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Making Human Rights Campaigns Effective While Limiting Unintended Consequences

Lessons from Recent Research

Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series

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Making Human Rights Campaigns Effective While Limiting Unintended Consequences

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Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series

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ACRONYM LIST

ABC	Abstinence, Being faithful, using Condoms (<i>Botswana and Uganda</i>)
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (<i>Bangladesh</i>)
DRG Center	USAID's Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance
EUNAVFOR Somalia	European Union Naval operation for combatting piracy in Somalia (<i>Somalia</i>)
FGC	Female Genital Cutting
GNP	Gross National Product
IIE	Institute of International Education
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer
MSM	Men who have Sex with Men
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PSA	Public Service Announcement
RBA	Rights-Based Approach
RESPP	Red Equal Sign Profile Picture Campaign
RFA	Rights-Framed Approach
SMO	Social Movement Organization
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign (<i>South Africa</i>)
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization

PREFACE

In 2016, USAID’s Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance launched its Learning Agenda—a set of research questions designed to address the issues that confront staff in USAID field offices working on the intersection of development and democracy, human rights, and governance. This literature review, commissioned by USAID and the Institute of International Education, addresses research questions focused on human rights awareness campaigns:

- **What are the consequences of human rights awareness campaigns?**
- **What makes a human rights awareness campaign successful?**
- **Why do many campaigns fail?**
- **What are the unintended negative consequences of both successful and failed campaigns?**
- **How do local norms and other cultural factors constrain or enable the translation of campaigns from one context to another?**

The resulting literature review, conducted by graduate students and faculty at the University of Minnesota, will help to inform USAID’s strategic planning, project design, and in-service training efforts in the democracy, human rights, and governance sector. For more information about USAID’s work in this sector and the role of academic research within it, please see <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/organization/bureaus/bureau-democracy-conflict-and-humanitarian-assistance/center>.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This literature review investigates the effects and effectiveness of human rights awareness campaigns. The authors differentiate carefully between effectiveness and effects. “Effectiveness” refers to the degree to which a campaign reaches its intended goal(s) among the target population. “Effects” encompass effectiveness, but also includes the broader set of consequences—unintended and unexpected, perhaps negative—that result from carrying out a campaign.

Jointly authored by scholars from a range of disciplines, this report synthesizes scholarship bearing on these questions from diverse research traditions and assesses the interdisciplinary state of knowledge regarding the effects, both intended and unintended, of human rights awareness campaigns and the characteristics that make such awareness campaigns effective. This review is divided into five sections:

1. A broad overview of the steps involved in designing an effective awareness campaign.
2. A review of research on campaigns generally, drawn from a broad range of fields, such as marketing, communications, public health, and political science.
3. An overview of human rights awareness campaigns specifically, building on the well-known precept that to be successful, human rights campaigns must be adapted to the local context. The authors identify the mechanisms that facilitate and the barriers that impede local adaption, particularly the use of frames. Drawing on framing theory, the report highlights four points in communication where framing is critical: contexts, communicators, targeted populations, and message design.
4. A discussion of effective media strategies, including ways to approach both traditional and new media, with the most effective campaigns combining traditional print media strategies with new social media forms.
5. A discussion of the unintended negative consequences of campaigns, including backlash, confusion, desensitization, and/or frustration among targeted audience. This section also identifies the typical causes of these outcomes and ways to avoid them.

Key takeaways from Sections 1 and 2, on the best ways to design effective awareness campaigns on any topic, include recommendations that practitioners:

- Identify and articulate specific goals.
- Select a limited target audience that shares relevant characteristics (is relatively homogenous) to the specific goal.
- Include interpersonal components and efforts to improve structural or environmental conditions and institutions, particularly if behavior change is a campaign goal.
- Complete formative, pre-implementation campaign research and pre-test campaign images and messages. Pre-testing can reveal information about potential unintended consequences of a campaign, message comprehension by the targeted audience, and message persuasiveness.
- Complete post-implementation evaluations to measure success for future campaigns.
- Draw on behavioral and message-design theories, which recommend:
 - Attending to social context for social resonance.
 - Presenting novel arguments but not myths.
 - Selecting messengers and mediums that are credible and fit the target audience.

- Using two-sided advertising—which intentionally highlights both the positive and the negative aspects of a product—to improve credibility; note that a risk of the strategy is reinforcing competing messages.

The key takeaway from Section 3 is that to implement successful human rights awareness campaigns, practitioners must also adapt to local contexts. Mechanisms that facilitate local adaptation include:

- Understanding the socio-historical context of the target community.
- Rooting campaigns in contextually relevant frames.
- Using specific prognostic, diagnostic, and motivational frames that reinforce one another.
- Using narrow frames that do not impugn the audience, rather than shaming frames.
- Using novel, personal, and narrative-based frames.
- Engaging translators who understand both the human rights community and the local community to translate reform goals into a vernacular that makes sense to the target audience.
- Combining non-controversial with controversial reforms, and linking them to local economic development.
- Anticipating and preparing for counter-mobilization by opposition groups, businesses, or the state.
- Producing messaging in the local language and dialect.
- Ensuring that any images accurately reflect the target audience.

Section 4 focuses on media strategies, since media is a key variable to the success and failure of human rights campaigns. Key takeaway points for how best to use media include:

- Using both traditional and new media, in combination.
 - Traditional media—TV, radio, and newspapers—inform public opinion, mediate frames, and determine the amount of issue coverage.
 - Social media platforms can enable organizations to bring sympathetic citizens, who would not otherwise take on organizational commitments, into a circle of participation by contributing to aggregate projects of public advocacy. Even minor forms of online activism can lead to the construction of community identities, which can in turn lead individuals to move from bystander to engaged actor.
- Developing alliances between mass media companies and alternative institutions, including human rights NGOs, in order to ameliorate the influence of human rights organizations in the development of media content and framing.
- Matching media frames: media tends to use the frames of the state and formal law. When human rights advocates promote different frames, they are less likely to be adopted by the media.

Section 5, the final section of the report, delineates the most common negative unintended consequences of human rights awareness campaigns. Practitioners need to know that these negative outcomes are possible effects of interventions, and that there are concrete strategies—presented in Sections 1 – 4—for minimizing or avoiding these consequences. What consequences to expect depends on the information available during the design stage about potential outcomes of different design choices. Negative, unintended consequences of human rights awareness campaigns include:

- Confusion about or misinterpretation of messages: if a campaign oversimplifies an issue or relies on bold, straightforward messages to maximize impact, misunderstandings and a loss of credibility can result.

- Dissonance of raising awareness about a problem without providing means to solve it.
- Boomerang effects: discouraging people from a certain behavior can have the inadvertent effect of enticing people to engage in the behavior by suggesting that it is commonplace and/or desirable.
- Desensitization: intense exposure can generate apathy, even in the targeted audience.
- Resource diversion: just because a campaign is successful in mobilizing a group toward a specific goal does not mean that the same public will respond in the same way to alternative campaigns promoting other social issues.
- Reinforcement of social hierarchies: campaigns can reinforce existing social distributions of knowledge or only reach individuals who already exhibit the promoted attitudes and behaviors.
- Stigmatization of individuals who engage in the targeted behavior: campaigns may contribute to the pathologization of particular behaviors and development of stigma against those who practice them.
- Social backlash from spoilers, individuals, or groups that have both vested interests in the status quo and the capacity to prevent the intended change.

SECTION I: GENERAL DESIGN STEPS FOR EFFECTIVE AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Designing public communication campaigns requires several discrete steps. Purposeful strategic planning and campaign preparation are critical to success, but can be incredibly time consuming. For instance, Oxfam Great Britain spent four years of an iterative strategic planning process, encompassing several rounds of research and consultations throughout the South Asian region, to define and plan the *We Can* campaign to address violence against women. Although not all campaigns require lengthy planning—and indeed many need to get off the ground quickly—there are certain preparatory steps that the campaign design literature emphasizes as critical to success. This section first provides a brief overview of these key steps involved in campaign design. It then outlines the major lessons learned from meta-analyses of campaign studies in the realms of public health, the environment, and political rights. Advertising and social marketing research also provide relevant insights for human rights awareness campaigns.

A. Campaign Design Steps

- **Step 1:** Formative research stage
- **Step 2:** Specify target audience(s) and behaviors
- **Step 3:** Design and pre-test messages; select “spokespersons”
- **Step 4:** Create a media plan

Step 1—the formative research stage—entails assessing the campaign’s situation or context in order to determine opportunities and barriers (Atkin and Salmon 2010).

Undertaking this preliminary work makes for more effective design. At this stage, designers should specify ***focal segments of the population*** and the ***ultimate focal behaviors or beliefs*** that the campaign seeks to influence. This requires collecting background information about the situation, key populations, and relevant opinion leaders or “interpersonal influencers” (Atkin and Freimuth 2012). This information collection can entail drawing from existing databases, organizing focus groups, or designing custom surveys that provide both helpful insights into audience predispositions (*i.e.*, values, attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, behavioral patterns) and media use and also preliminary evaluations of prospective messengers and appeals. For community-based campaigns, information also must be gathered on communication networks, patterns of opinion leadership, and relationships between business and government agencies (Bracht 2001). This research can often take a non-trivial period of time, particularly if conducting focus groups. If it is not possible to conduct customized formative research, the literature emphasizes that designers should use all available inventories of demographic and other characteristics of a population or situation, and any available secondary research.

Once campaign designers have collected this information and specified the broad behaviors or beliefs they seek to influence, **Step 2** entails identifying their proximate and distal determinants, and then specifying pathways to influence these determinants. At this stage, designers should specify ***target audiences*** and ***target behaviors*** that can be influenced directly by campaign messages.

Next, during **Step 3**, messages are designed and “spokespersons” selected for the target audiences. Literature on campaign design stresses that these messages should be *pre-tested*—whether qualitatively

or quantitatively—to ensure they work. Pre-testing is employed in social marketing research on advertising and health campaigns as a way to test prototype or pilot messages and gauge the target audience’s response prior to final production (Rice and Atkin 2001, p125). Pre-testing—particularly when implemented in a disciplined, multi-staged manner—can be extremely valuable to developing campaigns that connect with the values of the target audience, facilitate comprehension, influence attitudes and behaviors, and have a sufficient level of “vernacularization” (see Section III). A concrete example of this multi-staged approach can be seen in the recent POWER Campaign for the promotion of female and male condoms in Colorado, which relied on 12 focus groups from the target audience—women aged 15-25 years—who participated in an iterative process of designing and evaluating campaign posters based on appearance, word choice, and placement of images (Bull, Cohen, Ortiz, and Evans 2002).

Pre-testing can be used to investigate both the effectiveness of rough concepts—phrases, partial messages, wording—as well as campaign prototypes. In this latter stage, campaign designers assess: 1) the attention “value” of a message (its ability to attract in the context of competing media and messages), 2) its comprehensibility, 3) its relevance to the target audience, 4) its strengths and weakness, and 5) its sensitivity to and of controversial elements (Atkin and Freimuth 2012, p62). Additionally, while pre-testing can be used to evaluate these factors as they relate to a campaign’s *messages*—as is the case in the POWER example—it can also be used to evaluate the *source* of the campaign (the messenger), and the campaign’s *channel*. Given limited resources, both formative research and message pre-testing should be prioritized. Additionally, when compared to pre-tests/baseline assessments, subsequent testing provides a measure of campaign effectiveness and can alert designers to unreceptive audiences or unintended consequences, while there is still time to make changes (Klingemann and Römmele 2001). Baseline and subsequent testing should employ research tools, such as surveys or focus groups, in a systematic fashion to assess awareness and behavior among the target audience (2001).

Finally, during **Step 4**, designers create a media plan that outlines how a campaign will get its message(s) across, considering both “for pay” media and free “earned media” or “press relations.” Media plans typically clarify the media mix (types of media), media vehicles (in which specific outlets messages are placed), and media schedule (when messaging should start, how long it should be maintained, how often displayed) (Atkin and Salmon 2010).

SECTION II: LESSONS LEARNED FROM GENERAL AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Lessons learned

- Campaign design should link explicitly to campaign goals.
 - Developing knowledge
 - Creating attitude change
 - Prompting behavior change
- Campaign targets should be limited and homogeneous.
- Images and messages should be pre-tested with the target population.
 - Comprehension?
 - Positive or negative triggers?
 - Spark discussion?
- Novelty engages; repetition helps with memory.
- Two-sided advertising, which intentionally highlights both the positive and the negative aspects of a product, improves credibility but risks reinforcing competing messages.

A. Articulate and Design Specific Campaign Goals

Effective campaigns must be attentive to and articulate their goals, which can include one or more of the following: to raise awareness, to change attitudes or beliefs, and/or to spark individual behavior change. Some meta-analyses of global and U.S.-based studies on the effectiveness of health campaigns on behavior suggest that campaigns should *explicitly state* that behavior change is a goal. For HIV/AIDS campaigns in Uganda, for instance, campaigns were more effective when they specified behavior change goals rather than awareness of HIV or a general goal, such as reducing AIDS. People do not always act on what they know—a phenomenon known as the knowledge gap or the communication effects gap; as a result, campaigns should articulate specific behavioral goals to provide for concrete action, even if the campaign also has loftier abstract goals such as changes in knowledge, awareness, or beliefs (Snyder 2007, Snyder *et al.* 2004).

Campaign design should also be tailored to each distinct goal that is articulated. If the goal is behavioral change, for example, the campaign may require interpersonal components or complementary work on supportive structural or environmental conditions and institutions (*i.e.*, access to certain resources). These strategies or campaign design elements are not necessarily required for the other goals of awareness-raising and attitude/belief-change (Noar 2006; Noar, Palmgreen, Chabot, Dobransky, and Zimmerman 2009). More effective behavior change campaigns tend not only to raise awareness, but also point to specific resources for specific actions (providing capacity, information on where to go, *etc.*). For instance, studies on public health campaigns that seek to change behavior often stress the reciprocal relationship between structural changes and media coverage. Media attention can strengthen the supportive environment for forming community coalitions and generate legitimacy for policy and environmental changes, while structural changes (*i.e.*, reforms of institutions or resource provision) can compensate for the attenuation of media campaign effects over time. These latter strategies are particularly necessary when the campaign seeks to reach an ethnic group with new messages (Randolph and Viswanath 2004).

In sum, the literature on public communication campaigns finds a decent positive impact on behavior for campaigns linked to or complemented by substantial changes in the material environment (R. C. Hornik 2012). Moreover, successful campaigns need to define the specific behaviors they want to encourage and then understand what factors are likely to influence each behavior.

B. Target and Pre-Test on Limited and Homogenous Populations

A second recurring lesson is that the most effective campaigns for improving knowledge and awareness are those targeted at a local level, to a relatively limited and homogenous population, with messages adapted for that population (Dumesnil and Verger 2009, Maibach 1993, Snyder *et al.* 2004, Snyder 2007). Studies suggest that campaign designers should first segment the target audience into meaningful subgroups, in terms of groups whose message preferences are expected to be relatively similar to one another (Maibach 1993). Deciding which groups to target depends on what is learned from formative research with potential groups and economic realities of the organization conducting the campaign. Studies of public health campaigns suggest that designers should focus their efforts only on the behavior, misinformation, beliefs, and environmental barriers of the selected target population (Snyder 2007, Snyder *et al.* 2004).

Effective campaigns in the public health and environmental domains conduct formative research on and pre-test messages with the target audience, as discussed previously. Studies on environmental campaigns recommend that designers collect data on target groups in order to avoid jargon and use language familiar to the audience (Maibach 1993). These findings highlight the importance of observing or interviewing members of the target population concerning the behavior, product, or service, after they have learned about or tried it (formative research and pre-testing). Some types of organizations are better at this than others. For instance, one study found that community-based organizations, such as those conducting HIV campaigns in San Francisco, were able to target groups more precisely than government or educational organizations. This is likely because such groups define themselves as within the target population, have more intimate knowledge of it, and/or stay focused on it when they take on an issue (Snyder 2007).

Some of the most widely used pre-testing techniques include focus-group interviews, individual in-depth interviews, central-location intercept interviews, self-administered questionnaires, and readability testing (Atkin and Freimuth 2012, p67). The decision to adopt one or more of these methods is dependent on the campaign's temporal and financial constraints, whether the effectiveness of the campaign can be gauged by adopting a quantitative vs. qualitative methodology, and the specialized nature of the campaign's target audience.

Focus groups are one of the most popular forms of pre-testing, given that they provide in-depth, audience-driven, qualitative reactions to campaign materials; also, with modern technology, focus groups can be conducted virtually, reducing cost and effort. Focus groups tend to be less expensive than other pre-testing methods, but they also may be time-consuming to organize, less generalizable than quantitative methods, and may silence less dominant voices, which can lead to group bias (Freimuth, Cole, and Kirby 2001; Morgan 1996; Stewart and Shamdasani 2014).

In-depth interviews can be even more expensive and equally time-consuming, but they may provide access to respondents who are difficult to recruit. In addition, they provide an excellent setting for discussing sensitive issues (Atkin and Freimuth 2012). Central-location intercept interviews, which

involve “stationing interviewers at a location frequented by individuals from desired intended audiences,” are a quick way to identify qualified respondents but tend to be more obtrusive and provide less of a random sampling (Atkin and Freimuth 2012, p62). Finally, gatekeepers may be used to pre-test campaign material, as they are generally familiar with the campaign topic and the intended audience. Such was the case of the “*Tú No Me Conoces*” campaign, which promoted HIV risk awareness and testing in Latinos. During this campaign’s pre-testing phase, campaign messages were evaluated by five different organizations that serve different sectors of the target population (Olshefsky, Zive, Scolari, and Zuñiga 2007). Consulting with gatekeepers is crucial to ensuring that, particularly in the case of media campaigns, they accept the message enough to be willing to disseminate and market the product (Flay 1987, p123).

Although these various pre-testing techniques tend to increase the chance that an awareness campaign overcomes major obstacles—such as lack of accessibility and comprehensibility, resistance to engage, boomerang effects—there is still relatively little academic literature that speaks to when pre-tested material has performed “well enough” to have attitudinal or behavioral effects in the real world (Atkin and Freimuth 2012, p53; Freimuth *et al.* 2001). One meta-analysis investigated how well pre-testing predicts actual effects and found a moderately positive correlation between predicted and final message effectiveness (Dillard, Weber, and Vail 2007). The study provides some evidence to support the relevance of the moderately accurate nature of pre-testing in predicting campaign success (Atkin and Freimuth 2012, p61).

During the design and pre-testing stages, campaigners should also consider interactions between the campaign’s message and competing or counter-messages. In the context of political campaigns, studies emphasize the need to consider the relationship or resonance between message content and audience predispositions, especially prior or prevailing attitudes (Iyengar and Snow 2000, Jacobson 2015). This is important because selective exposure to messages (*i.e.*, not exposing oneself to certain messages) and selective interpretation of messages are shaped by prior attitudes (Hyman and Sheatsley 1947). Not only should message design be based on “resonance” with a targeted audience, but political—like other—campaigns must also design messages in light of the *interactions with and between competing messages* (Iyengar and Snow 2000). In addition, they may benefit from issue linkage with complementary messages and campaigns, a strategy found to be effective in environmental campaigns (Jacquet *et al.* 2010).

C. Social Psychological Considerations in Message Design

The third take-away is that messages should be crafted based on both theories that specify message content and theories that specify how particular kinds of messages can be designed to be persuasive with a target audience. In terms of content design, research suggests that new arguments can enhance the persuasive effects of messages, with people being more prone to change their previous attitudes because of the novelty of the argument (Sears and Freedman 1965). In other words, when an audience *expects* to hear familiar arguments or views, it is much less likely to be “open” to divergent views. To combat such ingrained beliefs, campaigns might include *debiasing strategies*, through which designers intend to expose problems with the *status quo* opinions held by the target population.

Receptivity to campaign messages will depend on initial familiarity with the message and may change over the course of a campaign. For instance, new campaigns may find that some messages have been employed by previous campaigns and thus a target population might be already desensitized to a

specific message prior to campaign implementation. The formative research stage is thus critical to gathering information about how different audiences might respond to different messages. For instance, fear appeals seem to work for some groups and not others. When the target audience does not feel that they can change the behavior even though they perceive fear, the message can backfire. Designers should keep in mind that strong fear appeals coupled with concrete solutions produce the greatest behavior change while fear appeals unaccompanied by solutions tend to make people defensive (Witte and Allen 2000). Moreover, in the face of frequent warnings and advice, individuals tend to abandon behavioral change altogether (Fisher and Rost 1986). Yet, in other cases, campaigns may not produce measurable short-term effects while meeting goals in the long-term. Studies on persuasion refer to this phenomenon as the “retardant effect of persuasion,” which implies the persuasion brought about the desired results, but only following a long-term delay. One explanation for this phenomenon is that the initial belief is changing, and the recipient cannot remember the cause of this change (Cook and Flay 1978).

i. Framing

Framing theory dominates the literature on awareness campaigns. Framing research in psychology tends to focus on the effects of framing on the audience, in that accentuating certain considerations in a message can lead individuals to focus on those particular issues (Borah 2011). Certain frames tend to generate “framing effects”: small changes in the presentation of an issue or an event that can sometimes produce large changes in opinion. Thus, framing theory often tries to identify what makes a particular frame “strong”—the substantive content of the frame, the production of that frame, or the context within which a particular frame is deployed (deVreese 2005). For example, an environmental frame may be strong when used in local debates regulating growth but not in presidential elections (Chong and Druckman 2007).

Furthermore, as mentioned above, framing a message via fear appeals (*i.e.*, warning signs on tobacco products) has become more prominent within health campaigns, but there is mixed evidence concerning its effectiveness (Peters, Ruiters, and Kok 2013; Randolph and Viswanath 2004). Fear appeals or threatening communication appear to be conditionally effective: they often produce effects opposite to those intended—inducing the discouraged behavior—on individuals most susceptible to or already engaged in such behavior. For these people, messages that are framed by sources they trust, respect, and interact with frequently (*i.e.*, peer groups, family, community leaders, *etc.*) will have a much bigger effect on behavior (for better or worse). Fear appeals also tend to work only when the targeted population is capable of translating intention into behavioral change or when the campaign/intervention also includes an element that increases the capacity of the population to do so (Peters *et al.* 2013). Relatedly, if behavioral change is the goal, research on election turnout campaigns suggests that effective interventions should ratchet up social pressure (*i.e.*, by reminding people that their participation might be a part of public record or scholarly scrutiny) (Jacobson 2015). In other words, fear appeals or social shaming may under some conditions facilitate behavioral change. We discuss framing in more detail in Section III.

ii. Novelty

Research also suggests that these campaigns are more successful when they rely on unfamiliar material and short exposure (Schwarz, Sanna, Skurnik, and Yoon 2007). However, this strategy also brings risks. After the novelty of new information fades, familiar information is more likely to be accepted as true (or right) rather than false (or wrong). Particularly in older populations, people increasingly rely on

familiarity. Thus, “repeating false information [the previously held belief the campaign is trying to change] as part of a public information campaign may put older adults at a particular risk, essentially turning warnings into recommendations” (Schwarz *et al.* 2007). Designers thus need to be careful when engaging in debiasing strategies (to undermine familiar but “false” beliefs) to not reiterate the myth or the false information within the campaign message itself.

iii. Personal Narrative

Personal narratives can make for compelling messages. One experimental study found that in a campaign against sleep deprivation, the personal narrative frame was the most consistently successful at mobilizing both consensus and low-risk action. In contrast, informational and motivational frames were more successful in mobilizing consensus than no framing, but had no effect on participant behavior (Mcentire, Leiby, and Krain 2015). This study had methodological shortcomings, but it suggests a pathway for future investigations of what specific types of frames within a human rights context mobilize adherents.

iv. Interpersonal Discussion

Another message-design principle derived from political and public health campaigns with potential relevance for human rights campaigns is to choose messages that will spark interpersonal discussions and to persuade individuals important to the target audience (*e.g.*, influencers) to engage in these conversations (Noar 2006). In election campaigns, some studies stress the importance of everyday conversations in spreading media messaging. These studies suggest that designers should construct messages and choose mediums that will *prompt* people to talk (B. G. Southwell and Yzer 2007, B. G. Southwell and Yzer 2009). Indeed, the Internet is likely to expand the role of talk between people, which suggests an important use of social media messaging to spark interpersonal conversations.

Research strongly suggests that this “talk” should focus on social and cultural contexts. Findings on information exchange in intercultural health consultations suggest that patients should be recognized as cultural and socially conditioned and positioned beings (M. Edwards, Davies, and Edwards 2009). In some contexts, *i.e.*, a collectivist culture, deploying a campaign with an individualist approach (*i.e.*, targeting individuals cognitively) may be less effective (Dutta-Bergman 2005). In the area of mental health, research suggests that the involvement of people with mental illness appears useful, although the media exposure may entail risks for them and for the campaign (Dumesnil and Verger 2009). This point could prove useful in the human rights arena, suggesting that campaign designers should involve either credible “influencers” or personal experiences in their messaging, although this strategy comes with its own set of risks (see Section VI).

v. Two-Sided Advertising

Two-sided advertising—which intentionally highlights both the positive and the negative aspects of a product—also has potential relevance for human rights campaigns. There are a number of theoretical reasons why two-sided advertising might be effective:

1. *Attribution theory*: negative information enhances perceptions of credibility, but may not be more effective in terms of persuasiveness.

2. *Inoculation theory*: using mild attacking arguments and then countering them strengthens cognitions, reduces counterarguments, and thus enhances attitudes.
3. *Optimal arousal theory*: two-sided messages are novel and thereby tend to engender positive affect, which motivates attention to the message.

One meta-analysis of empirical studies on two-sided advertising suggests that two-sided messaging mainly helps to improve source credibility and reduce negative responses (Eisend 2006).

D. Summary and Conclusions

Theory and research on awareness campaigns in a range of issue areas provide several important insights for designers of human rights awareness campaigns:

1. Identifying and articulating specific goal(s) for a given human rights campaign are essential for choosing appropriate target audience(s), the campaign's channels of dissemination, and overarching design of an effective messaging strategy. For many human rights campaigns, the goals may be to raise awareness, provide information, or change beliefs and attitudes. If the goals extend to *behavioral* change, however, designers should evaluate the extent to which messaging should be accompanied by interpersonal components or efforts designed to improve structural or environmental conditions and institutions (*i.e.*, access to certain resources). For example, designers should use communication to let abused women know about newly available resources and work to establish these resources where they are inadequate, rather than merely encouraging them to leave abusive spouses. In other words, community-building to provide such resources may be a necessary first step for any campaign.
2. Designers should select a limited target audience that is relatively homogenous with respect to the goals of the campaign. Although messaging may reach non-target audience(s), designers should conduct formative research on and pre-test messages with the target audience and design campaign messages specifically for that audience. In doing so, designers should familiarize themselves with and take into account counter or competing messages to which the target audience is exposed.
3. Campaign messaging should draw on social psychological principles and theory. One way of doing so is by attending to social context, especially prior knowledge of the target group, in order to maximize resonance of the messaging. Messages that resonate are more likely to be perceived as credible and legitimate, a key factor in receptivity. Messages that present novel arguments or prompt discussion also appear to be particularly effective, though designers should be careful to avoid repeating false (but familiar) information/myths, as more familiar information is retained. Novel messages should thus also be used when exposure is likely to be high. Lastly, as in the public health realm, many human rights issues will not be susceptible to quick communication interventions. Designers should understand that attitudinal and behavioral change will often require long-term, multiple-channel, or large-scale interventions.

SECTION III: USING FRAMES AND STRATEGIES THAT WORK IN LOCAL POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Framing theory is central among theories of message design and effects and is used within a wide array of disciplines. The term “framing” emerged from the fields of sociology (Goffman 1974) and psychology (Kahneman and Tversky 1979, 1984). In sociology, this term stems from Goffman’s idea of “schemata of interpretation,” which asserts that individuals use frames on a daily basis to make sense of the complex world surrounding them (Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). The term framing was later taken up by both media scholars (Hall 1982) and social movement theorists (Benford and Snow 2000, Snow *et al.* 1986), to help explain how issues are given meaning and how experiences are organized. A frame organizes everyday reality, promoting particular interpretations of a given issue. Frames provide boundaries within which social issues will be discussed and, just as importantly, how they will *not* be discussed.

This section begins with a description of the key functions of frames—diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational—which should correspond to the goals of a campaign. We next consider two types of human rights campaign approaches. Some organizations use a rights-framed approach (RFA) strategically when they perceive it will be effective. Other organizations use a rights-based approach (RBA). After discussing the importance of this distinction, we then elaborate on the unique concerns that human rights frames raise in relation to four aspects of the communication process: 1) the context in which the campaign is being carried out, 2) the communicator (organizations supported by USAID), 3) the receivers of the communication (the target group(s)), and 4) the campaign material (Entman 1993).

Lessons learned

- Successful campaigns integrate diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational frames.
- Tracking the historical origins of tensions, such as between civil and Islamic law, may be fruitful for overcoming them.
- Identifying and targeting the groups who benefit from defining local culture as opposed to change proves important.
- Mixing non-controversial reforms and controversial reforms together, and linking them to local economic development, can be highly effective. For example, arguments rooted in immediate public health needs can expand to include notions of human rights even in highly conservative societies.
- Frames deemed irrelevant or threatening will not be taken seriously.
- Narrow frames that do not impugn the audience are better than shaming frames.
- Translators who understand both the human rights community and the local community must translate reform into a vernacular that makes sense to the target audience.
- A Western education and NGO payments can sometimes undercut the standing of individuals who would otherwise be translators.
- Campaigns should anticipate and prepare for counter-mobilization by opposition groups, businesses, or the state.
- Materials should be produced in the local language and dialect, and the images in the materials should be an accurate reflection of the target audience.

A. Frame Functions

Frames perform three primary functions for campaign designers (Benford and Snow 2000):

1. Define the problem (diagnostic frames);
2. Suggest possible remedies (prognostic frames); and
3. Provide a rationale for engagement (motivational frames).

As noted in Section II, the function of a frame has implications for appropriate message design, so it is important to identify which types need to be deployed in a given context.

Diagnostic frames identify the nature of the problem and who is to blame. A clear diagnosis of the problem and cause is key to framing success, as it sets the stage for the development of solutions and potential strategies and tactics for achieving these proffered solutions. In their study of social movements and framing techniques, Benford and Snow assert that “since social movements seek to remedy or alter some problematic situation or issue, it follows that directed action is contingent on identification of the source(s) of causality, blame, and/or culpable agents” (Benford and Snow 2000, p616). Overly broad human rights campaigns with no clear attributional component will have little influence.

How to create behavioral and/or attitudinal change is a central component of the second core framing task: prognostic framing. Prognostic frames articulate strategies for solving the previously diagnosed problem and ensure that the campaign has a clear end goal. Creating and integrating diagnostic and prognostic frames is a major factor in the success of human rights campaigns, as for social movements in general. In one of the few studies to provide an analysis of how framing directly informs a movement's effectiveness, Cress and Snow (2000) examine 15 homeless social movement organizations (SMOs) in eight U.S. cities to measure how framing theories condition organizational success. They conclude that movement success is greatly facilitated by "viable organizations that are skilled at diagnostic and prognostic framing" (Cress and Snow 2000, p1099). In this case, the effectiveness of these specific diagnostic and prognostic frames stemmed from their rhetorical capabilities. For example, a less articulate diagnostic frame would claim that the government was to blame and thus the prognostic frame would identify housing as the solution (Cress and Snow 2000, p1079). In comparison, a more articulate diagnostic frame would highlight a specific issue as the problem, with a specific agent at fault (*e.g.*, shelter conditions and shelter service providers), and then offer a focused, concrete solution, such as city-wide investigation of shelter operations (Cress and Snow 2000, p1079). In sum, "articulate and focused framing activity comes more closely than any of the other conditions to constituting a necessary condition for attainment of the outcomes in question" (Cress and Snow 2000, p1100).

The third core framing task—motivational framing—works by urging others to mobilize to "act, listen, or participate" in a campaign, based in part on the definition of the problem, the proposed solutions, and the cost and/or benefits associated with active and/or passive participation. For human rights awareness campaigns, motivational framing is often less focused on direct activation or mobilization and more directed toward building a consensus in public opinion. The success of motivational frames depends on 1) an awareness of grievances, 2) an understanding of one's own responsibility, and 3) support for the proposed solution as appropriate (Eilders and Lüter 2000).

The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) in South Africa provides an example of the effective integration of these different types of frames. The TAC framed HIV/AIDS as a human rights issue, and Mark Heywood (2009) argues that the TAC's approach was able to mobilize people to campaign for the right to health using a combination of human rights education (through diagnostic and prognostic framing), HIV treatment literacy (through diagnostic and prognostic framing), demonstration (through motivational framing), and litigation (through motivational framing). This resulted in the reduction of medicine prices, arguably preventing hundreds of thousands of HIV-related deaths, and the allocation of significant additional resources into the health system and toward the poor. While effective, the campaign did generate some unintended consequences. Krista Johnson (2006) notes that the human rights framing successfully garnered attention to the issue, but closed other avenues for dealing with the illness domestically. The human rights frame implicitly framed the state as a violator of individual South Africans' rights, which meant that the state and organizations working to alleviate the hardships caused by the illness did not work together in any meaningful fashion.

B. Rights-Based Approaches versus Rights-Framed Approaches

Since the 1990s, RBAs have provided the dominant strategy for international and grassroots NGOs, funders, and international organizations concerned with a variety of issues (Miller 2010). Essentially,

RBAs see human rights as the structure of reference for policy and as central to the mission and organizational goals of NGOs that use RBAs.

RBAs are employed in a variety of ways by diverse actors, resulting in the lack of a coherent definition. While it is generally agreed that NGOs that use RBAs share the goal of “achieving” human rights outcomes, what this means and how to go about doing so are less clear. In general, RBAs employ human rights as a frame of reference for policy, and incorporate explicit and implicit references to human rights discourses and legal obligations provided for by human rights treaties. In addition, RBAs include non-discrimination, participation and empowerment, and good governance as basic dimensions that guide practice (Miller 2010).

Numerous critiques of RBAs have emerged, as documented within Miller’s study (2010) of the development NGO sector, which examined how human rights discourses and practices are operationalized through campaigns. Drawing on interviews with activists in development NGOs, Miller found that many were critical of RBAs as both overly vague and expansive, such that scholars and NGO activists have voiced concern that the concept is devoid of meaning, even suggesting that “anything” could pass for an RBA. Others have critiqued RBAs as too rigid or even “doctrinal,” preventing the flexibility that is required when implementing campaigns. Such critiques generated skepticism in RBAs, and reduced the legitimacy of human rights discourse in the eyes of activists who viewed RBAs as both exceedingly vague and yet restrictive. This study suggests that some NGO actors see human rights discourse as too rigid and complex to be effectively applied in many contexts. Attempts to follow a rights-based approach thus provide a lack of feasible action while dictating a multitude of goals.

Miller also introduces the concept of rights-framed approaches (RFAs) to make clear a distinction that is already present in practice. His study found that many putatively RBA-NGOs apply rights discourse selectively, but not as a guiding principle for the entire organization. Specifically, RFAs are used strategically to frame some issues in a campaign, when deemed appropriate. Applying rights discourse selectively allows organizations to tackle issues they find pertinent to their mission while minimizing the risk of being viewed as especially antagonistic to the state. Miller argues that RFAs provide a more flexible and realistic strategy that maps on to what many organizations are already doing. Accepting the label of RFAs can allow campaigns to be more precise in their goals and methods. The RFA approach recognizes that issues can be framed in multiple ways, and that human rights frames may be useful in some contexts and counterproductive in others.

C. Sensitive to Local Contexts

Context is the source of resources—typically defined in terms of money, people, and organizations—which can be key in moving from grievance to concrete action (McAdam 2010, Zald and McCarthy 2002). In this section, we focus on cultural and political contexts.

i. Cultural Contexts

Social scientists recognize that cultures are malleable, permeable, full of contradictions, and constantly changing. Culture is a *mélange* of widely understood ideas and taken-for-granted practices, which can legitimate or challenge power relations. Cultures are produced in particular places through history, but include the influence of local, national, and global forces. Furthermore, all communities are

characterized by divisions that can facilitate or impede social change (Heald 2002, Machado 2000, Singleton 2012). When “culture” is pitted against “change,” there are particular interests at play. Groups that stand to lose power if reforms occur have an interest in romanticizing tradition and treating culture as local and insular. A critical step in analyzing potential cultural conflicts during the implementation of a campaign is therefore identifying the different interests at play in the promotion of the desired change.

Religion is one component of culture that is often treated as standing in opposition to reform. For example, global fundamentalist movements have played a pivotal role in facilitating competing discourses for a variety of human rights issues (Buss 2003). But, conservative religious traditions are not always working at cross-purposes with human rights. As P. T. Zeleza, former president of the African Studies Association, notes (2007), religious groups historically have been among the most successful opponents of state abuses. Further, contemporary religious opposition to reform often has political or socio-economic roots. For example, in Malaysia, colonial authorities created a binary between Islamic and civil law that did not previously exist—first, by secularizing Islamic law within the framework of a Western court system and second, by creating two separate court systems with purportedly distinct jurisdictions (Moustafa 2013). Malaysian President Mahathir Mohammed (1981-2003) further solidified the binary when he successfully sponsored a constitutional amendment stating that the civil courts “shall have no jurisdiction in any respect of any matter within the jurisdiction of the Shariah” (Moustafa 2013, p778). This resulted in a string of court cases in which non-Muslims or individuals whose religious affiliation was ambiguous had no legal recourse. These cases exacerbated the sense of an oppositional binary and increased tensions among those advocating for the protection of individual human rights and those who perceived a Western, liberal threat to Islam. Although Moustafa does not propose a specific strategy, his analysis suggests that tracking the origins of tensions may be fruitful for campaigners seeking to overcome them.

When it comes to human rights and cultural change, Merry (2009) highlights the success of “vernacularization.” Vernacularization is translating human rights ideas into terms that make sense in the local vernacular, using not only local language, but also local terminology, ideas, and practices. It involves identifying translators and constructing appropriate frames. Merry (2005) provides the example of inheritance in Hong Kong, where the law favored male heirs. There was an implicit expectation that male kin would use inherited resources to provide support for their female relatives. When this failed to happen, women complained to the state that their male kin were abdicating their responsibilities. Activists at a women’s rights NGO heard of the controversy, and formed a partnership with the aggrieved women. The activists took the concerns of the women seriously, and used those concerns as the starting point for a women’s rights campaign that would help the women reach their goal of economic security (albeit, by becoming economically independent rather than by having male kin support them). Once the women’s rights frame became salient, the government paid more attention and responded with new legislation equalizing inheritance rights across genders.

Goldstein and Usdin (2001) provide another example of vernacularization in their study of the Soul City Institute for Health and Development’s attempts to raise awareness of HIV/AIDS amongst children in South Africa. They suggest that awareness campaigns need to develop tools that translate lofty ideas about the health rights of children into concrete actions in people’s lived experiences. Numerous other studies have highlighted the failure of human rights campaigns due to their inability to connect with key

community values (Allen and Heald 2004; Schemer, Wirth, and Matthes 2012). Awareness or action campaigns that concretely link local individuals with human rights grievances to relevant transnational advocacy networks may be influential in creating change (Keck and Sikkink 1998, Risse and Sikkink 1999). Less well-known NGOs may partner with these gatekeepers and benefit from their credibility to produce effective, streamlined human rights awareness campaigns (Meriläinen and Vos 2014).

ii. Political Contexts

State structure and institutions are also important factors that can affect the success of human rights awareness campaigns. For example, centralization tends to limit initiatives at the local level and impede coordination across NGOs and grassroots organizations (Allen and Heald 2004). The nature of courts and litigation (Moustafa 2013) or legislative processes (Risley 2011) can shape alliances among activists.

When human rights awareness campaigns directly or indirectly threaten the standing of government actors, it can be expected that state institutions and agents will be deployed in order to neutralize those potentially damaging messages (Bravo Alarcon 2004; Casswell, Ransom, and Gilmore 1990; Munro 2015). Some governments might do so by curtailing the freedom and physical integrity of activists or making it harder for human rights organizations to operate and, especially, receive foreign funding (Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash 2016).

We first focus on subtler strategies of counter-framing human rights messages. Gordon's (2014) case study of campaigns against pro-accountability groups for human rights abuses by Israeli forces is an important example because it not only examines the actions of the Israeli government, but also the operation of a network of conservative groups toward reframing the work of human rights organizations as a threat to national security. According to Gordon, these groups are not criticizing the notion of human rights *per se*, but a particular deployment of those rights for political purposes. To delegitimize the accountability of the campaigns, these groups disseminate the notion that "human rights work is lawfare."¹ The strategy employed by these conservative civil society organizations included disseminating critiques of the materials produced by local and international NGOs and tracing the international donors funding them. Specifically, after the publication of the Goldstone report, these organizations posted billboards, published opinion articles in Israeli and U.S. newspapers, as well as their own reports countering the Goldstone findings, and appeared on television and radio talk shows. The key takeaway is that when local organizations draw on international human rights in order to make claims, this opens up the possibility for opposing actors to reframe those claims as threats to national security.

Such counter-mobilization may also emerge from state-business alliances. Bravo Alarcon's (2004) study of environmental consciousness and education in Peru demonstrates the way that support for environmental conservation among the public and echoes in the media can be superseded by government and business interests. In this case, the government had issued reports that contradicted

¹ Lawfare is defined by conservative groups as a "strategy of using or misusing law as a substitute for traditional military means to achieve military objectives"; a strategy employed by the "NGO superpowers" (Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch) in cooperation with Palestinian and Israeli human rights groups (Gordon 2014, p325).

each other and diffused responsibility for environmental protection; in turn, businesses engaged in development activities that contradicted their supposed environmental conservation policies.

D. Human Rights Mobilization in Repressive States

Repressive states are a unique case, and there is disagreement over the effectiveness of human rights mobilization within them. Chua (2015) concluded that human rights mobilization can be effective within repressive states, based on her ethnographic analysis of sexual orientation and gender identity minorities in Myanmar. Both vernacularization and “micromobilization”—fostering identification with a particular group on the basis of a shared identity characteristic—and the integration of the two were central to effective activism within these repressive contexts (Chua 2015). Repressive contexts also involve greater risks for activists, however (Bob 2002, Epprecht 2012).

Frame selection within repressive regimes should take into account not only which frames resonate with the target audience but also which frames those political actors who are threatened by human rights campaigns will find difficult to invalidate. Simpson’s study (2014) of the Indonesian human rights movement during the 1970s provides a useful account of how certain human rights discourses can be countered more easily than others within authoritarian contexts. Western human rights organizations were focusing on the fate of political prisoners in Indonesia—labeled as Communists by the government—and highlighting civil and political rights violations. This was easily invalidated by the government, which appealed to nationalism and attempted to mobilize resistance against foreign intervention in Indonesian domestic politics.² However, because the regime had built its international reputation around developmental and modernization policies, local human rights activists shifted tactics and challenged the regime on those same grounds. Indonesian human rights organizations could successfully hold the regime accountable for failing to live up to the idea that its developmental policies would result in widely shared benefits. A human rights conception grounded in wider notions of social justice not only resonated more with the local agrarian population, but the regime also found it harder to dismiss given that it had co-adopted the goal of development for its own legitimacy.

Apart from Chua (2015) and Simpson (2014), much research suggests limited potential for human rights campaigns within repressive political conditions. For example, based on her research of foreign funding for NGOs engaged in pro-democracy projects in several Arab countries, Carapico (2002) finds that foreign democracy brokers successfully cultivated relationships with some liberal think-tanks and other institutions during the 1990s, but these domestic groups faced political backlash over foreign funding and the production of political information as Arab governments attempted to restore their monopolies. In some cases, such as the Palestinian Authority, officials attempted to manipulate or minimize project efforts. In most cases, state and public resistance rejected democracy brokers and their local partners as complicit in Western imperialism. Overall, there is insufficient literature on successful human rights campaigns within repressive regimes to draw definitive conclusions about the best approaches.

² The government also ensured that newspapers were regularly publishing stories about Amnesty International’s pro-Communist stance, its inability to recognize human rights improvements, and its goal of imposing Western values on Islamic societies.

Still, research suggests that states that are dependent on foreign aid tend to be more receptive to reforms promoted by world society, including human rights-related reforms. In contrast, countries with substantial resources (China, the United States), alliances with powerful countries (North Korea, Myanmar, Israel), and/or geopolitical importance (Egypt) have greater ability to reject human rights norms (see, *e.g.*, Boyle *et al.* 2001, Carapico 2002, Cerna 1994, Halliday and Carruthers 2009). At the same time, the acceptance of external funding by economically dependent countries can backfire. Extra-national financial support can become the basis for critique that campaigns are imperialistic (Carapico 2002, Epprecht 2012) and provide ammunition for opponents of a government (Heald 2002) (see more on counter frames in the next subsection).

Further, government cooperation with NGOs may be shaped by the nature of the state economy and economic capacity. The dependence of the economy on a large labor force, as in agriculturally based economies, may push governments to act more quickly and decisively on issues that threaten the health of their labor force (Allen and Heald 2004). The national economy and the importance of the population to the government can also have an effect. The means of groups seeking change, including their access to and ties with government and non-government funds, can shape the tactics and goals of movement organizations and the level and tenor of media coverage of an issue (B. Edwards and Kane 2014).

E. Credible Communicators

Whether the target group perceives the source of the frame as credible is a big factor in receptivity (Druckman 2001). The rootedness of both the framer and the frames in local realities allows audiences to view guidance by the organization/individual as sincere (Druckman 2001). This is necessary but not sufficient to make for a good translator. The individual also must be trusted and perceived as sincere by the target audience. For example, Prazak, in an ethnographic study (2007) of a Kuria community in Kenya, observed that girls who left the village for schooling were seen as outsiders when they returned. Furthermore, the villagers did not take to heart the anti-female genital cutting (FGC) arguments of individuals paid by NGOs—they assumed the individuals were saying such things for the money.

Credibility also relies on the target audience's belief that a source possesses knowledge about the issue at hand (Lupia 1998; Lupia, McCubbins, and Popkin 2000). In the public health realm, for example, the credibility of the frame is often tied to the provision of information from scientific disciplines (*i.e.*, fighting tobacco use required people to be informed of the credible risks) (Economos *et al.* 2001). Celebrities may increase visibility of an issue and provide financial benefits for a cause, but their lack of expertise may cause more harm than good by diverting attention away from victims of abuse, oversimplifying issue complexity, and encouraging action that does not directly remedy abuses. While celebrity activism can help activists gain access to policymakers and donors, Weitzer *et al.* (2014) argue that the drawbacks tend to outweigh the potential advantages. Likewise, societal elites may play a role in the initial drafting of frames, but non-elites may well develop their own alternative methods for understanding human rights awareness campaigns (Hull 2001).

Credibility is affected not only by the communicator, but also by the structure of the message. Two-sided advertising, as described in Section II, can improve the credibility of a message by creating a sense of openness and honesty (Eisend 2006). Although it improves the sense of transparency and expertise of an organization, it can be counterproductive: since the opposing frame is often repeated, both the

desired and oppositional frames can gain resonance (Schwarz *et al.* 2007). Across campaigns, frames should be complementary rather than contradictory to enhance credibility (Benford and Snow 2000).

To avoid backlash, Epprecht (2013) proposes a two-step approach in the case of the rights of sexual minorities: using a public health frame before introducing a rights frame. This two-step approach has also been deployed with respect to FGC (E. H. Boyle, McMorris, and Gomez 2002). Framing sexual rights as human rights in African countries is often viewed as a manifestation of Western cultural imperialism. Thus, Epprecht recommends adopting strategies that frame sexual minority rights initially as a public health issue while discreetly promoting sexual rights. This approach is more likely to succeed in pushing against homophobic discourses, but it has shortcomings, such as promoting certain types of support while continuing to denigrate the LGBTQ community. In the case of FGC, there was concern that making FGC medically safe would allow the practices to continue indefinitely.

Epprecht (2013, p241-242) provides an interesting personal anecdote to support the two-step approach. He was an invited speaker at an HIV/AIDS conference at Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences in Dar es Salaam. When he spoke of the rise of a gay rights movement as unambiguously positive, the audience became hostile and the convener:

took me aside to request an emergency change of programme, to which I reluctantly consented. He then took over leadership and backtracked to what seemed a very simplistic level of discussion of what to do about MSM [men who have sex with men] in Africa. It culminated in small group discussions in which each and every group, after debating the issues as they understood them, fundamentally rejected the premises of my entire presentation of the first day and a half. They either denied the existence of MSM in their own countries or brainstormed ways to catch, isolate, and/or “cure” them.

After this “dispiriting turn,” the conference continued for another week. A gay man from Dar es Salaam spoke about his situation, and many other groups affected by HIV (*e.g.*, intravenous drug users) were discussed. Epprecht began to see a gradual shift in attitudes. The conference attendees began to accept that MSM “existed on a much bigger scale than they had ever imagined” and began to see gays as less of a danger to Africa’s cultural integrity than they had originally presumed:

...the participants moved fairly steadily from ‘How do we cure them?’ to a broad acceptance of a harm reduction approach through education and the protection of human rights for MSM.

This anecdote illustrates how arguments rooted in immediate public health needs can expand to include notions of human rights, even in highly conservative societies (Boyle *et al.* 2002, Robins 2004).

F. Targeted Individuals are Embedded in Social Relations and Practices

Individuals differ in their receptivity to a human rights frame (E. H. Boyle and Carbone-Lopez 2006; Singh, Astrom, Hyden, and Wickenberg 2008). In general, narrow frames that do not impugn the local cultural context work best. For example, ending FGC because it is painful is a more effective frame than ending FGC because it is mutilation or patriarchal (Boyle and Carbone-Lopez 2006). The latter imply bad parenting or a malicious intent and trigger a need in the target audience to defend themselves and their community. In addition, if frames are perceived as imported from the West, that can create backlash (Epprecht 2013) (See Section V).

G. Message Design: Language and Vernacularization

Language is one of the most important elements of culture and shared identity. A campaign that disseminates materials in the language of the local community is likely to be much more effective than campaigns distributing materials in the language of historic colonial authorities (Mutonya 2008). Zeleza (2007, p494) details the seriousness of this issue:

The ordinary masses, proficient in their own languages that are not languages of the law, government, and business, are prevented from influencing the reconceptualizing of the dominant human rights discourse. Indeed, they are excluded from full participation in public affairs, whether parliaments or the courts, and African languages are denied the opportunity to develop a robust legislative and human rights register.

The sense that materials are imported and irrelevant is exacerbated when materials are in English or French in an African or southeast Asian country.

The first section of this review on general awareness campaigns holds several lessons for message design. To briefly reiterate, campaign material should be linked to the goals of the campaign (to inform, persuade, or prompt action or change). Message designers will want to consider how the functions of the frames they are deploying—diagnostic, prognostic, or motivational—map onto their goals.

Campaign materials should be designed specifically for limited and relatively homogeneous target groups. They must be tailored to the target audience in terms of images and symbols. For example, Maasai women in Tanzania shave their heads; an unsuccessful campaign against FGC used pamphlets with images of Tanzanian women who did not have shaved heads and were clearly not Maasai (Winterbottom, Koomen, and Burford 2009). The Maasai women assumed that they were not the intended audience of the material.

Finally, in terms of receptivity, novelty engages and repetition reinforces. Campaigns that highlight both the positive and negative aspects of the behavior change sought will have more credibility. Messages that are persuasive for mobilizing donors and global activists may be too broad to work in local contexts.

H. Summary and Conclusions

Rooting campaigns in contextually relevant frames is crucial for effectiveness. However, this task comes with potential drawbacks, especially oversimplification (see Section V) and costs. Given that there is no “one-size-fits-all” answer to the question of which frame to adopt, this decision requires a high level of information about the target and context. In this section, we reviewed different types of frames and provided insights on how and when those are more or less effective. While novel, personal, and narrative-based frames have proven highly successful, frames deemed irrelevant or threatening, shaming frames, or fear-based appeals will not be effective. The literature also highlights the role of translators who understand both the human rights community and the wider local community. These agents should be employed to translate proposed changes into a vernacular that makes sense to the target audience. Finally, when crafting frames, designers should anticipate and prepare for counter-mobilization by opposition groups, businesses, or the state (see Section V).

SECTION IV: CAMPAIGN CHANNELS AND MEDIA

An overarching theme in the literature on awareness campaigns is that messages should be placed in channels widely viewed by the target audience and strategically positioned within those channels. Some studies stress that repeated exposure to a campaign, via several types of channels (*i.e.*, television, print media, and billboards), improves campaign effectiveness (Dumesnil and Verger 2009, Snyder 2007). In the public health realm, successful campaigns tend to amplify messages through multiple strategies, such as a year-long media presence (TV, radio, and print) combined with governmental and corporate sponsors to reinforce the messages and the use of community events (Randolph and Viswanath 2004). Other studies find that channels that are novel to the target population may garner additional attention (Snyder 2007, Snyder *et al.* 2004). Some research on the role of narratives and visual imagery in raising awareness about public health problems has been conducted, with mixed findings on effectiveness (Niederdeppe, Bu, Borah, Kindig, and Robert 2008). Thus, this section provides a brief analysis of the relative effectiveness of media as a mechanism for human rights awareness campaigns and the constraints on said mechanism. Additionally, it explores what specific pairings and/or groupings of mechanisms in multi-faceted approaches to human rights awareness campaigns have been found to be effective in different contexts.

Lessons learned

- The impact of traditional media is mediated by frames and the amount of issue coverage.
- Use of multiple media channels is important in reaching multiple sub groups within the target group.
- Alliances between mass media companies and alternative institutions, including human rights NGOs, may prove beneficial.
- Social media appears to be effective, especially as part of a multi-faceted media approach.

Our key takeaways from the literature on traditional media are:

1. Contextual and editorial factors play a significant role in media coverage.
2. Alliances between mass media and multiple institutions, including NGOs, are important in determining content and framing.
3. Media not only influences but also is influenced by social, cultural, and political factors.
4. Human rights concerns raised by NGOs are not always on equal footing with the concerns raised by other powerful framing agents, such as state actors.

Social media platforms provide novel venues for human rights campaigns. However, rather than acting as a more democratizing space, the Internet does not necessarily accept everyone's voice equally. Thus, these new forms of activism and awareness raising (such as changing profile pictures to memes, activities often referred to as "slacktivism") should be used in conjunction with other forms of awareness raising, such as messaging applications (Telegram and WhatsApp) and combined with follow-up methods to lead to more profound change.

A. Mass/Traditional Media

One of the perhaps most obvious but key takeaways is that public opinion is susceptible to mass media's influence. Chomsky and Barclay's article on the gay rights movement (2010) begins to unpack the intricacies of this mass media influence. Although personal experiences and history matter in how people form attitudes, the media's decision to provide significant coverage of certain movements, coupled with their ability to layer their own framing on top of the movement's framing, directly shapes public opinion. While Chomsky and Barclay specifically investigate how news coverage following World War II affected attitudes toward gay rights, their findings have broader implications for using traditional media to conduct awareness campaigns. They conclude that both contextual and editorial factors shape how the media covers a specific issue and, in turn, how these factors inform a population's attitude regarding the issue (Farrell and Fahy 2009).

B. Laws Inform Media Frames

How traditional media sources frame a particular human rights issue is further informed by the existing legislation surrounding this issue. For example, Farrell and Fahy's investigation (2009) of anti-trafficking legislation and media coverage finds that while public and media framing of human trafficking has changed over time, this in large part corresponds to the adoption of policies focused on national security and the identification, apprehension, and criminal prosecution of trafficking perpetrators. The effects of the media thus become part of a chain of influences: as the media influences public opinion, it is in turn influenced by changes in legislature.

Translating these conclusions to the human rights realm, research shows that at times human rights issues raised by NGOs are deemed less newsworthy and are displaced by legislative changes. This is consistent with research on the relationship between state actors and media frames (D. Hallin and Mancini 1984). It also reinforces the findings by Druckman (2001) on the role of elites in framing. For example, in a study on coverage of the Vietnam War, D. C. Hallin (1986) finds that frames used in news reports are often correlated with levels of political elites' consensus on certain topics. A similar pattern is discussed by Weimann (2000) in his work on the coverage of both invasions of Iraq and the framing of Saddam Hussein in U.S. and British news media. NGOs may be faced with the difficult challenge of competing with state actors in trying to disseminate their frames, a tension highlighted in Strand's study (2011) of local Ugandan human rights advocates' attempts to influence media coverage of a specific legislative bill on HIV/AIDS. It found that, despite significant differences between two national newspapers in the frequency of reporting on the legislative bill, both papers devoted little editorial space to the public health and human rights concerns highlighted by local human rights organizations. Due to competition with state frames, advocates' campaigns to highlight the bill's potentially adverse effects were only partially successful.

C. The Internet

Some attention has been paid to the impact of Internet use on civic engagement. Importantly, investment in technology and improved communication capacity alone do not ensure broadened access to a diversity of messages (R. C. Hornik 2012). In terms of impact on civic engagement, one conventional argument is that the Internet will be detrimental because it is used primarily for entertainment. Another argues for a positive impact on engagement, either because it will activate those citizens who are already predisposed or interested in politics or because it will mobilize politically inactive populations.

Some meta-analyses demonstrate a minimal but positive relationship between Internet use and social and political engagement of various sorts, such as voting, signing petitions, joining civic groups, or working on community problems (Boulianne 2009). Nonetheless, new forms of media present new ways of engaging with the public and outreach for human rights awareness campaigns. As mentioned previously, the Internet is effectively used in dialogue with other means of raising awareness and not as an independent channel.

Moreover, although the Internet is regarded as a broadly accessible tool, it may place human rights organizations on an unequal footing. For example, Thrall, Stecula, and Sweet (2014) argue that, historically, NGOs have relied on mainstream news media to expose human rights violations and encourage governments to pressure the perpetrators. Despite the democratizing possibilities of the Internet, it may in fact represent a more challenging environment by increasing competition among groups seeking global attention for their specific issue (Thrall *et al.* 2014). Thrall *et al.* conclude that most NGOs lack the organizational resources to effectively compete for either traditional news coverage or for public attention. Furthermore, they find that global attention is still skewed toward a small number of NGOs that are well-funded regardless of the platform. Consequently, competition for individual audiences online also means that audiences will seek out organizations with better name recognition, which makes the competition even more strenuous online than within the realm of traditional mass media.

D. Social Media

Social media represent an avenue that has grown in importance with greater Internet access. Although social media may be a perfect choice to communicate with younger generations, they are also less effective among target audiences that are less comfortable with new technologies. Thus, organizations need to take advantage of multiple social media platforms concurrently, paying special attention to nation-specific preferences for different platforms.

Social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have, by and large, been seen as generally positive tools for increasing the effectiveness of human rights awareness campaigns. Penney (2015) analyzes the role of symbolic action on popular social media platforms by empirically exploring the subjective experiences and motivations of participants in the Red Equal Sign Profile Picture Campaign (RESPP)—a Facebook campaign in support of gay marriage—by Human Rights Campaign. Previous debates regarding the relationship between symbolic action and more traditional forms of political participation suggest a binary between up-the-ladder “civic culture” engagement and down-the-ladder “slacktivism.” Penney (2015) suggests a third approach to understanding the importance of social media for awareness campaigns. He suggests that social media platforms enable organizations to bring sympathetic citizens, who would not otherwise take on organizational commitments, into the circle of participation by contributing to aggregate projects of mediated public advocacy. He suggests that this approach is what made the RESPP campaign successful in raising awareness. In contrast, campaigns such as *Kony 2012* and *#BringBackOurGirls* exemplify the ephemeral character of some social media campaigns. Although both campaigns resonated greatly, there is an inherent risk of oversimplification without leading to material changes on the issue they seek to raise awareness about.

Vie (2014) also analyzes RESPP and argues that the campaign provided an archetype of a meme that may open up a space for increased human rights awareness and concrete action. Vie contends that while commonly dismissed as “slacktivism”—a low-key activity that requires little sacrifice and increases the “feel-good” factor of participants—the posting of this meme demonstrates a sign of virtual support and digital activism that can raise awareness of the issue of LGBTQ rights and help to combat the micro-aggressions that affect the LGBTQ community. This article speaks to the importance of seemingly minor forms of activism to the construction of community identities, which may in turn lead to a more vested interest in transforming oneself from bystander to engaged actor.

E. Entertainment

Entertainment constitutes another media channel with potential promise for human rights campaigns. Research on the role of movies in bringing about attitudinal change toward FGC in rural Sudan demonstrate this potential (Vogt, Mohammed Zaid, El Fadil Ahmed, Fehr, and Efferson 2016). This experimental study produced four telenovela-style films with the same main plot (not about FGC), with the three treatment films including an FGC-related subplot. These subplots emphasized different arguments against cutting: individual values, marriage prospects of girls, or both. Variation in content allowed the researchers to determine whether some FGC frames are more compelling than others. The three films about cutting did not leave the disputes unresolved; they also showed how diverging views can be negotiated within the family. In terms of effects, all three movies generated large and significant increases in positive attitudes about uncut girls. According to the researchers, the value of entertainment-based campaigns is that they resolve a basic trade-off in the design of awareness campaigns between novel arguments and cultural resonance. A campaign “must present people with characters and situations that are identifiable but still provide examples of new ideas...our movies work around this by allowing characters within an extended family to disagree about cutting” (p506). Moreover, fictional movies have an advantage over other types of films, in the sense that they can reach the actual targeted population, while non-fiction documentaries generally reach those who are already responsive to the message.

F. Multi-Faceted Media Approach

One take-away from case studies of media is the advantage of using a variety of media together. Goldstein and Usdin (2001) study the multiple mediums through which the organization Soul City Institute for Health and Development raised awareness of HIV/AIDS among children in South Africa. They conclude that different media platforms should reference one another and reinforce each other’s messages, thus affording audiences a multi-layered message. This approach creates an echo chamber within which the target audience is continually aware of the campaign and its message. Reinforcing this finding, Gregory (2012) explores the perils and benefits of video advocacy with human rights campaigns by analyzing Invisible Children’s *Kony 2012* video and concludes that videos are most effective when complemented by other forms of organizing, such as lobbying, street activism, and engaging distant publics into action. Billings, Moscowitz, Rae, and Brown-Devlin (2015) and Sheinheit and Bogard (2016) find that the effectiveness, and acceptance, of frames within target audiences is heavily reliant on a hybrid media system (traditional and social media) and how effectively framers/organizations utilize it. However, in the case of visual activism, there are additional unintended consequences that must be considered (see Section V).

G. Media Partnerships

Under certain conditions, media partnerships may be beneficial. Graf and Rothlauf (2012) posit that collaboration between NGOs and private media organizations are successful only when there is a clear benefit to both parties, such as the transference of knowledge, cost advantages for local media organizations, and greater legitimacy for the organization. This is best achieved, they argue, through a continual rather than *ad hoc* relationship between the NGO and private media. One approach employed by organizations such as Amnesty International and Médecins Sans Frontières uses a media liaison (preferably a former journalist) to maintain relationships with journalists, ensuring cultivation and maintenance of the social proximity. The emphasis on proximity is central to an organization's understanding of the different interests of individual journalists and their idiosyncratic preferences for particular stories and frames (Powers 2016). At the organizational level, the approach should be less about journalist training courses, and instead about finding more efficient ways to pitch stories to specific journalists in specific media organizations. For instance, USAID would pitch a story and use a different frame when communicating with a more liberal newspaper, such as *The Daily Nation* in Kenya, than when working with the more conservative newspaper, *The Standard*. This works to give the stories a much more institutionally relevant angle while also focusing on the different subgroups within the target group.

The combination of pitching stories that rely on institutionally relevant frames and media training has proved to be more fruitful than solely relying on media training/capacity building approaches, unless the campaign is focused on media freedoms and journalist training specifically. For local media organizations, this relationship comes with enormous benefits. First, in this age of economic hardships for traditional media organizations, these relationships provide for a cost-effective way to cover events. Second, information from NGOs ensures that media organizations spend less time on evaluating information since trust between the journalists and the media liaisons has been established (Powers 2016). Third, the social proximity ensures that, over time, organizations are seen as legitimate sources and voices by both the media and the target groups.

For example, Montoya (2009) examines how civil society institutions collaborate with mass media agents to shape public opinion through cooperative alliances. Through an investigation of alliances formed for the promotion of democracy and human rights in Colombia, she identifies the benefits of these alliances for civil society organizations, which often include the legitimation and diffusion of their social actions and political agendas, and for the media companies themselves, which include the promotion of their brand and strengthening of their image as conscientious social actors. In a world in which mass media conglomerates are at times more powerful than the state, identifying possible alliances and their impact on the public's perception and potential actions during campaign design and implementation is critical.

H. Summary and Conclusions

In conclusion, a fair amount of existing literature considers the effects of media as a key variable in the relative success and/or failure of human rights awareness campaigns. Specifically, we can extrapolate three major conclusions from this literature:

1. Traditional mass media—television, radio, newspapers—directly inform public opinion on human rights issues. This influence is particularly mediated by the frames adopted by these traditional forms of media and their relative amount of issue coverage, which is further shaped by contextual factors.
2. There is a clear relationship between legislation and media frames, which shows that existing legal policies often take precedence over the frames pushed for by human rights organizations, since traditional media sources decide how to frame key human rights issues. In this vein, we conclude that the development of alliances between mass media companies and human rights NGOs may prove important in the development of media content and framing in ways favorable to the goals of a given campaign. One way to nurture such relationships would be through media liaisons that are ideally former journalists themselves.
3. Although the Internet may not be the democratizing force that it seems at first glance, it does hold promise as an effective tool for human rights awareness campaigns, particularly when used in conjunction with other media platforms. In sum, the literature on deliberate public communication campaigns finds a decent positive impact on behavior for campaigns that are long-lived and operate through multiple channels with an expectation of incremental change (Hornik 2012).

SECTION V: UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF AWARENESS CAMPAIGNS

Despite long-standing recognition among social scientists and communications scholars of the potential for awareness campaigns to generate unintended consequences, theoretical and empirical evaluations of campaigns have focused predominantly on the intended, designed effects of campaigns. Cho and Salmon (2007) attribute the absence of systematic consideration of campaigns' unintended effects to a bias on behalf of program evaluations toward measuring effectiveness. With respect to human rights awareness campaigns, studies often identify unintended consequences, but as asides rather than the primary focus of systematic analysis or theorizing.

In this section, we explore the question of unintended consequences of human rights campaigns by adapting a typology produced in the communications field by Cho and Salmon (2007) and providing examples of each from public health campaigns and social sciences research on human rights. Before that, we introduce an important distinction in the analysis and prevention of unintended consequences: that between unintended and unexpected effects.

Lessons learned

- Not all unintended consequences are impossible to anticipate.
- Designers can minimize unintended consequences by planning for a range of possible campaign outcomes.
- Unintended consequences include:
 - Confusion about or misinterpretation of message
 - Dissonance from raising awareness about a problem without providing solutions

- Boomerang effects, which entice people to engage in the activity one is trying to stop by inadvertently suggesting the activity is commonplace and/or desirable
 - Desensitization, which is a decrease in sensitivity to the campaign issue
 - Diverting resources from other important issues
 - Reinforcement of social hierarchies, as when information channels reach only elite or urban groups
 - Stigmatization of individuals who engage in a particular activity
 - Social backlash from spoilers
- Unintended negative effects tend to result from failing to adopt best practices.

A. Unintended vs. Unexpected Consequences

As social actions, awareness campaigns provoke a variety of outcomes, both intended and unintended (Merton 1957). To evaluate these outcomes, it is necessary to differentiate between scope and intentionality. With respect to scope, *effects* refer to the broad set of outcomes that could result from the implementation of a campaign, both intended and unintended, positive and negative. *Effectiveness* refers to “the level of desired effect of a program when delivered and received under optimum conditions” (Flay 1986, p468 as cited by Cho and Salmon 2007, p294). That is, the outcomes that would signal a campaign’s effectiveness are a subset of its overall effects. Within this scheme, our definition of “unintended consequences” includes a broad set of outcomes that result from the implementation of a campaign that were not explicitly intended by campaign planners. This review focuses primarily on negative unintended consequences. That is, consequences that affect a group negatively or that elicit a negative reaction by some group, whether in the target population or not.

Negative effects of campaigns are presumably unintended and unexpected by the creators of a campaign. Although closely related, intentions and expectations reflect different factors. Whether a particular effect is unintended or not is a function of the goals of the campaign and the values and behaviors the designers want to promote. Differently, the unexpectedness of those same outcomes depends on the information available during the design stage about potential outcomes of different campaign choices. Having said that, there is always an element of uncertainty in the world, and all potential outcomes cannot be foreseen. However, designers can maximize information on the potential effects on their operation by incorporating elements from campaign theory and from empirical research on past campaigns. By maximizing knowledge of potential outcomes (*i.e.*, limiting unexpected outcomes), campaign designers can prevent, minimize, or better manage unintended consequences.

B. Key Dimensions Producing Variation in Effects

Cho and Salmon (2007) identify four dimensions that commonly produce unintended outcomes: time, social context, audience, and externalities. To a large extent, research on these dimensions is addressed in detail in the other sections of this review. Cho and Salmon recommend reflecting on the following set of questions to think through the ways in which unintended consequences might occur:

1. Time: How might effects vary over time?
2. Social Context: How might individual effects aggregate at the wider societal level?
3. Audience: How might campaigns affect audiences other than the intended target?

4. Externalities: What effects might campaigns have on other social problems?

Time: Campaigns may generate short- and long-term effects (Cho and Salmon 2007). The literature suggests that campaign efficacy increases with the intensity of exposure and decreases with time since exposure. Yet, other research suggests a “sleeper effect,” whereby certain conditions spark an increase in receptivity to messages with time (Kumkale and Albarracín 2004). Operating under the logic that message efficacy increases with more and recent exposure, campaigns may opt for maximizing the intensity and length of exposure. However, in some cases, sustained exposure to a message might end up fostering the opposite effect that it had during initial stages (Kinnick, Krugman, and Cameron 1996). Campaign designers should thus recognize that campaign effects may change over time, when exposure is sustained at high levels.

Social Context: Human rights awareness campaigns necessarily target individuals who possess a set of prior beliefs and are situated in a specific societal context. Campaign elements thus interact with individuals’ previous attitudes as well as broader social structures and norms. These can act as intervening factors that may alter or filter a campaign’s message and goals, meaning that, to achieve desired outcomes, campaign designers must properly understand the makeup of their target population (see Sections II and III). Alternatively, these factors can interact in unexpected ways to generate effects unintended by the planners. Campaign designers must remember that individuals are embedded in social contexts that both affect and are affected by campaigns.

Audience: Cho and Salmon (2007) note that the lack of systematic research on unintended consequences is related to a tendency of program evaluations to focus on whether campaigns accomplish what they intend. This programmatic bias keeps researchers from looking at groups beyond the targeted audience. As a result, evaluators often miss campaign effects on other groups exposed to the message, thereby failing to gain the full picture of effects.

Externalities: A campaign can have both circumscribed and diffuse effects. This distinction matters because implementing a campaign, even when it succeeds in fostering the intended change in the targeted audience, always generates some form of opportunity cost. By investing resources to generate awareness about a particular problem, other issues may receive fewer material and social resources. Such diffuse effects represent the ways that campaigns consume or direct material and social resources and create templates that shape future campaigns or ways of thinking about social problems. By design, campaigns have specific targets, messages, strategies, and goals. Unintended consequences reflect an interaction between these designed components and the social environment.

By taking these four dimensions into consideration, campaigners can better anticipate how specific design choices produce different consequences across time, social context, groups, and issues.

C. Types of Unintended Consequences

i. Confusion or Misinterpretation of the Campaign Message

Clarity of message is a key requirement for successful information campaigns. Clear and strong messages make a greater impression and are more easily internalized, but when a campaign

oversimplifies an issue or relies on bold, straightforward messages, this can lead to misunderstandings and a loss of credibility. In human rights campaigns, obfuscation is not always unintended. For example, Cohen and Green (2012) link the tendency by some NGOs to over-report the percentage of women that were victims of rape during the Liberian Civil War to incentives emerging from a funding market in which certain issues—in this case the use of rape as a weapon of war—have more salience than others. Cooley and Ron (2002) have also made this argument with respect to sexual and gender-based violence against women in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Obfuscation can also take place even when campaigners have no intention to misrepresent reality. Because all social problems are complex—including those related to human rights—designers often need to simplify their messages. We cannot expect attitudinal or behavioral change from individuals that cannot comprehend the campaign issue or the suggested course of action. In some cases, overly complex and unclear messages can lead people to derive the wrong behavioral implications. An oft-cited example of this problem in health communication literature is the “talk to your partner” HIV prevention campaign, which might have conveyed the notion that talk of safe sex between partners was sufficient preventive behavior (Welch Cline, Johnson, and Freeman 1992). At the same time, when campaigns try to be easily understood by resorting to strong symbols and social stereotypes, they might end up fostering attitudes of racism or sexism (see Section III).

Human rights campaigns have been criticized for resorting to messages and imagery that are too simplistic or lack adequate context, and, as such, perpetuate stereotypes of poverty, underdevelopment, and victimization. Imagery is used in campaigns to activate the viewer’s emotions, as it can access fears, clash with our sense of security, or generate a sense of compassion that could motivate us to take action. In an article critiquing a photographic documentary about children born from rape during the Rwandan genocide, Crawley and Simic (2012) note the ways in which the exhibition of victim testimony and photographs result in voyeuristic gratification and an opportunity to express emotion and affirm the humanity of the viewer, rather than foster empathy or engagement. Documentaries are intended for a wide variety of audiences with varying levels of understanding of the social context. In this case, the depicted survivors were not sharing their experience with their peers. Rather, the documentary presented their experiences to a transnational, mostly Western, public, providing a glimpse of experiences that are ultimately incomprehensible for this audience. In a similar vein, O’Brien (2013) highlights this limit of imagery in his study of anti-human trafficking campaigns. Analyzing the use of visual images, he concludes that these campaigns tend to bolster a singular vision of human trafficking victims as innocent females who are trafficked for sexual exploitation. This framing of human trafficking as a sex crime that predominantly affects women masks other forms of trafficking, such as for labor purposes. As such, these campaigns—whether led by governments, NGOs, or corporations—tend to mask the contextual complexity of human trafficking and can perpetuate a hierarchy of victims.

Choice of imagery is a sensitive issue in campaign design, given the potential for multiple interpretations in the eyes of the viewer. Rafi and Chowdhury (2000), two researchers with the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), evaluated their 1989 Human Rights and Legal Education program, which aimed to empower villagers through human rights and legal education. This campaign consisted of a set of seven posters, which generated mixed social reactions. Negative reactions included verbal

condemnation of the posters, tearing the posters down, and organizing demonstrations against the posters and BRAC. Opposition derived from 1) interpretations of the posters based on the Koran and Islamic practices and 2) a perceived intrusion into the professional territory of religious organizations. One avoidable source of backlash came from religious individuals who were not opposed to the campaign's goals, but found the imagery deplorable, depicting women in inappropriate ways.

ii. Dissonance Between Individuals' "Newfound" Attitudes and Reality

Dissonance can be defined as the "psychological discomfort and distress provoked by the incongruence between the recommended states and the audiences' actual states" (Cho and Salmon 2007, p300). Although this definition is crafted for public health campaigns, we can think of dissonance as a potential result of human rights campaigns that successfully raise awareness without promoting or providing for ways to make the associated behavioral changes.

If failure to make use of knowledge provided by a campaign results from structural impediments, then efforts to disseminate knowledge are bound to fail. For example, medical researchers conducted a study in Gondar, Ethiopia, to promote awareness among women of the harmful effects (especially on children's respiratory systems) of cooking with biomass fuels (wood, stubble, dung, and leaves) (Edelstein, Pitchforth, Asres, Silverman, and Kulkarni 2008). They successfully increased knowledge of the harm and willingness to change cooking practices among the participants, but once women were made aware of the adverse effects of biomass fuels and inefficient stoves, they were not able to afford the cost of cleaner fuels and better stoves. In this case, dissonance relates to the particular situation of individuals who—after being exposed to a campaign—become aware of the risks associated with a particular behavior, are motivated to make behavioral changes, but are met with barriers to change.

iii. Boomerang Effects: Opposite Outcome of What Was Intended

A well-known case in the communications literature relates to the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign in the United States (R. Hornik, Jacobsohn, Orwin, Piesse, and Kalton 2008). This campaign was highly successful in reaching its intended audience, with 94 percent of surveyed youth reporting exposure and half of the sample exposed at least once a week. However, the campaign was found to not affect attitudes in the desired way, with some results demonstrating a link between the campaign's messages and pro-marijuana attitudes and behavior. The authors speculate that this unintended consequence could have been associated with two factors:

1. Theories of psychological resistance (Brehm 1981) suggest that youths are sensitive to threats to their freedom of choice and would therefore be more likely to engage in proscribed behaviors. A later study by Kang, Cappella, and Fishbein (2009) suggests that scenes of marijuana used in anti-drug PSAs can affect audiences negatively, even when they are matched by anti-drug arguments through voiceover, text on screen, or actors' dialogue.
2. Through a combination of targeted ads and high levels of exposure, youths might have ended up absorbing the message that drug use was commonplace among their peers. Wagner and Sundar (2008) found evidence of another factor that could lead anti-drug campaigns to elicit the opposite behavior: participants who were exposed to anti-drug PSAs reported higher curiosity about using drugs than those who were not.

Beyond anti-drug campaigns, Keller *et al.* (2010) evaluate an awareness campaign on domestic abuse that included four television advertisements, a billboard, a poster, and newspaper ads. The results showed that, compared to a sample of women taken before the campaign launched, the post-implementation group of women were more likely to perceive domestic abuse as a “severe problem.” On the other hand, compared to the pre-implementation sample of men, men in the post-implementation sample were apt to perceive domestic violence as equally or less severe of an issue. Although the validity of these results is questionable, given that the researchers did not use the same sample of people pre- and post-treatment, the authors propose an important potential explanation for such a discrepancy. The campaign used negative and emotionally charged ads and employed gender stereotypes that might have triggered some backlash reactions from men, while at the same time reinforcing the intended beliefs among women.

Further, Borer (2012) warns against the possible harm of shock advertisements in relation to public safety advertisements, and applies these studies to the field of human rights, focusing on human rights shock advertisements in the form of op-eds, petitions, or “objective” news reporting. The study highlights the possible negative unintended consequences of these campaign advertisements, such as their ability to turn people away by being too shocking and making the audience less likely to act. Additionally, these shock advertisements might backfire and instead further harm those they intend to help. Auteserre’s (2012) work on sexual and gender-based violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo provides another example of boomerang effects, in that an NGO strategy to increase the salience of gender-based violence led armed groups to perceive sexual violence as an effective bargaining tool.

iv. Desensitization: Long-Term Decrease in Sensitivity to the Campaign Issue

Intense exposure might generate a sense of apathy in some segments of the targeted audience, a phenomenon termed “compassion fatigue” in the communications literature and found in cases of long-term media coverage on issues like AIDS, homelessness, child abuse, and violent crime (Kinnick *et al.* 1996). Aguilera Torrado (2008) similarly highlights the relative salience of particular frames in Colombia designed to combat the indifference of citizens to frequent human rights abuses—a factor identified as the largest obstacle to human rights awareness campaign success. Although we lack evidence to establish a case of compassion fatigue resulting from extensive exposure to human rights campaigns, research in other issue areas warns against over-saturation. In fact, Kinnick *et al.* (1996) found that the group most affected by compassion fatigue consisted of the population segment in the best socio-economic position to take action.

Such desensitization can also result from hyperbole rather than over-exposure. Hyperbolic messages intended to increase attention to a cause can lead audiences to view the campaign as insincere, diminishing its credibility. Alternatively, over time, hyperbolic messages can change how individuals perceive the issue. For example, Cohen and Green (2012) suggest that one long-term negative effect of over-representing instances of abuses for short-term benefits is that it raises the threshold of what is considered a crisis, desensitizing audiences to problems that do not reach a certain level of intensity.

v. Resource Diversion from Other Issue Areas

Resources are finite. Societies face multiple problems, and thus we expect a degree of competition for the public’s attention and resources. When a campaign is successful in changing attitudes in its target

population and mobilizing that group toward a specific end, it is less likely that the same public will respond in the same way to alternative campaigns promoting other social issues. That is, a campaign can impose opportunity costs on society when it diverts attention and resources to the cause it is advocating and away from other social problems.

Designers can also incur opportunity costs during the design stage when they make decisions about different elements of a campaign, *e.g.*, frame, message, media for diffusion, *etc.* With each of these choices, the opportunity of generating desired social change through alternative de-emphasized elements is lost. For example, Auteserre (2012) focuses on the consequences of the particular narratives employed by organizations working for peace-making and stabilization in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Responding to similar incentives as those mentioned by Cohen and Green (2012), organizations preferred to employ a narrative stressing sexual violence against women as the main consequence of violence, leaving aside male victims. This strategy had some positive effects, especially the increase of assistance for victims, but the focus on women as victims of sexual violence singled out one type of victim at the expense of other individuals also affected by the conflict. This resulted in a lack of funding opportunities to implement other crucial projects.

vi. Reinforcement of Social Inequalities

This unintended consequence occurs when communication campaigns reinforce existing social distributions of knowledge or only reach individuals who already comport with promoted attitudes and behaviors. Such campaigns may reinforce the encouraged beliefs among that group; however, those not initially interested remain beyond the campaign's reach. Alternatively, a campaign targeting a specific audience might try to get that group's attention by adopting a distinctive language or imagery, which can eventually reproduce social hierarchies and reinforce ethnic biases. Thornton (2010) analyzes the "Depression is Real" campaign, a disease-awareness campaign targeting racial minorities in the United States. The campaign's strategy linked African Americans' aversion to seeking psychiatric treatment with risky "cultural mores," which located the source of this "problem" within African American individuals and communities, rather than in structural inequalities. This strategy also amounted to historical erasure: it failed to account for a deeply troubling legacy of racist practices in psychiatry and medicine.

Another form of social reproduction involves the reinforcement of social hierarchies by a campaign that is better able to reach higher income and educated segments of the population. By reducing this group's exposure to the targeted problem, the campaign indirectly enhances the risk gap between higher and lower socioeconomic strata. A form of this negative effect is identified by Nyamu (2000) in relation to development advocacy that, similar to human rights awareness campaigns, adopts an individual rights' framework. Land reform and the protection of individual property are important components of development strategies; however, the author raises the problem of male bias in land registration during programs geared toward individualization of land ownership, which have been financed by USAID and the World Bank. This had the effect of weakening the position of women in relation to property, which is officially held by their husbands and male relatives.

vii. Creation of Social Norms and Sanctions

Campaigns promote a sense of rightness—the right attitude or behavior to adopt. Explicitly or implicitly, they also endorse a sense of wrongness. For example, Sulik (2011) argues that the highly successful

“pink ribbon” campaign to promote breast cancer awareness has created norms about how people fighting breast cancer should think and act and laments how the campaign’s focus on optimism, hope, and progress masks current stagnant prevalence and survival rates and stories of pain and suffering (also a form of obfuscation). Moreover, the Pink Ribbon culture’s positive thinking (‘there is always hope’) prescribes a “right way” to fight the disease, which does not let women with breast cancer mourn their bodily changes or express anger at their pain or their fears of death. Women who do not follow the script risk judgment and the loss of support from friends who simply do not know how to respond.

Successful campaigns play a role in changing notions of right and wrong. Campaigns may also contribute to the pathologization of particular behaviors and the production of stigma among those who practice them (Thornton 2010). Individuals associated with the shunned attitudes and practices are isolated and in some cases endangered (Allen and Heald 2004). The creators of a campaign might intend to spark some degree of social pressure. However, it also needs to be considered how these incentives to conform to social normality can develop when the affected individuals do not have access to necessary resources to act on those incentives to conform (see Dissonance above).

viii. Social Backlash from Spoilers

Although, as suggested above, a campaign should be tailored to maximize resonance within a targeted group, ignoring the fact that individuals are embedded in social relations can lead to the emergence of spoilers. In this section, we use the notion of spoilers to refer to individuals or groups that are not the intended audience of a campaign but are still exposed to it and have vested interests in the continuation of the situation the campaign is trying to change. Spoilers are not only opposed to a change in knowledge, attitudes, and practice, they also have the capacity to stand in the way of that change.³ Campaigners should also be able to map the web of social relations in which that target group is embedded, and locate, within that social network, who are the potential spoilers are and what are the reasons for their opposition.

Knight and Ensminger (1998) point to the importance of understanding the basic social units within a targeted community and the social hierarchies among them in order to identify potential spoilers. Discussing changes in attitudes toward FGC within the Orma population in Kenya during the late 1980s, the authors observed that changes in the direction of less support for FGC were more common among educated males who read newspapers, traveled more widely, and had contact with other ethnic groups. They cited arguments used by opponents of the practice, like health complications and reduction in sexual pleasure. This provides some evidence of a change in attitudes caused by the introduction of new information, as these individuals expressed they did not want their daughters to be cut. However, when they brought that information home, they were confronted with the hierarchy of the private sphere. The elders and women favored the status quo and had the ultimate say. An anecdote involving four Orma men who made the decision that their daughters would not get cut is useful to illustrate how a successful change in attitudes within a subgroup of individuals could not bear effects in practice because of the presence of spoilers in privileged positions. When these men were away, their own parents had

³ Although state actors could, and often do, see a campaign’s goal to be against their interests, we discuss state backlash in the Political Context section.

the operation performed on the men's daughters against the men's wishes. As one of the men expressed, "What am I to do? I can't take my own parents to court." (1998, p120)

The Female Inheritance Movement in Hong Kong illustrates how opposing groups can be unable to become spoilers and block a campaign's intended change (Merry and Stern 2005). During the 1990s, indigenous rural women in Hong Kong were unable to inherit property from their fathers. Aggravated women, in alliance with women's rights organizations, initiated a movement to obtain the passage of a new law sanctioning equal rights. Although indigenous women originally saw their problems as the failure of particular relatives who had reneged on family obligations to provide financial and emotional support, they eventually understood how to translate their grievances into the language of rights. This proved critical because their audience, particularly the legislature and the media, were not interested in family disputes but in the struggle of a wide movement pushing for equality and human rights. Opposition came mostly from a conservative group representing rural elite interests who framed their grievances with the proposed change as protecting culture and tradition against Western-influenced urban elites. Moreover, challengers argued that allowing women to inherit would eventually lead to the disintegration of clan identity because, if they marry, land would eventually be owned by members of other clans. In the end, opposing groups were unable to stand in the way of the movement's success because the wider public already believed in gender equality (2005, p394). In sum, the opposing group was unable to become an effective spoiler, as general public opinion was unfavorable to their claims and sided with the women's inheritance movement. The struggle for inheritance rights played out mostly in the public sphere, as one of the main goals was the passage of legislation. In this type of setting, appeals to wider public opinion are important and can be key to neutralize potential spoilers. On the other hand, the previous example of FGC among the Orma population highlights a completely different environment for the contestation of social norms. When the relevant structure of relations is constituted within the private sphere, the same strategies might not prove effective.

D. Summary and Conclusions

Campaigns are not carried out in controlled environments. This section has highlighted the fact that organizations cannot anticipate all potential effects, as there will always be a modicum of uncertainty in the social world. At the same time, designers can do certain things to maximize information about the types of potential negative unintended effects of campaigns. One source of information should come from the experience of previous campaigns, given that many unintended negative consequences result from campaigns that have failed to follow best practices. For example, dissonance can be seen as a product of a failure by campaigns designers to properly articulate the goals of the campaign (Section II) and to consider the local economic context (Section III). Similarly, backlash against inappropriate imagery often is due to a lack of contextual awareness about social and religious norms (Section III).

SECTION VI: CASE STUDIES

In this section, we provide a brief overview of some case studies that can be used to guide discussion on the problems and promise of a variety of campaign design strategies. Acting as an interactive workbook, these cases are meant to prompt a dialogue on what factors, as outlined in this literature review, explain the relative success/or failure of these case studies.

In the first case study, which outlines the ABC campaign in Botswana and Uganda, we have provided not only a summary of the case, but also articulated some of the factors that affected this campaign's failure in Botswana and relative success in Uganda. Consider specifically the issues of context and framing. What other factors might be at play in these two cases? How might either or both campaigns have been more effectively designed?

The second case study provides a general overview of the Somali Anti-Piracy Awareness Campaign. By providing more limited information on the campaign's process and design, we look to you, as readers, to discuss in detail the factors that might influence this campaign's effectiveness. What obstacles does this campaign face? What mechanisms were used? How can said mechanisms have been used more or less effectively? What might be some of the unintended consequences of this campaign?

Our last case study, on the issue of female genital cutting, is included as an exercise in campaign design. Now that you have had the opportunity to read detailed information on two campaign design strategies, you must design your own campaign around this issue. We have included a list of question to guide you on this endeavor.

A. Framing the ABC Campaign in Botswana and Uganda

In the late 1980s, Uganda had one of the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in the world, compounded by the fact that it was relatively poor with limited public health and educational systems. In comparison, Botswana had a GNP per capita of \$4,000 in the late 1980s and worked to provide welfare services to its old and poor citizens during times of famine. Despite these differences in pre-existing capacity, Uganda did a better job in combating/containing HIV/AIDS. This case study examines some of the reasons why, with a focus on the role of campaigns.

i. Botswana

The state recognized AIDS was likely to be a problem soon after the first cases were diagnosed. In 1987, it set up a national emergency plan that was followed by a series of five-year strategic plans. These plans were formulated and instituted by the Ministry of Health with help from USAID, WHO, and several INGOs. The principal aims of these programs was to both survey and control the disease. Ironically, the state's early response meant that most Batswana had not seen the effects of AIDS and had not had first-hand experience with it in their communities. This meant that people had to take what the state, and other organizations, were telling them at face value.

In 1988, to raise awareness about HIV/AIDS, the state and other stakeholders launched a public health campaign—the ABC campaign—which focused on radio messages, bumper stickers, and t-shirts, predominantly in English. There was little effort in tailoring the campaign toward local sensitivities of the Batswana. As such, the awareness campaigns did not reckon with the fact that there was deep unwillingness to talk about sex openly amongst the Batswana due to familial respect and kinship structure. Thus, the campaign's focus on condom use was seen as a promotion of promiscuity by local populations. Compounding this was the fact that the Batswana framed HIV/AIDS as a manifestation of an old Batswana illness brought back due to a lack of respect for traditional Batswana mores.

Botswana highlights the results of incongruence between diagnostic and motivational frames, which resulted in this case from message framers not relying on localized knowledge structures. One effect has been that even in the late 1990s and at the turn of this century, HIV/AIDS was still viewed as a “radio disease” by most Tswana, referring to the first radio campaign they heard in 1988.

ii. Uganda

It is important to point out that Uganda has a longer history with HIV/AIDS than Southern African states. Thus, by the time the state began its national campaign to survey and contain the epidemic in 1987, people in Southwest Uganda had considerable experience with an HIV/AIDS-like disease locally referred to as “slim.” Hence, unlike Botswana, the state’s campaign inculcated itself within localized understandings of HIV/AIDS. This allowed for a receptivity of awareness campaigns at a much faster rate in Uganda. Additionally, because Uganda is relatively ethnically diverse in comparison to Botswana, there were no widely shared understandings of traditional mores that could have acted as countervailing forces against the state’s message.

Uganda sought to frame its awareness campaign in a manner undergirded with local knowledge structures. For example, use of agrarian terminology like *zero-grazing* meant that the diagnostic and prognostic frames relied on salient understandings of social organization and labor. The campaign in Uganda focused less on the C (condom use) and more on the A and B (abstinence and being faithful), which meant that there were minimal discussions about sex and minimizing sentiments on promiscuity, in stark contrast to the campaign in Botswana. In rural Uganda, there was a correlation between the reduction of casual sex, delay in the first age of sexual intercourse for girls, and a reduction in HIV/AIDS prevalence.

The state’s posture on condom use was that it was not African and thus there was very little support for their distribution. This fact meant that Uganda was able to build a large coalition that included religious groups, whereas as in Botswana, a sense of antipathy by religious groups toward condom use further cemented Tswana’s resistance to the campaign.

iii. Lessons

This case study points to the fact that the success or failure of a campaign is often shaped by a message frame’s reliance on social context. Botswana illustrates that even when the framer is immersed in the target group’s social context, they may espouse notions about the target group that are woefully inadequate. This is shown in the use of English (also viewed as the colonizer’s language) instead of the local language, the promotion of condom use with little regard to mores and talk about sex, and the strength of bio-moral explanations for illness not well understood by the local population.

Uganda’s initial downplaying of the use of condoms seems to have led to an impetus to develop innovative ways to frame approaches to containing HIV/AIDS. Uganda also points to the centrality of the state in understanding localized forms of social organization and how they affect knowledge structures society is immersed in. Therefore, despite being poorer than Botswana with a lower literacy rate and more severe incidents of political violence, Uganda was more successful in reducing HIV/AIDS rates.

B. Somali Anti-Piracy Awareness Campaign

i. Background

In 2012, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) implemented an awareness campaign in Somalia to change attitudes among the Somali public against piracy with the goal of deterring potential recruits. At that time, so-called “off-shore” counter-piracy strategies, such as placing private security on vessels off the Somali coast, were credited as having played a key role in decreasing the number of successful piracy attacks in recent years. Despite the successes of “off-shore” strategies, scholars and practitioners criticized them for failing to address the “on-shore” conditions that facilitated piracy, namely widespread insecurity and underdevelopment. At the individual level, these conditions translated to a lack of stable employment opportunities.

When designing their awareness campaign, the UNODC built upon recommendations from two recent anti-piracy campaigns implemented by international actors. Previous campaigns had been relatively successful in informing the public about the dangers of piracy and the ways in which it conflicted with religious teachings. Yet the public also widely believed that piracy was a viable option given the lack of legitimate economic opportunities. The UNODC partnered to some degree with the Somali government in the state of Puntland and a European Union naval operation for combatting piracy in Somalia (EUNAVFOR Somalia), and recruited Somali pirates. The two prior campaigns were limited by financial resources while the UNODC campaign was well-funded.

Background research provided several key insights for improving the campaign’s cultural resonance. First, Somalis perceive the international community as unsympathetic to their political and economic situation while viewing pirates as no more criminal than the foreign fishing vessels that illegally plunder Somalia’s marine resources (Samatar, Lindberg, and Mahayni 2010). Second, government officials and locals revealed that the Somali public widely distrusted campaigns funded by the US Department of State and NATO and broadcasted by particular local radio stations depending on the station’s clan affiliation. Third, messages that incorporated or were consistent with religious teachings and that were advocated for by religious leaders held greater credibility among the public. In contrast, interviews with former pirates suggested that campaign messages that highlighted the high risk of death and physical harm, relatively low pay, and risk of arrest associated with piracy could serve as a deterrent.

ii. Campaign

The UNODC campaign decided to focus on two regions, Puntland and Galmaadug, as piracy took place primarily in the seas off of their coasts. Originally, the campaign identified the target group as the members of the Somali public from Puntland and Galmaadug regions who were potential recruits for pirates, including Somali men, women, and youth. Later, when the campaign was moved to offices within the UNODC from the Counter Piracy Programme to the Regional Office for Eastern Africa, the target group narrowed to “at-risk youth” from Puntland coastal villages known as recruitment hot spots.

The campaign employed “mobile advocacy” to reach rural areas and youth. The method involves caravans traveling throughout urban and rural areas to broadcast messaging and engage the public in live performances. The campaign used four central messages: 1) piracy is *haram* or forbidden; 2) piracy has eroded Somalia’s cultural traditions and values; 3) piracy has destroyed Somalia’s international reputation and standing; and 4) piracy increases chances of death or imprisonment. Additionally, the

campaign included a component to promote “alternative livelihoods” by providing potential recruits with training in journalism. Funding for livelihoods training increased after the campaign was moved from the UNODC Counter Piracy Programme to a health program under the East African Regional Office. While some young people did receive skills training, the number fell far short of the original goal (skills training for 98 potential recruits).

iii. Critiques

Several factors limited the success of the Somali anti-piracy campaign. First, the change in management of the campaign led to changes in the target group and goals of the campaign and also delayed implementation. These changes frustrated funders who had not agreed to the terms and who had not expected delays in implementation. Gilmer (2016, p. 776) argues that the changes reflected the goals of the agencies and partners involved in the project, not necessarily the needs of the Somali public. For example, the change in target group from “potential recruits” (*i.e.*, young, unemployed males) to “at-risk youth” reflected the new management’s focus on livelihood training for youth. By lowering the target age, however, the campaign could focus on skills training without addressing the broader economic climate.

While organizational issues generated problems for implementation, Gilmer (2016, p776) argues that the primary campaign failures were inherent in the logic of the plan. Specifically, Gilmer notes that the campaign was designed around the idea that the Somali public lacked information about the dangers and harms of piracy. Thus the campaign sought to deter piracy recruitment by changing public opinion. Yet, the general public already agreed with many of the anti-piracy messages disseminated by the campaign, but lacked the ability to act on such ideas. The campaign did include some skills training to support alternative jobs, but such training could not address the widespread and systematic lack of employment opportunities. Thus, the primary critique of the campaign was its failure to design outcomes that directly addressed the underlying political and economic issues attributed to the continuation of piracy.

C. Exercise: Designing a Campaign Against Female Genital Cutting

Imagine you are launching a campaign to reduce FGC in a rural, ethnic minority community in East Africa (Kenya, Tanzania, or Uganda). How would you answer the following questions? What additional information would you need to answer these questions?

1. What are the movement goals? Total eradication? Are medicalization (antiseptics and anesthetics) or movements to less invasive forms (*e.g.*, from infibulation to clitoridectomy) okay? If not the final goals, are these reasonable first steps?
2. What groups do you need to target to create an effective campaign? Why?
3. What do you see as the benefits and drawbacks of each of the following anti-FGC frames?
 - *FGC should be stopped because mutilating the genitals of young girls constitutes child abuse.*

- *FGC is associated with women becoming sterile and fewer healthy birth outcomes. Husbands are looking for wives who will have healthy babies, so ending FGC will lead to better matches.*
- *FGC is a violation of women's rights because it decreases women's ability to have an orgasm.*
- *Male circumcision and FGC have very different consequences.*

Consider:

- a. Messages should be relevant to the target audience.
 - b. If the ideas are viewed as Western, they may be deemed irrelevant or threatening and not taken seriously.
 - c. At the individual community level, narrow frames that do not impugn the audience are better than shaming frames.
 - d. Financial incentives to change can be counterproductive.
4. Who are good potential translators for messages about FGC? How should they be recruited?
 5. What will determine the types of materials and modes of communication that your campaign will use?
 6. What other thoughts do you have about shaping an effective campaign?

Many of the case studies point to things done wrong, but a couple of campaigns that incorporate many of the positive elements can be found at:

- Hadi, Amal Abdel. 2006. A Community of Women Empowered: The Story of Deir El Barsha. Pp. 104-124 in *Female Circumcision: Multicultural Perspectives*, edited by Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- TOSTAN. 1999. Breakthrough in Senegal: Ending Female Genital Cutting. Dakar, Senegal: Population Council.

APPENDIX A: LITERATURE REVIEW METHODOLOGY

The findings presented in this literature review stem from our analysis of more than 100 peer-reviewed articles and scholarly writings. These studies were culled from a broad preliminary survey of more than 200 sources organized along three overarching lines of inquiry: 1) general awareness campaign literature, 2) best and worst practices of human rights awareness campaigns, and finally, 3) unintended consequences of human rights campaigns. To develop this initial survey, we began with a general set of inclusion criteria. We focused on a) program evaluations of specific campaigns that were directly relevant to the topic of awareness campaigns whether these were focused on human rights or non-human rights issues and b) theoretical pieces that addressed overarching questions of awareness campaign methodology. We further limited our search to those pieces that were published by entities that employ peer-review processes, that is academic journals and university presses. However, we also looked at key pieces of rigorous, transparent grey literature in an attempt to gain more insight into contemporary campaign design and implementation by local and international NGOs.

Each line of inquiry was assigned to two or three members of the interdisciplinary research team. These subteams were responsible for coding each source in Zotero according to which issues were addressed in each piece. For example, we identified whether a piece spoke to unintended consequences, the type of mechanisms employed in the campaign, or the targeted group, *etc.* During this stage, more than 400 sources were collected and coded based on a brief analysis of the study's title, abstract, and introduction.

During the third phase of research, each team member read and annotated approximately 30 key sources from a pared down list of relevant studies. These sources were then organized along the relevant lines of inquiry and organized thematically into an annotated bibliography.

Each team member was asked to summarize these annotations into a five-page memo for the fourth and final stage of research. These memos formed the base of the current report, which also benefitted from group discussions on the most effective way of translating these memos to a diverse group of awareness campaign scholars and practitioners, the production of additional memos—in particular related to awareness campaign design and counter-framings—and the reorganization of specific lines of inquiry, such as media and mechanisms.

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