of the conceptualisation of human rights, and how varying interpretations have been able to define its reality. In this study, the language used in the framing of public perceptions will be examined and analysed, with the aim of identifying contemporary conceptual continuities and discontinuities towards human rights.

2.6 Historiography of human rights

As has been discussed, contemporary understanding of human rights has been largely shaped by the Universal Declaration in 1948, yet the ideas and practices behind it precede the twentieth century. The vast range of academic exploration in the field demonstrates the broad spectrum of its history and weight of context in its evolution, yet there is often a gap between theory and practice, or 'between vision and reality' (Gordon Lauren, 2011 p.48). Here some of the more recent historiography around human rights will be outlined to illustrate just some of the extensive debates within the field.

Some traditionalists such as Gordon Lauren (2011) give a linear account of human rights history, tracing its origins from philosophical visionaries to post-war treaties in favour of universalism. As has been previously discussed (section 2.3), the view that rights are intrinsic to the moral fabric of humanity is sometimes labelled as 'naturalistic' or 'orthodox' (Schaffer, 2015 p.7), and contributed to the formation of the United Nations framework. Yet, many reject this universalistic approach and criticise it as ethnocentrically Western (Messer, 1997, p.293). Those critics splinter into progressivist, constructive and liberal

groups. Progressivists, or anti-cultural relativists (Messer, 1997 p.294), distance themselves from the view that human rights is a timeless set of 'essential morals and principles' and invoke the theory of cultural relativism, examining early non-Western cultures that did not exhibit human rights concepts or practices (Donnelly, 2013; Howard, 1995). Constructivists such as Sikkink (2011) take a political stance, and highlight how interpretations of human rights influence world politics. Liberal academics like Ikenberry (2011), Chandler (2002) and Krashner (1999) build on this, and look at geopolitical shifts where rights language have been used to further state interests. Others criticise human rights in general for being overly moralistic, abstract and too far removed from real social and political struggles (Schaffer, p.5). Yet, despite such varying narratives, most academics generally agree that human rights are not a 'stable concept' and interpretations are 'up for grabs' (Moyn, 2010 p.316).

Grace Kao considers these divergent positions in detail in her study, and her work 'Grounding Human Rights in a Pluralistic World' (2011) is useful for outlining the basic theories of human rights justification. She categorises the varied approaches into two veins: maximalism and minimalism. The debate between the two then forms the basis of her inquiry. She describes how maximalists such as Michael Perry (2006) and Max Stackhouse (1998) contend that human rights are rooted deeply in religion and should be presented in religious contexts if they are to retain value (Kao, 2011 p.13). Minimalists, by contrast, circumvent philosophical and religious hypotheses in their portrait of universal human rights, and aim to distance the concept from the liberal values of Western Enlightenment (Kao, p.14). This latter group includes such prolific thinkers as John Rawls, Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen. Her text is significant in highlighting the positive and negative aspects to both rationales as she delves into arguments from both camps. Furthermore, Kao contributes to the academic debate by producing her own justification for combining the two when embedding human rights in an 'ethically realistic framework' (Kao, p.154).

Kao reminds us that we must remain open to seeking broader meanings and purposes for human rights in our diverse world (p.170). Much like Messer (1997), Kao also argues for a pluralistic approach to human rights. Such integration demonstrates that these differences in interpretations can be complementary in establishing richer depictions of the phenomenon. These authors establish that human rights are ever-evolving, and recognise that the conversation must be kept open in order to enrich the field. Embracing pluralism gives voice to the diversity of human rights approaches in its roots, traditions and core concepts, and enables actors to bridge the gap between theory and practice. This thesis builds on Kao's theory of pluralism and supports the view that multiplicity is inherent to the core framework of human rights.

2.7 Critics: neo-colonialism and post-September 2001 politics

Although the fundamental nature of human rights is ostensibly based on holistic ideals, scholars like Michael Ignatieff (2003; 2005) and Grace Kao (2001) have criticised human rights approaches for its intrinsic exclusivity, whilst others, like Bonny Ibhawoh (2008) draw out imperialist themes in human rights discourse. Other critics identify the mainstreaming of human rights into Western political agendas and policy frameworks, and have accused it of being manipulated to suit particular Western political agendas (Jahren, 2013), and to justify military intervention in apparent human rights violating countries (Mertus, 2009 p.2). Tracing the history of human rights since the 1970s, writers like Jan Moyn argue that it has become inevitably bound with the 'power of the powerful' (Moyn, 2010 p.227).

On one hand, human rights language so ardently verbalises the moral equality of all individuals, yet on the other, it simultaneously intensifies contradictions and conflict over the 'meaning, application and legitimacy of rights claims' (Ignatieff, 2003, p.349). The phrase claims universality, yet it

emanates from the west and encapsulates certain 'western' values. Indeed, the internationalisation of human rights has been viewed as the 'moral consequence of economic globalisation' (Ignatieff, 2003 p.290). Yet, this worldwide spread of moral and economic norms often has an adverse impact on the local level and goes against what it seeks to create, for instance human rights protests against the labour violations and environmental impact of multinational corporations (Ignatieff, 2003 p.290). Grace Kao asks the question: 'are human rights concepts actually Western ones masquerading under a cloak of ethical universalism or otherwise concealing a disreputable claim to power?' (Kao, 2011 p.11).

Kao's question (2011) invokes the rights-imperialism critique. As mentioned previously (section 2.5), early rights discourse were often contradictory. Decrees of freedom and justice were tainted with xenophobic and patriarchal overtones, emphasising European superiority. In Bonny Ibhawoh's formative work, 'Imperialism and Human Rights' (2008), the author addresses the relationship between European imperialism and the foundation of human rights in the African continent rooted in struggle. He writes how concepts of the 'noble savage' and imperialistic hegemony was nurtured through natural rights theories (2008, p.45). Since the 1940s human rights have been increasingly interlaced into the foundation of international politics. This gradual interweaving of rights language serves to nation-build and articulates a shared moral consciousness in the west.

Academic Salihyeh looks at Muslim responses to Western ideas of human rights (2007). In his work, he explores different Muslim scholars' interpretations on the subject and how some Islamic activists consider the Western interpretation of human rights with Christian values as unfamiliar to their religion (Salihyeh, 2007 p.41). These academic debates reject the 'universalistic' feature of human rights and that religion and politics should be united. He links the increasing Western preoccupation with human rights to greater international developments, citing communism's collapse, globalisation

and neoliberal interests (ibid.). Furthermore, such academics consider growing human rights attention to be linked to Western imperialism and hegemonic self-interest (ibid.).

Human rights became increasingly politicised after September 11th 2001, with some stating that it has become 'the core language of a new politics of humanity that has sapped the energy from old ideological contests of left and right' (Moyn, 2010 p.227), and critics have traced its swelling politicisation in certain nations (Peck 2001; Jahren, 2013). Anne Jahren's discourse analysis on international relations, for example, proposes that a universal framing of human rights is ultimately too 'vulnerable to rhetorical abuse to be desirable' (Jahren, 2013 p.2). She argues that the term 'human rights' has been manipulated by self-serving interests to further political agendas far-removed from authentic human rights work (Jahren, 2013). Western countries, particularly the USA, occupy a unique position in the global arena and have used its privileges to shape international human rights understanding to their advantage, serving 'selfish' interests and passing judgement onto other states (Jahren, 2013 p.1). Her analysis echoes Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman's 1979 analysis of Western propaganda. In it, they showcase how the US media inevitably panders to a political agenda and perpetuates a narrative in line with the dominant discourse - a system of 'brainwashing under freedom' (ibid, p.300). This politicisation morphs human rights into mere 'rhetorical flourishes useful for ideological reconstruction' (ibid.).

Peck (2011) similarly argues that during George W Bush's presidency, the administration incorporated human rights objectives into the propaganda for the 'war on terror' to raise public support (p.131). Human rights became the antithesis to terrorism, and therefore opposition to US policy became akin to an attack on human rights (Peck, 2011 p.132). Its rationalisation was explicitly used to focus on tensions that promote terrorism (Mertus, 2005 p.2). The Bush administration's justification of war developed a distinct narrative of a conflict between good and evil, where heroic America 'will call evil by its name' (Bush

2002, quoted in Peck 2011 p.133). This over simplification of language and incorporation of human rights creates a universally appealing narrative, and one that is difficult to argue against. By embedding politics in the ethics of human rights the US government has taken ownership over the vulnerable interpretations of human rights and stabilised its own agenda (Chandler, 2003, p.296). We can see here how 'human rights' can become an effective political tool for using 'humanitarianism as a fighting faith' (Peck, 2011 p.133). The next sections will focus on the US in particular and make the case for an in depth human rights study in this context.

2.8 United States and human rights

As demonstrated in the preceding analyses, human rights are a vast and multifaceted issue. It is exceedingly complex and entwined into the fabric of our daily political lives. So why does this study choose to focus on human rights within the USA?

The United States champions itself as an outstanding human rights guardian and protector across the globe, actively promoting civil liberties among nation states and in international bodies such as the UN. Yet, US policy in the last two decades has grown increasingly paradoxical. Its vocal condemnation of foreign human rights violations sits at odds with its refusal to ratify international rights conventions themselves (Ignatieff, 2003 p.348). Additionally, its reputation as the 'land of the free' has been challenged due to the US's foreign policy, especially in terms of trade, politics and relationships with countries reputed to have violent regime governments (Ignatieff, 2003). Furthermore, domestic human rights abuses, such as the criminalisation of the homeless (National Law Center 2014), surveillance programmes (Pilkington 2014) and police brutality (Nebhay, 2014), and the mistreatment of political prisoners (Lee, 2014) have been charged against the United States government. Such human rights abuses were brought to global attention in 2014 in the

release of the 500-page report of CIA interrogation tactics (U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 2014), and the US has since been accused of outsourcing its torture in order to blur accusations of abuse and direct responsibility (Hunter, 2014). These issues have added a further paradoxical layer, loosening its façade as a bastion of human rights. This section will introduce some of these complexities, looking at the example of President Obama's 2013 inaugural speech and comparing its human rights contradictions with wider reality. It will also consider the US's ambivalence to ratifying multilateral human rights treaties, and look briefly at its response to September 11th 2001 in its domestic and foreign involvement, and its non-closure of Guantanamo Bay. The subsequent sections will delve deeper into the US rights culture, in particular its constitutionalism and exceptionalism.

Human rights are frequently invoked in presidential speeches and used as ethical justifications for foreign policies (Jahren, 2013). Yet, this language is juxtaposed with a bitter reality. In President Barack Obama's 2013 second inaugural speech, for example, he champions landmarks in American human rights history, and declares that it is 'our generation's task - to make these words, these rights, these values of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness real for every American' (Obama, 2013). Outwardly, the first African-American president personifies progress: he is the embodiment of progressivism, and he significantly places human rights as the focal point of his address. Yet, as Hitchcock (2015) points out, during this 2013 speech violations were simultaneously being committed by US authorities against Guantanamo Bay detainees, and the 2012 National Defence Act, signed by the President, permitted for the first time the indefinite detention of captives without charge or trial (p.81). These real-world experiences are in contradiction to the mainstream discourse and breach the authenticity touted in 'unalienable rights ... life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' (Obama, 2013). This one example of Obama's speech shows how the narrative of human rights can be paradoxical, and that with careful selection of language, it is possible to show 'dramatic human rights progress or persistent violations' (Hitchcock 2015, p.82).

Dariaseh (2012) argues that since September 11th, rights in the US have been dramatically suppressed, especially with regards to discrimination, surveillance, torture and indefinite incarceration of prisoners in Guantanamo Bay. Rising prejudice against Arab Americans has been the centre of research by scholars such as Audi (2008) and Dariaseh (2012), with findings revealing that racial profiling and hate-crimes are on the rise, and middle-eastern ethnicities continuing to earn less than their counterparts. Similarly, with conclusions based on empirical data, Privacy International has ranked the US as an 'endemic surveillance society', giving the country the worst ranking in the democratic world (Privacy International, 2007), and Human Rights Watch link large-scale surveillance with reduced broadcasting freedom (Human Rights Watch, 2014). Furthermore, the CIA's use of 'enhanced interrogation techniques' during the Bush Administration - euphemistically describing prisoner torture and abuse - has prompted widespread outcry of basic rights violations (Chwastiak, 2015).

Internationally, the US has gained a reputation for its non-closure of Guantanamo Bay (Hitchcock, 2015), its ambivalence to sign and ratify multilateral treaties and its overall reluctance towards worldwide human rights commitments. In Michael Ratner's article, 'The Guantanamo Prisoners' (2005), the author identifies how the US government has breached domestic and international law in its clandestine incarcerations of America's 'truly disappeared' (p.31). Breaking extradition regulations, working outside of any checks and balances and further maintaining Guantanamo, the US breaches laws and statutes put in place to prevent human rights abuses, according to Ratner, and is 'acting as an international roving police force, kidnapping whom it chooses' (Ratner 2005, p.36).

How, then, is the US's behaviour so in contradiction to its image of an international human rights leader? And why at times are human rights promoted as American values, whilst at others American values are trumpeted in their superiority over international standards? (Ignatieff, 2003 p.1). An

exceptional blend of American nationalism combined with distinct styles of liberty and democracy set the stage for a unique political character in the international field. In the following sections, this thesis will explore this notorious US exceptionalism in both its domestic and foreign approaches. It will look more closely at the US Constitution, and how the US has come to interpret human rights in its own distinct way. It will then look more closely at the death penalty in the US as an example of exceptionalism and divergent approach to human rights.

2.8.1 Human rights and American exceptionalism

Why does the United States continue to remain an outside 'flying buttress' (Henkin 1979 p.421) in international human rights politics? Why is its approach to human rights riddled with paradoxes and inconsistencies? And how ready is it to expose itself to the systems and laws it helped invent? The answers to these questions are no doubt related, and perhaps in part can be explained by the United States' notorious exceptionalism. This section will introduce America's theoretical divergence and look closely at the debates connecting it with its contradictory human rights policies, and how it could shed light on its geopolitical behaviour.

American exceptionalism, first coined in 1840 by French political thinker Alexis de Toqueville (Bowen, 1945), refers to the belief that the US is uniquely free and superior to others in the West. Its geographical position, democratic stability, fringe conservatism and political decentralisation come together to set the US apart from the rest in the West (Moravcsik, 2005 p.1). More expansive than nationalism, American exceptionalism sources its ideology in Jefferson's 'empire of liberty' (1780), Jacksonian democracy (1828), Hoover's 'rugged individualism' (1922) and Roosevelt's freedom (1941).

Michael Ignatieff unpacks the relationship between American exceptionalism and human rights in his 2005 collection of essays, analysing how and why the US occupies a unique human rights position compared to other Western states. Ignatieff (2005) identifies three dimensions of American exceptionalism: exemptionism, double standards and legal isolationism. Exemptionism explains why the US supports certain treaties, multilateral agreements and regimes whilst simultaneously remaining 'exempt' from them (Ignatieff, 2005 p.4). An example would be the US's active role in the Land Mines Treaty negotiations; although a key player in its establishment, it continues to contravene the Treaty's guidelines, chiefly in maintaining exemption for mine use on the Korean peninsula (Ignatieff, 2005 p.4). Double standards, the next feature of exceptionalism, explain the contradictory behaviour of the US regarding the practice of laws and rules. In this way, the US is often quick to condemn foreign human rights records, yet it fails to acknowledge criticism against itself (Ignatieff, 2005 p.7). Its hypocritical reluctance to hold itself accountable and be measured by the same instruments as its enemies demonstrates a difficult and damaging feature of American exceptionalism (Koh p.118, in Ignatieff 2005). Finally, legal isolationism encapsulates the failure of America's justice system to join the global conversation and embrace international human rights guidelines domestically (Ignatieff, 2005 p.8).

These traits are deeply entrenched in the social, cultural and institutional makeup of the United States. When pieced together, they shed some light on the contradictory disposition the States have with international human rights. Exemption, double standards and political isolation only serve to damage national security interests (Ignatieff, 2005 p.24) and distance the States from authentic human rights practice. Indeed, the US should be consistent in its approach and 'obey the rules it seeks to champion', should it wish to continue representing itself as a global human rights leader (Ignatieff, 2005 p.23). This 'complex interplay' (Ikenberry, 2005) between US values, international human

rights and power are vital to keep in mind when investigating US exceptionalism and perceptions of human rights.

2.8.2 Constitutional rights vs international human rights

Current critics often link today's US Constitution with the formative development of human rights (Koh, 2003) yet it can be argued that the original document was very much '*anti-human rights*', in its support for slavery and rejection of women's voting rights (Lillich, 1989 p.851). Furthermore, it has been argued that the UDHR plays a lesser role, where 'Americans exalt their constitutional rights and consider them their particular invention, but few have inquired into their sources and theoretical foundations' (Henkin 1979 p.86). Despite the fact that the Constitution is a far older document, and both were the result of greatly different contexts, the Constitution is still paramount in the formation of human rights understanding in prevalent US society (Koh, 2003), and thus should be considered against the UDHR. In examining modern perceptions of human rights in the US, therefore, how do the US founding documents differ from international conventions like the UDHR (1948)? And how does the Constitution influence wider rights understanding?

Influential legal scholar Louis Henkin examines the formation of human rights in the United States (1990, chapter 6). His work looks at The Constitution and how rights diverged from the founding Declaration of Independence and the early moral and political visions. The original Constitution recognised a number of inalienable human rights, such as the freedom of speech and religion, but its scope 'lacked much of what we identify with American constitutionalism' (Henkin, 1979 p.407). The word 'equality', for example, was not included in the initial Bill of Rights (1789) nor the original Constitution - a fact that Henkin calls 'incredible' and 'embarrassing' (1990, p.94). Henkin condemns the US' hypocrisy and exceptionalism over human rights. Rather than a supporting structure, the States has been an external 'flying buttress'

upholding a 'white man's burden' from the outside and unwilling to subject itself to scrutiny and international investigation (Henkin, 1979 p.421). Furthermore, they are 'for export only' and have been manipulated to criticise and evoke sanctions against other nation states (ibid.).

There are significant disparities between internationally recognised human rights and those delivered in the American Founding Documents. The two reflect divergent values and interpretations of rights, and it is important to investigate these nuances when building an understanding of the rights conceptualisation of American citizens.

Both bodies of documents list positive rights that oblige action, such as the right to freedom of peaceful assembly (UDHR & First Amendment to the US Constitution) and the right to be born free and equal (UDHR & Declaration of Independence). However, a closer reading shows that the UDHR displays more explicit cases of positive rights, for example, 'everyone has the right to work ... to rest and leisure ... to periodic holidays with pay ... to food, clothing, housing and medical care [and] education' (UDHR, 1948). The claims to such rights are not present in the Founding Documents, and form the basis of a continued debate within the US: whether, for instance, these rights should be delivered through government support or independent of it (Roy, 2013). In this way, in contrast to the UDHR, the government is directed by the Constitution on 'what not to do, not what it must do' (Henkin, 1979, p.419). This difference is significant when holding the US government accountable for routine rights violations both domestically and abroad (HRW, 2015). Additionally, the pervasive allegory of the 'American Dream' rooted in the Declaration of Independence imparts the ethos of individualism and prosperity through upward social mobility. In the pursuit for individual success, the role of the government is scaled back in American culture and therefore its part in reducing inequalities is also reduced (Poveda 2000, p.255). The significantly-less welfare spending in the US than other Western nations reflects this, and is perhaps why the nation tolerates far larger economic inequalities than other

democracies (ibid). Furthermore, particular constitutional privileges, such as the right to bear arms, are not showcased in other democratic nation structures (Bolton 2001, in Ignatieff, 2005 p.10).

The most discernible difference between the two texts, however, pertains to one fundamental principle: equality. As previously discussed in part 2.3, equality makes up the core tenet of international human rights, and the foremost UN conventions focus on the prevention of discrimination in its worldwide commitment to fairness. Historically, the US documents, however, did not structure the concept of equality into their integral framework, despite it being so central to contemporary American ideology. In fact, the language of 'equality' was omitted in the original Constitution and Bill of Rights (1789), a detail that Henkin calls an 'embarrassing lacuna', essentially resulting in the 'limited' American conception of equality (1979 p.417). Equality does not make an appearance until the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1868, and even then it is an imprecise measure, stating that: 'no state shall ... deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws' (Fourteenth Amendment, 1868).

Henkin stressed the importance of connecting American rights to the prolonged human rights movement on the international stage (1979 p.425). He argued that this would give the United States a global voice on the human rights agenda, eliminate uncertainties associated with US foreign policy, and enable the States to become a beacon of human rights exemplified through its commitment (p.425). In some ways, the US's connection to the human rights journey is clear - constitutional values have influenced European courts and helped to shape the development of international human rights law, as 'most of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ... are in their essence American constitutional rights projected around the world' (Henkin, 1979 p.415). Ironically, however, it is notable that the United States has failed to ratify a number of international treaties. Human Rights Watch has singled out these unratified conventions, most notably the 1979 Convention of All Forms of

Discrimination against Women, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol and the 1997 Ottawa Treaty, as extremely problematic (HRW 2009). Moreover, the US is the only country aside from Somalia which has failed to ratify the 1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child (ibid.). The United States' inability to endorse international human rights obligations undermines its influence and credibility as a key actor in the human rights arena. Validating the argument for American exceptionalism, the nation's behaviour situates it as an outlier in the international forum, performing human rights through an outward display of 'compliance, without ratification' (Koh, 2003 p.1484).

Therefore, despite both doctrines declaring on the surface quite similar ideas, once one delves deeper into their fabric notable disparities emerge. Socio-economic rights, for instance, are more widely covered in the UDHR in comparison to the Constitution, and equality, the fundamental staple of the UDHR, is strikingly absent from the original American Founding Documents. The US definitions in the Constitution emphasise negative rights and freedoms, which, as explored earlier (see section 2.4), do not fully encompass social or economic freedoms as outlined in the UDHR. Such philosophical differences at the heart of Constitutional and international frameworks may have lasting impact on the recognition, comprehension and validation of human rights within the United States. This argument will be explored more fully in this study as it aims to investigate perceptions of rights and the language used to describe its experience.

2.8.3 Looking deeper into American exceptionalism: The death penalty

Former UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon stated that 'the death penalty has no place in the 21st century' (UN News Centre, 2014). Capital punishment has been exposed as a direct violation of the UDHR, specifically the denial to the right to life (Amnesty International 2015; OHCHR, 2015), yet it still remains a feature in certain contemporary societies. In 2014, for example, the countries

with the highest rates of reported death sentences and executions were China, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and the United States (Amnesty, 2015). What stands out conspicuously is the last nation in this list. No other Western country today employs capital punishment besides the US³ (Bienen, 2010 p.143) and the UN regards its rejection as a potent symbol for the respect to all life. So if the death penalty has been abolished in other Western nations and is incongruent to international human rights protocol, why does the system still actively persist in thirty-one American states (Amnesty International, 2015) and still maintains support from the public? Is it the product of particular political and cultural values? Why does the US defy broad universal trends, and what position does international law have in the US legal system? These questions are important to form a baseline understanding as this study moves forward; in later chapters it will aim to investigate the views of contemporary US citizens on whether the death penalty falls under a human rights issue.

Despite increasing international pressure against the practice, the Supreme Court has stated in the past that 'the death penalty is not per se unconstitutional' (Bae, 2007 p.86). Legal Adviser of the Department of State, Harold Koh - an often outspoken critic on the subject during the Clinton administration - once stated that: 'Capital punishment concretely diminishes America's reputation as a human rights leader', going onto say that 'it has become our Achilles' Heel' (Koh, 2002 p.1108). Yet others like Justice Antonin Scalia have avowed that acknowledgement of 'foreign approval has no place in [domestic] legal opinion' (Bae, p.91). Indeed, the definition of what counts as a 'cruel and unusual punishment' (Constitution) alters over time reflecting the prevalent values of the generation. So what role does human rights play in domestic law? The US has neglected to sign or ratify the two key international legal instruments outlawing capital punishment (the 1989 Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant Aiming at the Abolition of the Death Penalty and the Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights to

³ Apart from Belarus (Death Penalty Worldwide, 2013)

Abolish the Death Penalty in 1990) (Bae 2007 p.89). It has also defied the repeated UN Death Penalty Moratoriums since 1999, which persistently call for the general suspension of capital punishment in those countries where it is not yet abolished (ibid.). Yet, despite international human rights regulations being notoriously difficult to implement, applications in certain domestic courts around the world have been increasingly effective (Schabas p.209 in: Garvey 2003), and in Europe the death penalty has been transformed into a key human rights issue (Gottschalk p.312 in Sarat: et al 2011). Nevertheless, the US's upkeep of autonomy and self-governance on the issue, in the face of systematic global campaigns, represents its wider resolve to interpret human rights through its own constitutional lens (Bae, 2007 p.113). Indeed, this tendency to remain separate on certain political matters is not unique (see section: 2.8.1).

There is much academic debate addressing this distinctive disparity and comparing and contrasting US and European approaches to the death penalty. Some suggest that the federal structure of the American legal system is largely culpable (Zimring 2004, chapter 4) whilst others blame the populism of politics and public sway on high profile crimes in comparison to Europe (Hood, 2001 p.343). Soss et al.'s research (2003) analyses individual and contextual factors, and finds that support relies on a range of attitudes from individualistic and authoritarian values to racial attitudes, which are specific to the US (p.397). Continuing with these themes, a particularly strong argument stems from the theoretical vein of American exceptionalism and will be explored below. Tony Poveda (2000) and Carol Steiker (2005) are two scholars that examine how anomalous US policies on capital punishment do not align with international attitudes, and they summon cultural exceptionalism as, in part, the cause.

Poveda (2000) looks at 'American creed' and cultural exclusion, and maintains that capital punishment has furthered the marginalisation of citizens on race and class lines. Indeed, according to the 2013 Bureau of Justice Statistics data, African Americans account for only 13.6 per cent of the population, yet a disproportionate number – 42 per cent – on death row are black (Snell, 2014).

Arguing that that its continual use stems from institutionalised discrimination, Poveda urges that judicial execution policies must be addressed against the cultural backdrop of the American dream (Poveda, 2000 p.261). He also refers to the growing survival-of-the-fittest 'social Darwinism' attitude in the latter part of the twentieth century - the idea that the people at the bottom of the social ladder or who commit crimes deserve their fate, or worse, are underserving of life (ibid). Such motifs of exclusion, social Darwinism and the adverse American dream merge together in Poveda's account to form American exceptionalism and explain why there is such extensive cultural acceptance and ambivalence towards the death penalty (ibid., p.262). Poveda makes the case that American exceptionalism here is largely a complicit factor for sustained capital punishment in the US.

Steiker (2005), on the other hand, is more cautious in linking the theory with the practice. She classifies ten varieties of exceptionalism that could account for the difference between US and European capital punishment policies, yet remains non-committal in using the death penalty as a complete paradigm of American exceptionalism (Steiker p.59 in: Igantieff 2005). Resisting 'reductionist simplicity', Steiker suggests that the relationship is rather a 'contingent product of a particular moment in American history' (2005, p.61). With both of these approaches in mind, it is clear that there is a link between the theory of American exceptionalism and the death penalty, and although one distinct theory cannot be singled out as reason for the country's long-term stance on judicial execution (Steiker, 2005 p.61), the relationship still has a part to play when looking at the wider context of human rights.

It is clear that the US indeed displays stand-out exceptionalism in the West with regards to the death penalty. When high profile cases - such as Boston bomber Dzhokhar Tsarnaev - are sentenced to death row, there is an international outcry from human rights experts urging the US government to reconsider its position on capital punishment, which is 'so out of place' with the rest of the world (OHCHR 2015), yet the US government chooses to ignore

these protests. The key question that this study is concerned with, however, is how the public perceive this human rights issue.

2.9 Literature review conclusions

As demonstrated throughout this detailed exploration of theoretical debates and analysis, the conception and conceptualisation of human rights has been shaped as a result of significant historical events from the French Revolution to the Second World War. The predominant discourse encapsulates naturalistic and universalistic ideologies, yet in practice it has not always been so all-encompassing. The political actors and institutions involved, such as the UN, have carved out the dominant discourse of human rights and framed social issues to their world-view in an ironically hegemonic fashion, whilst discounting non-Eurocentric interpretations. Whilst in theory, human rights is supposed to be transformative in its very nature, challenging socio/political injustices, in reality in many cases it serves to support contemporary norms and prop up the institutions of power.

Upon reflection therefore, the historicity, the context and the western-centric approach of human rights must be examined under a critical lens. This, indeed, holds even truer when it comes to the conceptual understanding of human rights and human rights education, especially if we wish to achieve practical learning and authentic knowledge. Going forward, these themes will both be explored in more depth as I critically assess the frames of conceptualisation participants with a connection to a social justice and development NGO. Understanding public perceptions and attitudes towards human rights is a vital task as it allows researchers, NGOs and human rights bodies to gain awareness on how rights are promoted, constructed and interpreted in the everyday world.

3. AIM OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine certain social understandings and perceptions of human rights against the backdrop of the United States. Much work has been done in developing nations to expand knowledge and attitudes (Arat, 2003), yet public consciousness in the west still remains a particular area of concern within the vast field of human rights (Stammers, 1999). What is more, there is a gap in current literature to address contemporary civil constructions in the western setting (Noddings, 2005).

Through its research objectives, this study intends to fill this gap. I have decided to focus particularly on the United States as its policies and approach to human rights both domestically and abroad have been paradoxical since the founding of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. For a world leader steeped so strongly in the ideologies of freedom, liberty and equality, its behaviour on a national and international level stress a clear degree of exceptionalism. In this thesis, I will investigate knowledge and attitudes towards human rights, and whether this distinctive attitude of exceptionalism filters down to a public level. I also will explore if prior awareness of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) has any impact on participants conceptualisations of human rights themes. Lastly, participants' views on human rights and education will be investigated.

The data collected for this study zooms in on a particular group of people in American society – those with a direct or indirect link to a social justice and development NGO. It can be hypothesised that those with a connection to an already well-established NGO may previously have some understanding of human rights (Keck & Sikkink, 1999), and so a deeper exploration of what these concepts may mean to participants is of particular importance. In this case, the NGO was Minneapolis-based organisation The Advocates for Human Rights. Participants of this group can be identified as supporters or potential patrons of

the non-profit organisation, and therefore their perceptions towards human rights and the NGO's values are of consequence.

This study aims to look at how these particular individuals define human rights, and how they express related issues. Patterns, particular phrases and key features that arise in their definitions will be closely analysed with the aim of identifying certain frames of conceptualising rights. Are these definitions categorised in any way? Do they fit in line with the theories of American exceptionalism? And are negative civil-political rights and freedoms rated any differently to positive socio-economic rights and freedoms? Thus, which aspects of human rights are included - and which parts are omitted - are of importance. Furthermore, human rights and education will be brought together to investigate whether participants believe if human rights should be taught in schools, and which organisation should take on the responsibility of HRE. Lastly, this research has added value in addressing specifically supporters and potential clients of the NGO. Could this research impact this non-profit organisation and others like it, in the way it communicates human rights realities to the public?

3.1 Research questions

- 1) How are knowledge and attitudes towards human rights conceptualised by US citizens with a connection to a social justice NGO?

Conceptualisation refers to the elaboration of certain concepts in 'a perceived reality' (Entman, 1993 p.52) and the expression of these ideas. Question 1 thus investigates these 'conceptualisations' and how participants perceive, communicate and organise their thoughts about the reality of human rights. Of particular interest will be how responses establish rights within participants' 'own philosophical, political and religious traditions' (Langlois, 2005, p.383). Additionally, whether participants phrase their definitions of human rights in expressions reflecting the UDHR, the Constitution (or likewise American Founding Documents) or in abstract terms will be of relevance, especially in

context to theories of American exceptionalism. Furthermore, UDHR awareness will be compared with participants' framing of human rights to see if knowledge of the international treaty has any impact on participant opinion (Davis et al., 2012). Lastly, particular categories of responses will be analysed in context to wider historical conceptualisations of human rights to see if there is any relationship.

2) What themes are depicted and understood to be human rights issues?

This question investigates more closely the particular real-world examples that arise from participant answers. Themes that are generated within the data will be organised into categories in order to compare and contrast against other variables. Which issues do participants discuss most frequently? Are there any connections with UDHR awareness, or, indeed, demographics? And are there any differences between the representations of negative civil-political rights and socio-economic positive rights? Furthermore, the implications of the results will be discussed against established human rights theories and debates.

3) How does human rights and education factor into domestic interpretations by participants?

Question 3 invokes an important question regarding 'the promise of the third millennium' (Baxi, 1994), and the results may be significant for the human rights education movement. Participants will be asked on their views about human rights within schools; investigating deeper if people relate human rights with education. Additionally, data will be collected on who participants believed the main responsibility of HRE should be with, drawing in the wider context and examining the effect of politics on human rights and education.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to achieve my research aims, I have selected to conduct a survey on individuals connected in one way or another to a US social justice NGO. The following section will outline the development of my methodological choices, from empirical data collection to analytical approaches in interpretation. My core research objectives are given below, followed by the background to the non-profit organisation - The Advocates for Human Rights - which provided the window for this study. As this research study builds upon previous explorative studies, such as BEMIS (2013) and The Opportunity Agenda (2007), these will next be explained in their relevance and contribution to the development of this study. The decisions involved in choosing my appropriate data collection strategy, sampling techniques and quantitative content analysis will be explained in relevance to this study throughout this chapter.

4.1 Objectives and significance

Whilst there have been some generalised studies on human rights understanding in the past (Murdie & Steinmetz, 2012), when it comes to interpreting definitions and analysing key concepts that arise from a US-centred public through human rights theories, there is a gap in the literature. The key objectives of this study, therefore, are to explore constructions and awareness of human rights by participants with a connection to a social justice and development NGO against the backdrop of the United States, and analyse their responses in context with the theories outlined in chapter 2. In this case, the target group was US citizens with a direct or indirect link to the non-profit organisation The Advocates for Human Rights. The human rights knowledge and attitudes of these responses will be investigated in chapter 7, especially in how individuals phrase their definitions and if these reflect the content of the UDHR or conversely the Constitution and other American Founding

Documents. Participants were asked about certain social issues, from the death penalty, domestic violence and educational inequality, and the human rights themes that were included and omitted in their responses are of key significance. These responses will help to illustrate if respondents frame these topics as human rights concerns, and also indicate whether negative or positive rights are more significant for this particular group. Lastly, this study will investigate whether participants consider human rights education in their approaches to human rights. In all of these objectives, participants' language and phrasing are of particular significance, as their words and expressions suggest how human rights are framed and interpreted in this context.

As the survey contains both open and closed questions, in chapter 5 I will apply a multi-method analysis to the survey results. In this way, I will be able to extract the most information from the data and draw on from strengths of varying techniques. Quantitative data and word-cloud methods will act as an aid for readers to visualise relationships and patterns, and content analysis will complement the former and probe deeper into the interpretations that arise. This methodological pluralism will benefit this study's research objectives by highlighting relationships and patterns between variables in real world contexts and look specifically at the content of the responses (Muijs, 2004 p.34).

The findings are valuable in addressing the gap in research on contemporary Western frames and constructions of human rights. They are also beneficial in providing information for the NGO itself about its clients and potential supporters, and how human rights issues rank in importance and those which are most divergent in opinion. The most conflicted human rights issues that arise may indicate to the organisation which issues deserve more attention in their targeted campaign strategies. Furthermore, the findings also suggest if and how human rights education plays a role in participants' constructions of human rights.

4.2 Background and context to NGO

The data collection for this study took place over the course of my three month internship at The Advocates for Human Rights, based in Minneapolis, Minnesota. As a leader in the human rights movement and contemporary actor in the development field, the NGO has access to a large supporter base and over thirty years of experience, making it an ideal candidate for this study, investigating its role as a 'maker and shaper of public opinion' (Davies et al. 2012, p.201).

Founded in 1983, The Advocates for Human Rights is a well-established, independent non-profit organisation at the 'forefront of the world's human rights movement' (The Advocates, 2015). The organisation is made up of a network of volunteers, partners, supporters, board members and staff that aim to implement human rights standards set by the United Nations on a local, national and global scale. It seeks to expose violations and protect those underrepresented in society and at-risk marginalised communities. Promoting the human rights standards of 'dignity, freedom, equality, justice and peace' (The Advocates, 2015), the organisation is structured into five divisions: women's rights, the refugee and immigrant programme, the international justice department, the advocacy sector and educational research and policy. Its mission statement is: 'to implement international human rights standards to promote civil society and reinforce the rule of law' (The Advocates, 2015), and it campaigns for legal human rights reform and comprehensive, sound policy (ibid). By prioritising public engagement, The Advocates assists and trains supporter groups, policy makers and schools that share similar human rights goals, and engages with the wider public in its larger campaign strategies. To support its objectives, The Advocates relies on assistance from donors, partners and volunteers to build broad support within the United States and in communities across the world (ibid).

One of the NGO's key concerns is to promote a human rights based approach to social justice issues within the US (The Advocates, 2015). This

requires a deep examination of the root causes of these issues, and The Advocates identify that lack of human rights education is a clear foundational problem in wider human rights awareness. Indeed, according to The Advocates' research, approximately only 8% of US citizens have heard of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (The Advocates, 2015). In this way, The Advocates has recognised that human rights education and social studies standards in schools should be bridged, and on a local state level they have provided human rights trainings and workshops for educators within Minnesota. It focuses on developing human rights understanding within the classroom, and aims to promote human rights projects and curriculums within the classroom. For larger national advocacy, the organisation aims to analyse and critique education standards across the country and to create guidelines for education authorities to incorporate human rights into their state-level policies.

With this in mind, The Advocates provides an excellent foundation and context for this study. Its access to a large network of supporters was beneficial to this research in investigating how supporters and the surrounding public rank human rights issues and their framing of human rights education. It will also act as the bedrock in which to investigate Davis et al.'s findings (2012) on the impact of a human rights NGO on public opinion. Furthermore, the findings of this study will be able to provide the organisation with an insight into participants' awareness of the organisation's own campaign issues.

4.3 Previous studies

The survey drew inspiration from the BEMIS report which investigated human rights education in Scotland (BEMIS 2013) and The Opportunity Agenda, which examined the attitudes of US citizens (2007). Other academic studies into human rights awareness that have helped to shape this study include Mubangizi's investigation into public perceptions of human rights in Uganda (2005) and Padmavathy and Pallai's more recent investigation into human rights awareness of university students (2015). Lastly, it was also influenced by

Davis et al's 2012 study into NGO impact into public perceptions of human rights. In this short section, the background and relevance to these previous studies will be outlined in context to this thesis.

The BEMIS study provided an analysis and background to key concepts and themes surrounding human rights education in Scottish schools, and examined the barriers preventing HRE to be fully realised (BEMIS, 2013 p.29). It used a combination of methods to map the scope of teachers' knowledge of human rights education and their experience in including it within the classroom (p.29). In total, they reached 351 participants (p.31). The study found that HRE was not explicit within the educational environment, and that although educators are generally supportive of HRE, there is a considerable lack of training in the human rights education field (p.59). It concluded by recommending that the Scottish government play an active part in extending HRE practices across the country, especially with regards to teacher engagement, diverse learning communities, public, private and civil society sectors and further researchers (p.61-64).

The 2007 Opportunity Agenda study intended to explore how the broader American public discuss human rights and to learn how a human rights frame could be used to discuss issues of social justice in the United States (Russonello & Stewart, p.1). Their much larger survey totalled 1,633 telephone interviews and looked at the challenges in communicating human rights (ibid.). They found that 'communicating about international treaties is a long-term challenge' for US citizens' (ibid. p.2). The Opportunity Agenda also found that Americans hold strong beliefs in the concept of human rights and feel somewhat comfortable with using the term (Russonello & Stewart, p.3).

Mubangizi's study provided insight from a developing context, analysing the results of a 2004 Ugandan survey on public awareness and perceptions around rights of 2000 participants (2005). It found that the public had a high level of general knowledge on the 1995 Ugandan Constitution, and the human rights entrenched within it, with men ranking higher than women in their

general awareness (p.184). Rights, such as equality and the freedom of expression, were found to be unsatisfactorily protected, and the death penalty was a contentious and divided subject (p.185). Socio-economic rights, such as the right to education and the right to live in a clean and healthy environment, were also a matter of concern as many participants felt that they were not sufficiently protected (p.182). Mubangizi importantly points out that public awareness is not enough to protect human rights, 'people also need to know how to trigger the intervention of such institutions in the event their rights are violated' (p.182). His message can also be applied to a western context.

Next, Padmavathy and Pallai's study used a standardised Human Rights Awareness Test to measure the knowledge of 200 post graduate students at Tezpur University in India (2015). It found that this group had an average level of human rights awareness and, unlike in Mubangizi's Ugandan study (2005) gender was not a significant factor in awareness levels (p.50). It recommended more effective human rights programmes to be implemented at university level to ensure better human rights awareness amongst students (p.50).

Whether non-governmental human rights organisations have an impact on public opinion is up for debate, and this discussion lies at the centre of Davis et al.'s 2012 study. The research investigated how far NGOs are truly 'makers and shapers' of public opinion, and maps the results of these non-profit organisations on public perceptions of human rights. If the domestic population do not agree on certain human rights issues, then 'it will not pressure the state from below' (Davis et al. 2012 p.208). It concluded with a resounding assertion that human rights organisations in developing countries do indeed impact domestic public opinion and that such NGOs are crucial in the field of human rights education. Continuing in the same vein, this study will investigate opinions of participants with direct or indirect contact to a human rights NGO in the context of the USA.

These previous studies acted to shape this research in its objectives and methods. By investigating a small sample of the participants' recognition of the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it was possible to broadly investigate The Opportunity Agenda's 2007 conclusions. I was able to explore if socio-economic rights are as contentious in this participant group as they had been in the Mubngizi's Ugandan study (2005), and investigate whether demographics had any impact on human rights awareness, referencing Padmavathy and Pallai's survey (2005). The BEMIS (2013) survey was also important in providing context to human rights education, and in this research human rights and education was investigated to see if it factored into participants' awareness. Davis et al.'s research also acted as inspiration to investigate the impact of human rights NGOs in a western context (2012). Thus, this study followed the lead of these five reports in utilising survey methods to collect my empirical data and attempt to recreate a 'bottom up' exploration of human rights attitudes as the BEMIS (2013 p.32) study had done.

4.4 Data collection approach: reliability and limitations

The data collection method deserves considered attention as it is the means for gathering quality data that will be then translated into a comprehensive data analysis. It is also important to recognise my own position as a researcher, and the effect I may have on my own data collection. Here, I will outline my post-positivist approach to data gathering and also take a moment to recognise my personal biases, my own experience with human rights, and the effect this may have had on the study. Then, I will explain my reasons for choosing a structured survey to collect empirical data on the knowledge and attitudes of participants towards human rights. Lastly, I will discuss the subjectivity limitation regarding the categorisation, and address how this could be bridged in future studies of a similar nature.

As a researcher, I identify with a post-positivist stance to data collection, combining experiential realism with pragmatism in my outlook (Colin, 2002).

This means that I recognise that I am a part of this world of observation, and consequently I cannot wholly detach myself as a researcher from what I am investigating (Muijs, 2004, p.4). Also, I acknowledge that my background and perceptions on human rights prevent this research from being completely impartial (Colin, 2002, p.624). Further, the process of observing reality, in this case collecting data and analysing it through my own lenses, changes and alters the fabric of true authenticity, so that the results generated are subjective – carved through my own worldviews and perceptions of human rights (Colin 2002, p.625).

My own affinity towards human rights has been shaped by my experiences working on development projects and volunteering in developing countries. I have seen first-hand how increasing human rights knowledge and awareness has the potential to overcome injustices, from women I met in Nicaragua finding the courage to speak up about their experiences of domestic violence, to communities in India taking action to petition their local municipalities to provide clean drinking water. I also recognise that human rights are not always so clear cut. In acknowledging my own bias, however, I can take steps to counteract it (Colin, 2002, p.624).

With my post-positive approach in mind, I determined that the use of a structured survey would be of most value to this study. Surveys are effective in collecting large amounts of data in a short amount of time, and provide the additional benefit of guaranteeing anonymity in answers, which may lead to more frank, honest and open responses regarding attitudes and feelings than more identifiable methods (Muijs, 2010 p.45). Additionally, the use of a survey is also an effective means to counteract the effects of my own behaviour, verbal cues, body language and attitude towards human rights. Due to financial limitations and time restraints, it was not possible to gather data on a wide set of variables, so this research study acknowledges these limitations. With 151 responses, this data set is somewhat narrow in size, yet still effective for generating operative results for this thesis study.

As it was not possible to control research subjects or external influences, the research is non-experimental, and thus will not be able to demonstrate a faithful cause and effect relationship. However, it will be able to identify patterns and relationships which would have a degree of external validity.

Lastly, an ideal technique to counteract the subjectivity limitation when creating categories from the data would have been to employ an inter-rater reliability method (Armstrong et al. 1997). For this, I would have assigned an independent outside researcher to create categories from my data, and then compared whether similar categories emerged. Degrees of inter-rater reliability would have been analysed and unpacked against my own classifications, and if the categories corresponded well enough then it could be assumed that the method was reliable; if not, then it would be possible to address the differences. However, under the circumstances of this study, it was not possible to find a peer with a similar background and knowledge in human rights and social justice issues. If this study were to be repeated for future research, I would recommend the application of this inter-rater reliability method for stronger results.

4.5 Ethics

Throughout this study, it was important to be mindful of the ethical issues and duties that arise when conducting research. In accordance with Clark et al's good practice advice on survey research (2003), I paid particular attention to confidentiality and informed consent (p.266). Participants were fully informed about the purpose and use of data before they participated in the questionnaire, and each individual's involvement was on a voluntary basis. Privacy issues were addressed by excluding the names of participants. The burden of participation (Alcser et al, 2011 p.4) was minimised by simplifying the survey to only nine questions, with each question tailored to a specific research goal (see p.59). Lastly, it aimed to be non-discriminatory in its use of basic language, so that non-native English speakers also had the opportunity to contribute their opinions on human rights.

4.6 Research design

As previously mentioned, this study has chosen to utilise survey methods to collect its empirical data. In this way, the data generated has been derived directly from primary sources, which has the benefit of providing honest and unfiltered responses. This method was selected for its strength in variable measurement, which in this study relate to UDHR awareness, categorisations of certain human rights and demographics. Here, the survey's design will be outlined and rationalised. The pilot study will also be described, along with an overview of analysis techniques. Additionally, the relationships between the survey questions and original research problems will be explicitly illustrated using organisational charts.

In order to improve rates of response (Muijs, 2010 p.43), the survey was designed to be concise, relevant and visually engaging. With just nine questions fitted to one side of an A4 page, the survey itself was succinct enough to minimise non-response, yet each question was suited for the purposes of this study. Additionally, with permission from the NGO, The Advocates for Human Rights' logo featured at the top of the survey. Not only did this act to make the survey more eye-catching and inviting to respond, it further added a degree of validity to the data collection in the authenticity and trustworthiness to the conduct of the study. Lastly, a demographics box was included at the end of the survey. By collecting some basic population statistics, comparisons can be made between different responses based on the demographic variables as gender, age and the political orientation of their state.

As Muijs points out, ambiguously phrased questions will result in vague answers (Muijs, 2010 p.50), so the survey used clear and simple language to prevent participant confusion and also to avoid discrimination against those with a lower level of education and non-native English speakers. The phrasing of questions was also carefully designed so that only one issue was asked per question. This was to reduce uncertainties and misunderstandings (Muijs, 2010 p.51). The questions focused on participants' knowledge of human rights and

attitudes, if they felt human rights were relevant to them, how they framed their understanding of certain human rights issues, and if participants' perceived a connection between human rights and education.

The research design consisted of complementary quantitative-major and qualitative-minor components (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998), using a mix of both closed and open-ended questions to gather different modes of data. This mixed-method was chosen as the literature and previous studies used similar approaches (BEMIS 2013; The Opportunity Agenda, 2007). Standardised closed questions formed the large part of the survey and measured the following variables: UDHR awareness, categorisations of certain human rights and demographics. These questions generated responses which were then easily quantifiable to code for quantitative analysis. The open questions concentrated on participants' definitions and approaches to human rights, and allowed respondents to articulate their thoughts through their own choice of expressions and words. These provided rich qualitative results which could support and provide explanation for the quantitative data (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Collecting qualitative data also provided an opportunity to gather deeper responses and consider reactions I may not have anticipated. As open-ended questions are more time-consuming for participants, I used only a few of high-quality in order to stimulate deeper responses and allow respondents room on the survey paper to express their views.

To create further depth to the quantitative analysis, the closed questions regarding certain human rights issues were designed using a scale inspired by the Likert response (Colin, 2002). This was used to measure participants' responses to certain topics and investigate if they regarded these issues as human rights concerns. Using a three level Likert scale, the survey was able to measuring positive, negative or neutral responses to these topics. Collecting this type of interval-level data with categorical symmetry was useful, as the responses were then assigned values and analysed through statistical means and visual data representations. These questions will help to explain how

participants frame human rights issues, and if there is a difference between negative and positive rights in this sample group.

4.7 Pilot study

Once the survey was drafted, I conducted a pilot study to obtain feedback. I asked ten interns at The Advocates' office to fill in the survey and requested comments and criticism. I also sought advice from members of staff at The Advocates. A few staff members collected data on a regular basis for the organisation, and therefore had some helpful tips and advice for the survey questions and design. Their feedback featured constructive criticism on the initial survey length - which originally spanned two pages. They also suggested that the survey had too much text on the page, which could be confusing and off-putting for prospective participants. With this advice in mind, I decided to cut several questions and to redesign the Likert scale question in a box form, using the Advocates' blue colour scheme for visual cohesion. In total, the survey design went through nine different drafts until I was satisfied with the outcome.

4.8 Relevance to research questions

The survey was formulated based on human rights theories and previous studies. Each question was carefully designed with the research problems in mind and to explore connections between the theoretical concepts and participant responses. The final selection was chosen due to their capacity to generate comprehensive empirical data in relation to the main research questions (see section 3.1).

The figures below show explicitly how each survey question relates back to the original research problems. The answers to questions 1, 2, 4 and 5 respond the first research question on participants' knowledge and attitudes towards human rights (figure 1).

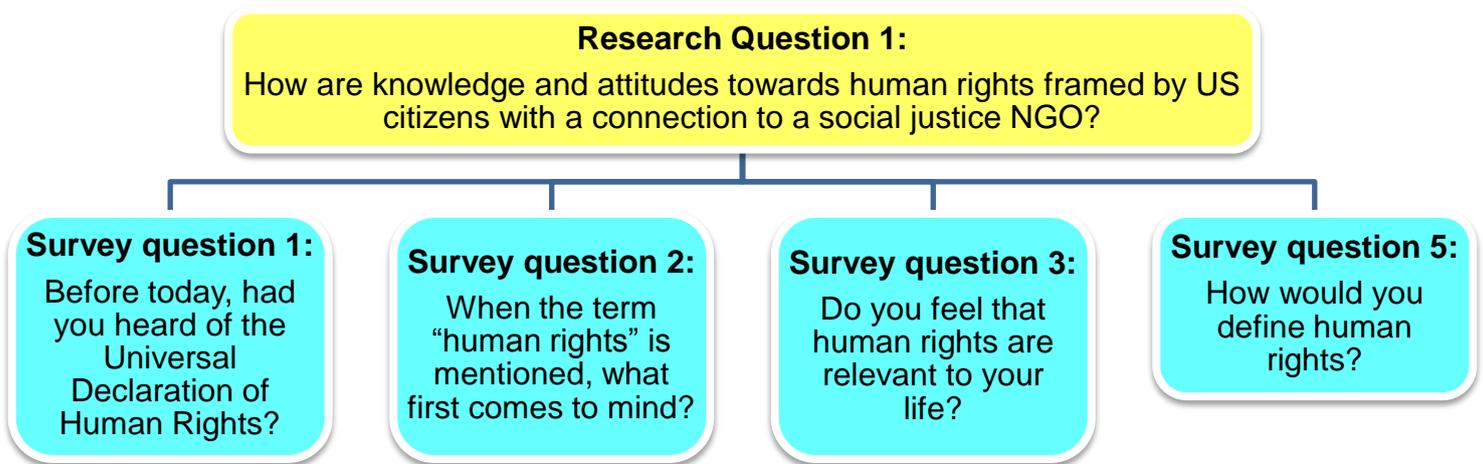


FIGURE 1: Survey questions addressing Research Question 1 on participants’ knowledge and attitude towards human rights

Questions 4 and 6 concentrate on the second research question, about the themes depicted to be human rights issues (figure 2).

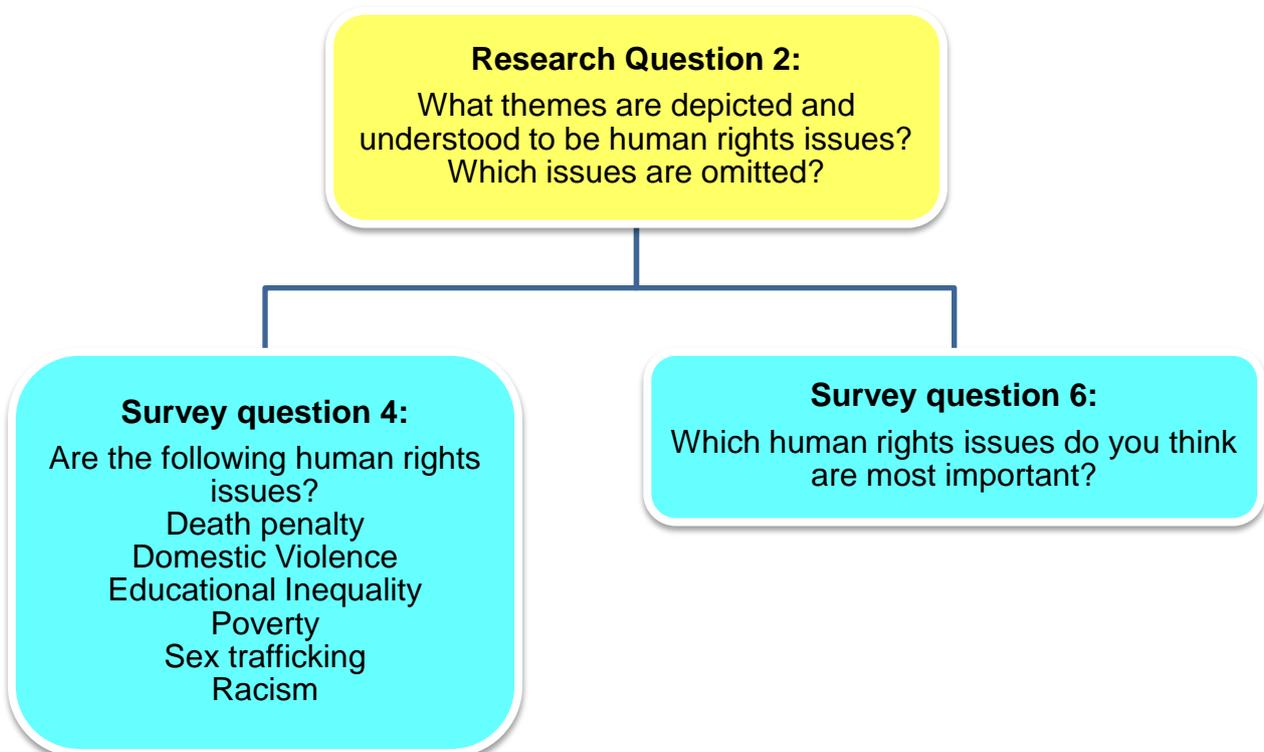


FIGURE 2: Survey questions addressing Research Question 2 on which themes participants’ depict and understand to be human rights issues



FIGURE 3: Survey questions addressing Research Question 3 on how human rights education factors into domestic interpretations

The responses to survey questions 7 and 8 address the final research question, investigating participants' inclusion or exclusion of human rights education in their framing. These connections will be fully explored in the analysis chapter.

4.9 Participants

The sampling strategy targeted the public sphere surrounding a US-based social justice and development NGO, and was implemented in three ways: volunteer sampling through supporter mailing lists, snowball sampling and convenience sampling. A total sample size of 151 participants responded to this research study via both online forms and pencil-and-paper questionnaires. For all sampling strategies, participants were categorised as US citizens with an interest in human rights and a direct or indirect connection to a social justice NGO.

The chief sample was derived from the electronic LISTSERV mailing list of the non-profit organisation The Advocates for Human Rights (2015). An email was sent out to supporters, mostly based in Minnesota, via their e-newsletter on 18th September 2015. The organisation also encouraged its followers to fill in the survey via their social media pages – Facebook and Twitter feeds – updated during on the 18th-22nd September 2015. The next sample was obtained through a snowballing sampling technique (Noy, 2008). This meant that the organisations' supporters were encouraged to send the survey to friends or relatives who had expressed interest in human rights. These two techniques utilised online software and allowed individuals to exercise a degree of autonomy over their response – when they took the survey and how long they spent on it – creating time for thinking and reflection. The online survey, from which the majority of responses were drawn, utilised the data collection software 'Survey Monkey'. This saved time on data input and transcriptions, and also eliminated difficulties in interpreting handwriting and human errors. Disadvantages to using online systems are that respondents are often younger, more computer literate and have access to the internet (Muijs, 2010 p.42). These disadvantages were offset through the third sampling technique. The final sample was drawn from a physical collection of pen and paper surveys at the Minneapolis State Fair (2015). Supporters and interested members of the public had the option to fill out a survey at the organisation's table of flyers and brochures. This sampling strategy meant that the largest segment of participants was drawn from the state of Minnesota.

The sampling categories therefore can be described as volunteer, snowball and convenience sampling. These non-probability sampling methods were chosen to examine the intricacies surrounding attitudes and approaches to human rights, and to see if patterns arise from an initial sample. The advantages of using these methods were their cost-effectiveness, ease in implementation and efficiency in obtaining results. The sampling diversity meant also that a broader range of participants brought the added value of including a range of responses. Yet, as it was not possible to conduct random

samples, these methods lack wider representation and are vulnerable to bias. Indeed, as Muijs (2010) identifies, those who volunteer in survey research are largely untypical, often with strong views on the issue or simply with 'time on their hands' (p.4). Furthermore, the demographic variables are not proportionally represented so there is a quality of heterogeneity to the sampling. However, despite these drawbacks, the participants are extremely useful to this study as a diverse range of opinions were recorded, all with a link to the social justice and development NGO The Advocates for Human Rights.

4.10 Data Analysis

The empirical data gathered from the survey contained both closed and open-ended questions, and therefore was analysed using chiefly quantitative content analysis and some qualitative content methods. Despite purist arguments from both quantitative and qualitative camps which criticise the mixed methods approach (Johnson et al, 2004 p.14), it was valuable for the context of this study in generating deeper findings about human rights conceptualisations (Muijs, 2004 p.4). Furthermore, as a post-positivist researcher, I valued the strengths of applying different analysis techniques and the flexibility, freedom and depth this creates. In order to consider 'multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions and standpoints' (Johnson et al, 2007 p.113) therefore, and to form deeper interpretations from the empirical data, I practised methodological triangulation (Webb et al, 1996, p.3) and combined different analyses to counteract particular intrinsic weaknesses from using just one method. These will be explained further below.

My approach utilised inductive category development, or data driven analysis (Krippendorf, 2012). This involved looking at the material first, identifying emerging patterns, condensing the expressions and then grouping the responses into categories, and finally linking them to the human rights theories outlined in the literature review. Figure 4 illustrates the process of my inductive category development:

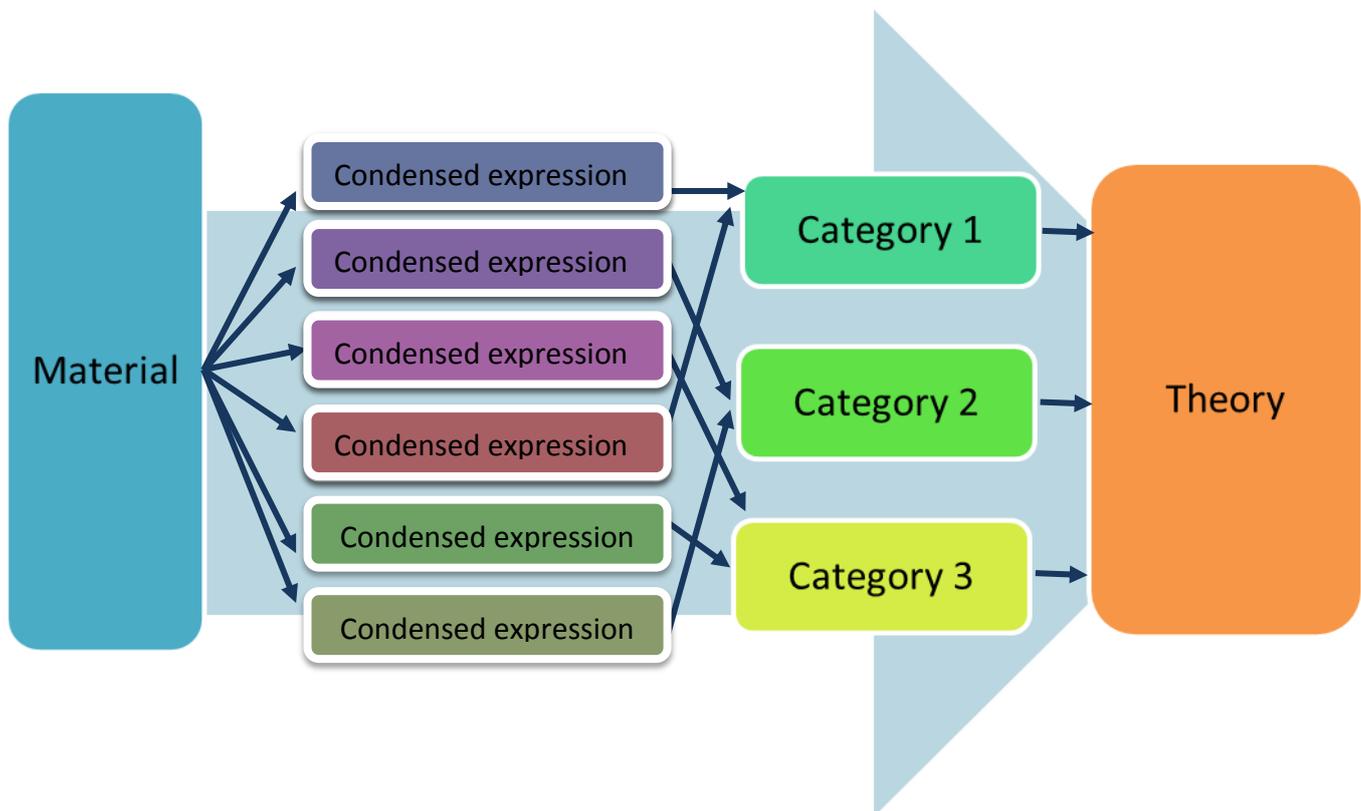


FIGURE 4: Data driven analysis methodology adapted from Kontinen’s Lecture DEVS306 (May 2015) and Krippendorf (2012)

Applying inductive category development meant that the data itself was the principal unit of analysis, through which the categories were then applied. This meant that preconceptions and bias could be mainly avoided when finding categories and themes in the data.

I applied a quantitative content analysis to delve deeper into the vocabulary and themes that appeared in the text and to interpret meaning from the participant generated content. The analysis was produced from an inductive category approach and data-driven, and to locate these categories, I first employed a word cloud technique to the qualitative data. From the data, codes were applied and categories drawn. I then applied a qualitative thematic data analysis looking at the specific ideas represented within the data. The next sections explain the descriptions and the validity of these methods and how I applied them in context to this study.

4.10.1 Word Cloud Analysis

A word cloud is a stylistic visualisation of written content which displays the most frequently used words and highlights their significance by 'occupying more prominence in the representation' (McNaught & Lam, 2010). To define clear and objective categories for content analysis, I first applied this word cloud technique using a tag-crowd web application (TagCrowd 2016). This was effective in creating an immediate visual exploration of categories. This process was systematic and unbiased, and it was especially useful for processing the large dataset from 151 respondents (Snelgrove et al, 2015).

4.10.2 Quantitative content analysis

Content analysis comes in many varieties and is applicable to almost any set of data (Krippendorf, 2012). It is methodical and complex in nature and involves a deep examination of the data, breaking it down into evaluative parts to study. These units of analysis can vary from a word to a theme. Quantitative content analysis in particular uses statistical data to explain a phenomenon, and is a 'method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables' (Kerlinger, 1986). The method has its roots in quantitative communications analysis as a technique for creating meaning from large sets of data, and was therefore suitable for this study looking at the answers from 151 participants.

Quantitative content analysis was applied to my responses through thematic categories that arose from the word cloud technique (McNaught & Lam, 2010). Coding was used to create more manageable data for recognising patterns and drawing conclusions, and was directed in three stages - condensing, structuring and selecting of relevant parts of data. After examining word frequencies, I coded participants' answers into emergent categories that arose from the data. In this way, I could then apply a quantitative computer-aided analysis in response to the data. Using statistical software IBM SPSS and Microsoft Excel, I created descriptive statistics and cross tabulations to illustrate

the relationships between categorical variables. Five main categories formed the basis of my analysis: naturalism, civil-political negative rights, socio-economic positive rights, US particularism and ethical language. This meant, for example, that participants mentioning certain words, such as 'basic', 'dignity' or 'universality', would be categorised into the naturalistic category. It was possible that participants would fall into more than one category, and so were classified accordingly.

Using the Pearson's chi-square test, I was able to compare expected values with observed values and test the statistical significance of the findings. To test significance, I recognised that the p value should be <0.05 (Pallant, 2010 p.219). It should be noted that in some cross-tabulations the basic assumptions of the chi-square test were violated, and therefore the significance test was run with the Monte Carlo simulation in SPSS. This objective process created statistical expressions of empirical observations and described quantitative relationships through trends and correlations. This raw data coding structured the analysis and classified it as a data driven study. However, the limitations of the chi-square test must be recognised, especially in terms of its sensitivity to sample size. Considering that the sample size collected was relatively small (151 participants) and not representative of a wider population, the results from the chi-square test are limited. Therefore, this study also draws strength from qualitative content analysis.

4.10.3 Qualitative content analysis

Expanding from the quantitative content analysis, I chose to enhance the overall data analysis by applying a further qualitative content analysis to arrive at a more objective truth and draw strength from multiple layers of analysis. This meant going further than just looking at the frequencies of words and phrases and looking carefully at the themes that arose within the data. I utilised qualitative content analysis in this way and organised participants' responses into different themes. I was then able to compare these themes with the wider theories of human rights. By combining methods, I could analyse the makeup

of human rights understanding and dismantle its content in different ways, looking at various building blocks of interpretation. Supplementing the quantitative content analysis to achieve richer conclusions, it furthered the study by relating the findings to the original research questions, tying in the theoretical framework and exploring relationships between language and interpretations of human rights.

In this qualitative content analysis, the contextual background and circumstances to the study were essential to keep in mind through in this methodological process. What was the purpose of what has been written? By analysing the wider context and then zooming in on language, wording and styles used in the responses, the analysis found patterns and recurring words which were then compared with wider interpretations of human rights, such as those featured in the Universal Declaration in contrast with ideology in the US Bill of Rights (1789).

With the extensive theoretical debates in mind, I analysed the recurrence of certain words, phrases and terms in the findings. In this way, relationships between the responses and wider human rights theories emerged. Through critical reading of the data, patterns and trends were identified and were then distilled into categories and linked to the key philosophies of human rights theory. Through the analysis, the macro, meso and micro social and historical contexts were considered. This meant exploring broader theories of social influence as outlined in chapter 2, such as US nationalism, theories of human rights, and the character and ethnic makeup of participants. Zooming in further, I was able to look closely at the particular features of answers and categorise the lenses of responses. Looking closely at the respondents' use of language, I found recurrent themes and patterns which were then applied to the wider context of human rights, such as 'universal', 'American' and 'fundamental'. In this way, the analysis exposed certain frames of understanding about what was included in participant discourse, and what was left out.

5.2 Research Question 1: How are knowledge and attitudes towards human rights framed by US citizens with a connection to a social justice NGO?

To address how human rights knowledge and attitudes of participants were framed, the respondents' answers from survey question 2 (When the term 'human rights' is mentioned, what first comes to mind?) and question 5 (How would you define human rights?) were investigated. These two questions were similar in nature to invoke base responses from participants. Participants were comfortable with giving definitions and many wrote long responses. The answers were combined and processed through a word cloud generator for an immediate visualisation of themes. As seen in figure 6, the larger the word, the



FIGURE 6: Word cloud analysis showing top 40 out of 444 most commonly used words used by participants in Question 2 and 5 combined (TagCrowd Tool, 2016)

more frequent the word use by participants. The frequency is shown in parenthesis after the word.

Next, repetitions of words were removed and associated words were combined. After this process, the most frequently used words and phrases are shown above in figure 6.

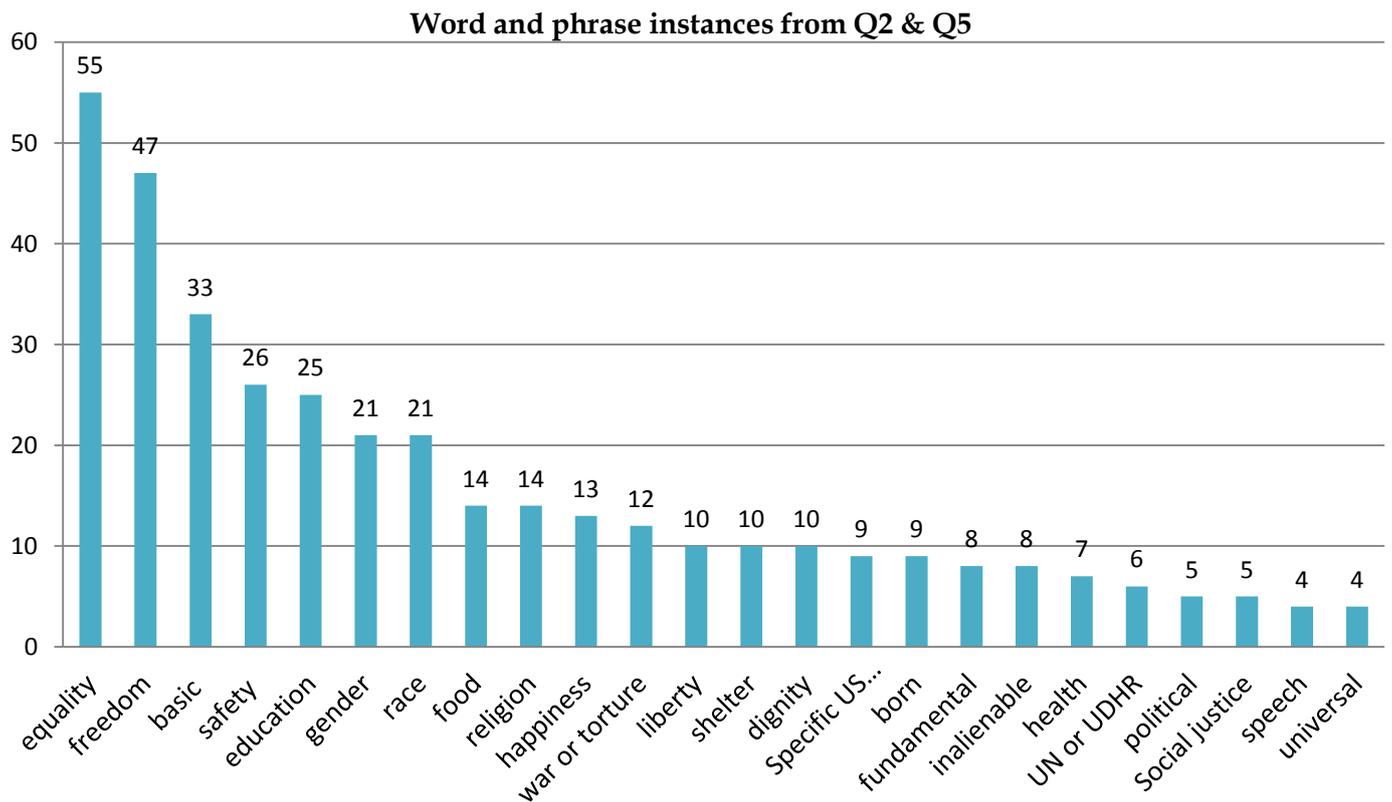


FIGURE 7: Bar graph showing the instances of words and phrases from Q2 and Q5

As demonstrated in figure 7, participants took an expansive view of human rights, yet from these responses certain categories arose. These thematic classifications included: naturalistic language, civil-political negative and socio-economic positive rights, US particularism and matters of fairness and ethics. Within these themes, specific issues were mentioned, such as education, race and health. Often, these issues could be appropriately classified into many different categories, however, for the purposes of this research, I chose to categorise them according to the theories outlined in the theoretical framework (see chapter 2). As explained in section 2.4, many cases of negative and positive

rights are not so clear cut, and can intertwine depending on context and interpretation. In order to create clear categories to process analytically, therefore, I opted to use the definitions expressed by Wronka (1998), Tomuschat (2008) Sen (2001) and Donnelly (2013, p.42) and categorise surfacing themes accordingly.

5.2.1 Naturalistic language

Inherent rights that all people are born with. (Participant 36)

One clear category that emerged from the word cloud analysis and closer reading of the responses was participants' naturalistic framing of human rights in their definitions. As outlined in earlier theoretical debates, naturalistic conceptions have been popular throughout human rights history and can be traced back to natural law theory (see section 2.3), and participants often raised the concept of universality, writing about the 'fundamental protections for all peoples, regardless of culture or country of origin' (participant 96).

Naturalistic words: 'basic' (33 times), 'dignity' (19 times), 'born' (9 times), 'fundamental' (8 times), and 'inalienable' (8 times) were frequently found in the responses. The words 'universal' and 'world' were used by 7 different participants, and the words 'everyone', 'all' and 'human' (when not specifically talking about 'human rights') were mentioned by 82 different participants. These definitions - based on the 'basic rights that every human is entitled to' (participant 16) and 'rights that an individual is born with, regardless of race, sex, religion, or any other variables/intangibles' (participant 56), invoke a shared humanity and describe rights as inherent and widespread, non-discriminatory and integral to human nature.

The data was then coded into which respondents had used naturalistic framing in their definitions and which had not. Through this, it was found that 109 out of 151 (72%) of respondents had used the above naturalistic terms to frame their definitions of human rights.

The pie chart below shows that almost three quarters (72%) of participants shared the view that human rights are a natural right simply by virtue of being human.

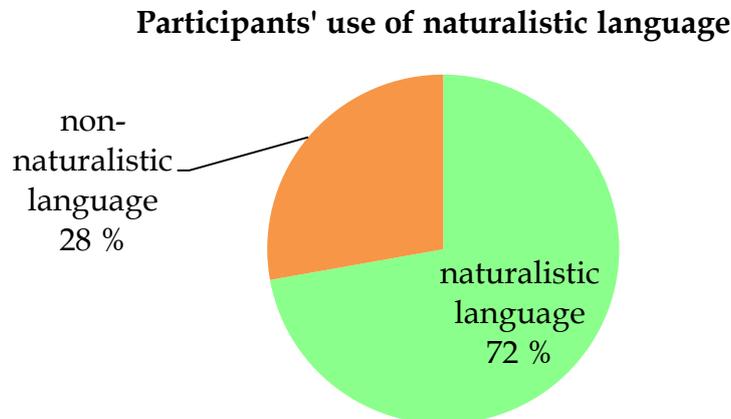


FIGURE 8: Pie chart describing participants' use of naturalistic language in Q2 & Q5

Therefore, the findings show that the majority of participants used naturalistic terms to frame their definitions, which in turn links their discussions and conceptualisations with wider natural rights discourses.

5.2.2 Use of negative and positive rights

Right to live peaceful, where you have the freedom to live your life (speech, religion, press, etc.) as long as you don't not infringe on the rights of others. (Participant 58, expressing only negative rights)

The right to equal access to food, shelter, water and education and economic opportunity (Participant 31 expressing only positive rights)

Basic human rights for freedom, safety, life, freedom to express and follow own religion. Food and water safety. (Participant 75 expressing both negative and positive rights)

Next, to see what other themes existed in the data, the naturalistic terms were removed and other related words were grouped together. From these remaining categories, these words and phrases were then sorted into two

distinct groups, using the theory of negative and positive rights, as seen in the Venn diagram below (figure 9). Negative rights, as previously explained in section 2.4, are strongly individualistic and imply the restraint of external forces by limiting their actions against the rights holder (Tomuschat, 2004 p.136; Sen, 2001 p.26) and largely encompass civil and political rights. They can be more simply described as freedom from outside interference (Herschl, 2000 p.1071). Positive rights, on the other hand, are defined by the positive actions by the state and mainly encompass socioeconomic rights (Tomuschat, p.136; Sen, p.37). Freedom can be placed in both categories depending on interpretation ('freedom from' would suggest negative rights and 'freedom to' would imply positive, see Sen, 2001 chapter 1) so this was placed at the centre of the Venn diagram. War and torture are popularly contested terms which can also be arguably categorised as either (Donnelly, 2013 p.43), and so they were placed in both categories.

Participants were then sorted into four categories based on their use of negative and positive rights framing. These groups were 1) participants who *only* mentioned negative rights, 2) participants who *only* mentioned positive rights, 3) participants who mention both negative and positive rights, 4) participants who referred to neither negative or positive rights (figure 9).

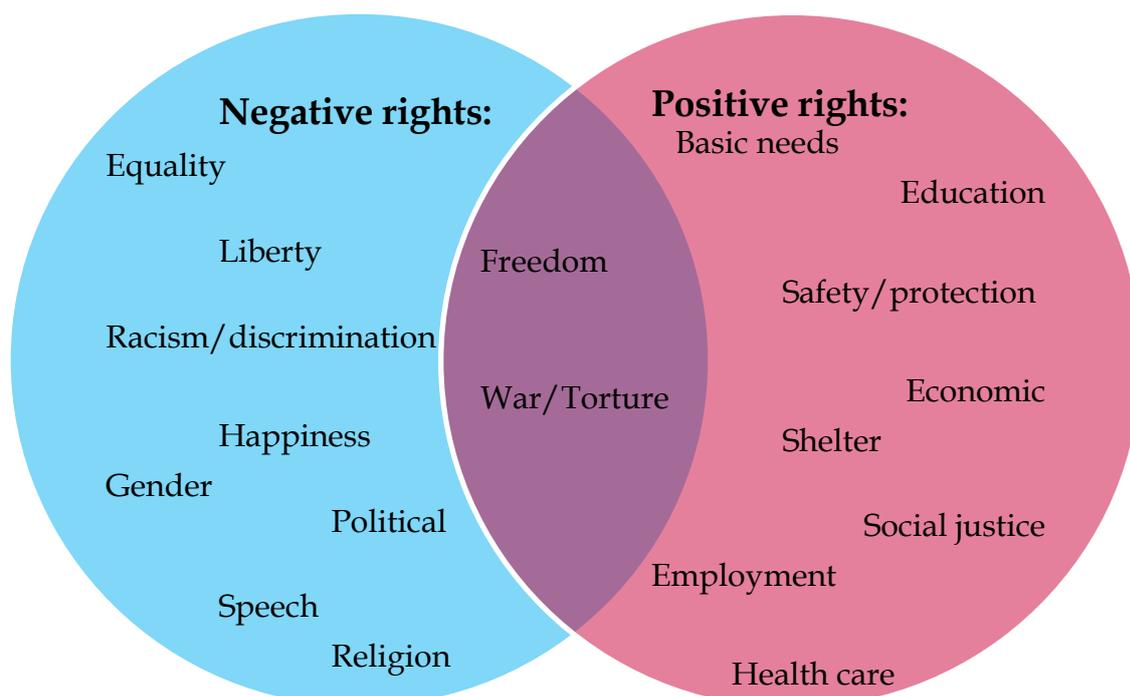


FIGURE 9: Venn diagram of negative and positive rights categories

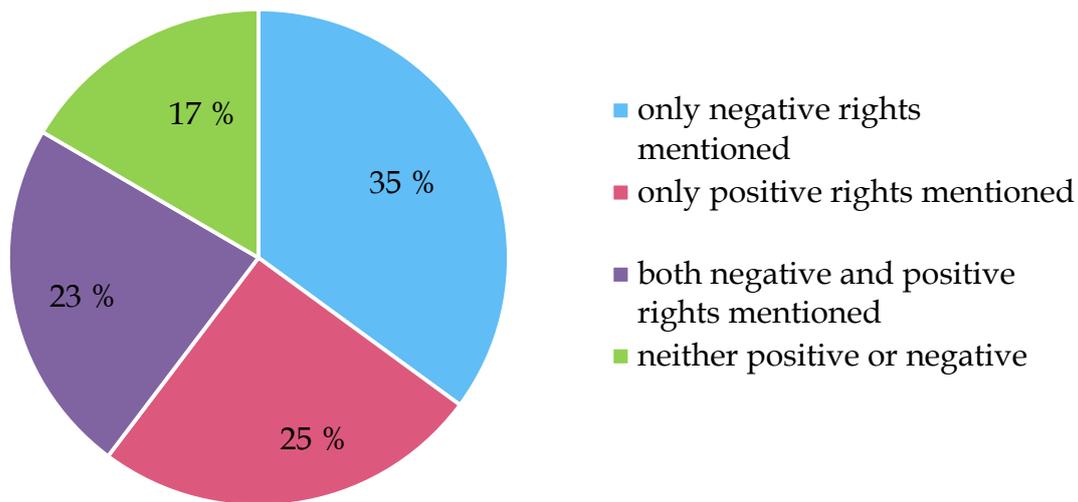


FIGURE 10: Pie chart displaying participants' use of negative and positive rights in Q2 and Q5

The pie chart above (figure 10) shows that the largest group of participants (35%) used only negative frames when defining human rights. This group often mentioned political rights, for example 'same law for everyone' (participant 49) and 'all humans have a right to live a happy and healthy life without judgment from others, and are entitled to the same freedoms as others' (participant 120). The freedom of religion was mentioned by 14 participants, and free speech by 4 participants. Civil rights, especially related to gender and racial discrimination, were also referenced by 21 participants.

The next largest group were participants who only referred to positive rights (25%), often writing about 'unalienable rights, necessary for civil human existence, such as the right to clean water, shelter, work, education, etc.' (participant 17). These participants referred to basic needs the most (36 participants) – such as 'health, food, water, shelter' (participant 131), closely followed by education (25 participants), then healthcare (7 participants) and social justice issues (5 participants).

23% of participants use both terms and 17% use different frames to convey their ideas of human rights. Those who did not refer to either negative or positive rights instead often used naturalistic framing in their definitions, or referred directly to a US Constitutional Document (such as the Bill of Rights) or

the UDHR (see section 5.2.3). In this way, 83% of participants referred to negative rights, positive rights or a mixture of the two categories when defining human rights.

Whilst civil-political negative rights are embodied in both the US Bill of Rights (1789) and Articles 3-21 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), socio-economic positive rights are less likely to be found in the US Founding Documents, which primarily emphasise negative liberties and freedoms. The UDHR, on the other hand, encompasses positive rights in Articles 22-27 (1948). This is more fully explained in section 2.4. Therefore, to see if there was any relationship between participants' awareness of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and their framing of definitions, the data was then compared with responses from question 1 on UDHR awareness.

The bar chart below (figure 11) represents the percentage responses to question 1 (Before today, had you heard of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?) and shows that there was an overall awareness of the UDHR amongst participants. Over half of participants (54%) claimed that they had heard of the UDHR, whilst 30% admitted that they had not heard of it. 16% of participants were unsure.

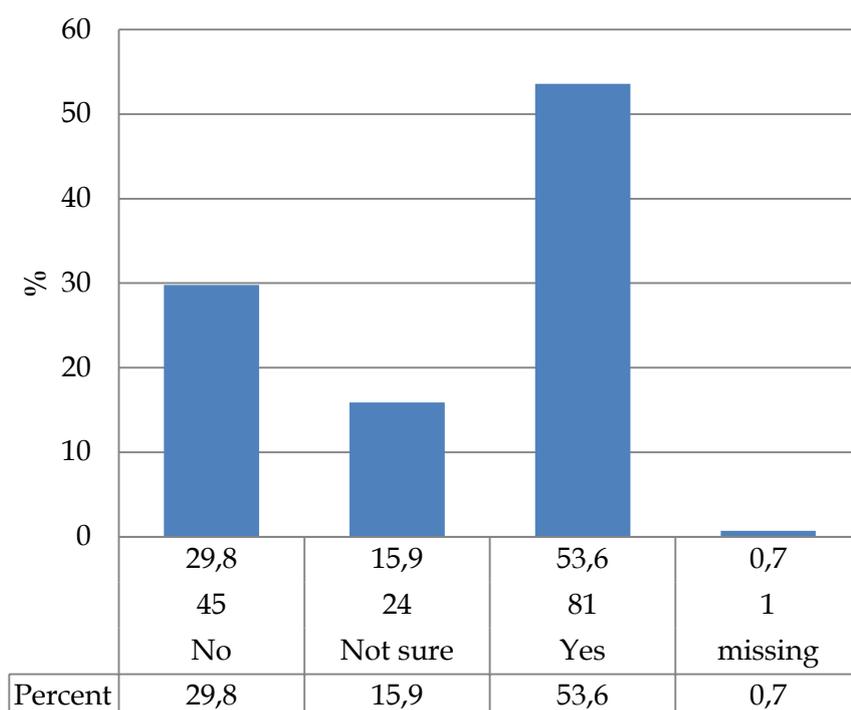


FIGURE 11: Bar graph showing percentage of participants who had heard of the UDHR (Q 1)

Next, comparing demographics with UDHR awareness (see figure 12), Pearson's chi square test was run. It was found that there were no significant findings when the analysis was conducted between gender and UDHR awareness ($\chi^2=1.739$, $df=2$, $p=0.419$), or ethnicity ($\chi^2=03.085$, $df=2$, $p=0.214$). However, when the test was run against the political orientation of a participant's home state and UDHR awareness, there was clear statistical significance. The chi square test= 11.707 , $df=2$ and p value= 0.003 . Therefore, we can statistically affirm that there was a relationship between these two variables and that the political orientation of a participant's home state did indeed have an impact on their UDHR awareness. Following this, the data thus shows that those from a Democratic state were far more likely to have heard of the UDHR, and this is illustrated clearly in the in the percentage distribution (see figure 12). This significance will be further discussed in chapter 6.

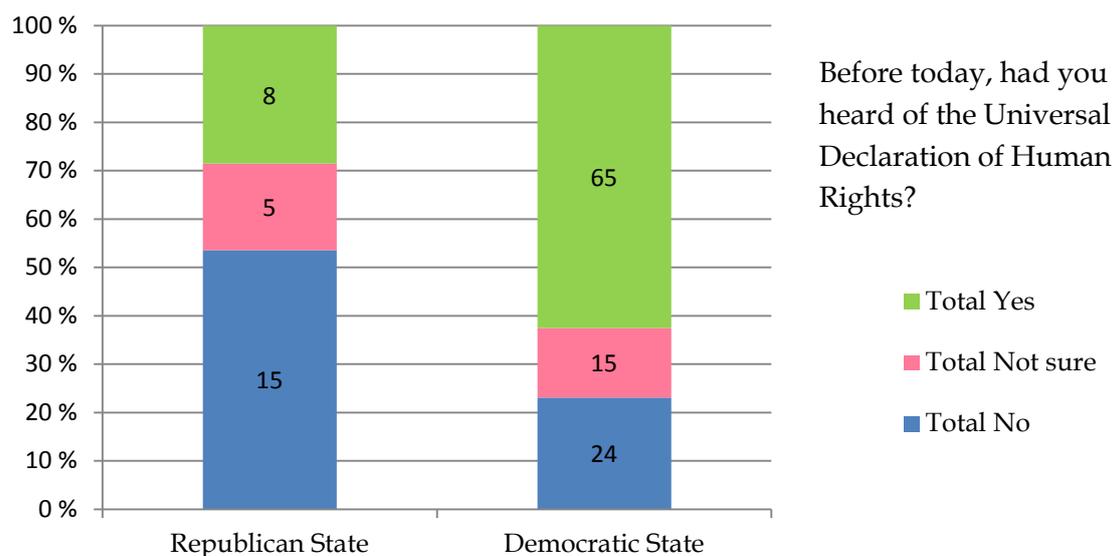


FIGURE 12: Bar graph of home state political orientation and UDHR awareness

To test for an association and evaluate whether the use of negative and positive rights had any relationship with the participants' awareness of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the two sets of data were compared. Using Pearson's chi square test, the findings were also tested to see if they were statistically significant. Table 2 and figure 13 below show the relationship

between participants' use of negative and positive rights and their awareness of the UDHR.

TABLE 2: Relationship between participants' use of negative/rights and their awareness of UDHR

<u>UDHR awareness</u>	<u>Negative rights mentioned</u>		<u>Only-negative rights mentioned</u>		<u>Positive rights mentioned</u>		<u>Only-positive rights mentioned</u>		<u>Both negative & positive mentioned</u>		<u>Neither mentioned</u>	
	=0	=1	=0	=1	=0	=1	=0	=1	=0	=1	=0	=1
Data entered												
Not heard	16.4%	39.3%	18.6%	50.9%	39.2%	19.7%	33.6%	18.9%	33.0%	20.0%	33.3%	12.5%
<i>Total</i>	35		27		14		7		7		3	
Not sure	16.4%	15.7%	16.5%	16.5%	17.7%	14.1%	17.7%	10.8%	15.7%	17.1%	14.3%	25.0%
<i>Total</i>	14		8		10		4		6		6	
Yes	67.2%	44.9%	64.9%	34.0%	43.0%	66.2%	48.7%	70.3%	51.3%	62.9%	52.4%	62.5%
<i>Total</i>	40		18		47		26		22		15	
Total Sum	89		53		71		37		35		24	
chi-square	9.678		18.119		8.774		5.245		2.222		4.745	
d/f	2		2		2		2		2		2	
P-value	0.008		<0.001		0.012		0.073		0.329		0.093	

The chi-square test determined whether the observed counts were different enough from the expected values for the association to be significant.

As we can see from the above table, for those who had not heard of the UDHR, 50.9% mentioned only-negative rights, whereas 18.6% used other language. Additionally, just one third (34%) of those who expressed only-negative rights had heard of the UDHR, in comparison with 64.9% who were aware of the UDHR and used other language in their definitions. Another finding is that a much larger proportion of participants - 70.3% - who expressed only-positive rights had heard of the UDHR, compared to 48.7% who

did not use only-positive rights in their definitions. From this data we can see that there are significant relationships between the percentage distributions.

Analysing the mention of negative rights against whether participants had heard of the UDHR, the chi-square test value was 9.678, and p value was 0.008 significant at $p < 0.05$. Thus, we can accept the hypothesis that there was a statistically significant association between UDHR awareness and participants mentioning of negative rights. In other words, the usage of negative rights was dependent on participants being unaware of the UDHR.

Next, cross tabulating further confirmed a strong relationship between the mention of *only* negative rights and UDHR awareness. This dependence is shown through chi-square test at: $\chi^2=18.119$, $df=2$, $p < 0.001$, and demonstrates its statistical high significance. This is evident from the percentage distributions (see table 2), and shows that participants who had not heard of the UDHR were far more likely to use only negative rights in their interpretations (51%).

Investigating the relationship between positive rights usage and UDHR awareness, the chi square test=8.774 and p value 0.012, which also demonstrates that this relationship is statistically significant. Following this, it is apparent from the data that participants who used positive rights language therefore were more likely to be aware of the UDHR, which is again demonstrated in the percentage distribution.

For the use of only positive rights, $p=0.073$ ($\chi^2=5.245$). Therefore, although not statistically significant, there is a marked trend towards significance.

The fifth category, both negative and positive rights, concluded with statistically insignificant results, at $\chi^2=2.222$, $p=0.329$. Likewise, for neither positive nor negative rights mentioned, $\chi^2=4.745$ and the corresponding p value=0.093, giving a statistically non-significant result.

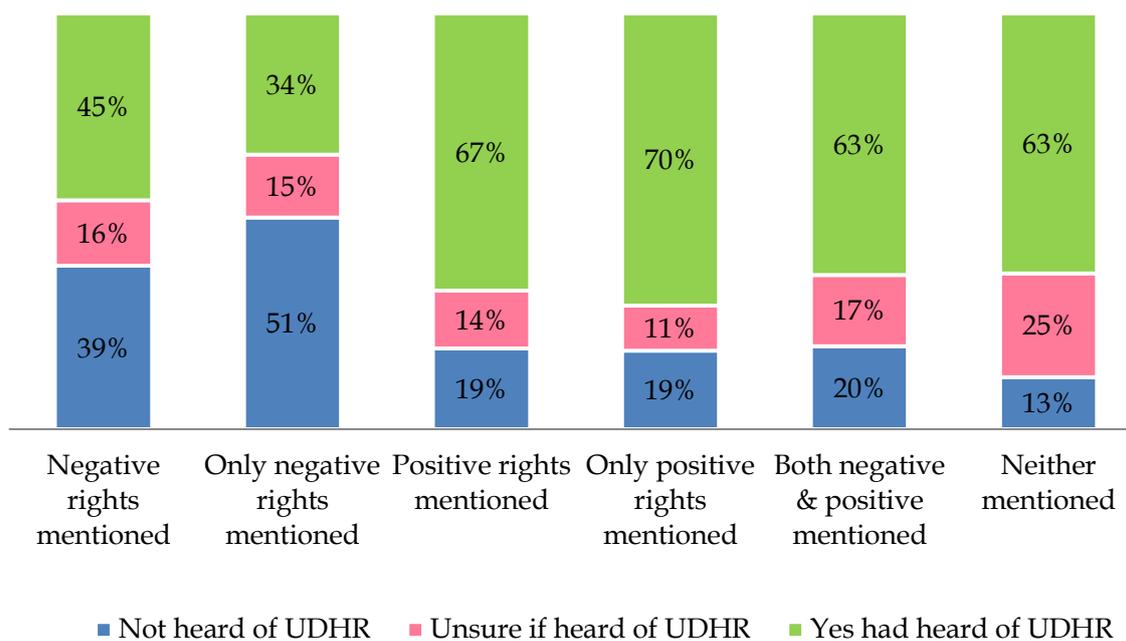


FIGURE 13: Bar graph showing relationship between participants' use of negative/rights and their awareness of UDHR.

The bar graph (figure 13) illustrates these findings, and demonstrates that the majority of participants who only mentioned civil-political negative rights to frame their definitions were unlikely to have heard of the UDHR. For example, when negative rights were mentioned, 39% answered that they had not heard of the UDHR, and when only negative rights were mentioned, 51% reported that they had not heard of the UDHR. In contrast, participants were more likely to refer to socio-economic positive rights if they answered yes to being aware of the UDHR in question 1. Indeed, of those participants who referred to positive rights, 67% had heard of the UDHR, and when only positive rights were mentioned, 70% had answered yes to question 1. This shows that awareness of the UDHR had an effect on this group of participants and their conceptualisation of human rights in negative and positive frames.

In figure 14, comparisons were also made between participants' awareness of the UDHR (Q1) and whether they felt that human rights were relevant to their life (Q3). The majority of respondents (84%) felt that human rights were

relevant to their lives. Of these, as the bar graph below shows, 57% had heard of the UDHR, whereas 29% had not and 12% were unsure. 3% and 1% respectively felt that human rights were 'not really' or 'not at all' relevant to their lives.

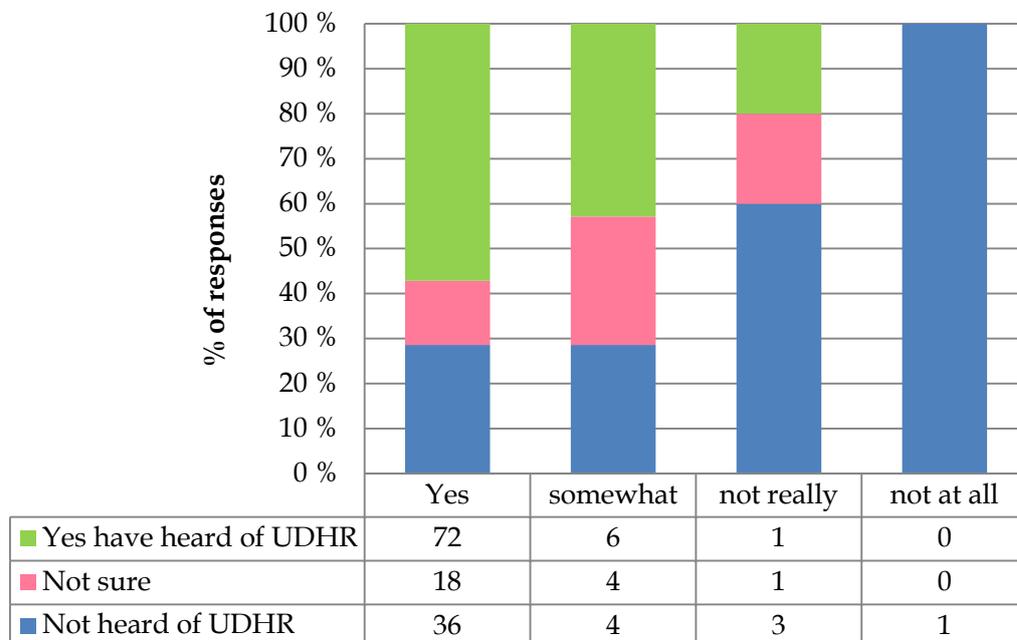


FIGURE 14: Bar graph showing participants' UDHR awareness (Q1) and if they feel if human rights are relevant to them (Q3)

The majority of people in these last two groups answered no to question 1 and were therefore not aware of the UDHR. However, running a chi-square analysis to test the statistical significance generates different results, and with a $\chi^2=7.218$, $df=6$ and $p=0.301$, these results are not statistically significant. As it is not a representative or sizeable sample, it would still be fruitful to conduct this test on a larger population group to see if UDHR awareness has a statistically significant effect.

5.2.3 Reference to US particularism

The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as long as it doesn't impede the rights of others and doesn't hurt another human in any manner. (Participant 123, quoting the US Four Freedoms)

Next, those participants who made explicit reference to a US document (The Bill of Rights, The Four Freedoms or The First Amendment) (15 participants) and those who referenced the US Declaration of Independence by quoting a variation of the phrase 'life liberty and the pursuit of happiness' (7 participants) were sorted into one group. A total of 22 participants, or 16%, made reference to a US Founding Document in these two answers. Those who referenced any UN instrument or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights itself were sorted into another group. This group had only 6 participants and made up 4% of the total sample.

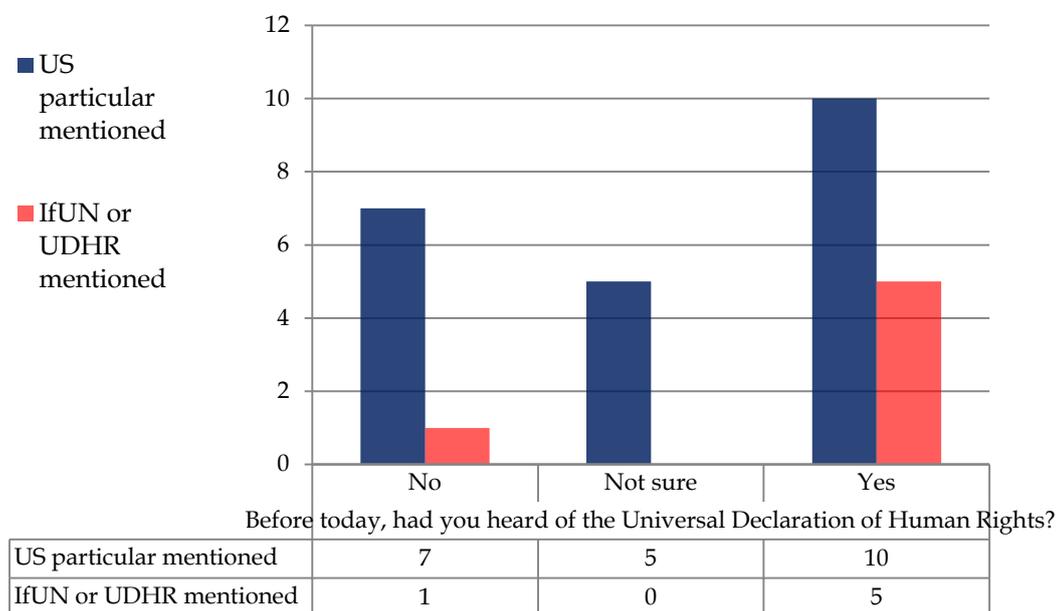


FIGURE 15: Bar graph showing participants' references to particular US documents or the UN or UDHR to UDHR awareness

Both groups were then compared against their awareness of the UDHR from question 1 (see figure 15). The analysis found that more participants (16%) were likely to reference a US founding document such as 'the First Amendment' (participant 42) and 'the Bill of Rights' (participant 38) than those participants who referenced the UN or UDHR (4%). It also found that those participants who were not aware of the UDHR, or who were unsure about it, were more likely to refer to a particular US document when framing their understanding of human rights. Participant 68 and participant 123 framed their understanding of human rights similarly - both paraphrase the US

Declaration of Independence, and both explicate that these rights should not 'infringe' or 'impede' on the lives of others.

The 6 participants who mentioned the UN or UDHR in their definitions were more likely to answer yes to previously hearing about the UDHR in question 1, such as participant 55 who answered 'rights one has simply because they are human; specifically laid out by the UN'. Two participants also referred to Amnesty International, which shows the influence of the well-established and globally known human rights NGO on these participants' framing of human rights. Furthermore, some participants applied a human rights framework to specific historic or current issues in the US. Four participants made reference to slavery and one participant referred to excessive use of force by law enforcement - 'police brutality' (participant 97).

However, when Pearson's chi-square test was run, $\chi^2=2.366$, $df=2$ and $p=0.306$. This means that even though the results show some patterns, it was not proven statistically significant, perhaps due to sample size limitations.

When the test was run to compare if US particularism had any relationship to the political orientation of the participant's state of origin (figure 15), however, the chi square value was 3.325, $df=1$ and p value=0.068. Although, again, this is not statistically significant, it shows that there are marked trends towards significance. If the research was conducted again, and with more participants from Republican-orientated states, it may be possible to obtain stronger conclusions.

5.2.4 Fairness and ethical framing

If we teach a generation their whole school life to treat everyone with fairness and kindness and to speak up about injustices, then when they grow and the old and closed minded generations die out and these children pass those lessons of love to their children, then maybe more people will stand for change and change will happen. (Participant 97)

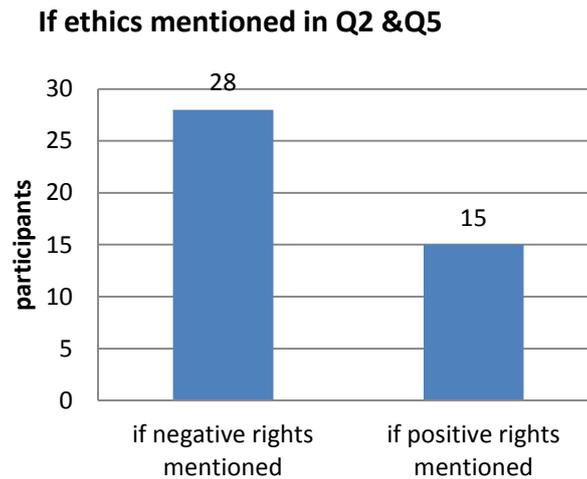


FIGURE 16: Bar graph showing relationship between participants' ethical framing and negative/positive framing when defining human rights

Looking at the word instances in figure 6, it also was clear that many participants framed their human rights definitions in ethical terms and felt strongly about matters of fairness. Analysing the responses (see figure 16), many participants used themes of 'fairness' (12 times), 'respect' (10 times), 'treatment' (18 times), 'dignity' (8 times) and 'moral' (2 times). In total, 39 different respondents (26%) used one or more of these ethical frames and supported human rights values of fairness.

When compared against participants' negative and positive rights use, more participants were likely to mention ethics and use civil-political negative rights rather than socio-economic positive rights. This is especially true when ethics are cross tabulated with negative rights - $p=0.023$ ($\chi^2=5.165$) and only negative rights $p=0.014$ ($\chi^2=6.045$), thus showing a clear statistical significance.

5.3 Research Question 2: What themes are depicted and understood to be human rights issues?

Survey Question 6 (Which human rights issues do you think are most important?) was analysed first using the word cloud method to visualise the recurrence of key words in figure 17 below.



FIGURE 17: Word cloud analysis showing top 40 of 249 possible words from respondents' answers to question 6 (which human rights issues do you think are most important?)

Next, in figure 18, the words were grouped together into categories according to civil-political negative and socio-economic positive rights (as outlined in figure 9), and frequencies are shown in parenthesis. Freedom, migration, trafficking and war/violence were the most contentious issues and could arguably fit into both categories (see Donnelly, 2013 p.43), and therefore are depicted between the two categories of rights.

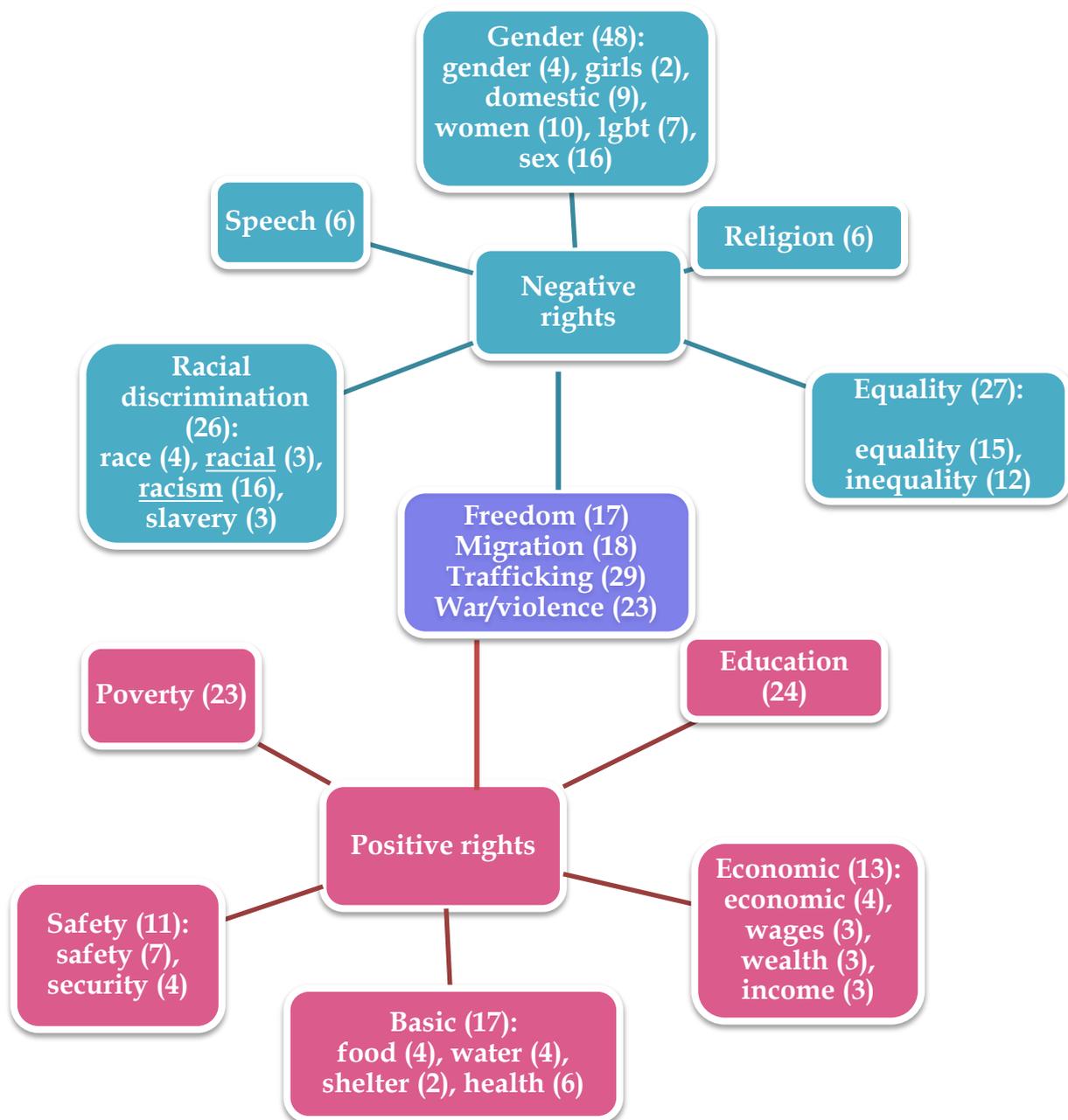


FIGURE 18: Diagram illustrating word frequencies and relationships between negative and positive rights

From the analysis, we can see that gender inequality was the most talked about issue (48 times), with racial discrimination coming next (26 times). Trafficking was referred to 29 times, education 24 times and poverty 23 times. Basic and economic needs were referred to the least (17 and 13 times respectively).

5.3.1 Negative/positive rights

As before, the responses to survey question 6 were sorted into four categories based on their use of negative and positive rights language. Again, these groups were participants who mentioned: only negative rights, only positive rights, both, or neither.

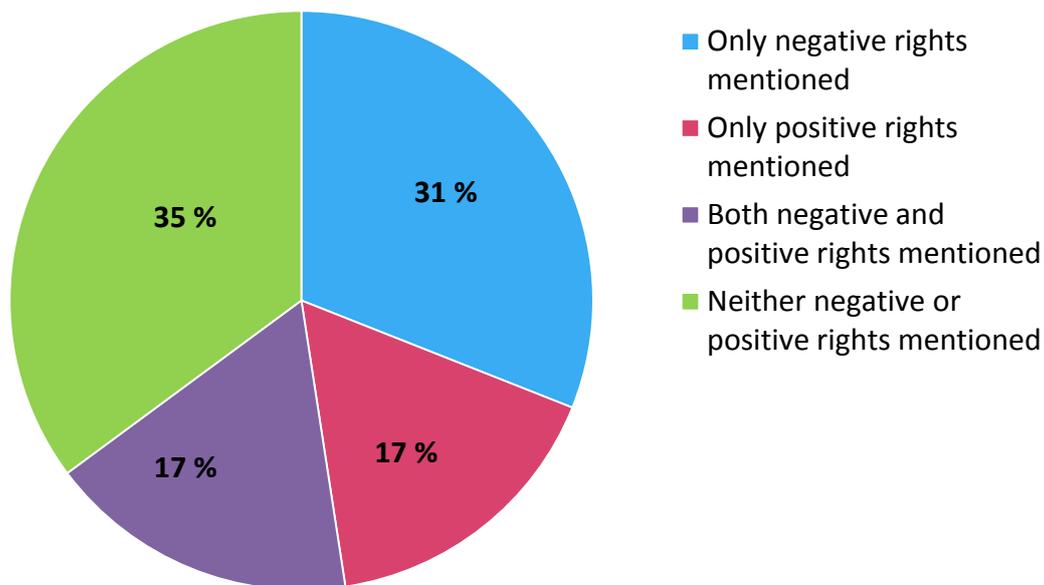


FIGURE 19: Pie chart of participants categorised by their use of negative and positive rights in survey question 6

Figure 19 shows that the largest group of participants (35%) do not use negative or positive rights when selecting the rights which they think are most important. Instead, participants from this group tend to make more blanket statements, often saying that 'all' rights are important (15 participants). Some participants in this group referred to freedom of movement, refugees and immigrants (18 participants), with one participant raising the topical issue of Syrian refugees - 'Right now Syria refugees and immigrants from south America' (participant 81). Two also indicated that war and genocide were issues they perceived as being most important, with one referring to 'nations that still have sever[e] oppression or genocide' (participant 36). One participant mentioned climate change (participant 91), and another discussed the specific issue of gun ownership - 'right now I care a lot about the removal of gun

owners' constitutional right to bear arms' (participant 49). Individualism was brought up by participant 116, stating that 'there is no most important issue. each issue has a different ranking for each individual'.

The next largest group involved participants who referred only to negative rights as the most important issues (31%). The majority of these participants referred to gender as their essential human rights subject (48 participants). Within this category, 9 participants referred to domestic violence and 7 referred to LGBT rights. Equality was mentioned by 27 participants, and racial discrimination was brought up by 26. Freedom of speech and religion were both mentioned by 6 different participants respectively.

17% of the sample referred to only positive rights, and 17% also referred to a mix of both negative and positive rights. Of the positive rights mentioned, education was the most popular issue being mentioned 24 times and poverty a close second (23 times). One participant made explicit reference to wealth distribution, writing:

Economic (Wealth) Inequality, Top 1% is making almost 35% of total US income. Top 5% is making almost 40% to total US income. Too much money is locked up with a few powerful families so money is not being better distributed to help other issues such as poverty, education, social issues and so on. (Participant 44)

Another also mentioned corporate greed, writing 'corporations controlling too much and being responsible for too much' (Participant 136). Basic rights, such as food, water, shelter and health, were mentioned by 17 participants, and economic rights were referred to by 13 participants. With only 11 participants, safety and security and 'freedom from state violence' (participant 29) were referred to the least out of the positive rights.

Participant responses to Q4: Are the following human rights issues?

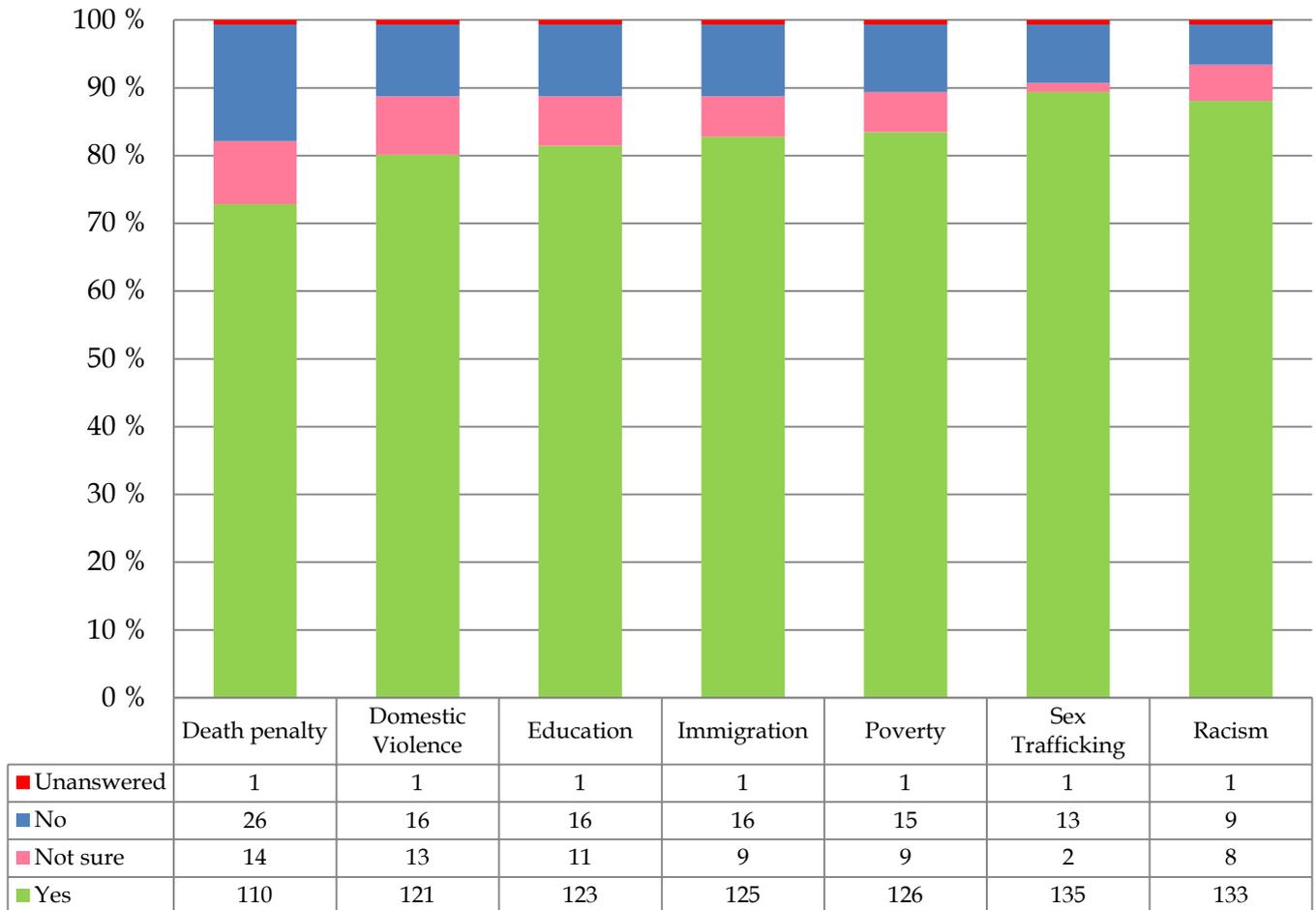


FIGURE 20: Bar graph of how certain human rights issues are viewed

Next, responses to question 4 (Are the following human rights issues?) were examined closely in their relevance to which themes were depicted as human rights topics. Participants were given a three tiered Likert scale with seven human rights themes and were asked to rate each issue in how they far they view it to be a human rights topic. Figure 20 shows participants responses.

5.3.2 Death Penalty

People have the rights I described above - however any system with rights also involves duties and part of those are to function in a basic way in the society in which they live. If a society decides that a person has so severely infringed those rules that he can no longer function in society (usually

because s/he's deprived someone else of THEIR human rights then he has no right to demand protection under 'human rights' (Participant 30)

The most contentious issue was the death penalty. 17% of participants answered that they did not think the death penalty was a human rights issue, and 9% said they were unsure. 73% of participants however did believe that the death penalty was a human rights issue. 4 participants who answered that the death penalty was not a human rights issue left comments. Although the death penalty directly contravenes the right to life (Amnesty International 2015; OHCHR 2015), it is still a hotly debated issue within the US and, indeed, the participant group.

As seen from the quote above, participant 30 felt that human rights function as part of a system of society, yet if an individual disobeys these rules and deprived another person of their rights, then their right to protection and life should be withheld by the system. Participant 62 also agreed, writing that for that extreme crimes which exceptionally contravene the social order the death penalty should be instigated, indeed - 'it is necessary for those committing murder'. Thus, these respondents did not view the death penalty as a human rights issue, but more a question of judgement and ethics. Another participant referred to the high levels of incarcerated black and ethnic minorities in the US: 'even if I supported the death penalty, which I don't, it is applied in a discriminatory way, with poor people and people of color receiving death sentences', showing awareness for the endemic institutionalised discrimination (Snell, 2014). On the role of the media, participant 80 wrote: 'If it's not on my Facebook wall or skim I probably don't see it', and participant 137 explained 'following suggests an active process, which it is not. I do read stories and such as they become available'. These participants therefore shared similar views in that if the issue was not in their media stream, then they do not take an active interest in the topic, suggesting that the media impacted the knowledge and attitudes towards the death penalty for these individuals.

Comparing results against demographics, there were no significant findings against political orientation of home state ($\chi^2=3.971$, $df=2$, $p=0.137$), gender ($\chi^2=1.873$, $df=2$, $p=0.392$) or ethnicity ($\chi^2=2.090$, $df=2$, $p=0.352$). There was also no statistical significance when compared against UDHR awareness ($\chi^2=6.903$, $df=4$, $p=0.141$).

5.3.3 Domestic violence

Domestic violence was the next issue which most divided the participants. Although 80% agreed that it was a human rights issue, 11% disagreed and 9% were unsure. Participant 21 fell into this last category, and compared a random act of aggression with domestic violence, suggesting that only its legal status makes it a human rights issue when debated in a court of law:

Sometimes. The legality of domestic violence is a human rights issue, the individual acts are not. Just as punching a stranger on the street, no matter how wrong it is, is an isolated case, not an overall "human rights" issue.

Another respondent (Participant 6) was unsure about domestic violence and called the role of the state into question: 'if the government is willingly ignoring it or under protecting from it'. A further participant (Participant 79) who was unsure on the issue commented that it 'depends on framing' and that it can be 'criminal instead/in addition'.

Conducting a chi-square test, there were no significant findings when compared against political orientation of state ($\chi^2=2.023$, $df=2$, $p=0.364$), gender ($\chi^2=1.757$, $df=2$, $p=0.415$) or ethnicity ($\chi^2=3.097$, $df=2$, $p=0.213$). Likewise, no significance was found when compared against UDHR awareness ($\chi^2=5.145$, $df=4$, $p=0.273$).

5.3.4 Educational inequality

I don't think educational equality is as large of a issue as the death penalty due to it not taking away what I defined as an essential human right but it would still qualify. (Participant 36)

The majority of individuals felt that educational inequality was a human rights issue (82%). 11 participants were unsure (7%) and 16 participants (11%) believed that it was not a human right. As seen above, participant 36 did not see the issue as important as the death penalty. Another participant who answered 'no' commented: 'I never associated education as a human right. But I suppose including it makes sense'.

Measuring chi-square values, responses to educational inequality had no significance when compared against demographics. It also had no statistical significance when compared against UDHR awareness ($\chi^2=5.799$, $df=6$, $p=0.446$). However, when measured against question 8 (should human rights be taught in schools?) the chi-test value measured 11.767, with $df=6$ and $p=0.067$. Although this does not illustrate statistical significance, it shows a marked trend towards significance, and indicates that those participants who felt that educational inequality was a human rights issue were more likely to be aware of the UDHR.

5.3.5 Immigration

83% believed that immigration was a human rights issue, with 9 participants unsure (6%) and 16 answering no (11%). One person who disagreed commented that:

people have the right to live in a place where their lives aren't directly endangered but beyond that there's no inherent responsibility on any society who's worked for as much as centuries on achieving what they have as a society to accept every person who decides that they'd like to

move from a society that has failed to reap the benefits of the society that's succeeded. (Participant 30)

One participant specifically applied the issue to the US and wrote that the 'USA was founded on immigrants' (Participant 48). Two wrote that the issue was 'very broad', a 'gray area', and 'depends on the situation'.

One participant referenced the media's coverage of the current waves of migration, and made a distinction between legal and illegal immigration:

I'm assuming this includes refugee and asylum issues, and it's rather hard at the moment to not be following all the news. But I must state that while I wholeheartedly support immigration as a practice, I am significantly against illegal immigration and flotillas of "undocumented" not following processes. Other accommodations need to be made to provide for their security rather than them coming in and assuming they should have equal access to those who have followed the rules/laws. (Participant 137)

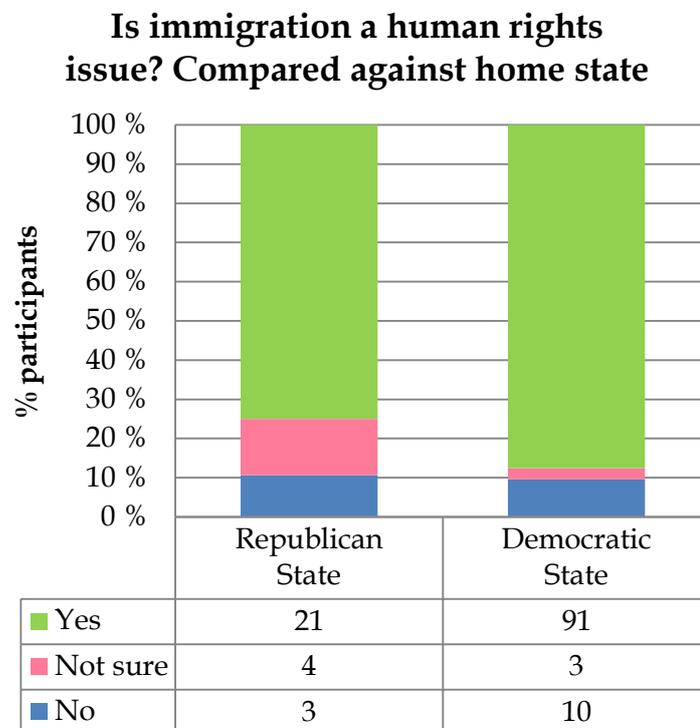


FIGURE 21: Bar graph of attitudes towards immigration and political orientation of home state

Cross-tabulating the data against demographics firstly, it was found that ethnicity bore no significance to whether immigration was seen as a human rights issue ($\chi^2=0.747$, $df=2$, $p=0.688$). Comparing against gender, there is a somewhat trend towards significance, with a p value= 0.077 ($\chi^2=5.130$ and $df=2$). Looking at UDHR awareness, the p value measured 0.093 ($\chi^2=7.953$, $df=4$), showing that there is no statistical significance. The boldest comparison was seen when compared against participants home state and its political orientation (see figure 21), there was a trend towards significance, with a p value= 0.054 ($\chi^2=5.841$, $df=2$). As there was a violation of Pearson chi square assumptions, a further Monte Carlo test was run and this shows that there was indeed a significance, where the p value= 0.045 . In a larger group, there may be a stronger indication of significance between these two categories, as the political orientation of a home state is shown to have a bearing on how participants view the issue of human rights. Therefore, from the data it is apparent that those from a Democratic state were more likely to see immigration as a human rights issue - and this again is demonstrated in the percentage distribution.

5.3.6 Poverty

The issue of poverty generated similar results, with 84% saying yes, 6% replying that they were unsure and 10% answering no. This topic engendered strong responses in the comments, with one commentator writing that poverty is inevitable and 'will always exist' (participant 19), and another arguing that 'some people are lazy' (participant 86). One participant wrote:

People have the basic right to survive - that doesn't mean they have a basic right to survive well. Charity is a nice thing to give and does much for the giver but the poor person has no right to expect it as a right. (Participant 30)

Is poverty a human rights issue? Compared against UDHR awareness

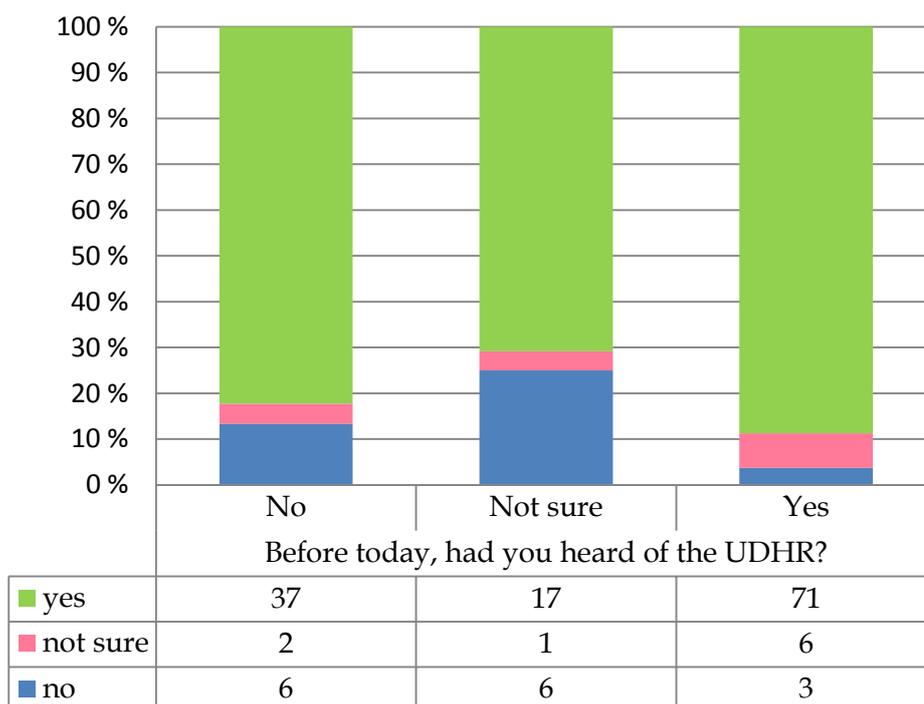


FIGURE 22: Bar graph of attitudes towards poverty and UDHR awareness

Cross-tabulating poverty against demographics drew no significant results. However, when poverty was measured against UDHR awareness (see figure 22), there was a statistically significant finding - chi square=10.303, df=4 and p=0.036. This shows that there is a distinct statistical significance for participants in their views on whether poverty is a human rights issue, and whether they are aware of the UDHR. Thus, individuals who had heard of the UDHR were more likely to view poverty as a human rights issue.

5.3.7 Sex trafficking

Sex trafficking was the issue that was most clear cut for participants - only 2 were unsure (1%). Also, the highest amount of participants answered yes to this issue, 89%; 9% said no. The comments left were on the whole stressing the point that it was an important issue, with one commentator writing it concerns 'usually the most vulnerable' (participant 68) and another writing 'this more so than any of the others' (participant 22). One participant left the comment 'ISIS' (participant 80).

**Is sex-trafficking a human rights issue?
Compared against UDHR awareness**

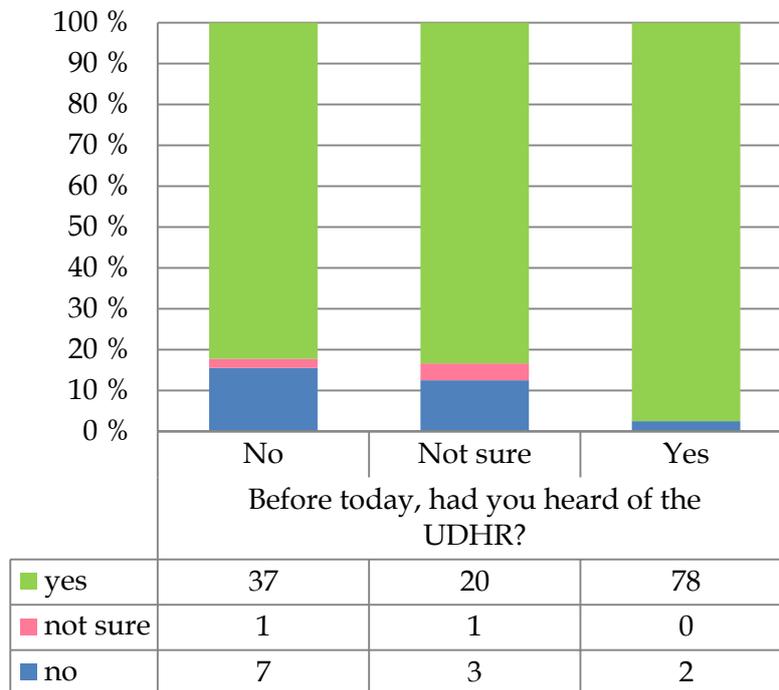


FIGURE 23: Bar graph of attitudes towards sex trafficking and UDHR awareness

Running the Pearson's chi-square analysis against participants' awareness of the UDHR, the result was that there was a statistically significant relationship (chi square=10.466, df=4, p=0.033). This shows that knowledge of the UDHR affected whether participants viewed sex trafficking as a human rights issue, and, following this, those who had UDHR awareness were more likely to view the topic as a HR issue.

5.3.8 Racism

Racism as isolated cases are not human rights issues. Institutionalized racism and the denial of fair and equal treatment supported by authorities and the law is a human rights issue. (Participant 21)

I think oppression in all of its forms is a human rights issue. "Race" is socially constructed thing. In some places your religious sect or your caste might be a greater factor than your skin color. (Participant 141)

The least contentious issue was racism, with 88% agreeing that it was a human rights issue, 5% unsure and 6% saying no. As seen above, participants often paralleled matters of racism with wider matters of discrimination and unfair treatment.

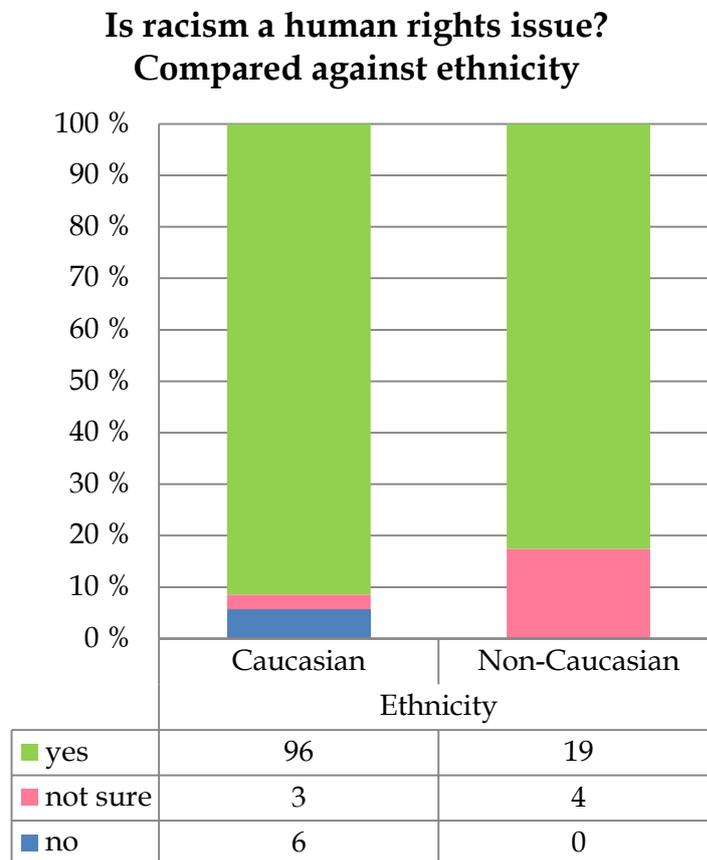


FIGURE 24: Bar graph of attitudes towards racism and participant ethnicity

Looking closer at particular issues that arose from participants' answers, a cross-tabulation analysis was conducted against ethnicity. As the sample size was small and demographics relatively narrow, the categories of ethnicity were simplified to 'Caucasian' and 'non-Caucasian'. The Pearson's chi-square value was 8.765, $df=2$ and p value=0.012. This shows that there is clear statistical significance between these two variants and that ethnicity does have an impact on whether participants counted racism as a human rights issue. Following this, it is apparent from the data that the Caucasian group were more likely to see racism as a human rights issue, which is again demonstrated in the percentage distribution.

Is racism a human rights issue compared with UDHR awareness

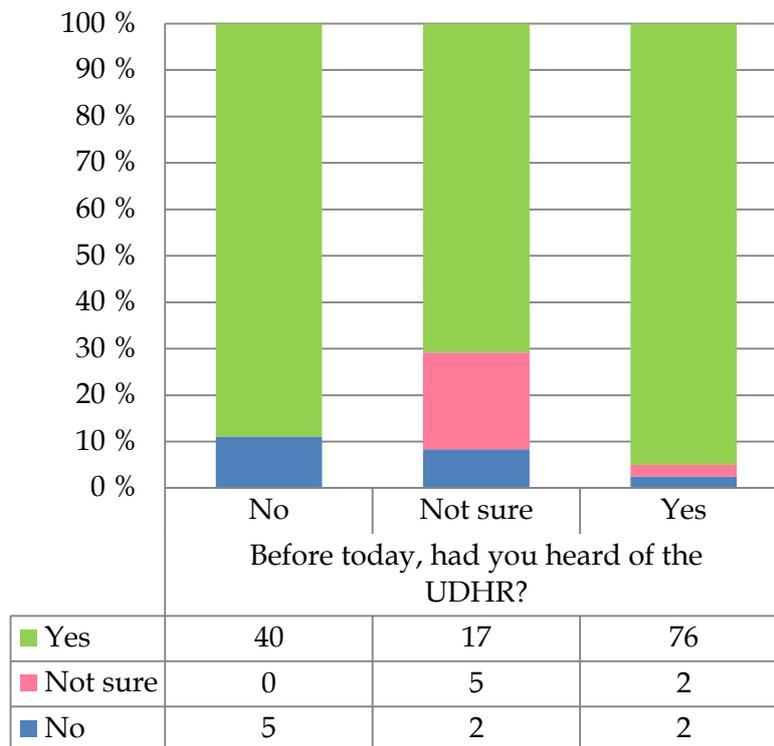


FIGURE 25: Bar graph of attitudes towards racism and UDHR awareness

Next, a cross-tabulation was run against whether participants had heard of the UDHR (table 7). When compared against participants' awareness of the UDHR, however, the p value < 0.001 ($\chi^2 = 21.230$, $df = 4$). Therefore, there is statistical significance between UDHR awareness and whether participants viewed racism as a human rights issue, and knowledge of the UDHR impacts how participants view racism. It is therefore shown that those who had heard of the UDHR were more likely to view racism as a human rights issue.

5.4 Research Question 3: How does human rights and education factor into domestic interpretations by participants?

Looking more closely into how education is considered by participants, the overwhelming majority of participants (95%) answered that human rights should be taught in schools (K-12 organisations). This is in line with the BEMIS findings (2013) which also show a strong support for human rights education within schools in Scotland, and will be discussed in further depth in the discussions chapter.

When asked about who the main responsibility should be with for education people on human rights issues, however, only 37% answered schools (see figure 26). 21% answered that the responsibility should be with non-profit organisations, and 17% felt that it was the government's responsibility.

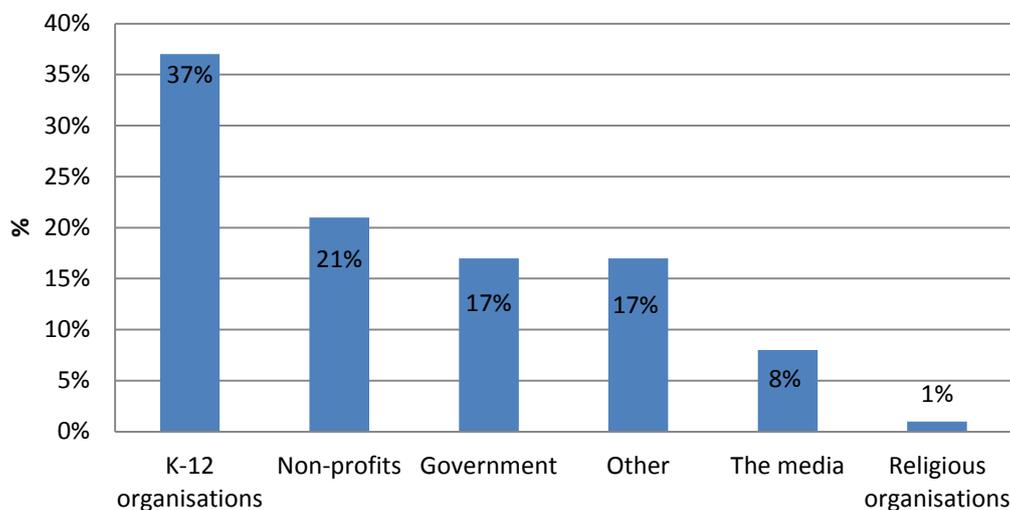


FIGURE 26: Bar graph of Q7 responses: 'I think the main responsibility for educating people about human rights should be with'

In the 'other' category, 16 participants (10%) felt that all the groups listed should be responsible. Six people mentioned that the responsibility should be with families and parents: 'I would also say in the home. If we don't care about

human rights at home then our children will never understand the importance'. Three people felt that it should be up to the individual. One replied:

Well, it cannot be the sole responsibility for any of these but a multifaceted activity. Perhaps it could be coordinated through governments, but each of the organizations you note has a slightly different perspective and audience, and if they work together, they can create a positive environment for these issues to be discussed. (Participant 137)

Another, expressing distrust of the government, wrote how influential the media can be on society:

If the governments knew enough about human rights in order to educate others on them, I assume we wouldn't be having these problems in the first place. The media has no real obligation to do anything, but they have the widest influence on public opinion out of the above options. (Participant 21)

Who should the main responsibility for HR education be with? Compared against home state

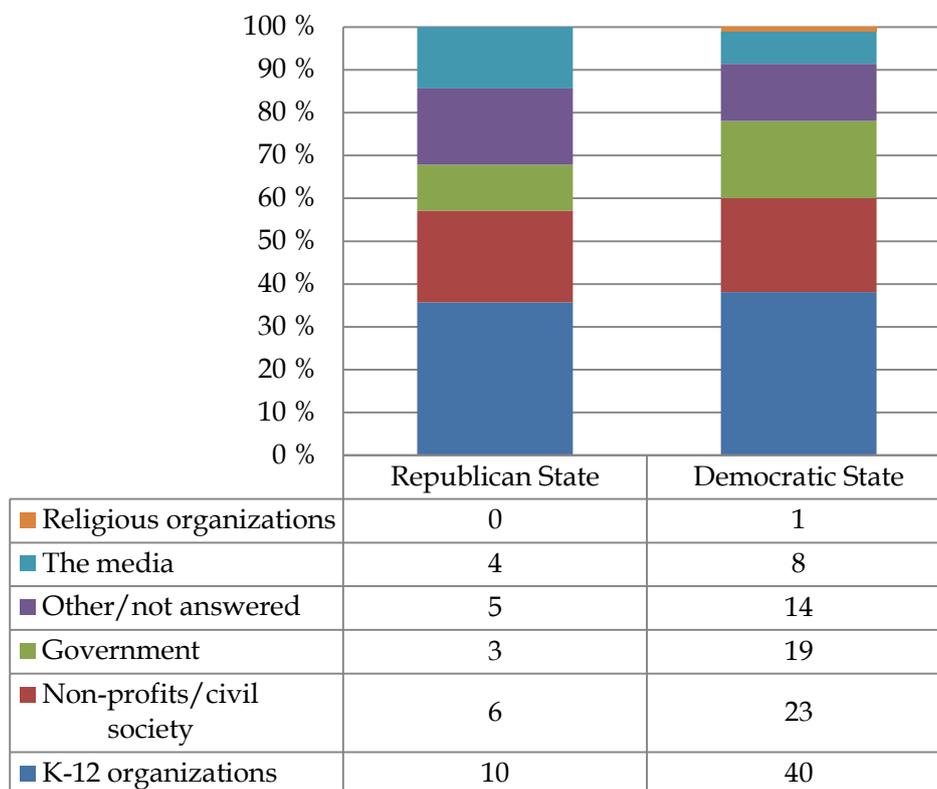


FIGURE 27: Bar graph showing of political orientation of home state and views on the responsibility for human rights education

Only 13.6% of participants from Republican states believed that the responsibility of human rights education should be with the government, in stark contrast to 86.4% from Democratic states. Freedom from state intervention lies at the heart of Republican ideology (Pettit, 2013), and thus may explain the percentage distribution Republican and Democratic states favouring HR responsibility to be with the government. With these results, it can thus be observed from the data and bar chart below that the least amount of people from Republican states believed that the main responsibility on human rights education should be with the government, whereas for participants from Democratic states it was the third most popular option.

These results show that although the majority of respondents believe that human rights should be taught in schools, participants were somewhat divided about with whom the main responsibility should be with. This difference is especially stark when comparing results of participants with different politically orientated home states.

6. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The purpose of this research was to examine certain social understandings and perceptions of human rights through the collection of empirical data against the backdrop of the United States. This short section presents the highlights of chapter 5's research findings and is summarised as follows:

- In total, 151 respondents participated in the research study.
- The majority of participants were Caucasian (70%), female (56%), between the ages of 25-34 (32%) and from the state of Minnesota (26%). 70% came from a Democratic leaning state.
- 109 out of 151 (72%) of respondents used naturalistic terms to frame their definitions of human rights.
- The majority of respondents (84%) felt that human rights were relevant to their lives.
- When defining human rights, 35% used only negative civil-political rights, 25% used only positive socio-economic rights, 23% used both and 17% used neither.
- 54% participants were aware of the UDHR, 30% had not heard of it and 16% were unsure.
- A statistically significant relationship was found between UDHR awareness and the political orientation of the participants' home state ($\chi^2=11.707$, $df=2$ and p value=0.003, significant at $p<0.05$), implying that participants from Democratic states were more likely to have heard of the UDHR.
- A statistically significant finding was determined between UDHR awareness and negative rights use in participant definitions ($\chi^2=9.678$, and p value was 0.008). Therefore, participants were more likely to mention negative rights when they had not heard of the UDHR.

- A strong significance was found between UDHR awareness and use of only negative rights in participant definitions ($\chi^2=18.119$, $df=2$, $p<0.001$).
- Between UDHR awareness and use of only positive rights, a marked trend towards significance was found ($\chi^2=5.245$, $df=2$, $p=0.073$), showing that participants were more likely to refer to only positive rights if they were aware of the UDHR.
- 16% of participants referred to a US Founding Document in their definitions of human rights.
- 4% referred to the UN or the UDHR in their definitions.
- A marked trend towards statistical significance was found between participants reference to a US document and the political orientation of their home state ($\chi^2=325$, $df=1$ and p value= 0.068).
- 26% of participants used ethical language when defining human rights.
- On which human rights issues participants found to be most important, gender inequality was the most cited issue (48 times) and trafficking the next (29 times). Racial discrimination referred to 26 times, education 24 times and poverty 23 times. Basic and economic needs were referred to the least (17 and 13 times respectively).
- The largest group of participants (35%) listed neither negative nor positive rights as the issues they felt were most important. 31% referred to only negative rights, 17% listed only positive rights and 17% mentioned both positive and negative rights.
- When asked about whether certain topics were human rights issues (the death penalty, domestic violence, education, immigration, poverty, sex trafficking and racism) the death penalty and domestic violence were the most contentious subjects, with sex trafficking and racism being the least.
- 17% participants answered that the death penalty does not count as a human rights issue, and 9% unsure.
- 11% believed that domestic violence was not a human rights issue, was 9% unsure.

- 11% felt that educational inequality was not a human rights issue, with 7% unsure. There was a marked trend towards significance when compared with Q8 (should human rights be taught in schools?) with 11.767, with $df=6$ and $p=0.067$.
- On immigration, 11% answered no and 6% were unsure. Measured against gender, there was a mild trend towards significance $\chi^2=5.130$, $df=2$, $p=0.077$). A significance trend was found when cross tabulated against political orientation of home state: $\chi^2=5.841$, $df=2$, $p=0.045$ (with Monte Carlo testing). This showed that participants were less likely to see immigration as a human rights issue if they came from a Republican state.
- 10% felt that poverty was not a human rights issue, with 6% unsure. A strong statistical significance was found when measured against UDHR awareness: $\chi^2=10.303$, $df=4$ and $p=0.036$. In other words, people were more likely to rate poverty as a human rights issue when they were aware of the UDHR.
- Sex trafficking generated the most clear cut divide; only 1% were unsure and 9% answered no. A statistical significance was found when measured against UDHR awareness, with $\chi^2= 10.466$, $df=4$, $p=0.033$, showing that awareness of the latter had an impact on the former
- Racism was the least contentious issue, with 88% in agreement that it was a human rights issue, 6% said no and 5% were unsure. Cross tabulated against ethnicity, there was as strong significance ($\chi^2=8.765$, $df=2$ and p value=0.012). Cross tabulated against UDHR awareness, a strong statistical significance was also found: $\chi^2=21.230$, $df=4$, $p < 0.001$.
- The overwhelming majority of participants (95%) answered that human rights should be taught in schools.
- 37% felt that the main responsibility of human rights education should be with schools (K-12 education). 21% answered non-profit organisations, 17% felt that it was the responsibility of the government. 8% believed the media should be responsible and 1% felt that it was up to religious organisations. 17% answered 'other'.

- Participants who believed that the main responsibility of HIRE should be with the government were least likely to come from Republican states (13.6%) as opposed to those from Democratic states (86.4%).

7. DISCUSSION

Examination of results

This study aimed to seek out human rights perceptions of US citizens with a connection to a social justice and development NGO, and to explore relationships that emerged from participants' communication on the subject through a nine question survey. Its design also shed light on which topics participants felt were human rights issues, and further endeavoured to analyse attitudes towards human rights and education. Its aims were met over the course of data collection and analysis as stark patterns emerged from participants' responses, and significant trends were observed.

Confirming The Opportunity Agenda's research (2007), the study found overall attitudes towards human rights were positive, and most participants (84%) felt that HR was relevant to their lives. It was also notable that the majority felt comfortable using a variation of the term 'human rights' in their own definitions (67%), echoing previous study conclusions (The Opportunity Agenda, 2007). Naturalistic language was popularly used when discussing human rights (72%), and it was often framed in ethical terms (26%). When asked about specific human rights topics, issues raised by participants fell into two categories - negative civil-political rights and positive socio-economic rights. Just over half of participants reported an awareness of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (54%), and a significant relationship was found between their UDHR awareness and home-state political orientation ($p=0.003$). Those unaware of the UDHR were more likely to cite only negative civil-political rights in their definitions (51%), and a statistical significance was found between UDHR awareness and usage of negative rights ($p=0.008$ and $p<0.001$ for only negative rights). UDHR awareness was also shown to have a significant impact on how participants viewed certain subjects as human rights issues, including poverty, sex trafficking and racism. Lastly, on human rights

education, the overwhelming consensus was that HRE did have a place within schools (95%), and many agreed that the main responsibility of human rights education should lie with K-12 education (37%).

With such a vast array of results, what do these findings mean for this study and future research? Where can they be situated within the field, and how do they correspond to past human rights theories? Moreover, in what way can they shape non-profit organisations in the way they communicate human rights issues to a wider audience? This section will examine these questions in depth, drawing conclusions from the findings and presenting a systematic analytical discussion related back to the earlier theoretical concepts outlined in chapter two. It will also outline the reliability and critically assess limitations of this study. Finally, it will look forward and discuss recommendations and implications for NGOs and further human rights studies of a similar nature.

7.1 Participant knowledge and attitudes towards human rights

Naturalistic and ethical language

The fundamental protections for all peoples, regardless of culture or country of origin (Participant 96)

Evolving from a 'long and complex intellectual tradition' (Langlois, 2005 p.383), human rights are a complex and multi-faceted concept, and this is certainly reflected in the content of the expansive findings. From universal healthcare to the right to bear arms, participants made reference to a broad range of topics when asked for their definitions of human rights. Yet there were two overarching themes that recurred throughout the survey: naturalism and ethics. Participants used an array of words and phrases to describe their perceptions and knowledge of human rights, yet it was notable that the majority (72%) utilised abstract naturalistic language to give meaning, for example: 'rights that uphold your dignity as a human being that is endowed with reason and

conscience (Participant 27). Additionally, over a quarter referred to themes of fairness, respect and morality. Respondents summoned this humanistic naturalism and fairness by explaining that all people should be treated equally and that such rights are fundamental by virtue of their humanity.

These descriptions invoke three key concepts of human rights theory – inalienability, dignity and universality (Donnelly, 2013 p.11) – and this particular framing echoes wider conceptualisations and examinations of human rights. As outlined in this study's theoretical framework, naturalistic and moral conceptions have been popular throughout human rights history and can be traced back to natural law theory (see chapter 2.3). The particular expressions 'inalienability', 'dignity' and 'universality' were also used both in the US Declaration of Independence (1776) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). A 'vague but powerful idea' (Dworkin, 1977 p.198), dignity is a deeply rooted concept within human rights history and made frequent appearances in participants' definitions. Its recurrence echoed the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man in that rights were recognised to 'derive from the inherent dignity of the human person' (1948). Additionally, the common use of naturalistic and moral language also confirms the BEMIS findings (2013) and the Tezpur University study (Padmavathy & Pallai, 2015) in how participants expressed their conceptualisations.

Natural and moralistic motifs on the 'basic rights that every human is entitled to' (participant 16), frequently found throughout the participants' expressions, link these results with wider human rights conceptualisations. It demonstrates that the 17th and 18th century natural rights discourse (see section 2.5) is still relevant and prevalent within this subject group, despite the challenges that come with this all-encompassing 'universalism'. Human rights, it appears, are established within our 'own philosophical, political and religious traditions' (Langlois, 2005 p.383). This naturalism and statement of ethics stimulates an abstract set of optimistic ideals which are removed from real-world issues, but in turn act to aid in the narrowing down of specific human rights, of which participants give practical examples (Gilbert, 2011 p.441).

Use of negative and positive rights

Human rights is respecting every human being for the individual that they are regardless of race, gender, class, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, etc. We should respect one another regardless of our personal opinions. We should all have access to essential resources needed for survival and progression ex; food, education, political & religious freedom, shelter, etc. There is no space for hate when respecting an individual's rights.

(Participant 39 referring to both negative and positive rights)

The specific real-world examples that participants discussed fell into two groups: civil-political negative and socio-economic positive rights. Definitions given were largely expressed through references to rights from these categories (83%). Yet, despite The Advocates campaign strategy focusing on both negative and positive human rights (Advocates' website, 2015), participants were more likely to cite only negative rights in their definitions (35%) compared to positive rights (25%), a combination of both (23%) and neither (17%).

Investigating this categorisation of rights in more depth led to interesting observations and revealed how participants' application of negative and positive rights shaped the issues they deemed most significant. For instance, those who referred to negative rights in their definitions often cited political rights – like freedom of religion and speech – and civil rights – such as gender and racial equality (47%). Participants who mentioned positive rights were likely to refer to social and economic rights – such as basic needs, education and healthcare – to illustrate their definitions (37%).

Furthermore, when compared against UDHR awareness, how negative or positive rights were ranked in importance reflected relationships between the two variables. Individuals who mentioned negative rights only were likely to report that they had not heard of the UDHR (51%) and was statistically highly significant at $p < 0.001$. Those who referred to positive rights only were most

likely to have heard of the UDHR (70%), with a marked trend towards significance at $p=0.073$. Consequently, these results indicate that awareness of the UDHR was likely to impact how these participants used negative and positive rights in their definitions. Moreover, a statistically significant relationship was found between UDHR awareness and the political orientation of the participants' home state ($p = 0.003$), indicating that participants from Republican states were less likely to have heard of the UDHR.

Yet, what do these results imply when discussed in context to previously established theoretical debates? Since World War II, civil-political negative rights have been highly valued in the US, with some scholars declaring that the 'dominant Western concept of rights itself ... emphasises only civil and political rights' (Muzaffar, 1999 in: Donnelly & Wheledan, 2007 p.909). Economic and social rights, in contrast, have proved more popular in the Global South and socialist states (Elliot p.67 in: Desai & Potter 2014). Also known as first and second generation rights (Tomuschat, 2008), these categories have been discussed in depth by academics such as Elliot (2014) and Donnelly (2013). Both negative and positive rights are widely covered in the UDHR, whereas in the American Founding Documents and The Constitution far greater attention has been given to first generation negative freedoms (Ignatieff, 2005). It is evident, therefore, that the US has historically leaned towards favouring civil-political negative rights throughout its political evolution (Poveda, 2000, p.255). These rights, also known as 'freedoms-from', limit external forces and emphasise the civil and political rights of the citizen. Thus negative rights are strongly individualistic, and the US's predisposition reinforces the arguments for American exceptionalism, legal isolationism and constitutionalism (Ignatieff, 2005; see section 3.9). In a society which is unwilling to ratify the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the US has one of the poorest reputations of maintaining economic and social rights in comparison with similarly developed countries (CESR, 2010), and this is reflected in the data.

Set against this theoretical backdrop, the results suggest that participant knowledge and attitudes were more likely to be shaped by wider civil-political negative rights discourses. This despite the fact that participants were mostly from Democratic states (70%) and all had a direct or indirect connection to a social justice NGO. Subsequently, these results emphasise the influence and legitimacy of western political and philosophical traditions - from late enlightenment thinkers to the later French and American revolutions (see section 3.5) as a moral force on this group's understandings of human rights, over contemporary international treaties.

The popularity of civil and political rights may also reflect the contemporary circumstances. Given the current US political climate, which some commentators have described as a 'tragic situation' preceding a 2016 election that has been fuelled by 'anger and anxiety' (Schultz, 2016), it is perhaps unsurprising that participants felt that individual sovereignty and 'freedoms from' the government and external forces should be given the highest attention. In a country where mass surveillance programmes, police brutality and the mistreatment of political prisoners have been increasingly the focus of international human rights concern (HRW, 2015), the results favouring civil and political rights and freedoms bear a relationship with the wider context.

However, a conscious positioning of civil and political negative rights above socio-economic positive rights would depend on participants possessing the knowledge that socio-economic themes do indeed count as human rights issues. Yet, only 54% of participants reported a definite awareness of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights prior to the research study. When participants did declare UDHR awareness, positive rights were far more likely to be mentioned, and 67% of these UDHR-aware participants referred to socio-political rights - such as education, housing and healthcare - when they answered positively to having UDHR knowledge. These results confirm the marked trend towards significance ($p=0.073$) and demonstrate that an awareness of the UDHR affected participants' attitudes towards human rights.

It further suggests that those who fell into this category were more open to perceiving socio-economic freedoms as human rights issues compared to their lesser informed counterparts.

UDHR awareness and American Exceptionalism

The four freedoms: freedom from want, fear, freedom of speech, worship
(Participant 76 referencing The US Bill of Rights)

Once declared the 'Magna Carta of all men everywhere' (Eleanor Roosevelt in: Da Baets, 2009 p. 42), the UDHR is the 'world's most translated document', existing in at least 360 languages (ibid. p.20). So what may account for the fact that only 54% of participants declared an awareness of it? Furthermore, UDHR awareness and the political orientation of the participants' home state was shown to have a scientific significance ($p=0.003$), indicating that that participants from Republican states were less likely to have heard of the UDHR. How can this be rationalised?

For a potential explanation, we must analyse the results in context to earlier theoretical debates. As previously discussed, the UDHR contains more explicit cases of positive rights than The Constitution (see section 2.8.2), and socio-economic rights, such as the right to food, clothing, housing, medical care and education do not feature in The Constitution, Bill of Rights or other Founding Documents. Additionally, scholars such as Louis Henkin (1990) explain that The Constitution has a far greater impact on the formation of rights conceptualisation in the US - where they are considered 'their particular invention' (Henkin 1979, p.86) - as opposed to the UDHR which plays much lesser role (ibid. p.405). Therefore, when almost half of the participants were either unsure or unaware of the UDHR, it may be somewhat predictable, yet certainly significant. In a country where welfare spending totals far less than other western nations (Poveda, 2000 p.255) and experiences one of poorest records of socio-economic rights compared to other western nations (CESR, 2010), the results reflect wider US society's reluctance to embrace positive

rights, further emphasising America's 'flying buttress' (Henkin, 1979 p.421) exceptionalism.

The relationship between the political orientation of a participant's home state and UDHR awareness was proved to be significant, and is perhaps an indication of how influential the state-level policies of Republican led states are on a local level. International human rights issues have often remained outside of the Republican Party interests which are often more nationalistic (Eckel & Moyn, 2013), and despite the influence of wider media and the internet, state-level decisions filter down and shape individual perceptions.

Scholars have argued that American exceptionalism has acted to distance the nation from authentic human rights engagement and practice, and has been prominent in shaping US identity and conceptualisation of rights (Ignatieff, 2005). Participants did indeed show suggestions of US particularism within their answers. 16% of participants referenced US Founding Documents in their answers, with a variant of the phrase 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' most commonly being cited, whereas only 4% referenced the UN or the UDHR explicitly. Therefore, participants were much more likely to frame their definitions of human rights with references to US-specific politics and culture rather than internationally recognised treaties. This corroborates Henkin's assessment (1979) of American citizens in that US ideology is 'in their blood' (1979, p.405). Perhaps a consequence of the daily Pledge of Allegiance recital in schools (Russo, 2004), rights concepts were often articulated through a US-specific discourse in the study. Accordingly, this supports earlier theoretical debates on constitutionalism and American exceptionalism, and also confirm the 2007 Opportunity Agenda's conclusions in that 'communicating about international treaties is a long term challenge' for US citizens (p.2).

7.2 Themes depicted and understood to be human rights issues

Right now I care a lot about the removal of gun owners' constitutional right to bear arms. (Participant 49)

As discussed previously, the most popular topics that participants cited fell into the category of civil and political rights. For example, on issues which participants felt were most important, 31% of responses brought up only negative rights in contrast with only positive rights (17%). Reaffirming the United States' favourable stance towards negative freedoms over positive rights, this finding demonstrates the significance of US culture on participants' understanding. Furthermore, specific references to American politics and issues, as exemplified in the quote above, illustrate wider themes of American exceptionalism.

When asked about specific issues (Q4) - the death penalty, domestic violence, educational inequality, immigration, poverty, sex trafficking and racism - the most contentious topic participants reacted to was the death penalty. 17% of respondents answered negatively to whether the death penalty was a human rights issue and 9% were unsure. Domestic violence was the second most controversial issue, with 11% disagreeing that it is not a human right topic and 9% were unsure. This is despite the fact that both the death penalty and domestic violence have been central to The Advocates' advocacy and campaign work (The Advocates, 2016). By contrast, the least polarised issues were sex trafficking and racism. Sex trafficking was the most clear cut, with only 9% disagreeing that it was a human rights issue and only 1% unsure. On the topic of racism, only 6% of participants answered that it was not a human rights concern and 5% were not sure. For immigration, there was significance when compared against home state political orientation ($p=0.045$), showing that those from Republican states were less likely to view it was a HR issue. A strong statistical significance was found measuring UDHR and poverty as a HR issue, with $p=0.036$, and likewise, sex trafficking generated a

$p=0.033$ result when compared; for racism it was even more significant at $p<0.001$. Furthermore, ethnicity was shown to have a bearing on whether participants viewed racism as a human right ($p=0.012$). These findings illustrate how knowledge of the UDHR, and in some cases ethnicity, can significantly affect participants' conceptualisation of certain rights issues.

What accounts for these findings? Contextualised against the theoretical framework outlined in chapter 2, the death penalty results justify broader research and academic analyses in this field. As with ICESCR, the US has failed to ratify the two key international legal instruments criminalising capital punishment (see section 2.11), and is now the only country in the west that practices the death penalty (Bienen, 2010) despite increasing international pressure (UN News Centre, 2014). American exceptionalism surfaces again in the misalignment of US policy with international attitudes of other western countries, and the political and cultural acceptance of capital punishment has been linked to 'American creed', institutionalised discrimination and social Darwinism (Poveda, 2000; see section 2.8.3). This political discourse thus filters down to a public level as shown in our participant group's responses, regardless of their connection to a social justice and development NGO. One respondent's answer epitomises the concept of Social Darwinism (Poveda, 2000) in that the death penalty acts to liberate society from wrongdoers, stating that 'it is necessary for those committing murder' (participant 62). In line with this, another participant agreed, stating that human rights ought to be suspended if an individual had violated another life (participant 30). The responses illustrate that capital punishment remains a litigious issue in our respondent group, in line with previous findings (Steiker, 2005; Soss et al. 2003).

Looking closer at the negative responses to domestic violence as a human rights issue, some participants explained their justifications by stating that it 'depends on framing', and that it counts as 'criminal instead/in addition' (participant 79). Another participant felt that the individual act of violence itself is 'not an overall human rights issue' (participant 21). This is despite

recent developments in case law (McQuigg, 2015) that resolutely establish domestic violence as a breach against internationally recognised human rights such the right to freedom from torture, inhuman and degrading treatment, the right to private and family life and the right to life itself (UDHR 1948). As the second most controversial and divisive topic, the survey's domestic violence outcome shows that, even in a sample group of participants exposed to a social justice and development NGO and likewise their campaigns and advocacy, violence against women has yet to be fully framed as a human rights issue. As with McQuigg's 2015 conclusions, which assessed recent domestic violence developments in the context of the law and realised that there is still a long way to go, these results similarly found that participants did not trust the authority of human rights to protect against violence in a domestic setting (p.1024).

On the other hand, results for sex trafficking and racism were overwhelmingly identified as human rights issues. These results can perhaps be explained by their popular recognition in political discourse and wider context. Weitzer (2007) examines the discourse of sex trafficking within the US media and explains that during the Bush administration the issue received wide campaign coverage (2007, p.467). The prevalent campaign, which made use of human rights language (ibid.) may explain why sex trafficking was largely deemed a HR issue by the participant majority. Less attention, however, has been given to the socio-economic conditions that support trafficking and Weitzer (2007), which also supports this study's findings. UDHR awareness was also shown to have a significant impact on the issue ($p=0.033$), and this could theoretically be explained by the framing of sex trafficking as a human rights issue in campaigns over the last two decades (OCHR 2014).

Racism, as the least contentious topic, reinforces previous theories on the issue as a salient subject in US public media and policy discourse (McCombs, 2013 p.18). Matters of race have long been linked to the historic shaping and national identity of the United States (Omi & Winant, 2014) and the civil rights movement has evolved into the prevalent human rights discourse of the US

today. Human rights understanding have been shaped by the past of the United States, and its history of slavery, colonialism and segregation has impacted knowledge and attitudes. Furthermore, as racism and matters of discrimination fall under the tenet of negative civil-political rights, the finding confirms the hypothesis and broader results which show negative rights given higher priority by participants.

7.3 Human rights and education

I never associated education as a human right. But I suppose including it makes sense. (Participant 137)

Stretching from the interventions of UNESCO to UNICEF to UNHCR, the globalised phenomenon of human rights education has the potential for as much of an impact worldwide as the structures of the UN reach. For a world encompassing pedagogy, HRE has been billed 'the promise of the third millennium' (Baxi, 1994), and following the People's Decade for Human Rights Education (PDHRE), a number of NGOs now focus raising human rights awareness in schools and developing HRE curriculums and projects (Davis et al. 2012). The Advocates is no exception, and has made HRE a key feature in its campaigns and policy (The Advocates, 2016). How, then, were issues of human rights and education treated by participants?

The overwhelming majority of participants (95%) agreed that human rights had a place within K-12 education and should be taught in schools. This vast acceptance of human rights within education reiterates the BEMIS findings (2013) that participants are generally supportive and interested in human rights education, and that HRE can be realised in a school setting. The results are significant, and show that the image of human rights education clearly fits in line with participants' views of a school community acting to promote dignity and protecting rights and respect for all. Respondents subscribed to the notion of HRE and felt comfortable placing it in an academic setting, with some commenting that they ought to be 'taught more thoroughly' (participant 56)

and 'from an early age' (participant 149). One participant linked human rights education with wider curriculum initiatives and topics taught in schools, invoking its interdisciplinary nature with her statement that 'it should be fundamental for any civics/government classes' (participant 39).

However, when asked about whom the main responsibility of human rights education should be with (Q7), only just over a third answered in favour of K-12 education (37%). This could be due to the fact that, although the HRE movement has gained significant attention since the early 1990s, it is still an emerging field in educational practices and at grassroots NGO levels (Tibbits & Fernekes, 2010). When the issue was brought up against other contenders, NGOs, the government and the media were also believed to have a part to play in promoting human rights awareness by participants (21%, 17% and 8% respectively). One in five participants felt that the responsibility should be with non-profit organisations, which summons Davis et al.'s study (2012) on NGOs as the 'makers and shapers' of public opinion on human rights. These participants felt, therefore, that the role of NGOs like The Advocates has a platform to raise human rights consciousness and knowledge. Participants who believed that the main responsibility of HRE should be with the government were least likely to come from Republican states (13.6%) and more likely to be from Democratic states (86.4%). This is in line with Republican-based ideology which stems from 'negative' liberties and emphasises restraint on the state (Pettit, 2013), and exemplifies the effect of politics on human rights and education.

8. CONCLUSION

8.1 Limitations of study and recommendations

This research thesis was bound by a few obvious limitations. Firstly, with 151 participants, the sample size restricted the potential to make any wider generalisations, however it was large enough for cautious findings to be credible within the participant group. Secondly, due to financial limits and time restraints, the sample strategies employed were convenience and volunteer sampling, and the study was not proportionally weighted. Therefore, it must be recognised that participants may have been those with the strongest views, and thus not representative of the wider population. Thirdly, although the survey method had merits in terms of producing quantitative and qualitative data in a relatively high volume in a short amount of time, it could not produce the rich and in-depth qualitative analysis into knowledge and conceptualisations that other methods – such as interviews or longer surveys – may have produced. Lastly, my own background and perceptions of human rights helped to shape this study, and as part of this world of observation it must be recognised that even the statistical interpretation of quantitative results, are still subjective.

As previously addressed in section 4.4, this study would have preferably applied an inter-rater reliability method (Armstrong et al. 1997) to increase the validity of analysis and to offset any bias in my own categorisations and coding. This would have ideally meant that the categories used in this study would have been compared with those created by an independent researcher to see if similar categories emerged. If the categories corresponded well then the assumption would be that the method was reliable; if not, then its differences could be addressed. However, under the circumstances of this research it was unfeasible to find an available scholar with a similar research background to conduct the inter-rater reliability method. Therefore, this study recognises this limitation and recommends its application for future research.

Despite these drawbacks, the study produced some interesting and statistically significant findings particularly concerning UDHR awareness and the use of negative and positive rights. It also found a significant relationship between the political orientation of home-states and the topics participants felt were human rights issues. Additionally, the methodological choices of utilising both quantitative and qualitative methods resulted in a stronger analysis and benefited from the interaction of the two approaches – the larger numeric data often illustrated the content of participants’ written answers, and vice versa. These significant findings make a case for future research to be conducted in this area.

Learning from the limitations of this research study, a larger sample size would be recommended in order to generate stronger and wider findings. A collection of longitudinal data, perhaps in a school-based study, may make it possible to test whether the impact of the UDHR has a deeper effect on human rights understandings. Comparing data collected from Republican and Democratic states may also act to prove or disprove the results of this study and produce some interesting findings. Furthermore, by utilising a different data collection method, for instance interviews, or by concentrating on longer written answers, richer qualitative data could be have collected. Through qualitative only methods perhaps a more in-depth, detailed exploration into the knowledge, frames and attitudes has the potential to be made and voices heard within this context.

8.2 Implications of study for future research

The results of this thesis study had strong scientific merit with proven significant findings, and therefore, it can act to support future research in both the development sector and education field, and further benefit similar NGOs

in their communication and campaign strategies. The in-depth analysis has shown that this group of participants seem to be confident in using human rights terms, and mostly feel that HR are relevant to their lives. This implies that participants do not feel disconnected or out of touch with human rights; rather on the contrary, they relate to its key principles. The strong articulations of universalism imply that participants respond well to naturalistic language and identify with it, which in turn may indicate to NGOs that featuring such terms in campaign discourse is, indeed, effective. The US context was widely considered in participants' language and references, and this may indicate to NGOs that campaigns reflecting US-related human rights issues are necessary.

Yet, with the majority of participants referring to negative civil-political rights, the disparity with positive rights was stark. This implies a weaker awareness of socio-economic rights, and in turn suggests that more campaign work could be done in this area to promote positive rights. Additionally, almost half of participants were unsure or unaware of the UDHR, and this was shown to have an impact on the understanding of issues, such as poverty and the death penalty. One implication for practice could be to increase campaign strategies involving the UDHR, especially in Republican states. Furthermore, campaigning could work to push international human rights treaties to be more widely covered in school curriculums and reflected in US policies – something that The Advocates for Human Rights is already working on (The Advocates, 2015).

8.3 Conclusion

The vast and intricate concepts of human rights may well be unbounded by space and time (Lebech, 2009), yet positioned within our social frameworks they are subject to infinite influences and interpretations. In the context of the US and under the umbrella of a well-established NGO, this study delved deep into these interpretations, and questioned these external influences on perceptions, knowledge and attitudes towards human rights. Looking at vocabulary creates a 'basis for deliberation' (Ignatieff, 2003 p.349), and through this, constructions were deconstructed, themes contextualised and conceptualisations unlocked. As a result, this research thesis successfully bridged a gap in current literature to address human rights constructions in the US, and, moreover, produced significant findings and new perspectives on previous studies.

At a policy level, the United States has been paradoxical in its approach to international human rights, exemplified in its failure to ratify key UN conventions and its steadfast preservation of capital punishment. Accordingly, this distinct exceptionalism was shown to filter down to this study's participant group. Overall, a distinctive rights culture was stressed in the responses, highlighted by participants' predisposition towards negative civil-political rights, polarised opinions on the death penalty and almost equal division over UDHR awareness.

As the findings make clear, there is much work to be done on communicating positive socio-economic human rights within this participant group, and, hypothetically, the wider US audience. However, a realisation of these goals may in turn pave the way for fairer opportunities for marginalised communities and act to empower the disenfranchised. Furthermore, with the People's Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) in mind, a strong case can be made to push for a national curriculum change in US schools. An inclusion of international human rights treaties onto the national syllabus may

act to foster better rights understanding across the board. Consequently, supporting human rights knowledge and awareness has the potential for tremendous positive change in both the development sphere and education arena.

9. REFERENCES

- Alcser, K., Antoun, C., Bowers, A., Clemens, J., & Lien, C. (2011). Ethical Considerations in Surveys. Retrieved from: ccsg.isr.umich.edu on 12.12.2015
- Alston, P. (1990). US Ratification of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: The Need for An Entirely New Strategy. *The American Journal of International Law*, 84(2), 365-393. DOI: 10.2307/2203459
- American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man. (1948). Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization. Retrieved from: <https://www.cidh.oas.org/Basicos/English/Basic2.American%20Declaration.htm>
- Amnesty International. (2015). 'Death sentences and executions: Report'. Retrieved from: <http://www.amnestyusa.org/research/reports/death-sentences-and-executions-2014>
- Amnesty International. (2016). 'Death Penalty: Key Facts', Retrieved from: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/death-penalty/>
- Anderson, P. (1976). The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci, *New Left Review*, (100), 5-78. Retrieved from: <https://newleftreview.org/I/100/perry-anderson-the-antinomies-of-antonio-gramsci>

- Andreopoulos, G. J., & Claude, R. P. (Eds.). (1997). *Human Rights Education for the Twenty-First Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press
- Annan, K. (March 2009). Strengthening human rights-related United Nations action at country level: Plan of Action. Retrieved from:
www.un.org/events/action2/action2plan.pdf
- Apodaca, C. (2006). *Understanding US Human Rights Policy: A Paradoxical Legacy*. New York: Routledge.
- Arat, Z. F. (2003). *Democracy and human rights in developing countries*. Lincoln: iUniverse
- Arendt, H. (1973). *The origins of Totalitarianism*. San Diego: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt
- Armstrong, D., Gosling, A., Weinman, J., & Marteau, T. (1997). The Place of Inter-Rater Reliability in Qualitative Research: An Empirical Study. *Sociology*, 31(3), 597-606. DOI: 10.1177/0038038597031003015
- Audi, G.Q. (2008). Challenges facing the Arab American Community from a legal perspective, *American Studies Journal*, Retrieved from:
<http://www.asjournal.org/52-2008/challenges-facing-the-arab-american-community-from-a-legal-perspective/>
- Bajaj, M. (2011). Human Rights Education: Ideology, location, and Approaches. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 33(2), 481-508. The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Baxi, U. (1994). Human Rights Education: The Promise of the Third Millennium? ERIC Number: ED409221

- Bay, C. (1982). "Self-respect as a Human Right: Thoughts on the Dialectics of Wants and Needs in the Struggle for Human Community." *Human Rights Quarterly* 4.1: 53-75. DOI: 10.2307/761990
- Beitz, C. R. (2011). *The Idea of Human Rights*. Oxford University Press
- BEMIS. (2013). A Review of Human Rights Education in Schools in Scotland. Retrieved from:
bemis.org.uk/documents/BEMIS%20HRE%20in%20Schools%20Report.pdf
- Bentham, J. (1843). Critique of the Doctrine of Inalienable, Natural Rights. *Anarchical Fallacies*, 2
- Berlin, I. (1958). Two Concepts of Liberty. Reprinted in Isaiah Berlin (1982), *Four Essays on Liberty*. Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Bienen, L. B. (2010). *Murder and Its Consequences: Essays on Capital Punishment in America* (2nd). Illinois: North Western University Press
- Bolton, J. R. (July 2001). Statement to the Plenary Session of the UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons. UN Conference. Retrieved from: <http://2001-2009.state.gov/t/us/rm/janjuly/4038.htm>
- Brett, P. (February 2013). Review: The New Historiography of Human Rights, e-International Relations. Retrieved from:
<http://www.e-ir.info/2013/02/18/review-the-new-historiography-of-human-rights/>

Bush, G. W. (June 2002). Presidential Graduation Speech, West Point, APP.

Retrieved from:

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020601-3.html> on 03.01.2016

Campbell, M. A. (2001). *Getting it right: Exploring the conception and presentation of Human Rights in Education*. (Published Master's thesis). University of Washington.

CESR. (2010). Fact Sheet No.11 United States of America. *Center for Economic and Social Rights*.

Retrieved from:

<http://www.cesr.org/downloads/USA%20Web%20final.pdf>

Chandler, D. (2003). Rhetoric without Responsibility: the attraction of 'ethical' foreign policy. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 5. DOI: 10.1111/1467-856X.00108

Chandler, D. C. (2002). *From Kosovo to Kabul: Human Rights and International Intervention*. London: Pluto Press.

Chaskalson, A. (2002). Human Dignity as a Constitutional Value. In Kretzmer, D., & Klein, E. (eds.) *Concept of Human Dignity in Human Rights Discourse*. Columbia: University Press. pp. 133-144.

Cheema, G. S. (2005). *Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries*. Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

- Chomsky, N., & Herman, E. S. (1979). *After the Cataclysm: Post War Indochina and the Reconstruction of Imperial Ideology* (No. 1). Montreal: Black Rose Books
- Chwastiak, M. (2015). Torture as Normal Work: The Bush Administration, the Central Intelligence Agency and 'Enhanced Interrogation Techniques'. *Organization*, 22(4), 493-511. DOI: 10.1177/1350508415572506
- Cmiel, K. (2004). The Recent History of Human Rights. *The American Historical Review*, 109(1), 117-135. DOI: 10.1086/530153
- CNN. (March 2006). Report: Democracy no guarantor of rights. Retrieved from <http://www.cnn.com/2006/POLITICS/03/08/human.rights.report/index.html?iref=newssearch> on: 02.02.2016
- Cook, L. (January 2015). Why Black Americans Die Younger. Retrieved from <http://www.usnews.com/news/blogs/data-mine/2015/01/05/black-americans-have-fewer-years-to-live-heres-why> on 01.02.2016
- Court of Justice of the European Union. (October 2015). The Court of Justice Declares that the Commission's US Safe Harbour Decision is Invalid. *Schrems v Data Protection Commissioner*, Press Release No 117-15, Luxembourg.
- Coysh, J. (2014). The Dominant Discourse of Human Rights Education: A Critique. *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 6(1), 89-114. DOI: 10.1093/jhuman/hut033
- Daraiseh, I.. (2012). Effects of Arab American Discrimination Post 9/11 in the Contexts of the Workplace and Education. *McNair Scholars Research Journal* 4.1: 3. Retrieved from

http://commons.emich.edu/mcnair/vol4/iss1/3/?utm_source=commons.emich.edu%2Fmcnair%2Fvol4%2Fiss1%2F3&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages

Davis, D. R., Murdie, A., & Steinmetz, C. G. (2012). "Makers and Shapers": Human Rights INGOs and Public Opinion. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 34(1), 199-224. Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/466135>

De Baets, A. (2009). The Impact of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on the Study of History. *History and Theory*, 48(1), 20-43.
DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2303.2009.00483.x

De Tocqueville, A. (1945). *Democracy in America: The Henry Reeve Text as Revised by Francis Bowen*. P. Bradley (Ed.). London: Vintage Books.

Death Penalty Worldwide. (September 2013). Belarus Death Penalty Database. Retrieved from <http://www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/country-search-post.cfm?country=Belarus>

Desai, V., & Potter, R. B. (2013). *The Companion to Development Studies*. London: Routledge.

Donnelly, J. (2013). *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Donnelly, J., & Whelan, D. J. (2007). The West, Economic and Social Rights, and the Global Human Rights Regime: Setting the Record Straight. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 29(4), 908-949.
Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/223909>

- Dworkin, R. (1978). *Taking Rights Seriously*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Eckel, J., & Moyn, S. (Eds.). (2013). *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Emmons, N. (October 2015). Defining Freedom. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/nichlas-emmons/defining-freedom_b_8392670.html on 11.11.2015
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58. DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.xerc/Library/display_doc.php?url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.hrea.org%2Ferc%2FLibrary%2Fmonitoring%2Funguide.html&external=N (1 September 2008)
- Evans, T. (2005). *The Politics of Human Rights: A Global Perspective*. London: Pluto Press.
- Flowers, N. (2003). What is Human Rights Education? *A Survey of Human Rights Education*, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann. 107-118.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Psychology Press
- Foucault, M., (1994). *Power. Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984, Volume 3*, London: Penguin Books
- Freire, P. Translated by: Ramos, M.B., (2005). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum

- Gardbaum, S. (2008). Human Rights as International Constitutional Rights. *European Journal of International Law* 19.4: 749-768.
DOI: 10.1093/ejil/chn042
- Garland, D. (2005). Capital Punishment and American Culture. *Punishment and Society* 7.4: 347. Retrieved from
<http://pun.sagepub.com/content/7/4/347.full.pdf>
- Garland, D., Randall M. & Meranze, M. (2011). *America's Death Penalty: Between Past and Present*. New York: NYU Press
- Gasper, D., & Van Staveren, I. (2003). Development as Freedom and as What Else? *Feminist Economics*, 9(2-3), 137-161.
DOI: 10.1080/1354570032000078663
- Gilabert, P. (2011). Humanist and Political Perspectives on Human Rights. *Political Theory*, 39 (4), 439-467.
DOI: 10.1177/0090591711408246
- Goldup, T. (2009). A Review of Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism by Costas Douzinas. *King's Law Journal*, 20(3), 535-540. Retrieved from
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09615768.2009.11423687>
- Google Ngram Viewer (2016). 'Human Rights' Frequency in Published Books. Retrieved from
https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=human+rights&year_start=1950&year_end=2008&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Chuman%20rights%3B%2Cc0

- Hall, S, (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage
- Hall, S. (2005). Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse, *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*. (Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S. J. eds.) London: Sage Publications
- Henkin, L. (1979). Rights: American and Human. *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 79, No. 3: 405-425. DOI: 10.2307/1121801
- Henkin, L. (1990). *The Age of Rights*. Columbia: Columbia University Press
- Herbert, N. (2008). Rights without Responsibilities. A Decade of the Human Rights Act. *Lecture at the British Library*. Retrieved from http://www.nickherbert.com/media_centre.php/76/
- Hirschl, R. (2000). Negative Rights vs. Positive Entitlements: A Comparative Study of Judicial Interpretations of Rights in an Emerging Neo-Liberal Economic Order. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 22(4), 1060-1098. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4489315>
- Hitchcock, W. (February 2015). The Rise and Fall of Human Rights? Searching for a Narrative from the Cold War to the 9/11 Era. *Human Rights Quarterly*, Volume 37, Number 1: 80-106. Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/569669>
- Hobbes, T (1994). *Leviathan: With Selected Variants from the Latin Edition of 1668*. Curley. E. (eds.) Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing

Hood, R. (2001). Capital Punishment A Global Perspective. *Punishment & Society* 3.3: 331-354. DOI: 10.1177/1462474501003003001

Hoover, H. (1922). *American Individualism - The Challenge to Liberty*. New York: Best Books

Human Rights Watch. (2015). United States World Report. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/united-states>

Human Rights Watch. (2016). United States World Country Report. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2015/country-chapters/united-states>

Human Rights Watch. (July 2009). United States Ratification of International Human Rights Treaties. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2009/07/24/united-states-ratification-international-human-rights-treaties>

Human Rights Watch. (July 2014). US: Surveillance Harming Journalism, Law, Democracy. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/07/28/us-surveillance-harming-journalism-law-democracy>

Hunter, S. (2014). How We Outsourced CIA Torture And Why It Matters, *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/12/12/outsourcing-torture_n_6317236.html on 02.02.2016

- Ibhawoh, B. (2008). *Imperialism and Human Rights: Colonial Discourses of Rights and Liberties in African History*. New York: State University of New York Press
- Ife, J., & Fiske, L. (2006). Human rights and community work: Complementary theories and practices. *International Social Work, 49*(3), 297. DOI: 10.1177/0020872806063403
- Ignatieff, M. (2003). *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Ignatieff, M. (2005). *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Ikenberry, G.J. (December 2005). American Exceptionalism and Human Rights. *Capsule Review, Foreign Affairs Magazine*, Retrieved from <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/capsule-review/2005-11-01/american-exceptionalism-and-human-rights>
- Ishay, M. (2008). *The History of Human Rights: From Ancient Times to the Globalization Era*. California: University of California Press.
- Jahren, A.K. (2013). The Use and Abuse of Human Rights Discourse in International Relations: The War on Terror and Beyond. *E-International relations*. Retrieved from <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/10/27/use-and-abuse-of-human-rights-discourse/>
- James W. N. (2002). Is Today's International Human Rights System a Global Governance Regime? *6 J. Ethics* 353.
Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25115738>

- Jefferson, T., Empire of liberty quotation (1780), The Jefferson Encyclopaedia. Retrieved from http://wiki.monticello.org/mediawiki/index.php/Empire_of_liberty
- Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), 14-26. DOI: 10.3102/0013189X033007014
- Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(2), 112-133. DOI: 10.1177/1558689806298224
- Jung, Carl G. (1993) *Synchronicity: An Acausal Connecting Principle*. Bollingen, Switzerland: Bollingen Foundation.
- Kao, G. Y. (2011). *Grounding Human Rights in a Pluralist World*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K. (1999). Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics. *International Social Science Journal*, 51(159), 89-101. DOI: 10.1111/1468-2451.00179
- Keet, A. (2010). *Human Rights Education: A Conceptual Analysis*. Saarbruken: Lampert Academic Publishing
- Kehl, D. (October 2015). European Court of Justice Invalidates Key Part of US-EU 'Safe Harbor' Agreement. Retrieved from <http://jolt.law.harvard.edu/digest/privacy/european-court-of-justice-invalidates-key-part-of-u-s-e-u-safe-harbor-agreement>

- Kelley, K., Clark, B., Brown, V., & Sitzia, J. (2003). Good Practice in the Conduct and Reporting of Survey Research. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*, 15(3), 261-266. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/intqhc/mzg031>
- Kerlinger, F.N. (1986), *Foundations of Behavioural Research*, (3rd ed.), New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston
- Koh, H. (2003). On American Exceptionalism. *Stanford Law Review*, 1479-1527. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1229556>
- Koh, H. (March 2002). Paying Decent Respect to International Tribunal Rulings. In *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting*. American Society of International Law: 45-53. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25659752>.
- Koreihm, C. (2007). Imperialism and Human Rights: Colonial Discourses of Rights and Liberties in African History. *African Studies Review*, Volume 50, Number 3: 191-192
- Koselleck, R. (2004). *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Krasner, S. D. (1999). *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. New York: Princeton University Press
- Krippendorff, K. (2012). *Content analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. Pennsylvania: Sage.
- Langlois, A. J. (2005). The narrative metaphysics of human rights. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 9(3), 369-387. DOI: 10.1080/13642980500170824

- Lauren, P. G. (2011). *The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lebech, M. (2004). What is Human Dignity? *Maynooth Philosophical Papers*. National University of Ireland Maynooth: 59-69. Retrieved from http://eprints.maynoothuniversity.ie/392/1/Human_Dignity.pdf
- Lee, T. (April 2014). UN watchdog condemns US for human rights failures. MSNBC. Retrieved from <http://www.msnbc.com/msnbc/us-condemned-un-human-rights-failures> on 01.03.2016
- Lillich, R. B. (1989). The Constitution and International Human Rights. *The American Journal of International Law*, 83(4), 851-862. DOI: 10.2307/2203374
- Lohrenscheit, C. (2006). Dialogue and Dignity with Paulo Freire's Education for Liberation. *JSSE Education* 5.1. Retrieved from <http://www.jsse.org/index.php/jsse/article/view/1006>
- Long, S. Making the Mountain Move: An Activist's Guide to How International Human Rights Mechanisms Can Work for You. *Human Rights Education Association*. Retrieved from <http://www.ighrc.org/sites/default/files/179-1.pdf>
- Maslow, A. H. (1943). A Theory of Human Motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50(4), 370. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0054346>
- Maslow, A. H., Frager, R., & Cox, R. (1970). *Motivation and Personality* (Vol. 2). J. Fadiman & C. McReynolds (Eds.). New York: Harper & Row.
- McCombs, M. (2013). *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. Cambridge: John Wiley & Sons.

- McQuigg, R. J. (2015). Domestic Violence as a Human Rights Issue: Rumor v. Italy. *European Journal of International Law*, 26(4), 1009-1025. doi: 10.1093/ejil/chv057
- McNaught, C., & Lam, P. (2010). Using Wordle as a Supplementary Research Tool. *The Qualitative Report*, 15(3), 630.
Retrieved from
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/578479417?accountid=11774>
- Meintjes, G. (1997). Human Rights Education as Empowerment - Reflections on Pedagogy. In: Andreopoulos, G. J. & Claude, R. P. (eds.) *Human Rights Education for the 21st Century*. Philadelphia: University Press
- Mergner, G. (2005). *Social Limits to Learning - Essays on the Archaeology of Domination, Resistance, and Experience*. New York, Oxford: Berghan Books
- Mertus, J. (2005). *The United Nations and Human Rights: A guide for a New Era* (Vol. 1). London: Psychology Press.
- Michelman, F. I. (2008). Socioeconomic Rights in Constitutional Law: Explaining America Away. *International journal of constitutional law*, 6(3-4), 663-686. DOI: 10.1093/icon/mon013
- Mihr, A. (2009). Global human rights awareness, education and democratization. *Journal of Human Rights*, 8(2), 177-189. DOI: 10.1080/14754830902939080
- Morse, J. M. (2003). Principles of Mixed Methods and Multimethod Research Design. IN Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C., (eds.) *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioural Research*, 189-208. California: Sage

- Moser, C. A., & Kalton, G. (1971). *Survey Methods in Social Investigation. Survey Methods in Social Investigation*, (2nd ed.) London: Heinemann Education Books Ltd
- Moyn, S. (2010). *The Last Utopia*. London: Harvard University Press
- Mubangizi, J. C. (2005). The Protection of Human Rights in Uganda: Public Awareness and Perceptions. *African Journal of Legal Studies*, 1(3), 168-186. DOI: 10.1163/221097312X13397499736228
- Muijs, D. (2010). *Doing Quantitative Research in Education with SPSS*. London: Sage.
- Mutua, M. (2013). *Human Rights: A Political and Cultural Critique*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Muzaffar, C. (1999). From human rights to human dignity. *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 27(4), 6-8. In Van Ness, P., (ed.) *Debating Human Rights: Critical Essays from the United States and Asia*. London: Routledge
- Nebehay S. (August 2014). UN Condemns U.S. Police Brutality, Calls For 'Stand Your Ground' Review. *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/08/30/un-police-brutality-stand-your-ground_n_5740734.html on 01.02.2016
- Noddings, N. (2005). *Educating Citizens for Global Awareness*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Noy, C. (2008). Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of social research methodology*, 11(4), 327-344. DOI: 10.1080/13645570701401305

Obama, B. (21 January 2013). Inaugural Address. Retrieved from <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/01/21/inaugural-address-president-barack-obama>

Office of the United States High Commissioner. (2014). 'Human Rights and Human Trafficking.' Fact Sheet No.36. United Nations. New York. Retrieved from http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FS36_en.pdf

Office of the United States High Commissioner. (2015). 'What are Human Rights?' Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Pages/WhatareHumanRights.aspx> on: 30.10.2015

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2014). *Racial formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge.

Padmavathy, R.D., Pallai, P. (April 2015). Human Rights Awareness of University Students: An Investigation. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, Volume 4 Issue 4: 46-50. Retrieved from: <http://www.ijhssi.org/papers/v4%284%29/Version-2/G0442046050.pdf>

Pallant, J. (2010). A Step by Step Guide to Data Analysis Using the SPSS Program. *SPSS Survival Manual*. Australia: Allen and Unwin Books.

Peck, J. (2011). *Ideal illusions: How the US Government Co-opted Human Rights*. New York: Macmillan.

Pettit, P. (2013). Two Republican Traditions. In Niederberger, A., & Schink, P. (Eds.) *Republican Democracy: Liberty, Law and Politics*, 164-204. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

- Pilkington, E. (April 2014). US criticised by UN for human rights failings on NSA, guns and drones. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/13/us-un-human-rights-abuses-nsa-drones> on 02.01.2015
- Pollis, A. (1996). Cultural Relativism Revisited: Through a State Prism. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 18(2), 316-344. Retrieved from: <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/13530>
- Poveda, T. G. (2000). American Exceptionalism and the Death Penalty. *Social Justice*, 27(2 (80), 252-267.
- Privacy International. (December 2007). "National Privacy Ranking- Leading surveillance societies in the EU and the World", Retrieved from http://observatoriodeseguranca.org/files/phrcomp_sort.pdf 26.03.2016
- Przeworski, A. (1985) *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Pubantz, J. (2006). Constructing Reason: Human Rights and the Democratization of the United Nations. *Social Forces*, 84(2), 1291-1302. Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/194277>
- Rathore, A. S., & Cistelecan, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Wronging Rights? Philosophical Challenges for Human Rights* (Vol. 1). New York: Routledge.
- Ratner, M. (2005). *The Guantánamo Prisoners. America's Disappeared: Secret Imprisonment, Detainees and the War on Terror*. Meerpol, R. (ed.) New York: Seven Stories Press

- Roosevelt, F.D. (1941). Four Freedoms Speech. Annual Message to Congress on the State of the Union. Retrieved from <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/pdfs/fftext.pdf>
- Roux, C. (2012). *Safe Spaces: Human Rights Education in Diverse Contexts*, Vol. 5. Springer Science & Business Media. DOI: 10.1080/13664530.2014.938463
- Roy, A. (May 2013). Yes, Healthcare is a Right - An Individual Right. Forbes. Retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/theapothecary/2013/03/28/yes-health-care-is-a-right-an-individual-right/#5d75456c1301>
- Russo, C. J. (2004). Supreme Court and Pledge of Allegiance: Does God Still Have a Place in American Schools, The. *BYU Educ. & LJ*, 301. Retrieved from <http://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/byuelj2004&div=15&id=&page=>
- Sapiro, V. (2015). Wollstonecraft, Mary (1759–97). *The Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*, Wiley Online Library. DOI: 10.1002/9781118474396.wbept1053
- Sarat, A., & Martschukat, J. (Eds.). (2011). *Is the Death Penalty Dying? European and American Perspectives*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schaffer, J. K. (June 2014). A Pluralist Approach to the Practice of Human Rights. *Norwegian Centre for Human Rights*. University of Oslo. Retrieved from <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2490964>
- Schulz, H. (March 2016). America's Political Climate is a 'Tragic Situation' says Starbucks CEO. CNN. Retrieved from

<http://money.cnn.com/video/news/2016/03/23/starbucks-ceo-full-interview.cnnmoney/>)

Sen, A. (2001). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks

Sen, A. (2005). Human Rights and Capabilities. *Journal of Human Development* 6.2: 151-166. DOI:10.1080/14649880500120491

Shue, H. (1996). *Basic rights: Subsistence, affluence, and US foreign policy*. Princeton University Press.

Simmons, A. J. (2001). *Human Rights and World Citizenship. Justification and Legitimacy; Essays on Rights and Obligations*. Virginia: Cambridge University Press.

Simmons, A. J. (2001). *Justification and Legitimacy: Essays on Rights and Obligations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Skinner, Q. (1970). Conventions and the Understanding of Speech Acts. *The Philosophical Quarterly*: 118-138. DOI: 10.2307/2218084

Smith, J., Pagnucco, R., & Lopez, G. A. (1998). Globalizing human rights: the work of transnational human rights NGOs in the 1990s. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 20(2), 379-412. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/762770>

Snelgrove, S., Murphy, F. & Snow, D. (2015). A Comparison Of Traditional Content Analysis And A Web Based Visual Analytical Tool To Analyse Qualitative Data. *College of Human and Health Sciences, Swansea University* Retrieved from

https://www.rcn.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/512126/2013_RCN_research_5.2.2.pdf on 30.10.2015

Snell, T.L. (2014). Capital Punishment 2013: Statistical Tables. *Bureau of Justice Statistics, US Department of Justice*.

Retrieved from <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cp13st.pdf>

Soss, J., Langbein, L., & Metelko, A. R. (2003). Why do white Americans support the death penalty?. *Journal of Politics*, 65(2), 397-421. DOI: 10.1111/1468-2508.t01-2-00006

Spivak, G.S. (2011). Righting Wrongs. In: Rathore, A. S. & Cistelean A. (eds.). *Wronging Rights? Philosophical Challenges for Human Rights*. India: Routledge

Stammers, N. (1999). Social Movements and the Social Construction of Human Rights. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 21(4), 980-1008. Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/13698>

Steinbock, D. (2015). TagCrowd Application Tool. <http://tagcrowd.com> (accessed on 01.11.2015)

Stone, A. (2002). Human Rights Education and Public Policy in the United States: Mapping the Road Ahead. *Human Rights Quarterly* 24.2: 537-557. Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/13840>

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (Eds.). (2010). *Sage Handbook of Mixed Methods In Social & Behavioural Research*. USA: Sage.

The Advocates for Human Rights. (2015). 'Human Rights & The US', Retrieved from

http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/human_rights_and_the_united_states on: 31.10.2015

The Constitution of the United States.

Retrieved from <http://www.usconstitution.net/const.pdf>

The Hill (2015) How Red or Blue is Your State? Retrieved from <http://thehill.com/blogs/ballot-box/house-races/221721-how-red-or-blue-is-your-state> on 30.10.2015

The Opportunity Agenda. (2007) Human Rights in the United States: Findings from a National Survey. Rossonello & Stewart. Washington.

The National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty. (May 2014). U.N. Human Rights Committee Calls U.S. Criminalization of Homelessness "Cruel, Inhuman, and Degrading". Retrieved from https://www.nlchp.org/U.N._Human_Rights_Committee_Calls_U.S._Criminalization_of_Homelessness_Cruel,_Inhuman,_and_Degrading.pdf

Tibbitts, F. (2002). Understanding What We Do: Emerging Models for Human Rights Education. *International Review of Education* 48.3.

DOI 10.1023/A:1020338300881

Tibbitts, F., & Fernekes, W. R., (2010). Human Rights Education: 87-111. In *Teaching and Studying Social Issues: Major Programs and Approaches*. (Totten, S. & Pedersen, J. E. (eds.) USA: IAP

Tomasevski, K. (1989). *Development Aid and Human Rights: A Study for the Danish Center of Human Rights*. Pinter Publishers

Tomuschat, C. (2014). *Human Rights: Between Idealism and Realism* (Vol. 13). USA: Oxford University Press

UN Charter. (1945). The Charter of the United Nations. Retrieved from <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>

UN Commission on Human Rights resolution 3 (XXXIII), and UN General Assembly resolution 32/123 (OHCHR 2007: 161) Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/33/ares33.htm>

United Nations. General Assembly. (1994). United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education. *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly, United Nations (A/RES/49/610/Add. 2)(New York, United Nations).*

UN General Assembly Resolution. (June 1993). World Conference on Human Rights. Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action. A/Conf.157/23, endorsed by 48/121. Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/Vienna.aspx>

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. (2016). Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/english/> on: 01-04-2016

UN News Centre. (July 2014). Death Penalty has no place 21st century, declares UN chief. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=48192#.Vt8pr0Zgiw>

United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. (June 2015). US/Death penalty: UN experts call for federal moratorium as Boston bomber gets death sentence, June 2015 <http://www.ohchr.org/en/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=16160&LangID=E>

United Nations. (2008). *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, United Nations Audio visual Library of International Law (<http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR15-3/mcnaught.pdf>) (accessed on: 30.10.2015)

US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. (2014). Report of the Senate Select Committee Study of the Central Intelligence Agency's Detention and Interrogation Program. Retrieved from <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CRPT-113srpt288/pdf/CRPT-113srpt288.pdf>

Uvin, P. (2004). *Human Rights and Development*. Sterling: Kumarian Press

Uvin, P. (2007). From the Right to Development to the Rights-Based Approach: How 'Human Rights' Entered Development. *Development in practice*, 17(4-5), 597-606. DOI: 10.1080/09614520701469617

Waldron, J., & Dan-Cohen, M. (2012). *Dignity, Rank, and Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Webb, E. J., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D., and Sechrest, L. (1966). *Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Measures in the Social Sciences*. Chicago: Rand McNally

Weitzer, R. (2007). The social construction of sex trafficking: Ideology and institutionalization of a moral crusade. *Politics & Society*, 35(3), 447-475. DOI: 10.1177/0032329207304319

Wronka, J. (1998). *Human Rights and Social Policy in the 21st Century*. Maryland: University Press of America

Yamasaki, M. (2000). Human Rights Education: An Elementary School Level Case Study. *Dissertation Abstracts International*. Retrieved from <http://hrlibrary.ngo.ru/links/Megumi's%20Partners%20Program%20Study.doc>

Zimring, F. E. (2004). *The Contradictions of American Capital Punishment*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

