Human Rights Organizations as Agents of Change:
An Experimental Examination of Framing and Micromobilization

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ABSTRACT: Human Right Organizations [HROs] attempt to shape individuals' values and mobilize them to act. Yet little systematic research has been done evaluating the efficacy of these efforts. We identified the three most common messaging techniques: (1) informational frames; (2) personal frames; and (3) motivational frames. We tested their efficacy using an experimental research design in which participants were randomly assigned to the control group (shown no campaign materials) or one of the treatment groups shown a campaign against sleep deprivation featuring one of these framing strategies. We then surveyed participants regarding their attitudes and their willingness to act. Results demonstrate that all three framing strategies are more effective at mobilizing consensus than action. Personal narratives are the most consistently successful, increasing individuals' sense of knowledge on the issue and their emotional reaction to the issue, leading them to reject the practice and participate in a campaign to demand its cessation.

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Introduction

Human Right Organizations [HROs] are central to efforts around the world to change the behavior of governments toward the rights of their citizens. They leverage information regarding human rights abuses into changes in behavior by naming perpetrators of rights violators, and shaming other members of the international community into acting to change the perpetrators' behavior. While too often other international actors' efforts to improve human rights practices have been ineffective or counterproductive (Wood 2008; Peksen 2009; 2012), a burgeoning line of research has demonstrated the frequent success of HROs in changing human rights behavior (Brysk 1993; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Clark 2001; Hertel 2006; Murdie 2009; Murdie and Bhasin 2011; Becker 2012; Krain 2012; Wong 2012; Hendrix and Wong 2013). However, not *all* HRO campaigns are successful, and in some cases they may have deleterious effects on human rights outcomes (Carpenter 2005). A detailed understanding of how to improve HRO efforts to shape human rights practices should therefore be of paramount importance to political scientists. Yet, the mechanism by which HROs generate the pressure necessary to convince states or international organizations to shame and sanction perpetrators is often assumed, and as a result is under-theorized and unexamined. We need to unpack the naming and shaming process that has previously been "black-boxed", and peer inside at *how* HROs convert information about rights abuses into action against abusers. Without such examination, our understanding of the impact of HROs in world politics is incomplete.

HRO micromobilization efforts work to mobilize consensus about the nature of rights abuses and then mobilize action to change rights behavior.[1] They do this by attempting to shape individuals' values on such contentious issues as the use of sleep deprivation as a method of interrogation *and* mobilizing them to act on their values. While much has been written describing this process of framing – "conscious strategic efforts… to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimize and motivate collective action" (Keck and Sikkink 1998, 3) – as vital to advocacy efforts in general and human rights advocacy work specifically, little systematic research has been done evaluating the efficacy of framing on opinion or behavior (Benford and Snow 2000, 632).

In this study, we begin to address these critical gaps in our understanding of how advocacy groups mobilize opinion and action to affect policy change. Using an experimental research design we test the efficacy of the three framing strategies most frequently used by large, international, Western-based HROs. How HROs relay information about human rights abuses, and how that information is received, may affect how able they are to mobilize consensus and action to change states' human rights behavior. Therefore, our examination of HRO effectiveness begins at the individual level, examining international HRO efforts at micromobilization. Our results speak to the utility of the most common framing techniques in fostering consensus about

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[1] HROs engage in many different types of activities (such as service provision, community outreach and education, or lobbying state governments), and may not engage at all in the kind of micromobilization campaigns we describe. However, even HROs such as Human Rights Watch that have not traditionally focused their efforts on persuading grassroots activists have increasingly engaged in more "broad-based" strategies (Wong 2012, 153).

the nature and severity of human rights violations (consensus mobilization), and the willingness of individuals exposed to those frames to mobilize to change them (action mobilization).

Human Rights Organizations [HROs] As Agents of Change

HROs and the Mobilization of Consensus and Action

HROs – the specific type of NGOs focused on human rights issues – gather information that states do not want to be available to the public. Perpetrators of human rights abuses generally prefer to avoid the spotlight so as to be able to continue these practices without scrutiny by global or local audiences. They also wish to avoid being labeled as norm violators, particularly if this results in suffering consequences for their actions. An HRO's power lies in the information it possesses about these abuses, and how it uses that information to mobilize consensus that an issue is a human rights issue, and to mobilize action to address it (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Becker 2012).

HROs mobilize consensus by spotlighting a rights abuse, and making others perceive that action as an abuse and the perpetrator as an abuser of human rights. HROs can then mobilize action to pressure those perpetrators to change their behavior, and encourage other actors to shame or sanction the perpetrators (Brysk 1993; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Murdie 2009; Murdie and Bhasin 2011; Becker 2012; Krain 2012; Wong 2012). Studies have shown that such efforts are often effective at changing the behavior of rights violators, reducing or eliminating the use of particular human rights abuses in many instances (Brysk 1993; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Clark 2001; Hertel 2006; Murdie 2009; Becker 2012; Krain 2012; Wong 2012; Hendrix and Wong 2013). However, some important studies have found that HROs are strategic actors, and that sometimes their efforts can be problematic (Bob 2005; Carpenter 2005; Hafner-Burton 2008).

The contrast in findings suggests that analyzing differences in human rights campaigns may yield insight into differences in HRO effectiveness in changing human rights outcomes.

Although much of the literature has focused on how HROs mobilize consensus and action of elites on the global stage, none of that is possible without micromobilization efforts. HROs mobilize individuals directly, or assist local groups in mobilizing, to pressure targets to change their human rights practices (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Murdie and Bhasin 2011). For instance, HRO campaigns spotlighting the practice of manufacturing clothes in sweatshop conditions or with child labor have successfully convinced concerned citizens to view these issues as rights violations, and have triggered the mobilization of consumer boycotts. In turn, these actions have forced multinational corporations and host states to alter their labor practices (Elliott and Freeman 2003; Hertel 2006). Similarly, Amnesty International's [AI] Urgent Action campaigns encourage citizen-activists to identify an issue as a human rights violation, and to act on it by communicating directly with target governments to urge them to change their behavior. Governments previously able to act in the shadows are besieged with messages from people around the world, making it clear that rights violations no longer go unseen (Wong 2012; Hendrix and Wong 2013). HRO efforts at educating local populations about human rights issues yield greater appreciation for the human rights environment and a better understanding of governments' failures to protect such rights (Welch 1995; Davis et al. 2012). This enables HROs to mobilize citizens to educate lawmakers about the nature and extent of the issues, and attempt to change their political calculus and behavior.

Scholars have noted the far-reaching success of this tactic, from the campaign to end chattel slavery in Great Britain in the 19th century (Wong 2012) to the recent campaign in California to abolish sentences of life without parole for juvenile offenders (Becker 2012).

However, these successes are only possible if HROs are able to convince citizens that a given issue is a human rights issue, and to subsequently take action to change the situation (Davis et al. 2012). To accomplish both of these tasks, HROs engage in framing. Despite its centrality to HRO activities, to our knowledge, there are no studies in the academic literature[2] or within the advocacy community that explicitly examine under what conditions framing is effective as a tool to build consensus and action mobilization on human rights issues. In conversations with key figures in international HROs such as Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, and Catholic Relief Services, advocacy professionals routinely noted that HROs would love to know what type(s) of framing works, both to design more effective campaigns and to justify efforts and expenditures to funders, but do not have the resources to examine the relative effects of these efforts. We contribute to this gap in the academic literature and in the knowledge base of practitioners by analyzing which framing strategies are most effective at aligning citizen views about human rights issues with that of the organization, and which are most effective at mobilizing citizens to act.

The Use of Frames to Mobilize Consensus and Action

Frames are the rhetorical lenses or "schemata of interpretation" that help actors construct the way in which issues are likely to be viewed or understood (Goffman 1974, 21). There are many frames through which individuals can view a given issue or situation (Benford and Snow 2000;

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[2] The closest is Ausderan (2014), which examines *whether* exposure to a press release on human rights abuses affects perceptions of the level of abuses in one's own country. It does not test the *relative* efficacy of different types of messaging strategies, nor does it examine respondents' subsequent actions.

Chong and Druckman 2007). The frame employed affects how individuals process information, and helps individuals assign larger sociopolitical or cultural meaning to their own experiences and understandings (Domke et al. 1998; Scheufele 1999). Framing is the process by which some actor constructs a particular perception of reality about that issue by causing individuals to "develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" (Chong and Druckman 2007, 104; see also: Goffman 1974; Nelson and Oxley 1999).

Framing is a particularly effective way for political entrepreneurs to influence individuals as they consider information about socio-political issues. Framing affects how individuals connect their values to political issues (Kinder and Sanders 1996; Nelson et al.1997; Brewer 2002). When exposed to a particular frame, people tend to assign greater weight to the value that the frame invokes (Nelson et al. 1997). Frames have even been found to "influence how citizens explain their thoughts about an issue in their own words" (Brewer 2002, 304).

Transnational advocacy networks, like other social movements and their component organizations, must frame issues to "make them comprehensible to target audiences, to attract attention and encourage action" (Keck and Sikkink 1999, 90). Movements and organizations actively engage in the framing of social problems to bring individuals' views on the issues at hand in line with their own, a process known as consensus mobilization (Klandermans 1984). Since consensus mobilization is necessary for movement participation, the ability to effectively employ frames plays a significant part in action mobilization and the ability to shape public policy (Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford, 1992; Klandermans 1984; Gamson 1995). However, action mobilization is not a guaranteed outcome, and may require additional framing efforts (Klandermans 1988).

Different frames have different impacts on the importance that individuals place on their beliefs about issues and action, and elicit different responses from those individuals (Druckman 2001; Shen 2004). For example, the voter mobilization literature suggests that an individual is more likely to vote when he or she perceives his or her vote as instrumental to affecting the outcome, when the costs of voting are minimal, and when the psychic benefits of participation are high (Sigelman and Berry 1982; Duffy and Tavits, 2008). The latter includes complying with and reiterating social norms about participation, and gaining a sense of efficacy and importance through being able to express one's preference (Riker and Ordeshook, 1968). In short, different frames tap into different elements that may be critical to one's decision to participate politically, such as lowered costs of participating, greater feelings of empathy or an increased sense of efficacy and agency. It is to these themes that we now turn.

The Expected Effects of Different Types of Frames

In order to determine which frames are used most frequently by large, international, Western-based HROs, we conducted field work in the Amnesty International USA [AI-USA] archives at Columbia University, which houses all of the institutional materials of AI-USA.[3] A sample of over 3,000 photos of their promotional and advocacy materials was collected and analyzed to gather information on the frames employed by AI to influence citizens' attitudes and behavior.

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[3] The collection contains 107.52 linear feet of information about the AIUSA organization and its national office from 1966-2003. Types of information contained in the archives include: administration, decision-making processes, fundraising, and the work of the section and its membership (Amnesty International of the USA, Inc.: National Office Records).

The most common frames employed by AI in these documents were: (1) informational frames, where the focus is to educate the reader by presenting them with facts and statistics; (2) personal frames, where a personal narrative is told with the aim of emotionally impacting the reader, and creating a sense of empathy for the aggrieved; and (3) motivational frames, which emphasize the reader's agency and potential efficacy, and include a direct appeal to take action. Informational frames were the most common, appearing in *all* of the campaign materials reviewed. This makes sense in that most campaign ads, regardless of other framing techniques, will present some basic information on the issue at stake. Personal and motivational frames were employed in 77 percent and 70 percent of the AI campaigns, respectively. As one can infer, AI often used all three framing strategies together in the same campaign ad.

We also examined recent campaign materials from Physicians for Human Rights and Oxfam International, and had conversations with advocates at Human Rights Watch, Catholic Relief Services, American Jewish World Service, and Doctors without Borders, confirming that other large, Western-based HROs also most regularly employ these three frames in their efforts to mobilize consensus and action. Given their prevalence, our study focuses on understanding the effectiveness of informational, personal and motivational frames. In the following section, we discuss each frame, how and why they are typically used and how they are likely to impact individuals' opinions and actions regarding human rights.

Informational Frames

Informational frames are frames that provide objective information or statistics. These frames rely on the assumption that by increasing an individual's knowledge about the issue, s/he is more likely to see the issue as problematic and want to do something about it. Studies have found that

the more knowledge individuals have about human rights issues, the more likely they are to report greater interest in human rights, an increased desire to get involved, and a greater likelihood of engaging in human rights activism (Stellmacher et al. 2005; Cohrs et al. 2007). In addition, voter mobilization studies show that providing factual information about an issue reduces the costs associated with information gathering, yielding a significant and sizeable impact on an individual's likelihood of political participation (Haspel and Knotts 2005; Larcinese 2007; Ladner and Pianzola 2010).

HROs routinely use an informational frame to leverage their strengths in gathering and disseminating information about abuses to help inform and mobilize. As Jo Becker, a twenty-year veteran of numerous global and local human rights campaigns, notes, "[b]y spotlighting patterns of abuse, advocates can often let facts speak for themselves" (Becker 2012, 251). Becker notes that the campaign to abolish sentences of life without parole for juvenile offenders "backed its arguments regarding young people's capacity for rehabilitation with recent findings from neuroscience on adolescent brain development," information that proved key to mobilizing consensus on this human rights issue (Becker 2012, 228). In fact, she reports that "when asked about the most effective aspect of the campaign, two family members of juvenile offenders serving life terms had a similar response. 'Cold hard facts' …" (2012, 241). Similarly, Keck and Sikkink (1998, 183) report that the international women's movement found its greatest successes in "promoting change by reporting facts." Movement activists used that information both to shame governments into addressing human rights abuses and to inspire greater mobilization of grassroots activists.

Few studies have specifically examined the effectiveness of NGOs' use of informational frames in changing attitudes and behavior. A notable exception is the work done by Davis et al.

(2012), which demonstrated that public opinion about state respect for human rights changes when citizens are provided with information about government abuses by HROs. Absent such information, people do not change their beliefs about their government's respect for human rights, even in the face of worsening governmental abuses of those rights.

Informational frames should be effective at providing requisite information necessary to change opinions and mobilize consensus, and to increase the likelihood of the mobilization of action.[4] Thus, we hypothesize:

H1: Exposure to informational frames during an HRO campaign will result in greater alignment between individuals' and the HRO's opinions regarding the campaign issue.

H2: Exposure to informational frames during an HRO campaign will increase individuals' self-reported and observed willingness to mobilize around the campaign issue.

Because informational frames gain their power via the provision of facts, we further hypothesize:

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[4] There are multiple ways to frame the same information, which might affect how influential the provision of that information actually is. For instance, numerous studies have verified Kahneman and Tversky's (1979) insight that individuals are risk averse when choices are framed in terms of losses (see Meyerowitz and Chaiken 1987 and Hiscox 2006). To simplify our research design, we hold the framing of information constant, though we acknowledge that varying the way in which information is framed would be an important study in its own right.

H3: Exposure to informational frames during an HRO campaign will increase individuals' self-reported and observed knowledge about the campaign issue.

Personal Frames

Personal frames focus the audience's attention on a particular episode such as the plight of an individual, rather than on broader factual information about the rights issue. Like a testimonial, but told by a third party, a personal frame "personifies abuse as the story of a single suffering individual who is warranted as representative, while it is narrated with features that connect to mass publics" (Brysk 2013, 12). It trades a focus on cold hard facts, which may create distance from the audience, for the humanization of victims of the abuse, and the creation of empathy. It is used intentionally to personalize, dramatize and emotionalize the issue (Valkenburg et al. 1999). This common convention in journalism, but also in activism, has a significant effect on viewer perceptions (Iyengar 1991; Zillmann 1999).

For instance, in one type of personal frame, an injustice frame, "movements identify the 'victims' of a given injustice and amplify their victimization" (Snow and Benford 2000, 615; see also Gamson 1995). The audience is asked to empathize with the victims, perhaps by imagining themselves or a loved one facing a similar situation. In an unscripted, but perfect illustration, when asked how AI goes about convincing the skeptic to care about a particular human rights issue, Dr. Carole Nagengast, Chair of AI-USA Board of Directors responded:

> Close your eyes and imagine the person most dear in your life. Now, imagine that he or she is being dragged away, beaten, hair pulled, teeth yanked, beaten with a stick, in order to give information about her or his political activities, or maybe

because of his or her religious orientation or sexual orientation. What would you

do? (Nagengast 2013).

By establishing a personal connection between the reader and the individual in the story, the audience is more likely to feel empathy and to prioritize the issue and want to affect change (Scheufele 1999, Carpenter 2005).

Studies of media framing seem to bear out that personal frames play a crucial role in the way individuals process information. One study found that "respondents who had just read a story framed in terms of human interest emphasized emotions and individual implications in their responses significantly more often" (Valkenburg et al. 1999, 565). Humanization and identification with victims have been shown to have powerful effects on mobilizing consensus and action (Monroe 1996; Hunt 2007). Small and Lowenstein's (2003) experiment demonstrated that narratives about "identifiable victims" were more likely to evoke sympathy and move people to donate to causes working on their behalf than more informational narratives about "statistical victims." Similarly, Kogut and Ritov (2005) found that participants in their experiments were more willing to help a single identified victim than multiple non-identified ones, and confirmed that this effect was as a result of the respondent's emotional reaction to the identifiable victim. It appears that while information can be persuasive, framing issues in terms of a specific individual is more effective at prompting change.[5]

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[5] When prompted to think both about the effects on an individual identifiable victim *and* the effects on statistical victims, the addition of statistical information may actually have a dulling effect, decreasing sympathy for and action on behalf of the identifiable victim (Small et al. 2007).

HROs employ personal frames frequently as they try to mobilize their base supporters to act. Since its founding, Amnesty International (AI) has used personal frames very effectively in their campaigns. AI's adoption of "prisoners of conscience" humanized the plight of political prisoners by identifying spotlight cases and telling an evocative story about the individuals in detention and the conditions under which they were held (Benenson 1961). AI then used this personalized information about detention to mobilize volunteers to write letters directly to state officials on the detainee's behalf (Wong 2012).

Similarly, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines used emotive images of devastating injuries children sustained as a result of landmine accidents to humanize the victims and stir emotions of politicians and potential activists alike. The United Nations Association-USA's Adopt a Minefield Program helped members of the public connect on a personal level to the issue by giving them the opportunity to "adopt" a particular area containing landmines, learn more about the individuals and communities affected, and raise funds to remove the mines (Warkentin and Mingst 2000).

This suggests that personal frames should be very effective at eliciting an emotional reaction, personalizing the issue, making it more salient, and making people feel a greater need to act. We hypothesize:

H4: Exposure to personal frames during an HRO campaign will result in greater alignment between individuals' and the HRO's opinions regarding the campaign issue.

H5: Exposure to personal frames during an HRO campaign will increase individuals' self-reported and observed willingness to mobilize around the campaign issue.

Since personal frames gain their power via the evocation of an emotional reaction through identification with and humanization of the victims of rights abuses, we further hypothesize:

> *H6: Exposure to personal frames during an HRO campaign will heighten individuals' emotional reaction to the campaign issue, particularly regarding the consequences for the central person(s) in the campaign.*

Motivational Frames

In the social movement literature, motivational frames are consistently recognized as affecting behavior (Snow and Benford 2000). Social movement organizations [SMOs] are faced with the task of convincing members that the cause they are fighting for is both obtainable and worthy of action. Motivational frames are a call to arms "intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support and to demobilize antagonists" (Snow and Benford 2000, 614). They motivate individuals to act by creating feelings of agency and efficacy – suggesting that they can act, and that their actions can create the desired outcomes (Gamson 1995).

When individuals think that their political participation will be pivotal to achieving the outcome they desire, they are more likely to participate (Eldin et al. 2007; Duffy and Tavits 2008). For instance, in studies of get-out-the-vote campaigns, messages that explicitly appeal to voter efficacy, including explicit statements that "your vote can make a difference" have a significant positive effect on voter mobilization (Green et al. 2003). This is true even when an individual's efforts are not actually pivotal to the success of a campaign, since people tend to

overestimate the importance of their own participation (Duffy and Tavits 2008). Moreover, participation may be more likely when "a small effort yields a substantial expected social gain" (Eldin et al. 2007, 297).

While there has been some analysis of the use of motivational frames in human rights campaigns (Harlow 2012; Kim and Yoo 2014), to our knowledge, there have been no empirical studies of the effectiveness of motivational frames on the behavior of individuals targeted for mobilization by HROs.[6] Given what we know from the voter mobilization and social movements literatures, motivational frames that explicitly call on the individual to act, suggesting that their participation is crucial, and that limited effort can yield a positive social good, should increase the motivation to act and the likelihood of action. Therefore, we hypothesize:

> *H7: Exposure to motivational frames during an HRO campaign will increase individuals'*
> *self-reported and observed willingness to mobilize around the campaign issue.*

Because motivational frames explicitly work by increasing individuals' sense of personal agency, we hypothesize:

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[6] Harlow (2012) and Kim and Yoo (2014) examine the use of motivational frames by Facebook users but do not examine HRO activity. Kim and Yoo (2014) identify which types of frames individual on-line activists and other members of the online public use most frequently in the context of a South Korean movement, while Harlow (2012) examines how the use of motivational frames online led to offline protests in a Guatemalan justice movement.

H8: Exposure to motivational frames during an HRO campaign will increase individuals' reported level of agency.

Although these direct appeals for action on their own may successfully mobilize individuals in get out the vote or blood drive campaigns, where the issue is already so thoroughly contextualized and its importance imbedded in public discourse as to not require additional justification, we do not expect this to necessarily transfer to such contested issues as human rights. Because motivational frames do not contain detailed information about the issue, nor do they present personal narratives to humanize the victims, we hypothesize:

H9: Exposure to motivational frames during an HRO campaign will have no impact on alignment between individuals' and the HRO's opinions regarding the campaign issue.

The hypotheses above address two central research questions: First, are informational, personal and motivational frames effective at mobilizing consensus and action on human rights issues? Are individuals who see human rights campaigns featuring one of these framing strategies more likely to agree that a violation has occurred, and subsequently more likely to get involved in a campaign to end the practice? Second, if they are effective, what is the mechanism through which these frames change individuals' beliefs and actions?

However, a third question remains – which of these commonly used framing strategies is *most* effective? Knowing which technique is most likely to yield the greatest effects is of paramount importance for HROs facing significant resource constraints. It is not surprising that motivational frames are so important in voter mobilization campaigns, as much of what we know

about voting suggests how central an individual's calculation about her or his impact is to their decision. Yet this logic does not work as well in application to human rights activism, where most theorizing suggests the importance of empathy and emotional reaction in mobilizing consensus and action. Similarly, information about human rights abuses may be important in spurring mobilization, but we believe is not sufficient. Facts alone should do less to make others focus on the problem as central and in need of their action than efforts that help people identify with other humans in distress.

We argue that there is an inherent fit between human rights issues and personal frames. By definition, human rights focus on those rights or freedoms that are necessary to preserving the basic humanity of all persons. Empathy generated by personal narratives about the humanity of others was crucial to the development and diffusion of the very idea of human rights (Hunt 2007), as well as altruism inherent in the willingness to act on behalf of the suffering of others (Monroe 1996). Personal frames remind the audience of the inalienability of these rights by humanizing the subject and connecting the audience to him or her. They should elicit strong emotional reactions based on a connection formed from a sense of a common humanity, and the recognition of the inhumanity of rights abuses. This, in turn, should yield both consensus and action mobilization. Therefore, we hypothesize:

> *H10: Exposure to personal frames during an HRO campaign will have a greater impact on alignment between individuals' and the HRO's opinions regarding the campaign issue than exposure to informational or motivational frames.*

H11: Exposure to personal frames during an HRO campaign will have a greater impact on self-reported and observed willingness to mobilize around the campaign issue than exposure to informational or motivational frames.

Table 1 below summarizes each hypothesis according to the research question being examined.

[Table 1 about here]

Methods and Data

To test these hypotheses, we designed an experiment wherein a fictitious human rights organization, The Human Rights Initiative, launched four campaigns on the use of sleep deprivation during police interrogations. Using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) platform, we recruited 826 survey respondents. Each participant was randomly assigned to one of four treatment groups representing each of the different HRO frames, or a control group that was not exposed to a frame. The treatment groups were each shown the corresponding ad campaign about sleep deprivation as an interrogation technique, after which they were asked a series of questions about their attitudes on issue. The control group was shown no ad campaign and was taken directly to the survey.

We chose the Human Rights Initiative as our institutional front to provide a perceived legitimacy to the campaign. The Human Rights Initiative shares its name with a few academic programs, but is distinct from the largest and most well known HROs. As such, it is unlikely that participants in the study would recognize the name or carry any preformed ideas regarding the group's work. This anonymity is essential in order to avoid any effect an organization's

reputation may have on individuals' opinions and actions, thus allowing us to isolate the independent impact of each frame. [7] Similarly, the design of the logo was driven by our concerns to create an HRO campaign that appeared official, while avoiding the introduction of any potentially biasing element. The dove, olive branches, and open palm are commonly associated with the human rights community, but should not conjure memories of any particular HRO. We used gray scale to avoid the influence of color on the audience's reactions and emotions (Valdez and Mehrabian 1994). Our HRO's name and logo appeared on all pages of the survey for all participants (including the control group), to ensure that its presence did not bias the results.

Even among those individuals who are sensitized to human rights issues and predisposed to mobilize in their defense, given limited time and resources, there may be a greater willingness to get involved when the violation is perceived as particularly egregious. Focusing on the "lesser" offense of sleep deprivation represents a hard test of our mobilizing strategies. There is considerable variation in Americans' attitudes regarding the acceptability of sleep deprivation in comparison to more "serious" violations. In a recent survey, Richards et al. (2012) find that "leaves no marks" interrogation techniques, including sleep deprivation, hooding, and verbal assaults, are more widely accepted than techniques employing direct physical violence (80-81). Fifty-six percent of respondents found sleep deprivation an acceptable interrogation technique in some cases; only 44 percent found it unacceptable in all cases (Richards et al. 2012, 80). In an earlier study, Gronke et al. (2010) found that, of all possible torture techniques asked about in

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[7] Framing and persuasion effects depend on the source of the message; only credible sources have measurable effects on individual opinions (Druckman 2001). This is particularly true in the case of human rights campaigns, where, as Brysk (2013, 55) notes, "[i]n speaking rights to power, the messenger matters.".

U.S. public opinion polls, sleep deprivation garnered the greatest amount of support (65%), while only 35% of respondents opposed its use. Therefore, we can assume that before viewing our human rights campaign many participants may believe sleep deprivation to be an appropriate interrogation tool.

Lastly, because the context of the narrative could greatly impact individuals' attitudes and behavior, we carefully constructed the violation to occur during a "peacetime" civilian police interrogation to avoid any explicit connection to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the subsequent "Global War on Terror," or the events of any particular country.

The campaigns were then distributed to participants who, after reading the campaign ad, were surveyed regarding their attitudes and potential participation in an anti-sleep deprivation effort. Participants were recruited for the study through MTurk,[8] an online platform that allows "requesters" to pay workers (or "Mturkers") to complete small tasks. While participants were paid $0.75, higher than that offered by social and psychological experimenters using MTurk (Paolacci et al. 2010; Berinsky et al. 2012; Mason and Suri 2012), compensation for MTurkers

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[8] Numerous studies in the last few years have established MTurk as a reliable source of data for social science research, often by replicating experimental findings that used traditional samples, internet, college, or other convenience samples (Paolacci et al. 2010; Buhrmester et al. 2011; Berinsky et al. 2012). Of particular relevance to our study, Berinsky et al. (2012) replicate three different experiments examining framing effects, the results of which were remarkably similar to those in the original studies. For a thorough discussion of the strengths and limitations of MTurk for data collection in the social sciences, see Paolacci et al. (2010); Berinsky et al. (2012). For an excellent guide on conducting experiments using MTurk, see Mason and Suri (2012).

completing surveys have been found to affect only the rate of responses, not the quality of the data (Buhrmester et al. 2012).

The job ad asked, "[p]lease participate in the following short opinion survey." To avoid any selection effects (wherein potential participants would select in or out of the survey based on their preconceived notions of its contents), no mention of human rights, sleep deprivation, or police interrogation was made. Workers were required to be at least 18 years of age, live in the United States,[9] and have a completed task satisfaction rate of at least 85 percent to participate in the study.

Participants were randomly assigned to the control group or one of four treatment groups by the online survey software.[10] Each was then presented with the front page of the survey, containing the Human Rights Initiative's official logo. Those in the treatment groups were directed to a second page, where they were asked to read the relevant campaign message before proceeding to the questionnaire. Those in the control group received no campaign message and were taken directly to the questionnaire.[11] The informational, personal and motivational campaigns are shown in Figures 1-3 below.[12] We consulted AI-USA's historical archive of advocacy materials, as well as more recent campaign materials from Amnesty International,

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[9] To confirm respondents' residency, we looked up their IP address using http://ip-lookup.net. Respondents with non-U.S.-based IP addresses were excluded from our sample.

[10] Our experiment and survey was conducted through Qualtrics (http://www.qualtrics.com).

[11] All respondents saw the same survey questions in the same order .

[12] Figure 2 shows the personal-male frame. With the exception of replacing "Andrew" with "Andrea" and replacing all gender-specific pronouns and familial relationships, the text of each campaign message is identical.

Physicians for Human Rights, and Oxfam International to ensure that the language, style and tone of the treatments was comparable to that which individuals would actually be exposed to during an HRO campaign. We also made sure that the basic content was similar across all four treatments; each frame identified sleep deprivation as ineffective, inhumane, and occurring in the context of police interrogation. The physiological and psychological effects discussed in more detail in the informational and personal frames were also intentionally parallel to enhance comparability across treatments.

[Figures 1-3 about here]

The survey was designed to offer at least one direct and/or indirect measure of the dependent, independent and intervening variables in our theoretical model. The first dependent variable, consensus mobilization – fostering agreement about the nature and severity of an issue – is measured on an ordinal scale of 1-5 indicating a respondent's agreement/disagreement with the statement, *"Sleep deprivation is an appropriate police interrogation technique."* The second dependent variable, action mobilization – the ability to get individuals to mobilize for social change – is measured both indirectly and directly. First, respondents are asked how (un)likely they are to either support or participate in a campaign to ban sleep deprivation. Both responses are recorded on an ordinal scale, ranging from 1 (very unlikely) to 5 (very likely). Next, respondents are given the opportunity to add their name to (fictitious) petitions to be sent to the Attorney General and the UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights, demanding the immediate end to the use of sleep deprivation during police interrogations. Their willingness to take this direct action is recorded dichotomously, 1 if they "click" to add their name, 0 if they do not.

Table 2 provides a full description of each variable, how it was captured in the survey and how it was measured. A complete list of survey questions is presented in Appendix A. Descriptive statistics for these variables are presented in Appendix B.

[Tables 2 and 3 about here]

A demographic profile for the control and each treatment group is presented in Table 3. As we would expect with random assignment, difference of means t-tests show that there are no statistically significant differences in the age, gender, and level of education across participants in the control group or any of the treatment groups. In addition, participants' profiles appear to be consistent with those of other studies using MTurk (Paolacci et al. 2010; Buhrmester et al. 2011; Berinsky et al. 2012), many of which find high levels of internal consistency of self-reported demographics by MTurkers (Mason and Suri 2012; Rand 2012). Most studies conclude that "Mechanical Turk workers are at least as representative of the U.S. population as traditional subject pools, with gender, race, age and education of Internet samples matching the population more closely than college undergraduate samples and internet samples in general" (Paolacci et al. 2010, 414; see also: Buhrmester et al. 2011; Berinsky et al. 2012). MTurkers are slightly younger, a bit more liberal and slightly more educated than the average respondent in traditional samples (Berinsky et al. 2012).

We suspected that the characteristics of MTurkers more generally, and of our sample specifically, matched quite well the target demographic for HRO advocacy materials,

particularly large, Western-based HROs.[13] To verify this, we spoke with key figures at the AI-USA main office and regional offices, Human Rights Watch, Doctors without Borders, Catholic Relief Services, American Jewish World Service, and Abolition Ohio who play key roles in their organizations' advocacy efforts. Most suggested that while they attempt to target a broad and representative cross-section of the entire population, they are most likely to reach people that fit the profile described above. One interviewee at a major international HRO indicated that this is due in part to the lists of people that HROs purchase, which come predominantly from sources such as magazines that tend to target this demographic (Anonymous 2013). As a result, the sampling frame that HROs use to generate a mailing list is itself already skewed younger, more liberal, and better educated, leading to a slightly biased sample. Another interviewee suggested that the increasing use of the internet to mobilize consensus and action makes those they target for advocacy appeals more like the demographic of MTurkers and less like the demographic of the typical rank-and-file members of the organization (O'Keefe 2013).

In sum, MTurk generates samples that may not be nationally representative, but are highly representative of the population targeted by HROs. This makes MTurk an ideal tool for experimental studies examining the effects of HRO framing. We are confident that our sample is likely more representative of the typical target of HRO advocacy efforts than would be a more traditional random sample, or any other convenience sample.

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[13] While many international HROs cover abusive practices in less developed countries, the target audience for consensus and action mobilization is often not the population where those abuses are occurring, but rather the citizens of the global North. Given this, it is likely that the audience's education level is not significantly different from that reported by our respondents.

We use ordered logit to analyze our data because the dependent variables are not continuous, but rather ordinal (or dichotomous in the case of the direct measures of action mobilization). Tables 4-9 present the results of our analyses. We report the coefficients and robust standard errors for each variable. We also report the predicted probabilities to capture the substantive impact of each independent variable on the dependent variable.

Results

In this section, we present the results from our analyses, testing the impact of various messaging techniques on individuals' perceptions and actions on the issue of sleep deprivation. We find that the three most common messaging techniques employed by HROs – informational, personal and motivational frames – are more effective at fostering consensus mobilization than action mobilization. Personal narratives appear to be the most consistently successful, increasing individuals' knowledge of and emotional reaction to the issue, and as a consequence, leading them to reject the practice and participate in a campaign to demand its cessation.

[Table 4 about here]

Model 1 examines the effect that exposure to one of the treatments has on a participant's agreement with the use of sleep deprivation. Results from the regression analysis (Table 4) show that compared to the control group, exposure to any of the treatments – informational, personal, or motivational – significantly decreases one's likelihood of viewing sleep deprivation as an appropriate police interrogation technique. For example, reading a personal narrative of a male survivor of sleep deprivation results in a 1.39 unit decrease in the log odds of reporting a higher

level of agreement with the use of sleep deprivation. As the log odds is not always an intuitive way to interpret logit coefficients, we use them to generate predicted probabilities for hypothetical cases of interest.

[Table 5 about here]

Table 5 depicts the predicted probabilities of how one might respond to the question of whether sleep deprivation is an appropriate interrogation technique, given their exposure to each of the treatments. The first column indicates the probabilities predicted for respondents in the control group who did not see the text of an advocacy campaign. Each subsequent column shows predicted probabilities for respondents viewing each of the treatments. We can compare, for example, the predicted probability that someone in the control group will strongly disagree with that statement (0.2231) to the probability of strongly disagreeing if they viewed the informational frame (0.4010), either of the personal frames (0.5347 [male]; 0.5053 [female]) or the motivational frame (0.3085). We can make similar comparisons across each of the rows.

The probability that someone in the control group will neither agree nor disagree with the use of sleep deprivation is 0.2386. The predicted probability of disagreeing in some manner is 0.5793 (the sum of predicted probabilities for both disagreeing and strongly disagreeing), while the probability that the respondent will agree in some manner is 0.1821 (the sum of predicted probabilities for both agreeing and strongly agreeing).

All of the treatments have measurable effects on the probability that a respondent will find sleep deprivation an inappropriate interrogation technique. However, exposure to the personal frames has the most dramatic effect; when compared to the control group, the

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probability of disagreeing with the use of sleep deprivation increases by 0.2671 if the respondent sees the personal-male frame, and by 0.2512 if the respondent sees the personal-female frame. When making similar comparisons, the probability of disagreeing with the use of sleep deprivation increases by only 0.1832 if the respondent sees the informational frame, and 0.1022 if the respondent sees the motivational frame. Although all of the frames have a statistically significant effect on respondents' opinions that sleep deprivation is inappropriate (Table 4), the magnitude of the impact of personal frames on consensus mobilization is greatest (Table 5). That the various treatments had differential effects on the dependent variable (H10) is confirmed through a series of Wald tests (Long and Freese 2006; Williams 2014).[14] In fact, only the effects of the personal-male and personal-female treatments were indistinguishable from one another. As an illustrative example, Figure 4 graphs the predicted probability of an individual strongly disagreeing with the statement: "Sleep deprivation is an appropriate police interrogation technique." We can see that respondents who view one of the treatments are more likely to find sleep deprivation inappropriate than are those who view no treatment. In addition, both personal frames are more likely to lead to consensus mobilization than the motivational frame, and somewhat less conclusively, the informational frame. Finally, there is no significant difference in the impact between the personal-male and personal-female frames.

Models 2-5 in Table 4 examine the effect that exposure to one of the treatments has on a participant's self-reported and observed willingness to mobilize around the issue of sleep

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[14] The relevant Wald test statistics are: Informational=PersonalMale (χ^2=6.99, p<0.01); Informational=PersonalFemale (χ^2=4.70, p<0.05); Informational=Motivational (χ^2=3.71; p<0.10); PersonalMale=PersonalFemale (χ^2=0.18, p=0.67); PersonalMale=Motivational (χ^2=18.74, p<0.001); PersonalFemale=Motivational (χ^2=14.98, p<0.001).

deprivation. With one exception, participants who viewed any of the treatments were more likely than those who did not to report that they would both support and participate in a campaign to ban sleep deprivation (Models 2 and 3).[15] However, when asked to actually take action by signing a petition to be sent to the Attorney General or the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights, only those exposed to the personal frames were more likely to do so. Neither the informational nor the motivational frames had a statistically significant effect on participants' actual choices to act or not (Models 4 and 5). Given the relatively low risk and low cost request (*"If you would like to add your name to a petition to be sent to…, demanding the immediate end to the use of sleep deprivation during police interrogation, please click YES below"*), we are not optimistic about the prospects of either the informational, or somewhat more unexpectedly, the motivational frames on their own to mobilize individuals around an issue area.

[Tables 6 and 7 about here]

Tables 6 and 7 investigate the magnitude of the effects of these treatments on action mobilization. The difference in predicted probabilities of agreeing to add one's name to a petition to be sent to the Attorney General (Table 6) or the UN Special Rapporteur (Table 7) is minimal when comparing the control group to either the informational (0.0623 and 0.0680) or motivational (0.0758 and 0.0513) frames. However, when compared to the control group, the probability of being willing to add one's name to the UN petition increases by 0.1298 if the respondent sees the personal-male frame, and by 0.1173 if the respondent sees the personal-

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[15] Respondents who viewed the motivational frame were not more likely than the control group to say that they would support a campaign to ban sleep deprivation.

female frame. A similar effect is seen when examining the predicted probabilities for adding one's name to the Attorney General petition. While it appears that the personal frames have the strongest effect on action mobilization, given the significant overlap in the confidence intervals, and the Wald test statistics,[16] we cannot reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference in the treatments' impacts on the dependent variable (H11).

[Table 8 about here]

Table 8 displays the results from Models 6-10, which test the proposed mechanisms driving participants' beliefs and behavior regarding sleep deprivation. Results show that the informational frame is the only messaging strategy that has a consistent impact on individuals' knowledge of the issue. With its emphasis on "objective" facts and statistics, it is not surprising that the informational frame increases participants' perceived and real knowledge of sleep deprivation, including its negative impact on victims/survivors and its overall efficacy as an interrogation technique. In comparison, neither the personal nor the motivational frames left participants feeling more informed, even though both framing strategies increased individuals'

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[16] The relevant Wald test statistics for signing a petition to the UN Special Representative are: Informational=PersonalMale (χ^2=1.35, p=0.2449); Informational=PersonalFemale (χ^2=0.84, p=0.3590); Informational=Motivational (χ^2=0.10; p=0.7510); PersonalMale=PersonalFemale (χ^2=0.05, p=0.8181); PersonalMale=Motivational (χ^2=2.17, p=0.1412); PersonalFemale=Motivational (χ^2=1.49, p=0.2221). The Wald test results are not substantively different if we look at those who are willing to sign a petition to the Attorney General, or those who were willing to sign either petition.

likelihood of correctly identifying sleep deprivation as deleterious for victims. The personal-male frame further led participants to correctly identify sleep deprivation as an ineffective interrogation tool.

[Table 9 about here]

Where informational frames attempt to change people's minds and behavior through education, personal frames do so by appealing to their base emotions. The results presented in Models 11-14 in Table 8 demonstrate that personal frames do, in fact, elicit emotional responses from viewers. Individuals exposed to personal narratives of suffering are more likely than those who are not to feel "bad" or "very bad" when thinking about sleep deprivation, feelings that were driven mostly by their understanding of the suffering it caused to victims.

Finally, motivational frames attempt to affect peoples' sense of agency and the likelihood that their actions are effective in bringing about change. We saw in Tables 4, 6, and 7 above that while motivational frames change minds, they do not on their own make individuals more likely to act. The results presented in Model 15 in Table 9 may help to explain why. In this model, we remove *agency* as a control variable and instead make it the dependent variable. We find that none of the frames, motivational frames included, have an effect on respondents' sense of personal efficacy and agency. A sense of agency plays a role in the processes of consensus and action mobilization, but itself is not affected by exposure to any one particular frame, even one that specifically targets that sense of agency.

Conclusion

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This study provides the first systematic test of the efficacy of the three most common framing techniques employed by large, Western, global HROs – informational, personal and motivational frames. Our results demonstrate that these frames are more effective at fostering consensus mobilization than they are at action mobilization. Personal narratives appear to be the most consistently successful, increasing individuals' knowledge on the issue, their emotional reaction to the issue, and as a consequence, leading them to reject the practice and participate in a campaign to demand its cessation.

This study also demonstrated that there are clear systematic differences in how individuals respond to the ways in which information about human rights abuses are presented. HROs' efforts to affect individuals' attitudes or behavior on human rights issues are not uniformly successful, but rather depend greatly on the messaging strategy employed. To the extent that these micromobilization efforts – consensus and action mobilization – are critical to their ability to influence state or perpetrator behavior, the results of our study would suggest that HROs should emphasize personal narratives that provoke empathy and other emotional reactions from the target audience. Stirring emotions of empathy, sadness and even anger appear more effective than simple issue education or motivational appeals at encouraging individuals to see sleep deprivation as a human rights violation and to participate in a movement to ban its practice.

Given the dearth of empirical research examining the efficacy of framing in HRO campaigns, this field is ripe with future research opportunities. One such opportunity concerns the use of simultaneous frames. This study demonstrated the impact of each framing strategy in isolation. While significant in its own right (we now know that the use of a personal narrative alone is sufficient to mobilize consensus and action on a human rights issue), the reality is that HROs rarely employ these frames separately. Do some combination of frames work better than

others? Is the success of one type of frame contingent upon its use in conjunction with another? Do some frames mitigate the effectiveness of others? Future analysis is required to construct more complex, multi-frame campaigns and examine how these interactions impact consensus and action mobilization.

We hope this study moves scholars to ask other questions that would enhance our understanding of how and under what conditions HROs can change behavior. Our study focuses on the types of campaigns commonly used by large, global HROs that target a more educated, Western audience. Future research should examine the ways in which local HROs, cultural contexts, and audiences change the choice of framing strategies or the efficacy of these frames. For example, our study focused on the mobilization of a relatively educated audience (mean = "technical or associate graduate") from the global North. While respondents' education was not a significant predictor of consensus or action mobilization, further analysis is required to determine if HRO campaigns targeting a less educated population employ the same framing strategies, and, if so, whether they have the same effect. In some contexts, for example, where information on rights and rights abuses is limited, campaigns with an informational lens may be essential to shaping individuals' attitudes and behavior.

In addition, future studies should consider whether some framing strategies work better to mobilize consensus and action around some human rights issues (such as sleep deprivation) but not others (such as disappearances), or on behalf of some types of victims (such as those perceived as vulnerable, innocent, or apolitical) but not others (such as those who may be guilty of a crime, are political dissidents, or may be perceived as less vulnerable). And do consensus and action mobilization actually convince states or IOs to shame or sanction perpetrators, or otherwise affect perpetrator behavior? This study suggests that rather than assuming micro-level

processes we should begin to explicitly test these relationships and further specify the relationship between HRO advocacy on human rights issues and actual changes in human rights conditions.

Finally, our study suggests that scholars and practitioners of citizen engagement and activism more broadly should explicitly examine the effects of framing strategies on consensus and action mobilization. For example, one might expect that the framing strategies that build consensus around issues of human rights will differ from those that mobilize consensus around environmental issues, which might rely less on personal narratives and empathy and more on providing information about environmental impacts. Similarly, get out the vote campaigns that are tied to specific rights related issues (such as marriage equality) might be better served with the use of a personal frame that builds connection and empathy. Still other issues might be best addressed using a framing strategy not identified here, such as a moral or religious frame. Future research would benefit from analyzing framing effects across a range of activists' issues to better understand how and under what circumstances framing changes minds and mobilizes people to engage in political processes.

Tables and Figures

Table 1. Hypotheses

Research Question		Hypotheses
Are they effective?	H1	Exposure to informational frames during an HRO campaign will result in greater alignment between individuals' and the HRO's opinions regarding the campaign issue.
	H2	Exposure to informational frames during an HRO campaign will increase individuals' self-reported and observed willingness to mobilize around the campaign issue.
	H4	Exposure to personal frames during an HRO campaign will result in greater alignment between individuals' and the HRO's opinions regarding the campaign issue.
	H5	Exposure to personal frames during an HRO campaign will increase individuals' self-reported and observed willingness to mobilize around the campaign issue.
	H8	Exposure to motivational frames during an HRO campaign will have no impact on alignment between individuals' and the HRO's opinions regarding the campaign issue.
	H7	Exposure to motivational frames during an HRO campaign will increase individuals' self-reported and observed willingness to mobilize around the campaign issue.
If so, how?	H3	Exposure to informational frames during an HRO campaign will increase individuals' self-reported and observed knowledge about the campaign issue.
	H6	Exposure to personal frames during an HRO campaign will heighten individuals' emotional reaction to the campaign issue, particularly regarding the consequences for the central person(s) in the campaign.
	H9	Exposure to motivational frames during an HRO campaign will increase individuals' sense of personal agency.
Which is the most effective?	H10	Exposure to personal frames during an HRO campaign will have a greater impact on alignment between individuals' and the HRO's opinions regarding the campaign issue than exposure to informational or motivational frames.
	H11	Exposure to personal frames during an HRO campaign will have a greater impact on self-reported and observed willingness to mobilize around the campaign issue than exposure to informational or motivational frames

Figure 1. Informational Frame[17]

the human rights initiative

Please read the following message from Human Rights Initiative about sleep deprivation. After that we'll ask you a few questions.

Sleep deprivation is used increasingly as a regular interrogation technique. Detainees are often kept awake by dumping cold water on their bodies, restraining them in a forced standing position, or playing loud music in their cells. Sleep deprivation can have a variety of physiological or mental effects including high blood pressure, debilitating headaches, depression, hallucinations, social anxiety disorder, and impaired cognitive functioning. Despite its increased use, sleep deprivation is an ineffective means of obtaining reliable information, in part because it makes detainees more suggestible to leading questions when being interrogated, and more likely to change their answers later. The Human Rights Initiative recently investigated 27 cases of sleep deprivation during interrogation; police officials reported acquiring reliable information that led to an arrest and conviction in less than 5% of these cases.

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[17] Information regarding the practice and consequences of sleep deprivation presented in this campaign reflects findings cited in the medical and social psychology literatures (Blagrove 1996, Kahn-Greene, et al. 2007, Pilcher and Huffcutt 1996). While plausible, the Human Rights Initiative's investigation into recent incidents of sleep deprivation during police interrogation was fabricated for this study in order to mirror statements made in the personal and motivational frames regarding the ineffectiveness of sleep deprivation for gathering accurate information.

Figure 2. Personal (Male) Frame[18]

the
human rights
initiative

Please read the following message from Human Rights Initiative about sleep deprivation. After that we'll ask you a few questions.

Meet Andrew. Andrew is a 37-year old husband and father of two. Until recently, Andrew worked as a math teacher at his local high school. On his way home from work on February 11, Andrew was stopped by two police officers and taken to the local police station. There, he was interrogated about his suspected involvement in an armed robbery. Andrew was detained at the police station for three days, during which time he was kept awake by dumping cold water on his body, restraining him in a forced standing position, and playing loud music in his cell. Despite knowing nothing about the robbery, Andrew was pressured into falsely accusing his brother of involvement in the crime, an accusation that he later withdrew. Since being released, Andrew has suffered from high blood pressure, debilitating headaches, depression and hallucinations. He has reported having difficulty relating to his wife and children, and focusing on work.

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[18] The case of Andrew (or Andrea) presented in this campaign, while plausible, was fabricated for this study.

Figure 3. Motivational Frame

the
human rights
initiative

Please read the following message from Human Rights Initiative about sleep deprivation. After that we'll ask you a few questions.

Sleep deprivation is an inhumane and ineffective interrogation technique that must be stopped. The Human Rights Initiative is working to ban this practice that is increasingly used by police officers to gather information. However, we can't do it without YOU! Our members and supporters have had great success in previous human rights campaigns, and all because they dared to stand up and be heard. Help us now as we work together to ban sleep deprivation during police interrogation. Lend your voice to the millions of others who are outraged by the use of sleep deprivation during interrogations. YOU can make a difference.

Table 2. Variables and Measurements

	Variable	Survey Question	Measurement
Dependent Variable	Consensus mobilization	Sleep deprivation is an appropriate police interrogation technique.	Ordinal scale 1-5
	Action mobilization (indirect)	How likely are you to participate in a campaign to ban sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique?	
		How likely are you to support a campaign to ban sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique?	
	Action mobilization (direct)	If you would like to add your name to a petition to be sent to the Attorney General, demanding the immediate end to the use of sleep deprivation during police interrogations, please click YES below.	Dichotomous
		If you would like to add your name to a petition to be sent to the United Nations Special Rapporteur for Human Rights, demanding the immediate end to the use of sleep deprivation during police interrogations, please click YES below.	
Independent	No treatment		
	Informational treatment		
	Personal (m) treatment	(Randomly assigned by survey software)	Dichotomous
	Personal (f) treatment		
	Mobilization treatment		
Intervening	Knowledge of issue (indirect)	I feel knowledgeable about the use of sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique.	Ordinal scale 1-5
		I feel knowledgeable about the consequences of sleep deprivation on individuals who have experienced it.	
		I feel knowledgeable about the effectiveness of sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique.	
	Knowledge of issue (direct)	Depriving an individual of sleep during an interrogation is an ineffective way to gain reliable information.	Ordinal scale 1-5
		Depriving an individual of sleep during interrogation has a negative impact of their long-term mental and physical well-being.	
	Emotional response to issue (indirect)	How much of an emotional reaction do you experience when thinking about the use of sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique?	Ordinal scale 1-4
		My feelings about sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique are at least partly because of its consequences for individuals who have experienced it.	Ordinal scale 1-5

		My feelings about sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique are at least partly because of how effective or ineffective it is.	
	Emotional response to issue (direct)	How do you feel when thinking about the use of sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique?	Ordinal scale 1-5
Control	Age	What is your age in years?	Ratio
	Gender	Which of the following best describes your gender?	Nominal (male, female, transgender, other) [19]
	Education	What is the highest level of education that you have completed?	Ordinal scale 1-7
	News consumption	How often do you follow world news?	Ordinal scale 1-5
	Agency	How much influence do you think you can have in shaping public policy?	Ordinal scale 1-4

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[19] Five of 826 respondents chose either the "transgender" or the "other" option. Ultimately, these cases dropped out of our analysis, leaving us with only self-reported "male" and "female" participants.

Table 3. Demographic Profile of Control and Treatment Groups[20]

		Control	Info.	Personal (m)	Personal (f)	Motivational
Age (mean years)		33.21	32.23	32.49	30.70	32.86
Gender	**% male**	57	54	58	52	58
	% female	43	46	42	48	42
Education (%)	**Some high school**	1	1	0	0	1
	High school grad.	10	10	12	12	13
	Some tech./college	24	30	31	29	24
	Tech./Assoc. degree	7	7	9	7	8
	College degree	46	43	38	44	40
	Grad. Degree	10	8	8	8	13
	Professional degree	2	1	2	1	1
News (%)	**Never**	0	0	0	3	0
	Rarely	10	15	14	14	12
	Several times/month	21	21	19	18	22
	Once/week	20	24	27	20	21
	Daily	49	40	40	45	45
Agency (%)	**A lot**	15	18	19	15	17
	Some	54	52	51	53	47
	Little	27	29	25	26	33
	None	4	1	5	6	3
N		168	165	169	163	161

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[20] Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 4. Ordered Logit Results, Models 1-5 [21]

		Model 1 *Appropriate*	Model 2 *Reported Support*	Model 3 *Reported Participation*	Model 4 *AG Petition*	Model 5 *UN Petition*
Treatments	Informational	-0.847*** (0.193)	0.411* (0.192)	0.605** (0.203)	0.359 (0.249)	0.338 (0.248)
	Personal (m)	-1.387*** (0.216)	1.145*** (0.190)	1.334*** (0.192)	0.663** (0.240)	0.612* (0.240)
	Personal (f)	-1.269*** (0.215)	0.776*** (0.215)	1.063*** (0.200)	0.551* (0.246)	0.558* (0.247)
	Motivational	-0.441* (0.197)	0.295 (0.194)	0.449* (0.197)	0.380 (0.249)	0.260 (0.251)
Controls	Age	0.006 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.006)	0.007 (0.006)	0.005 (0.007)	0.007 (0.007)
	Gender	0.092 (0.137)	0.090 (0.131)	-0.228 (0.132)	-0.020 (0.160)	0.048 (0.161)
	Education	0.012 (0.053)	-0.025 (0.051)	-0.088 (0.050)	0.011 (0.060)	0.009 (0.060)
	News	-0.100 (0.064)	0.155* (0.060)	0.089 (0.058)	0.109 (0.075)	0.108 0.075
	Agency	0.111 (0.089)	0.329*** (0.092)	0.655*** (0.096)	0.407*** (0.105)	0.457*** (0.106)
Model Stats	N	807	807	807	808	808
	χ^2 (9)	62.99***	57.76***	109.64***	28.80***	32.34***
	Log Likelihood	-1018.254	-1178.587	-1158.7183	-502.03718	-498.64819

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[21] We also examined the impact of each treatment independently on the dependent variables in bivariate (excluding all control variables) and multivariate (including all control variables) models. The results from the multivariate analyses are essentially the same as those presented here. The bivariate models confirm our general conclusion that the personal frames are more effective than informational and motivational frames at mobilizing consensus and action on human rights issues. However, while exposure to the male or female personal frame increases respondents' willingness to reject of the use of sleep deprivation, in the bivariate models, only the personal-male frame increases their likelihood to sign a petition to ban the practice (p< 0.05).

	Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; ** = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001*	

Table 5. Predicted Probabilities of Responses to Question #6: "Sleep Deprivation is an Appropriate Police Interrogation Technique"

		Control Group	Informational Frame	Personal (m) Frame	Personal (f) Frame	Motivational Frame
All Responses	Strongly Disagree	*0.1666* **0.2231** *0.2795*	*0.3282* **0.4010** *0.4739*	*0.4502* **0.5347** *0.6193*	*0.4155* **0.5053** *0.5950*	*0.2367* **0.3085** *0.3803*
	Disagree	*0.3168* **0.3562** *0.3956*	*0.3229* **0.3615** *0.4001*	*0.2644* **0.3117** *0.3590*	*0.2777* **0.3252** *0.3727*	*0.3372* **0.3730** *0.4088*
	Neutral (Neither Disagree nor Agree)	*0.1943* **0.2386** *0.2830*	*0.1152* **0.1504** *0.1855*	*0.0702* **0.1009** *0.1316*	*0.0749* **0.1107** *0.1464*	*0.1487* **0.1932** *0.2377*
	Agree	*0.1048* **0.1487** *0.1927*	*0.0475* **0.0726** *0.0976*	*0.0260* **0.0441** *0.0623*	*0.0304* **0.0493** *0.0682*	*0.0701* **0.1036** *0.1371*
	Strongly Agree	*0.0143* **0.0334** *0.0525*	*0.0060* **0.0146** *0.0232*	*0.0033* **0.0086** *0.0138*	*0.0034* **0.0096** *0.0158*	*0.0091* **0.0217** *0.0343*
Summary	Disagree (Mild or Strong)	**0.5793**	**0.7625**	**0.8464**	**0.8305**	**0.6815**
	Neutral (Neither Disagree nor Agree)	**0.2386**	**0.1504**	**0.1009**	**0.1107**	**0.1932**
	Agree (Mild or Strong)	**0.1821**	**0.0872**	**0.0527**	**0.0589**	**0.1253**

Notes: Dichotomous control variables held constant at their mode; all other control variables held constant at their median. Upper and lower bounds reported in italics; probabilities may not sum to 1.0 due to rounding.

Figure 4. Predicted Probability with 95% CI of Responding "Strongly Disagree" to Question #6: "Sleep Deprivation is an Appropriate Police Interrogation Technique," by Treatment Group
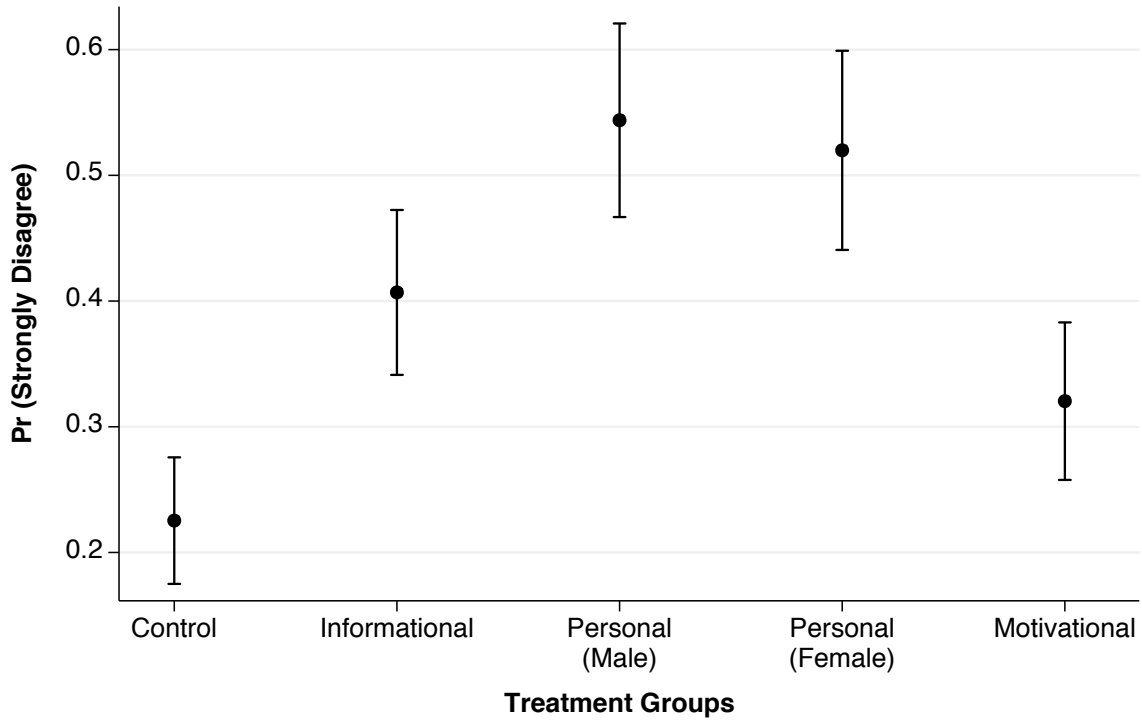
Table 6. Predicted Probabilities of Responses to Whether Respondent Would Like Their Name Added to a Petition to Be Sent to the Attorney General

Response	Control Group	Informational Frame	Personal (m) Frame	Personal (f) Frame	Motivational Frame
Yes	*0.1688* **0.2392** *0.3096*	*0.2263* **0.3105** *0.3947*	*0.2952* **0.3789** *0.4626*	*0.2645* **0.3530** *0.4415*	*0.2315* **0.3150** *0.3986*
No	*0.6904* **0.7608** *0.8312*	*0.6053* **0.6895** *0.7737*	*0.5374* **0.6211** *0.7048*	*0.5585* **0.6470** *0.7355*	*0.6014* **0.6850** *0.7685*

Notes: Dichotomous control variables held constant at their mode; all other control variables held constant at their median. Upper and lower bounds reported in italics; probabilities may not sum to 1.0 due to rounding.

Table 7. Predicted Probabilities of Responses to Whether Respondent Would Like Their Name Added to a Petition to Be Sent to the United National Special Rapporteur for Human Rights

Response	Control Group	Informational Frame	Personal (m) Frame	Personal (f) Frame	Motivational Frame
Yes	*0.1754* **0.2468** *0.3182*	*0.2312* **0.3148** *0.3983*	*0.2927* **0.3766** *0.4605*	*0.2745* **0.3641** *0.4537*	*0.2157* **0.2981** *0.3805*
No	*0.6818* **0.7532** *0.8246*	0.6017 **0.6852** *0.7688*	*0.5395* **0.6234** *0.7073*	*0.5463* **0.6359** *0.7255*	*0.6195* **0.7019** *0.7843*

Notes: Dichotomous control variables held constant at their mode; all other control variables held constant at their median. Upper and lower bounds reported in italics; probabilities may not sum to 1.0 due to rounding.

Table 8. Ordered Logit Results, Models 6-10

		Model 6 *Reported Knowledge, General*	Model 7 *Reported Knowledge, Consequences*	Model 8 *Reported Knowledge, Efficacy*	Model 9 *Observed Knowledge, Consequences*	Model 10 *Observed Knowledge, Efficacy*
Treatments	Informational	0.952*** (0.182)	0.801*** (0.204)	1.39*** (0.195)	0.650** (0.214)	0.596** (0.181)
	Personal (m)	0.014 (0.201)	0.168 (0.208)	0.353 (0.195)	1.088*** (0.202)	0.394* (0.187)
	Personal (f)	-0.214 (0.208)	-0.075 (0.203)	0.165 (0.207)	1.126*** (0.215)	0.168 (0.217)
	Motivational	-0.126 (0.195)	-0.004 (0.217)	0.049 (0.201)	0.558** (0.204)	-0.065 (0.155)
Controls	Age	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.017** (0.007)	-0.010 (0.006)	-0.019** (0.006)	-0.008 (0.005)
	Gender	0.235 (0.138)	0.004 (0.137)	0.212 (0.135)	-0.168 (0.137)	-0.075 (0.132)
	Education	0.020 (0.051)	-0.012 (0.055)	-0.001 (0.053)	-0.002 (0.050)	0.047 (0.051)
	News	0.195** (0.067)	0.186** (0.064)	0.246*** (0.067)	0.064 (0.062)	-0.058 (0.059)
	Agency	0.530*** (0.097)	0.414*** (0.097)	0.555*** (0.093)	0.240* (0.093)	0.202* (0.084)
Model Stats	N	803	808	807	805	806
	χ^2 (9)	98.29***	52.94***	111.78***	57.33***	26.22**
	Log Likelihood	-1092.2438	-1063.3262	-1089.3975	-1001.2184	-1240.9505
	*Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; * = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01; *** = p < 0.001*					

Table 9. Ordered Logit Results, Models 11-15

		Model 11 *Emotional Response, General*	Model 12 *Emotional Response, Type*	Model 13 *Emotional Response, Consequences*	Model 14 *Emotional Response, Efficacy*	Model 15 *Agency and Personal Efficacy*
Treatments	Informational	0.297 (0.210)	-0.381 (0.211)	0.765*** (0.207)	0.791*** (0.192)	-0.085 (0.202)
	Personal (m)	1.009*** (0.213)	-1.281*** (0.213)	0.952*** (0.194)	0.625** (0.206)	-0.065 (0.214)
	Personal (f)	1.009*** (0.216)	-1.242*** (0.222)	0.979*** (0.220)	0.350 (0.206)	0.062 (0.206)
	Motivational	0.167 (0.210)	-0.206 (0.213)	0.423* (0.206)	0.332 (0.206)	0.151 (0.219)
Controls	Age	0.015* (0.007)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.014* (0.006)	-0.009 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.007)
	Gender	-0.226 (0.143)	0.213 (0.144)	0.026 (0.143)	-0.209 (0.134)	-0.211 (0.142)
	Education	-0.004 (0.051)	0.022 (0.053)	0.039 (0.049)	0.087 (0.051)	0.064 (0.054)
	News	0.147* (0.065)	-0.122 (0.065)	0.148* (0.064)	0.068 (0.062)	0.422*** (0.066)
	Agency	0.489*** (0.095)	-0.020 (0.099)	0.066 (0.090)	0.201* (0.091)	
Model Stats	N	807	807	805	807	808
	χ^2 (9)	85.70***	71.05***	44.54***	37.39***	χ^2(8)= 47.17***
	Log Likelihood	-930.8119	-911.6029	-1052.1542	-1105.8181	-882.1756
	Notes: Two-tailed tests; robust standard errors in parentheses; * = $p < 0.05$; ** = $p < 0.01$; *** = $p < 0.001$					

Appendix A: Survey

1. I feel knowledgeable about the use of sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique.

   Strongly Agree / Agree / Neither Agree nor Disagree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

2. Depriving an individual of sleep during interrogation is an ineffective way to gain reliable information.

   Strongly Agree / Agree / Neither Agree nor Disagree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

3. I feel knowledgeable about the consequences of sleep deprivation on individuals who have experienced it.

   Strongly Agree / Agree / Neither Agree nor Disagree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

4. Depriving an individual of sleep during interrogation has a negative impact on their long-term mental and physical wellbeing.

   Strongly Agree / Agree / Neither Agree nor Disagree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

5. I feel knowledgeable about the effectiveness of sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique.

   Strongly Agree / Agree / Neither Agree nor Disagree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

6. Sleep deprivation is an appropriate police interrogation technique.

Strongly Agree / Agree / Neither Agree nor Disagree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

7. How much of an emotional reaction do you experience when thinking about the use of sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique?

    A lot / Some / Little / None

8. How do you feel when thinking about the use of sleep deprivation?

    Very Good / Good / Neither Good nor Bad / Bad / Very Bad

9. My feelings about sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique are at least partly because of its consequences for individuals who have experienced it.

    Strongly Agree / Agree / Neither Agree nor Disagree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

10. My feelings about sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique are at least partly because of how effective or ineffective it is.

    Strongly Agree / Agree / Neither Agree nor Disagree / Disagree / Strongly Disagree

11. How likely are you to participate in a campaign to ban sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique?

    Very Likely / Likely / Neither Likely nor Unlikely / Unlikely / Very Unlikely

12. How likely are you to support a campaign to ban sleep deprivation as a police interrogation technique?

Very Likely / Likely / Neither Likely nor Unlikely / Unlikely / Very Unlikely

13. What is your age in years?

14. Which of the following best describes your gender?

    Male / Female / Transgender / Other (please indicate below)

15. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

    Some high school / High school graduate / Some technical school or college / Technical school or associate graduate / College degree (example: BS, BA) / Graduate degree (example: MA, MS, PhD, EdD)/ Professional degree (example: MD, DDS, DVM)

16. How often do you follow world news?

    Never / Rarely / Several Times a Month / Once a Week / Daily

17. How much influence do you think you can have in shaping public policy?

    A lot / Some / Little / None

18. If you would like to add your name to a petition to be sent to the Attorney General, demanding the immediate end to the use of sleep deprivation during police interrogations, please click YES.

    Yes / No

19. If you would like to add your name to a petition to be sent to the United Nations Special

    Rapporteur for Human Rights, demanding the immediate end to the use of sleep

    deprivation during police interrogations, please click YES.

    Yes / No

Appendix B: Descriptive Statistics

	Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Dependent Variables	Appropriate?	1.970	1.024	1	5
	Reported Support	3.436	1.169	1	5
	Reported Participation	2.895	1.136	1	5
	AG Petition	0.337	0.473	0	1
	UN Petition	0.335	0.472	0	1
Intervening Variables	Reported Knowledge, General	2.988	1.109	1	5
	Reported Knowledge, Consequences	3.347	1.054	1	5
	Reported Knowledge, Efficacy	2.976	1.075	1	5
	Observed Knowledge, Consequences	3.347	1.054	1	5
	Observed Knowledge, Efficacy	3.948	0.932	1	5
	Emotional Response, General	2.918	0.846	1	4
	Emotional Response, Type	1.968	0.816	1	5
	Emotional Response, Consequences	3.632	1.001	1	5
	Emotional Response, Efficacy	3.453	1.036	1	5
Treatment Groups	Control Group	0.203	0.403	0	1
	Informational	0.200	0.400	0	1
	Personal (m)	0.205	0.404	0	1
	Personal (f)	0.197	0.398	0	1
	Motivational	0.195	0.396	0	1
Control Variables	Age (years)	32.306	11.479	18	76
	Gender	0.556	0.497	0	1
	Education	4.127	1.298	1	7
	News	3.955	1.105	1	5
	Agency	2.190	0.751	1	4

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