

# 'Freedom From' and 'Freedom To' across countries

## Abstract

It has been over 70 years since Erich Fromm wrote "Escape From Freedom." He defined two types of freedom: FREEDOM FROM (negative) and FREEDOM TO (positive). Fromm's masterpiece, however, does not measure the two types of freedom, and this is not surprising—there were no freedom data at the time. Now, there are plenty of data, and Fromm's concepts of freedom can be operationalized across countries. The two types of freedom, positive and negative, correlate at below .5, and such low correlation is surprising—I discuss outliers and point out that freedom is an end in itself, as recognized, for instance, by Amartya Sen. Furthermore, while we acknowledge the importance of FREEDOM FROM, we forget that FREEDOM FROM is not fully realized without FREEDOM TO: it's great to be free; but it's even better to feel free as well.

KEYWORDS: FREEDOM, WVS, FRASER INSTITUTE, FREEDOM HOUSE

## introduction and literature

In the classic "Escape from freedom" (1994), Erich Fromm defines two types of freedom: FREEDOM FROM (negative) and FREEDOM TO (positive).<sup>1</sup> To be FREE FROM is to be no slave, to live in a free country, to have no coercion, to be free from restrictions and impediments. To be FREE TO is to be able to choose, to control and direct one's own life. FREEDOM FROM is lack of obstacles; FREEDOM TO is presence of control. Put simply, I am FREE FROM if I am no slave, and I am FREE TO if I am my own master.

Following Fromm's 1941 book, there has been a number of similar freedom definitions proposed.<sup>2</sup> Bay (1970) uses term "potential" or "social freedom" for FREEDOM FROM: "Freedom means the relative absence of [un]perceived external restraints on individual behavior"<sup>3</sup>, and he uses "psychological freedom" for FREEDOM TO: "Freedom means a degree of harmony between basic motives and overt behavior" (Bay 1970, p.83). Veenhoven (2000) calls FREEDOM TO "capability to choose", "awareness of alternatives" and "courage to choose." FREEDOM TO is close to<sup>4</sup> "freedom of choice" or simply "variety" (Veenhoven 2000). One economist defines FREEDOM TO as "the size of an opportunity set with mutually exclusive alternatives" (Verme 2009, p.147). An unexpected problem is that increasing the choice set beyond some limit usually leads to confusion, anxiety or even paralysis (Schwartz 2004).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>These are close concepts to positive and negative rights. Also, FREEDOM FROM is close to the idea of natural (human) rights.

<sup>2</sup>It appears that Bay (1970) is the fullest/in-depth modern treatment of the concept of freedom !!TEXT BLIND FOR PEER-REVIEW!!.

<sup>3</sup>The difference between potential and social is that potential uses "unperceived" and social uses "perceived."

<sup>4</sup>I am saying "close to," because it is not the same. In fact, it may be easily misleading if defined this way: "variety" and "opportunity set" actually pertain to FREEDOM FROM when understood externally in terms of what is out there in the external World—there is FREEDOM FROM because due to lack of restrictions we have variety. If we think of "variety" and "opportunity set" as our internal perception, what we think is out there, then it is FREEDOM TO. That is why I also define FREEDOM FROM/TO as objective/subjective and external/internal.

<sup>5</sup>For instance, when people are given choice of many brands of cereal, they end up confused and buy none as opposed to when there are only few

FREEDOM FROM/FREEDOM TO is close to objective/subjective freedom. For instance, you have “objective” freedom if you live in a free place<sup>6</sup>—you are more free in the U.S. than in Mexico. You have “subjective” freedom if you feel free—as shown later, a Mexican actually feels more free than an American.<sup>7</sup> And alternatively, objective/subjective freedom can also be labeled external/internal if you take into account its source. Which one is more important? Which comes first? FREEDOM FROM is the first logical step, but it’s not the end. We usually forget about the FREEDOM TO—again, there are only three studies that use measures of FREEDOM TO (and only as predictors of happiness). On the other hand, there are hundreds of publications using FREEDOM FROM. And FREEDOM TO is necessary to realize the full potential/advantage of FREEDOM FROM. Simply speaking, FREEDOM TO makes use of FREEDOM FROM. FREEDOM FROM is not enough by itself, you need to know how to use it. It’s like with democracy—one thing is to have it formally, yet another thing to make use of it. When almost 200 years ago De Tocqueville (2003) was admiring participation and civic engagement in America, he was saying that Americans make a good use of democracy, that is, they enjoy FREEDOM TO.

Freedom, of course, is key for progress and development of our civilization. And accordingly there has been much written about freedom by major social scientists (e.g. Freud et al. 1930, Fromm 1994, Sen 2000). Freedom is thought to be instrumental (you need it first) in achieving other good things: power, respect, affection, rectitude, well-being, wealth, enlightenment and skill (Bay 1970).<sup>8</sup>

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights lists almost only FREEDOMS FROM:<sup>9</sup>

- right to life, liberty and security; freedom from slavery, servitude, torture, cruelty, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (art. 3, 4, 5, 12)
- freedom from discrimination, prejudice, arbitrary arrest, detention or exile (art. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11)
- freedom of movement and residence; right to marry and own property (art. 13, 16, 17 )
- freedom of thought, assembly, religion and worship (art. 18, 19, 20)
- freedom to take part in governance and access public services (art. 21)
- right to freely chosen education and work, equal pay, rest and leisure (art. 23, 24, 26)
- right to decent standard of living and security in case of misfortune (art. 25)

and one FREEDOM TO:

- freedom for the realization of one’s human potential (art. 26, 29)

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choices—then they will make an informed decision. For elaboration and many examples see Schwartz (2004). An important implication for public policy is the right choice of the default option—most people will stick with the default—policy makers should make right decisions about defaults: e.g. organ donation, ordering of items at school’s cafeteria, and so forth. See Thaler and Sunstein (2008) for elaboration.

<sup>6</sup>In absolute sense, no place is free since thousands of years ago. Every country, even a failed state, has some formal and informal rules and laws.

<sup>7</sup>One reason may be that an American, even though quite FREE FROM is not as much FREE TO as compared to a Mexican, because she has more social pressure, and is more of an “automaton” (to use Fromm’s term). Also, an American may be confused or even paralyzed because there is too much variety (as Schwartz (2004) suggested) and accordingly she does not feel FREEDOM TO. Yet another reason may be that a Mexican does not know that she is not free relative to an American—she feels more free relative to other Mexicans than an American feels free relative to other Americans.

<sup>8</sup>On the other hand, Inglehart et al. (2008) say that we first need economic development, democratization, and social liberalization before we can have freedom. I agree with both points of view—there appears to be a circular causality.

<sup>9</sup>The categorization into FREEDOMS FROM and FREEDOMS TO is based on my own interpretation of the declaration, which may be inaccurate—I am not a lawyer. For a full list see United Nations (2013). That there are mostly FREEDOMS FROM in the declaration is not its shortcoming—FREEDOM TO, by definition, is something that a person does on her own. Indeed, it is possible (and probable), although difficult, to have FREEDOM TO in the absence of FREEDOM FROM.

Sen (e.g. 2000) proposed freedom as a measure of development, and specifically he meant capabilities and functionings, which are not only about FREEDOM FROM, but also fundamentally about FREEDOM TO. Like Fromm (1994), however, Sen did not provide us with measurement of FREEDOM TO. Again, quantitative discussion of FREEDOM TO across countries is limited to Veenhoven (2000), Verme (2009) and Inglehart et al. (2008). These authors treat freedom as a predictor of happiness only. Again, freedom is an end in itself.<sup>10</sup> And apparently the strongest supporter of freedom as an end in itself is the political right in the U.S. Note, however, that what they mean by freedom is only FREEDOM FROM, e.g. from tyranny, from authoritarian government, and so forth; but not FREEDOM TO<sup>11</sup>, e.g. to realize one's potential and to express oneself.<sup>12</sup> Consider this quote from the right-leaning Fraser Institute, and note that it is typical of the political right (and economic neo-liberal) discourse, say that of Ronald Reagan or George W Bush (McMahon 2012, p3):

Freedom is so valuable that we must be prepared to sacrifice everything for it [...] A whole school of thought from Hume to Hayek, has maintained that a spontaneous free order evolved only because it was more successful than any planned order that consciously used centralized coercive power to achieve its various goals.

This fact, that freedom is a political subject, makes it an even more exciting topic to study. Some exciting questions include: how much FREEDOM FROM and how much FREEDOM TO do we need? Where are the boundaries?<sup>13</sup> These and similar questions have, of course, been asked and answered many times. But again, what regular people, politicians and scholars mean by freedom is almost always FREEDOM FROM, and this is an incomplete approach to freedom. Likewise, it should be noted that we have plenty of new data and we can now attempt to measure the old concepts and answer our freedom questions in a more systematic way. Research should help us understand, guide us in the public policy making and challenge the conventional wisdom. Few interesting comparisons that challenge the conventional wisdom follow: Iran is almost as free as Israel, and both are much less free than Chile.<sup>14</sup> There is more discussion in the 'Results' section.

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<sup>10</sup>There is one reservation here. Two types of freedom, economic and consumer freedom, are not always good. Marx reminds us that economic freedom often produces income inequality, which affects the poor (cited in Veenhoven 2000, p.17). Income inequality is beyond the scope of this study, but see many other excellent treatments of it: Frank (2012, 1997, 2005), Sen (1992), Hirschman and Rothschild (1973), Krueger (2012), Oishi et al. (2011), Piketty and Saez (2006), Kawachi (2006), Veenhoven (2005), Subramanian and Kawachi (2004), Marmot (2004), Kawachi and Kennedy (1999). Second, as mentioned earlier, consumer freedom may lead to confusion, anxiety or even paralysis (Schwartz 2004).

<sup>11</sup>As with any statement, there may be some exceptions. But it is easy to misclassify FREEDOM FROM as FREEDOM TO. For instance, initially, I classified freedom to own firearms as FREEDOM TO, but it is actually FREEDOM FROM—it is the absence of (external/objective) law prohibiting the use of it—we are free from a restriction prohibiting firearms. It could be FREEDOM TO only in case when a owning a firearm helps to realize one's potential and, for instance, control one's life or freely choose. This is arguably not the case for most people. Interestingly, it would be the case at the very low level of FREEDOM FROM: e.g. a person in a failed state of Somalia may need a gun to have FREEDOM TO. But even then, firearms still mostly provide FREEDOM FROM, say, freedom from oppression (and may as well result in oppression).

<sup>12</sup>Science is one of the best ways to realize one's potential and to express oneself. American conservatives have recently become anti-scientific (Gauchat 2012).

<sup>13</sup>Freedom of one person or state can be easily a tyranny of another.

<sup>14</sup>This is FREEDOM FROM measure and it is based on the Fraser index discussed in the next section—the respective numbers are: Israel: 4.4, Iran: 3.6, and Chile: 8.2—the higher the number the more free is the country.

## data and methods

Freedom, of course, is intangible and difficult to measure.<sup>15</sup> Operationalization of FREEDOM TO follows Veenhoven (2000), Verme (2009), Inglehart et al. (2008). It is the only measure used so far in the literature that captures FREEDOM TO.<sup>16</sup> FREEDOM FROM is measured with a new index of (negative) human freedom from the Fraser Institute (henceforth Fraser Index)<sup>17</sup>, a conservative think-tank. I have not seen any academic paper using it, but it probably has not been used yet because it is new—it was produced in 2012. I will also use Freedom House Civil Liberties index<sup>18</sup> (henceforth Civil Liberties), which on the other hand is widely used in the academic literature. The problem with Civil Liberties may be that it is based on expert ratings, and these are inherently subjective (McMahon 2012, p.41). Also, it may take too Western-centric perspective (Economist 2008). The Fraser Index appears reasonably objective—it uses third party data and includes sensible measures of freedom. It is based on 34 variables measuring: 1) security and safety, 2) freedom of movement, 3) freedom of expression, 4) relationship freedoms (McMahon 2012, p.57). For details see appendix B.

The measure of the FREEDOM TO comes from World Values Survey (WVS)<sup>19</sup>. As explained in the previous section, FREEDOM TO is close to the concept of control, and so is the WVS question:

Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means 'none at all' and 10 means 'a great deal' to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out.

The more developed the country the more the freedom of choice (FREEDOM TO) is valued and the more it increases happiness (Veenhoven 2000, Inglehart et al. 2008).<sup>20</sup> I will simply call the WVS measure of FREEDOM TO “freedom.”<sup>21</sup>

One specific problem is that FREEDOM FROM measure is more political/institutional/social than personal; and, on the other hand, FREEDOM TO is more personal/individual than political/institutional/social. In addition to measuring different concepts of freedom (FROM vs. TO), they are also measuring at different levels of aggregation: Fraser Index and Civil Liberties are macro measures, and freedom is a micro measure.<sup>22</sup> Another potential difficulty is validity and reliability of FREEDOM TO—for instance, the question may be interpreted differently in different languages/cultures. For the future research it is important to determine

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<sup>15</sup>Veenhoven (2000) offers some overview of freedom measurement. I offer some more elaboration in the appendices. Here, however, I will keep things simple and build on Veenhoven (2000), which is similar to this study but it covers 46 countries in early 1990s only. This study covers about 70 countries, and I use a new human freedom index from the Fraser Institute that was not available when Veenhoven wrote his study—he used economic Fraser's freedom index.

<sup>16</sup>Veenhoven (2000) suggests one more measure, which I do not find persuasive.

<sup>17</sup>Data are described in appendix C.

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<sup>20</sup>This is opposite to the effect of income on happiness, which is diminishing.

<sup>21</sup>The degree of perceived control over choice is called “locus of control” in psychology and Verme (2009) argues that WVS item used here measures locus of control in addition to freedom.

<sup>22</sup>Ideally I would like to measure FREEDOM FROM like FREEDOM TO using person-level survey data, but I could not find such data so far. Please let me know if you are aware of such data.

the reliability/validity of this question.<sup>23</sup> Results and conclusions should be treated as preliminary and interpreted with caution. Especially the connection that I am making between the concepts of FREEDOM FROM/TO and the corresponding measures need to be treated with caution—these are not exact mappings.<sup>24</sup> Also, there have been attempts at measuring similar concepts to FREEDOM FROM and FREEDOM TO. Notably, Inglehart’s concept of post-materialism is related to FREEDOM TO<sup>25</sup> (see appendix A, figure 2).

## results

FREEDOM FROM by definition differs from FREEDOM TO—there will be countries that score differently on the two measures. There will likely be countries that have more FREEDOM FROM than FREEDOM TO when only recently they became free—for instance, they used to be autocracies and democratized only recently, say, transition countries in Eastern Europe—they are free in an objective sense, but not in subjective sense—people don’t seem to know yet how to use their freedoms.<sup>26</sup>

In theory, there also could be countries with lots of FREEDOM TO, but not much FREEDOM FROM—that being the case when only recently there has been an external blockade on freedoms and path-dependently people still feel personal freedom. That is not likely, however, because the external blockade on freedoms, that is low FREEDOM FROM, would also block FREEDOM TO.

Let’s take a look at countries with most and least freedoms. Civil Liberties index is measured on scale from 1 to 7 (least freedom). Fraser Index ranges from 0 to 10 (most freedom). Freedom ranges from 1 to 10 (most freedom). Variables’ distributions are shown in appendix A, figure 4. Tables 1 and 2 show the top five and bottom five countries sorted on freedom and Fraser Index. Scatterplot in figure 1 shows the relationship between the two types of freedom.<sup>27</sup> Let’s briefly discuss these rankings and speculate<sup>28</sup> about the reasons for the ordering. In table 1, as hypothesized, out of five countries at the bottom (with lowest FREEDOM TO), four are post-communist (with the exception of Pakistan). According to conventional wisdom, East Europeans should feel very free once they got rid of the Soviet dominance, but based on my personal observations, East Europeans do not seem to realize yet that they are free. While they score well on FREEDOM FROM (Fraser index of above 7.5 and Civil Liberties of 3 or less) they do not have much FREEDOM TO. Similarly, in the lower panel of table 1, three Latin American countries, Mexico,

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<sup>23</sup>Again, so far it has been successfully used in the published research (Verme 2009, Inglehart et al. 2008, Veenhoven 2000), and I just follow it here.

<sup>24</sup>One way to overcome this limitation is to try to triangulate concepts of freedom using other measures. I utilize here two measures for FREEDOM FROM: Civil Liberties from Freedom House and Fraser Index; and two measures for FREEDOM TO: WVS freedom item and Inglehart’s post-materialism. However, using more measures in the future would be useful—I discuss directions for future research at the end.

<sup>25</sup>Gaining FREEDOM TO is similar to becoming post-materialist, and it is a “natural” historical process in a sense that we are going this way for a long time now: There was not much freedom throughout the Middle Ages—everyone had a fixed position in a society with a set of rules for it: you were a knight, a priest, and so forth; and you were doing and thinking what a knight or a priest does. Your occupation, position in a society, and broad outlook were given at birth and you would not change them (Fromm 1994). Then came the Reformation and the Enlightenment—and people began to regain some of the freedoms lost at the start of the civilization. With Karl Marx, the American Declaration of Independence and the French Revolution people demanded “Freedom, equality, and brotherhood”—and those were unthinkable before that time. And we went further throughout the twentieth century with women suffrage, equal rights movement, gay rights, and so forth.

<sup>26</sup>I come from Eastern Europe and it is my personal observation.

<sup>27</sup>For freedom and Fraser Economic Freedom Index see appendix A, figure 3.

<sup>28</sup>The scientific explanation is left for future research.

Columbia, and Venezuela are the most free countries in terms of FREEDOM TO, but are not near the top in terms of FREEDOM FROM. One finding from the happiness literature explains this result: Latinos are happier than they should given their income level<sup>29</sup>—and since FREEDOM TO is the strongest predictor of happiness (Verme 2009), it follows that Latinos must have lots of FREEDOM TO.

In table 2, Iran is an outlier—Iranians seem to have quite a bit of FREEDOM TO, while they don’t have much FREEDOM FROM. In the lower panel of table 2, Japanese have lots of FREEDOM FROM, but not much FREEDOM TO. Same in the Netherlands, we would expect the Dutch to have more FREEDOM TO given their high FREEDOM FROM, and it is not that way. I do not have an explanation for it—if anything, the Dutch seem to have lots of FREEDOM TO.

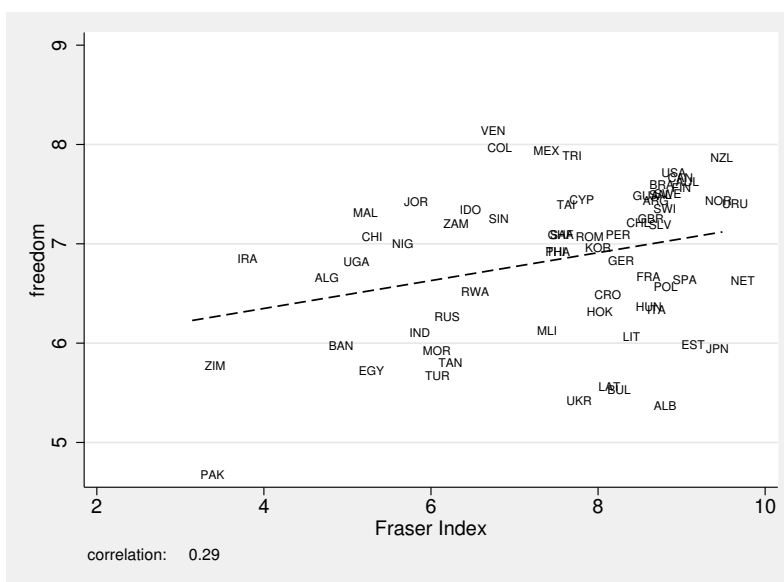
**Table 1:** Top and bottom five countries sorted by freedom. Civil Liberties ranges from 1 to 7 (least freedom). Fraser Index ranges from 0 to 10 (most freedom). Freedom ranges from 1 to 10 (most freedom). Variables’ distributions are shown in appendix A, figure 4. Complete list is shown in appendix A.

country/region	freedom	Fraser Index	Civil Liberties
pakistan	4.68	3.1	5
albania	5.37	8.6	3
ukraine	5.42	7.5	2
bulgaria	5.53	8.0	2
latvia	5.56	7.9	1
new zealand	7.87	9.2	1
trinidad and tobago	7.88	7.5	
mexico	7.94	7.1	3
colombia	7.97	6.6	4
venezuela	8.14	6.5	4

**Table 2:** Top and bottom five countries sorted by Fraser Index. Civil Liberties ranges from 1 to 7 (least freedom). Fraser Index ranges from 0 to 10 (most freedom). Freedom ranges from 1 to 10 (most freedom). Variables’ distributions are shown in appendix A, figure 4. Complete list is shown in appendix A.

country/region	Fraser Index	Civil Liberties	freedom
pakistan	3.1	5	4.68
zimbabwe	3.2	6	5.77
iran	3.6	6	6.85
algeria	4.5	5	6.66
bangladesh	4.7	4	5.98
norway	9.2	1	7.43
japan	9.2	2	5.94
new zealand	9.2	1	7.87
uruguay	9.4	1	7.41
netherlands	9.5	1	6.63

<sup>29</sup>And by some estimates, Latinos are actually the happiest in the World—for instance see a recent Gallup poll (Clifton 2012). Also, social support is key for happiness (Diener 2012) and Latians appear to be family-oriented and have plenty of social support.



**Figure 1:** Freedom (FREEDOM FROM) and Fraser Index (FREEDOM TO). Fraser Index ranges from 0 to 10 (most freedom). Freedom ranges from 1 to 10 (most freedom). Variables' distributions are shown in appendix A, figure 4.

Correlation of .3 in figure 1 is low, much lower than expected. Two measures can be said to overlap if they correlate at least at around .6 or ideally at more than .8. But this is what makes this finding worthwhile. If the two concepts of freedom were essentially the same, then there would be no point talking about their differences. A related conclusion is that many countries score low on one dimension and high on another dimension, so there is a room for improvement on at least one dimension for many countries. For instance, Venezuela (like many other Latin America countries) could improve on FREEDOM FROM, and Albania (like many other East European countries) could improve on FREEDOM TO.

Again, to compare with other studies, FREEDOM FROM has received lots of attention from academics, but FREEDOM TO has been only studied by Verme (2009), Inglehart et al. (2008), Veenhoven (2000), and these authors did not relate it to FREEDOM FROM.<sup>30</sup> Also FREEDOM FROM is measured in a novel way. I used Fraser Index, while most studies use Civil Liberties Index from Freedom House (which I also use here). A key limitation of the extant literature is that there is a disconnect: studies do not look at both types of freedom simultaneously.

There are policy implications. In the spirit of Stiglitz et al. (2009) and Helliwell et al. (2012), we need to start paying attention to what people feel and think. Freedom is objective and subjective. We need both, FREEDOM FROM and FREEDOM TO. There is, however, much attention given to FREEDOM FROM, but we forget about FREEDOM TO. It is similar to economic or political development. It is easy to pay attention to tangible measures such as income or sound elections and independent courts, and underplay subjective measures such as happiness, trust in political institutions and civic engagement. It appears

<sup>30</sup>Veenhoven (2000) correlated different types of freedom, but he used only 46 countries, and he did not use Fraser Index, which is arguably the best proxy for FREEDOM FROM but was only developed in 2012, and he did not elaborate the difference between FREEDOM FROM and FREEDOM TO as extensively as this study does.

that without securing the objective side first, the subjective side is an illusion or delusion. How can you feel free in an unfree place? And there is some truth to that—we do need to boost the objective side. But again, we underplay the subjective side. After all, what matters is subjective feelings—not what is out there, but what people think is out there.

Humans fought for freedom over centuries, and they continue to do so. We strive for freedom for the sake of it—freedom is an end in itself. It is reflected in one of the most fundamental and universal documents ever written: United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. We humans obviously pay a great deal of attention to freedom. But, as argued above, we tend to think of freedom in a narrow sense, we only think about FREEDOM FROM, and there is also FREEDOM TO. A key finding of this short study is that the two types of freedom are quite distinct concepts—they do not overlap very well. This also means that for most countries there is room for improvement at least on one of the dimensions. Furthermore, while not many people realize it, we are now in the midst of the data revolution<sup>31</sup>. We can and we do collect data on just about anything including various aspects of freedom. I only used few measures here, but with some creativity and abundance of data, there must be many other measures. Then, given the importance of freedom, it is time to measure and analyze it on regular basis and at multiple levels of aggregation: e.g. county, metropolitan area, province (state) and country. Freedom, and especially FREEDOM TO is also likely to differ across social groups: e.g. gays may not have as much FREEDOM TO as others if they live in (rural) Texas as opposed to (urban) California. The closing message is to measure and study freedom and especially FREEDOM TO because it has been overlooked, understudied, it is critical for human flourishing, and we have data to study it.

## appendix A: additional descriptive statistics

Tables 3 and 4 below list all the countries, even if the measure of the other type of freedom is missing, as opposed to the tables in the body of the paper, which only list countries that have values on both types of freedom. FREEDOM FROM ranking is mostly as expected—it closely follows the level of economic development, but there are few notable exceptions. Israel is surprisingly low at 4.4; and Chile is surprisingly high at 8.2. There are also few surprises for FREEDOM TO: Japan is low at 5.9 and Italy at 6.3. In addition to Latin American countries identified earlier that were exceptionally high on freedom, there are few more Latin American countries that are quite high in the ranking as well: Argentina (7.4), Guatemala (7.5) and El Salvador (7.5).

Why many developed countries are low on FREEDOM TO? Some of the reasons were already mentioned by Fromm (1994): automaton/conformism/social pressure. Countries that are much higher on FREEDOM TO than the FREEDOM FROM (e.g. Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia) may be lacking those features blocking FREEDOM TO.

At the very bottom of table 3 there are mostly post-communist, transition countries: Belarus, Albania, Ukraine, Bulgaria,

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<sup>31</sup>For discussion and some examples see Kristof (10), Denton (1985), Lewis et al. (08), Anderson (2009), Pagan and Veall (2001).



Latvia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. At the top, on the other hand, there are Latin America countries: Puerto Rico<sup>32</sup>, Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala. In table 4 a surprisingly high FREEDOM TO value appears for the following: Iran, Uganda, Malaysia, China, Nigeria, And Jordan.

**Table 3:** Countries sorted by freedom. Civil Liberties ranges from 1 to 7 (least freedom). Fraser Index ranges from 0 to 10 (most freedom). Freedom ranges from 1 to 10 (most freedom). Variables' distributions are shown in appendix A, figure 4.

country/region	freed	Fraser In- dex	Civil Lib- er- ties
pakistan	4.68	3.1	5
belarus	5.20		6
albania	5.37	8.6	3
ukraine	5.42	7.5	2
bulgaria	5.53	8.0	2
latvia	5.56	7.9	1
azerbaijan	5.61		5
iraq	5.65		6
armenia	5.66		4
turkey	5.67	5.8	3
burkina faso	5.70		3
egypt	5.72	5.0	5
zimbabwe	5.77	3.2	6
tanzania	5.80	6.0	3
morocco	5.92	5.8	4
macedonia	5.92		3
japan	5.94	9.2	2
bangladesh	5.98	4.7	4
estonia	5.98	8.9	1
bosnia and herzegovina	6.00		
serbia and montenegro	6.03		
lithuania	6.06	8.2	1
india	6.10	5.6	3
mali	6.12	7.2	3
ethiopia	6.17		5
russian federation	6.26	5.9	5
georgia	6.27		4
moldova	6.27		4
hong kong	6.32	7.8	
italy	6.34	8.5	2
hungary	6.37	8.4	1
slovakia	6.38	8.6	1
serbia	6.45		2
croatia	6.49	7.9	2
czech republic	6.50	8.7	1
rwanda	6.52	6.3	5
poland	6.56	8.6	1
saudi arabia	6.60		6
netherlands	6.63	9.5	1
spain	6.64	8.8	1
algeria	6.66	4.5	5
france	6.67	8.4	1
uganda	6.82	4.9	4
germany	6.83	8.0	1
iran	6.85	3.6	6
philippines	6.92	7.3	3
thailand	6.92	7.3	4
south korea	6.96	7.7	2
nigeria	7.00	5.4	4
kyrgyzstan	7.06		4
china	7.07	5.1	6
romania	7.07	7.6	2
peru	7.09	8.0	3
south africa	7.09	7.3	2
ghana	7.09	7.3	2
slovenia	7.19	8.5	1
zambia	7.20	6.1	3
chile	7.21	8.2	1
viet nam	7.24		5
singapore	7.25	6.6	4
great britain	7.25	8.4	1
malaysia	7.31	5.0	4
indonesia	7.34	6.2	3
switzerland	7.36	8.6	1
dominican republic	7.37	7.5	2
taiwan	7.40	7.4	1
uruguay	7.41	9.4	1
jordan	7.43	5.6	5
norway	7.43	9.2	1
argentina	7.43	8.4	2
cyprus	7.44	7.6	1
guatemala	7.48	8.3	4
el salvador	7.50	8.5	3
sweden	7.50	8.6	1
finland	7.56	8.8	1
brazil	7.59	8.5	2
australia	7.63	8.8	1
canada	7.66	8.7	1
united states	7.72	8.7	1

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<sup>32</sup>It is a US territory, but it is in the Caribbean.

**Table 3 – continued from previous page**

country/region	freedom	Fraser Index	Civil Liberties
andorra	7.72		1
new zealand	7.87	9.2	1
trinidad and tobago	7.88	7.5	
mexico	7.94	7.1	3
colombia	7.97	6.6	4
venezuela	8.14	6.5	4
puerto rico	8.28		

**Table 4:** Countries sorted by Fraser Index. Civil Liberties ranges from 1 to 7 (least freedom). Fraser Index ranges from 0 to 10 (most freedom). Freedom ranges from 1 to 10 (most freedom). Variables’ distributions are shown in appendix A, figure 4.

country/region	Fraser Index	Civil Liberties	freedom
pakistan	3.1	5	4.68
zimbabwe	3.2	6	5.77
sri lanka	3.4		
iran	3.6	6	6.85
burma	4.0		
cameroon	4.2		
syria	4.3		
israel	4.4	2	
algeria	4.5	5	6.66
bangladesh	4.7	4	5.98
congo, democratic republic of	4.7		
tunisia	4.7		
chad	4.8		
uganda	4.9	4	6.82
malaysia	5.0	4	7.31
egypt	5.0	5	5.72
china	5.1	6	7.07
united arab emirates	5.2		
kuwait	5.2		
central african republic	5.2		
burundi	5.2		
kenya	5.2		
cote d’ivoire	5.3		
nigeria	5.4	4	7.00
gabon	5.4		
togo	5.5		
jordan	5.6	5	7.43
india	5.6	3	6.10
morocco	5.8	4	5.92
turkey	5.8	3	5.67
russian federation	5.9	5	6.26
oman	6.0		
tanzania	6.0	3	5.80
sierra leone	6.0		
zambia	6.1	3	7.20
niger	6.1		
senegal	6.2		
indonesia	6.2	3	7.34
bahrain	6.3		
rwanda	6.3	5	6.52
nepal	6.3		
venezuela	6.5	4	8.14
colombia	6.6	4	7.97
malawi	6.6		
singapore	6.6	4	7.25
congo, republic of	6.7		
botswana	6.8		
benin	7.1		
mexico	7.1	3	7.94
greece	7.1		
mali	7.2	3	6.12
philippines	7.3	3	6.92
thailand	7.3	4	6.92
ghana	7.3	2	7.09
south africa	7.3	2	7.09
guinea-bissau	7.4		
taiwan	7.4	1	7.40
dominican republic	7.5	2	7.37
trinidad and tobago	7.5		7.88
madagascar	7.5		
honduras	7.5		
ukraine	7.5	2	5.42
cyprus	7.6	1	7.44
ecuador	7.6		
guyana	7.6		
namibia	7.6		
romania	7.6	2	7.07
fiji	7.7		
south korea	7.7	2	6.96
nicaragua	7.8		
hong kong	7.8		6.32
papua new guinea	7.8		
croatia	7.9	2	6.49
latvia	7.9	1	5.56
paraguay	7.9		

Continued on next page

**Table 4 – continued from previous page**

country/region	Fraser Index	Civil Lib- er- ties	freedom
bolivia	8.0		
peru	8.0	3	7.09
jamaica	8.0		
haiti	8.0		
bulgaria	8.0	2	5.53
germany	8.0	1	6.83
mauritius	8.1		
lithuania	8.2	1	6.06
chile	8.2	1	7.21
guatemala	8.3	4	7.48
hungary	8.4	1	6.37
france	8.4	1	6.67
great britain	8.4	1	7.25
argentina	8.4	2	7.43
italy	8.5	2	6.34
slovenia	8.5	1	7.19
el salvador	8.5	3	7.50
brazil	8.5	2	7.59
belgium	8.5		
panama	8.5		
slovakia	8.6	1	6.38
switzerland	8.6	1	7.36
albania	8.6	3	5.37
poland	8.6	1	6.56
sweden	8.6	1	7.50
united states	8.7	1	7.72
austria	8.7		
czech republic	8.7	1	6.50
luxembourg	8.7		
canada	8.7	1	7.66
costa rica	8.8		
finland	8.8	1	7.56
spain	8.8	1	6.64
malta	8.8		
australia	8.8	1	7.63
portugal	8.9		
denmark	8.9		
estonia	8.9	1	5.98
ireland	9.0		
iceland	9.0		
norway	9.2	1	7.43
japan	9.2	2	5.94
new zealand	9.2	1	7.87
uruguay	9.4	1	7.41
netherlands	9.5	1	6.63

As mentioned earlier, FREEDOM TO is related to Inglehart’s postmaterialism. The relationship between the two is shown in figure 2. This is what Inglehart means by post-materialism:<sup>33</sup>

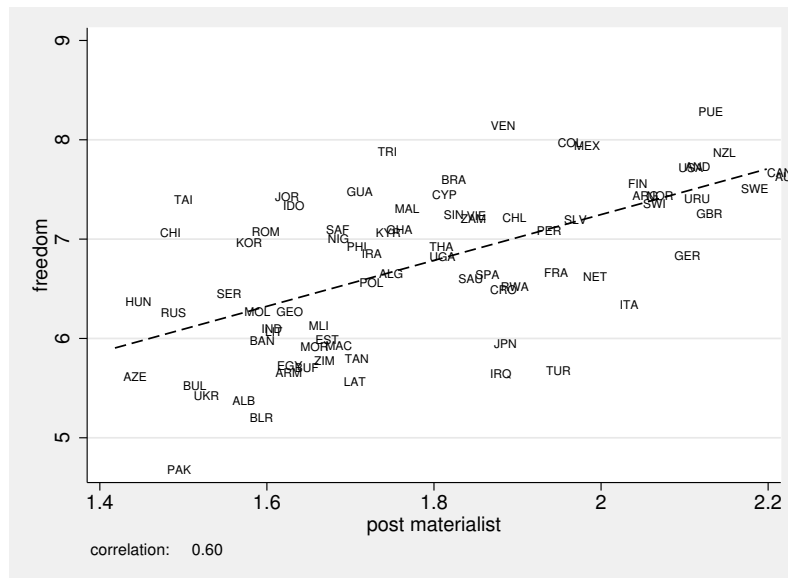
The second major dimension of cross-cultural variation is linked with the transition from industrial society to post-industrial societies-which brings a polarization between Survival and Self-expression values. The unprecedented wealth that has accumulated in advanced societies during the past generation means that an increasing share of the population has grown up taking survival for granted. Thus, priorities have shifted from an overwhelming emphasis on economic and physical security toward an increasing emphasis on subjective well-being, self-expression and quality of life. Inglehart and Baker (2000) find evidence that orientations have shifted from Traditional toward Secular-rational values, in almost all industrial societies. But modernization, is not linear-when a society has completed industrialization and starts becoming a knowledge society, it moves in a new direction, from Survival values toward increasing emphasis on Self-expression values.

A central component of this emerging dimension involves the polarization between Materialist and Postmaterialist values, reflecting a cultural shift that is emerging among generations who have grown up taking survival for granted.

<sup>33</sup>[http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs/articles/folder\\_published/article\\_base\\_54](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs/articles/folder_published/article_base_54)

Self-expression values give high priority to environmental protection, tolerance of diversity and rising demands for participation in decision making in economic and political life. These values also reflect mass polarization over tolerance of outgroups, including foreigners, gays and lesbians and gender equality. The shift from survival values to self-expression values also includes a shift in child-rearing values, from emphasis on hard work toward emphasis on imagination and tolerance as important values to teach a child. And it goes with a rising sense of subjective well-being that is conducive to an atmosphere of tolerance, trust and political moderation. Finally, societies that rank high on self-expression values also tend to rank high on interpersonal trust.

This produces a culture of trust and tolerance, in which people place a relatively high value on individual freedom and self-expression, and have activist political orientations. These are precisely the attributes that the political culture literature defines as crucial to democracy.



**Figure 2:** Freedom (FREEDOM TO) and post-materialism. Freedom ranges from 1 to 10 (most freedom). Post-materialism ranges from 1 (materialist) to 3 (post-materialist).

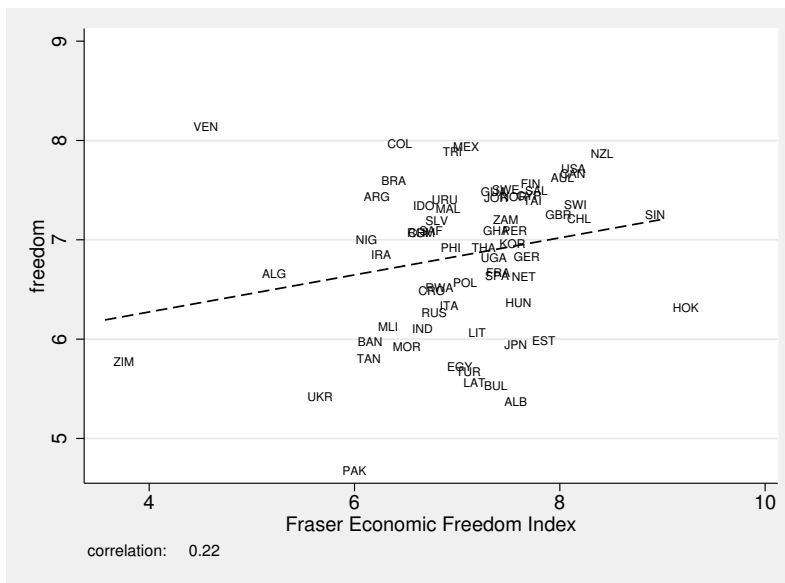


Figure 3: Freedom (FREEDOM TO) and Fraser Index (Economic Freedom, FREEDOM FROM ).

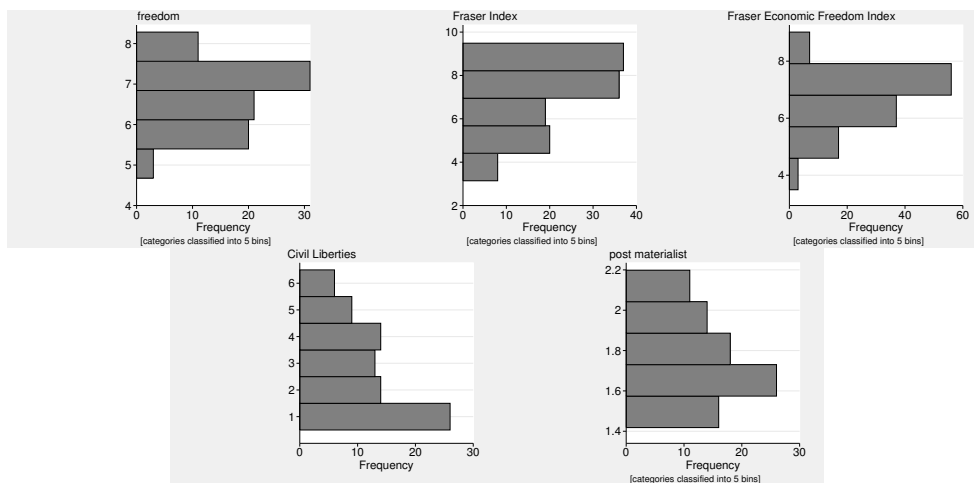


Figure 4: Variables' distribution.

## appendix B1: Fraser personal freedom index components

- I. Security and safety
  - A. Government's threat to a person
    - 1. Extrajudicial killings
    - 2. Torture
    - 3. Political imprisonment
    - 4. Disappearances
  - B. Society's threat to a person
    - 1. Intensity of violent conflicts
    - 2. Level of organized conflict (internal)
    - 3. Female genital mutilation
    - 4. Son preference
    - 5. Homicide
    - 6. Human trafficking
    - 7. Sexual violence
    - 8. Assault

- 9. Level of perceived criminality
- C. Threat to private property
  - 1. Theft
  - 2. Burglary
  - 3. Inheritance
  - D. Threat to foreigners
- II. Movement
  - A. Forcibly displaced populations
  - B. Freedom of foreign movement
  - C. Freedom of domestic movement
  - D. Women's freedom of movement
- III. Expression
  - A. Press killings
  - B. Freedom of speech
  - C. Laws and regulations that influence media content
  - D. Political pressures and controls on media content
  - E. Dress code in public
- IV. Relationship freedoms
  - A. Freedom of assembly and association
  - B. Parental authority
  - C. Government restrictions on religion
  - D. Social hostility toward religion
  - E. Male-to-male relationships
  - F. Female-to-female relationships
  - G. Age of consent for homosexual couples
  - H. Adoption by homosexuals

## appendix B2: World Values Survey

This is the freedom item: "Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. Please use this scale where 1 means 'none at all' and 10 means 'a great deal' to indicate how much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out."

WVS is conducted around the World using random sample for each country in several waves. I have used data collected between 1995 and 2008 to capture as many countries as possible. Person level data was averaged for each country. Countries in the sample and sample sizes are shown in table 5

country	freq.	country	freq.
albania	1,999	lithuania	1,009
algeria	1,282	macedonia	2,050
andorra	1,003	malaysia	1,201
argentina	3,361	mali	1,534
armenia	2,000	mexico	5,459
australia	3,469	moldova	3,038
azerbaijan	2,002	morocco	3,464
bangladesh	3,025	netherlands	1,050
belarus	2,092	new zealand	2,155
bosnia and herzegovina	2,400	nigeria	4,018
brazil	2,649	norway	2,152
bulgaria	2,073	pakistan	2,733
burkina faso	1,534	peru	4,212
canada	4,095	philippines	2,400
chile	3,200	poland	2,153
china	4,515	puerto rico	1,884
colombia	9,050	romania	3,015
croatia	1,196	russian federation	4,073
cyprus	1,050	rwanda	1,507
czech republic	1,147	saudi arabia	1,502
dominican republic	417	serbia	1,220
egypt	6,051	serbia and montenegro	3,780
el salvador	1,254	singapore	1,512
estonia	1,021	slovakia	1,095
ethiopia	1,500	slovenia	2,044
finland	2,001	south africa	8,911
france	1,001	south korea	3,649
georgia	3,508	spain	3,620
germany	4,090	sweden	3,027
ghana	1,534	switzerland	2,453
great britain	2,134	taiwan	1,227
guatemala	1,000	tanzania	1,171
hong kong	1,252	thailand	1,534
hungary	650	trinidad and tobago	1,002
india	6,043	turkey	6,654
indonesia	3,019	uganda	1,002
iran	5,199	ukraine	3,811
iraq	5,026	united states	3,991
israel	1,199	uruguay	2,000
italy	1,012	venezuela	2,400
japan	3,512	viet nam	2,495
jordan	2,423	zambia	1,500
kyrgyzstan	1,043	zimbabwe	1,002
latvia	1,200		

**Table 5:** Countries in the WVS and sample sizes used.

## appendix B3: Civil Liberties definition

Rating of 1 – Countries and territories with a rating of 1 enjoy a wide range of civil liberties, including freedom of expression, assembly, association, education, and religion. They have an established and generally fair system of the rule of law (including an independent judiciary), allow free economic activity, and tend to strive for equality of opportunity for everyone, including women and minority groups.

Rating of 2 – Countries and territories with a rating of 2 have slightly weaker civil liberties than those with a rating of 1 because of such factors as some limits on media independence, restrictions on trade union activities, and discrimination against minority groups and women.

Ratings of 3, 4, 5 – Countries and territories with a rating of 3, 4, or 5 include those that moderately protect almost all civil liberties to those that more strongly protect some civil liberties while less strongly protecting others. The same factors that undermine freedom in countries with a rating of 2 may also weaken civil liberties in those with a rating of 3, 4, or 5, but to an increasingly greater extent at each successive rating.

Rating of 6 – Countries and territories with a rating of 6 have very restricted civil liberties. They strongly limit the rights of expression and association and frequently hold political prisoners. They may allow a few civil liberties, such as some religious and social freedoms, some highly restricted private business activity, and some open and free private discussion.

Rating of 7 – Countries and territories with a rating of 7 have few or no civil liberties. They allow virtually no freedom of expression or association, do not protect the rights of detainees and prisoners, and often control or dominate most economic activity.

Countries and territories generally have ratings in political rights and civil liberties that are within two ratings numbers of each other. For example, without a well-developed civil society, it is difficult, if not impossible, to have an atmosphere supportive of political rights. Consequently, there is no country in the survey with a rating of 6 or 7 for civil liberties and, at the same time, a rating of 1 or 2 for political rights.

For more details see Freedom House methodology at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2012/methodology>.

## appendix C: data sources

- Fraser Index <http://www.freetheworld.com/humanFreedom.php>. Data used here are for 2008.
- Freedom House <http://www.freedomhouse.org/>. Data used here are for 2008.
- World Values Survey <http://www.freedomhouse.org/>. I calculated averages for countries over 1995-2008 if a country was observed more than once; WVS's Great Britain was recoded to United Kingdom to match Fraser data.



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