

Human rights studied as social representations in a cross-national context

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Abstract

A questionnaire study using the 30 Articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was conducted in 35 countries (N = 6791 students). The basic assumption was that human rights can be studied as social representations following the model of Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi (1993). The existence of a shared meaning system concerning the 30 articles in different countries was demonstrated. Individual attitudes toward the whole set of rights were proven to be highly consistent. However, individuals differed systematically in beliefs about their own and the government's efficacy in having human rights respected. An individual-level and a pancultural analysis (Kenny & La Voie, 1985; Leung & Bond, 1989) converged in the definition of four groups of respondents: advocates (most favorable responses towards human rights), sceptics (less favorable responses), personalists (high personal involvement and scepticism about governmental efficacy) and governmentals (low personal involvement and strong belief in governmental efficacy). Analyses of anchoring started either from assessing individual positionings or from maximizing between-country differences. Individual-level analyses show that positionings are anchored in value choices as well as in perception and experience of social conflicts. Pancultural analyses confirm the importance of national context concerning the attitudes of scepticism or advocacy, personalism and governmentalism. Copyright © 1999 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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HUMAN RIGHTS AS SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS

Basic Assumptions about Social Representations

The general theoretical framework of our studies on social representations (SR) involves three main assumptions presented by Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi (1993). SR can be considered as organizing principles of symbolic relationships between individuals and groups. A first assumption on which this definition is grounded is that various members of a population under study share common views about a given social issue. SR are generated in systems of communication that necessitate common frames of reference for individuals and groups participating in the relationships. An important phase in each study of SR therefore is the search for a common cognitive organization of the issues at stake in a given system of social relations. In Moscovici's (1961) terms, this aspect of the study of SR deals with objectification. However, SR theory does not imply that individuals sharing common references necessarily hold the same positions. A second assumption is that differences in individual positioning are organized. Individuals may differ according to the strength of their adherence to various aspects of SR. Therefore, in our studies of SR we search for the organizing principles of individual differences in a representational field. A third assumption is that such systematic variations are anchored in collective symbolic realities, in social psychological experiences shared to different extents by individuals and in their beliefs about social reality (Doise, 1992–3). Individual positionings in representational fields cannot be exhaustively studied without analyzing their anchoring in other social systems of symbolic relationships.

A Working Definition of Human Rights

How do we apply these general ideas to the study of human rights as social representations? First, as a basis of this study, we wish to render our conception of human rights (HR) explicit. Multiple relationships directly or indirectly unite human beings. Important aspects such as genes, viruses, pollutants, goods, money, persons as well as ideas circulate between different human groups. The practices of the inhabitants of one country influence, to a certain extent, the fate of the inhabitants of others, their way of cultivating crops, their health, the functioning of their institutions, their access to all kinds of resources. However, there is no clear and exhaustive representation or definition of the multiple relationships that exist between all human beings. Globalization is a new term to designate this general interdependency that remains far too complex to be understood completely.

Nonetheless, mutual interactions and communications between humans generate normative representations. While interacting with another, an individual knows that his or her fate will be affected by that interaction, at least in certain domains, to a certain extent, at a certain cost. Normative representations of what these mutual effects should be exist. Guiding principles for evaluating relationships are part of human cultures.

HR are such principles. They should, at least by intention, organize our social interactions. For historical (i.e. economical, political, military, religious, and even scientific) reasons, Western societies were led to organize relationships not only within

national and cultural boundaries but also across such boundaries. Resulting prototypes of contracts are indeed complex as they concern individuals as well as national entities more or less directly. This, for instance, is the case with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, concerning relationships between individual and government as well as between governments.

HYPOTHESES

Common Understanding

Let us now apply the three assumptions of SR theory to the present study using a major historical document: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) issued by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. According to René Cassin, chairman of the drafting commission, the Declaration comprises six groups of articles (see Agi, 1980). The first group of articles enunciates the basic principles of equality, freedom, and dignity; the second group focuses on the rights of the individual, such as security of the person and equal protection by the law; the third concerns the rights relative to interindividual relations among which are freedom of movement and the right to found a family; the fourth involves public rights such as freedom of expression or equal access to public service; the fifth group deals with economic and social rights, as, for instance, social security and the right to rest and leisure; and the sixth covers the rights relative to international law and order as well as duties to the community (societal rights).

The first question to be answered is about the possibility of a common understanding of this Declaration by respondents from different cultural origins. Do members of different national and cultural groups organize their understanding of the different articles of the UDHR in a similar way? This is, of course, an empirical question, but our hypothesis, based also on our previous research (Doise, Spini, Jesuino, Ng, & Emler, 1994) is that official definitions of HR and lay definitions have a common organization in different countries.

Hence the first specific aim of our research was to see whether in various countries the organization of respondents' beliefs and attitudes in relation with the 30 articles still follows lines that were important in elaborating the original document. Historically, it was not obvious that the six groups of articles would all meet the agreement of the General Assembly (see Agi, 1980; Humphrey, 1984; Renteln, 1990) given the opposition between members favoring an exclusive declaration of individual judicial rights and members furthering a more socio-economic view. The first hypothesis of the present study is that such oppositions still organize to a large extent answers of respondents in different countries who are actually provided with the 30 articles of the UDHR.

Individual Positionings

A second assumption bears on organizing principles of individual differences. Of course, the general degree of acceptance of the HR principles will be investigated, and more precisely one of our concerns will be to check for the coherence of attitudes

across different families of rights. According to Pritchard (1989), strong links exist between the degrees of respect of different rights across the 133 countries for which she analyzed different indices concerning respectively civic, political and economic rights: 'The correlation between civil and political rights is highest (0.87), followed by socio-economic and political rights (0.55) and civil and socio-economic rights (0.49)' (p. 344). Of course, one cannot directly extrapolate from such correlations based on inter-country comparisons, but given the level of generality in the definition of the articles one can hypothesize that for individuals as well a strong link exists in their degree of acceptance of the different articles.

General coherence in the attitudes toward human rights in different areas should not prevent individuals from differing in the overall strength of these attitudes. Also, more specifically, we predict that they will differ in the relative efficacy they attribute to institutions (government and political parties) and to themselves for having these rights respected. HR will be largely and generally accepted, but systematic variations may characterize the extent to which individuals believe that they personally protect and that institutions can be useful for protecting HR. The existence of these two organizing principles of individual positioning was clearly evidenced in other investigations (see Doise & Herrera, 1994; Doise *et al.*, 1994; Spini, unpublished doctoral dissertation; Spini & Doise, 1998).

Anchoring in Values

Concerning the anchoring of SR, we first investigated the relationship with general beliefs and values. These are considered general to the extent that they supposedly organize symbolic relationships in various domains. For Rokeach (1973, p. 5) 'A *value* is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence'. At first glance such a definition is compatible with a characteristic of absoluteness inherent in values. However, such is not the concept of Rokeach according to whom: 'Gradually, through experience and a process of maturation, we all learn to integrate the isolated, absolute values we have been taught in this or that context into a hierarchically organized system, wherein each value is ordered in priority or importance relative to other values'.

More recent theories about values are also concerned with their organization. This is, for instance, the case with the studies of Schwartz (1992, p. 3) on universals in value content and structure where conflict is at the heart of the definition of structure: 'Note that *structure* refers to the relations of conflict and compatibility among values, not of their relative importance to a group or individual.'

These two main authors on value allow us to make direct inferences about the links between adherence to values and to the idea of HR: universalistic values should be directly related to positive attitudes toward such rights.

Anchoring in Representations and Experiences of Conflict

Another way of studying anchoring of SR is to investigate their links with the views individuals develop on the characteristics of their social environment, as, for instance,

the representations they hold concerning conflictual relationships between social groups and categories. Historically, according to its preamble, the UDHR is rooted in a reaction against the 'barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind' during World War II. Furthermore in Article 2, sources of discrimination and conflict are explicitly mentioned: 'Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedom set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.' We hypothesize that still today respondents who perceive more conflictual relations between different categories mentioned in the Declaration will be more favorable toward HRs. Research by Clémence (1994) provided some support for a similar hypothesis on the link between awareness of the existence of social conflicts and the readiness to claim support for different marginal groups. However, in this research we will ask respondents not only about perceived tensions but also about discrimination that they have personally experienced as a function of their belonging to different groups and categories. Research on relative deprivation has shown the effects of such experiences in motivating people to commit themselves to collective action (see Kelly and Breinlinger, 1996, pp. 38–40), and we hypothesize that such a commitment will generalize to stronger adherence to the HR idea.

Anchoring in National Contexts

A third way of studying anchoring of SR is to investigate the role of shared group memberships. Respondents in each country obviously share specific experiences that can influence their SR and therefore an effort will also be made to analyze importance of national group memberships. Often HR have been considered to be a Western export article, and it is, of course, true that historically the idea of HR was developed in Western countries as a further elaboration of Enlightenment ideas. The more such ideas prevail in a culture, the more positive attitudes should be toward HR. It is difficult to measure directly the diffusion of such ideas, but one can assume that they are linked with democratization of society (as measured by Humana, 1992) or with current definitions of human development (United Nations Development Programme, 1996).

METHOD

Questionnaire

The questionnaire comprised two parts:

- (1) Part 1 was composed of the 30 articles of the 1948 Declaration. Subjects were asked to answer the same eight questions about each of these articles on nine-point bipolar scales. These questions were tested in a pilot study (Doise *et al.*, 1994) and aimed to assess general evaluation of understanding and importance of the articles, efficacy of individuals, political parties and government in having the Articles respected. The wording of the opposed poles in the English version were: difficult–easy to understanding, difficult–easy for governments to apply, clear–no

clear implications for individuals' responsibilities toward others (reversed scale), political parties can–cannot do much to enforce this article (reversed scale), relevant–not relevant to my rights as a private individual (reversed scale), I can personally do a great deal–very little for the respect of this article (reversed scale), I don't agree–I agree with every aspect, I am willing–not willing to join other concerned people to defend this article (reversed scale).

- (2) Part 2 was made up of at least four common sections for all groups of subjects surveyed. These sections dealt with:
- (a) Values: Rokeach's (1973) 18 terminal values were used completed by two items taken from Bond (1988) ('harmony with others: sociable and accommodating' and 'respect for traditions: perpetuation of rites and customs') and by 11 values taken from the Preamble of the UDHR (e.g. 'dignity for all humans', 'friendly relations between nations' and 'social progress'). All these items were evaluated on a nine-point scale (1 = not important at all to 9 = extremely important) following the procedure already used by Ng and colleagues (1982).
 - (b) Perceived conflicts: respondents were required to answer the question 'In your view, to what extent are there tensions or conflicts between ...?' (1 = no conflicts and tensions to 4 = frequent conflicts and tensions). Social divisions taken from the second article of the UDHR were then listed and two other potential sources of conflict were mentioned: age and region (see Table 4).
 - (c) Experienced injustice: questions were also asked about possible injustice experienced in relation with their belonging to the above-mentioned categories (1 = never treated in an unjust manner to 4 = very frequently treated in an unjust manner).
 - (d) The last section of the questionnaire asked for sociobiographical data including religious affiliation, political preferences and involvement in different political and social activities.

Most of the groups answered additional questions on experiences of interpersonal injustice and on explanations of HR violations. However, as these questions were not presented to all national samples they will not be analyzed here.

The rationale for choosing the content of the questions in the second part is, to an important extent, influenced by the Declaration itself. This is the case for the sections on values, on discrimination and the experience of collective injustice whose contents and formulations are based on the Preamble and Article 2 of the Universal Declaration.

Translation of the questionnaire into the instructional language of the universities was provided by the persons in charge of national samples. Of course, for the first part, official translations of the UDHR were used and, where possible, also current translations of the Rokeach scale.

Sample

Our research involves various groups of university students in 35 countries from the Americas, Africa, Asia, Europe and the Pacific. For three countries, two regional

samples were obtained (England and Northern Ireland, Crete and Thessaloniki, The Basque Country and Galicia). From now on, we will retain the names Great Britain, Greece and Spain for the more numerous sample of each of these countries. Of course, no claims are made concerning representativeness of these samples, our purpose being to study populations we had access to, trying to vary as much as possible their national and cultural contexts, while maintaining areas of study similar to a large extent. In doing so we maximized the chances of national differences to become apparent in respondents' answers.

In most of the countries questionnaires were handled by colleagues directly known by the main investigator. Only in six countries was the person in charge of the study initially not known to him. Most of the questionnaires were completed in 1994 and 1995, but the last data reached our office in July 1996.

The total number of questionnaires collected was 7696, but a deletion of cases was performed using successively following criteria. The first criterion made us remove for each country groups of students whose number did not amount to 30. From the remaining groups we dropped respondents having more than 150 similar response choices on the 240 items of the first part of the questionnaire. Lastly, respondents having either more than four missing values for the first part, more than 2 for the value scales (31 items), the conflict perception scales (13 items) or the collective injustice scales (13 items) were also excluded from the analyses. We obtained a final sample of 6791 respondents (females: 3423, males: 3345, without gender identification: 23; modal year of birth: 1975). Table 1 presents the samples used for the analysis. All of them are students in psychology, law, sciences, social work and various other fields. Crossing national affiliation and area of study we obtained 92 groups of respondents.

Assessment of National Characteristics

For interpreting between-country variations we relied as much as possible on the most recent sources of information. As most of these sources limit themselves to global information about countries, it was often not possible to have distinct information for regional data. For the three countries with two regional samples we therefore correlated national characteristics only with the results for the more numerous sample. The following indices were used (see Table 1):

- An overall assessment of human rights enforcement taken from Humana (1992; missing data for Albania). Forty indicators of respect of rights, assessed by a network of international HR experts, are at the basis of the index ranging from 0% to 100% of rights' respect.
- A general human development index averaging indices of life expectancy, level of education and gross national product per inhabitant was borrowed from the United Nations Development Programme (1996; missing data for Yugoslavia). The index basically relates an observed level of development to its minimum and maximum levels and is expressed by a proportion with three decimals that was multiplied by 1.000 in Table 1.

Table 1. Description of the population sample: number of subjects by country, type of studies, and national characteristics

Country	Number of subjects					Total	National characteristics	
	Psychology	Law	Sciences	Social work	Other		HD	HR
Albania		127	44			171	633	—
Argentina	48	96	83	70	46	343	885	84
Australia	71	35				106	929	91
Austria	94	79				173	928	95
Basque Country	52					52	—	—
Belgium	78	108	55	49		290	929	96
Brazil	102			78		180	796	69
Bulgaria	101	97	81			279	773	83
Cameroon	54	48				102	481	56
Canada		66	96	97		259	951	94
Crete		28		54		82	—	—
Czech Republic	103	85	115	106		409	872	97
Ecuador	156	152	145			453	764	83
Finland	48	70		65		183	935	99
Germany	45		74			119	920	98
Greece	97	69				166	909	87
Hong Kong			33		48	81	909	79
India	127					127	436	54
Indonesia	21	27			43	91	641	34
Italy	194	89				283	914	90
Ivory Coast	44	22				66	357	75
Japan	226					99	325	82
Mexico					61	61	845	64
Netherlands Northern Ireland	72	66		74		212	938	98
Philippines	103		63	42	26	234	665	72
Portugal	140	52	50		75	317	878	92
Romania		77		69		146	738	82
Russia	45	31				76	804	54
South Africa	54	33				87	649	50
Spain	91	81				172	933	87
Switzerland	111			31	55	197	926	96
Tunisia	68	29			64	161	727	60
UK	112				38	150	924	93
USA				92	51	143	940	90
Yugoslavia	132	75	64			271	—	55
Zaire		32				32	371	40
Zimbabwe	29				34	63	534	65
Total	2698	1674	903	876	640	6791		

Note: National characteristics: HD = Human Development Index (UNDP, 1996); HR = Human Rights Index (Humana, 1992).

RESULTS

Shared Meanings: Up-to-dateness of Cassin's Classification

The 30 articles of the UDHR were classified in six groups by the main author of the drafting committee. Is this classification still relevant for analyzing the responses of students in various countries 50 years later? To answer this question we checked first whether an interpretable organization appeared for the whole population. As answers on the eight scales were highly correlated for each article (alpha scores varying from 0.62 to 0.79) the most simple index was used: average responses on the eight scales for each article. An index of squared Euclidean distances between the 30 articles was calculated using the average scores of the total sample for each article. The distances were submitted to a hierarchical cluster analysis. The method retained was Ward's method designed to accentuate intraclass homogeneity. An analysis conducted with the Complete method for controlling the stability of the classes showed very close results.

This analysis (see Figure 1) resulted in the division of the articles into two main clusters opposing the whole of the more social rights (Cassin's classes 5, 4 and 3) and basic individual rights (protection from torture and slavery and right to life) to a cluster of judicial individual rights (class 2), principles (class 1) and the three articles concerning societal order (class 6).

We can already conclude that differentiations made by the authors of the Declaration are still relevant for describing the organization of responses by a set of individuals from different countries. The results of our cluster analysis replicate Cassin's classification almost fully, his ideas remaining valid for describing the organization of the field of the UDHR extracted from the mean responses of our total sample. For further analyses we retain five classes of rights on the basis of Cassin's classification: principles (articles 1 and 2), basic (articles 3–5), individual (articles 6–11), social (articles 12–27) and societal (articles 28–30). Article 14 is included in the category of the social articles in accordance with Cassin's *a priori* classification.

An important question to be answered concerns the validity of the classification of rights across countries. We therefore performed a multivariate analysis of variance with the 38 countries and regions (*COUNTRY*) as independent variables and two within-subject dependent variables: the mean individual answers to each cluster of articles (*ARTICLES*: 5 levels, i.e. principles, basic rights, individual rights, social economic rights and societal rights) on each scale used to evaluate the articles of the UDHR (*SCALES*: 8 levels).

Results of the MANOVA show important main effects, in terms of both significance and effect size: for the variables *COUNTRY* ($F(37, 6753) = 28.95$; $p < 0.001$; $\eta^2 = 0.14$), as for the variables *ARTICLES* ($F(4, 27\,012) = 1140.01$; $p < 0.001$; $\eta^2 = 0.14$) and *SCALES* ($F(7, 47\,271) = 2313.98$; $p < 0.001$; $\eta^2 = 0.26$). In an important way average responses are different according to countries, scales and groups of articles. All first- and second-order interactions were also significant, but to a lesser extent.

At present, we proceed to a closer inspection of the interaction *COUNTRY* and *ARTICLES* ($F(148, 27\,012) = 6.99$; $p < 0.001$; $\eta^2 = 0.04$), leaving the study of the other interactions for the section on anchoring and positioning.

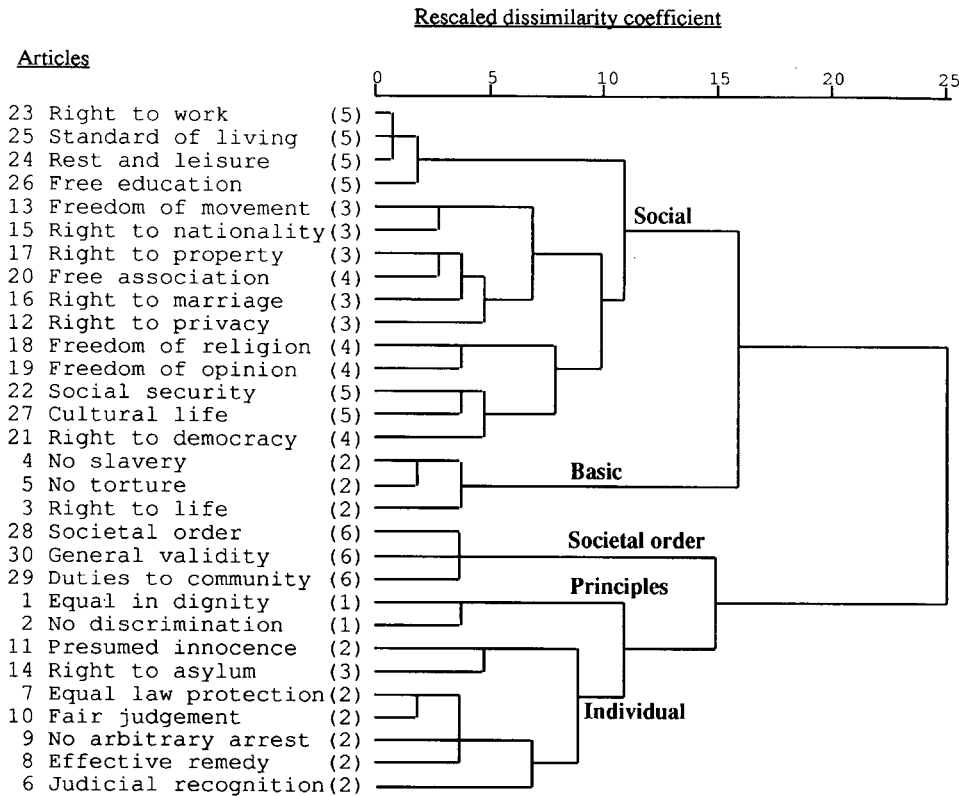


Figure 1. Graphic representation (dendrogram) of hierarchical cluster analysis (Ward's method) of distances between averaged responses to the 30 articles of the UDHR. Note: The numbers in parentheses correspond to Cassin's six classes in the UDHR order (1: Principles, 2: Individual rights; 3: Relational rights; 4: Public rights; 5: Socio-economic rights; 6: Societal order). The coefficients of dissimilarity are rescaled

Does the interaction *COUNTRY* × *ARTICLES* invalidate the general hypothesis of a common understanding, in the sense that basic differentiations among articles would only be characteristic of some countries? A profile analysis of overall level of agreement for all eight scales within the five groups of articles shows that this is not the case. When comparing the average responses on the eight scales for the five groups of articles (Table 2) one observes for all 38 national groups significant greater adherence to the basic and social rights (corresponding almost completely to the first main cluster of the dendrogram) than to the rest of the rights for all national groups (second main cluster). For 35 groups, basic rights are more accepted than social rights, the general distinction between the two subclusters of the first main cluster being confirmed in that way. Differences between the three other classes (corresponding to the subclasses of the second main cluster) are less clear-cut. For 27 groups, general agreement with principles and individual rights is greater than with societal rights and finally, for 18 groups, principles are better evaluated than individual rights. These

Table 2. Average scores of the eight scales for the five groups of articles by country and statistical significance of *F* of the profile analysis (MANOVA) across countries

Country	Groups of articles					Global score	Profile comparison			
	1 Principles	2 Basic	3 Indiv.	4 Social	5 Societal		2 + 4/ others	2/4	1+ 3/5	1/3
Albania	6.11	6.71	6.43	6.51	6.19	6.39	d	d	d	a
Argentina	7.06	7.66	7.10	7.32	6.95	7.22	d	d	d	a
Australia	6.85	7.39	6.72	6.79	6.28	6.81	d	d	c	–
Austria	6.81	7.54	6.65	6.90	6.33	6.85	d	d	–	d
Basque Country	7.44	7.85	7.15	7.34	7.07	7.37	d	d	c	d
Belgium	6.59	7.12	6.55	6.78	6.53	6.71	d	d	a	–
Brazil	6.76	7.27	6.73	7.02	6.76	6.91	d	d	d	c
Bulgaria	6.41	7.24	6.61	6.74	6.34	6.67	d	d	d	–
Cameroon	6.18	7.07	6.52	6.71	6.30	6.56	d	d	–	–
Canada	6.80	7.53	6.83	7.08	6.61	6.97	d	d	a	–
Crete	7.33	7.63	7.12	7.36	6.83	7.25	d	d	d	–
Czech Republic	6.67	7.27	6.64	6.81	6.20	6.72	d	–	d	–
Ecuador	6.96	7.50	6.97	7.30	6.96	7.14	d	d	b	a
Finland	6.84	7.36	6.93	7.02	6.59	6.95	d	d	–	–
Germany	6.80	7.21	6.50	6.78	6.26	6.71	d	d	d	–
Greece	6.94	7.58	7.08	7.33	6.81	7.15	d	–	–	–
Hong Kong	6.53	6.98	6.43	6.84	5.97	6.55	d	d	d	–
India	6.13	6.36	6.11	6.03	5.85	6.09	d	d	–	d
Indonesia	6.58	7.02	6.39	6.48	5.90	6.48	d	c	d	a
Italy	6.92	7.60	6.80	7.07	6.71	7.02	d	d	–	–
Ivory Coast	6.30	7.16	6.68	6.76	6.63	6.70	d	d	d	–
Japan	5.71	6.23	5.74	5.98	5.38	5.81	d	d	–	c
Mexico	7.12	7.84	7.05	7.26	6.85	7.22	d	d	d	d
Netherlands	6.88	7.60	6.64	6.79	6.35	6.85	d	a	c	d
Northern Ireland	6.38	7.42	6.41	6.64	5.92	6.56	d	d	c	b
Philippines	7.01	7.32	6.80	7.20	6.73	7.01	d	d	–	–
Portugal	6.97	7.55	6.85	7.15	6.74	7.05	d	d	d	d
Romania	7.07	7.53	7.28	7.30	6.96	7.23	d	d	d	–
Russia	6.31	6.87	6.45	6.72	6.57	6.58	d	d	–	a
South Africa	6.87	7.42	6.82	6.92	6.44	6.89	d	d	d	–
Spain	7.33	7.71	7.11	7.35	7.06	7.31	d	d	–	d
Switzerland	6.90	7.39	6.73	7.07	6.35	6.89	d	d	b	–
Tunisia	6.26	7.17	6.49	6.89	6.42	6.65	d	–	a	d
UK	6.44	7.30	6.30	6.65	5.93	6.52	d	d	a	c
USA	6.52	7.42	6.61	7.00	6.42	6.79	d	d	d	–
Yugoslavia	6.40	7.12	6.68	6.81	6.46	6.69	d	d	d	–
Zaire	6.56	7.56	7.18	7.34	7.28	7.18	d	d	d	–
Zimbabwe	6.24	6.85	6.31	6.47	5.96	6.37	d	d	–	d

Note: For the exact wording of the nine-point bipolar scales, see Method section. Numbers heading the columns under the Profile comparison title refer to the numbers of the groups of articles. Grouping of the articles is derived from the cluster analysis (see Figure 1) as described in the text. Statistical significance ($F(1, 6753)$): a, $p < 0.05$; b, $p < 0.01$; c, $p < 0.005$; d, $p < 0.001$.

results clearly support the idea of a common organization of responses in relation with the different groups of rights in various countries, especially concerning the opposition between basic and social rights, on the one hand, and the other rights, on the other. But also the more specific oppositions between basic and social rights are very common. Therefore we can conclude that the hypothesis of a common distinction between the same group of articles across most countries is corroborated by the data.

Positioning and Anchoring

In order to study positioning and anchoring of SR, one can give greater weight to either of both aspects. Starting with the study of individual positioning, one can thereafter analyze how individual differences are linked with other systems of symbolic relationships. In a sense individual differences are considered as the dependent variables to be assessed in a first phase and to be explained in a second phase. Another method is to start with different social group memberships or other social characteristics and to search for patterns of individual differences that are linked with them. In this second approach one searches for patterns of individual positioning that are characteristic for different social groups. Given the importance of the issues at stake we shall follow both ways.

But before we practice either of these we briefly present analyses of those anchoring variables that were assessed in the questionnaire sections on values, perceived and experienced conflicts.

Pancultural and A-cultural Analyses of Anchoring Variables

To extract the organizing principles of differences between individual attitudes or positioning, relevant parts of the questionnaire were submitted to two kinds of analysis. A first can be considered 'pancultural' according to Leung & Bond's (1989) definition: statistical operations were realized across all the subjects of the 38 national groups of countries, ignoring their national origin. Another kind of analysis aimed at removing the country effects from individual scores by subtracting the country or regional mean from each individual score. These analyses are 'individual-level' analyses in the sense of Kenny & La Voie (1985, see also Florin, Giamartino, Kenny, & Wandersman, 1990). We shall call this kind of analysis 'a-cultural'. Whenever appropriate, arabic numbers will be used to indicate factors or clusters resulting from the pancultural analysis and roman numbers for those obtained in the a-cultural analysis.

Results of both analyses converge to a very large extent and therefore they will be the object of a single interpretation. Almost all tables will report results from the pancultural analysis, but in the text we will present between parentheses corresponding results of the other analysis. Of course, we are aware that both kinds of analyses are not independent, one score serving as a base for calculating the other. However, convergences in results of both analyses confirm that between-country differences are not the only source of systematic variations between individuals.

Organizing Principles of Values

Let us recall that the questions about values have a double origin. Given very high correlations between the various values taken from the Preamble, it was decided to calculate a mean index of the responses given to the 11 questions. A high Cronbach's alpha (pancultural analysis: 0.93, a-cultural analysis: 0.92) confirmed the consistency of such an index and enabled us to limit the weight of these variables in relation to Rokeach's (1973) 18 terminal values and the two values taken from Bond's (1988) studies on which our value measurement was based.

Once these variables were formed, a principal component analysis was run on the 21 remaining value scores. We retained five factors having an eigenvalue higher than 1, and they explained respectively 55% and 54% of the total amount of variance. Table 3 shows the factor loadings of the 21 items on the five factors after varimax rotation for the pancultural analysis. In the following paragraphs, the value loadings for the items retained in the a-cultural analyses appear between brackets.

Factor I and I grouped the Preamble values (0.738) as well as values which Schwartz (1992) called universalistic: a world at peace (0.772), equality (0.773), and a world of beauty (0.552). The freedom (0.556) and family security values (0.474) are associated with this *universalism* factor. Factor 2 & III will be called *happiness*, and

Table 3. Principal component analysis of values: communalities, loadings of items on five factors after varimax rotation, means and standard deviation

Items	Communalities	Factors					Mean	SD
		F1	F2	F3	F4	F5		
World at peace	0.643	<i>0.777</i>	0.080	0.157	0.057	0.061	7.98	1.66
Equality	0.646	<i>0.774</i>	0.081	0.051	0.189	0.033	7.82	1.69
Preamble values	0.720	<i>0.738</i>	0.136	0.223	0.313	0.090	7.56	1.37
Freedom	0.499	<i>0.576</i>	0.377	-0.048	0.080	0.125	8.29	1.22
World of beauty	0.480	<i>0.530</i>	-0.017	0.112	0.226	0.366	7.13	1.90
Family security	0.450	<i>0.471</i>	0.342	0.311	0.114	-0.019	8.12	1.41
Happiness	0.622	0.155	<i>0.739</i>	0.140	0.114	0.135	8.16	1.32
Mature love	0.474	0.107	<i>0.613</i>	0.005	0.192	0.220	7.84	1.58
Inner harmony	0.538	0.192	<i>0.605</i>	0.125	0.344	-0.022	7.93	1.59
Pleasure	0.529	0.003	<i>0.478</i>	0.307	-0.104	<i>0.441</i>	6.76	1.98
Salvation	0.561	0.127	0.084	<i>0.716</i>	0.145	-0.044	5.80	2.89
Respect of traditions	0.566	0.149	-0.091	<i>0.634</i>	0.358	0.070	5.54	2.32
National security	0.530	0.376	0.262	<i>0.556</i>	-0.011	0.092	7.19	2.03
Social recognition	0.522	-0.023	0.185	<i>0.519</i>	0.261	0.386	6.69	1.94
Wisdom	0.611	0.184	0.071	0.187	<i>0.728</i>	0.081	7.66	1.57
Harmony with others	0.531	0.231	0.239	0.257	<i>0.590</i>	0.069	7.51	1.58
True friendship	0.517	0.170	<i>0.402</i>	-0.044	<i>0.555</i>	0.127	8.05	1.39
Self-respect	0.393	0.172	0.318	0.169	<i>0.427</i>	0.225	7.92	1.50
Exciting Life	0.669	0.094	0.171	-0.117	0.150	<i>0.770</i>	7.15	1.78
Accomplishment	0.509	0.222	0.061	0.114	0.355	<i>0.562</i>	7.64	1.60
Comfortable life	0.597	0.079	0.223	<i>0.456</i>	-0.145	<i>0.558</i>	7.14	1.83

Note: Here and in Tables 4 and 5 values with highest loadings and loadings higher than 0.40 are in italic.

comprise values of happiness (0.731), inner harmony (0.648), mature love (0.561) and pleasure (0.382). Factor 3 & V grouped the following values: salvation (0.692), tradition (0.663), national security (0.519) and social recognition (0.438). This factor is considered to be related to *traditionalism*. Factor 4 & IV, a *social harmony* factor, grouped the following values: wisdom (0.732), harmony with others (0.584), friendship (0.595) and self-respect (0.420). Factor 5 & II mainly comprising values of an exciting life (0.720), of accomplishment (0.551), comfort (0.679), pleasure (0.565) and social recognition (0.465) is considered to be marked by *hedonism*. With the exception of the social recognition and pleasure values, all other values are clustered together in a similar way on both analyses, even if the factor orders are different.

Organizing Principles of Perceived Tensions

Thirteen items formed the question about perceived conflicts and tensions between individuals belonging to different social groups. We retained four factors for both analyses. They accounted respectively for 59% and 58% of total variance. Table 4 shows the factor loadings after varimax rotation. Both analyses group the same items together, even if the order of the first two factors is inverted.

Factor 1 and II grouped differences in terms of fortune (0.799), social origin (0.738) and family (0.616) and can be called a *social status* factor. Factor 2 and I grouped tensions between individuals of different languages (0.717), sexes (0.578), regions (0.629), age (0.601) and national origin (0.439) and will be called an *ascribed identity* factor. Factor 3 and III differentiated in terms of conviction (0.761), religion (0.721) and political opinion (0.715); an *ideology* factor. Factor 4 and IV grouped race (0.843) and skin colour (0.844) in an *ethnicity* factor.

Table 4. Principal component analysis of perceived tensions: communalities, loadings of items on four factors after varimax rotation, means and standard deviations

Items	Communalities	Factors				Mean	SD
		F1	F2	F3	F4		
Conflicts between individuals of different:							
Fortune	0.670	-0.798	0.051	0.155	0.072	2.80	0.90
Social origins	0.644	0.748	0.134	0.172	0.187	2.62	0.83
Family origins	0.579	0.632	0.416	0.052	0.050	2.08	0.81
Languages	0.637	-0.069	0.782	0.080	0.114	2.18	0.88
Sexes	0.454	0.111	0.590	0.078	0.293	2.32	0.84
Regions	0.462	0.360	0.569	0.087	0.014	2.03	0.82
Age	0.462	0.374	0.556	0.087	-0.068	2.09	0.84
National origins	0.378	0.207	0.389	0.287	0.317	2.54	0.89
Convictions	0.654	0.069	0.237	0.770	-0.010	3.04	0.86
Religions	0.615	0.033	0.094	0.734	0.255	3.19	0.87
Political opinions	0.618	0.317	-0.037	0.716	0.045	3.22	0.83
Skin colour	0.773	0.110	0.099	0.076	0.863	3.21	0.81
Races	0.770	0.075	0.127	0.130	0.854	3.28	0.77

Note: See footnote to Table 3.

Organizing Principles of Experience of Collective Injustice

The questionnaire enumerated the above-mentioned sources of conflicts and tensions and asked how often respondents had been personally treated in an unjust manner because they belonged to one of the above-mentioned categories. Three factors, whose eigenvalue was higher than 1, were obtained for both analyses on these reports of experienced collective injustice. Together they represent 53% of the total variance for the pancultural analysis and 51% for the individual one. The patterns of items retained for the factors on both analyses is the same.

Table 5. Principal component analysis of experienced collective injustice: loading of items on three factors after varimax rotation

Items Injustice experienced because of:	Communalities	Factors			Mean	SD
		F1	F2	F3		
Fortune	0.629	0.767	0.146	0.135	1.51	0.73
Social origins	0.641	0.747	0.242	0.151	1.40	0.65
Family origins	0.593	0.701	0.304	0.093	1.27	0.58
Age	0.343	0.544	-0.026	0.215	1.66	0.73
Regions	0.380	0.515	0.219	0.257	1.43	0.69
Race	0.755	0.123	0.853	0.104	1.24	0.55
Skin colour	0.710	0.164	0.825	0.032	1.20	0.52
National origins	0.406	0.225	0.516	0.297	1.37	0.65
Language	0.397	0.232	0.499	0.306	1.39	0.63
Convictions	0.704	0.243	0.036	0.801	1.81	0.80
Political opinions	0.622	0.175	0.115	0.760	1.69	0.83
Religion	0.528	0.122	0.257	0.668	1.44	0.73
Sex	0.240	0.295	0.213	0.326	1.61	0.70

Note: See footnote to Table 3.

Factor 1 and I grouped together differences in *social status*, namely fortune (0.780), social origin (0.758) and family (0.717) to which differences in age (0.485) and region (0.492) are added. Factor 2 and II grouped sources of injustice related to *ethnicity*, race (0.845) and colour (0.811) linked with nationality (0.533) and language (0.473). Factor 3 and III added sex (0.353) to the discrimination in terms of *ideology*: convictions (0.788), political opinion (0.732) and religion (0.679). Apparently, personally felt discriminations are linked more tightly than perceived discriminations. The link of gender and ideological discrimination could, for instance, indicate that gender discrimination is interpreted by respondents as caused by sexual prejudice.

From Positioning to Anchoring

Four Kinds of Individual Positioning Toward the Articles of the UDHR

As predicted, responses for the 30 articles on each scale were very strongly linked: for the whole sample alphas varied from 0.93 to 0.97 for the eight scales. This indicates that attitudes toward the different classes of rights are indeed highly correlated.

Table 6. Mean responses of four groups obtained by iterative clustering of average individual scores for the eight scales used to evaluate the article of the UDHR (pancultural and a-cultural analyses)

Scales	Groups							
	1	I	2	II	3	III	4	IV
Understanding	8.49 (0.65)		7.71 (-0.07)		6.53 (-1.12)		8.04 (0.13)	
Government	7.54 (1.51)		4.24 (-1.46)		4.89 (-1.07)		6.38 (0.48)	
Responsibility	7.86 (1.11)		7.11 (0.28)		5.21 (-1.33)		6.18 (-0.53)	
Political party	7.78 (1.00)		6.92 (0.09)		5.57 (-1.21)		6.51 (-0.31)	
Private importance	8.40 (0.66)		7.98 (0.23)		6.35 (-1.29)		7.81 (-0.04)	
Helping	7.12 (1.24)		6.57 (0.60)		4.52 (-1.28)		4.64 (-0.98)	
Agreement	8.34 (0.66)		7.64 (-0.04)		6.21 (-1.19)		7.81 (0.14)	
Effort	7.99 (0.95)		7.45 (0.37)		5.28 (-1.68)		6.68 (-0.21)	
<i>N</i>	1918 (1944)		1558 (1719)		1436 (1241)		1879 (1887)	

Note: Results of the a-cultural analysis are presented in parentheses. Groups indicated by arabic numbers and roman numbers, respectively, result from the pancultural and a-cultural analysis.

Respondents, while adhering more or less strictly to different groups of articles, nevertheless express a highly consistent attitude to the UDHR. As postulated by Moscovici (1992–3), attitudes to some classes of HR tend to be generalized to the whole of HR.

The next step in our data analysis was to run an iterative procedure of clustering on the basis of the mean responses on the eight scales for all articles in order to extract a limited number of groups of subjects who positioned themselves differently towards the UDHR.

For both kinds of analyses (pancultural and a-cultural) we retained the solution in four groups of subjects. Table 6 summarizes the mean responses of these four groups of respondents on the eight scales.

The four groups obtained were very clearly distinguishable from each other by their positions on the eight scales. Results from the pancultural and the individual analyses can be commented on together. Groups 1 and I (respectively 28% and 29% of respondents) had the highest scores on all types of scales. They can be considered advocates of the idea of HRs. Groups 2 and II (23% and 25% of respondents) considered that HRs concern them personally but that it is not very easy for governments to do something. This response pattern could be typical of personalists. Groups 3 and III (21% and 18% of respondents) may be called pessimists or sceptics: they had the lowest scores on all scales. Groups 4 and IV (28% and 28% of respondents) consider that they are rather powerless for having the rights respected but that the government can be more efficient. This response pattern is typical of 'governmentalists'. A cross-tabulation between the two classifications showed a strong overlapping (Cramer's $V = 0.73$; $\chi^2(9) = 10\,761.07$; $p < 0.0001$).

An A-cultural Analysis of Anchoring

The first study of anchoring aimed at analyzing the links between the four HR positionings and value choices, perceived tensions and personal experiences of

injustice without the interference of national differences. Therefore a discriminant analysis on the a-cultural data set was performed with the four groups of subjects (advocates, sceptics, personalists and governmentalsists) as dependent variables and the factorial scores of the anchoring variables as independent variables. A cross-validation method was used with about 50% of the population to establish the discriminant functions. All variables were entered together and missing values were substituted by the mean values.

The three computed functions are highly significant. The first represents 74.2% of variance (*Wilks Lambda* = 0.883, χ^2 (36) = 421.93; $p < 0.001$), the second 17.9% (*Wilks Lambda* = 0.968, χ^2 (22) = 111.97; $p < 0.001$) and the third 7.9% (*Wilks Lambda* = 0.990, χ^2 (10) = 34.52; $p < 0.001$). These functions can be interpreted on the basis of the coefficients reported in Table 7.

Results for the first function confirm the importance of universalistic and social harmony values which are positively linked with the advocate and negatively with the sceptic positioning. The second function opposes governmentalsists to personalists who more often report experience of collective injustice and awareness of social tensions. The third function opposes, on the one hand, global positionings of advocacy and scepticism linked to traditionalism and hedonism and, on the other, more differentiated positionings (personalists and governmentalsists) linked to higher importance for happiness and more awareness of ideological tensions.

Table 7. Correlations between factor scores for anchoring variables and mean discriminant scores (a-cultural analysis)

Factor scores	Functions		
	1	2	3
<i>Values</i>			
Universalism	0.759	0.049	0.101
Happiness	0.110	-0.227	0.545
Traditionalism	0.043	0.184	-0.620
Social harmony	0.516	0.334	-0.022
Hedonism	0.187	0.026	-0.349
<i>Perceived tensions</i>			
Social status	-0.038	0.429	0.138
Ascribed identity	0.021	0.457	0.184
Ideology	0.095	0.142	0.308
Ethnicity	-0.064	0.268	0.120
<i>Experienced injustice</i>			
Social status	-0.277	0.459	0.139
Ethnicity	-0.121	0.160	-0.189
Ideology	-0.061	0.562	0.130
Groups	Group centroids		
	1	2	3
Advocates	0.362	-0.017	-0.103
Sceptics	-0.567	0.015	-0.114
Personalists	0.022	0.221	0.091
Governmentalsists	-0.038	-0.195	0.098

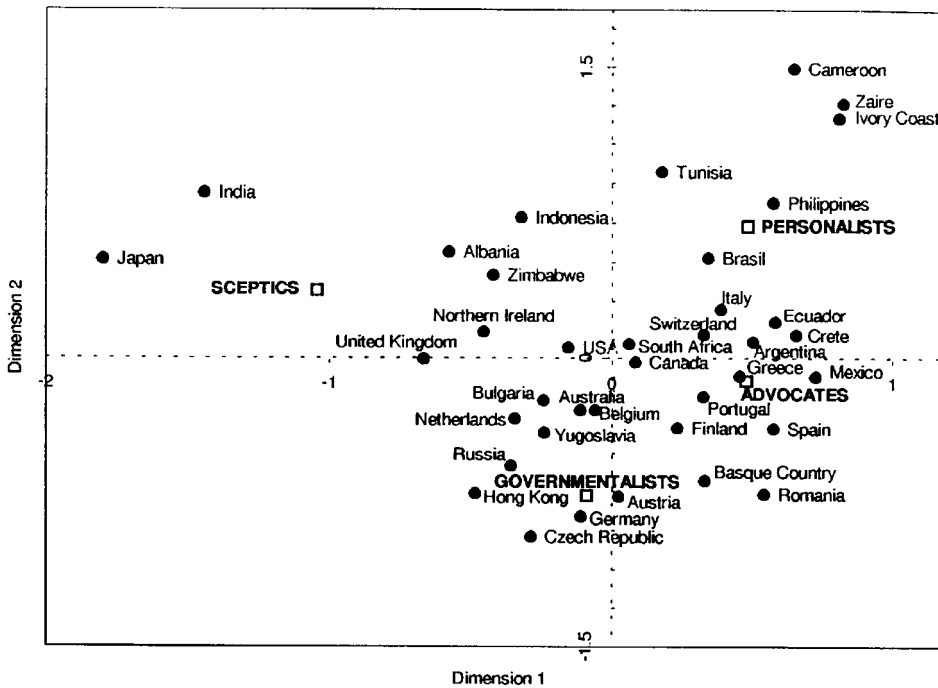


Figure 2. Correspondence analysis between national affiliations and attitudes toward human rights

Anchoring in National Contexts

A simple chi-square test on the links between the four groups of positioning resulting from the pancultural analysis and national affiliations was highly significant ($\chi^2(111) = 1618.65; p < 0.001$), whereas for the other analysis this difference was still significant, but to a lesser extent ($\chi^2(111) = 151.13; p < 0.01$). Such a difference in strength of link was, of course, expected, because in the a-cultural analysis the national differences in level of responses were cancelled.

A correspondence factor analysis was carried out mapping links between pancultural positionings and national affiliations (see the Appendix and Figure 2). It is clear that a first dimension opposes sceptics to advocates and personalists. Relatively more sceptics are to be found among students of Japan and India than among students from other countries. The second dimension opposes governmentalists and personalists. On this dimension students of Cameroon, the Ivory Coast and Zaire occupy the most distinctive position, relying more on their personal commitment than on governmental efficiency, but several other Third World countries tend to share such attitudes. Interpretation of the third dimension opposing the more global attitudes of scepticism and advocacy to the more differentiated attitudes of personalism and governmentalism is less straightforward.

A striking similarity exists between patterns of positionings evidenced in this pancultural analysis and those that resulted from the a-cultural analysis. To which anchoring variables are the positionings on the dimensions related? Let us first answer this question by investigating the links with the two national characteristics described

in Table 1. No correlations with the positions on the first and third dimension are significant. However, the developmental status, as measured by a general index of human development (United Nations Development Programme, 1996) is related to a very important extent with positions on the second dimension ($r: -0.75, p < 0.001$). Although this study does not directly bear on actual respect of HR one can evidently hypothesize that attitudes toward HR are related to the way they are institutionally enforced in a country. An index assessing such respect of HR is proposed by Humana (1992). Again the correlation with positions on the second dimension is significant ($r: -0.58, p < 0.001$).

The observed correlations make sense: a stronger belief in the government's efficiency than in one's own is related to governments' achievements in the area of human development and enforcement of HR respect. However, it should be noted that these achievements apparently do not motivate individuals very strongly to commit themselves to the cause of HR.

A second way of analyzing anchoring in national groups is to take into account national differences in variables as measured by the questionnaire sections on values, perceived tensions and felt injustice (see Table 8).

Results indicate that the general positive attitudes toward HR (positive pole of the first dimension) are negatively linked to awareness of tensions between categories defined by ascribed identities, but positively to value choices of universalism and social harmony. The positive link can be considered compatible with the findings from the a-cultural anchoring analysis, but the negative link with perceived group antagonism offers an additional explanation for the location of countries on the dimension, awareness of tensions as a function of ascribed identity, could well be antagonistic with a social representation of natural harmony (see Clémence, 1994).

Results for the second dimension (governmentalists versus personalists) suggest that more direct personal involvement is related to a choice of traditional values as well as to personal experiences of different kind of collective injustice which are, of course, more likely to occur in countries where respect for human rights is low. However, it should be noted that the awareness of ethnic conflict as such, in contrast to personal experience of such conflict, is negatively related with personalism and therefore leads to more governmentalist attitudes in the same way as more concern for happiness. People living in countries where they experience social conflict do not rely on the government, especially when they are traditionalistic, but national contexts that allow more concern for personal happiness and interpret social conflicts in ethnic terms rely more on the government for having HR respected. Results concerning experienced injustice confirm results of the a-cultural anchoring analysis.

The results with the third dimension oppose more differentiated to more global attitudes. They show that awareness of ideological tensions and a personal experience of injustice because of one's social status lead to the more differentiated attitudes of personalism and governmentalism.

From Anchoring to Positioning

Individual Positionings Characteristic of National Groups

In this second analysis of anchoring and positioning we first focus on differences related to national contexts. The first step of this cultural type of analysis consists of

Table 8. Correlations and partial correlations between dimensions of ANACOR and averaged national factor scores of anchoring variables: values, perceived tensions and experienced injustice (pancultural analysis)

Factor scores	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 3
<i>Values:</i>			
Universalism			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.74 ^d	0.32	0.14
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 32)	0.67 ^d	0.10	0.04
Happiness			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	-0.02	-0.52 ^d	-0.12
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 32)	0.02	-0.37 ^b	-0.24
Traditionalism			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.05	0.69 ^d	-0.19
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 32)	-0.15	0.58 ^d	-0.19
Social harmony			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.61 ^d	0.03	0.27
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 32)	0.44 ^b	0.07	0.18
Hedonism			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	-0.06	0.05	0.31
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 32)	-0.29	0.07	0.31
<i>Perceived tensions because of differences based on:</i>			
Social status			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.04	0.12	-0.09
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 33)	-0.01	0.12	0.05
Ascribed identity			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	-0.60 ^d	-0.05	0.16
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 33)	-0.60 ^d	-0.01	0.02
Ideology			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.26	0.03	-0.51 ^d
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 33)	0.10	0.04	-0.50 ^c
Ethnicity			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.20	-0.40 ^a	0.01
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 33)	0.29	-0.40 ^b	0.07
<i>Experienced injustice based on:</i>			
Social status			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	-0.08	0.39 ^a	-0.37 ^a
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 34)	-0.05	0.23	-0.41 ^a
Ethnicity			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	-0.20	0.38 ^a	0.00
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 34)	-0.22	0.24	0.24
Ideology			
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.23	0.56 ^d	0.02
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 34)	0.28	0.52 ^d	0.09

Note: Statistical significance: ^a $p < 0.05$; ^b $p < 0.01$; ^c $p < 0.005$; ^d $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed test).

a discriminant function analysis of groups of respondents defined by their national group membership. As independent variables for this analysis we use the dependent variables of the MANOVA described in the first results section: average scores for the eight scales and for the five groups of articles. For each group of articles alpha scores vary across the 38 national groups, the median scores being lowest when only two articles are involved (principles: 0.70) or three articles are involved (basic rights and societal rights: 0.76 and 0.84) and they are higher (0.87 and 0.94) when

respectively six (individual rights) and sixteen rights (social rights) enter the average scores.

The objective of this analysis is to define functions that enable us to account for the positioning of various countries in relation to each other. At the same time, this analysis should permit the investigation of the interaction effects of the MANOVA that were not yet considered: *SCALES* and *COUNTRY* ($F(259, 47\,271) = 23.82$; $p < 0.001$; $\eta^2 = 0.12$), *SCALES* and *ARTICLES* ($F(28, 189\,084) = 485.49$; $p < 0.001$; $\eta^2 = 0.07$), and the second-order interaction between *COUNTRY* \times *ARTICLES* \times *SCALES* ($F(1036, 189\,084) = 6.41$; $p < 0.001$; $\eta^2 = 0.03$).

A partial 'jackknife' procedure was adopted (Capel, Mueller, & Monod, 1996; Efron & Tibshirani, 1993; Taylor & Tucker, 1995), using a step-by-step discriminant analysis method for four random samples of 50% of respondents. This procedure should allow us to identify the functions that remain stable for different sets of data. The following criteria were used to define the best solution: first, the loadings of the variables selected by the step-by-step method were compared in the different solutions. Then the 15 variables selected in at least three samples were introduced in four discriminant analyses using the direct method. Finally, correlations between discriminant scores obtained by the four analyses were computed.

The best configuration was a four-function solution. For these analyses eigenvalues are comparable. All four sums of explained variance are similar (respectively 68.7, 68.3, 68.3 and 69.6%). The correlations between discriminant scores (ranging from 0.88 to 0.98, median 0.94) indicate high homogeneity of functions. The four analyses clearly result in similar functions. Average scores were therefore computed for the four analyses. Table 9 presents the correlations of all variables with mean discriminant scores for the four functions.

One observes that on most of the scales individual and social rights differentiate respondents according to their national membership, whereas scales related to individual, governmental and political party action also intervene when they are related to principles of HR. Basic and societal rights do not seem very important for differentiating countries.

The first discriminant function opposes personal importance attributed to HR (passive adhesion) and personal action in favor of these rights (active adhesion). On the side of passive adhesion to the rights (see Table 10), we find northern and central European countries (Austria, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Finland, Germany, the Netherlands, Romania, Yugoslavia) and on the more active side African (Cameroon, the Ivory Coast, Tunisia, Zaire, Zimbabwe) and Asian countries (India, Indonesia, Japan). The second score is related to general personal adherence to HR as opposed to reliance on governmental activity. Generally southern countries' scores are high, especially those of Zaire, Cameroon and the Philippines, as well as those of Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador) and, to a lesser extent, those of south European countries (Crete, Greece, Italy, Spain, Switzerland), whereas India, Japan, Hong Kong, Australia and some European countries (Albania, Germany, Northern Ireland, Netherlands, the UK) are more on the governmental side. The third discriminant score more specifically orients toward political party efficacy in western countries (Austria, the Basque Country, Belgium, Canada, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland) and the Ivory Coast, differentiating them from former Communist countries (Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Russia) together with Ecuador, Indonesia, the Philippines, Tunisia and the USA. The fourth discriminant score

Table 9. Correlations between items and mean discriminant scores

Items	Mean discriminant scores			
	Reg 1	Reg 2	Reg 3	Reg 4
Understanding 1	0.29	0.24	0.10	0.24
Understanding 2	0.34	0.27	0.16	0.21
Understanding 3*	0.36	0.32	0.11	0.50
Understanding 4*	0.39	0.56	0.20	0.34
Understanding 5	0.24	0.40	0.12	0.30
Government 1*	0.02	-0.25	0.18	0.29
Government 2	0.18	-0.16	0.29	0.27
Government 3*	0.28	-0.25	0.43	0.41
Government 4*	0.20	-0.02	0.18	0.28
Government 5	0.11	0.01	0.14	0.24
Responsibility 1	0.12	0.29	0.21	0.13
Responsibility 2*	0.32	0.44	0.33	0.13
Responsibility 3*	-0.06	0.47	0.03	0.26
Responsibility 4	0.07	0.51	0.13	0.17
Responsibility 5	0.06	0.42	0.11	0.16
Political party 1*	0.09	0.18	0.51	0.24
Political party 2	0.12	0.18	0.43	0.10
Political party 3	0.09	0.17	0.42	0.10
Political party 4*	0.15	0.18	0.50	0.06
Political party 5	0.11	0.20	0.38	0.09
Private 1	0.37	0.32	-0.02	-0.14
Private 2	0.46	0.34	-0.17	-0.27
Private 3*	0.64	0.35	-0.35	-0.39
Private 4*	0.63	0.46	-0.21	-0.26
Private 5	0.43	0.42	-0.12	-0.14
Helping 1*	-0.07	0.39	0.15	-0.19
Helping 2	-0.18	0.43	0.02	-0.18
Helping 3*	-0.46	0.44	-0.13	-0.22
Helping 4	-0.29	0.45	-0.02	-0.18
Helping 5	-0.23	0.38	0.00	-0.12
Agreement 1	0.17	0.30	0.19	0.20
Agreement 2	0.26	0.34	0.20	0.19
Agreement 3	0.31	0.47	0.23	0.31
Agreement 4*	0.28	0.60	0.30	0.37
Agreement 5	0.25	0.46	0.23	0.29
Effort 1	-0.01	0.46	0.16	0.12
Effort 2	0.00	0.50	0.12	0.13
Effort 3*	-0.10	0.60	0.05	0.20
Effort 4	-0.04	0.60	0.10	0.18
Effort 5	-0.04	0.51	0.09	0.16

Note: Items refer to the eight scales (see Method section) and are followed by a number referring to the five classes of human rights (1: Principles; 2: Basic; 3: Individual; 4: Social & 5: Societal). Items followed by an asterisk indicate variables entered in the discriminant analyses.

favors governmental action grouping in that direction: European countries (Belgium, Crete, Finland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Switzerland, Yugoslavia) and Canada, as opposed to Anglo-Saxon countries (Hong Kong, Northern Ireland, the UK, the USA), the Netherlands and some southern countries (Brazil, the Philippines, Tunisia).

Table 10. Average discriminant scores (Centroids) for the countries on the four mean discriminant functions

Country	Mean discriminant scores			
	Reg 1	Reg 2	Reg 3	Reg 4
Albania	-0.27	<i>-0.49</i>	<i>-0.60</i>	-0.24
Argentina	-0.18	<i>0.47</i>	0.01	0.11
Australia	<i>0.46</i>	<i>-0.34</i>	-0.06	-0.23
Austria	<i>0.84</i>	<i>-0.14</i>	<i>0.43</i>	0.01
Basque Country	-0.10	<i>-0.09</i>	<i>0.72</i>	0.38
Belgium	-0.39	<i>-0.30</i>	<i>0.36</i>	<i>0.44</i>
Brazil	<i>0.30</i>	<i>0.53</i>	<i>-0.25</i>	<i>-0.25</i>
Bulgaria	<i>0.75</i>	<i>-0.05</i>	<i>-0.27</i>	<i>-0.17</i>
Cameroon	<i>-1.08</i>	<i>0.68</i>	<i>-0.22</i>	<i>-0.23</i>
Canada	<i>-0.29</i>	<i>-0.05</i>	<i>0.48</i>	<i>0.19</i>
Crete	<i>-0.28</i>	<i>0.42</i>	<i>0.53</i>	<i>0.36</i>
Czech Republic	<i>0.75</i>	<i>-0.26</i>	<i>-0.27</i>	0.08
Ecuador	<i>-0.32</i>	<i>0.76</i>	<i>-0.35</i>	0.03
Finland	<i>0.54</i>	<i>-0.08</i>	0.03	<i>0.34</i>
Germany	<i>0.92</i>	<i>-0.28</i>	0.28	<i>-0.07</i>
Greece	0.31	<i>0.34</i>	<i>-0.08</i>	<i>-0.08</i>
Hong Kong	<i>-0.01</i>	<i>-0.57</i>	<i>-0.20</i>	<i>-0.34</i>
India	<i>-1.53</i>	<i>-1.20</i>	<i>-0.21</i>	0.03
Indonesia	<i>-0.89</i>	0.06	<i>-0.39</i>	<i>-0.12</i>
Italy	0.26	<i>0.37</i>	0.01	<i>-0.15</i>
Ivory Coast	<i>-1.60</i>	<i>0.45</i>	<i>0.72</i>	0.38
Japan	<i>-0.97</i>	<i>-1.09</i>	<i>-0.13</i>	0.07
Mexico	0.69	0.32	<i>-0.02</i>	<i>-0.03</i>
Netherlands	<i>0.75</i>	<i>-0.55</i>	0.24	<i>-0.29</i>
Northern Ireland	0.22	<i>-0.46</i>	0.20	<i>-0.44</i>
Philippines	<i>-0.29</i>	<i>0.62</i>	<i>-0.47</i>	<i>-0.45</i>
Portugal	<i>-0.10</i>	0.06	<i>0.53</i>	<i>0.29</i>
Romania	<i>0.58</i>	<i>-0.07</i>	0.07	<i>0.45</i>
Russia	0.29	0.03	<i>-0.45</i>	0.08
South Africa	0.27	<i>-0.18</i>	<i>-0.09</i>	<i>-0.19</i>
Spain	<i>-0.15</i>	<i>0.35</i>	<i>0.41</i>	<i>0.32</i>
Switzerland	<i>-0.10</i>	<i>0.30</i>	<i>0.63</i>	<i>0.50</i>
Tunisia	<i>-0.56</i>	0.23	<i>-0.31</i>	<i>-0.49</i>
UK	0.06	<i>-0.46</i>	<i>-0.04</i>	<i>-0.48</i>
USA	<i>-0.18</i>	<i>-0.17</i>	<i>-0.37</i>	<i>-0.46</i>
Yugoslavia	<i>0.58</i>	<i>-0.04</i>	<i>-0.13</i>	<i>0.30</i>
Zaire	<i>-1.33</i>	<i>1.19</i>	0.27	0.01
Zimbabwe	<i>-0.40</i>	<i>-0.25</i>	<i>-0.47</i>	<i>-0.34</i>

Note: Values in italic indicate groups whose means are statistically different from those of opposed poles ($p < 0.001$ with Scheffe test).

Anchoring in National Contexts

As in the previous section, anchoring in values, perceived tensions and felt injustice was analyzed by means of correlations between average national factor scores with the discriminant function scores.

The passive versus active adherence function scores are positively correlated with the perception of ethnic tensions and the concern about happiness. They correlate

Table 11. Correlations and partial correlations between mean discriminant scores and averaged national factor scores of anchoring variables: values, perceived tensions and experienced injustice

Factor scores	Mean discriminant scores			
	Reg 1	Reg 2	Reg 3	Reg 4
<i>Values:</i>				
Universalism				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	-0.26	0.72 ^d	0.28	0.21
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 32)	-0.15	0.59 ^d	0.48 ^c	0.36 ^a
Happiness				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.64 ^d	-0.12	-0.08	-0.12
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 32)	0.54 ^d	-0.03	-0.35 ^a	-0.30
Traditionalism				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	-0.61 ^d	0.25	-0.45 ^c	-0.35 ^a
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 32)	-0.45 ^b	0.11	-0.67 ^d	-0.52 ^c
Social harmony				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.10	0.47 ^c	0.28	0.13
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 32)	0.08	0.26	0.15	-0.05
Hedonism				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.11	-0.02	-0.37 ^a	-0.24
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 32)	0.11	-0.17	-0.50 ^c	-0.25
<i>Perceived tensions because of differences based on:</i>				
Social status				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.01	0.17	-0.37 ^a	-0.27
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 33)	-0.04	0.13	-0.38 ^a	-0.29
Ascribed identity				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.03	-0.60 ^d	-0.12	-0.33 ^a
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 33)	0.06	-0.56 ^d	-0.17	-0.36 ^a
Ideology				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.24	0.35 ^a	-0.02	-0.06
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 33)	0.14	0.21	0.01	-0.08
Ethnicity				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	0.58 ^d	0.01	0.24	-0.16
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 33)	0.57 ^d	0.03	0.26	-0.15
<i>Experienced injustice based on:</i>				
Social status				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	-0.33 ^a	0.02	-0.23	-0.17
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 34)	-0.15	0.03	-0.17	-0.05
Ethnicity				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	-0.38 ^a	-0.13	-0.21	-0.25
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 34)	-0.26	-0.20	-0.14	-0.18
Ideology				
<i>R</i> (dl = 38)	-0.40 ^d	0.34 ^a	0.03	-0.19
Partial <i>R</i> (dl = 34)	-0.35 ^a	0.37 ^a	0.10	-0.14

Note: Statistical significance: ^a $p < 0.05$; ^b $p < 0.01$; ^c $p < 0.005$; ^d $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed test).

negatively with traditionalism and all kinds of experienced collective injustice. This means that national groups that favor more traditional values and have experienced collective injustice are more actively involved in the HR issue. General adherence to HR (scores on the second function) is positively related to universalism and social harmony values as well as to the perception and experience of ideological conflicts; an

increase in general categorical tensions, however, weakens this adhesion. Belief in political parties' efficiency (third function scores) is relatively weaker for national groups who perceive more social status tensions and adhere more to values of traditionalism and hedonism. Links with belief in governmental efficacy (fourth function) tend to go in the same direction.

To conclude this section on positioning and anchoring: the similarities between the results obtained when starting from an assessment of individual positionings or from a maximization of between-country differences are striking. Such similarity is most clearly evidenced when comparing anchoring in values, perceived and experienced tensions and injustice.

The new information offered in the last analysis concerning anchoring of political party and government efficacy beliefs completes the picture resulting from previous analyses, but does not alter their general outline. It is understandable that such anchoring patterns in specific political characteristics emerge more clearly when analyses focus on between-nation differences.

DISCUSSION

Studying social representations involves the analysis of social meaning systems from different angles. In this study we attempted to analyze SR of HR using the three-phase model proposed by Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi (1993). But often research privileges one or two phases of the model. Even if the research by Diaz-Veizades, Widaman, Little, & Gibbs (1995) was not carried out in the frame of SR it is concerned with positionings and anchoring in SR of HR. When data gathering for our research was almost finished they published a report on an investigation that also used the UDHR. However, in constructing their questionnaire they reformulated the 30 articles in 116 more concrete items and finally dropped most of these items which 'had very low variance because of high rates of endorsement, so they could not correlate highly with other items. After these low-loading items were deleted, 38 items were re-analyzed using an iterated principle factor analysis.' Clearly, we are confronted here with a logic privileging analyses of different individual positionings which the authors related successfully to positionings in the realm of politics.

In our own research, the coherence of attitudes to the whole set of 30 articles was also evidenced, and we did not detect systematic variations of individual attitudes as a function of classes of articles. On the whole, individuals who were more (or less) than others in favor of one group of articles favored also more (or less) the other groups. Of course, it is true that we could have searched for articles for which there was systematic variation and neglected the others. But this was not our purpose in the analyses we have reported.

Our analyses first investigated the amount of shared understanding among students from different countries and we found indeed that the most important differentiations made in answers to different groups of articles by the whole sample did also characterize answers of most, if not all, national groups. It was also shown that such common understanding did not prevent individuals from positioning themselves differently in relation to HR. They adhered more or less to the cause of HR, or they held stronger beliefs about their personal efficacy and the efficacy of government or

political parties. Such differences in positioning are related to human development and HR enforcement in the country as well as to individuals' value choices and their perceptions and experiences of social conflict.

Results from individual-level analyses and national level analyses strongly converge. Such convergence was not only observed for the organizing principles intervening in anchoring variables and positioning toward HR. But more importantly, between-individual variations and between-national group variations in anchoring variables seem to modulate HR positionings in the same way. Respondents who strongly favor universalistic values have more favorable HR positionings independently of national group membership. But it is also true that in countries where adherence to universalistic values is higher, global attitudes toward HR will be more favorable. *Mutatis mutandis*, the same reasoning holds for links involving felt injustice.

An important problem that colleagues from anthropology and cultural psychology are very concerned about is that of the universality of HR, whereas political scientists discuss the danger of HR being used as a tool for furthering Western imperialism. Discussions remain lively, and social psychologists certainly cannot ignore the different stands taken by their colleagues. With the present study our intention was to enter the debate, investigating the nature of common understanding and the differences of positioning for the kind of populations to which we had access. Certainly, other populations should be investigated, but we can already conclude that for social psychologists a sound way of participating in the debate on the universality of HR is to ask members of different cultures to express their opinions on the content of official documents ratified by representatives of their governments. Recent research by various authors suggests that in similar matters (values, opinions about democracy) large-scale international studies with systematic sampling procedures are now possible (see Albala-Bertrand, 1996; Diener, Diener, & Diener, 1995; Inglehart, 1995; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995).

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APPENDIX: Loadings of countries and of the four groups obtained by iterative clustering of average individual scores on the three dimensions of ANACOR (pancultural analysis)

Country	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 3
Albania	-0.579	0.550	-0.170
Argentina	0.504	0.082	0.507
Australia	-0.111	-0.275	0.039
Austria	0.027	-0.729	-0.620
Basque Country	0.333	-0.647	0.682
Belgium	-0.058	-0.274	0.350
Brazil	0.342	0.521	-0.505
Bulgaria	-0.241	-0.224	-0.330
Cameroon	0.648	1.489	-1.109
Canada	0.087	-0.026	0.576
Crete	0.659	0.118	0.286
Czech Republic	-0.287	-0.937	-0.436
Ecuador	0.584	0.186	0.256
Finland	0.236	-0.368	-0.158
Germany	-0.108	-0.832	-0.569
Greece	0.458	-0.096	0.303
Hong Kong	-0.486	-0.714	-0.486
India	-1.444	0.847	0.930
Indonesia	-0.323	0.724	-0.769
Italy	0.391	0.252	-0.160
Ivory Coast	0.810	1.228	-0.474
Japan	-1.800	0.511	0.275
Mexico	0.727	-0.100	0.157
Netherlands	-0.344	-0.319	0.135
Northern Ireland	-0.456	0.135	-0.325
Philippines	0.575	0.799	-0.078
Portugal	0.329	-0.204	-0.091
Romania	0.544	-0.715	0.812
Russia	-0.357	-0.569	-0.976
South Africa	0.064	0.072	0.410
Spain	0.577	-0.371	0.666
Switzerland	0.330	0.122	-0.142
Tunisia	0.180	0.954	-0.348
UK	-0.668	-0.008	0.207
USA	-0.154	0.051	0.247
Yugoslavia	-0.239	-0.394	-0.254
Zaire	0.826	1.305	-0.040
Zimbabwe	-0.421	0.431	-0.510
<i>Groups</i>			
Advocates	0.478	-0.118	0.584
Sceptics	-1.046	0.354	0.180
Personalists	0.484	0.689	-0.435
Governmentalists	-0.089	-0.721	-0.374
Inertia	0.124	0.080	0.034

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