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Dipartimento di Giurisprudenza
SECS-P/01

The Ratification of Human Rights Treaties:
an Economic Analysis

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July 18, 2018

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In this thesis I propose an investigation to analyse the relationship between international human rights treaties and socio-economic variables, in particular income inequality. Scientific literature on this topic is still minimal, hence, it was difficult to create a robust theoretical model to sufficiently answer the question: Why should the ratification of human rights treaties affects income inequality?

To answer this question, first, I need to give a definition of what human rights treaties are and where they come from.

Indeed, the term human rights in general does not have a constant definition, it can be associated with different fields of legal knowledge. For example, human rights term could be related to moral values as in the study of the philosophy of law such as human rights are also related to the conventions drawn up by the international community through the United Nations. Therefore, human rights term can be used in several meanings and fields.

First thing that we need to know is that if human rights are implemented in a system of positive law - in a state of law - then their legal content should be guaranteed and protected by the institutions of state.

The principles underlying human rights, among them equality, freedom and political participation, must be the key points to obtaining a distributive social justice by the states institutions and to improve living conditions in a period characterized by persistent economic and social crises and strong cultural transformations due to several reason, first of all globalization process.

In the last 50 decades the international community, and in particular United Nations,

has promoted the diffusion of fundamental rights through drafting international treaties with different purposes, namely improving civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural conditions. These aspects have been investigated both from legal, ethical and philosophical point of view but there is a lack of scientific literature that studies the relationship between human rights and economic development. With the aim to cover this gap, the thesis investigates the relationship between international human rights treaties and socio-economic variables, such as income inequality and GDP growth, developing an original quantitative framework

Because the term "human rights" does not have an unique definition and it can be associated with different fields of legal studies, the first research step has been to find a shared definition on human rights treaties clarifying its objectives and targets. The second step is to evaluate whether the diffusion of human rights treaties has a social economic effect among the countries that shared the international agreement.

Hence, This thesis tries to evaluate whether the diffusion of human rights treaties has a social economic effect among the countries that had joined this.

Moreover, to assume that the ratification of human rights treaties has an effect on social economic variables it is necessary to built a framework that explains how the spread of human rights affect the institutions of a country and how the work of political institutions of a countries, influenced by human rights treaties, should be able to issue efficient policies that favour the develop of the wellness of a country and why it so.

To do that, first of all, I analysed and used as framework the modernization theory that first assumes the importance to favour the diffusion democratic institutions and economic growth all over the world.

Secondly, I tried to give a clarification about the mechanism that links ratification of human rights treaties to democratic transitions all over the world, the effect on socio economic variable as the income inequality and why the ratifications should affect the democratic transitions and a good economic performance. Therefore, I have presented the arguments of the scientific literature that support a functional relationship between good democratic institutions and economic performance (Acemoglu, Simon and Robinson, 2005).

I described the reason why to measure the socio-economic performance of countries, I

choose as dependent variable of the model income inequality and not another more generic economic variable such as GDP per capita.

Doing that, I exposed the main theories proposed on transition to democracy, helped also by the spread of human rights treaties, could affect the increase or decrease of income inequality.

In general, I will show why and how norms issued in an international environment should have a role to favour the countries to implement intern policies that affects the well-being of the population and that would favour a democratic transition.

The thesis is basically divided into two main parts. The first, reporting a brief review of the literature on issues related to international human rights treaties, institutions and inequality. This part concerns in a survey on the several theories beyond the topic and that are useful to understand the reason why and how I built the model that answers the above question.

I discuss about several version of theories about modernization, highlighting its links with the spread of respect for human rights.

In general, first part of this work is focused on surveying relevant scientific literature related to the topic. This task has been quite hard because it is difficult to identify similar scientific works in just a specific scientific field. Since little research has been conducted in this area, then there does not exist much data corroborating hypothesis at this time.

I also showed criticism around different theories and point of view of scholars. I tried to analyse and explain why and how all above mentioned aspects of social society (laws, democracy, etc.) are related each other.

I analysed and discussed the major theories regarding the relationship between democratic political institution and authoritarian institutions as dictatorships and the various forms of government between the two ends of the spectrum. In fact, over the last century, scholars have debated whether democracy or economic development came first (modernization theory).

The second part is more technical. I introduced the socio-economic variables used in the empirical part and I described results of the analyses. I described the analysis of the relationship between adhesion to international treaties and its impact on income inequality measured by Gini Index.

Moreover, in the second chapter of this work, I run a brief survey on the basic concept of economic growth and development. Further on in the second chapter, I list a series of indices and measures that I consider relevant in the construction of my regression model, describing each them functioning. I also exposed how I built the dataset used to run several regression of empiric model.

In the third chapter I run the empirical analysis using a "panel data" to run several cross - section regression with a precise time series on the several variables that I selected on the dataset. Then I comment the different coefficients showed in the panel. In the second part of the third chapter I will test the panel data analysis to check the solidity of the model that I propose running some robustness checks.

With regards to the first part, international law is the branch of law that governs the existing relationships within the international community. International law evolution over the centuries - primarily *ius gentium* and *lex marcatoria* - created rules or norms almost universally accepted and considered binding, by most of world's population. This circumstance is an historic fact on which scientific community is agree¹.

For the first time in history, during last century, mankind needed to learn from the mistakes made in order to not commit them again. Day after the end of World War II, all humanity began to understand the outrageous weight of actions operated during the war. As a result of this awareness, countries that succeeded in destroying Nazi-fascism sought to gather together to create an international organization that would set strong rules to ensure enduring peace throughout the world.

In this international context, an organization of free countries, cooperated to elaborate an universal list of principles useful to identifying, establishing, and protecting a core of fundamental rights - considered inherent and inalienable for all people: Human Rights. International law thus becomes the instrument through which these rights are disseminated.

As said, in this work I tried to investigate with regard to the impact of diffusion of human rights treaties on a social economic variable in an unprecedented way and surely, this investigation could be hit by multiple critiques.

¹Actually, the concept of human rights was already developed in a philosophical sense. About two centuries earlier during French and American Revolution but I will not explore that aspect in this paper;

Therefore, to investigate on this effect, first I needed to place the process of diffusion of human rights treaties on an exact social, economic and historic contest.

Indeed, not all countries that joined human rights treaties lived the same level of development and prosperity. For this reason, it is essential to review the most important theory behind the economic development processes developed during the post-war period.

Exploring major theories on economic development helped to understand the historical, economic and social context where the treaties were conceived.

Indeed, over the past forty years, we saw an exponential growth of national democracies around the world, according to the process that Huntington called second and third wave of democratization (Huntington, 1991).

Hence, I discussed how the adoption of human rights treaties could strengthen the rule of law in a country and if an effect is related to increasing well-being of a country. I also discuss about the relationship between the improvement of rule of law and economic development.

In general, the thesis analyses the relationship between the diffusion of human rights and economic development. In particular, I developed an empirical analysis to assess whether the accession of the countries to international treaties on human rights tends to reduce income inequality within them. The main result of this work would confirm the existence of a relationship between adherence to certain human rights treaties over time and a certain effect on income inequality.

Chapter 2

Overview: Human Rights, Democracy, Growth, Economic Development and Inequality. What's the Relationship? Surveying and Theoretical Considerations

To begin this thesis it will be useful to clarify what is the phenomenon I want to analyse. Then, in following chapters I will try to expose and analyse which are the most suitable theories to understand the the topic and the social economic effect that I want to study and what are the results we expect from the statistic analysis of data. Hence, a survey on the theoretical literature on this topic is fundamental to built a proper framework where to place the model propose.

In this chapter I will carry out a brief review about exiting literature on the modernization theory. So I will try to expose several recent theories that have linked economic growth, economic development, human rights theory, institutional development and social and economic inequality.

Moreover I will analyse the link among various theories trying to explain the relationship between development (considered in general terms), political institution of a country,

favouring and protection of human rights and why I think it should be an effect between the improvement of latter variable and the income inequality decrease (or increase).

For what may concern the development model chosen, I will use as framework of this work the modernization theory model. Although the modernization theory undergone significant transformations during its theoretical evolution, it always shows remarkable force points in explaining a relationship between very close variables as growth, economic development and institutions development.

Beginning the analysis of modernization theory model, it is possible to carry out some assumptions. The main assumption is that the western economical - institution development model is the best model and all the developing countries all over the world should emulate it.

This assumption is the baseline of this theory developed in the late fifties.

Hence, according with the latter assumption to have a transition on a full democracy is a widespread expectation among world population. Therefore, I can also assume that a country that desires democracy transition must also embrace the fundamental rights on which western democracies are based on.

In the process of democratic-institutional development (or transition) that ? calls "waves" of democratization, what is the role of human rights promoted through the diffusion of international treaties on civil and political rights and on economic and social rights?

Hence I start in this chapter I will try to make a multidisciplinary review to understand the different points of view of the scientific literature on the topic.

Let's start step by step.

2.1 The Modernization Theory: a Theoretical Framework

In the introduction I exposed a brief list about major tasks I will run in this work.

To start the analysis it is necessary to set a theoretical framework which can explain the "guidelines" of this work. In fact this is a research where the topic could be investigated and analysed in economic or legal term but as well in political science term. So, I will

try to explain my model mixing assumptions took by all this subjects trying to built an empirical model that could support the hypothesis. However it is fundamental getting start the investigation from a robust theoretical framework.

There are several development theories in sciences literature. More of them trying to explain the relationship between the economic aspects of a country life and its institutional political life. Below I will try to make a brief review of the development theories developed on these two major variables - institutions and economics - focusing more on modernization theory.

One of the most important assumption characterizing modernization theory is that a developmental process like the western world one is more desirable. It suggests that all countries can become "modern" with through perform of several institutional and structural transformations (Shannon, 1989). This main assumption, postulate that is very probable that most of countries want to become modern processing different and several structural reforms.

Indeed, Smelser (1988) defines modernization as "*a set of changes that take place in almost every part of society as a society attempts to industrialize*". Modernization theory was one of first theories that tried to explain and relate the process of development (modernization) and growth globally within countries and societies.

Hence, according to Smelser (1988), formulation of modernization theory can be considered a work carries out by sociologists, political scientist and economists of post-war period.

To well understand what I am talking about it is also necessary to clarifying on the complex geopolitically situation around the world during early post war period.

In that period we could observe complex realities on international scenario. In the northern part of the globe, we could saw the splitting of the nations in two blocks: socialist countries in east and capitalist in west.

The contrast between the blocks culminated in what we know as Cold War; moreover, on the southern part of the globe, at the same time, were emerging the former countries of colonies that were claiming their sovereignty from overseas nations.

These new countries tried to find their way by inspiring their new states to democratic principles in a global context that saw the north of the world split into two but to start

a process of economic growth they still needed the help of overseas nations.

What said above is important to understand the geopolitical context from where the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the several treaties on human rights were issued.

So, in the agenda of the international community, in the first decade after the second world war, was of primary importance to find a way to favour economic development in former colonies. Indeed, a quick transition process to democracy in the ex-colonies would favoured a priority relationship with the blocks who had helped more the transitions countries. "*Alea iacta est*", it was started a war game played with different weapons by two players seated at the same game table. It was not a war disputed with conventional weapons but through conventions, agreements and alliances (sometimes secret) taken at a table where all participants promised to work together for a further goal, peace and development of all the peoples of the world.

Hence, how to favour political and economic stability and the promotion of social and cultural change in these brand new countries? To obtain these result, many countries under the moderation of international organizations starts to cooperate to find an effective and rapid solution.

In this political international scenario, several scholars were working around the topic of economic development, growth, international law and and stability of political institutions. The modernization theory was proposed to build a theoretical model who would gave a framework to understand how to help developing countries to transit from a traditional system to a modern society ¹.

According to the theoretical economic model proposed by the modernization theory, an assistance intervention in the economic policies of the developing countries by the international community could help the first ones to undertake a process of transition from a traditional model to a modern society.

In particular, modernization theorists believed it was possible to build a successful model of development. This political-economic model, if exported around the world,

¹Anticipating what I will expose later, according to the modernization theory, some countries in the world live in a situation of social, industrial, economic and institutional backwardness. Countries of this type are considered traditional systems or traditional countries;

would favour economic expansion and institutional transition in third world countries.

The mentioned economic model took the name of its creators: the Harrod - Domar model (Easterly, 2001). According to the theoretical model, the principal reason why some countries do not have a good economic performance is the financial gap between the amount of savings owned by the local bank system (the money of the population) and the necessity for the "nascent" companies and industries to find financial supports to invest on physical capital (or capital of stock).

Hence, this model, if adopted in the mentioned international scenario, suggest that a policy of funds transferring directly from western countries to beneficiary (developing) countries would solve the problem of "financial gap". Therefore, emerging industries and companies in developing countries should start to invest in capital stock and begin to produce and get profit (Easterly, 2001) ².

This model was choose and implemented to be the policy adopted by United Nations in aid program directed to the developing countries. to help them to start political reform and an industrial transition. But that model deeply failed every time that it was used to programming aid to poor countries (Easterly, 2001)

Indeed, according to the modernization theory, institutional systems or regimes present in developing countries are considered as primitive (Easterly, 2001) and are not able to support the start of economic growth process in a traditional system.

Moreover, some modernization theorists suggested the implementation of a full policy model(economic and institutional) advised from overseas developed countries to induce institutional change and economic transformation in developing countries.

Hence, modernization theory integrates and develops an analytic framework where development can not be reduced to the economic dimension. For proposed model the obstacles to development are primarily obsolete institutional and cultural primitive system.

So for modernization theory an old structure of values, norms and institutions would not favour a transformation of a country even if this one showed desire of a structural and economic transformation of its own society ³ Also for that reason modernization

²According to the Harrod - Domar model, the lack of industrial transformation in developing countries was due to the absence of sufficient financial resources within national banking systems;

³For example, we can consider a desirable transformation a process like industrialization process of a

theory consider the experience of developed western countries as a universal model to be achieved (Tipps, 1973).

For what said above, as experienced by many scholars, the developing model suggested by modernization theory has to be considered as a model that involved several sectors or topics of modern societies.

The purpose of modernization studies on human development were to find a direction to transform each single rural village in a developed international environment (Lipset, 1959). Therefore, studies on modernization process were conducted on different subjects of science to understand how a theoretical model could fix the term to let start a process of development globally valid for all the countries.

Therefore, states institutions are proper place where modernization process should be implemented. According to Lipset (1959), this process should work better if the transformation is carried out by the decision-making center towards peripheries of a country. This implies that a government with a strong central power could favour modernization process.

So, if we consider that process as a full transformation of a society, the impact of the modernization on social systems is much more understandable if analysed at a national level and not globally.

In fact, modernization process involve a wide range of issues and aspects affecting social life. It covers process of economic growth but also economic development process, structural differentiation of process of production as well as development of political institutions of a country and the evolution of legal system.

Modernization also involves the way which laws are conceived, developed, "positivized", enacted and protected by the judicial system of a country.

In this sense, if modernization theory assume that political, economic and social model of developed countries is more desirable, it is correct to say that a society that aims to this result should aims to democracy too. Therefore modernization theory implies that adhere to those fundamental rights on which western democracy itself bases its pillars is one of the goal of the proposed model as well.

Each component of modernization process - economic, institutional, etc. - should be country or an infrastructure and transport policy, public health care, etc.

considered as a fundamental element to lead countries transformation to a modern and democratic society (Black, 1966).

Every aspect belonging to modernization process of a country can be considered as an element that determines a main change or a transformation of a country society.

2.2 The Role of Institutions in the Modern States: the Functions of the State

Talking about institutions, the first task it is to give a common and basic definition of what it means term institution.

The term institution derives from the latin verb *instituere*, which means establishing an order, founding, regulating. So, an institution is an organization of people and instruments that is created and developed to accomplish a specific purpose. An institution can have different forms and different purposes. If we talking in general about society we can recognize several different types of institutions such as religious institutions, school institutions, institutions for charity, as well as political institutions (Zizi, 2005).

Hence, term institution can be used to indicate an organized group or *apparatus* that trying to realize a particular purpose, in a systematic way and following proper rules and procedures.

In the specific case of political institutions, the purpose of this kind of organizations is to pursue constitutionally targets promoted and protected by state. In other words the purpose of political institutions is to ensure the preservation and implementation of social and legal norms or policies involving between individual and rest of society or between individual and state (Donolo, 1997).

However, when we talk about social institutions the meaning of the word "good" institution" is generally refers to the set of norms, values and customs that define and regulate social relationships, behaviours and actions of a given community in a significant spectrum range of social life: politics, economics, law, culture. This type of community is called "state".

A state, built in this form, represents the expression of political power and it is charac-

terized by the fact that to enforce its laws it can appeal to a coercive repressive apparatus. Therefore, the state can be defined as a particular form of organization of political power, which it is legitimate to use force on a community of people within a given territory (Bin, Pitruzzella, 2000).

So, as assumed Bin, Pitruzzella (2000), in this sense state is a type of institution that regulates the forms of exercise of political authority on the territory and on the people.

For this reason, a state can be considered as a complex form of organization of people and instrument with certain powers. Even in this sense, the state could be considered as a type of institution.

The political organization of state is the instrument through which state itself achieves its goals. Therefore, in that sense, state is a political institution because its targets - whose in general terms are usually established in constitutional charts of each country - are not rigidly predetermined but are determined over years through political choices made by government and parliament in relation to an historical moment.

The state is also a juridical institution, as anticipated above, its functioning is realized solely and exclusively through the consistent application of laws that governing it. Governing by law realize a principle that in civil law systems is called the state of right⁴;

In countries based on civil law system, concept of rule of law presupposes that the State's action is always binding and complying with the laws in force at that time⁵.

Therefore, the State is subject to compliance with the rule of law. In constitutional states, law governing the functioning of the state is considered a fundamental law of primary rank (there is nothing above it) and it takes name of Constitution; in this case

⁴I am going to translate what in italian language is called *Stato di Diritto*. It is a legal concept similar to rule of law in of common law legal system but profoundly different in terms of the preconditions. Otherwise, the principle of rule of law incorporates in itself three different concepts: principle of legality of the criminal penalty - so no one can be punished except under a prior law and with the guarantees of a judicial proceeding - and therefore the rejection of any arbitrary imposition; the principle of legal equality, that means that everyone is submitted to law without any privilege for public officials; last one principle is the idea that rights and freedoms are not guaranteed by a normative act whose condition is in force like a constitution but by practice of the judges, whereby the judicial precedent creates a legal bond valid for subsequent judgements (Dicey, 1915);

⁵I am going to use that example but it's pretty similar in the countries who use the common law system

state is an independent institution, since no foreign state or international organization has power to influence its political decisions⁶; state is also an effective institution, as it has the power, through the force of coercion, to impose its legal order and therefore its own laws on all people present in its national territory (Bin, Pitruzzella, 2000).

As previously said, each state - as an institution itself - has like purpose achievement of particular targets and performs different functions. Therefore, through the legislative function, state institutions produces the laws necessary to implement the political address proposed by political institutions. Hence, through the legislative function state creates general and abstract norms that govern the life of the whole community.

In other words, law is the instrument used by state to implement its own policy in all areas of competence.

Moreover, state exercises the judicial function which serves to maintain legal order effectively through the judicial enforcement of the rules issued by parliament. Judicial function is necessary in order to regulate litigation that may arise between citizens (civil law) or between citizens and the state (as in case of criminal law).

State also carries out legislative function that is achieved through the implementation of the institutional goals established by the order through executive power (the government) and peripheral organization as regions (or others) and other subjects pursuing the same purpose of the state.

Each state realize political function of determining choices that affect the development and progress of the state community and therefore of the citizens who populate it. There can not be economic development or growth without an institutional authority that plans policies to get a result.

The state as described above is fundamentally the typical western democratic state. A kind of state that for several historical, social and cultural reasons, in addition to the achievement of basic purpose, has also choose to develop, promote and protect some certain rights which are considered such as fundamental because referring to human being

⁶What is said is correct in general if consider within the bounds of what it is taught by the general constitutional law. But in recent decades, national states often voluntarily renounce important *pieces* of their sovereignty to join international organizations such as United Nations or over national organizations as case of European Union;

as themselves: human rights.

In this model of state, among the purposes of the institutions there is also fostering of economic development and prosperity of the population. Therefore, an economically and institutionally evolved state is also a state in which citizens enjoy the same opportunities. So, to do this, the state must remove the economic and social obstacles that can prevent citizens from fulfilling their wishes⁷.

The reason why I introduced the basic concept of state is that according the assumption of modernization theory is a purpose typical of western democratic state to achieve the equality among people or as well to beat all kind of inequality.

In this sense, the citizens of a democratic state should be guaranteed in equal enjoyment of the "portion" of wealth in a manner proportional to the amount and type of activities they perform. Furthermore, a state that favours the economic and social development of citizens must monitor the way in which this process takes place, trying to combat any type of inequalities of society (like income inequality).

This is the model of state that modernization theory considers as final target of a long process of economic, institutional and cultural transformation.

2.3 The Different Forms of Government: The Democratic State and the Economic Policy

According to the modernization theory, it must considers the western state model as the final achievement of a transformation-transition desirable by developing countries. For scholars of modernization , western states were considered democratic states, i.e. states where the political class is chosen by the people through free elections and states where there were constitutional chart that were based on the protection of fundamental rights as well.

Now is time to understand what we are considering when we speak about democracy.

I assume (and I want to test) that is a duty of a full democratic state to supervise

⁷The United Nations General Assembly. "International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights", (1966). Articles 6 and 7;

and watch on the equal distribution of income among the people. Or in other word a full democratic state, where fundamental rights are full protected, should provides to improve policy that keep a low level of income inequality.

In political science, the history of the evolution of state and government forms played a crucial role. Scientific literature on this topic is huge and disparate.

The essential characteristics of state are identified in three fundamental aspects. Hence, to talk about state and its legal order it is necessary to discuss on three essential elements composing a modern state: people, territory and sovereignty.

In general, each country can be politically organized according to different model or regime with different characteristics. In a sense, term *state form* means the way which state is organized itself.

In particular, with a specific reference to term *form of state*, we consider the relationship between power of the state and civil society. Because of this form, it will be established the principles and values that a state chose to use to reach the proposes goals.

Instead, with term form of government we refer to the way in which the power is shared among the fundamental organs of the state and how a particular institution can use assigned "means" and "tools" to reach a goal (Bin, Pitruzzella, 2000).

As far as state forms concerned, that is the models where the state organizes its functional apparatus and "weighs and calibrate" its relationship with the population. According to the state form model as well, a state establish main purposes and values of its direction policies, etc. In history there have been numerous models of stately organization.

I can not make in this work a complete *excursus* on evolution of different forms of government. Nevertheless just a brief mention of modern history about evolution of state model will be useful to understand why a full democratic state should keep inequality low in a country and why the implementation of human rights should has a role in this process. So, it will be useful al well to understand why I chose the modernization theory as framework to base my model on.

The first form of state of modern age is considerate absolute state. This kind of state is characterized by an authoritarian political apparatus clearly separate from society. Here, sovereign power is concentrated in the figure of the king. The Crown performing the

stately function of the sovereign and it handle both powers, legislative and executive, while judiciary function was exercised by courts formed by judges appointed by the king.

Following the French Revolution and events that affected the European continent throughout the nineteenth century, we saw the affirmation of the liberal state where freedom (in civil and in economic sense) of the people was affirmed in accordance with their aspirations and their capabilities and same time. State intervention in public activity was strongly limited. In this period, it was affirmed the principle that state powers should be rigidly regulated by law.

In the introduction of the chapter I stated that according to the modernization theory the western institutional - economic-development model, is also considered as the most desirable.

Democratic state is implicitly mentioned in this assertion. As well if virtually all states in western world (or even the "north hemisphere") can mostly be considered as democratic states.

Hence, this premises are important in order to understand weight and the active role that a state institutions must have in economic and social progress of a democratic country. It will be useful to understand what are goals that countries in transitions suppose to achieve.

Given the above, democratic state is characterized by fact that sovereignty is exercised by the people and for the people. Moreover, there is recognize the political pluralism and substantially the *erga omnes* recognition of the rights of liberty and equality (civil rights or civil liberties) are guaranteed to all citizens.

Therefore in the democratic state is guaranteed the participation of all citizens in national political elections (political rights).

Finally, in this model it is envisaged (according to different degrees) the intervention of the state in social-economic relations to eliminate inequalities that may favour certain classes of population at expense of others. Moreover, the democratic state could assume different forms. In all the cases where the social rights where implemented more or as much as political right, we are observing a particular model of democratic institutional form: social-democratic state. Thus main purpose of a social-democratic state is trying to implement social well-fare, and it intervenes to ensure a dignified living for the citizens. In

this sense, one of fundamental aims it is to promote specific programmatic rights different from civil and political rights: social rights. These rights do not contain legal prescription through which a state guarantees individual freedom to citizens or coerce himself to not infer in private interests of people. Anyway the social democratic model is not the only possible model. The democratic state can also be only purely liberal and in this case the state will abstain as much as possible from the intervention in the processes of allocation of resources and in general in the private sphere of the individual.

But in both cases the democratic state will be at the forefront of protecting and promoting the fundamental rights of citizens.

However, one limit of social rights it that them are rules that do not have a prescriptive but programmatic content. With this type of rules the state is committed to implementing policies aimed at destroying any kind of inequality within the state. Social rights, if implemented within a state, mean that all citizens enjoy the same opportunities and the same privileges according to a criterion of proportionality and progressiveness.

On the basis of above, social rights as well as political and civil rights are considered by international community as fundamental human rights and are implemented by two famous international covenant.

Moreover, state, which primarily plays political function, plays a predominant role in the country's economic policy choices. What do they consist of?

If we consider economic policy as science, that one is the studies of the impact of state intervention on private life on the country's economic life. Political intervention therefore serves to change the trend of the macro-economic system to achieve economic goals that state had set.

The state intervenes providing policies covering the balance sheet, monetary, fiscal, industrial and agrarian policy. In order to make necessary changes to economic performance of a country, the political bodies use the legislative power to create new laws that modify the current state of things (Caffé, 1978). We could say that the achievement of the economic policy of a state is the progress of country as well as the economic development.

Therefore, through the economic policy a state examines a type of action to be carried out both in macro economic and in micro economic area. An economic policy action, for example, is an action to reduce a high level of unemployment in a state. Through

intervention of the public authority, it will try to counteract an unwanted phenomenon such as unemployment, rising prices, etc.

Indeed, public intervention in state economy is justified by the presence of market failures such as unemployment, inflation, payments balances and underdevelopment, which in Keynesian optics can only be solved through government intervention (Caffé, 1978).

Summing up. From a historical perspective, economic policy governs the state intervention in economic life of a country. So in that sense the institutions of a country take decisions that affect the country's economic life.

What I said is merely theoretical. In this sense, the concept that emerges from showed model is that a state, organized in a democratic form, pursues important goals such as eliminating inequalities, ensuring access to public health or education, control and protection of wages and the labour market, perform an economic policy aimed at regulating economic processes so that tax revenue can (but not only) increase the services provided to population and guarantee fundamental rights and the freedom of citizens. So that is what it should happens in a democratic state.

During the twentieth century we saw the affirmation of the democratic state and the social democratic state in most Western countries. One of the main characteristics of these states was the provision and protection in the constitutional charters of the fundamental human rights.

In this model of state form, civil and political rights were guaranteed through the promotion of the liberties of the citizen and through abstention of the state in breaking into these freedoms. At the same time, this state model promoted the social and cultural economic development of the country through policies aimed at promoting the well-being of the population.

However, process of economic development and development of democratic institutions in the countries has not always been with same speed.

In recent history, often dictatorial forms of government left undisturbed small group of corrupt rulers directing institutions of their countries to obtain only personal benefits and to satisfy selfish ends. In the last fifty years, we often saw instances where the selfish interests of small group of ruler (oligarchy) created immense imbalances and economic inequalities, which led to enormous economic instability that sometimes led to civil wars

in many developing countries.

Nonetheless, not all scholars agree that transition to a democratic system is the only way to plan economic policies aimed at achieving an increase in living standards. Interpreting the idea of some scholars (Przeworski and Limongi, 1997) to "sacrifice" or to "compress" certain rights would increase the growth at low level of GDP per capita. Or in other word according to them democratic switching is possible only after the achievement of a certain level of GDP per capita (Przeworski and Limongi, 1997).

2.4 The Concept of Inequality: the Causes of the Inequality of Outcome

In the next chapter of this work I will carry out a brief survey about basic principles governing economic growth and about what can we consider such as economic development process in the world. I will expose a survey about main indicators used to measure the economic performance of states over time.

Now it is fundamental to discuss another one of main points of this work. And the point is how to measure the effects of adoption of international human rights on economic and social-economic performance of a countries. In particular, the phenomenon that I try to analysed in next chapters is trying to understand not whether human rights treaties have a linear effect nor on GDP or GNP but on indexes that measure income inequality.

In fact, calculation of GDP and other economic growth indicators of a country helps to understand the macroeconomic performance of a country and of its economy in general during years. However, per capita GDP, which is obtained by dividing the value of real GDP by the population of a country, does not help to perfectly define the "wellness" level or state of a country's population.

I thought that in this type of investigation it was more appropriate to choose a dependant variable that would measure the level of a type of "poverty" in a country (Sen, 1986).

The Gini index lends itself to this type of investigation for two reasons: first because it indicates the income distribution gap within a state population and, therefore, indicates

whether wealth in terms of income, is equally distributed; second, using as referring time series an analysis of a period of time that goes from 1960 to 2015 it was fundamental for this work to use a variable that had been measured since 1960 at least. Indeed, Gini coefficient has been measured globally since the early 1900s and therefore responds to needs of this work.

Therefore, it is necessary to define and describe what argument I will use to explain what I consider with the word inequality and income inequality. In fact, generally with word inequality we could have various meanings: economic inequality, social inequality, gender inequality, etc.

In general, we are talking about social inequality when there are substantial differences within population between different classes that comprise it. These differences can be measured in different ways, under a profile of access to opportunities (think of examples to schools: countries where the best schools are private ones). Inequality can be also linked to an ethnic element, for example, to belong to one ethnic group or another within the same country.

More generally, concept of inequality can be developed according to different aspects that characterize social life of a population.

Term social inequality concerns a disparity that manifests itself in an organization of people in distribution of social goods and opportunities (U.N.D.P., 2013). This disparity can be determined by different reasons: political power, race, religion, ethnicity, personal prestige, age, gender, sexual orientation, political participation, and so many other factors.

In this sense, social inequality can be considered as a "*genus*" where other types of inequality can be identified, as in the case of the economic inequality the it could be considered as "*species*" of social inequality.

When we talking about economic inequality, it primarily concern disparity in distribution of wealth among individuals in a population and it is considered both as a stock of capital (wealth) and in terms of income (U.N.D.P., 2013). In a more unequal society some people have more opportunities than others.

Basically, economic inequality can be related to inequality of economic well-being between people of the same country or between groups of people (eg. ethnic or cultural entities), within same country or between countries. In other cases, economic inequality

can also be considered as a macro appearance that includes in itself several phenomena where inequality can be manifested, such as education inequality, income inequality, wealth inequality, etc.

Therefore, in recent years the debate on what should be considered properly as economic inequality has been strict. In fact, economic inequality concept assumes different shapes according to historical period and economic and institutional structure of a country over time.

In the last decades studies on economic inequality were focused in two different view to dealing with this topic: inequality of income and inequality of opportunities, etc. According to a properly economic approach, the inequality of income describes perfectly the wealth inequality in terms of income or consumption. Indeed, in this last sense, inequality is manifested when within a society there is a discrepancy in levels of material wealth or overall in life economic conditions.

In theory of development, scholars have often debated what indexes to use to fully understand country's progress and to understand policy's trend who favour elimination or diminishing of economic inequality (Stewart, 2002). In these terms, development theorists who use the income as a measure to verify the status of inequality (or of poverty) are nothing more than perpetuating an economic argument that is much closer to that of those who study the theory of economic growth. In other words, for them an increase in the average income of individuals in a country should also reduce economic inequality.

Hence, it was thought that economic growth would also generate income as if there was not a distribution problem among the different people who make up a society that is social, ethnic, race, gender, etc.

A model like the Kuznet's Curve - U reverse shaped - described trend of inequality in relation to income distribution by showing the evolution of latter variable over time ⁸.

Indeed, the shape of this curve would suggest that at an early stage of development distribution of income is not optimal when it starts to tilt negatively, but is observed a fairer relationship between income distribution and inequality. This would prove that at an early stage of industrial development - the first version of the theory dates back to the 50s and 60s and is therefore a full industrial expansion of Western countries - wealthier

⁸Web source for Kuznet's curve graph: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6b/Kuznetscurve.png>

people are favour to invest their capital further increasing value of own wealth (Kuznets, 1955). However, as time goes on, development will cause wealth of these people to be hit by progressive taxation, and this should create a re-distributive effect that should benefit to population not wealthy.

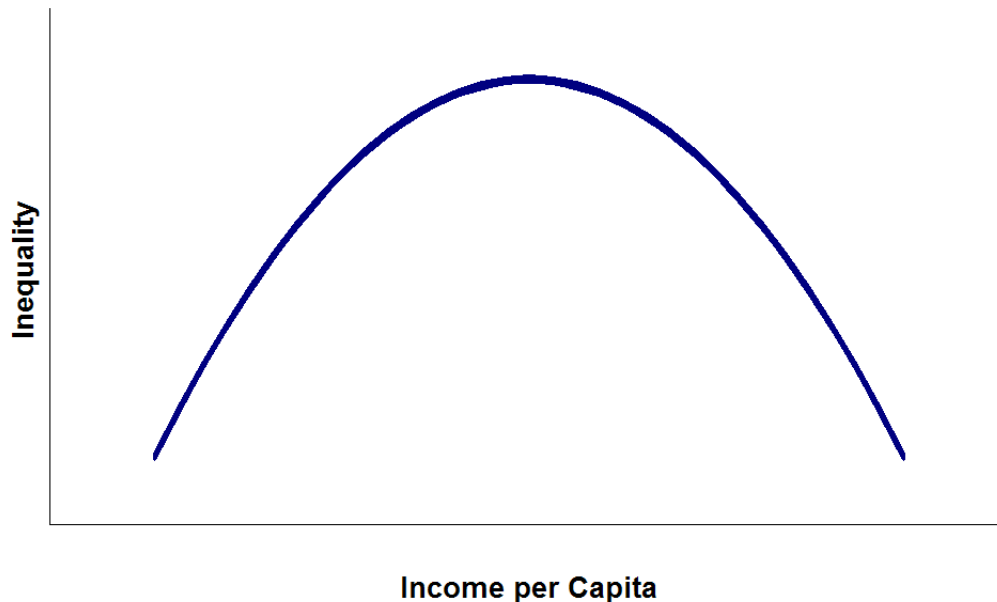


Figure 2.1: Kuznet's Curve

However, models such as Kuznets's curve have been subjected to many criticisms since empirical data analysis has shown that economic growth had inconsistent effects on inequality or in other words economic growth has not always favoured inequality decrease.

Indeed, sometimes is true opposite, that an unequal distribution of income does not have a good effect on economic growth. Sometimes reality shows that inequality of income continues to grow despite the re-distributive policies. As if there were two tracks: the first with low income that grow at a slow speed and on the other track the wealthy people who have incomes that increase at a higher speed (Fields, 2001).

According to reports from various United Nations agencies - UNDP, FAO, ILO - the levels of global poverty achieved in the early 1990s have become unsustainable and this is in both developing countries where the problem was often the subsistence itself as in the developed countries where the increase in incomes disparity level between upper and lower class (with the progressive disappearance of the middle class).

In this sense, since the early 1990s, economics and political science scholars, as well as international organizations, have been addressing their work to understand how to reduce global poverty. Keywords such as equity, human development, and redistribution of income are mentioned among the first goals as tools to reduce the enormous poverty among the population of the world.

During the early 2000s, various programs were promoted to encourage growth in developing countries and thus to reduce inequality of outcomes. It had become clear how to reduce the inequality could not be done with only economic instruments and policies to change rules governing a country's economic life (taxation, devolution, etc.), but with policies to achieve structural changes in the countries.

For example UNDP planned Millennium Development Goals (The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2014) - a list of economic, social and cultural goals to be achieved by 2015 - underpinned by UN were meant to reduce economic inequality also through inclusive growth approaches, better allocation of resources and a better redistribution of income among an ever wider range of population.

To sum up my previous argument, economic inequality is now considered to be the difference of values identified in the various indicators of economic well-being (wealth, outcome, etc.) among individuals in same group, between groups of the same population or between different states. According to some scholars like Kuznets (1955), only economic growth could lead to diminishing inequality.

But how do we measure inequality? There are several ways but economists usually prefer to use the Gini coefficient to measure inequality. This index measures the degree of inequality through the distribution of household income in a country. The coefficient of Gini is a index of concentration by which is possible to measure the disparities in distribution of income and wealth. It is a number that can range from 0 to 1⁹. A low coefficient value indicates a nearly homogeneous distribution of income so value 0 indicates

⁹An index of concentration in statistics is an index of homogeneity. It is used to measure how a transferable good is distributed among the population. In the Gini index, income (or wealth) is considered a transferable good. Hence, the concentration is minimal if the wealth is equal distributed among the population and each person has the same amount as the average. Instead, the concentration is maximum if only one person has all the amount of wealth and the others do not

a situation where all people in the population have the same income. But how much the value approaches more at the 1 means that it is close to maximum concentration, that is, a situation where one person perceives the entire income of the country and everyone else perceives zero.

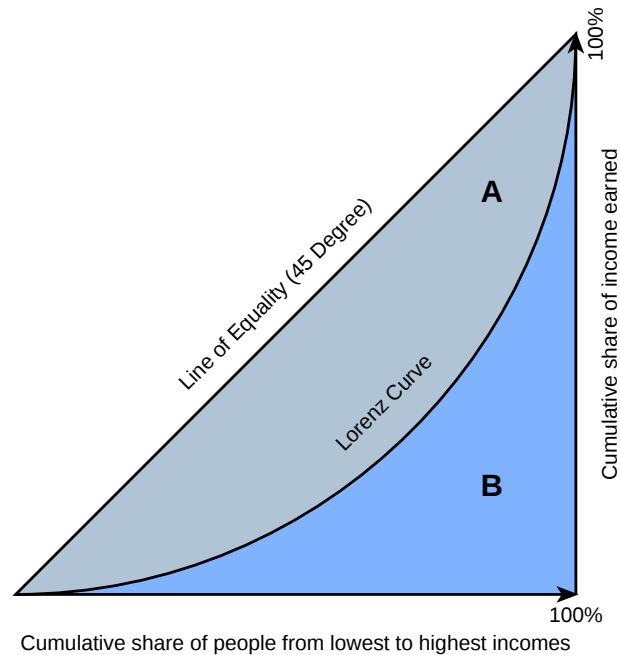


Figure 2.2: Lorenz Curve

The graphic representation of the Gini coefficient and its mathematical explanation is based on the Lorenz curve that is a graphical representation of the cumulative distribution function of wealth (Gini, 1921).

In this graph, the vertical axis indicates the percentage of household income and the horizontal axis indicates the percentages of families¹⁰.

The 45° sloping straight line indicates a situation where distribution of income is perfectly homogeneous (30% of family earn 30% of total income and so on) while the Lorenz curve is the one below the straight line and each point on this curve indicates the percentage of income perceived by a percentage of households. The Lorenz curve describes the effective distribution of income among the population: each point of the curve indicates the real percentage of income received by a percentage of families.

The linear distance between the Lorenz curve and straight line is a measure of the

¹⁰Web source for Gini Index graph: upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/59/EconomicsGinicoefficient2.svg;

degree of inequality in the distribution of income or the grey color area in the graph. Hence the Lorenz curve describes the actual distribution of income and each item describes the percentage actually perceived by households by a percentage of households. The curve may have a different slope and the wider the purple area, the greater the distance of the effective distribution from the perfect uniformity.

The Gini coefficient is instead calculated by making the ratio between the area included the perfect equality curve and the Lorenz curve and the area of the triangle OAB (Gini, 1921). As said before, such a coefficient assumes a value between 0 that would indicate perfect equality and 1 which would indicate the greatest inequality.

As mentioned above Gini coefficient is calculated as the "*area between a given Lorenz curve and the Lorenz curve for an economy in which receives the same income, expressed as a proportion of the area under the curve for the equal distribution of income*" (Dorfman, 1979).

The value of B can be found with integration represented in following formula

$$G = 1 - 2 \int_1^0 L(X) dx$$

So how then inequality finds itself in a more generic discourse on economic development and social progress? Well, according to the latest studies carried out by economists and political scientists (Acemoglu et al) admit that effects of a high level of economic inequality (or more generally of social inequality) have an hard effect on the process of economic development and more generally of human development of a country.

Indeed, a high level of inequality affects and hinders economic development of a country and hence the chances that it may undertake a development process. Moreover, lack of homogeneous economic development also lacks social cohesion could creates situations of widespread dissatisfaction among population that can result in protests, riots, acts of sabotage or even acts of terrorism.

In this sense, the role of political institutions is crucial in developing policies to combat and control inequality. Indeed, evidence shows that, beyond a certain threshold, inequality contrast the growth and poverty reduction, the quality of relations in the areas of public and political life, and the sense of self-fulfillment and self-esteem of individuals (U.N.D.P., 2013).

According with what the data are telling us (showed in the next chapter), is clear

that in the last twenty years, the inequality of outcome has grown significantly in many countries as well as GDP per capita.

What shows the data collected by U.N.D.P. (2013) in the report of 2013 said that *"On average - and taking into account population size - income inequality increased by 11 percent in developing countries between 1990 and 2010. A significant majority of households in developing countries - more than 75 percent of the population - are living today in societies where income is more unequally distributed than it was in the 1990s"*.

Hence, increase of inequality over the last 20 years has been due to a several of both endogenous and exogenous factors. In the latter case, the globalization process in the last decades has certainly played a key role in the geopolitical and geo-economic structure of the planet by deeply modifying the lifestyle of people - both ways: better and worse. But the predominant role played by the political institutions of each country that have not been able to put in place effective policies in the face of increasing economic inequality.

Anyway, what I said above concerns mostly about increasing inequality in developed or nearly developed countries. However, this issue has the most ancient and deep roots. International community has always worked hard for what concerned solving the problems that affect an high percentage of individuals on the planet whose well-being is far below western standards.

Forward in that work I will try to clarify how and why promotion and diffusion of human rights treaties could have played a crucial role in reducing social and economic inequality over last 50 years.

2.5 Theories about Global Inequality: Rich and Poor Countries

Why it would be interesting to know all the features and the traits of modernization theory? Because in this work we want to assess how the introduction and promotion of human rights - such as those enshrined in the treaties on human rights - would help or favour decrease of income inequality and economic development in general. To verify such a hypothesis it must set some premises. In the world there are rich countries and

poor countries. In our planet there is a huge inequality in a wide range of terms. Thus modernization theory assumed that peoples living in poor countries want to improve their living conditions and the best way to get it is the western model of modernization.

How can we determine if a country is rich or poor? The first indicator to be considered is income. The most followed method until the late 1990s was through the evaluation of Gross Domestic Product useful to calculate average income of population. International agencies such as World Bank for decades use this economic growth index to catalogue the world's countries into three macro-areas: High-income countries (like US, Canada, most of European Countries), middle-income countries, and low-income countries.

The second factor I considered relevant in distinction between rich and poor countries, it is directly linked to the first one and it concerns population in terms of size. In very low income countries, more than 50% of the world's population resides, while in countries with high levels of income live less than 15% of the total population of the world.

The third factor used in the assessment of a country status is wealth in terms of income. People living in high-income countries usually have 65 times more money than people living in low-income countries. The focus point in this factor is the division of world poverty. The United Nations Development Program (U.N.D.P.) has drawn up a multidimensional index that measures poverty the multidimensional poverty index (M.P.I.)¹¹ According to the M.P.I. index that more than 1.5 billion people live in a state of absolute poverty, i.e. people who have great difficulty finding access to the most basic needs such as food, clothing and housing. According to last data issued by the U.N.D.P. (2016) "*almost 1.5 billion people in the developing countries for which the MPI is calculated live in multidimensional poverty, 53.9 percent of them in South Asia and 33.5 percent in Sub-Saharan Africa. People are also deprived in developed countries*".

The fourth factor to be analysed a country's state is health. People living in low income countries have difficulty accessing health care while having the right to health.

¹¹The M.P.I. assumes that also poverty is multidimensional. Thus the M.P.I. (U.N.D.P., 2016) "*complements monetary measures of poverty by considering overlapping deprivations suffered by individuals at the same time. The index identifies deprivations across the same three dimensions as the HDI and shows the number of people who are multidimensionally poor and the number of weighted deprivations with which poor households typically contend with. It can be deconstructed by region, ethnicity and other groupings as well as by dimension and indicator, making it a useful tool for policymakers*";

2.5. THEORIES ABOUT GLOBAL INEQUALITY: RICH AND POOR COUNTRIES³³

In general, in countries with high levels of income, average life is at least 15 years longer than low-income countries U.N.D.P. (2016).

These are factors that best explain the difference between rich country and a poor country, but some scholars consider other factors as relevant factors that actually help distinguish rich countries from poor countries. One of these is the energy consumption. In high-income countries, people's energy consumption is more than 15 times higher than that of low-income countries. Except for India and China, high-income people consume 45 times more than those living in low-income countries (IEA, 2002). One of the problems that comes out is that in order to gain more growth (think of the growth of the manufacturing industry) low income countries drastically increase their energy consumption to try to get better economic performance.

Lastly, even natural events such as droughts and famines often increase gap between developed countries that are able to remedy on natural phenomena and undeveloped countries that instead are devastated by the fury of these events.

So how should modernization eliminate the gap between rich and poor countries? Reiterating the thought of the sociologist Smelser (1988) modernization involves a number of transformations on different levels affecting all the features of which a society is composed - economic, institutional, juridical, sociological and cultural - in order to modify them and achieve a widespread progress.

Modernization process described by major authors Lipset (1959), Przeworski and Limongi (1997) is characterized by some distinctive elements.

Agricultural production system start a transformation and becomes from subsistence, necessary to meet needs of a family that leave just a small trade surplus and transforms itself, into large - scale agricultural production, to increase production, to make lower its costs and make it easier to use earth products in big cities.

Meanwhile, people starting to move from country to city looking for a more comfortable lifestyle as the city is place where modernity is already on. Above all, theorists and scholars who generated the modernization during the early stages of the development of this theory (between the 50s and the 60s) assumed that traditional societies should change and modernize. However, assuming the need for a change from rural society to modern society was not the only assumption of the matter studied. There are other assumptions

that make the structure of this theory more solid.

One of the other assumptions, on which the theory is based, is that the world is a place where there is a stable system of relations between the parties. In other words, people, states, civil society and companies are strongly interconnected. One of the processes that interests modernization is making these connections more efficient. In addition, institutions have a duty to differentiate their goals, specialize and provide citizens with specific services. Modernization theory considers the process of development as an internal process that must be dealt with independently of the state and society that constitutes it.

In the next sections I will analyse contributions given by the major authors to the modernization theory from the late 50's to our day and how, according to them, modernization should have helped countries with lower income to emerge and progress economically, institutionally, socially and culturally.

2.6 The Modernization Theory: a Link between Economic Development and Democratic Institutions

The modernization theory, as outlined in the previous section, is a theory used to explain the process of modernizing a country that is transformed from traditional to modern society. It is not a theory suitable on a single scientific area. Different scholars from different fields of social sciences have contributed to developing this theory from the 1950s.

The fundamental assumption on which the theory of modernization is based on is that western society must be considered as an ideal model that all traditional societies should achieve.

The theory proposed in economic terms admits that economic development (some prefer to speak of mere economic growth) would favour a process of transformation that would guide nations towards social change and help them to develop and transform into modern and democratic societies.

From an economic point of view the promoters of modernization theory supported

transformation of "traditional societies" in modern society. In general, a modern or a western society is considered richer, here is a widespread prosperity and civil liberties and political rights enjoy a very high level of protection. The standard of living in a modern society is generally high.

Basic formulation of modernization theory is introduced by Lerner (Lerner, 1958), a sociologist of behaviours, who first analysed the role of the media in development. From this starting point he gave a definition of modern society. According to him modern society is realized where people are literate, live in homes within an urban context and enjoy the highest levels of incomes and with an high level of media participation. It was exactly Lerner first to use the term "modern" by giving a definition.

In fact, according to the author every nation should have become "modern" and to do that we would try to emulate the social organization, economic policy and the Western world. It was Lerner to identify the keys factors that make modern and characterize a nation. In particular, it has been claimed that the transition to the modern should have been characterized by a process of industrialization, improvement of health and human enhancement and mainly by the increase of social mobilization. This latter point was considered as the ability of individuals to diversify and multiply their fields of activity and interest in such a way as to exponentially increase the parties engaged in the secondary sector (industry) and tertiary (services).

On the same current, many scholars approached and studied the phenomenon of modernization in its various shades during the late '50s: sociological, anthropological, psychological, urban planning, legal and economic.

According to the structural approach formulated by the sociologist Seymour Lipset (1959), for the improvement and development of democracy are fundamental social economic aspects which characterize one country. In other words, according to the theory lead and promoted by this American sociologist, the process of democratization of a country would be supported and encouraged by reaching some level of economic development, *the greater the economic development of a given nation, the more it will be inclined to undertake a transition to democracy*".

According to Lipset formulation, lack of economic development of a country, which in turn would hinder the process of modernization, would be determined by inference

of cultural traditions present in a country. In order to can record performing levels of economic development, according to the author, it is necessary that the (observed) country has an adequate industrial structure in terms of production of goods, there is a high level of schooling and higher education (University) and that it is started an urban and infrastructural development. The presence of these conditions would favour the well-being of the nation and would support democracy improvement.

Indeed, in Lipset (1959) work, countries object of observation are divided into two main groups: European countries and countries where English language is spoken (which is a testimony to the interference of British colonialism in the previous site) and Latin American countries (are ousted the countries of the Far East since the time of the document they were still lagging behind compared to the rest of the world).

Within these two main areas are distinguished, for each area, two other micro categories: stable democracies and unstable democracies and dictatorships. Lipset used this distinction highlights and also economic indices (such as GDP per capita) to measure the gap between the countries of the first macro area and the countries of the second to an equal level of democracy. Also he submits his model to other tests using other variables such as urbanization, schooling etc. and highlights the level gap between observed two large groups. According to Lipset studies, therefore, the relationship between economic development and democratic development is characterized by a strong relationship but not a causal relationship. Indeed, in his work Lipset (1959) it is not supported the theory that economic development is a prerequisite of democracy nor the opposite. He merely states that *"concretely, this means that the more well-to-do to nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy"*.

More generally, Lipset asserted that a certain level of economic growth measured by country's per capita GDP is likely to move towards a democratic transition.

In the next decades the theory formulated by Lipset was subjected to sharp criticism¹²

¹²Indeed, the structural approach to modernization was criticized since its formulation. According to some scholars (Acemoglu, Naidu, Restrepo and Robinson, 2015). The fundamental variable in the relationship between economic development and democracy is not the speed of increasing of economic growth - in terms of GDP per capita - but resource distribution process between the citizens of a country. In this way as to reduce the gap measured in terms social inequality: a country where resources are equitably or efficiently distributed among the population is also a country where the social gap decreases

Moreover, Lipset argues that along with an encouraging economic development there are some additional requirements necessary and fundamental for a democracy that can be born and grow ferrying civilization towards modernization. These requirements are necessary, in particular, to the genesis of a stable and legitimate democratic political system that is not sensitive to divisions or to sudden crisis.

Hence, Lipset argues that stability of a particular democratic system of a country depends not only on its level of economic development and on the efficiency of the process of modernization but also by the legitimacy and efficiency of its political system. The effectiveness is the first requirement mentioned and that term is understood as the actual performance of a particular political system, namely its ability to fully carry out the general functions that a government has to support during his time in office and that the population expects that the same performs are effectively done. As also the ability to liaise and deal with other powerful groups in the country. According to Lipset, efficiency of a good democratic political system can be weighed and measured by the efficiency of its bureaucracy and its decision-making apparatus which, though certainly influenced of the political bodies, indicates the degree to which the entire institutional apparatus faces and solves a problem of a political nature.

The second requirement considered is legitimacy: this could be considered as the ability of a political system to show that the role played by himself through operation of political institutions is the most appropriate and desirable for the reference society. Legitimacy of an institutional political system is measured by the ability that the same one has historically proven to solve the problems of their country.

More a political system has demonstrated continuity in solving the problems much more it could be considered legitimate.¹³

and this aspect is considered as a major sign of democracy;

¹³Lipset, although, not clearly stated that economic development should be considered as a prerequisite for the consolidation of democracy and its institutions and to encourage the process of modernization, however it would appear that the author advocates a factual situation for which if it is true that is more likely to see the consolidation of democracy in a developed country is not also true the reverse situation, namely that it is preferable to have a process of democratic development before economic development;

2.7 The Criticism on Modernization Theory and Dependency Theory

In the last decades, it was increase a strong academic debate about the relationship between democracy, modernization and economic development. Some authors argued how the modernization process could only come about in a democratic context and therefore the presence of democratic institutions in a country are necessary to start a process of modernization.

While other scholars argued the opposite: that only after the effective modernization of a country it is possible to obtain a democratic transition process.

In the early sixties was draft the stages of growth theory (or stages theory) developed by Rostow (Rostow, 1960). That theory was based on the idea that modernization was necessary globally.

Indeed, that one is a theory that has been a driving force in several models used by international organizations to facilitate the process of economic development and modernization in developed countries.

According to the author, each country would have the opportunity to start a process of economic development and modernization through the overcoming of five levels or precisely stages of development as well as modernization theory.

In particular, according to Rostow, the starting stage would be that one of the traditional society, in which a country is basically a traditional economy: low levels of urbanization, education and diversification of the industrial production system; an economy in which the majority of the population lives and livelihood through self-consumption.

The second stage is considered a pre-take off. In this phase aims at increasing cultural education of the population and therefore to the improvement of the schooling process accompanied by an embryonic form of technological development.

The third stage is the most characterizing the theory mentioned. According to Rostow the third stage of growth is represented by the "take off", characterized by a profound and rapid social and cultural change operated through a strong investment activity in physical and human capital that would favour industrialization.

The fourth stage is after take off, where the country reaches a "maturity" state: the

level of industrialization touches high levels of development as well as is recorded a rapid increase of the tertiary sector accompanied by a general good perform of increasing standard of living and a greater satisfaction of citizens.

The last or fifth phase is the age of mass consumption is the era when a country reach the mass production and consumption statement: the needs of people are multiplied in relation to the variety of goods that are product and available because of development of second and third sector and help to increase the level of general welfare (Rostow, 1960). Generally the society considered in the last stage are the western ones.

According to Rostow (1960) stage number three (take off) could be initially favoured by few singular transformation of particular economic sector. Given above, growth process would be is unidirectional and it would considers the institutional modernization as a desirable and obtainable phenomenon only after the take off stage. In this sense, it is placed in a position not totally antithetical but that deviates respect to the Lipset formulation that believed that the two processes would influence each other.

Throughout the decade of the 60s, modernization theory suffered hard criticism even from different scholars and especially by the promoters of the dependency theory.

The core nucleus of dependency theory argued that underdevelopment of poor countries derived and were a consequence of colonialism and neo-colonialism. More generally, dependency theory claimed that there was a relationship between imperialistic behaviour of developed states (core states) that made profits from the extraction and trade of raw materials obtained from poor countries (periphery state) in which the well-being was not redistributed. So the core countries got richer at the expense of the poor.

In particular, Andre Gunder Frank stated a model in which is argued that the process of modernization of a country can only be achieved at the expense of another one. In model proposed by Frank, we can see as modernization process it would requires the sacrifice of indigenous culture and the establishment and construction of a similar western society (Gunder Frank, 1966). According to the promoters of this theory, modernization is considered as a precondition to reach the only type of desirable society that should be western society. This argument, postulate the premise that any other type of society in the world would have to be considered primitive or obsolete and unfit to foster modernization process.

2.8 Democratization Process, Economic Development and the Legacy of Modernization Theory

The Soviet Union fell and the economic transformation occurred in the monarchies of the Arabian Peninsula has led to refresh an old debate in the academic world. The assumption that democracy and economic development of a country were two closely related issues was discussed and criticized again.

Soviet Union left as a legacy many countries where are recorded good levels of development in terms of education, public health, infrastructure but with level low income. While in the Arabian Peninsula countries are registered an exponential increases in the level of GDP per capita but with low levels of democratic development in terms of promotion and protection of civil and political freedoms and cultural rights.

So, that situation contributed to establish again a wide academic debate over the relation between democracy and economic development. Indeed, in this contrasting context, it returns current the question left unanswered by the formulation of Lipset: is there a causal relationship between economic development and process of institutional transformation?

Today the scientific community remains divided on the different sides of the debate. In the evolution of social studies related to the relationship between democracy (democratic institutions) and economic development there are different schools of thought. In neo-liberal area, scholars like Milton Friedman have argued that between democracy and economic development there is a mutual interdependence: the effects of the development of one of the two observed phenomena would have impacts on each other (Friedman, 1962).

In particular, Friedman argued that the promotion of certain rights and more specifically the political rights (such as active and passive voting right or the right to petition) those lead to a fortification of the economic growth process. Moreover, economic growth is a constitutive element of a broader phenomenon consisting in economic development and also this last it would get benefit (Friedman, 1962). According to the opinion of Friedman the only element that would hinder economic growth is not democracy in itself. Actually democracy would encourage and promote a free exchange economy in which the

state should not intervene in the ordinary choice of allocating resources (ideal of liberal society). The obstacle element would be the direct inference of the government's activities in the economic life which would delay in different ways economic development. Indeed, Friedman argued that the only way forward was represented by building a democratic state that protect political rights and civil liberties. A democratic state that also limits his intervention in economic policy could favour and promote free trade. In his theory the international legitimacy of a state also passes through consent of international community and by the ratification of human rights core treaties.

Although as just mentioned the modernization theory was widely critical and abandoned around the late 60s and 70s, some aspects of this theory has never been abandoned in academic debate.

In the nineties the scientist Adam Przeworski, retracing some steps of Lipset studies sought to deepen the study on the relationship between democratization and economic development.

Indeed, according to the line of scholars headed by Przeworski, the relationship between economic development and democracy is mono-directional and namely the economic development first would favour democracy. While, the solely democratization process, without a proper economic policy, would slow down the economic development. Or in other words after reached a certain level of growth the binomial, democracy and high level of income per capita, maintains itself and resists. However, at this time, the rate of economic growth slows due to the high complexity of functioning of a democratic regime.

According Przeworski's opinion, it is true that the rich countries are also the most democratic yet. However, the economic growth in rich countries may be due to historically different reasons respect the affirmation of democratic institutions and that this latter aspect could be grow only after a long process of social transformation.

All transformations - social, economic and cultural - are due to the growth process, which led the population of the state in question to demand the recognition of certain rights, first those politicians who gave the opportunity to see their elected representatives so as to obtain a voice in policy decisions. The democratization process, according to Przeworski, would have made more complex bureaucratic political system of Western countries, because of principle of legality and due to fact that every state power should

be regulated by law. This model contribute to slow down (acceptably) economic growth speed (Przeworski and Limongi, 1997).

The major contribution of Przeworsky and his co-authors like Limongi is that they observed that concept of "correlation" does not necessarily imply that between the two observed variables there should also be a causal relationship. A state can become too democratic also for reasons unrelated to their economic development (Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub and Limongi, 2000).

Moreover, Przeworski's pattern is reintroduced the idea of importance to debate on economic growth in general. In fact, according to the author, in developing countries an industrialization process aimed at making economic growth take off and it would favour the creation of ideal social conditions for the development of a popular conscience. The idea is that the priority of development would require that a population must be able to meet its primary needs and only after, identifying the political instruments to achieve the recognition of the traditional rights of western democracies (politics and civil rights).

Therefore, the promotion of a democratic transition process in a poor state would not favour the process of economic development. An early attempt to implement institutional structures and social services without a solid process of economic growth would not favour the transition to the economic development process. In other words, starting a policy aimed at promoting large-scale structural reforms: public education, public health, and so on, would not necessarily create the ideal environment for a democratic transition.

This argument captures a critical point of this thesis. Indeed, I will try to understand how the accession to international human rights treaties by poor countries and non-democratic institutions can have effects on certain income inequality.

On this point, Przeworsky argues that all modern economies - the most advanced in the world like European ones as well as the United States, Russia and Japan - have not achieved the take off in terms of increased economic growth (Rostow, 1960) in a phase of full democratic statement. Similarly, emerging economies at that time, can not possibly be considered as established democracies (like Asian tigers) ¹⁴.

According to this interpretation, dictatorships and autocracies would be preferable (if

¹⁴The observation period in Przeworsky studies is around the year 2000 and so in pre-economic crisis phase;

not necessary) to stimulate and generate development processes (Przeworski and Limongi, 1993). The model theory developed by the Przeworsky's team is a dichotomous model: it divides the countries subject of observations into two main areas. For that model to be democracy a country must meet certain requirements: both the government and the parliament should be elected by free and popular elections, there must be a plurality of political parties within the country (no single party) and it should not register a current risk of a regime that could destabilize the country.

According to the results of the work carried out by the team if a country is already considerable wealthy, with a high level of GDP per capita will be more likely that this will be able to be and remain democratic without risk of birth of regime reality. In this sense, over time, it could be recorded and verified a correlation between economic growth and democracy.

At same time, the model suggest that regimes do not favour the transition to democracy as per capita incomes rise. According with that theory the democratic transition should be random and caused by heterogeneous conditions. However, once occurred the transition, countries with higher levels of GDP per capita remain democratic. In their conclusion, the promoting of economic development in a country does not have an important role in the transition process from regime or dictatorship to democracy.

Similar are the conclusions obtained by Pinho and Madaleno (Pinho and Madaleno, 2009) in their studies. These two authors analyse the relationship between democracy and/or authoritarian systems and income. In their conclusions argue that even if it can not claim that there is a causal relationship surely there is a strong cross-link or cross-relation between the two variables. Indeed they support two hypotheses.

The first one is that countries with more advanced democratic structures are also those with a GDP per capita higher. Although it is likely that the process of democratic development in those countries has not directly affected the economic growth, if it is true that growth process had significant increases in the short term the economic trend, is not also true that during those times there has been a marked increase of the indices that measure the democratic level. In other words democracy and growth increase and develop with two different speed, and if economic growth can be fast, institutional and political change is often slow. Therefore, the relationship between income and democracy could

be analysed only in the long run term when the two speeds begin to converge.

The second hypothesis argued by the authors is that historical events affects more the economic and political development of society. For example it was found a positive relationship between the democracies born at the end of the war (World War II), the neglect of dictatorial regimes and the increase in income. According to this theory, indeed, democracy would promote economic development after the crisis because dictatorships are not able to persist for long time.

In the last year the scientific community debated a lot on the work of the team of Przeworsky. A decisive role was played by the team led by Epstein that provide to retest and criticizes the modernization analysis supported by Przeworski and Limongi model. In their work they support the erroneous use of the dichotomous model as it argued that this classification was not truthful and reliable as it took no account of those realities in current democratic transition: the so called almost-democracies or partial democracies that today comprise the majority of developing countries (Epstein, Bates, Goldstone, Kristensen and O'Halloran, 2006).

The study developed by Epstein provide a "trichotomic" model to measure the relation between democracy and economic development. A model that involves the observation of a third type of condition namely partial democracies. According to the study carried out by the team, modernization theory arguments emerge again as they are found positive relationships between economic development partial democracies. According to the work of Epstein, therefore the analysis of the third category of states is crucial to understand whether there is a relationship between the level of economic development of a country and the creation or strengthening of a democratic institutional system.

At the time of drafting this thesis the authors claimed that in partial democracies are recorded many political and economic reform events. As for the political reforms it seems that the only direction that is taken is to democracy. Economically these countries seek to implement reforms that promote economic growth. Also it demonstrates how the increase in per capita income, increase significantly the likelihood or to keep the democratic status (as stated Przeworsky) or to assist to a process of transition from autocratic regimes to democracy.

2.9 The Determinants of Democracy and Economic Growth and Development

As has been observed so far, the scientific literature on that subject is wide. After trying to frame the problem and analysed the evolution of history studies about the relationship between democratic development, economic development and growth, it is appropriate to describe the state of the most recent studies on the subject.

According to Barro, the relationship between democracy and economic growth would not be of linear type but a non-linear¹⁵. This would result the fact that at low levels of economic development a process of democratic development do not favour or encourage economic development itself. In particular according to this theory, in the middle level of democracy and that is one in which records the switching is also one in which occurs the greatest acceleration in the economic growth and development while in developed democracies speeds converge and decrease growth and development.

In extreme synthesis according to Barro an high level of living standards would favour a democratic transition. So it would be desirable to encourage a process that ensures a quick increase in income per capita. Indeed, to define a state as democratic, according to Barro, must be met some basic requirements such as the preservation and protection of civil and political rights, it must be guaranteed primary education and should be encouraged a process that generates the prosperity of middle class.

Moreover, Barro argues that reasons that can promote democratic transitions are many and varied, and that there is not only one effective and functioning model to lead the switch. Among the examples highlighted by the author, him recording a strong relationship between democracy and the colonial heritage of a country, especially when the levels of growth, after colonization, have remained constant (Barro, 2012).

At the same time, the author claims that it is very unlikely to find developing countries in which the occurrence of this initial convergence between economic development and growth of democratic institutions. In this sense he endorses the modernization theory to the extent that the economic development process, intended as a tool to assess the trend

¹⁵In mathematics and statistics, it is said that the relationship between two variables is linear between these two if there is some form of direct proportionality;

of the increase in GDP per capita and the level of education, foster the emergence of democratic institutions as a high education would promote participation in the political and institutional life (Barro, 1999).

Hence, according to Barro the determinants of democracy they would be positively influenced by a good level of initial income and education. The development process of these determinants would promote the strengthening of the democratic state and the protection of political rights and civil liberties of which itself is substantiated.

Anyway, this position is discussed by another group of scholars. In fact, deviating slightly from the ideas of Barro we find, according to Acemoglu, Naidu, Restrepo and Robinson (2014), a different relationship between democratic institutions, growth and development. According to the studies carried out by this last authors, there would be a clear complementarity relation between democratic institutions of a country and the original causes (proximate causes) that favour economic development. Using the model used by the team led by Acemoglu, it would be clear that increasing the level of democratic institutions in one country favours changing the distribution of economic "incentives" among the population (Acemoglu, Naidu, Restrepo and Robinson, 2014).

Indeed, the conclusions obtained by Acemoglu, starting from the Huntington-based democratization waves, suggest that a rise in democracy would boost a sudden increase in GDP per capita and this last increase would lead to a chain reaction that would encourage investment spending, the increasing of investment in education and increasing of level of schooling in the country. This process would play an accelerating role that would favour proposing economic reforms, the increase public good provision for the benefit of the population and consequently reduce the gap of social inequality (Acemoglu, Simon and Robinson, 2005).

In particular, the author argues that an autocratic or dictatorial system would not even favour a sudden form of economic growth. In the short term, in countries with regimes could be a period of growth but distribution of wealth that would result by the increase in GDP per capita does would not occur equally across the different range of the population but would focus only on the people close to politicians and related to them (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012).

Around the same topic is very interesting the contribution carried out by study of

scholars Boix and Stokes (2003). Basically they argue against Przeworsky and Limongi model underlining the difference between endogenous and exogenous democratization process: *Why do we observe a higher proportion of democracies among rich countries than among poor countries? Is it because development increases the likelihood that poor countries will undergo a transition to democracy? They call this an endogenous theory. Or is it because development makes democracies, once established, less likely to fall to dictatorships? They call this an exogenous theory. The conceptual distinction is brilliant, and Przeworski and Limongi offer evidence that the exogenous theory holds and the endogenous one fails*" (Boix and Stokes, 2003).

The two authors begin their analysis by also making a review of the different views about the relation between the democratic institutions and authoritarian regimes and about which system favours a better growth in terms of GDP per capita. The authors analyse the different theories from Przeworski to Barro etc. Trying to find a common thread to all theories. The only element that seems to combine the different opinions is that both economic development and democratic development has an endogenous effect on growth or vice versa.

Boix first offers an analysis of relationship between development and democracy from a different perspective. In fact, this last author argues that in order to have a clear idea of the relationship between democracy and development it is necessary to analyse how the process of social-economic development of a country takes place not only through mere economic analysis in terms of GDP per capita but also through study of inequality. In fact, according to Boix, as countries develop their institutional profile, income distribution takes place more equitably. Moreover, according to Boix, the democratic regime would better satisfy the needs of all social classes (Boix and Stokes, 2003). In fact, according to data considered and related with "first wave" (1950) of democratization, transitions to democratic regime are recorded at low levels of GDP per capita in situations. In 1950 data on the Gini coefficient were not yet available (or well collected) but Boix assert that the average income level was low and therefore there was no great inequality in the distribution of income.

Indeed, a democratic regime includes among its principles the redistribution of well-being. If in a country where a voter affirms his will to desire a democratic country, a

democratic government is elected, after a physiological phase of transition, the elected government will undertake to guarantee - together with fundamental freedom - a "monitoring" on the distribution of wealth. The holders of capital (entrepreneurs, etc.) will be more likely to support a state in which all citizens, thanks also to the implementation and provision of social services, are happier. In other words it is more desirable a country where the people are happier than where the people are not happy. So, democratic regime is more suitable with this target.

Summing up, it is more likely to observe a democratic transition not so much in relation to the increase in income and therefore to the increase in GDP per capita but in relation to another aspect of social life that are related and described the development process itself. It is the propensity to maintain and guarantee a spread low level of inequality. A country with a great level of inequality is a country where democratic regime can hardly take root and grow up. So the question to ask is: how does a government keep the inequality under control? A coherent response could be triggering a whole series of social policies aimed at redistributing income and eliminating the gap of possibilities that exist between wealthy citizens and less wealthy citizens. One of the best tools to achieve this is the implementation of policies that promote and guarantee socio-economic rights, i.e. human rights norms with programmatic content.

2.10 The Role of Human Rights. Is Really The Democracy a Precondition for Economic Growth and Economic Development?

From what is discussed in the previews sections, the scientific literature appears to be divided into certain aspects about the relationship between the level of institutions present in a particular country, their quality (democratic or not) and the relationship between this aspects of the social organization and their level of well-being that is measured by custom, or specifically related to per capita income through the calculation of GDP growth; or if other variables affecting the well-being are considered, through human development measurement indices such as the Human Development Index (H.D.I.).

Many scholars of modernization theory argues that it is necessary to promote a process of economic growth because economic prosperity must come first. Only after reached a level of growth - the take off - the population could be consider ready to require the guaranteed of fundamental rights. Others, argued that even the country's only economic growth is not feasible or desirable in the absence of representative institutions the will of the people. In particular, classifying the various models exposed in the first part, inspired more or less by the modernization theory, that models identifying different initial or starting patterns. According to the first model discussed in the first chapter, there would be a relationship between democracy and economic development that is mono-directional, namely economic development would favour the democratic transition. Once the democratic switch is obtained however, the proliferation of protected and guaranteed rights and freedoms would lead to a slowdown in development speed itself (acceptable). Therefore in the poor countries it would be desirable to initially encourage a process of growth - economic development rather than promoting the formation of democratic institutions (Lipset, Przeworsky, Limongi).

The second model showed the hypothesis that between democracy and economic development there is a mutual relationship so the two variables would affect each other. According to these scholars, the rights deriving from a democratic state, and so civil liberties and political rights, make the substrate in which the economic development process is formed. At the same time a good level of well-being among population promotes the development of a free society. With a high cultural level and where wealth through taxation is redistributed among the population in the form of services that promote the proliferation of social rights (Friedman).

The last model is the radicalization of the first one. Indeed, at low levels of wealth, democracy should not be encouraged. However, according to some authors, autocratic or dictatorial political regimes would favour faster economic growth. At high levels of wealth, a high democratic development would be preferable. Because only a democratically organized state would actually be able to maintain a high level of economic development (which would, however, slow down along with growth). According to Barro, for example, in the partial democracies is realized the best relationship between democratic development and the speed of economic growth. So in this model there will be no linear but

”curved” (non-linear) relationship between the two observed variables.

In all these models is observed relationship between an economic variable or socio-economic (independent variable) and the implication that the trend of this variable has on measurable level of democracy in a country (the dependent variable). Indeed, all the literature is quite consistent in the assertion that a relationship exists between the two variables, that there is a correlation but that the relationship in question is not to be considered causal.

The basic assumption behind this work is that a state to be considered democratic needs to meet certain requirements: rule of law, plurality of political parties, transparency of the bureaucratic apparatus, etc. At least one of these variables, if not more, can be influenced or interpolated by the law derived from international treaties.

In particular, since 1948, the year in which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was issued, the drafting, signing and ratification of treaties (especially within the United Nations) on human rights are being asserted. But what exactly human rights are?

2.11 Human Rights and Democracy: a Philosophical Survey on Fundamental Rights

What is clear according to most of scholars is that whatever the model you want to adopt in the analysis of the observed phenomenon (I proposed the modernization theory), it is necessary to investigate on two aspects: there is an unstoppable tendency of world countries (representing a finite number) to Head to a democratic transformation and that the citizens of the countries want their freedoms and rights more and more recognized. The second aspect is that ”today is better than yesterday”. What do I mean by this last statement? Simply because the number of poor people in the world has declined, people are more educated, less likely to die for easily treatable diseases, and generally ”deep crisis” situations are less than twenty years ago. How human rights did to help this transformation in countries?

In the literary scientific context of the human rights branch, the academy is divided widely on what the actual and definitive meaning must be conferred on this term. Indeed,

it is very complex to give a definite definition of what human rights should mean. A reflection that could be considered satisfactory about the nature of human rights is one that considers them as the conjunction of two elements connected each other. In them, would be observed a dichotomous relationship between a positive legal element, the law, and an element concerning the moral. In this thesis I can not push beyond the philosophical debate on the nature, justification and definition of human rights but it should be pointed out that human rights are characterized by a strong dynamic component. In other words, the study of human rights should not be considered as the study of a category of rights not subject to change, but it is clear that if moral is subject to change linked to a multitude of factors (historical, political, cultural, economic, etc.), then the rights in question will also have the ability to adapt to the resulting time changing.

Historically can be find the foundation "pillars" on which human rights are based on. The literature on constitutional law is constant in asserting that certain human rights, such as the fundamental freedoms of man, such as the right to life, freedom of movement, and so on, are all rights that were "positivized" in the constitutions of all countries during the various democratization waves ¹⁶

A main definition of human rights is the one given by the italian law philosopher Norberto Bobbio. In his view the term human rights should not consist in a certain branch of law in which to group categories of rights that can be assimilated by content and legal protection, but they should be considered as a purpose. Indeed, according to the author the fundamental (human) rights would be those that would allow the "natural" development of a full democracy based on the relationship of reciprocity and equality of the rights and freedoms of individuals belonging to a particular country (Bobbio, 1990). For the author, the proliferation of this rights (which he does not actually call human rights) should encourage the process of citizen participation in community decisions and consequently would make the democratic model as desirable globally. According to Bobbio

¹⁶In positive law systems, characterized by the existence of constitutional charts, with the words freedom and fundamental rights are meaning all subjective legal situations that juridical order acknowledges. So the state is committed to ensuring the respect for the rights of each human person as such. In particular, the rights to human life and fundamental freedoms, which are also considered as human rights, are also protected in the most rigid (non-modifiable) part of the constitutional charts in order to demonstrate the priority interest of the country in question and its own principles;

(Bobbio, 1990), a democracy, even bad, is always preferable to a dictatorship.

The scientific literature on the subject of what human rights are or are not is wide. Interesting for this work is the argument presented by the british philosopher John Stuart Mill in his essay "On liberty" (Mill, 1859). According to the author's thinking, as far as it can be seen from the work mentioned, Mill considered the utilitarian criterion. According to the utilitarian approach to human rights, the good that should be maximized is "happiness" or "well-being" that is considered as the greatest prosperity for most people.

This liberal vision of human rights will surely help us to establish a connection with the idea that there is an inseparable relationship between the affirmation and protection of certain rights and the socio-economic development of a country. The authors to be quoted would be many, but we will not be able to deepen this philosophical thinking about human rights.

On this occasion, it is enough to state that as a fundamental author in human rights literature as Mill was absolutely convinced that the appreciation of man as an individual and affirmation of fundamental freedoms favours the development of the institutions of a state. Hence, the state must have the purpose of protection of all these liberties. Mill's thinking is fundamental to the idea that the state should not inference on the liberties of individuals. The only case where this would be admitted is when the conduct of the individual results in actual harm to a third citizen.

2.12 A Brief Recent History About the Development of Human Rights After the Second World War and the Internationalization of Civil and Political Rights

Paying attention to the political historical profiles of human rights is a duty to focus on to the evolution that they have had since the Second World War and what was their inference in political transformation processes - cultural and social. Talking about human rights in generally is never easy. There is no, as mentioned before, a peaceful definition of

what human rights are. What must be their minimum content in terms of legal protected goods (any thing that is relevant to human existence) and what are the methods to ensure that these rights do not only remain "*diritti di carta*" (paper rights), namely without any mechanism guaranteeing the protection of them (Guastini, 1994).

What is historically clear is that in a certain period of recent history, the major political powers of time decided to begin to promote, guarantee and protect a fundamental core of rights both under an internal policy and by international policy. Shortly after the end of the Second World War and under the auspices of the nascent United Nations, in 1948 it was drafted and signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Promotion and protection of the list of rights that was mentioned in the declaration would have to be automatically applied in each country by participating in the United Nations.

From this point, it is possible to talk about the protection of human rights and therefore of their legal status if they are "positivized" in the domestic laws of each state. A right is considered positive when the subjective position that this wants to protect is included in a norm issued for this purpose from a legislative system.

On the theory of "positivization" of rights, literature is wide. In general, is important to know that a value considered within a moral rule as such, it can not be protect by the legal system. Only when this value is transformed into a positive norm through the legislative process will enjoy the legal protection proposed by the state. In other words, the protection of that value can be guaranteed by the state only through the implementation of a norm recognized and protect by judicial system.

To better understand the reason why the international community expressed the needed to identify a strong core of rights it must be analysed historical moment that saw the birth of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The process of evolution and implementation of human rights has been and is still long and tedious. Shortly after the signature of the armistice that ended the Second World War, the winner countries, decided in 1945 to sign the San Francisco Charter through which lay the foundations of the United Nations Organization. One of the reason of creation of UN was that the two power blocks - west and east - were establish. Both sides were aware that a second escalation of tensions between the countries belonging to NATO and those of the Soviet Union would have been unsustainable.

In this historic moment, the day after the discovery of the extermination caused by Nazi Germany to the Jews, but more generally after realizing the human lives casualties and the destruction caused by the conflict, it was necessary to establish an international organization, whose primary purpose was to succeed in maintaining a long period of world peace.

The Charter establishing the United Nations has been of fundamental importance as it represents a crucial turning point in the evolution of international law, since it is in line with the classical principles of international law but includes new ones.

Moreover, the system set up by the Charter of United Nations is innovative in that conceived a new model of international law, where: international law subjects are no longer only nation states but also individuals regardless of their nationality, ethnic groups, peoples and non-governmental organizations; international law must pursue and achieve objectives, interests and values common to the international community since the cohesion of this one would result in greater worldwide prosperity; relations between states are not only based on the principle of reciprocity as has always been governed by international law but also by principles of cooperation and friendship between peoples (Pariotti, 2013).

Among the principles that are included in the paper emerge some general principles typical of traditional international law such as the principle of equality of sovereign states, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the member states of the nascent organization; at the same time, new principles of respect for human rights are being promoted in the charter as well as the obligation to reach a peaceful resolution of disputes between states with the ban of threat and force ¹⁷.

In this context, the political forces deployed between the Atlantic alliance and the Soviet bloc were fighting to promote the affirmation of civil and political rights promoted by Western countries and socio-economic rights whose affirmation was of primary interest of the Soviet bloc. At least in that historic era, the battle between west and east was fought not through the war structure, but by trying to assert an international law that would weigh the needle on the scale more than one side versus the other.

¹⁷In article 1 and 2 of the United Nations Charter it is clear how these principles are to be considered as primary in the new international context and therefore as they need primary protection

2.13 The Importance of Internationalization and Implementation of Political and Civil Rights

As we have seen until here, it is possible to say that within the constitutional charts of individual states there has been an internal implementation of a strong core of rights considered inviolable because they belong to human being. In western constitutions these rights are often mentioned in the preamble or in the first articles of constitutional charts and are called fundamental rights. However, this context is about domestic law, and therefore of rules that have an "*erga omnes*" validity but can only be applied within national boundaries because they are effective only in the territory of the state that pronounced them.

Instead, the rules of international law are of a agreement nature, i.e. they are not drafted by a national parliament but are the result of agreements taken by the members of governments participating in international conferences.

In these context are developed treaties, which will have force of law only if, once subscribed by the plenipotentiary ministers, they will be ratified within the states that have participated in the agreements.

In that sense, the process of internationalization of human rights represents the way in which human rights have been "positivized". Therefore, human rights are the rights that are effective in the international scenario because they are recognized by international sources to all human beings. It is also through internationalization that these rights acquire the character of universality (Pariotti, 2013).

As mentioned before, the internationalization of human rights begins through the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - UDHR, 1948. Moreover, the statement is the first legally relevant document drafted by an international organization and whose Content was claimed to be of universal tenor(The United Nations General Assembly, 1948)¹⁸.

¹⁸However it is to be noted that the statement must be considered, at least initially, as a document with a very symbolic profile. That because, despite being a document whose subscription took place within an international organization, there was no deriving obligation on the countries who signed it. In fact, a declaration does not impose obligations for the direct adaptation of domestic law to the provisions

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is more than a great victory above all in symbolic terms as it symbolizes the will of the countries to take a first step in the direction of the targets proposed by the United Nations Charter and so to a global peace. The creation of this new model of international law would have involved the need to begin a path that would lead to radical (and gradual) transformations in the way states conduct bilateral and multilateral relations.

Instead, from a political point of view, as already mentioned in relation to the United Nations Charter, even within the Declaration, it is notice the clear distinction of the interests proclaimed and promoted by the Western block than those proclaimed and promoted from the Soviet Bloc.

Therefore, a first element of interest that stands out is a factual encounter between two different orders of thought, such as the Western and the Socialist. The first of liberal tradition, the other characterized socialist collectivism. In this sense the rights listed in the charter are considered as a new formidable instrument for the protection of the freedom and autonomy of the individual, not only in relation to his individuality but also in relation to the social environment in which the individual forms and realizes its own goals. If we focus on content, will notice that the Declaration promotes and protects the recognition of three macro areas of rights: civil rights, political rights and social-economic rights. In this view it is historically clear that the first two categories of rights were promoted more by western countries while the last category was promoted by the countries of the socialist bloc (Cassese, 2003).

However, the main importance of the Universal Declaration is not linked to the auspice of rapid adaptation of the nation states to the dictates provided by the declaration itself. The statement was in fact a manifestation of intent and as such devoid of binding power for the states that had signed it. Indeed, the lucky of the statement is due to the fact that through its editing work have been laid the foundations and the content structure on which to base the subsequent human rights treaties. Instead, formally, the declaration was an excellent instrument of soft law that could be used internally in the individual states as a tool of interpreting domestic law in order to strengthen the protection of fundamental rights of the country (Pariotti, 2013).

of the rules contained in the declaration itself

2.14 International Human Rights Treaties: the Two Covenants of 1966

Before discussing the two conventions, a small introduction to the value and operation of international law is needed.

International law is that branch of the law that deals mainly with the international community and international environment and set its own functioning (Cassese, 2003). In this case, international law deals with disciplining the relationship between sovereign states and international organizations (such as the United Nations). Therefore, the subjects of international law are mainly states and international organizations. In order that a state can have that legal capacity it is necessary that it is an independent state that exercises sovereignty over a people within a given territory.

Given above, it must be clarified how international law works. The normative function is related to the sources of international law that are mainly two: uses - customs and treaties. By the term "custom" is considered a certain behaviour that is repeated over time in the same way until it assumes its mandatory. In other words, to speak of custom, it is necessary that there are two elements: the "*diurnitas*" that is the practice and thus the repetition of the same behaviour over time; the second requirement to be met is the "*opinio iuris sive necessitatis*" and latter element that points to a perceptual profile, namely behaviour in analysis must be considered mandatory (Conforti, 2006).

The international treaty is the second fundamental source of international law and is an agreement resulting from the manifestation of the will of two (or more) sovereign states wishing to regulate a relationship between them (Conforti, 2006).

In particular (in this work I analyse the right deriving from the treaties), the treaty's right is not automatically binding and mandatory within the states that have reached agreement. But another step is needed. Indeed, the treaty after being drawn up is signed by subjects who have been empowered by their governments to conclude international treaties. However the law arising out from the conventions becomes mandatory also within the contracting States, only after ratification. The ratification of a treaty can be done in many different ways and it depends mainly on the internal rules of each state. Only after ratifying the rules contained in a treaty actually bind the contracting states.

The coercive enforcement of the rules is one of the most debated points in international law. In fact, the implementation of a norm of originate by an agreement between states and its respect is entrusted to the state's internal authority. Indeed, while it is true that a rule of international law can be implemented within a country, it is not also true that it happen in every single case. Lacking an orderly authority that can sanction the inert behaviour of a state often international law is considered "anarchist" (Conforti, 2006).

As mentioned earlier, the first decade of work of the United Nations first were marked by the clear distinction between two blocs, the socialist and the western ones. In this context, the debate on which rights to be protected priority was very strong. Indeed, the socialists claimed that economic, social and cultural rights were prioritized, while western bloc countries claimed greater importance to civil and political rights. This resulted in the drafting and adoption of two different conventions, one on civil and political rights and the other on economic, social and cultural rights.

The UN human rights treaties are the core of the international system for the promotion and protection of human rights. Every UN member state is a party to one or more of the nine main important human rights treaties. It is a universal legal system that improves human rights and try to applies it to every child, woman or man in the world (Sieghart, 1984).

The first international agreements promulgated by the United Nations that are based on the subject of the UDHR are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICCPR and ICESCR), both approved in 1966 by the General Assembly in New York. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was drafted to follow what was a mere statement of intent, namely the UDHR. In fact, the latter was not a normative act, it had no possibility that the rules contained therein could be protected as laws. In order to remedy the lack of binding obligations for the subscribers of the latter, the Human Rights Commission has begun drafting a number of international conventions with the aim of imposing on the signatories the obligation to comply with the principles agreed of that time.

In particular, the Convention on Civil and Political Rights defines, promotes and protects five specific categories of human rights: (from art. 6 to 27) the rights to physical

integrity, the liberty and security of person, procedural fairness and rights of the accused, individual liberties and political rights.

In relation to the Convention on Civil and Political Rights it is necessary to talk about the two additional protocols. The first optional protocol was drafted almost at the same time as the convention established the functioning of the mechanisms of denunciation of human rights violations enshrined in the Convention. Allegations of violations of conventions to the Human Rights Committee have created a far-reaching jurisprudence on the subject ¹⁹

The second of the international conventions on human rights is the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). This is a treaty drafted within the United Nations General Assembly in 1966. The content of this treaty strongly advocated and promoted by the countries of the socialist bloc required an agreement on programmatic rights (goals).

Indeed, the Treaty sets out the economic, social and cultural goals that each signatory country should achieved. The most eminent of the rights included in the treaty are the labour rights, the right to social security, the right to family life, the right to health, the right to free education, the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to participation in cultural life and the right to have an adequate standard of living. In the first part of the covenant was establish the principle of the "*progressive realisation*" of the goals mentioned in the treaty. In fact, considered the list of goals set out in the convention, the principle that each of these "goals" should be achieved step by step in order to enable each individual states to adapt their internal policies to achieve with their own the instruments the rules established by Treaty (Sieghart, 1984).

In the following years, the list of human rights covenants has lengthened considerably. In the United Nations General Assembly they have been signed:

- The Convention on the non applicability of statutory limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity (New York, 26 November 1968);
- The International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (New York, 30 November 1973);

¹⁹the second optional protocol was issued in the 2013 and it establish the abolition of the death penalty for the parties that subscribe to;

- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. New York (18 December 1979);
- The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (New York, 10 December 1984);
- International Convention against Apartheid in Sports (New York, 10 December 1985);
- Convention on the Rights of the Child (New York, 20 November 1989);
- Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty (New York, 15 December 1989);
- International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (New York, 18 December 1990);
- Agreement establishing the Fund for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean (Madrid, 24 July 1992);
- Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (New York, 13 December 2006);
- International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (New York, 20 December 2006);

Add to this many additional and optional protocols were issued by the general Assembly.

In general, although human rights treaties have not drastically changed the face of so many realities in the world where poverty and inequality spread, they have contributed to triggering a slow but progressive process of change in uses, social rules and in the sense of justice often unknown to most world populations.

2.15 How the Diffusion of Human Rights Should Affects Inequality: Some Theory and Hypothesis

Trying to make a brief summarize of what has been said so far. It was done an introduction on the main economic indicators both purely economic and multi-dimensional and composite in such a way as to understand how to weigh which one is more suitable in this study.

This thesis introduced and described the functioning of the institutions of a country

from two points of view. I given a general theoretical description of what is meant by the word institution and I explained how political aims of a state institution are pursued. Therefore, I stated that a state considered as an institution is an organization of people with a fundamental purpose: promotes the well-being of its citizens. To do that, the state uses law as a tool to promote its policies.

At the same time, I carried out a brief explanation about the concept of inequality understood as an "illness" that afflicts so many states on many levels social life. So generally, I exposed as all over the world there are rich and poor states and within a state there are people who are very wealthy and people who are very poor.

Then I described as model of development that of modernization (the Modernization Theory), which assumes that the final stage of the institutional evolution of a country is the democratic western countries model and hence the democratic state system is the best achievable. So, this is the state where economic progress is solid and protection of rights are both promoted and guaranteed.

Finally, I exposed about promotion of human rights and role of the international community on it (United Nations).

The fundamental idea of this work is to test how the promotion of human rights through international law treaties, have a positive (or negative) effect on the economic inequality in the ratifying countries.

Human rights as norms of international law concern the normative area of the international community, namely they concern the production of norms and laws. However, international right is not the science that deals properly with the choices made by actors that conclude treaties.

The science which deals with these relations is the international relations and it studies international politics choices both in theoretical dimension and on its concrete relations between actors of international level.

As stated above, international law generates rules not on the basis of a vote expression of a parliamentary chambers that produce norms that will enrich domestic law. International law knows two fundamental sources of customary nature (uses and customs) and treaties.

Nowadays there are thousands of treaties that regulate the most varied agreements

between states. There are even treaties that regulate the treaty's right between the states²⁰.

This scheme made up of states, democratic governments, but also regimes, monarchy that legitimately exercise sovereignty over their territory is called also "international chessboard". Indeed, in the game of chess, the underlying idea is that two people (two contenders) move pawns following a very precise strategy to achieve a final goal: victory.

In these terms, the international community can have (mainly) two different purposes. The first is fight with various means the supremacy of states and people over others. The other one is to make agreements and to make rules (rules of international law) to smoothen the divergence between states or within states without resorting to the use of force. This seems to be a strong statement but in history, wars have always been concerned with the search for control over the territory for the exploitation of its natural resources (agriculture, mines, woods) or merely for its strategic value or for other reasons, for example ethnic and religious²¹.

According to this approach based on theory of neo-realism in international relations, the relations between the various actors of the international system would mainly rely on power. But especially from the second half of the 1900 the game over the international chess is played using international law rules to achieve a specific goal (Waltz, 1979).

So, according to this theory, relations between the various actors of the international system would mainly rely on power. A state with more power has greater weight and consequently it is able to impose own will in agreements. Hence, the normative nature of international treaties helps to implement a simple and basic concept. There are two or more subjects, with legal capacity under international law, with different international weight (or power) who agree on a treaty to achieve one purpose: the movement of goods, customs clearance on goods in transit, regulation on the usability of territorial sea and navigation international sea, etc.

In all these examples, the treaty generates an obligation of international law that forces

²⁰Particular reference concern the Vienna Convention of the Law of Treaties, Vienna 23 May 1969

²¹even the liberation wars have in fact often led to the occupation and the economic exploitation by the liberation armies of the occupied territory. Think about the Soviet army in Eastern Europe (Czech Republic, Poland, etc.);

states that have mutually promised to respect it. In this sense, the obligation generate a "sinallagmatic" relationship between different actors of international law that agree on certain topics but which do not, however, limit sovereignty in matters concerning their own domestic legislation ²².

Two parties are mutually obliged to provide an action governed by an agreement. Failure to comply with this obligation raises a violation of the treaty which can be executed in different ways provided for by the treaty itself (think of international arbitration). But above all - although the history of international relations can give a number of opposing examples - why does a state who makes an agreement with another to get a benefit should not fulfil the obligation itself? It is interest to both parts to respect the agreement.

Therefore, according to realism theory in international relations between countries, the logic of relations would suggest that if state A and state B are agree to get a certain result, this treaty should generally not be violated as it would not have the desired benefit from both sides.

Hence, from what said above, the basic idea is always that the state continues to work with the aim of achieving the best result for itself and that this result should reflect on the well-being of its population (of course talking about the law of treaties).

In what sense all this argue should concern the human rights core treaties?

Because what is lacking in the treaties on human rights is exactly the sinallagmatic relationship mentioned above, i.e. the idea that the agreement established between the parties gives rise to an effective obligation under international law and that the violation of that obligation can be punished.

The peculiarity of these treaties is that their content is not aimed to set relations between states but is intended to regulate domestic law of the state that ratified it. So who can really check the fulfilment of the obligation resulting from the ratification of these Treaties? And if there is no fulfilment by the state, how to detect the violation and how to punish it?

Indeed, there are several mechanisms to implement the development and protection of

²²Sinallagmatic relationship is a concept derived from the old Greek word "*sunallagma*" and it means a mutual agreement or a contract where each party of the contract is bound to provide something to the other party (ex. price for performance);

human rights, and in this case too (for example with the United Nations Human Rights Committee), and the debate in international law on human rights protection is very wide but it can not be dealt with here.

At this point of exposing it is interesting to understand what the literature says about the weight that human rights treaties have within ratifying countries and how treaties can enforce their rules on them within the countries.

In fact, there is no scientific sector dealing with "exactly" with relationship and understanding about relationship between implementation of human rights and the record of any kind of effect on the population of the ratifying country. However, it is possible to take inspiration from several authors who dealt with and analysed similar aspects in relation to different studies.

For example Max Roser (2017) proposes a review of the goals achieved by the protection and protection of human rights in the world, plotting GDP and the level of protection of human rights worldwide.

Human rights rating vs GDP per capita, 2014

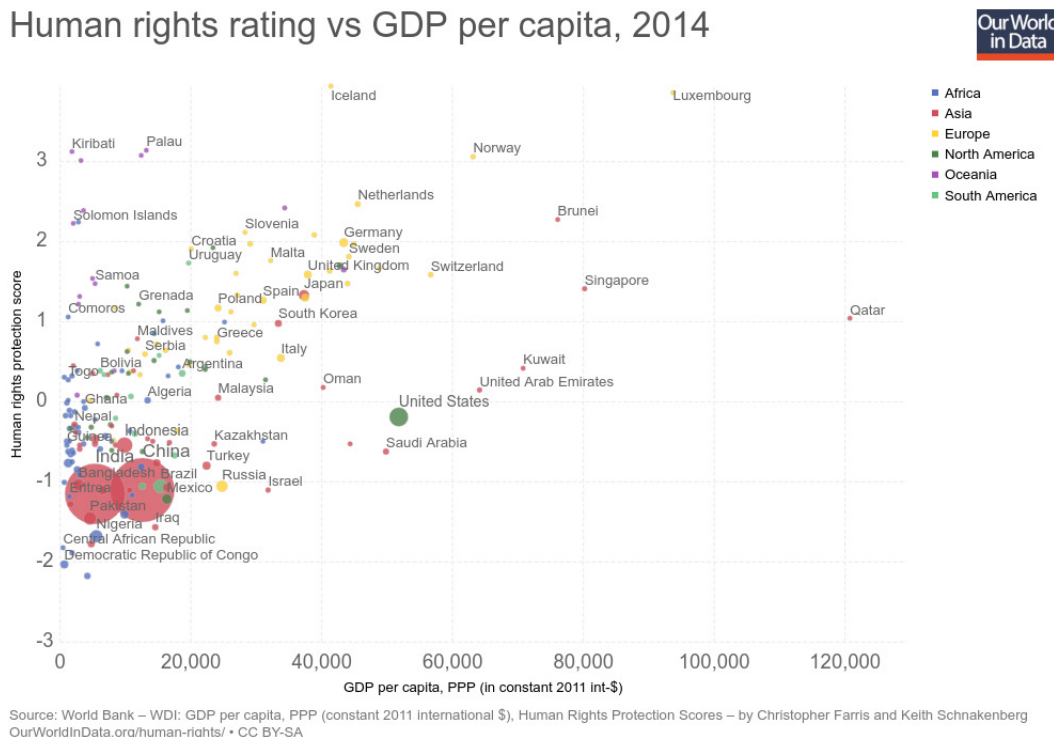


Figure 2.3: Human Rights rating VS GDP (2014)

Analysing the graphic proposed by Roser (2017), there seems to be a positive relation-

ship between economic prosperity (measured in GDP) and protection of human rights. However, there are a number of wealthy states, especially in terms of resources (such as oil) with high level of GDP per capita but where human rights protection is low. At the same time, poor countries have really often low levels of human rights protection²³.

In terms of international law Hathaway (2002) uses the quantitative analysis tool to understand if the human rights treaties favour the leading of countries to a better practice of that kind of rights. So according to him, countries with a bad practice and protection of Human Rights may be more inclined to ratify treaties. Going forward in his study Hathaway (2002) did not find any treaty for which ratification "*seems to be reliably associated with better human rights practices and several for which it appears to be associated with worse practices, it would be premature to dismiss the possibility that human rights treaties may sometimes lead to poorer human rights practices within the countries that ratify them*".

Therefore, the author continues to assert that, according to him, ratification of treaties dealing with human rights has a dual nature: instrumental and expressive.

Treaties are considered instrumental as they have a normative function as they are sources of international law. Moreover, human rights treaties try to lay the basis for regulating the protection of a set of rights universally considered of human. Hence, it is hoped that the ratification countries will change their internal practices that are in violation of the treaties and will adapt to them.

Secondly, the author considers the treaties as an instrument of expression of the will of the institutions of a country. In this sense, the ratification of a treaty would express the country's international position on a particular subject. Nevertheless this position could also be not respected in actual practice of state.

According to the author's vision, many countries are likely to be considered "in line" with human rights for the sole reason of ratifying treaties and not even to protect them within their territory.

If using this argument, it can often explaining how despite ratification of a treaty in a country can be many violations in human rights practices. It may also happen that a

²³Web source for Max Roser graph *Human Rights rating VS GDP (2014)*: <https://ourworldindata.org/human-rights/>;

country that ratifies a human rights treaty only to rise in the international rankings of countries so as to alleviate the pressure on them.

Indeed, the ratification of a treaty is an operation that does not provide for particular costs; while putting reforms in motion to adapt state behaviour to what the treaties envisage, may involve enormous use of resources in terms of structural reforms of the state institution. So it might be useful to ratify a treaty without implementing it.

Hathaway is not entirely pessimistic about the spread of human rights through treaties. Indeed, he argues that it is true that ratification of treaties may not have important results in the expectation of seeing changes in a state's behaviour respect its own citizens but it is not said that the diffusion of treaties precludes the possibility that human rights may have an overall (over-static) increase. There is the possibility that the ratification of human rights treaties could trigger a process of transformation which leads the state in question to gradually approve structural reforms that lead to a full democracy. According to the author, the treaty ratification may set both positive and negative forces, which often lead to little net effect on state practices on fundamental rights improvement (Hathaway, 2002).

This conception in international law is not far away from version of modernization proposed by Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub and Limongi (2000) who asserted that the limitation or absence of protection of certain freedoms may lead to the emergence of the awareness of the desire of change within society (and economic growth at this stage more desirable).

This regard, both economic and normative theory find a meeting point in considering the existence of a relationship between well-being globally intended and a certain level of affirmation of human rights.

Indeed, the affirmation of human rights through the Treaties should promote a homogeneous spread of civil rights, which consist in guaranteeing the fundamental freedoms of the individual such as personal freedom, freedom of circulation, the right which determines that judicial proceedings in a country must be regulated by the law that the judge must be subject to the law itself.

Instead, political rights in ratifying countries should promotes creation of laws that set out democratically how to elect representatives who govern the country for the people

and how citizens can access political life, etc.

Certainly, in a country where the rule of law is strong, where the laws are implemented and the rights are protected as well as the guaranteed liberties, it will be easier to have an high legal protection of fundamental rights. In this type of country, as I will show forward, inequality will be lower than in that countries where this conditions are not realized.

However, the relationship between human rights and rise of democracy and well-being is not casual and it does not easy to be verified.

Sometimes, as the results of the surveys made by Hathaway (2002) suggest, the result of the diffusion of the human rights treaties in the countries can be completely counter-intuitive.

What will try to verify in the next chapters is to test statistically if there is a relationship between the spread of human rights treaties and the level of inequality at global level.

Chapter 3

The Variables, The Index and The methodological Analysis

In this chapter I will carry out a survey about several theoretical instruments used to measure variables and reasons why of choices each variables in the follow statistic investigation.

In the first section I expose a brief definition of all the measures that will be used forward.

3.1 What Economic Growth and Economic Development are and How These Measure People's Wealth

In economics theory, concept of economic growth is used with refer of an increase of GDP. The rise of GDP derive by increase globally of capacity of an economy of a country to produce more goods and services in a certain period of time (Weil, 2009). The measure of economic growth of a country can be done in nominal or real terms, namely is adjusted for inflation. Basically aggregate economic growth is measured with different indexes. The most famous is the gross domestic product (GDP).

Another economic indicator is the GNP. Gross national product is used to estimate the total value of all the final products and services produced in a given period by the

means of production owned by a country's residents (Weil, 2009).

This index is calculated taking the sum of personal consumption expenditures of the people, domestic private investment, government expenditure, net exports, and any income earned by residents from overseas investments minus income earned within the domestic economy by foreign residents. Net exportation is calculated as the difference between the exportation of a country minus what it imports in terms of goods and services¹.

Why it could be useful to understand how the GDP is measured? Often concept of economic growth is summed up as the rise of the productivity in a country and it is measured by growth of per capita or per worker GDP. Bigger and faster is the rise of the GDP per capita, better would be the quality of life of the people of a country.

The principal causes of economic growth, or the most important element that influences growth is usually identified as the increase of productivity. To increase productivity in a country it is necessary the increase of stock of capital by the private investment, the technological development and the increases of the level of schooling or in general improvement of the human capital. For example In a country where part of the savings are planned for investment on stock capital, usually has positive trend of economic growth.

During last decade, it is begin to spread idea that the measurement of the growth process, using GDP, did not give an current vision of the real economic condition of the country. For this reason the most important organization that work with that kind of data (World Bank, International Monetary Fund, United Nations, etc.) began to think how to realize more realistic indexes (Weil, 2009).

In other words, not always what GDP shows in terms of growth reflected as well the real well-being of a country.

Indeed, between the years '50 and '60 it has been noticed that using as a measure of well-being of a country the parameters used to measure the economic growth (the GDP)

¹Instead, the function of GDP and GNP are related. The only difference between them is that there may be companies owned by foreign residents that produce goods and services in the country as well there are other companies owned by domestic residents that produce products for overseas and revert earned income to domestic residents. So the GDP is the most used measure of economic activity of a country and measure also the speed of the rise of the economy, the GNP tries to prove to be a more useful measure because it factors out any changes in national income due to inflation;

many countries in the world showed to support and achieve good levels of growth. At the same time, in the same countries a large portions of the population that lived in situations of strong discomfort or in poverty (Todaro and Smith, 2012).

For this reason in the early 70s, scholars begun to study a multi - dimensional measuring instruments that could take into account the multiple changes of a social organization as the capabilities of population (such as education level) and of institutions of a country (whose decisions affect the growth process).

The economic development is the process by a nation improves the economic, political, and social well-being of its population. More properly, Todaro and Smith (2012) said that economic development is "*the process of improving the quality of all human lives and capabilities by raising people's levels of living, self-esteem, and freedom*".

That term has been used frequently by economists, politicians, and others in the 20th and 21st centuries. Modernization, westernization and especially Industrialization are other terms used to discuss about economic development. Economic development has also a direct relationship with the environment and environmental issues (Meadows, Randers and Meadows, 2004).

Indeed, environmental issues are for example another possible dimension of economic development; for example in a recent study shows that there would be actually a complex but stable relationship between environmental and climatic changes, population growth rate and the speed of economic development².

Actually, the concept of economic development, it is widely different from what economic growth concern. Study of economic growth analyses different phenomena, in particular, the relationship between the increase of productivity and the rise of GDP.

The study of economic development analyses the policy activity, adopted by the political institutions of a sovereign state, with the aim to increase the economic and social welfare of the people but also others aspect of the state of well-being of a country.

²In particular, according to the authors of the volume of "limits of growth", between economic progress and the environment there would be a strong correlation. With the growth rates recorded in the 1970s, a model was predicted that in the long run a limit would be reached for the development process in the event that world population growth, pollution and food production, as well as the industrialization and exploitation of resources were continued at the speed of the previous decades;

Effectively, economic growth can be considered a component of a macro - largest area generally called economic development that includes in itself the analysis of several factors, not all of them economic. In that sense, the economist Amartya Sen consider the economic growth as of the several aspects of the process of economic development (Sen, 1983). Economic development has, for example, a direct relationship with the institutions of a country, with the law and with the social environment. So growth and development does not meaning the same thing, they are not synonymous. The growth in economic sense concern the increase of goods and services produced by the economic system in a given period of time. The economic development is a huge branch of social science born in a precise historical and political context during the post - war period. According to a common distinction, the growth is related to the amount of goods and services available, while economic development also includes elements of social quality, cultural and political environment (Weil, 2009). With the expression "economic growth", however, it indicates the ability of a national economy to increase the production of goods and services on their territory aimed at meeting the needs of the resident population. Most of the literature in relation to economic growth supports the argument that the availability of goods and services for the population of a country should increase over time. In fact, basically, if the population of a country grows so will the demand for goods and services. Therefore, economists and institutions use economic growth as a tool and indicator to measure the performance of the production of a particular country. Accordingly, very often the idea of economic growth is associated with the well-being of the population: an high GDP value should be means a widespread economic welfare. However, the relationship actually is observed between economic growth (measured by GDP) and overall well-being of the population is a complex issue and it would not seem that the two observed measures there is necessarily a causal relationship.

3.2 The Measure of Economic Growth

As mentioned above, economic growth is mostly measured by calculating the GDP and, with this method of calculation, it can also obtained value of GDP per capita.

The calculation of GDP summarizes various indicators by which is possible to measure

the value of goods and services produced in a country in a given period of time (usually a year).

Therefore, annual GDP of a country depends on the performance of different factors, including productivity, the financial resources of a state, physical capital (namely the factors products) and human capital (namely the factors belonging to the faculties human in the population). The measure of GDP per capita is obtained by relating the value of GDP divided by the total population residing in the country. The result will be the value of production per member of the population.

Generally, per capita GDP is used as basis on calculating income per capita. International economic organizations classify countries basically into three main groups: low-income countries, middle-income, high-income.

Finally, to measure how fast a country grows in terms of GDP, it is possible to calculate the annual growth rate of a country. This value is obtained as a percentage change in GDP per capita in a given year compared to the previous year. A useful approximation of the per capita GDP growth rate is given by the following formula: rate of GDP growth minus growth rate of population. This formula shows how the part of the production from year to year is available for each member of the population depends on the economy's capacity to keeping up with population growth (McGranahan et al., 1972).

Why could be useful to measure how fast a country grows? Why do we need to measure it? For example, the formula shown above highlights as part of the production that year by year is available for each member of the population depends on the capacity of the productive economic system to keeping up with population growth. The data resulting from the indicators and the formulas mentioned do they really say if a country is actually wealthy? Or if the wealth measured in terms of GDP is equally distributed within a country? Does this parameter help to understand their real situation of a country? Indeed is it correct to try to measure the degree of well-being of a country by aligning the quality of life of individuals populating the country with the index obtained by calculating GDP?

3.3 The Importance of Distinguishing Economic Development and other Indicators of "Well-Being"

Economic growth should not be confused with economic development. Although the two concepts are quite similar, their structure is different. The first is built as quantitative index, while the latter also includes qualitative elements.

Economic growth concern the increase in the time of per capita income and theory of economic growth refers to the growth of potential output.

Economic development concern to economic phenomena as the growth of income per capita and others indicators such as income distribution, education, literacy rate, democracy and democratic institutions as well as increase of social and of cultural rights.

So, the economic growth is an element included in economic development. It is related to many benefits, but also some of the costs that may be relevant and compromising for future possibilities, such as the depletion of natural resources and pollution of the environment.

Moreover economic development, is characterized by the analysis of the quantitative aspects and yet more by qualitative aspects of social welfare. If economic growth concerned purely increased production within a state, economic development includes both growth stocks and well-being.

Therefore economic development can be considered as a multidimensional and multi-varied concept. The beginning of economic development process, in a low-income economy country, consist the realization of several structural changes that transforming the country into an industrial and diversified modern economy.

Developing of a country involve both economic type change measurable in terms of GDP (quantitative) and qualitative change type. Hence, economic development process implies, together with improvements in the economic performance of a country, even political, social and cultural transformations.

In literature, the concept of economic development it is considered as a process that involves a transformation from a low level to a high level of well-being. At same time the idea of development involves the increase of population both in economic terms and in dimension sense. Indeed, welfare concerning indexes included in the economic develop-

ment is the one that takes into account the material welfare of people of a country. So the process of economic development will seeks to increase lowest incomes, elimination of poverty, a better schooling, improved health care system aimed to raising the standard of living, a more efficient organization work (Kindleberger, 1958).

Moreover, economic development process plans specific targets and especially in developing countries it can favour the transition from an agricultural - rural economy to an industrial economy. Economic development implies as well transformation of political institutions from a centrist template or oligarchic - where powers are concentrated in the hands of the few - in a democratic systems in which it is expected the direct participation of citizens, through the free election of their representatives. Given the above, the goals that aims to achieve economic development process are both of economic and social nature (Todaro and Smith, 2012).

Economic development implies also achievement of social goals like the affirmation of universal values such as the human development of the person as man and as part of mankind. High levels in terms of cultural and social standards are surely part of a developed country targets.

Here will be done a brief reference to definition of human development. This should be considered as an alternative tool to measure "the human condition", that differs from economic indexes (economic growth) because try to measures with a capabilities approach what individuals are able to do (Nussbaum, 2011).

So, human capabilities provide to increase the individual's ability to choose and therefore, more individual will be able to choose for itself more will increase the chances of getting a healthy life, good education and access to resources and social services. So more an individual will have the ability to choose according to his or her abilities, the more it can take part in the choices and the improvement of the community.

Moreover concepts such as freedom and human progress are values considered desirable by any country in the world. But how economic growth and economic development affect the human status?

How a strong economy can be related economic development process? In other words an economically strong country is a developed country too? Moreover, what is the role of institutions in that process? Does a good institutional system affect the economic

development process? who's come first: freedom or progress? And which is the relationship between the promotion and the protection of fundamental freedoms or human rights and the economic development process?

3.4 Indicators and Control Variables Used in the Model: Democracy Development, HDI, etc.

Democracy meant as a form of politic organization of the state is not a concept easily liable to be measured. Many tried to build multidimensional indexes to assess the "weight" of democracy in the world.

Below, I will give a descriptions of the method used by PolityIV (Marshall, Gurr and Jaggers, 2016). In this chapter it will be described in particular method used by Polity IV index to gave a description of the the spread of democratic and dictatorship in the world in the last century.

Moreover, in this section I will present and gave description of all indicators using as variable in the model showing in next chapter.

The Polity IV Project continues the Polity research tradition of coding authority characteristics of states in the world system for purposes of comparative, quantitative analysis(Marshall, Gurr and Jaggers, 2016).

PolityIV is an organization that work with world politics analysis. Their work is related to different aspects of the study of freedom. One of the most important of their studies is the annual report of rating of the levels of democracy in each country in the world. This classification uses a system of ratings, scores and status.

Instead, the economic indicator used for the analysis is GDP per capita because is fundamental in economic analysis to have the record of income level per year of each state of the sample. The source of data used to analyse the GDP per capita are from Worldbank ³.

Moreover, I controlled by oil production by countries to have a test on oil producer countries. Indeed, often in oil producers countries can showing high level of GDP per

³If not specifying, I use as common source for all data the Worldbank database;

capita as well as mid-low level of inequality and low level of democracy or dictatorship. About that, it could be useful thinking about monarchic Arab countries. Country with low level of promotion and protection of human rights but good levels of income, health and schooling.

Talking about another useful indicator for the model, during the first half of the 1990s, the economists Mahbub ul Haq and Sen, aware of the limits in GDP as an indicator of people quality life, conceived the Human development index. This index is a multi-dimensional macroeconomic development indicator.

In particular, it is a composite index computed on the geometric mean of three other indexes: mortality index (life expectancy), education index (mean years of education compared to those expected by law from the state) and income index (GNI per capita) (U.N.D.P., 1990).

The human development index was favoured and developed by UNDP funding, namely the nations agency of the development program. Each year is drawn up a report with world countries rankings, drawn up in relation to their HDI level. Indeed, it is an index that can probably explain a good part of the real level of well-being achieved by country (U.N.D.P., 1990).

However, a big issue with multi dimensional indices is that the observations relatively recent in time. We can find data for HDI index not before 1990. So in a cross section - time series analysis (that I will describe soon) is useless to use an index with a complete (or quasi-complete) time series.

Hence, what I did to control for this variables too it was to split the HDI index in the indicators from which it is composed. So I put in my data set the value of wealth considered as the expectation of years of life at birth (per year and country) and the numbers of people enrolled in a secondary school (per year and per country). Splitting HDI into its main components, I was able to obtain the observations of the same variables in the years before 1990.

The last index that I used in my model is trade openness. This variable is calculates as the sum of goods and services exports and imports measured as a share of gross domestic product. It is common in political economy studies assume that a more openness trade is typical of a more dynamic country that use to deal with a lot of other countries. Moreover,

concerning Human Rights, according to different economic policy, many countries like to deal with countries who observe many standard of safety in labour organization (think about all the ISO certification norms). Synthetically a more trade openness could denote a more industrialized country and presence of more protection of labour rights (social rights).

Chapter 4

The Investigation: a Descriptive Analysis About How Human Rights Treaties Affects Inequality

In this chapter I will describe the model used for statistic descriptive analysis of data and I will analyse and try to give an interpretation of major results obtained by investigation.

4.1 The Rise Of Human Rights Treaties: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Covenants of '66

In previous chapter, I provided a brief overview of what are considered human rights. Indeed, I described their origins and I tried to briefly describe their justification process both on a positive theoretical and philosophical level.

As already mentioned, one of the greatest difficulties I have challenge in this work was to find scientific literature that studies the phenomenon of human rights analysed in an economic key as well as their relationship.

In other words, it was hard to build a theoretical framework where based this work on. It was difficult to find authors and studies that would analyse human rights as

determinants of democracy and/or as determined on economic and social variables.

One of the major studies close to the topic of this thesis is the one proposed by scholars Wotipka and Tsutsui. Their result is very interesting. Indeed, they showed that the "political legitimacy" that comes by ratifying human rights treaties (they proposed a list human rights treaties), leads increasingly other states to ratify them.

Moreover, for a country to be recognized as good international actors is more useful than lost a part of their sovereignty. According to the results of their tests "*committing to human rights principles contributes to states legitimacy in the international community*" (Wotipka and Tsutsui, 2008).

Remarking the findings of the work of Wotipka and Tsutsui (2008), the decision to ratify or not a treaty is not related with just a constant reason. In fact, they sort world countries by the geographic region. Hence, they used different theoretical models to understand and test why and how each country choose to ratify or not.

So, in their findings they show a "big wave" of democratization of countries after the end of the cold war. Moreover interpreting this result the main argument was not that ratifying would favour a process of develop but it help stay and remain legitimately in the international community environment.

In my research I propose to analyse another aspect of the ratification of human rights treaties namely how their spread in time and in space affects inequality within development process of a country.

Indeed, what I want to try to analyse is how the implementation of human rights, occurred in two different environments of the process of developing binding norms, national and international can affect inequality.

In fact, human rights can be implemented both on an internal policy plan through the development and implementation of the "fundamental rights" usually protected by the constitutions or through the process of "positivization" of liberties and rights that was started in international context under the of the United Nations aegis drafting international treaties.

As widely shown in the previous chapters, the United Nations Statute is the document that sets out the principles and core values on which the nascent international organization is based. It is an effective treaty and, according to international law, it is binding on all

the states that have ratified it.

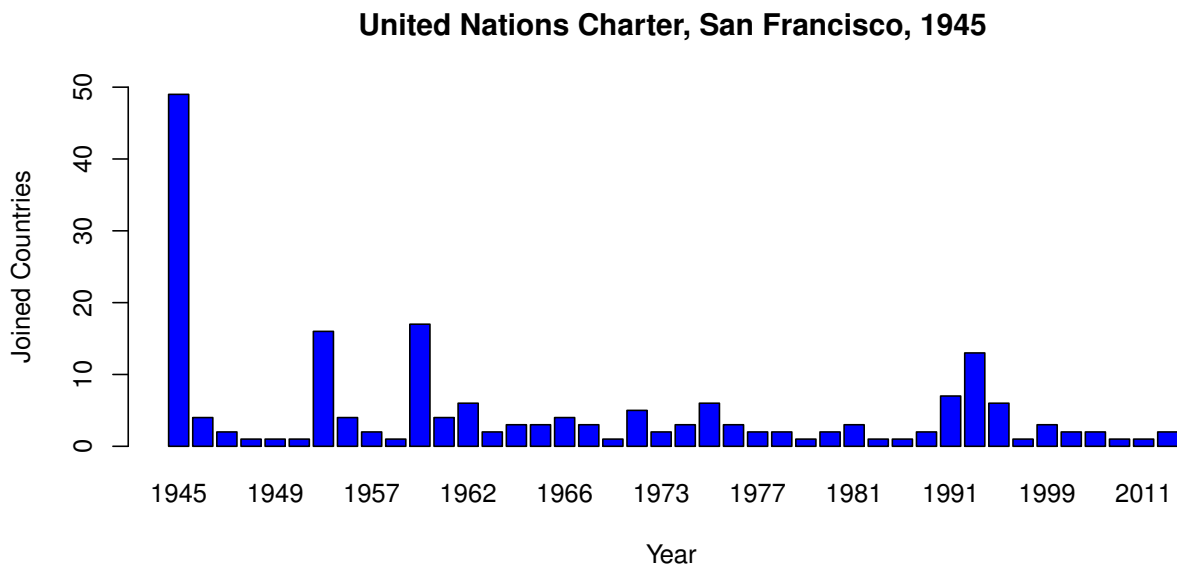


Figure 4.1: Access to the United Nations Over Time

The graphic above shows the time progression by world countries have joined the Charter of United Nations.

As show it on first column of the graphic, the will of states and peoples, day after the end of World War II was clear. The height of the first column of the chart shows as a considerable number of countries joined immediately the organization as to demonstrate how a feeling of association between the peoples was spread and a long peace was necessary. Between 1945 and 1960 more than half of the world's countries joined the United Nations.

It Is also interesting to see in the graphs a small peek in the 90's, symbolized the group of ex socialistic republics who joined treaties as soon as cold war ends.

Adhesion to United Nations would represent an act of manifestation of a will to change something for countries who joining. The need for change as mentioned in Wotipka and Tsutsui (2008).

Going forward with the historical analysis of spread of human rights through international treaties it is necessary to make a small framework to reiterate what are the treaties whose effects diffusion I analyze in this work.

Going forward with historical analysis of diffusion of human rights through interna-

tional treaties it is necessary to set treaties whose effects I analyze in this work.

Basically, this investigation is based on 4 international treaties regarding human rights. According to what I expose in previous chapters, I choosed treaties whose effects diffusion I consider more related to economic and human development process. Moreover what I'm trying to evaluate in my research is if the ratification of this treaties affects inequality measured by Gini Index.

First one is the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights issued by the United Nations Council on 1966.

Second one is the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights also issued by the United Nations Council on 1966.

Moreover I consider in my model two optional protocols to both covenant. Their function is the implementation of the system to guarantee and protect the norms contained in the mains covenants.

The Optional protocol for Political and Civil Rights was issued in the same year of the mains covenants namely in 1966.

The optional protocol for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights was drafted and issued in 2008.

Now is necessary and useful to carry out a brief introduction about how I set the treaties as variable in my dataset.

First of all I divided all countries, selecting all different moment when they joined the treaties. More specifically according to the classification given by the United Nation database we can consider 2 (or 3) different way or moments to adhere to a treaty all described in Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (The United Nations, 1969).

First way, is the more common way and it is composed two precise moment to make binding the norms contained in the treaty.

The first moment, is signature (or subscription) of treaty. Specifically, in this case is called signature subject to ratification (acceptance or approval).

In this phase, just signature does not establish that a country let the treaty be bound in his territory. However, "*it is a means of authentication and expresses the willingness of the signatory state to continue the treaty-making process. State signature qualifies the signatory state to proceed to ratification, acceptance or approval. It also creates an*

obligation to refrain, in good faith, from acts that would defeat the object and the purpose of the treaty (Arts.10 and 18, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969)”¹.

The second moment is ratification: this moment of the process ”*defines the international act whereby a state indicates its consent to be bound to a treaty if the parties intended to show their consent by such an act. In the case of bilateral treaties, ratification is usually accomplished by exchanging the requisite instruments, while in the case of multilateral treaties the usual procedure is for the depositary to collect the ratifications of all states, keeping all parties informed of the situation. The institution of ratification grants states the necessary time-frame to seek the required approval for the treaty on the domestic level and to enact the necessary legislation to give domestic effect to that treaty*” (Arts.2 (1) (b), 14 (1) and 16, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969)².

Other two ways are provided from international law system to adhere to a treaty: accession and succession. I did not consider in my database the last method because is adopted only in particular circumstance and just in a few case (less than 5 countries per treaty in a database of more than 180 countries observed).

For what may concern the accession method ”*it is the act whereby a state accepts the offer or the opportunity to become a party to a treaty already negotiated and signed by other states. It has the same legal effect as ratification. Accession usually occurs after the treaty has entered into force. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his function as depositary, has also accepted accessions to some conventions before their entry into force. The conditions under which accession may occur and the procedure involved depend on the provisions of the treaty. A treaty might provide for the accession of all other states or for a limited and defined number of states. In the absence of such a provision, accession can only occur where the negotiating states were agreed or subsequently agree on it in the case of the state in question*” (Arts.2 (1) (b) and 15, Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties 1969)³.

For completeness of exhibition I mention the meaning of succession in law of treaty. There is succession in the treaties when a new state that succeeded to an old state (think

¹Web source is the glossary of international law terms of United Nations webpage:
<https://treaties.un.org/pages/Overview.aspx?pathoverview/glossary/.xml>

²*ibidem*

³*ibidem*

of the area of the former Yugoslavia) does not want to ratify or access again a treaty that had already been ratified by the original state. In this sense, the state get succession in the treaty by notifying to General Council of the United Nations the will to want to continue to observe the international obligations arising from the treaty already ratified by the original state.

However for both ways of adhesion, ratification or accession to treaty, the mandatory effects are absolutely the same for both methods. In fact, both methods determine an international obligations towards the member states.

Hence, I built a database with all this information for all the countries who adhere to the cited covenants, listing by year of adhesion of ever each single country to each mentioned treaty.

Then I did some graphs to understand when and how different states all over the word adhered to the two main treaties of human rights. More specifically, I built four different graphs on the diffusion of each treaties. Each graph shows and analyse the different trend for subscription, ratification, accession and succession of each treaty.

The figure 4.2 show us how different countries around the world joined the Covenant on Political and Civil Rights by different method or "ways" to adhere.

It is very interesting to analyse the relation between the first two graphs about signature and ratification. From a historical point of view the two graphs seems to show us the trend of the willing of the states to make as binding to the norms of treaty inside each own territory. In other words if we look at the first peak of first graph and the first high peak of second graph, it seems to show us how there were a "willing-gap" showed between the first manifestation of interest (subscribing) to join and implement the human rights through international treaties and the real moment (most of the time ten years after subscription) when the treaty was ratified.

This gap could be explained that there was a sort of initial reluctance by the states to renounce a part of sovereignty to submit themselves binding rules as human rights promoted through international treaties (as to confirm Wotipka et al. studies).

Indeed, another argument to explain the wave of ratification at the end of the seventies can also be given by the cultural revolution that was current in that period that needed the joining to human rights.

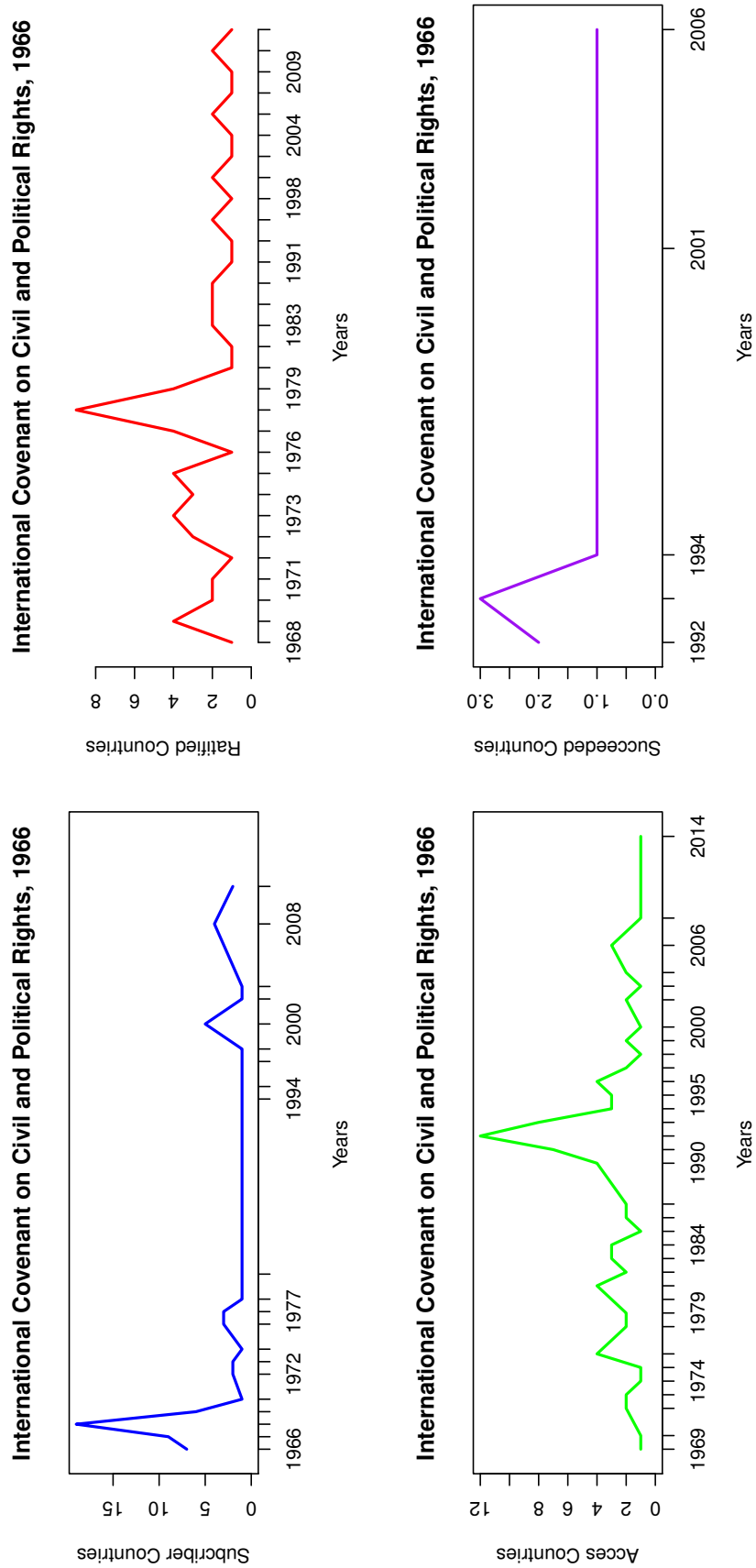


Figure 4.2: World Diffusion of Covenant on Political and Civil Rights, 1966

Moreover, late 60's it was also characterized for the end of Vietnam and Cambodia war and governments that had already signed the treaties ten years first, decided that a new impulse towards peace was needed. For many countries ratification of the treaties would have been a good opportunity to demonstrate their propensity to open a new phase of openness among peoples and of peace.

Observing the same figure (4.2), it is interesting to see the distribution of the third graph, the green one. This one observed the behaviour of countries that have opted to join the covenant through the access method. The average during all the period observed is two per year from late sixties to early nineties.

After the 1991 we can observe an high peak of countries who joined the treaty by accession. We can consider this last "boost" to joining to civil and political rights due to the end of cold war.

Hence all the ex socialist Republic choose to join this treaty that promote typical rights of western world. So, even in this case, these countries want to show their willingness to adapt their principles to those most promoted by the western world as modernization theory assumes.

The second figure (4.3) I want to show concerns the spread of International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights around world countries by method of adhesion.

For what it concerns this graph they are valid the same observation that I did for the latter one. Even here there is the same "willing-gap" between moment of subscription of treaty and ratifying moment. Hence, I assume that similar argument moved most of the countries to wait a time like ten years to ratifying treaty. In particular as said in the last chapters to ratify this particular covenant imply a more strong manifestation of willing by the states.

Indeed, as I have already observed in the first part of this work, ratification of a treaty, containing norms with a programmatic form implies the birth within the ratifying state of an obligation to do.

Hence, this obligation to do is a concrete obligation that involves preparing the bases for the implementation of policies aimed at reducing social inequality through the establishment of the well-fare state.

Is not as in the other treaty concerning something connecting with an obligation to

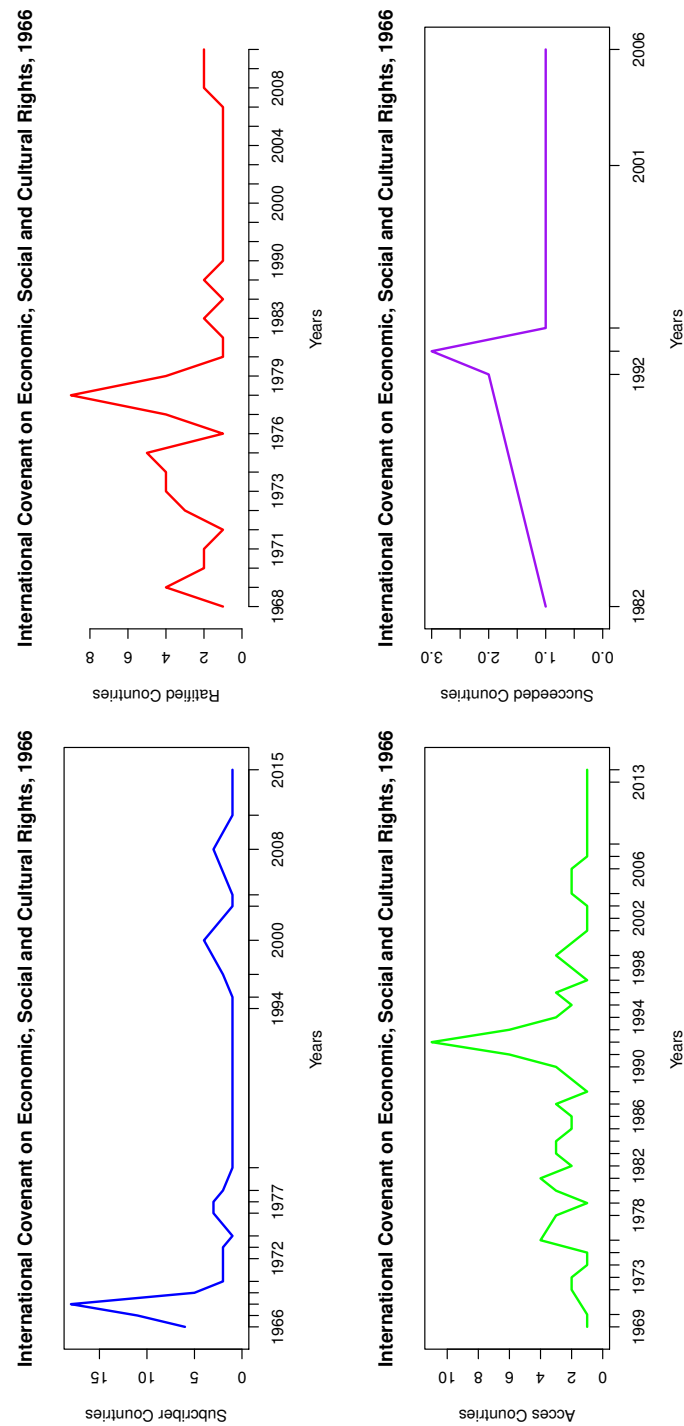


Figure 4.3: World Diffusion of International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966;

guarantee some freedoms even through the abstention of the state to interfere into the life and into the affairs of citizens.

In this case it is really an obligation to the state to develop a prosperous social situation in which its population can valorise itself.

I made other two more graphs that showing how countries joined the optional protocols to the main human rights treaties.

First one is related to the optional protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights issued simultaneously with the two major treaties in 1966.

This figure (4.4) shows the same phenomenon watched in both first and second graphs. If observed the trend, there is only a slight shift a few years ahead in adhesion to the protocol respect to the corresponding convention.

Last figure (4.5) or this "family" shows distribution related the Optional Protocol on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. This one has a particularity respect the others mentioned. It is the only one issued a lot of years later the others, i.e. in 2008. So, not many countries joined this protocol as much as for the other one.

Figure 4.5 does not gave us a lot of information as the other ones but anyway it shows us distribution of adhesion to this last protocol. Anyway I consider this treaty in the model because a considerable numbers of countries ratified it.

Adhesion to this treaty is compressed in a few years and despite the relatively short period of observations shows how many countries wanted to ratify this covenant that imposes precise obligations. In fact, this protocol implies the observance of norms having programmatic content and it needs the achievement of policies helpfully to reduce inequality in country.

These first data that I have showed provides a initial framework that helps to understand in which years there has been the greatest concentration in ratification and access to human rights treaties.

It is useful to make a couple of further observations to explain the regression model used in the next section.

Countries observed are almost all of those that joined the United Nations. The exact numbers of countries observed is 187.

Basically I excluded very few countries from the analysis just for two reasons. The

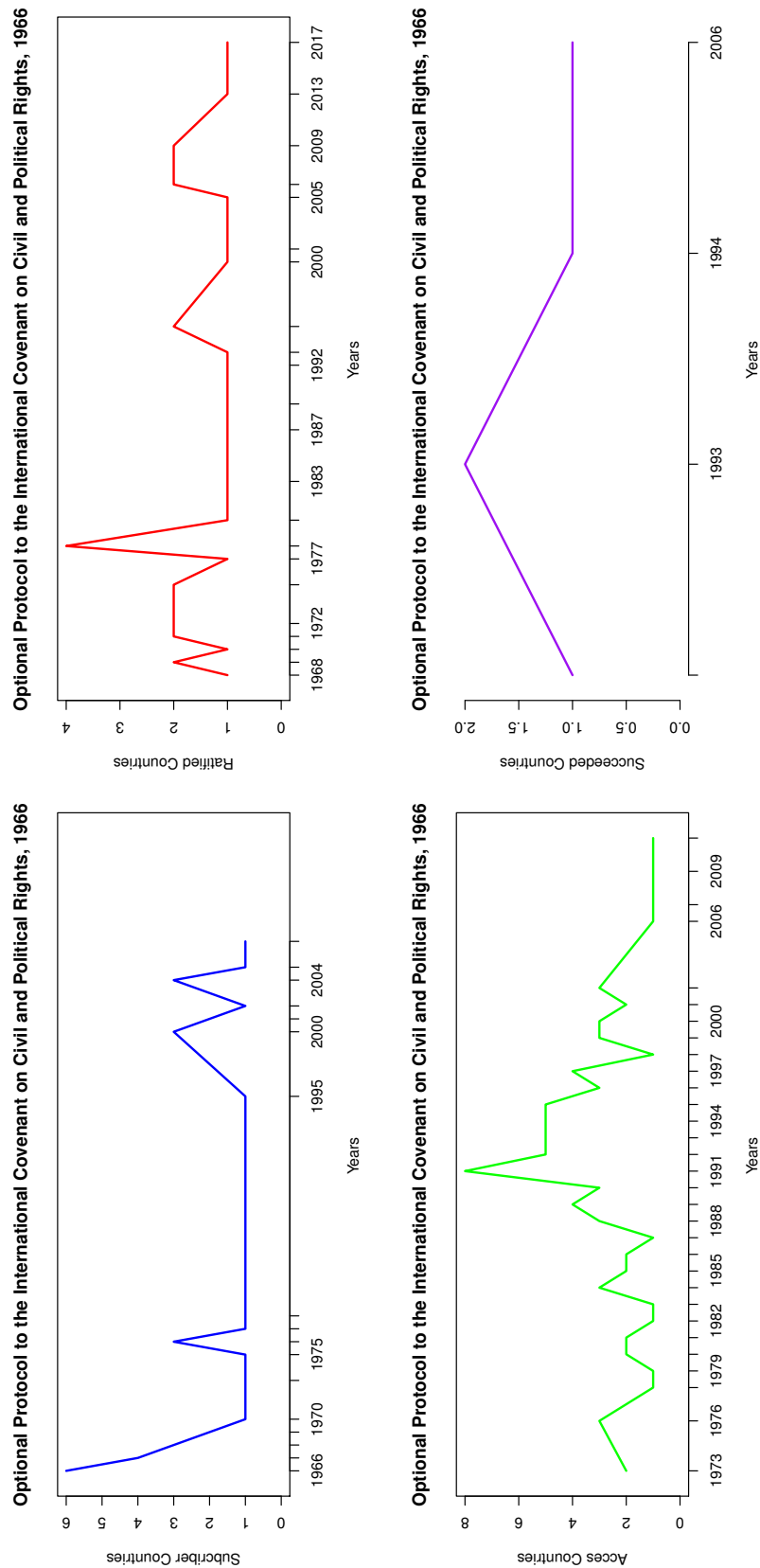


Figure 4.4: World Diffusion of Optional Protocol on Civil and Political Rights, 1966;

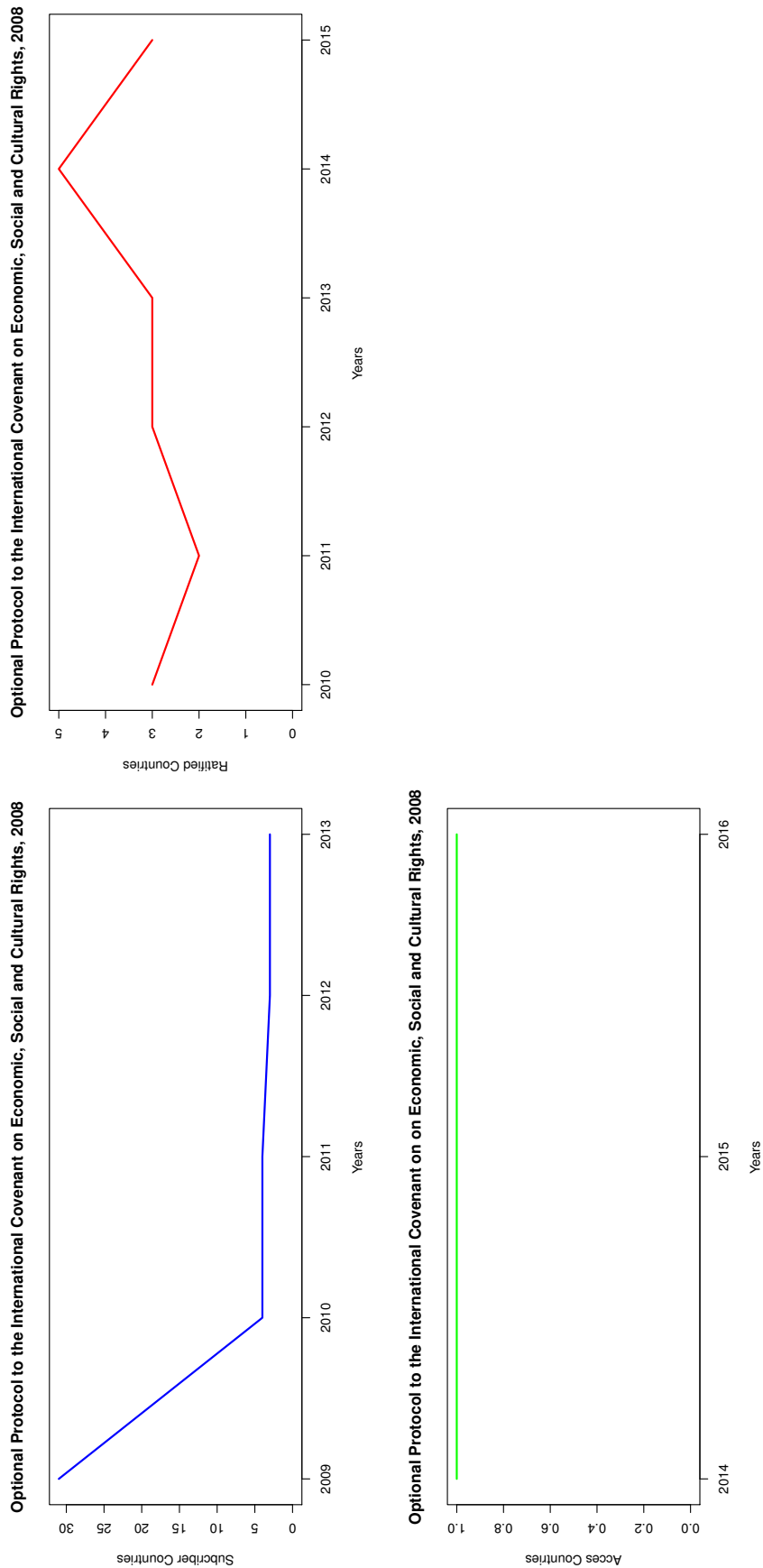


Figure 4.5: World Diffusion of Optional Protocol on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 2008;

first was the excessive smallness of the country in terms of population, territory and other economic variables (for example San Marino, Principality of Monaco, etc.). The second reason relates to the absence of data. I have excluded very few countries for which it is difficult, if not impossible, to collect data (Palestine, North Korea, etc.).

These two reasons related to the statistic uselessness of the sample are the only ones that led me to exclude some states from database.

4.2 A Graphic Investigation Upon Others Variables: How Do They Interact?

I think it is useful to show how the values concerning the other variables used in this work evolved over the years observed.

One of the biggest issue I had to face in the graphical presentation of this data was to manage a large range of observations. In other words, it was hard to understand which R graphical means could capture and better represent the phenomenon analysed from time to time due to the large amount of data present in the database ⁴.

After several tests, the smooth model graph seemed the most suitable to handle a large amount of data. So the R graph below is the result.

A brief premise for the readings of the next figure: the value of the inequality is calculated according to Gini index that ranging from 0 to 100. A level of Gini from 15 to 25 is to be considered from low to medium low inequality. A level of Gini from 25 and above is considered to be increasingly higher inequality. A Gini level of 40 is to be considered representative of a large inequality in distribution of income.

In figure 4.6 shows a big red cloud. This cloud is not entirely homogeneous, is yellow in the first decades and reddish and intense in the last few years of the area at the bottom right.

This graph gave several information. The yellow "cloud" on the left side has two meanings: during the first few years observed (from the 60s and later) there is not an abundance of observations respect recent years. The second information is that between

⁴R studio is the econometric-statistic software used in this work to run descriptive analysis;

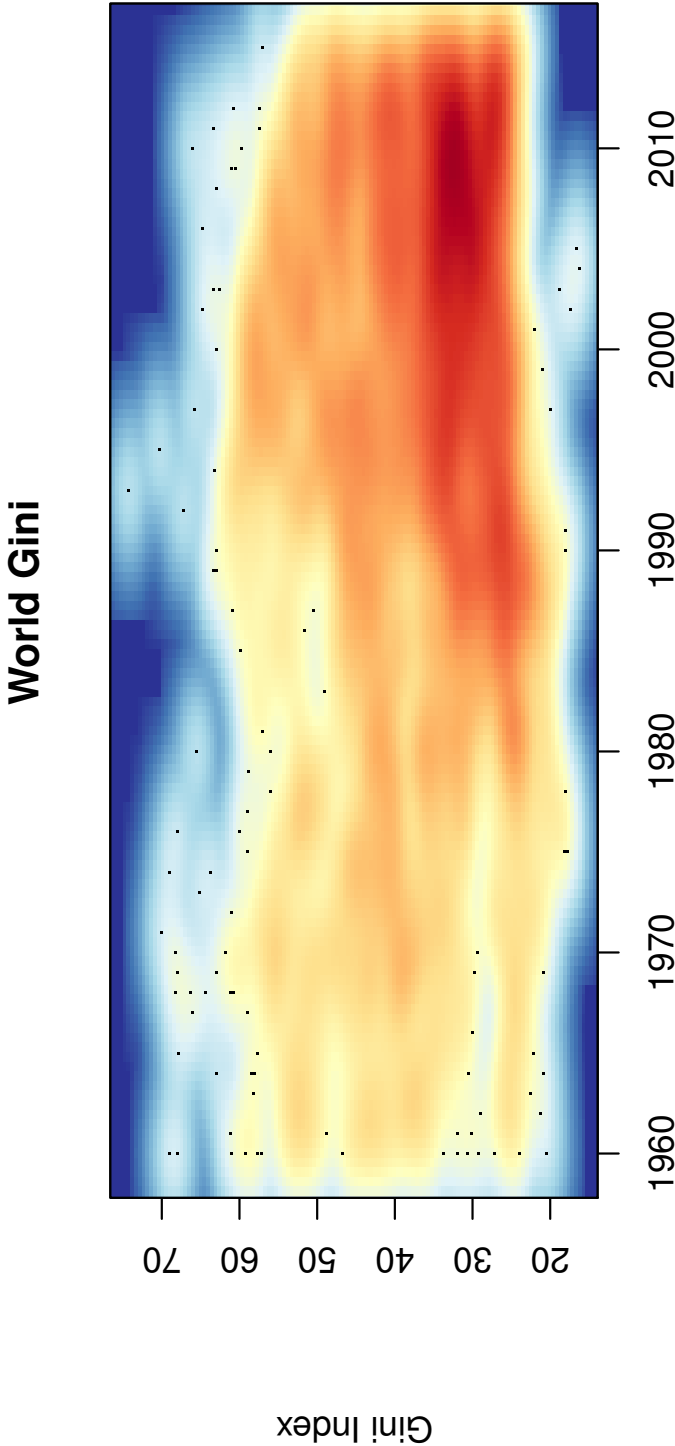


Figure 4.6: Smooth Plot: Evolution of Gini Index: 1960-2015;

the years 60 and 80 the level of Gini was homogeneously "spread" both on low, mid and high values. In fact we see a homogeneous yellow cloud without any bright red point.

Hence, moving on right part of figure, it shows that precisely from the 80's to date there are a lot more observations, the red cloud is more intense. So, it describe how the index of inequality evolved in last 35 years. There is a large red cloud concentrated on medium-low values. This cloud is spread long the boarder from levels of relatively low inequality to level of high inequality. In particular, figure show also a intense red part of the cloud on average 30 of Gini index correspond from 2000 to our days. And scale of red decrease in both directions (up and down) with range of intensity of color. At the bottom of the graph this decrease stops around the levels of Gini 20 (low inequality). Instead at the top of the graph the last observations are around level 50 (very high inequality).

Indeed, this graph explains how despite the current average of global inequality is stable at an average oo level 30, there continues to be a great divergence between two top ranges of Gini levels. As the figure show if on one hand there is a good performance of some countries keeping low level of inequality on the other hand there are areas of the globe where economic inequality touches very high levels.

The same effect described above with can be saw using another type of graphic representation. In fact figure 4.7 shows average Gini trend between years 1960 - 2015. This graph observes annual global mean of Gini per year calculated on all the observations. The graph shows us also the highest and lowest range value for each year of obeservation.

The trend of evolution of inequality in the last 50 years seems have a downward trend overall in the long run. It is just an estimate on all the countries observed so certainly for there are many countries all over the world with huge level of income inequality but general trend shown in that figure is negative.

In same ways I want to show the trend of the Polity index mentioned in the last chapter during the last 50 years.

This figure 4.8 shows the concentration of polity levels in the years ranging from 1960 to 2015 ⁵

⁵It is useful to remember that -10 polity means a full dictatorship; 0 level of Polity means what author of index called "anocracy" namely a "transition" regime without a real strong political power; instead level 10 represent a full democracy;

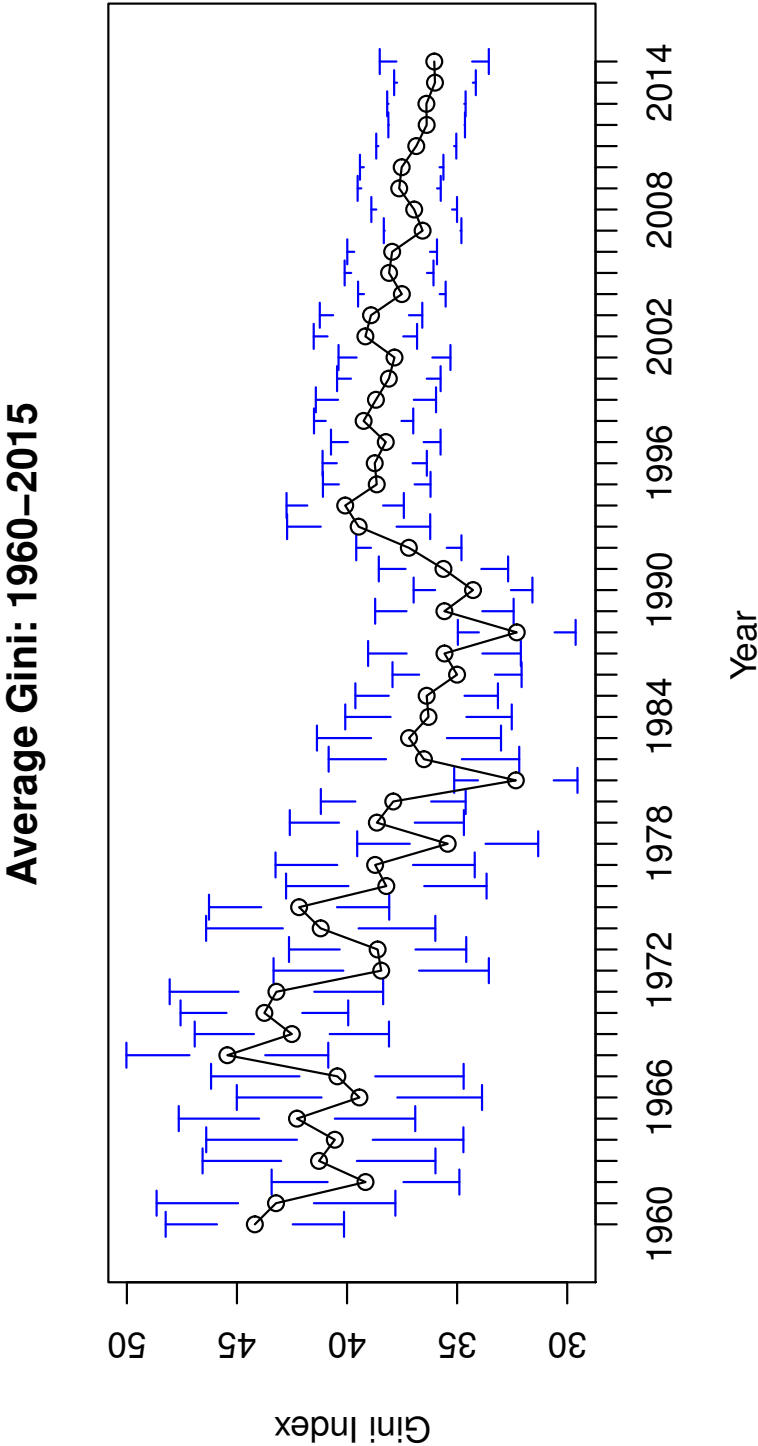


Figure 4.7: Average Gini Index: 1960-2015;

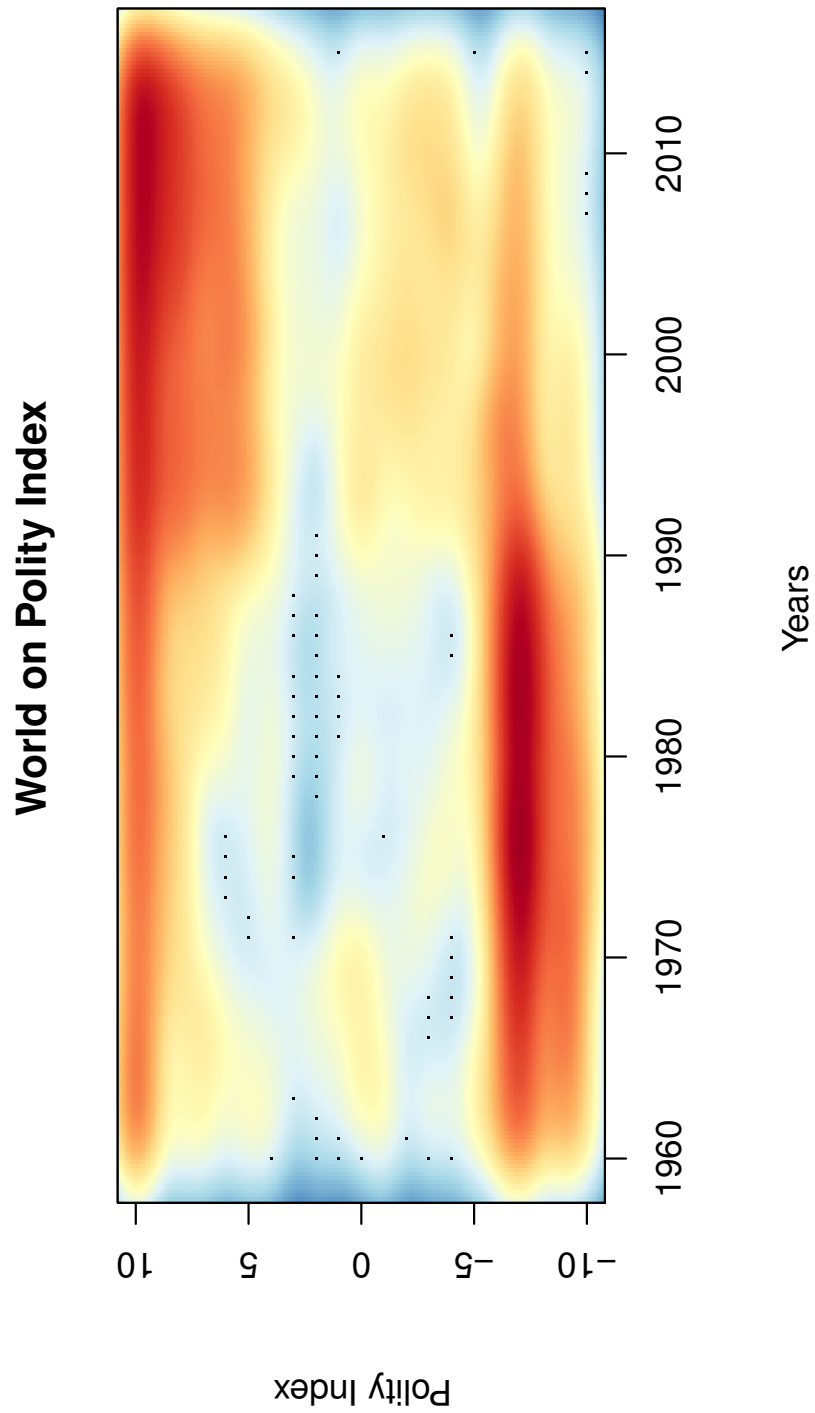


Figure 4.8: Smooth Plot: Democratization Process: 1960-2015;

As the graph shows, the levels of regimes - dictatorial or democratic - are all positioned fairly clearly in the chart. Hence at the bottom of the graph (- 10, -7) we can see all dictatorship, above in the top of graph good levels of democracy (7, 10).

The graph shows how from the late 80s and early 90s there has been a gradual shift from dictatorial forms to full democracy. This effect would strengthen the theory of Huntington (1991) democratization waves. Other easier argument could explain this effect relating to the fact that the years observed are the same ones in which Soviet Union ceased to exist and the nascent republics indicated free political elections for the first time after 50 years of soviet dictatorship.

Both arguments support the thesis of modernization theory, about the general trend for all the countries to conform to the western democratic model.

Observing the figure, it shows the persistence of a small yellow cloudy at levels ranging from 0 to -5 in recent period. This little cloud describes the evolutionary process that the political regimes of the developing countries are undergoing. Countries where a change is current ongoing but where there not yet occur a full democratic transition.

Indeed, figure 4.5 helps to understand the process of democratic development that has been discussed in the previous chapters. From a simple view of the figure actually it would appear that over the past 50 years there occurred a phenomenon predicted by modernization theory that called for a global changing along the way that leads to the democratic regime.

As in the first figure a second graphical representation of the process of democratization over the years can be useful.

Latter figure show us the same effect of smooth graph but without a color range variation. It is very interesting to see that this graph also confirms a "wave" of democratic transition that occurred and increase around the beginning of the 90s.

It is also interesting to overlap this temporal data with that we observed in the graphs on the ratification of human rights treaties. Generally, at the beginning of the 90s there is a peak in accession (ratification-access to treaties) and in democratic transition and - even if in a minor way - in general decrease in the level of inequality.

Going forward with the descriptive analysis, using the same R graphic model I made two other figures that relate the Gini with two predictive variables.

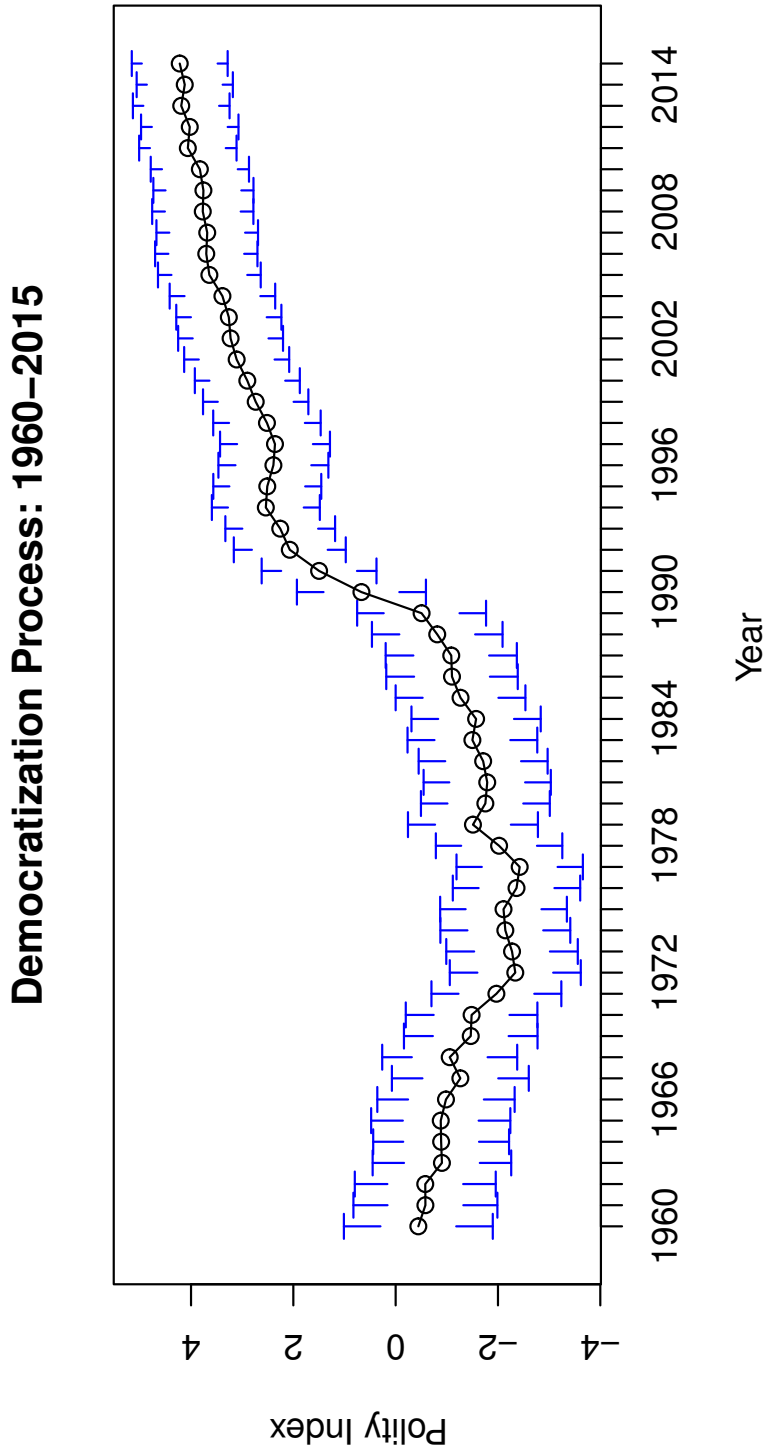


Figure 4.9: Smooth Plot: Democratization Process: 1960-2015;

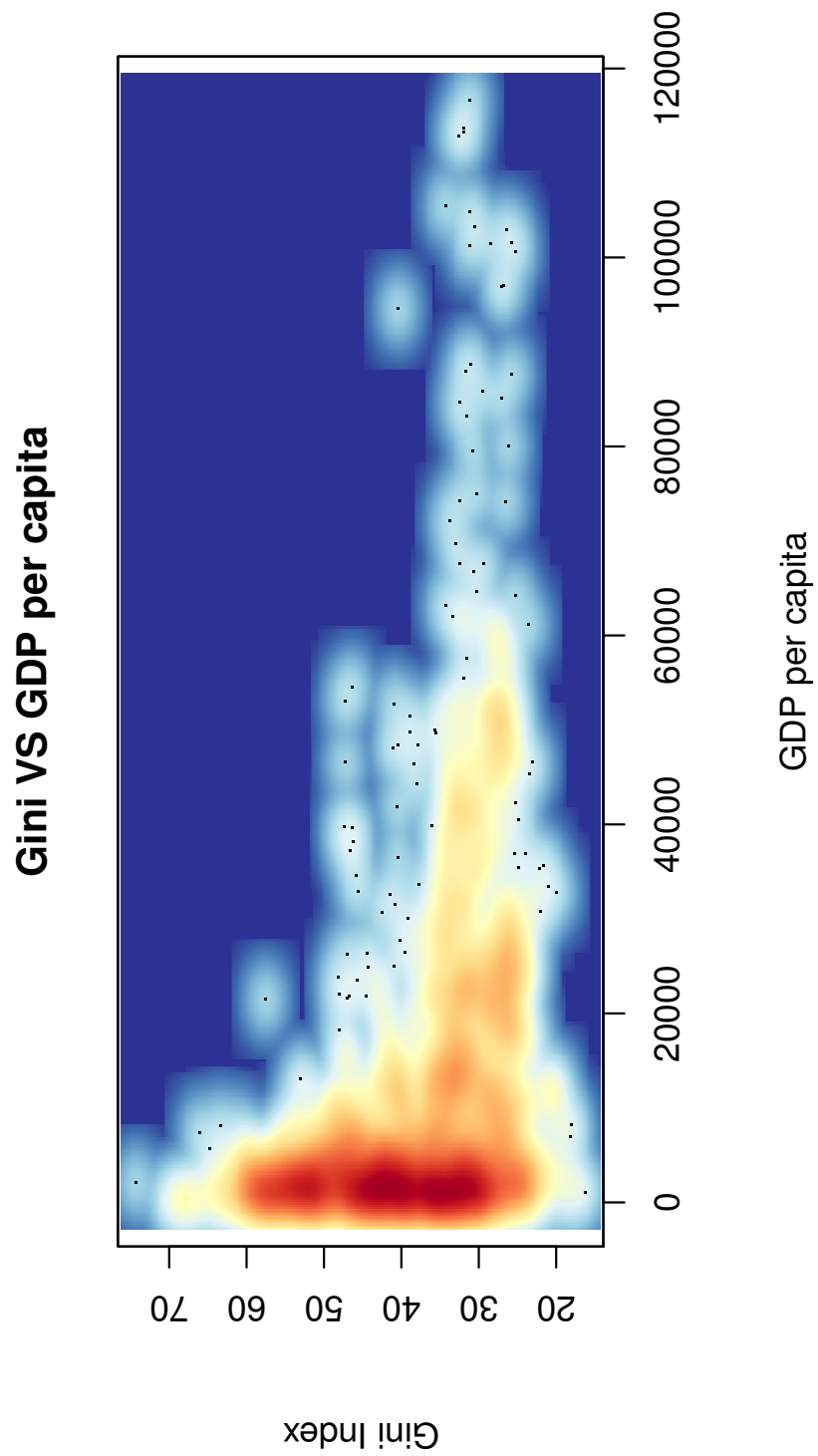


Figure 4.10: Smooth Plot: Gini index average on GDP per capita average;

Figure 4.8 shows the relationship between the distribution of GDP per capita average for each country considered in the database and relative level of Gini.

The figure is quite clear and shows how in countries with low levels of GDP per capita matches the highest concentration of income inequality.

Moreover, the other effect that graph shows is that for low levels of GDP per capita can be found both low levels of inequality and high levels of inequality. Just as it can be seen that there is a yellowish cloud that "degrades" to the right on medium low inequality levels. This second effect tells us that an increase in GDP per capita helps to maintain inequality levels on a constant average.

However, if we read this chart also according to Boix and Stokes (2003) paper, a low level of inequality even with the increase in GDP per capita is not necessary related to a good level of democracy. Considering, for example, the case of Arab oil-exporting countries, these countries are basically absolute monarchies, mostly lacking of political representation.

However, in these countries there is a high level of GDP per capita and there is an good level of economic well-being among the population. This example represents the typical case of a country there is a high level of GDP per capita correlates with a non-democratic political system that is almost dictatorial and at the same time an income inequality level medium - low.

The graph just described gives us an interesting but not sufficient interpretation to understand how Gini behaves in relation to a sharp socio-economic variable such as GDP per capita.

The following figure will helps to understand the relationship there is between inequality and the democratic development index (PolityIV).

Figure 4.9 shows distribution of inequality for the corresponding index levels of democracy or dictatorship. Observing the graph, it shows two small clouds concentrated in two point of the figure: one with more yellow range color on the left part and a small bright red cloud on bottom right part of graph.

This figure proves that pretty high levels of dictatorship regimes keep both level of inequality: low and medium and less high level (- 8 democracy). Same effect is observable on right side of the figure i.e. how for high level of full democracies (level 7 - 8 really

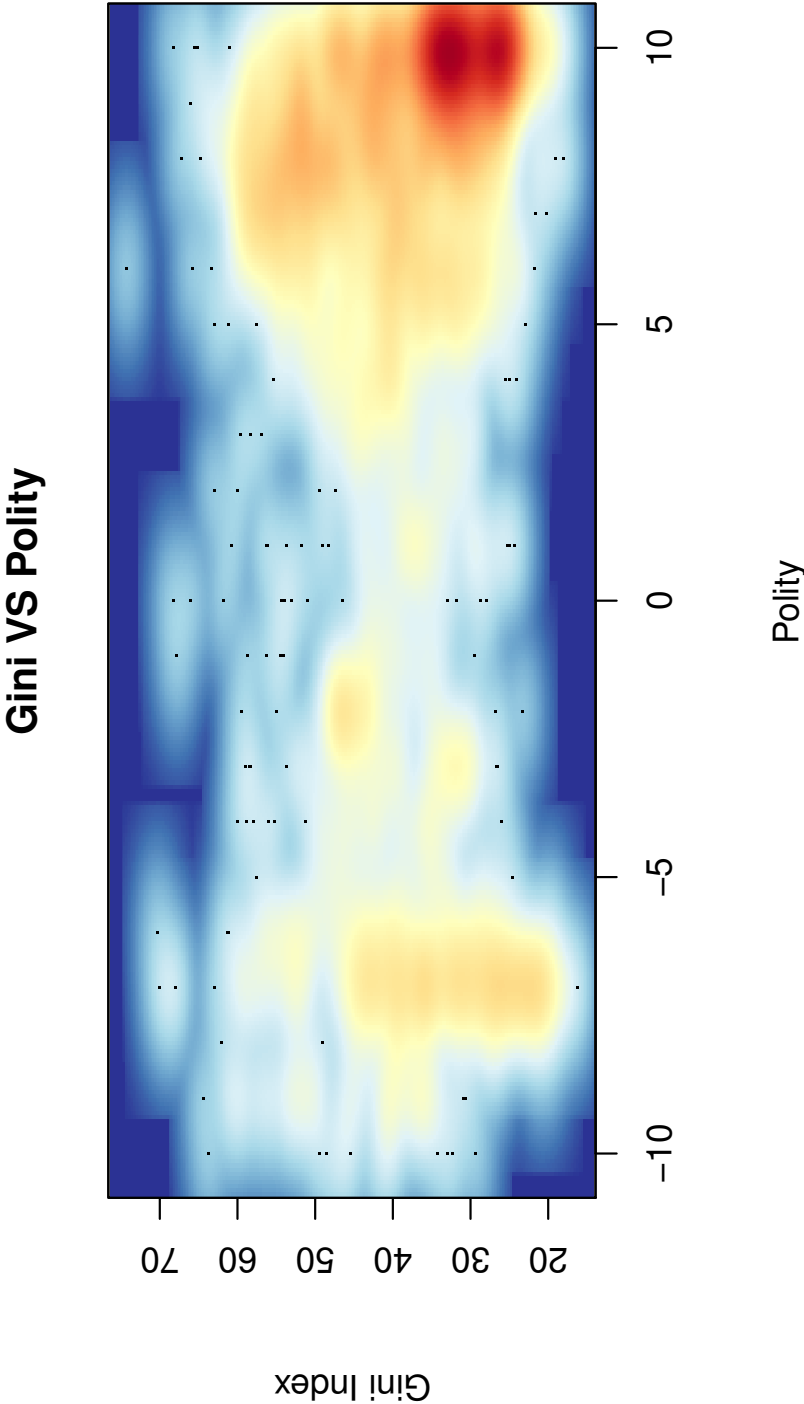


Figure 4.11: Smooth Plot: Gini on Polity;

close to a full democracy) there is an intense red cloudy represented the concentration of countries with both high level of democratization and medium low level of Gini index.

According with theoretical (Przeworski, Acemoglu, Barro, Boix et al.) described in last chapters the graph could confirm that is not a certain level of GDP per capita that favour a democratic switch but keeping low the inequality among population.

As other figure above, I propose another graphic representation that could explain same effect.

This last figure (4.12) shows the average distribution of Gini for every different level of politic regime and so of democratic regime or dictatorship regime. As figure shows, in all levels of full democracy (10) there is mostly a low level of inequality. Moreover, it is also true that for levels of quasi-dictatorship (-10 / -7) there are high levels of inequality as well as low levels of inequality matching to -7 polity index.

After this first part of graphic analysis it is useful to understand how international human rights law contribute to increase or decrease inequality.

Indeed the purpose of this work is to understand if there is or not a direct effect of implementation of human rights through ratification of International Human Rights Treaties on keeping low inequality in joined countries. So let's see what the result of regression analysis told us.

4.3 How International Human Rights Treaties Affects Inequality: a Panel Data Analysis

In this section I will show the results of the regressions obtained with panel data analysis method.

The model used to estimate the effect of countries ratification on inequality is a panel data where the dependent variable is Gini Index calculated by household per countries. There are some missing values per countries but for almost all the countries there lot of information on Gini before and after ratification⁶.

⁶Data on Gini index were collected from database WIID: World Income Inequality Database - <https://www.wider.unu.edu/project/wiid-world-income-inequality-database>



Description of all the independent variables used in this regression model was carried out previously. The selected variables on regression model are: GDP per capita, literacy, health, polity index, Oil production, Trade Openness. The time series observed for each country goes from 1960 to 2015.

Ratification or access of an international human rights treaties of the four selected and described is considered as a treatment.

Hence, ratification and access variable are set in the database as dummy variable that get 0 until the year before ratification or access and switch in 1 on the year of ratification or access to the rest of the time series.

The hypothesis tested by the model assumed that a country who submit a treaty does not go back on their steps. Hence, once that a country adheres to a treaty is done.

More specifically, in this last part of study I carried out a cross-section regression analysis on 188 states over the same reference years, using the ratification of a treaty as treatment. For this reason I decided to carry out a panel data with fixed effects.

The model tests how dependent variable (Y) is affected by the treatment variable controlled by all the other independent variables (X).

Hence, panel analysis in table 4.1 shows the effects of ratification and accession of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and ratification and accession on Optional Protocol on Civil and Political Rights on Gini set as dependent variable ⁷.

As first table shows the coefficient corresponding to each treaty is negative. So a negative coefficient suggests us that there is a negative linear relation between the adoption of human rights treaty by the countries and increasing of inequality calculating by Gini Index among the countries observed.

Moreover, if we look closely at the coefficient, behind negative sign, we can see how in all cases the adhesion to one of the treaties has a statistically significant effect on the dependent variable and therefore on the decrease of the inequality.

In other words according to these data, implementation of civil and political free-

⁷Legenda: R. ConCPR. means Ratification of Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; A. ConCPR. means Access to Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; R. OPICoCPR means Ratification of Optional Protocol on Civil and Political Rights; A. OPICoCPR means Access to Optional Protocol on Civil and Political Rights

doms on each countries through the ratification of international treaties would have a statistically significant effect on the decrease in income inequality.

Indeed, the independent variables coefficient shows another interesting effect. Negative effect of relation between variable health that is measured by life expectancy at birth and Gini. Diminishing of inequality related for example with lots of aspect of well being. So in that case less inequality mean more access to public health care and less disease and so it means a longer life in terms of years.

In general we can say that we're observing that ratification of civil and political rights in the decade is significantly related with a decrease of inequality.

Table 4.2 shows same panel model as the previous one but in this one the treaty used as "treatment" is the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Human Rights issued by the United Nations in 1966 and relative optional protocol of 2008 ⁸.

As in previous one also in this case the regression coefficient corresponding to the "treatment" dummy variable is negative and statistically significant.

This panel also confirms that there is a statistically significant negative effect of the ratification or access of treaties concerning social-economic rights on Gini. Or in other word, there is a linear negative relationship between the dependent variable the treatment and the control variables.

Hence, ratification of these treaties would have a negative effect on Gini and therefore would make it diminish his value.

In this sense we could say for both treaties and according to used model that diffusion of international human rights treaties of 1966 would cause a significant decrease in income inequality over the last 50 years.

Indeed, states implementation of rights promoted through the treaties would result a waterfall effect which - according to the mechanisms of endorsement and empowerment described in the previous chapters - would cause the recognition of some of the fundamental rights contained in the treaties in the long run.

So, increasing of rule of law, legal certainty and the mechanisms of "*justiciability*"

⁸Legenda: R. CEcoSCR means Ratification of Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Human Rights; A.CEcoSCR. means Access to Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Human Rights; R. OPESC means Ratification of Optional Protocol on Economic, Social and Cultural Human Rights;

Table 4.1: Panel Data Analysis on Civil and Political Human Rights Effect on Gini Index

<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
GINI INDEX						
	No Dummies	Ratification Covenant	Access Covenant	Ratification Op. Protocol	Access Op. Protocol	All Covenants
GDP per capita	0.00001** (0.00001)	0.00001** (0.00001)	0.00001* (0.00001)	0.00001* (0.00001)	0.00002** (0.00001)	0.00001** (0.00001)
Polity	0.093*** (0.033)	0.096*** (0.033)	0.114*** (0.034)	0.095*** (0.033)	0.129*** (0.034)	0.135*** (0.035)
Oil Production	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)
Literacy	-0.025** (0.010)	-0.022** (0.010)	-0.024** (0.010)	-0.023** (0.010)	-0.023** (0.010)	-0.019** (0.010)
Health	-0.139*** (0.050)	-0.126*** (0.051)	-0.110*** (0.051)	-0.112*** (0.051)	-0.115*** (0.049)	-0.069 (0.052)
Trade Openness	0.010 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)
R. ConCPR		-0.813 (0.503)				-0.377 (0.563)
A. ConCPR			-2.120*** (0.575)			-2.122*** (0.630)
R. OPICoCPR				-2.159*** (0.682)		-2.391*** (0.756)
A. OPICoCPR					-1.007** (0.460)	0.701 (0.514)
Observations	1,922	1,922	1,922	1,922	1,947	1,922
R ²	0.027	0.028	0.034	0.032	0.028	0.043
Adjusted R ²	-0.053	-0.052	-0.046	-0.048	-0.051	-0.038
F Statistic	8.119*** (df = 6; 1775)	7.339*** (df = 7; 1774)	8.947*** (df = 7; 1774)	8.424*** (df = 7; 1774)	8.620*** (df = 6; 1799)	7.911*** (df = 10; 1771)

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

of rights would create fertile ground in which democratically elected governments can develop policies to keep the income inequality low and under control.

Table 4.2: Panel Data Analysis on Economic, Social and Cultural Human Rights Effect and Optional Protocol on Gini Index

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	GINI INDEX				
	No dummies	Ratification Covenant	Access Covenant	Ratification Op. Protocol	All Covenants
GDP per capita	0.00001** (0.00001)	0.00001** (0.00001)	0.00001* (0.00001)	0.00001** (0.00001)	0.00001** (0.00001)
Polity	0.093*** (0.033)	0.093*** (0.033)	0.115*** (0.034)	0.090*** (0.034)	0.116*** (0.034)
Oil Production	0.00002** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002** (0.00001)	0.00002** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)
Literacy	-0.025 ** (0.010)	-0.024** (0.010)	-0.023** (0.10)	-0.021** (0.10)	-0.016 (0.010)
Health	-0.139*** (0.050)	-0.129** (0.052)	-0.111** (0.051)	-0.140*** (0.050)	-0.089* (0.052)
Trade Openness	0.010 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)	0.010 (0.007)	0.010 (0.007)	0.009 (0.007)
R. CEcoSCR		-0.456 (0.526)			-0.937* (0.533)
A. CEcoSCR			-2.244*** (0.590)		-2.522*** (0.601)
R. OPESC				-1.525** (0.726)	-1.780** (0.726)
Observations	1,922	1,922	1,922	1,922	1,922
R ²	0.027	0.027	0.035	0.029	0.039
Adjusted R ²	-0.053	-0.053	-0.045	-0.051	-0.042
F Statistic	8.119*** (df = 6; 1775)	7.066*** (df = 7; 1774)	9.075*** (df = 7; 1774)	7.602*** (df = 7; 1774)	8.035*** (df = 9; 1772)

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

To verify the results of the data obtained by the panel data model, I carried out two different robustness checks.

First, I introduced individual and time trend effects to check the robustness of model using time trend.

Second, I tried to built a panel logistic model using a "glmm" functions to create generalized linear model with fixed group effects. So I run this check test setting as dependent variable each treaty dummies as binary variable.

Figure 4.3 and 4.4 showing us the robustness check with time trend effects and also in this case coefficients are corresponding the treaties dummies are negative and significant most of time.

Running of this check should give more strength to model used and thus almost all coefficients confirm a negative relationship between the accession to human rights core treaties and the decrease in the income inequality ⁹.

Trying to have another confirmation about the effect of human rights core treaties on decrease of income inequality I tried to run another type of regression. I used a kind of panel data model where I could set a binary variable as dependent variable¹⁰. So as mentioned above I used a generalized linear model with binomial logit effect to test if predictors and Gini index used as independent variable have an effect on each treaty used in my model.

I did a logit model regression using each treaties used in the panel data model as dependent variable and for each one no one significant coefficients was detected.

The hypothesis checked with this model shows how it increase the probability to switching from 0 to 1 of dependent binary variable (Y) as effect of the variation of the independent variables put in the model.

In other words, with this test is trying to understand if there was some sort of reverse causality effect that goes from the independents variable included Gini index to the adhesion of treaty. So, if the variation of this independent variables increase the probability of countries adhesion to human rights treaties. The data showing that the answer is no. Except in the last optional protocol, in others the logit panel regressions there is no one

⁹In the table the time trend values is explained by coefficients values shown for each variables;

¹⁰A binary variable like a dummy is a variable that can assume just two values: 0 or 1;

Table 4.3: Two Ways - Time Trend Robustness Test on Panel Data on International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
GINI INDEX						
	No Dummies	Ratification Covenant	Access Covenant	Ratification Op. Protocol	Access Op. Protocol	All Covenants
GDP per capita	0.00000** (0.00001)	0.00000** (0.00002)	-0.00000** (0.00002)	0.00000** (0.00002)	0.00000** (0.00002)	-0.00000* (0.00002)
Polity	0.63* (0.034)	0.063* (0.034)	0.84** (0.034)	0.065* (0.034)	0.93*** (0.035)	0.106*** (0.035)
Oil Production	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)
Literacy	-0.032*** (0.011)	-0.032*** (0.012)	-0.034*** (0.011)	-0.032*** (0.011)	-0.033*** (0.011)	-0.034*** (0.011)
Health	-0.57 (0.067)	-0.055 (0.067)	-0.046 (0.066)	-0.046 (0.067)	-0.067 (0.067)	-0.033 (0.067)
Trade Openness	0.007 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)	0.006 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)
R. ConCPR		0.484 (0.548)				0.781 (0.609)
A. ConCPR			-2.428*** (0.570)			-2.038*** (0.627)
R. OPICoCPR				-1.490** (0.680)		-2.456*** (0.743)
A. OPICoCPR					-1.445** (0.472)	-1.145 (0.509)
Time Trend	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	1,922	1,922	1,922	1,922	1,922	1,922
R ²	0.016	0.017	0.026	0.019	0.021	0.034
Adjusted R ²	-0.093	-0.093	-0.082	-0.090	-0.087	-0.075
F Statistic	4.710*** (df = 6; 1730)	4.148*** (df = 7; 1729)	6.667*** (df = 7; 1729)	4.733*** (df = 7; 1729)	5.397*** (df = 7; 1729)	6.086*** (df = 10; 1726)

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 4.4: Two Ways - Time Trend Robustness Test on Panel Data on International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	GINI INDEX				
	No dummies	Ratification Covenant	Access Covenant	Ratification Op. Protocol	All Covenants
GDP per capita	0.00001 (0.00001)	0.00000 (0.00002)	-0.00000 (0.00002)	0.00000 (0.00002)	-0.00003 (0.00002)
Polity	0.093*** (0.033)	0.063* (0.034)	0.84** (0.034)	0.063* (0.034)	0.082** (0.034)
Oil Production	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)
Literacy	-0.025** (0.010)	-0.034*** (0.012)	-0.033*** (0.011)	0.029** (0.012)	0.031*** (0.012)
Health	-0.139*** (0.050)	-0.068 (0.067)	-0.049 (0.066)	-0.60 (0.067)	-0.058 (0.067)
Trade Openness	0.010 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)
R. CEcoSCR		1.061* (0.558)			0.540 (0.572)
A. CEcoSCR			-2.437*** (0.587)		-2.340*** (0.604)
R. OPESC				-1.043 (0.752)	-1.167 (0.749)
Time Trend	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Observations	1,922	1,922	1,922	1,922	1,922
R ²	0.027	0.018	0.026	0.017	0.028
Adjusted R ²	-0.053	-0.091	-0.082	-0.092	-0.082
F Statistic	8.119*** (df = 6; 1775)	4.560*** (df = 7; 1729)	6.538*** (df = 7; 1729)	4.315*** (df = 7; 1729)	5.461*** (df = 9; 1727)

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

significant coefficient on Gini variable that the support this hypothesis¹¹.

In my opinion, even this data would support the validity of the model used. Hence the fact that there is no significant coefficients in logit regression could mean that the variation of each of the control variables would not increase the likelihood that a country will ratify the treaty or not.

Moreover, interpreting this effect in this way, I can assume that if it is true that there is a linear relation that goes in a precise direction, that is from the treaties to the inequality, it is not true that this relation works also in the reverse direction.

This effect would further confirm the validity of the presented model and the effectiveness of the relationship between treaties and decrease of inequality.

Table 4.5: Robustness Test: Panel Logistic Model for Ratification on international Civil and Political Rights

<i>Dependent variable: Ratification of International Civil and Political Rights</i>				
TREATY 1				
	Estimate	Std. error	t value	Pr (> t)
Intercept	-3.302e+01	Inf	0	1
GDP per capita	2.206e-04	Inf	0	1
Gini Index	-6.604e-02	Inf	0	1
Literacy	1.853e-01	Inf	0	1
Health	3.607e-01	Inf	0	1
Polity2	2.402e-01	Inf	0	1
Oil Production	-2.858e-05	Inf	0	1
Trade Openness	-8.466e-02	Inf	0	1
Sigma	1.632e+01	Inf	0	1

Signif. codes: 0 '***', 0.001 '**', 0.01 '*', 0.05 '.', 0.1 ' ' 1

¹¹The only exception, on the test for Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, can be explained in relation of the year of issuing of this protocol. In fact, many of the countries that had already ratified the main treaty have not reason to do not join the implementation program proposed by the protocol of 2008. Probably, many countries submitted this treaty as effect of had already ratifying the main one;

Table 4.6: Robustness Test: Panel Logistic Model on Access on International Civil and Political Rights

<i>Dependent variable: Access to international Civil and Political Rights</i>				
TREATY 2				
	Estimate	Std. error	t value	Pr (> t)
Intercept	−1.928e+01	2.928e+00	−6.584	4.57e-11 ***
GDP per capita	1.066e-05	5.064e-06	2.105	0.0353 *
Gini Index	1.352e-03	1.947e-02	0.069	0.9446
Literacy	6.458e-04	NA	NA	NA
Health	1.768e-01	3.015e-02	5.864	4.52e-09 ***
Polity2	5.539e-02	2.382e-02	2.325	0.0201 *
Oil Production	−4.831e-06	3.186e-06	−1.516	0.1295
Trade Openness	4.899e-02	3.261e-03	15.022	< 2e-16 ***
Sigma	6.290e+00	4.362e-01	14.421	< 2e-16 ***

— Signif. codes: 0 '***', 0.001 '**', 0.01 '*', 0.05 '.', 0.1 ' ' 1

Table 4.7: Robustness Test: Panel Logistic Model of Ratification of International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

<i>Dependent variable: Ratification of International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</i>				
TREATY 3				
	Estimate	Std. error	t value	Pr (> t)
Intercept	−8.530e+00	2.411e+00	−3.538	0.000403 ***
GDP per capita	1.337e-05	1.150e-05	1.163	0.244807
Gini Index	2.915e-02	1.689e-02	1.726	0.084301 .
Literacy	1.736e-02	8.927e-03	1.945	0.051827 .
Health	9.262e-02	3.700e-02	2.503	0.012312 **
Polity2	−3.380e-02	2.372e-02	−1.425	0.154184
Oil Production	−2.939e-06	3.601e-06	−0.816	0.414372
Trade Openness	−5.548e-03	2.699e-03	−2.056	0.039821 *
Sigma	3.404e+00	2.105e-01	16.171	< 2e-16 ***

— Signif. codes: 0 '***', 0.001 '**', 0.01 '*', 0.05 '.', 0.1 ' ' 1

Table 4.8: Robustness Test: Panel Logistic Model of Access to International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

<i>Dependent variable: Access to International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</i>				
TREATY 4				
	Estimate	Std. error	t value	Pr (> t)
Intercept	-6.739e+00	2.111e+00	-3.193	0.00141 **
GDP per capita	2.113e-05	1.246e-05	1.695	0.09005 .
Gini Index	1.095e-02	2.121e-02	0.516	0.60583
Literacy	2.211e-03	1.190e-02	0.186	0.85257
Health	-3.167e-02	3.818e-02	-0.829	0.40691
Polity2	1.884e-01	3.311e-02	5.689	1.28e-08 ***
Oil Production	1.249e-05	NA	NA	NA
Trade Openness	4.873e-02	7.618e-03	6.396	1.59e-10 ***
Sigma	9.071e+00	7.666e-01	11.832	< 2e-16 ***

— Signif. codes: 0 '***', 0.001 '**', 0.01 '*', 0.05 '.', 0.1 ' ' 1

Table 4.9: Robustness Test: Panel Logistic Model on Ratification for Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

<i>Dependent variable: Ratification for Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</i>				
TREATY 5				
	Estimate	Std. error	t value	Pr (> t)
Intercept	-1.396e+01	Inf	0	1
GDP per capita	5.642e-05	Inf	0	1
Gini Index	-3.003e-02	Inf	0	1
Literacy	6.535e-03	Inf	0	1
Health	1.527e-01	Inf	0	1
Polity2	1.952e-01	Inf	0	1
Oil Production	-4.247e-06	Inf	0	1
Trade Openness	-5.239e-03	Inf	0	1
Sigma	7.089e+00	Inf	0	1

— Signif. codes: 0 '***', 0.001 '**', 0.01 '*', 0.05 '.', 0.1 ' ' 1

Table 4.10: Robustness Test: Panel Logistic Model for Access to Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

<i>Dependent variable: Access to Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights</i>				
TREATY 6				
	Estimate	Std. error	t value	Pr (> t)
Intercept	2.686e+00	1.256e+00	2.139	0.032433 *
GDP per capita	-1.614e-05	9.234e-06	-1.748	0.080533 .
Gini Index	5.297e-03	9.131e-03	0.580	0.561880
Literacy	4.535e-02	8.184e-03	5.541	3.00e-08 ***
Health	-1.156e-01	2.766e-02	-4.178	2.94e-05 ***
Polity2	7.210e-02	2.156e-02	3.344	0.000825 ***
Oil Production	-1.394e-07	NA	NA	NA
Trade Openness	1.005e-02	4.226e-03	2.378	0.017399 *
Sigma	3.301e+00	2.021e-01	16.339	< 2e-16 ***

Signif. codes: 0 '***', 0.001 '**', 0.01 '*', 0.05 '.', 0.1 ' ' 1

Table 4.11: Robustness Test: Panel Logistic Model for Ratification of Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

<i>Dependent variable: Ratification of Optional Protocol on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights</i>				
TREATY 7				
	Estimate	Std. error	t value	Pr (> t)
Intercept	-2.832e+01	5.156e+00	-5.492	3.97e-08 ***
GDP per capita	-4.849e-05	2.081e-05	-2.330	0.01978 *
Gini Index	1.088e-01	2.415e-02	4.505	6.64e-06 ***
Literacy Gross	5.962e-02	1.036e-02	5.755	8.68e-09 ***
Health	2.082e-01	7.189e-02	2.896	0.00378 **
Polity2	-4.639e-02	5.595e-02	-0.829	0.40702
Oil Production	-1.436e-05	9.542e-06	-1.505	0.13224
Trade Openness	3.590e-03	4.702e-03	0.763	0.44522

Signif. codes: 0 '***', 0.001 '**', 0.01 '*', 0.05 '.', 0.1 ' ' 1

4.4 Testing the Model introducing Globalization Index (and others tests)

Before ending this work, I propose some others controls to test the model. The test that I run in this section are probably the starting point for further works based on this topic.

Why controlling for globalization index? Globalization is a dimension on which it can be tested all this work. Globalization is the result of an economic-social process begun last century that leaded markets, consumptions, goods production as well as the circulation of information and the lifestyle of all the individuals of the world to be strongly interconnected. As mentioned in Gygly, Haelg and Sturm (2018) globalization *describes the process of creating networks of connections among actors at intra- or multi-continental distances, mediated through a variety of flows including people, information and ideas, capital, and goods. Globalisation is a process that erodes national boundaries, integrates national economies, cultures, technologies and governance, and produces complex relations of mutual interdependence.*

The KOF Globalization index is a composite index used to measure several levels of globalization among countries of the world along economic, social and political dimension (Gygly, Haelg and Sturm, 2018).

The latest version of the Index of Globalisation is a composed by two main parts. The index propose to measure levels of globalization by the aggregation of "characteristics and dimensions" of globalization. This index is built distinguishing between "de facto" and "de jure" element. All the values that constitute the "de facto" dimension of globalization include variables that cover flows and activities (financial flows, trade activities, etc.). De jure variables are all values that involve countries policies, resources or institutions decision that favour and enable flows and activities.

Mainly, the index is used controlling by de facto or de jure dimension. However, there is an overall version of the KOF globalization index which is calculated combining the de facto and de de jure indices together and this is the version that i fit in the model.

The idea of controlling the model by this variable concerns the will to analyse if the spread of human rights can be fostered (or not) by other socio-cultural phenomena characterizing recent history.

In that sense, globalization can be explained on 3 different dimensions: economic, political and social¹².

Economically, globalization explains how financial and trade openness has a strong correlation with economic growth (Dreher, 2006). In the globalization index the economic dimension is accounted both for *de jure* and *de facto* indexes measuring trade and financial openness ratio for each country. Social globalization is built considering several sub-dimension as interpersonal, information and cultural globalization. This dimension taking in account the spread of cultural values and standards of rationalism around the world but can also consider technology as a variable to take in account for the index. Political globalization is a dimension that consider variables such as participation to UN treaties as well as bilateral treaties. Moreover it considers the participation at UN peacekeeping missions and number of embassies already operating (Gygly, Haelg and Sturm, 2018).

Controlling through the globalization index could be useful to understand an unexplained part of the model, namely as an economic phenomenon as globalization can influences the diffusion of principles within treaties and through them have an effect on income inequality level. As Dreher (2006) affirm, there is a relationship between diffusion over the last 30 years of globalization and economic growth. The economic growth trend of many developing countries increase significantly in the last decades. According to the most theory of economic development there is a strong correlation between the last transformation of world trade and financial market (by openness) and the development process.

In general, the likelihood of a rapid development is higher in a more openness country in economic as well as in political and cultural dimension than in a traditional system. So, the process of economic development as well as political and cultural development should favour the spread fundamental rights and help the institution of a country to implement policies to keep low level of income inequality.

Testing by globalization index (Figure 4.12) shows clearly how the effect of treaties ratification affects negatively income inequality. Therefore, the spread of civil and political rights is favoured by globalization and it help to decrease income inequality. Instead,

¹²As mentioned, all three dimension are strictly divided in measuring between *de jure* and *de facto* measurement

Table 4.12: Controlling by Globalization on Civil and Political Human Rights Effect on Gini Index

<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
	GINI INDEX					
	No Dummies	Ratification Covenant	Access Covenant	Ratification Op. Protocol	Access Op. Protocol	All Covenants
GDP per capita	0.00000 (0.00001)	0.00001 (0.00001)	-0.00000 (0.00001)	0.00000 (0.00001)	0.00001 (0.00001)	0.00000 (0.00001)
Polity	0.063* (0.034)	0.066* (0.034)	0.085** (0.034)	0.064* (0.034)	0.97*** (0.035)	0.112*** (0.035)
Oil Production	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)
Literacy	-0.041*** (0.011)	-0.038*** (0.011)	-0.041*** (0.011)	-0.040*** (0.011)	-0.040*** (0.011)	-0.037*** (0.011)
Health	-0.297*** (0.059)	-0.287*** (0.059)	-0.270*** (0.059)	-0.271*** (0.059)	-0.298*** (0.059)	-0.238 (0.059)
Trade Openness	-0.0003 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.007)
Overall Globalization	0.106 *** (0.019)	0.112*** (0.019)	0.114*** (0.019)	0.109*** (0.019)	0.117*** (0.019)	0.129*** (0.019)
R. ConCPR		-1.219** (0.506)				-0.823 (0.567)
A. ConCPR			-2.455*** (0.588)			-2.385*** (0.641)
R. OPICoCPR				-2.181*** (0.687)		-2.347*** (0.763)
A. OPICoCPR					-1.650*** (0.483)	-1.180** (0.526)
Observations	1,869	1,869	1,869	1,869	1,869	1,869
R ²	0.043	0.046	0.052	0.048	0.049	0.065
Adjusted R ²	-0.039	-0.036	-0.029	-0.034	-0.033	-0.018
F Statistic	10.934*** (df = 7; 1721)	10.318*** (df = 8; 1720)	11.834*** (df = 8; 1720)	10.879*** (df = 8; 1720)	11.087*** (df = 8; 1720)	10.798*** (df = 11; 1717)

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

positive coefficients assumed by the variable globalization can be explained as in an initial period of institutional economic transformation - as supported by the modernization theory - the acceleration of economic growth has a positive effect on income inequality. However, it is expected a redistributive effect in the long run that should decrease inequality.

Moreover the control for globalization index on economic social and cultural rights (figure 4.13) shows the same negative coefficient relatively income inequality. Specifically, the effect of human rights treaties result strengthened after setting globalization variable in the model. The coefficient are higher and more significant for often all the variable-treaty used.

Hence, it could explaining arguing about the relation between economic, social and cultural rights and social and political globalization. The effect of increasing of globalization in social and cultural dimension could affect the spread of the principles concerning economic and social rights contained in the covenant of 1966 ¹³.

The second and third controls concerning the building two dummies variable to set for ex socialist countries switching from socialist to independent countries and to evaluate the transitions from colony to former country.

The tests show how both controls have not significant effect on dependent variable analysed. Specifically the regression about the ex socialist dummy variable shows a small effect that relate the transition from socialist country to independent country, spread of human rights and decrease of income inequality but it is just a small effect and it will be object of further analysis.

¹³I run for both panels a time trend robustness test and it confirms the negative coefficient of treaties variable for both panel;

Table 4.13: Controlling by Globalization on Economic, Social and Cultural Human Rights Effect and Optional Protocol on Gini Index

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	GINI INDEX				
	No dummies	Ratification Covenant	Access Covenant	Ratification Op. Protocol	All Covenants
GDP per capita	0.00000 (0.00001)	0.00000 (0.00001)	−0.00000 (0.00001)	0.00000 (0.00001)	0.00000 (0.00001)
Polity	0.063* (0.034)	0.063* (0.034)	0.085** (0.034)	0.062* (0.034)	0.089*** (0.034)
Oil Production	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)	0.00002*** (0.00001)
Literacy	−0.041 *** (0.011)	−0.039*** (0.011)	−0.041*** (0.11)	−0.039*** (0.11)	−0.035*** (0.011)
Health	−0.297*** (0.059)	−0.284*** (0.059)	−0.269*** (0.059)	−0.294*** (0.059)	−0.243*** (0.060)
Trade Openness	−0.0003 (0.007)	−0.001 (0.007)	−0.001 (0.007)	−0.001 (0.007)	−0.002 (0.007)
Overall Globalization	0.106*** (0.019)	0.109*** (0.019)	0.112*** (0.019)	0.104*** (0.019)	0.114*** (0.019)
R. CEcoSCR		−0.838 (0.531)			−1.321** (0.537)
A. CEcoSCR			−2.484*** (0.603)		−2.802*** (0.613)
R. OPESC				−0.856 (0.806)	−1.099 (0.803)
Observations	1,869	1,869	1,869	1,869	1,869
R ²	0.043	0.044	0.052	0.043	0.056
Adjusted R ²	−0.039	−0.038	−0.030	−0.039	−0.026
F Statistic	10.394*** (df = 7; 1721)	9.887*** (df = 8; 1720)	11.778*** (df = 8; 1720)	9.709*** (df = 8; 1720)	10.215*** (df = 10; 1718)

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This thesis tried to explore and investigate on a field of social science not yet well developed. In particular, I tried to understand how we could measure the effectiveness of international human rights core treaties by economic.

Indeed, for more than 50 years international community of developed countries always embraced and promoted ideals like freedom, peace, social equality, democracy and development. All these ideals are perfectly combined through the "syntax" of human rights.

However beyond words it is also interesting to understand how the diffusion of these rights really helps "human" development in countries that decide to recognize and protect the rights themselves.

Therefore, this work tried to help to understand whether the diffusion of these treaties in the world has made a positive or negative contribution to development of countries that have joined. In this way I tried to contribute to answer to a question that scholars have been asking for years: do human rights work?

I found several difficulties in developing the theoretical framework of this thesis and obviously this investigation showed different critical issues.

Therefore, in first chapter I tried to clarify the existing theoretical models that study the relationship between institutional development and economic growth and in particular I have deepened and used the model of modernization theory.

This latter model was developed in the first years after the second world war. The economic version of modernization theory was developed as a model for global growth.

One of the basic assumption of this theory is that the western model of civilization is the more desirable achievement for each world countries.

The study of this model helped me to analyse the institutions development process of countries in relation to economic development process.

The study of this relationship provided the framework on which build the model on which this work is based.

Indeed, according to the developed model shown, a country that aspires to become democratic, it must necessarily join the ideals on which Western democracies are historically based.

So how does a country trying to become a democracy choose to support, promote and protect certain fundamental freedoms and rights? expressing "publicly" at international level its will to promote these rights: through adhesion to international human rights treaties.

Assuming this latter point, if a state join to human rights core treaties, over time it will have to implement civil and political rights as well as economic and social rights. Therefore ratifying countries will develop - over time - policies aimed at protecting and promoting these rights which are typical of the developed western world (as wished by modernization theory).

Moreover implementation of these rights over time should have some effect that can be recorded in economic terms.

The empirical investigation contained in the thesis concerns precisely the verification whether or not there was an economic effect due to the accession to the treaties.

In other words, I used the assumption of model of modernization to try to understand how accession to these treaties has a role in the relationship between institutional development and the economic development of a country.

Therefore, I tried to include this work in an already existing and heated debate that seeks to understand the relationship between institutions and economic development. Usually, in this debate the mentioned relation is measured in terms of GDP per capita.

Building the model I understood that using GDP per capita in this investigation would not be useful for two reasons.

First one is that GDP per capita is a merely economic index and in the years of obser-

vation globally has a trend that is almost always positive and that means no significant variations could be noted.

Moreover, if it is true that GDP per capita it is a useful index to understand the economic performance of a country is also true that it is not useful to check real well-being of the population of a country.

For these reasons I decided to measure the effect of ratification of the treaties with another measure of human wellness: the income inequality index using Gini index.

After completed the theoretical model, I estimated the data collected through panel data analysis.

The results obtained and checked with different robustness check showing an existence of a statistically significant linear relationship between the income inequality of the countries observed and the adhesion to the two fundamental human rights conventions promulgated by the United Nations in 1966 in civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights, plus relative additional protocols of 1966 and of 2008.

In all the estimates carried out, the coefficients obtained through the regressions show a negative relationship between the mentioned variables (dependent and predictors).

Indeed, this data would show us how the ratification of the treaties and the implementation of the rights contained in them has contributed to decrease the inequality in the observed countries over time.

This work represent a first approach and a small contribution in a field that is still little known. Surely, the model developed and used can be subjected to different criticisms. However the plainness of results can suggest some considerations on the effectiveness of development, promotion and protection of human rights in the last half century.

Remarking Wotipka and Tsutsui (2008) results, ratification or access to human rights treaties would favour countries to gain an international "legitimacy", i.e. a country that ratifies a human rights treaty would gain weight in international politics even if it has to give up a small part of political sovereignty. Therefore, according to the authors mentioned, it is likely that countries trying to make their way into international scenario are more likely to ratify this kind of treaties.

According to my results, following to this propensity motivated by a purpose to acquire legitimacy is added an important side effect. That is, once countries ratify these treaties,

they give legal strength to the rules that are contained in them ¹.

The results obtained suggest an effect that from one side, once a country ratifies has a greater propensity to implement the rights contained in the treaties by the institutions.

From other side, citizens begin to have the knowledge that they can request to the state guaranteed and protection of certain freedoms and certain rights.

This process of "reorganization" described in many scientific literature as democratic transition, if accompanied by adhesion to mentioned treaties would also help to achieve results in terms of economic development - as verified in this thesis - by reducing the inequality income measured by the index of Gini.

So despite the dozens of criticisms on the topic of promotion of human rights and on the risk of cultural relativism, this small contribution helps to restore legitimacy to the study and development of the theory on human rights.

Indeed even if this work does not clarifying totally the topic under investigation it wants to be a first timid step towards a kind of economic analysis concerning human rights and international law system that has a remarkable capacity for development.

Moreover I would like to be able to further develop the work begun with this thesis. I would like to try to carry out similar investigation building new databases using other human rights treaties (only those promoted by the United Nations are more than 25) using other dependent variables such as social mobility.

As well I would like to try to verify if the effect analysed in this thesis can be considered causal through the construction and insertion in the model of an exogenous instrumental variable that can "capture" this effect.

In addition, I would like to specify the research by analysing case studies by studying specifically what happened in individual countries and trying to build synthetic controls to evaluate the effect of the treated as individual treatment.

Moreover, I would like to add a dummy for the countries of the ex Soviet bloc and for the former colonies. This would strengthen the link between the discussion on the question of the "westernization" of developing countries and the empirical verification.

¹Recalling that the norms of international law in the hierarchy of sources are subject only to that of constitutional rank;

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Acknowledgement

Firstly I would like to express my feeling in loving memory of my father and my grandmother both passed away during my Ph.D. studies. You have always been an example of dedication to work and discipline in study. If I have been concluded this thesis it is only a natural consequence of yours being that is reflected in what I am becoming. I hope that this thesis and my life path can make you proud of me.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Mario Lavezzi for the continuous support of my Ph.D study and related research, for his patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. His guidance leaded me in all the time of research and writing of this thesis. I consider myself really lucky having him as advisor and mentor and friend for my Ph.D study.

I would like to thank the rest of my Ph.D. tutors. Prof. Isabel Trujillo Director of Ph.D programme, Prof. Aldo Schiavello director of department of Law of University of Palermo, Prof. Michele Battisti and Dr. Francesco Biondo for all the greats advises and Dr. Marco Brigaglia, for their great helps, comments and encouragement but also for the hard question and tasks and for all the educational activities in which have been involved my colleagues and me.

My sincere thanks also goes to all the scholars having me as visitor student all over the world. More specifically to Prof. Sarah Joseph of the Castan Centre for Human Rights of the Monash University of Melbourne who provided me an unique opportunity to join their team; the Dr. Florian Foos lecturer at the King's College of London that it was fundamental for completing this work; the Prof. Samira Mechri of El-Manar of Tunis to host me.

Without they precious support it would not be possible to conduct this research.

I thank my colleagues and fellow at our room the "PH.D. Hellgate" at department

of law of Univeristy of Palermo. Specially I would like to thank Giovanni, Silvia, Eileen, Matija, Giuseppe, Valeria, Diego, Roberto and Francesco at the King's.

This experience should not be the same without them. It was a great honour shared with them stimulating discussions, nights working together in our dusty room, before deadlines and for all the fun we have had in the last three years. Your fellowship have been worth the journey.

I would like to say thanks to all the people who work at department of Piazza Bologni specially Salvo, Marco, Andrea e Marcella for their help.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank my family: my mother and to my brother for supporting me specially during the often nervous moment throughout writing this thesis and in general for always supporting me.