

HUMAN RIGHTS NEWS AND THE RIGHT-WING MIND: MEDIA
CONTENT ANALYSIS AND EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATIONS OF
ATTITUDE CHANGE.

by

THOMAS VICTOR ARTHUR STOCKS

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Department of Political Science and International Studies
School of Government
College of Social Sciences
University of Birmingham
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Abstract

This project conducts a series of media exposure experiments to examine whether RWA or SDO play an intermediary role in attitudinal changes that may result from exposure to human rights news. Past research on the news coverage of human rights in the United Kingdom suggests that the media is an important source of public attitudes towards human rights. Nevertheless, research on the coverage of human rights has not engaged with research from political psychology on human rights attitudes or media effects. Research in political psychology has demonstrated that higher levels of both right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation consistently predict lower support for human rights. Both RWA and SDO predict support for broad sets of ideological positions that extend beyond attitudes towards human rights support. We do not know, however, whether the broader ideologies associated with these dimensions are drawn on to shape the media representation of human rights. This project develops a coding scheme for analysing human rights news that incorporates what we know both about how human rights are portrayed in the media and about the relationships the attitudinal dimensions RWA and SDO have with human rights attitudes. This project finds that human rights-opposed news often uses themes that are compatible with the wider ideologies predicted by both RWA and SDO. This project then runs a series of media exposure experiments which find that human rights news can prime RWA-associated evaluative beliefs about human rights, which in turn causes changes in expressions of support for human rights. However, a similar effect is not observed for SDO.

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List of Abbreviations:

RWA	Right-wing authoritarianism
SDO	Social dominance orientation
HRC	Human rights commitment
HRE	Human rights endorsement
HRR	Human rights restriction
MEHR	Military enforcement of human rights
AA	Authoritarian aggression
HRHCSDO	Human rights help criminals, with social dominance orientation associated stereotypes included (one of the styles of article used as an experimental manipulation).
NOHRSDO	No mention of human rights, with social dominance orientation associated stereotypes included (one of the styles of article used as an experimental manipulation).
HRO	Human rights as an obstacle (one of the styles of article used as an experimental manipulation).
HROT	Human rights as an obstacle, including the threat of terrorism (one of the styles of article used as an experimental manipulation).
HRODM	Human rights as an obstacle, including the stereotypical threat of dangerous migrants (one of the styles of article used as an experimental manipulation).
DPB	Disliked person blamed (one of the styles of article used as an experimental manipulation).

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Introduction

Over the past 25 years, researchers examining the media coverage of human rights in the United Kingdom have highlighted the importance of the media in shaping public attitudes towards human rights (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014; Pollock, 2014). This body of research has emphasised the role of right-wing media in the propagation of an antagonistic narrative towards human rights (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). Moreover, research in political psychology has consistently demonstrated an association between holding right wing beliefs and lower support for human rights (Moghaddam and Vuksanovic, 1990; Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; Stellmacher et al. 2005; McFarland and Mathews, 2005; Cohrs et al. 2007; Kossowska et al., 2011; Swami et al. 2012; McFarland, 2015). However, extant research on the portrayal of human rights in the United Kingdom has not intersected with psychological research on human rights support, political attitudes, or media effects. Subsequently, little is known about the process by which human rights news coverage may affect human rights attitudes. Therefore, we do not know how individual right-wing attitudes and antagonistic human rights narratives interact, or what effect any interaction might have on human rights attitudes.

This thesis sets out to provide an explanation for how certain types of right-wing, human rights-opposed news coverage may negatively affect human rights attitudes. In political psychology, right-wing attitudes are often conceptualised as two separate individual level dimensions: right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO) (Altemeyer, 1981; Duckitt, 2001; Sibley et al. 2006; Wilson and Sibley, 2013). RWA and SDO are thought to be manifestations of two different sets of schema, both of which may begin development in childhood: for RWA, the belief that the world is an inherently threatening place leads to a desire for threat control; for SDO, the belief that the world is inherently hierarchical and competitive leads to a desire for competition-based dominance (Altemeyer, 1981; Diaz-Veizades et al. 1995; Duckitt, 2001; Sibley et al. 2006; Wilson and Sibley, 2013; Lindén et al. 2018). In addition to being robust predictors of opposition to human rights, RWA and SDO also predict support for distinct broader sets of ideological positions (Pratto et al. 1994; Duckitt, 2001; McFarland and Mathews, 2005; Sibley et al. 2006; Stellmacher et al. 2005; Cohrs et al. 2007; Crowson and Gries, 2010; McFarland, 2015).

As right-wing news organisations are associated with human rights-opposed messages, this thesis asks whether human rights-opposed news routinely draws on ideas and themes that map on to the wider ideologies associated with the right-wing dimensions RWA and SDO. If so, what happens to human rights attitudes when people high in RWA or SDO are exposed to these themes in human rights news? Do their expressions of human rights attitudes change? Is their opposition to human rights amplified? Human rights news may be providing thematic cues to people high in RWA or SDO, making them more susceptible to the unconscious effects of exposure to human rights-opposed news. Research into RWA and SDO as attitudinal manifestations of motivational social values has examined how these values might interact with external triggers to produce authoritarian actions and reactions (Duckitt, 2009); this thesis, therefore, contributes to this line of research by investigating the potential intermediary role played by RWA or SDO in changes in attitudes towards human rights following exposure to human rights news.

To integrate research on both the psychological effects of media exposure and on right-wing attitudes, this thesis draws on media effects research. Past work in this field has generated two models of media effects that centre on the relationship between pre-existing schemas and media exposure: priming and framing (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Iyengar, 1990, 1991; Zaller, 1992; Entman, 1993; Nelson et al. 1997; Scheufele, 2000; Shah et al. 2004; McCombs, 2005; Weaver, 2007; Gross, 2008; Chong and Druckman, 2007a; Aarøe, 2011; Yang, 2015). In priming, media exposure leads to short-term increases in the importance of different schemas to expressions of attitudes or behaviours. If human rights news does draw on wider ideological patterns and themes associated with RWA or SDO, it is possible that exposure to human rights news may be increasing the importance of schemas associated with RWA or SDO to expressions of human rights attitudes. In framing, media exposure both activates and solidifies links between different schemas, which leads to both short-term and long-term changes in the way people think about different issues respectively. If exposure to human rights news is creating strong cognitive links between schemas associated with RWA or SDO and schemas associated with human rights attitudes, then tangential news stories that draw on RWA or SDO associated themes, but do not discuss human rights, could also be affecting human rights attitudes.

To test these two hypothetical models, this thesis first examines the news coverage of human rights to identify themes and patterns associated with RWA and SDO. Past research on the framing of human rights in the United Kingdom is incomplete: there are no established, complete human rights frame types to draw on, and there are no studies that incorporate hypotheses on the potential operational mechanisms of human rights frames into the frame identification process. However, there are a range of studies which examine the media coverage of human rights in the United Kingdom. These studies have identified complete frame types only within a narrow subsection of human rights media coverage and have identified consistent themes or narratives (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). This project develops a coding scheme that incorporates what we know both about how human rights are portrayed in the media and about the relationships the attitudinal dimensions RWA and SDO have with human rights attitudes. This thesis then runs a series of media exposure experiments to investigate the effects of exposure to different types of human rights news on human rights attitudes.

1. Literature Review

1.1- Human Rights Attitudes

1.1-1. Introduction

To understand the how people reason about human rights, researchers across the social sciences have examined the impact of a range of internal and external factors. Extant research points to the importance of socio-political context, the different types of rights, the potential beneficiaries of rights, and the portrayal of human rights as important external factors that can affect attitudes towards human rights (Moghaddam and Vuksanovic, 1990; Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Peterson-Badali et al. 2003; Nash, 2005; Cherney et al. 2008; Cherney, 2010; Ruck and Tenenbaum, 2011; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014; Ruck and Tenenbaum, 2014). For individual-level factors, researchers have highlighted the importance of political orientation, age, religiosity, personality type, and values in the development and expression of human rights attitudes (Diaz-Veizades et al. 1995; Spini and Doise, 1998; Stellmacher et al. 2005; McFarland and Mathews, 2005; Cohrs et al. 2007; Crowson and DeBacker, 2008; Kossowska et al. 2011; Swami et al. 2012; Hackett et al. 2015; McFarland, 2015). While some of this research has started to explore the relationship between internal and external factors (Crowson and DeBacker, 2008; Cherney, 2010; Swami et al. 2012; Ruck and Tenenbaum, 2014; McFarland, 2015), past research has not examined the interrelationship between news coverage of human rights, exposure to specific portrayals of human rights, individual level factors, and attitudes towards human rights.

Past research implicates right-wing newspapers in the dissemination of human rights opposed narratives and causing ambivalence, confusion, and scepticism towards human rights legislation in the UK (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014), but offers little insight into why and how these messages can affect the way audiences think about human rights. More recently, both Amnesty International (2017) and Human Rights Watch (2017) have started dedicating resources to combatting right-wing populist narratives and policies that present fundamental challenges to human rights. At the individual level, the value-attitude-belief dimensions RWA and SDO are thought to be behind a range of right-wing political attitudes, including reduced support for human rights, and increased support

for right-wing populist parties (Bakker et al. 2015; Van Assche et al. 2019). Although RWA and SDO do not completely explain human rights attitudes, both RWA and SDO appear to be important contributors to the development of human rights-opposed attitudes (Cohrs et al. 2007; McFarland and Mathews, 2005; McFarland, 2015). As the following sections demonstrate, the motivational goals of both threat control and dominance (which are foundational to RWA and SDO, respectively) are fundamentally incompatible with the aims of human rights. In addition, both RWA and SDO are reactive to socio-political circumstances, and both are susceptible to priming; in other words, the importance of both RWA and SDO to expressions of attitudes can increase in response to external factors (Duckitt, 2009).

Through a detailed examination and comparison of RWA and SDO, this chapter highlights how these dimensions predict support for cogent and distinct sets of political ideologies in addition to predicting reduced support for human rights. This thesis subsequently hypothesises that right-wing news coverage will draw on consistent ideological positions and themes that align with the broader ideological, attitudinal positions driven by RWA and SDO when reporting on human rights. To test this hypothesis, this section proposes a unique study of human rights news coverage in the UK that incorporates what we know about human rights news coverage, the dimensions RWA and SDO, and their relationship to human rights attitudes. This chapter therefore proposes the development of a coding scheme designed to identify thematic cues within human rights news that align with the broader political ideologies motivated by RWA and SDO. This constitutes the first stage in studying the potential of human rights news to activate right-wing value-attitude-belief dimensions.

By adopting a novel approach to the study of human rights news, the first stage of this project builds directly on previous human rights research and moves this field closer to a mechanism by which media narratives about human rights could affect expressions of attitudes towards human rights via interaction with RWA and SDO (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014; Pollock, 2014). Focussing on the relationship between both RWA and SDO and reactions to human rights news furthers understanding about the reactivity of these dimensions to external factors, and the consequences this can have on expressions of political attitudes (Feldman and Stenner, 1997; Duckitt, 2001; 2006; 2009; Duckitt and Sibley, 2009, 2010; Duckitt et al. 2010; Duckitt and Bizumic, 2018).

1.1-2. Internal and External Contributors to Human Rights Attitudes

Political and religious orientations were the starting point of research on the nature of human rights attitudes. Noting the lack of literature in psychology that focused on human rights orientations, Moghaddam and Vuksanovic (1990) drew on elements of social psychology to explore the consistency of human rights support across different contexts in order to examine the clarity of the concept of universality, which is fundamental to human rights in their current international and national formulations. Their research found that moral reasoning varies between individuals due to differences in political and religious orientations, where support for right-wing political parties and religious practice were both individually correlated with lower support for human rights (Moghaddam and Vuksanovic, 1990; Spini and Doise, 1998; McFarland and Mathews, 2005). However, while Crowson (2004) found that post-conventional reasoning caused variance in the prediction of attitudes towards civilian constraint, McFarland and Mathews (2005) found that the relationship between post-conventional reasoning and human rights support was spurious and had little effect when globalism and ethnocentrism were included in the analysis, highlighting the importance of dimensions associated with prejudice to human rights attitudes.

Researchers in psychology highlight that people's reasoning about human rights is multi-faceted: the types of rights discussed, the beneficiary, and their own social experiences can affect attitudes towards human rights. Research into the rights of children and children's perceptions of rights often divides rights into nurturance and self-determination rights (Peterson-Badali et al. 2003; Cherney et al. 2008; Cherney, 2010; Ruck and Tenenbaum, 2011; Ruck and Tenenbaum, 2014). An alternate approach to moral development, social cognitive domain theory, states that children construct understandings from social experiences, and that these understandings are simultaneously comprised of multiple concerns about justice and fairness as well as social conventional information about authority, tradition, and rules (Cherney and Shing, 2008). Individuals subsequently prioritise different concerns based on the situation and their development, and their concerns are shaped by socio-cultural factors (Cherney and Shing, 2008). Cherney et al. (2008) found that the age of the child and the type of right (nurturance or self-determination) involved affected the willingness of adults to support the rights of children and propose that this is determined by the cultural expectations of parents. Cherney (2010) found that the type of reasoning used

when making judgements about self-determination and nurturance rights changed as adolescents aged, as personal choice reasoning was used more frequently than other types for older adolescents. Cherney (2010) concluded that this reflects the desire for greater freedoms at this point in their life.

In addition, psychological research demonstrates that individuals will use different domains of knowledge to consider distinct types of rights. As Ruck and Tenenbaum (2014) note, immigrant and asylum-seeking children are particularly vulnerable to social exclusion. Ruck and Tenenbaum (2014), building on the above research and their previous study (2011), explored the attitudes of young people to the rights of asylum seekers using social cognitive domain theory, which states that individuals will use different domains of knowledge in different social situations: the moral domain (fairness and rights), social conventional domain (social norms), and psychological domain (personal choice), noting that moral and social conventional reasoning were associated with how young people judged intergroup exclusion. This study found that participants were more likely to use justifications grounded in moral reasoning when considering the religious rights of asylum seekers, while using social-conventional reasoning when considering asylum seeker's access to parental emotional support or choosing where to live (Ruck and Tenenbaum, 2014). In addition, participants were more likely to use moral reasoning when they supported the rights of the asylum seekers featured in the vignettes, and social-conventional reasoning when they did not. Ruck and Tenenbaum (2014) note that these findings mirror research on intergroup exclusion, where children are more likely to use moral reasoning to condemn exclusion and use social conventional reasoning to condone it.

Initial studies exploring the support for human rights in political science and political psychology focused on identifying relationships between support and rejection of human rights and a range of different personality traits, ideologies, beliefs, and values. Diaz-Veizades et al. (1995) brought together research on interpersonal and intergroup attitudes covering ethnocentrism, racism, prejudice, intolerance, global-mindedness, and political ideology more generally to create a measure of human rights attitudes that reflects the "unique, integrative nature of the human rights domain" (Diaz-Veizades et al. 1995). During their analysis, they found that the factors they identified as being correlated with human rights attitudes were conceptually similar to previously established political thought dimensions; in particular, governmental constraint attitudes, welfare activity, monitoring of

dissidents, economic regulations, and private control could be mapped to the factors civilian constraint, social welfare, and privacy from the scale developed using the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) by Diaz-Veizades et al. (1995). Political ideology and attitudes towards human rights were also connected by a correlation between party affiliation and endorsement levels of human rights subscales; respondents in America that supported a civilian constraint model of human rights scored higher on nationalism scales and preferred Republican candidates over Democratic candidates, while support for a social security conception of human rights was correlated with higher internationalism and support for Democratic candidates (Diaz-Veizades et al. 1995; Spini and Doise, 1998).

Political psychological research identified the role of individual values in making judgements about human rights. Building on the above studies, Spini and Doise (1998) brought in work on social anchoring, a model that states that guiding norms are provided by the social structure in which an individual lives, to explore how values relate to human rights attitudes. Spini and Doise (1998) hypothesised that values are a crucial psychological anchor when individuals are making judgements about human rights. Of the ten types of values established, universalism, benevolence (“preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact” [Spini and Doise, 1998]), and self-direction were both positively correlated with self-reported personal involvement with human rights causes, and with abstract government involvement, while being negatively correlated with support for applied government involvement. Left wing participants, participants with increased human rights knowledge or interest (measured by having read the UDHR), or participants that were Protestant or of no religious faith held these values more frequently than other participants (Spini and Doise, 1998). Stellmacher et al. (2005) also found that knowledge about human rights was positively correlated with support for human rights. Conversely, emphasis on power, achievement, and security were negatively correlated with both personal involvement in human rights causes and support for abstract governmental involvement, but positively correlated with support for applied human rights involvement (Spini and Doise, 1998). The value of universalism is also associated with pro-human rights behaviour, while self-enhancement values were not (Hackett et al. 2015). More modern research introduced two new, related variables that positively correlated with support for human rights: psychological sense of global community (Hackett et al. 2015) and identification with all of humanity (McFarland, 2015). Hackett et al. (2015) found that the relationship between self-transcendence values (values related to caring about the welfare of

others) and human rights behaviours is dependent on a psychological sense of global community.

Political psychological research in this area also emphasised the role of political and social context and personal, political experiences in human rights support. Engagement with human rights issues is related to perceptions that participants have about the political situations in their own country and other countries, concluding that experiences of social injustice leads to greater involvement in human rights causes (Spini and Doise, 1998). As McFarland and Mathews (2005) note, American public polling demonstrates that while Americans do support their government promoting human rights internationally, the issue ranks lower than issues of national self-interest. Crowson and DeBacker (2008), Swami et al. (2012), McFarland and Mathews (2005), and Kossowska et al. (2011) further demonstrate the relationship between human rights support, different national political circumstances, and global humanitarian concerns. In particular, studies exploring attitudes towards human rights in the context of the 'War on Terror' revealed that individual attitudes towards the rights granted to participants and others was strongly related to the endorsement of policies related to the 'War on Terror' (Crowson and DeBacker, 2008; Swami et al. 2012). McFarland (2015) also found that country-specific events affect human rights endorsement, and between country differences in endorsement of different human right types (in this case, civil and political rights against economic rights) are caused not just by different experiences, but also by different political histories and cultures.

1.1-3. Right-Wing Attitudinal Dimensions

In research on opposition to human rights, a lot of attention has been given to the attitudinal dimensions RWA and SDO. This body of research grew from research on prejudice, ethnocentrism, in-group/out-group attitudes, and intolerance. While the term ethnocentrism referred to a rejection of out-groups based on racial divides and geographical boundaries, generalised prejudice is a more common term in modern research as it captures prejudice against a range of social groups including gender and sexual minorities, for example (McFarland, 2015). The study of prejudice as an individual phenomenon, rather than a socio-cultural phenomenon, revealed important insights to the nature of prejudice; in particular, that individuals who exhibit prejudice towards one out-group are more likely to exhibit prejudice against other out-groups (Duckitt, 2001). Both RWA and SDO emerged as robust predictors of prejudice from research that aims to identify the different, stable internal factors or dispositions underlying individual levels of prejudice and related political values (Altemeyer, 1981; Diaz-Veizades et al. 1995; Duckitt, 2001; Sibley et al. 2006; Wilson and Sibley, 2013). In addition, both RWA and SDO predict intolerance in different circumstances (Crawford and Pilanski, 2014). Although RWA reflects political conceptualisations of authoritarianism and social conservatism and contrasts with liberalism and autonomy, and SDO reflects a belief in hierarchy and economic conservatism and contrasts with egalitarianism and humanitarianism, RWA and SDO have demonstrated a consistent and reliable predictive capacity in the study of socio-political phenomena which related variables have not (Duckitt, 2001).

Altemeyer (1981) established RWA as a unidimensional measure of authoritarianism. Of the nine identified elements of authoritarianism, three facets (conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, and authoritarian submission) covaried to form a single attitudinal dimension, RWA, that functions as a predictor of a range of socio-political phenomena including prejudice (Altemeyer, 1981; Duckitt, 2001). These three facets of RWA are interrelated: conventionalism refers to the support of conformity to social norms and values; authoritarian aggression refers to support of aggression towards, or punishment of, people or groups that violate social norms and values when there is a perception that this aggression or punishment is supported by conventional authorities; and authoritarian submission refers to a willingness to submit to social authorities (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; Crowson and Gries, 2010; Kossowska et al. 2011).

Altemeyer's (1981) initial work conceptualised RWA as a personality dimension; RWA was thought to form steady patterns of individual differences (Duckitt and Bizumic, 2018). Over time, however, the assumption that RWA and SDO were stable personality dimensions was challenged (Duckitt, 2009). Researchers raised two important counterpoints to contend that both RWA and SDO capture social attitude or value dimensions rather than personality types (Duckitt, 2009). First, unlike other measures of personality dimensions, RWA and SDO scales use statements of ideological beliefs and attitudes rather than behavioural dispositions or traits (Feldman and Stenner, 1997; Duckitt, 2009). Second, measures of both RWA and SDO are reactive to socio-political circumstances and priming (Feldman and Stenner, 1997; Duckitt, 2009).

In opposition to Altemeyer's (1981) conceptualisation of RWA, Feldman and Stenner (1997) proposed the interactionist model. Feldman and Stenner's (1997) interactionist theory of threat and authoritarianism focuses on RWA, which it conceptualises as an expression of the value of social conformity (Duckitt, 2009). When social conformity is threatened, authoritarianism is activated generating authoritarian attitudes (Duckitt, 2009). Feldman and Stenner's (1997) model highlights the importance of situational factors, particularly the perception of threat, in attitudinal manifestations of authoritarianism. Their findings suggest that attitudinal manifestations of authoritarianism depend on an interaction with threat; independently, authoritarianism appeared not to affect dependent variables typically explained by authoritarianism. Feldman and Stenner (1997) theorise that the variability of RWA in response to short-term threat indicates that it is unlikely that RWA is a personality dimension; in their model, threat affects authoritarians by increasing the connection between their predispositions and socio-political attitudes, rather than by causing direct, short-term changes in levels of any underlying authoritarian dispositions (Feldman and Stenner, 1997). This model further suggests that the experience of social threat can both cause authoritarianism and attitudinal manifestations of authoritarianism (Duckitt, 2009; Feldman and Stenner, 1997).

However, the interactionist model has limitations. Feldman and Stenner (1997) used the Authoritarian Child Rearing Values (ACRV) 1 and 2 scales to develop their model. While the ACRV-2 scale does have slightly better internal reliability compared to the ACRV-1 scale, the internal reliabilities of both ACRV-1 and ACRV-2 are low (Duckitt and Bizumic, 2018).

Furthermore, correlations with other well-validated measures of both RWA and authoritarianism suggest that the ACRV scales and other RWA scales are measuring two different things (Duckitt and Bizumic, 2018). In addition, the content of the items on both the ACRV-1 and ACRV-2 scales are principally compatible with the authoritarian submission aspect of RWA, and do not tap into the authoritarian aggression or conventionalism components of RWA (Duckitt and Bizumic, 2018). Moreover, their model focuses exclusively on RWA, and does not engage with SDO (Duckitt, 2009).

Conversely, Duckitt's (2001; 2009) model incorporates both RWA and SDO, and both personality factors and social-environmental factors (Duckitt, 2009). In the DPM model, as in the interactionist model, RWA and SDO are both activated and directed by social environmental factors (Duckitt, 2009). Duckitt's (2001; 2009) conceptualisation of RWA and SDO is supported by longitudinal research which shows the expected causal effects of both personality and worldview variables on RWA and SDO and the experimental manipulation of social environments and situations (Duckitt and Sibley, 2009; Duckitt, 2009). Duckitt's (2001; 2009) dual process motivational model is heavily influenced by work in childhood socialisation. By building on research that examines the development of specific schemas and personality dispositions related to prejudice, Duckitt (2001) hypothesises that the development of RWA and SDO follows a causal sequence: first, early socialisation and experiences favour or cause certain personalities; second, these personality dispositions encourage the adoption of different world views; third, individual personality dispositions and world views then interact to propagate motivational goals; and, fourth, subsequent value-attitude-belief dimensions, including RWA and SDO, are expressions of these motivational goals (Duckitt, 2001; 2009; McFarland, 2015).

In the following chapter, I discuss how the DPM model aligns with psychological models of media effects. The following sections will set out why it is important to consider both RWA and SDO individually when considering human rights attitudes. Each dimension captures a distinct form of authoritarianism (Crowson and Gries, 2010). RWA is threat-driven: perception of the world as a dangerous place predisposes support for RWA, which motivates social conformity (Duckitt, 2001; Wilson and Sibley, 2013). SDO, conversely, is driven by tough-mindedness, and the perception of the world as competitive (Duckitt, 2001; Sibley et al. 2006). However, Duckitt (2001) also found that the personality dimension of tough-mindedness was consistently not significantly correlated with SDO; instead, tough-

mindedness only affects SDO by facilitating the adoption of a competitive world view. As Sibley et al. (2006) note, individuals high in RWA desire social control and security, and individuals low in RWA strive for independence and autonomy; while individuals high in SDO are motivated towards in-group dominance and superiority, and individuals low in SDO are motivated towards altruistic social concern and egalitarianism.

While both RWA and SDO are effective predictors of ethnocentrism and generalised prejudice, their correlations with other individual level variables differ, demonstrating that they are unique measures: individuals high in SDO are less likely to be religious, while individuals high in RWA are likely to be religious; individuals high in SDO are more likely to be hedonistic and do not claim to be benevolent, while individuals high in RWA are likely to claim to be benevolent and not hedonistic; unlike individuals high in RWA, individuals high in SDO do not desire social conformity through tradition, nor do they typically find the world to be threatening; SDO predicts prejudice against people with disabilities, while RWA does not; SDO predicts hostile sexism but not benevolent sexism, while RWA predicts benevolent sexism but not hostile sexism; and, finally, individuals high in SDO are more likely to be men, while there is no significant gender difference for individuals high in RWA (Pratto et al. 1994; Duckitt, 2001; Crowson and Gries, 2010).

Pratto et al. (1994) initially conceptualised SDO as an individual difference dimension that predicted support for hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths/ideologies or hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths/ideologies. Hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths are conceptualised as widely accepted ideologies which either maintain or encourage group inequalities and stabilise oppression by providing social, institutional, and distributive norms; for example, institutionalised prejudice or meritocratic and social Darwinist ideologies (Pratto et al. 1994; Cohrs et al. 2007). Hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths, instead, promote and maintain higher levels of social equality; for example, multiculturalism, feminism, and human rights (Pratto et al. 1994; Cohrs et al. 2007). The research conducted by Pratto et al. (1994) demonstrates this conceptualisation: for example, SDO positively correlated strongly with nationalism and anti-African American racism, sexism, patriotism, support for military programs, support for the death penalty, and cultural elitism, and negatively correlated with support for welfare, women and LGBT+ rights, environmental policies, and interracial relationships.

Pratto et al. (1994) also note the potential for cultural variations in manifestations of SDO. Their study confirmed that preference for group dominance motivates support for culturally specific ethnic prejudice: in this 1994 American study, anti-African American racism was more strongly correlated with SDO than anti-Arab racism. Pratto et al. (1994), however, conclude by postulating that, as many different societies base policies on hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths that usually define superior and inferior groups, individual levels of SDO could be reliably measured in many societies. Crowson and Gries (2010) used studied attitudes towards people from China in an experiment exploring attitudes towards a wider range of international out-groups than those traditionally used in these studies. Crowson and Gries (2010) concluded that for individuals high in RWA, both knowledge of the out-group on how they differ and contact with the out-group appear to be important prerequisites for manifestations of prejudice towards that specific out-group; while for individuals high in SDO, out-group knowledge and contact did not appear to be prerequisites and did predict prejudice towards people from China.

While most of the studies noted above were American studies that used American participants, Swami et al. (2012) and Kossowska et al. (2011) used participants from a range of countries and confirmed that RWA appears to be cross-culturally stable. However, the perception of threat, which can moderate RWA, relies on the salience of threats (such as a recent terrorist attack), the current political climate, and political culture (Kossowska et al. 2011). Levels of RWA, attitudinal and behavioural manifestations of RWA are therefore not fixed; instead, they appear to be contingent on socio-political context and circumstance.

1.1-4. Double Highs

The relationship between RWA and SDO is important; as noted above, RWA and SDO are distinct but similar, and both RWA and SDO can cause prejudicial beliefs and behaviours. In Duckitt's (2001) DPM model, the underlying conditions (personality, situational, belief) which contribute to the individual development of RWA and SDO are distinct, but not exclusive (Duckitt, 2001; Crowson and Gries, 2010). The personality trait of social conformity and the perception of the world as a dangerous place motivates the development of RWA, while the personality trait of tough mindedness and the experience of high levels of competition and inequality from an early age motivate SDO (Crowson and Gries, 2010).

Using this model, Duckitt (2001) argues that there are two qualitatively distinct forms of prejudice that emerge from two different sets of cognitive and motivational schemas, threat-control and competition-dominance, and that these are the foundations of RWA and SDO respectively. Under the RWA threat-control model, individuals categorise out-groups as disruptive, immoral, and deviant, while in-group members are normal, good, and threatened by out-groups; conversely, under the SDO competition-dominance model, out-groups will be categorised as inferior, weak, and undeserving against a strong and deserving 'us' in-group (Duckitt, 2001). Duckitt (2001) concluded that RWA and SDO formed an additive, rather than interactive, motivational process. Moreover, this also translated to intolerance: Crawford and Pilanski (2014) found that RWA predicted increased intolerance towards outgroups when presented as a threat to social cohesion, and SDO predicted increased intolerance towards outgroups with hierarchy-attenuating political objectives.

Sibley et al. (2006) and Wilson and Sibley (2013) studied the relationship between RWA and SDO in further detail and confirmed that individuals high in SDO and RWA exhibit higher levels of prejudice than those high in either SDO or RWA individually. However, Wilson and Sibley (2013) concluded that there is nothing special about individuals who are high in both SDO and RWA, and that the two attitude-value-belief dimensions contribute to prejudice independently due to their unique effects on prejudice, rather than through an interactive process; that is, a high level of SDO does not increase the effect of RWA on prejudice, nor does a high level of RWA increase the effect of SDO on prejudice. However, Wilson and Sibley (2013) found that there is a significant interactive effect present when individuals score low in SDO and RWA, as individuals can only be extremely liberal (very low in

political conservatism) if they exhibit low levels of both RWA and low levels of SDO. Wilson and Sibley (2013) found that this interactive effect in predicting low levels of political conservatism disappears when an individual scores relatively high in either RWA and SDO, as an individual high in either dimensions separately can be politically conservative.

1.1-5. Right-Wing Attitudinal Dimensions and Human Rights Attitudes

As noted above, RWA is considered to be in part an ideological response to fear, threat, and uncertainty, and recent research has demonstrated that RWA interacts with threat perception to produce support of antidemocratic policies or behaviour, including, for example, increased governmental surveillance powers in response to a terrorist threat (Duckitt, 2001; Cohrs et al. 2007; Kossowska et al. 2011). As Kossowska et al. (2011) note, individuals who score highly in measures of RWA are likely to support any ideas that they perceive as providing protection, regardless of the negative implications. Furthermore, individuals who score highly in RWA are more willing to use violence to address social problems (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004).

There is, therefore, an intuitive incompatibility between the attitudes predicted by RWA and human rights support: as human rights protect individuals against the state by establishing inalienable principles, the power of the state to maintain social control and security by any means is restricted (Cohrs et al. 2007). Empirical studies conducted over the past three decades have confirmed that RWA is negatively correlated with attitudes supporting human rights (Moghaddam and Vuksanovic, 1990), attitudes towards the importance of human rights and towards engagement in pro-human rights behaviour (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; Stellmacher et al. 2005), commitment to human rights (McFarland and Mathews, 2005), human rights knowledge (Cohrs et al. 2007), and is positively correlated with support for the restrictions of free speech, freedom of press, and the right to assembly (McFarland and Mathews, 2005; Cohrs et al. 2007; Kossowska et al., 2011). In addition, RWA is a stronger predictor of attitudes towards human rights compared to the Big Five personality traits agreeableness, openness-intellect, extraversion, conscientiousness, neuroticism (Swami et al. 2012).

Conversely, RWA positively correlates with support for military enforcement of human rights (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004). While this initially seems contradictory, this is reflective of support by individuals high in RWA for aggression that is enacted by a legitimate social authority; therefore, if a government chooses to go to war to enforce human rights, or because of human rights violations, individuals high in RWA are likely to support this (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004). Furthermore, RWA is consistently associated with

support for war, aggressive foreign policy, and the use of torture (Pratto et al. 1994; Doty et al. 1997; Terrizzi and Drews, 2005; McFarland, 2005; Crowson et al. 2006; Jackson and Gaaertner, 2010; Lindén et al. 2018). In an examination of attitudes towards the first Gulf War, those high in RWA endorsed more aggressive U.S. responses to different hypothetical Iraqi actions prior to the War, and subsequently more gloating, less regret, and continued endorsement of aggressive U.S. foreign policy following the war (Doty et al. 1997). Those high in RWA also supported the prospective use of nuclear weapons and were more certain in their attitudes towards the use of force (Doty et al. 1997).

Jackson and Gaaertner (2010) note that support for aggressive foreign policy in those high in RWA may be motivated by a desire to defend against a “foreign culture that threatens the values, traditions, and stability of the ingroup”. Shaffer and Duckitt’s (2013) findings emphasise the importance of ingroup threat to RWA: while the fear-threat factors *harm to self, child, or country; personal and relationship failures; environmental and economic fears; political and personal uncertainties*; and *threats to ingroup* all positively correlated with RWA, only *threats to ingroup* predicted RWA. As McFarland (2015) note, individuals high in RWA appear to support military enforcement of human rights in the abstract, but not when the question is phrased as saving people of an out-group; in this case, people from another country. This is reflected in the findings of Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff (2004), which state that the attitudes towards the military enforcement of human rights is unrelated to variables that measure the levels of individual concern for others. Furthermore, Cohrs et al. (2007), found that support for the military enforcement of human rights is indicative of a more negative overall orientation towards human rights.

As with RWA, there is an intuitive incompatibility between the attitudes predicted by SDO and human rights support. Human rights are egalitarian principles, not hierarchical principles, and are therefore a set of hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths: universality is a fundamental concept of human rights, and universality contradicts inequality and hierarchal policies and norms (Stellmacher et al. 2005; Cohrs et al. 2007). Like RWA, SDO was positively correlated with support for military action; however, SDO was not positively correlated with support for military action with the goal of protecting human rights (McFarland, 2015). Furthermore, unlike individuals high in RWA, who usually support human rights principles in the abstract, individuals high in SDO do not (McFarland, 2015). McFarland and Mathews (2005) found that SDO was more strongly negatively correlated

with measures of human rights commitment than RWA, while RWA was more strongly positively correlated with support for human rights restriction than SDO. McFarland and Mathews (2005) concluded that this was reflective of the different characteristics of RWA and SDO: RWA is related to a desire to punish transgressions of social norms and for the maintenance and promotion of security, therefore, individuals high in RWA will support restrictions in human rights in anti-terror policies, for example; SDO, however, correlates with valuing dominance and power, and with a lack of universality, therefore individuals high in SDO will not support human rights principles, but do not necessarily desire to take human rights away in the name of security or as a means of punishment.

While numerous studies (Duckitt, 2001; Sibley et al. 2006; Crowson and Gries, 2010; Wilson and Sibley, 2013; McFarland, 2015) have confirmed the relationship between both RWA and SDO with human rights attitudes, Cohrs et al. (2007) found that political ideology, social dominance theory, authoritarianism, and values research are not able to explain human rights orientations independently, and that more research is required to explain how these individual dimensions are related when studying human rights orientations. Furthermore, McFarland (2015) found that the effects of RWA and SDO on human rights attitudes were both mediated through ethnocentrism, but also that SDO affect human rights attitudes by lowering empathy, while RWA affects human rights attitudes by lowering principled moral reasoning. Both empathy and universalism are connected to pro-human rights behaviour, while self-enhancement values are not (Hackett et al. 2015).

1.1-6. Conclusion

In conclusion, despite focusing on a wide range of external and individual level factors that affect human rights attitudes, research on the psychology of human rights has not explored the relationship between media exposure, individual level factors, and human rights attitudes. Past research on the media coverage of human rights has identified the role of right-wing media in the dissemination of media messages in opposition to human rights, and research in political psychology has consistently demonstrated an association between holding right wing beliefs and lower support for human rights. However, we do not know how individual level factors associated with being right-wing interact with human rights-opposed messages from right-wing sources. The research on attitudinal dimensions often conceptualises right-wing attitudes as two separate individual level dimensions: right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, both of which are consistently, independently associated with lower human rights support. Past research theorises that these dimensions are attitudinal manifestations of motivational goals made chronically salient by different schemas: threat-control and competition-dominance. This is reflected in the types of prejudice that each dimension predicts support for: out-groups as dangerous and threatening, and out-groups as weak, inferior, or undeserving. While these dimensions are conceptually similar, there are crucial differences. These differences are summarised in Table 1, below. Table 2 displays other key variables associated with support for human rights.

Table 1: Ideological positions/attitudes predicted by different levels of SDO and RWA

	SDO	RWA
Ideological positions predicted by high levels of SDO or RWA.	<p>Economic conservatism,</p> <p>Authoritarian aggression, in-group dominance, hedonism,</p> <p>Competition-dominance based prejudice, hostile sexism, support for hierarchy-enhancing legitimising myths, nationalism, racism, anti-disability prejudice, perception of out-groups as weak and undeserving, low empathy,</p> <p>Support for military programs, support for the death penalty, low support for welfare, low support for out-group rights, low support for environmental policies.</p>	<p>Social conservatism,</p> <p>Authoritarian aggression, authoritarian submission, conventionalism, social conformity,</p> <p>Threat-control based prejudice, benevolent sexism, support punishment for violation of social norms, perception of out-groups as immoral or deviant,</p> <p>Desire for security, support for the military action and the military enforcement of human rights, perception of the world as threatening, religiosity, lower principled moral reasoning.</p>
Ideological positions predicted by low levels of SDO or RWA.	<p>Liberalism, egalitarianism, humanitarianism, support for hierarchy-attenuating legitimising myths, empathy.</p>	<p>Liberalism, autonomy, openness-intellect, high principled moral reasoning.</p>

(Wilson and Sibley, 2013; Duckitt, 2001; Sibley et al. 2006; Crowson and Gries, 2010; Pratto et al. 1994; Cohrs et al. 2007; Stellmacher et al. 2005; McFarland, 2015; Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; Kossowska et al., 2011; McFarland and Mathews, 2005; Moghaddam and Vuksanovic, 1990; Altemeyer, 1981; Sibley et al. 2006)

Table 2: Other variables related to human rights support, unrelated to RWA and SDO

	Negatively correlated with human rights support	Positively correlated with human rights support
Other human rights related variables not directly associated with RWA or SDO	Need for structure, simplistic epistemology and ontology (McFarland, 2015).	Identification with all humanity, psychological sense of global community, belief in the possibility of creating a better world, education, human rights knowledge (McFarland, 2015).

As I have highlighted so far, past research tells us that the dimensions RWA and SDO are tied to coherent bundles of ideological positions. These bundles of ideologies are logically consistent (the perception of the world as threatening leads to a prioritisation of security policies, for example) and are also relevant to human rights: the motivational aims of safety from threats (RWA) and success in a naturally unequal competitive world (SDO) result in attitudes that are incompatible with the fundamental aims of human rights. In addition, higher scores in both predict lower support for human rights attitudes.

As noted in the introduction, past research on the coverage of human rights in the United Kingdom tells us that right-wing media propagates an antagonistic narrative towards human rights (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). We do not know, however, whether right-wing news coverage of human rights is routinely drawing on ideological positions and themes that align with how those high in RWA and SDO think about the world. Does human rights-opposed news use thematic cues that people high in RWA or SDO may be unconsciously attuned to? As right-wing news is associated with the publication of human rights-opposed news, and both RWA and SDO reflect distinct types of right-wing attitudes, this thesis hypothesises that the positions associated with high levels of RWA and SDO will be present across human rights-opposed news in an ideologically

consistent manner. The first set of hypotheses, which are included in section 2. *Hypotheses Summary* are based on expectations which stem from the discussion presented here.

This thesis, therefore, proposes the development of a coding scheme to identify thematic cues within human rights news that align with the broader ideologies associated with RWA and SDO. This coding scheme will be used to construct a typology of human rights news coverage that incorporates what we know about the dimensions RWA and SDO and their relationship to human rights attitudes. By applying a theoretical framework designed to understand individuals' political orientations to the study of human rights news, this thesis aims to identify potential pathways through which human rights news exposure could affect human rights attitudes. While each facet of these dimensions could be labelled simply as a right-wing political position, using a typology that centres on the psychological dimensions that predict these positions will allow us to consider the relationship between media exposure, individual level factors, and human rights attitudes, which has not yet been explored by past research in this area. In addition to further understanding the relationship between exposure to right-wing, authoritarian, or populism messages and opposition to human rights, this project extends research on the reactivity of both RWA and SDO to external factors in the real world.

1.2- How Can the Media Affect Attitudes?

1.2-1. Introduction

As noted in the introduction to this thesis, past research has not explored human rights support through a media effects lens while also incorporating research on the psychology of human rights support. The research discussed so far led to the question: does human rights-opposed news use thematic cues that people high in RWA or SDO may be attuned to? If human rights news does use thematic cues aligned to the dimensions RWA and SDO, a natural follow up question would be: do these thematic cues affect the human rights attitudes of people high in RWA or SDO? To begin thinking about how exposure to human rights news might affect human rights attitudes, it is necessary to explore research on media effects. The following sections, therefore, discuss the main psychological mechanisms behind attitudinal responses to media exposure, and ask: how might RWA or SDO play a role in attitudinal responses to human rights media? How could thematic cues aligned to how people high in RWA and SDO think about the world trigger changes in attitudes towards human rights?

The research discussed so far tells us that pre-existing schemas are central to the dimensions RWA and SDO. It is thought that schemas which develop in early childhood make certain motivational goals chronically salient, and these manifest later as the dimensions RWA and SDO (Duckitt, 2006). For RWA, the perception that the world is a threatening place leads to the chronically salient motivational goals of in-group security and social order; for SDO, the perception that the world is split into natural, competitive hierarchies motivates in-group dominance (Crowson and Gries, 2010). This provides a natural starting point for investigating how media exposure could affect people high in RWA or SDO. How do people make sense of the news when they already have schemas that shape their interpretation of the world? How does information from the news interact with people's pre-existing ideas about how the world is?

Past work in media effects has generated two models of that centre on the relationship between pre-existing schemas and media exposure: priming and framing. Research on priming tells us that the media can make certain issues or ways of thinking more important to expressions of attitudes or behaviours (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Zaller, 1992; Nelson et al.

1997; McCombs, 2005; Weaver, 2007; Chong and Druckman, 2007a). When people read news that contains information that aligns with pre-existing schemas, this schema becomes more important in subsequent expressions of attitudes or behaviours (Zaller, 1992; Scheufele, 2000). Research on framing tells us that the way the media tie together different elements in their presentation of news stories can affect how people think about different issues (Iyengar, 1990, 1991; Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 2000; Shah et al. 2004; Gross, 2008; Aarøe, 2011; Yang, 2015). When connections between different thematic elements are repeated consistently, media framing can encourage networks of schemas to form. When part of this network is activated, there is a set expectation based on the past simultaneous activations of these schemas, that encourages the activation of the wider network of schemas (Scheufele, 2000; Yang, 2015). In framing, the activated network of schemas determines subsequent expressions of attitudes or behaviours.

The following sections present a detailed comparison of priming and framing effects and, subsequently, propose conducting a series of media exposure experiments to identify and priming or framing effects associated with the dimensions RWA or SDO. These sections provide a media effects framework for the investigation of how human rights news might interact with pre-existing schemas associated with the dimensions RWA and SDO to affect human rights attitudes. To put this more simply, this thesis asks: do peoples' levels of RWA and SDO determine how they respond to human rights news? This constitutes the second stage in studying the potential of human rights news to activate right-wing value-attitude-belief dimensions.

By studying how exposure to real-world examples of human rights messages which draw on right-wing, populist, or authoritarian messages interact with people's levels of RWA and SDO to affect human rights attitudes, this project contributes to multiple fields of research. By adopting a media effects framework that connects together both what we know about how human rights are portrayed in the British media with prior knowledge about individual level right-wing dimensions, this project is able to directly test assumptions about the role of right-wing messages in affecting human rights attitudes (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014; Pollock, 2014; Amnesty International, 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2017). In addition to building on research investigating the reactivity of RWA and SDO (Feldman and Stenner, 1997; Duckitt, 2001; 2006; 2009; Duckitt and Sibley, 2009, 2010; Duckitt et al. 2010; Duckitt and Bizumic, 2018), this chapter also proposes an original

experimental procedure that enables the identification and analytical differentiation of both priming and framing effects, which builds on Scheufele's (1999; 2000; 2004) theoretical differentiation of these effects.

1.2-2. How is the media important to human rights?

While human rights media remains “understudied and under-published” (Pollock, 2014), the media has an essential role in human rights politics. The media in the United Kingdom has an interactive relationship with human rights; the media does not simply report human rights issues, but actively shapes parliamentary debate on human rights (McNulty et al. 2014). Moreover, previous research has indicated that while the British public tend to support human rights as an abstract idea, human rights knowledge is low and is shaped mainly by media representations of human rights (Ovsiovitch, 1992; Vizard, 2010; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). If human rights knowledge is shaped primarily by the media, then the failure of the media to report on human rights issues consistently, fairly, and accurately is likely to be a direct cause of unfair and inaccurate public attitudes towards human rights (Heinze and Freeman, 2010).

This has tangible effects on the global battle for human rights, as the news media functions as a vehicle for the work of human rights organisations. Inaccurate public perceptions about human rights can prevent people from practically realising their own human rights (Hamelink, 2001). The identification of human rights abuses by human rights organisations, and the subsequent naming and shaming of perpetrators, has been shown to have a pronounced impact on the attitudes of citizens in towards their government in countries with poor human rights records (Davis et al. 2012). Media organisations are responsible for reporting human rights violations and making government behaviour transparent to, in turn, mobilise citizens in democratic countries to hold their governments to account (Ovsiovitch, 1992; Apodaca, 2007). News coverage can also compensate for failures of international governmental organisations and their inability to keep or place specific human rights issues on the international agenda (Ovsiovitch, 1992).

However, media effects research has provided varied conclusions about the strength of the impact of mass media on public attitudes more generally; occasionally, mass media appears to have a strong effect, while other times it appears to have very little effect (Green-Pedersen and Stubager, 2010). In an examination of previous research, Weaver (1996) notes that numerous studies have demonstrated that voters do learn from media coverage of politics; in particular, individual’s awareness of different issues, the importance of those issues, and the traits of different political candidates are most likely to come from media coverage. Soroka

(2003) argues content in the mass media is the most probable source of changes in attitude preferences over time related to foreign policy, and that issue salience is strongly linked to media consumption.

As individuals are cognitively limited, only a finite amount of information can be held at the front of the mind where it remains easily accessible; therefore, how salient information is to individuals influences the way they evaluate different issues (Dunaway et al. 2010). Where coverage is fleeting, attention to the issue is limited and interest and salience wanes quickly (Wolfe et al. 2013). The newsworthiness, or the attention the news gives to a story, of certain types of events and issues are usually predetermined: spectacular events, including violence, scandal, crime, warfare, and elections, receive more prominent news coverage as these issues are viewed to be more marketable (Graber, 1980; Neuman, 1990; Uscinski, 2009; Giles and Shaw, 2009; Wolfe et al. 2013). Market pressures to compete for an audience in a saturated, competitive marketplace leads journalists, editors, and managers to pursue news stories that appeal to the desires of the audience (Uscinski, 2009). Human rights issues are often reported not because human rights issues are inherently newsworthy, but because they have a connection to another newsworthy topic; human rights media coverage is often, therefore, a by-product of media coverage on war, economic issues, or international politics (Ovsiovitich, 1992; Ramos et al. 2007; Cole, 2010; Heinze and Freedman, 2010; Chalabi, 2010). Ongoing political and social issues often do not have a spectacular quality to determine their immediate newsworthiness. Instead, public interest and concerns about issues will drive media coverage (Uscinski, 2009). In other times, spectacular events can drive media coverage; in this case, public knowledge of the event or issue is strongly influenced by the initial media coverage given (Graber, 1980; Uscinski, 2009). The ability of news to make an issue salient to audiences is of central interest to media effects researchers that examine agenda setting and priming effects, which this chapter will now discuss in more detail.

1.2-3. Saliency, Agenda Setting, and Priming

Early media effects research provided evidence that the media can affect attitudes by increasing the saliency of certain information and increase the importance of that information in subsequent expressions of attitudes. The **agenda setting effect** was first proposed by McCombs and Shaw (1972), when their research confirmed the adage that the media does not tell people what to think, but what to think about (Dreier and Martin, 2010). Agenda setting is the process through which objects¹ move into or between the agendas of the media, public, and policymakers, therefore agenda setting research concerns the interactions between these different agendas (Manheim and Albritton, 1984). Cook et al. (1983) offer a more politicised definition, and state that agenda setting “refers to the process by which problems become salient as political issues meriting the attention of the polity”; while Dreier and Martin (2010) state that news media create an agenda through their ability to determine what will be in the news. Meriläinen and Vos (2011) define an agenda as a range of issues or objects ranked according to their importance, and state that the saliency (and therefore place in the ranking) of an issue is dictated by the amount of media coverage. These definitions point to the same concept, but different processes and components are emphasised to reflect the aims of the individual research conducted. McCombs (2005) state that there are three distinct consequences of agenda setting: forming an opinion, priming opinions (through emphasis on certain issues over others) and shaping an opinion by emphasising different attributes.

An individual level priming effect can be defined as a saliency-based effect. Scheufele (2000) notes that agenda setting and priming were built on the theoretical foundations established by research on the cognitive processing of semantic information which stated that individuals developed activation tags when they receive information that enabled individuals to contextualise and store information for later retrieval. This model was later replaced by a memory-based model of information processing, centred around the accessibility of information, which is what agenda setting and priming are based on: mass media determine the saliency of different information to audiences and, therefore, the ease at which information can be retrieved (Iyengar, 1990; Scheufele, 2000; McCombs, 2005). Weaver (2007) notes that the convergence of agenda setting and priming strengthened agenda setting

¹ Here, and throughout this thesis, ‘object’ is used to refer to the thing an individual has an opinion towards (McCombs, 2005)

as a theory by further elucidating how agenda setting effects can manifest, and the two terms are now often used interchangeably.

In this model, an attitude is the weighted sum of evaluative beliefs about an issue or object (Chong and Druckman, 2007a). The individual evaluates the different attributes (potential consequences, different features, underlying reasons, and context) of an issue, and the final attitude is then determined by the magnitude of these attribute evaluations and the salience weight assigned to each attribute evaluation (Zaller, 1992; Chong and Druckman, 2007a). However, this model is an idealised version of attitude formation, and, in practice, the expression of different considerations of an issue or object, for example in response to an item on a questionnaire, might not reflect fully formed expressions of attitudes but rather considerations based simply on information that is the most salient to them at that moment (Wanta and Hu, 1993; Chong and Druckman, 2007a; Dunaway et al. 2010).

For individuals high in RWA or SDO, attitudes or evaluative beliefs about certain issues will be shaped by their underlying motivational aims. However, as individuals' attitudes and opinions are not exclusively defined by their level of RWA or SDO, the saliency of RWA or SDO associated evaluative beliefs relative to the saliency of other pertinent information at a given time may change people's expressed attitudes about an issue. This thesis therefore asks: by emphasising themes that map on to the wider ideologies associated with RWA and SDO, can human rights-opposed news prime RWA or SDO based opinions about human rights? Does human rights-opposed news increase the saliency of RWA or SDO-associated evaluative beliefs? If so, does this change in the relative saliency of RWA or SDO-associated considerations manifest as reduced support for human rights in people high in RWA or SDO? This thesis is, therefore, interested in the priming outcome of agenda setting (McCombs, 2005).

1.2-4. What is a Frame?

In some past research, framing is referred to second level agenda setting (Weaver, 2007). While framing is often grouped with priming as part of a wider media effects umbrella, and both priming and framing effects describe identifiable changes in subsequent attitudinal or evaluative considerations following media exposure, the process by which framing and priming affect attitudes is different (Scheufele, 2000; Chong and Druckman, 2007a, 2007b). Over the following sections, this thesis will contrast framing from priming effects. In addition to clarifying how priming and framing are operationally defined within this thesis, differentiating the processes of priming and framing helps us to identify and understand the process by which exposure to human rights-opposed news could affect the human rights attitudes of people high in RWA or SDO. While framing is a broad approach used in several different fields for different purposes, this thesis draws heavily on the psychological theories of framing advanced by Scheufele (1999; 2000; 2004; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). In this model, media frames mirror the consistent bundles or networks of schemas that comprise cognitive frames; framing effects, therefore, are theorised to occur when an individual is exposed to a media frame that matches an existing cognitive frame, thus activating this cognitive frame and any secondary attitudinal manifestations of this frame.

Framing theory is based on the axiom that objects can be considered from a range of perspectives, and can therefore be constructed, and understood by individuals, as having different moral implications or consequences (Chong and Druckman, 2007a). Through both analysis of public opinion and elite discourse, and studying the effects of frame manipulation in experiments, it has been established that frames are related to public opinion in tangible ways (Tversky and Kahneman, 1981; Iyengar, 1990, 1991; Gerhards and Rucht, 1992; Entman, 1993; Terkildsen and Schnell, 1997; Nelson et al. 1997; Scheufele, 2000; Shah et al. 2004; Gross, 2008; Druckman, 2009; Aarøe, 2011; Yang, 2015).

Framing is not a unified paradigm; it is better described as a broad research program that includes a fractured mix of theoretical perspectives (Scheufele, 2004; Matthew, 2009; Druckman, 2009). The psychological research on framing that laid the groundwork for media framing research can be traced to early experiments that explored text comprehension; while this body of research first established the importance of prior information and individual attitudinal differences in message interpretation, the media itself was not of fundamental

interest, and, as the experimental vignettes were not representative of frames that exist outside of the laboratory, this body of research often suffered from low external validity (Giles and Shaw, 2009). Media research in the 1980s moved towards a social constructivist approach to media effects, where the media defines the frames of reference used to discuss issues, and therefore construct a social reality (Scheufele, 1999). By the 1990s, frames were established as a key concept in the study of political communication, as scholars began asserting that news items were frequently constructed through the subtle emphasis of certain “orienting and organising schemes” (Shah et al. 2004).

Iyengar’s seminal work (1991) argues that when individuals are trying to understand the world around them, they will seek to understand fundamental issues of responsibility and base their attitudes towards an object based on the answers they receive from the information provided (Iyengar, 1991; Scheufele, 2000). Iyengar (1991) concluded that the frames used in the media encouraged different attributions of responsibility. Entman’s (1993) work, however, provided perhaps the most frequently cited definition of framing, which states that “to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993; Nelson et al. 1997; Scheufele, 2004; Zhou and Moy, 2007; Matthes and Kohring, 2008; Aarøe, 2011). Entman’s (1993) definition identifies different potential generic components of a frame (problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, treatment recommendation). While we are again dealing with saliency, the different elements of a frame work together as a consistent, coherent whole to produce strong frame effects (Scheufele, 2004).

Each of these components identified by Entman rely on the use of rhetoric and linguistic devices, including metaphors, catchphrases, visuals, and moral appeals, for example (Entman, 1993; Zhou and Moy, 2007; Kinder, 2007). In combination, these elements provide a narrative structure, or some form of information packaging, that provides organisation and clarity to the different features of a news story which, when taken together, can be referred to as a frame (Entman, 1993; Giles and Shaw, 2009). Frames, therefore, supply essential context and determine what the issue is in a very fundamental sense (Weaver, 2007; Papacharissi and Oliveira, 2008; Chalabi, 2010). Kinder (2007) further notes that frames not only provide meaning, but provide “recipes, advice from experts on how citizens should cook up their

opinions”. Kinder (2007) provides a useful analogy that helps to elucidate what is meant by a frame:

“[f]or jurors, a good story organises and orders the jumble of facts and claims. Evidence is unscrambled. Causal and intentional relations are established. Gaps are filled. Plot turns are identified. And finally, a good story instructs the juror as to which verdict to choose - just as, perhaps, a good frame instructs citizens as to which policy to support.”

However, it is important to note that the effects of exposure to a frame differ from communication-based persuasion, in which a communicator aims to cause changes in attitudes based on the presentation of information that is new to the audience or by providing a convincing argument. Framing effects “are not reducible to the new information that the framed message provides” (Nelson et al. 1997), and instead rely on the activation of pre-existing attitudinal information, such as stereotypes about social groups (Yang, 2015) or, perhaps, RWA and SDO-associated evaluative beliefs.

We can, therefore, broadly define a frame as a coherent and consistent way of presenting the different components of a news story. Many different frame types have been identified in previous research. Identified complete frame types can be separated into two broader categories: *formal* (or generic) frames and *content* (or issue specific) frames (Scheufele, 2000, 2004; Matthes, 2009a; Matthes, 2009b). Content frames are determined by some feature of the media content, and are specific to the issue covered, while formal frames refer to some type of organisational theme or principle that is not specific to the content and can be identified across a range of issues and content types (Scheufele, 2004; Matthes, 2009a; Matthes, 2009b).

As noted above, Iyengar (1990, 1991) identified two distinct formal frame types, episodic and thematic, which have been utilised by scholars studying framing effects since (Shah et al. 2004; Gross, 2008; Papacharissi and Oliveira, 2008; Matthes, 2009a; Matthes, 2009b; Aarøe, 2011). Episodic frames are built around individuals and specific instances or events rather than ongoing issues and societal conditions (Iyengar, 1990, 1991; Shah et al. 2004). Conversely, thematic frames contextualise issues more broadly, and may rely on policy information, statistics, and specialist opinions that emphasise issue trends (Iyengar, 1991;

Gross, 2008). Iyengar (1991) found that the key difference between episodic and thematic frames is the attribution of responsibility: episodic frames, in their isolation, result in the attribution of responsibility to the individual characters within the narrative, while thematic frames result in societal or collective attributions of responsibility (Iyengar, 1991; Shah et al. 2004; Gross, 2008; Matthes, 2009a). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) examined the prevalence of 5 different frames in articles discussing European politics: conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and responsibility. Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) research found that the type of frame used did not differ significantly between newspapers and television news, but that the use of different frames was determined by the type of media outlet (Matthes, 2009a).

Scheufele (2004) criticises studies for operationalising frames one dimensionally, despite a body of research that has identified different frame elements. The prominence of different frame elements will vary between frames and issues, and the importance of different frame elements in producing a framing effect will also vary between issues and frame types (Scheufele, 2004). Chong and Druckman (2007a) note that the identification and experimental manipulation of different frame components is essential for ongoing research in framing, as it will help to clarify what features give a frame strength, and further state that it is important to understand that frame elements are often issue specific, and what constitutes a strong frame element may vary between different issues.

1.2-5. What is Framing?

Framing occurs at different communication levels: within the communicating individual or organisation, within newsrooms and the disseminated information, and within audiences (Papacharissi and Oliveira, 2008). At these communication levels, different framing processes are identifiable: frame building, which usually occurs at the level of elite discourses; frame setting, which usually occurs during information dissemination and reception; and individual level consequences of framing (Scheufele, 2000). Frame building and frame setting are often deliberate processes: as many political issues are multi-faceted, journalists often have a choice of frames available to them. In addition, journalists have the option of creating a unique interpretation – a journalist is employed to “structure information so as to approximate reality” and choosing how to frame a story is one aspect of this approximation (Terkildsen and Schnell, 1997).

Scheufele (2004) further notes that framing can be defined as existing at three cognitive or textual levels: in a network of schemas, in public discourse, and in the framework of different media output. From this divide, three branches of framing research can be identified: the communicator approach, which concentrates on either the cognitive or other potential processes (including the institutional restrictions discussed above) which result in journalists using certain frames, or the different ways the media has presented an issue; the public discourse approach, which examines how and which political actors successfully create frames that are adopted for use by the media; and, finally, the media effects approach, which examines how the different frames identified in the media affect attitudes, emotions, schemas, and behaviour of individuals (Scheufele, 2004). Zhou and Moy (2007) identify an initial division between agenda setting research and framing research at the level where agendas and frames are set and built respectively: agenda building research focuses on how elites (normally political actors but excluding journalists) can influence media content and direction, while frame building research concerns how institutional media cultures, different pressures (including cultural resonances which act through the desire of media outlets to appeal to audiences) and the internal cognitive processes of journalists shape frames (Chong and Druckman, 2007a).

This project adopts a media effects approach, as it aims to investigate the interaction between individual level attitudinal dispositions with exposure to media exposure on political attitudes. This project, therefore, does not explore the questions: “Why do political actors or journalists portray human rights the way they do?” or “How do human rights frames move between different levels of communication?”. It is possible, for example, that journalists high in RWA or SDO are motivated to use frames that are compatible with the wider ideologies associated with these dimensions when tasked with writing articles about human rights. It is also possible, for example, that politicians or other political actors reproduce or intentionally construct human rights frames that are aligned with the wider ideological positions predicted by RWA or SDO.

1.2-6. How Are Frames Identified?

As the first half of the literature review establishes, one of the questions this thesis asks is: does human rights-opposed news use thematic cues that people high in RWA or SDO may be attuned to? In the language of framing, we could ask if human rights frames incorporate high RWA or high SDO thematic frame components. It is necessary, therefore, to ask: how can frames be identified? In a review of framing methods, Saperas and Carrasco-Campos (2015) found that most framing studies used quantitative content analysis for the identification of frames, and then the operationalisation of a subset of observed frames in a survey-based experiment. However, the methodology used for the identification of frames varies, leading to concerns about the validity of framing research.

As Boydston et al. (2013) note, the process of identifying frames and then coding frames through a content analysis is a labour-intensive process. In addition, frames as a theoretical concept are abstract variables that are difficult to code, and therefore the accurate and reliable measuring of frames is challenging (Matthes and Kohring, 2008; Boydston et al. 2013). Most published framing research focuses on issue specific frames (David et al. 2011). Issue specific frames can provide a more detailed analysis but cannot be used to test wider framing patterns across issues over time (Boydston et al. 2013). Reese (2007) argues that students substitute 'topic' for 'frame' to try to make simple content analyses appear more compelling but fail to demonstrate how the frame functions as a frame in providing organisation and structure to the analysed information. Borah (2011) further contends that many past framing studies fail to adequately differentiate between 'frame' and 'topic'.

In addition, many articles use unique frames rather than generic frames; there is a concern that the proliferation of issue specific frames stunts the development of framing theory by only contributing to research on the specific issue, while the development of generic frames contributes to the understanding of framing more broadly (Borah, 2011). This is a concern for the research proposed by this thesis, which is specifically interested in human rights news. However, while this thesis focuses on the individual level dimensions RWA and SDO because they are robust predictors of attitudes towards human rights, they both predict a range of political attitudes. Therefore, the approach adopted by this project to the coding of human rights news and the subsequent identification of potential frames could be adapted to

apply to any political issue that is relevant to the dimensions RWA and SDO. This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

In a meta-review of framing literature, Matthes and Kohring (2008) found that five different, but sometimes overlapping, methodologies for the identification of frames were used: a *hermeneutic approach*, a *linguistic approach*, a *manual holistic approach*, a *computer-assisted approach*, and a *deductive approach*. In the hermeneutic approach, researchers provide an interpretative account texts, and make connections with wider cultural elements. However, in these studies, the process of frame identification and analysis is not detailed and often it relies on the subjective judgements of a single researcher (Matthes and Kohring, 2008). In the *linguistic approach*, researchers determine the linguistic elements that identify a frame, and then analyse the use of these elements to identify frames. This approach requires the development of a data matrix for each news text, which allows the analysis to be thorough, but also complex, making it difficult to analyse large text samples (Matthes and Kohring, 2008). In the *manual holistic approach*, researchers first extract frames using methods similar to the hermeneutic approach, before using the frames qualitatively identified in a small number of articles to develop a codebook used for a quantitative content analysis. Again, the reliability and validity of this approach is determined by the transparency of the initial qualitative analysis, as researchers must ensure and demonstrate that they are identifying media frames and not simply researcher frames (Matthes and Kohring, 2008). The *computer-assisted approach* to framing research is becoming progressively sophisticated (David et al. 2011). The *computer-assisted approach* is based on the idea that different frames use specific identifying language that can be identified by computer programs. Critics of this model argue that the computer assisted approach sacrifices validity for reliability, and, as frames are reduced to clusters of words, that the computer assisted model often identifies article topics rather than frames (Matthes and Kohring, 2008).

The approaches covered above are all inductive methods for frame identification: frame codes are not developed beforehand; instead, different approaches are used to try and draw out frames organically from the data (Matthes and Kohring, 2008). The *deductive approach*, however, begins by theoretically deriving frames from existing literature, before developing a coding scheme based on these frames that is used to identify frames in a content analysis (Matthes and Kohring, 2008). While this approach relies on the existence of literature in the research area that can be used to indicate expected frames, and is therefore not always

appropriate, it bring framing closer to the quantitative content analysis methodology (White and Marsh, 2006). Quantitative content analysis is deductive and aims to test established hypotheses rather than develop them (White and Marsh, 2006). Boydston et al. (2013) developed a Policy Frames Codebook that aims to provide a generalised system for identifying frames across policy issues in order to examine framing across different policy areas, using a similar approach to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), both of which are examples of the deductive approach, in which existing frame types are used for the development of the analytical code.

Matthes and Kohring (2008) propose using a semi-deductive method that accepts frames as a pattern of frame elements within and across texts. This approach uses a deductive method for the location of predefined frame elements across the news media of interest. However, Matthes and Kohring (2008) then use an inductive approach to the identification of frames: hierarchical cluster analysis is used to draw out clusters of frame elements that appear together repeatedly across their sample of the news landscape. These repeated clusters of frame elements are taken to reflect coherent media frames. This method benefits from the advantages afforded by a deductive approach to content analysis: coding frame elements ensures higher intercoder agreement over coding for holistic, complete frames, and ensures that the method is replicable and reliable (David et al. 2011). In addition, this approach allows researchers to incorporate prior knowledge and to identify content of theoretical interest within news coverage, without researchers relying on past conceptualisations of frames.

David et al. (2011) note that the deductive use of predetermined frames in content analyses and experiments is suitable only when there exists a wealth of supporting literature to be drawn from that has established frame types within the area of interest. However, there are no established, complete human rights frames to draw on. However, there are a range of studies which examine the media coverage of human rights in the United Kingdom. These studies have identified complete frame types only within a narrow subsection of human rights media coverage and have identified consistent themes or narratives, both of which can be used to help construct a coding scheme (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). This thesis proposes developing and using a coding scheme that incorporates what we already know about the dimensions RWA and SDO and how human rights are portrayed in the media. This approach is compatible with Matthes and Kohring's semi-

deductive approach to frame identification; the code can be used to deductively identify specific portrayals of human rights and thematic cues, or frame elements, within an article that align to the wider ideologies associated with RWA or SDO. The resulting data set can be used to inductively identify clusters of frame elements, or frames.

1.2-7. Stereotypical Framing

In addition to predicting lower support for human rights and a range of right-wing political attitudes, the dimensions RWA and SDO predict support for different types of prejudice and intolerance. In addition to being associated with high levels of RWA and SDO, past research demonstrates that stereotypes can be important and powerful frame components. Yang's (2015) research demonstrates that exposure to stereotypical frames affects attitudes towards outgroups by increasing the desire for social distance from the stereotyped group. Yang's (2015) research on stereotypical framing and its effects identified a typology of stereotypical frame components. This section will introduce this typology and discuss how it aligns with what we know about RWA and SDO. This section asks, do the wider ideological patterns associated with high RWA and SDO align with research on stereotypical framing and stereotype use? In addition, what is the relevancy of stereotypes to human rights news? To study the potential role of stereotypical frame components within human rights frames, I propose incorporating Yang's typology into the coding scheme which will be used to study human rights news.

While stereotypes are hypothesised to be associated with the presence of high RWA or SDO ideological patterns, stereotypes have also been identified as playing a prominent role in the negative portrayal of human rights. Human rights attitudes in Britain tend towards ambivalence: when discussed in relation to international politics and diplomacy, human rights are championed (Gies, 2011). However, the incorporation of the *European Convention on Human Rights* into British law, through the *Human Rights Act, 1998*, sits at the centre of an antagonistic narrative toward human rights that is prominent in the British press (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). While the *Human Rights Act* began a chain of largely popular human rights advances (such as the *Marriage Equality Act, 2013*), the British public have long perceived human rights as undemocratic, as they limit the power of the sovereign and rely too heavily on legal instruments and unaccountable actors (Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). In the British press that sits to the right of the political spectrum, this narrative is intertwined with a wider Eurosceptic ideology, in which the *Human Rights Act* represents another law imposed on Britain by Brussels (Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014).

A crucial component of this narrative has been the creation and continuation of a division between the good, deserving British public, and the undeserving ‘other’ (Gies, 2011; Lynn and Lea, 2003; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). Harkins and Lugo-Ocando (2015) argue that newsrooms create discursive regimes within which journalists learn to frame news articles and create narratives involving social ‘others’ as characters within a broader ideological framework that differs between media outlets (Ovsiovitch, 1993). Human rights are frequently portrayed as protecting only these undeserving ‘others’ which pose a threat to the normal British public (Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011). Gies (2011) argues that the us/them distinction used frequently in human rights media coverage is key to the strength of the arguments featured, and many British citizens perceive that there are too many people which take advantage of human rights (Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). We can, therefore, expect that stereotypical frame components will be present in human rights news.

Yang (2015) notes that socially disadvantaged groups are frequently stereotyped in news media and that the use of stereotypical frame elements to describe characters, or more complete stereotypical frames, activates wider cognitive and affective responses in audiences. Yang (2015) argues that the type of stereotypical messages in media have changed from complete stereotypical content frames to stereotypical frame components used as one part of a wider content frame. However, these stereotypical cues still activate wider stereotypical schemas in audiences, which in turn elicit negative feelings including dislike, fear, contempt, and a desire for distance (Yang, 2015).

Yang (2015) identifies five distinct stereotypical frame types: *routinized superficialisation*, *threatening typification*, *legitimate victimisation*, and *counter-stereotype*. In *routinized superficialisation* frames, superficial reporting allows for the continued stereotyping of outgroups by reinforcing or maintaining the status quo. In *social categorisation* frames, the same activity is presented differently depending on the social group, which reinforces stereotypical social identities. In *threatening typification* frames, social groups are portrayed as being threatening, causing increased fear or animosity towards the outgroup. Finally, in *legitimate victimisation* frames, the locus of blame for some societal issue or situation is placed on the groups that are impacted by it, thereby reducing empathy and increasing contempt for the group. In *counter-stereotype* frames, other stereotypes are actively challenged in some way. As noted in table 1, SDO predicts culturally specific prejudice, competition-dominance prejudice, hostile sexism, support for hierarchy-enhancing

legitimising myths, nationalism, racism, anti-disability prejudice, and the perception of out-groups as weak and un-deserving. There is an intuitive compatibility between SDO and both legitimate victimisation and social categorisation stereotypes, both of which emphasise inherent, natural hierarchies. RWA, on the other hand, predicts threat-control based prejudice, benevolent sexism, support punishment for violation of social norms, and the perception of out-groups as immoral or deviant. It follows, therefore, that RWA is intuitively compatible with threatening typification.

SDO also specifically predicts prejudice towards people with disabilities. Zhang and Haller (2013) identified three pervasive and ongoing stereotypes of people with disabilities: the *medical model*, the *supercrip model*, and the *social pathology model*. In the *medical model*, people with disabilities are defined by the medical context of their condition, and may be portrayed as dependent on the health system; in the *supercrip model*, people with disabilities are portrayed as possessing superhuman traits, as they have been able to overcome adversity, gained unexpected achievements, or been able to live a normal life; finally, in the *social pathology model*, people with disabilities are presented as dependent on society for support, and may also be presented as taking advantage of their condition in order to access preferential treatment (Zhang and Haller, 2013). These specific stereotypes are inherently compatible with Yang's (2015) typology. In addition, Briant et al. (2013) found that people with disabilities were often labelled as undeserving, and that people with a condition that is not visible to others, such as people with mental health conditions, were more likely to be presented as undeserving of welfare. Again, this links back to SDO, which predicts support of or belief in portrayals of out-groups as undeserving or weak. Briant et al. (2013) further found that articles on disability were increasingly focused on issues relating to benefit fraud, concluding that people with disabilities have become new folk devils to in newspapers, and that this portrayal is justified by a need to reduce government spending on welfare. Cutcliffe and Hannigan (2001) also found that coverage of mental health issues often contained characterisations of individuals as dangerous or violent.

As noted above, the *supercrip model* may be an example of *counter-stereotype* frame type; however, this does not mean that it necessarily has positive social consequences. The models of stereotypical coverage presented by Zhang and Haller (2013) incorporate a deeper consideration of the potential consequences of counter-stereotypes: when placed alongside other stereotypical portrayals of disability, the *supercrip model* functions to legitimise other

characterisations of people with disabilities by separating people with disabilities into good and bad categories. For example, pairing a *supercrip* stereotype with a *social pathology* stereotype may have the effect of legitimising the *social pathology* frame: that is, the story of an individual triumphing over their disability helps to justify criticism of people with disabilities that have not (Zhang and Haller, 2013). Pearson and Trevisan (2015) provide an example of this type of counter/stereotype pairing in their investigation of portrayals of people with disabilities under austerity measures: those either with physical, visible conditions or a form of proof of disability are held up as a legitimate, deserving minority of benefit claimants against a fraudulent majority that were characterised as workshy, benefit cheats, to justify an increasingly hostile narrative in support of austerity measures. In addition to seeing intuitive links to high SDO, this portrayal of groups as undeserving links back anti-human rights news coverage.

As noted above, both RWA and SDO predict sexism. Stereotypes of women, similarly, often fall into *social categorisation* and *routine superficialisation* frame types. As with other stereotypes, a key effect gender stereotypes have is the dehumanisation and marginalisation of their subjects (Timmer, 2011; O'Neill and Mulready, 2015). Through an examination of the literature on gendered representations in American media, Nacos (2005) found that in the political realm, female politicians were characterised as compassionate, practical, honest, and hard-working. However, this compassionate characterisation translated to stereotypes of emotional weakness (Nacos, 2005). Through a literature review of previous research, Geertsema (2009) found that women were frequently defined in relation to their domestic roles or sexual appeal, and that this type of stereotyping was an enduring global phenomenon. Geertsema (2009) argues that women's lack of access to, and representation in, news media was the root cause of these enduring stereotypes, and notes that while United Nations' Fourth Conference on Women specifically mentioned this in the associated Platform of Action, little progress has been made since, and the media frequently omits issues relating to women.

Threat typification is one of the most pervasive and enduring types of stereotyping. Harkins and Lugo-Ocando (2015) found the British press frequently uses threat typification to conceptualise an underclass that includes unemployed people, single mothers, young people, illegal immigrants, or people receiving welfare. Past research also reveals that the emphasis of threat is also routinely used in stereotyping of LGBT+ people, religious groups, the working class and asylum seekers (Frost, 2007; Barker et al. 2008; Huysmans and Buonfino,

2008; Tyler, 2008; Stoegner and Wodak, 2015). Richardson (2009) found that Muslims were often represented as a threat to British society. Moore et al. (2008) further found that two-thirds of all coverage of Muslims in the UK press focused on Muslims as a threat, a problem, or both, while other coverage often focused on highlighting religious and cultural differences. Frost (2007) found similar narratives, and argued that there was a relationship, albeit a complex relationship, between the threat typification of Muslims, immigrants from eastern Europe, and other non-White British ethnicities, with incidents of racially motivated crimes against these groups.

Frost (2007) also noted an increased connection between Muslim threat typification and asylum seeker threat typification, with a growing number of articles presenting asylum seekers as criminals. Chakrabarti (2005) argues that until the mid-1980s, Britain had a strong, political cross-party consensus for providing refuge for those in need. However, from the 1990s onwards, discussion of asylum became intertwined with discussions on immigration that utilised rhetoric borrowed from the War on Terror (Chakrabarti, 2005; Huysmans and Buonfino, 2008). In addition, Kushner (2003) identified narratives on asylum in the British press that use *legitimate victimisation* and *threat typification* frame categories. These findings demonstrate that stories on the threat posed by foreign groups, particularly asylum seekers, were becoming a daily feature in many mainstream British newspapers, and that this increase has been largely unchallenged by elite political discourse (Kushner, 2003). Lynn and Lea (2003) further found that the threat typification of asylum seekers was legitimised by using sympathetic, positive stereotypes of other disadvantaged groups to establish the morality of the writer's anti-asylum position.

More recently, Binder and Allen (2016), Lawlor (2015), Parker (2015), and Altikriti and Al-Mahadin (2015) found that the British media often portrays asylum and immigration through a lens of illegality and threat, indicating that these emergent narratives identified in the early 2000s remain an important part of the British news landscape. Stoegner and Wodak (2015) also demonstrate that media coverage of Ed and David Miliband in the run up to the British 2015 election featured Jewish threat typification stereotypes that can be traced back to the Russian civil war, highlighting that threat typification extends beyond the Muslim-threat stereotype that has come to dominate recent British ethnopolitical discourse. We see, therefore, that stereotypes aligned with the wider ideologies associated with RWA and SDO are routinely used in British news coverage. We also see that similar narratives are found in

anti-human rights news coverage. To study the potential role of stereotypical frame elements within human rights news frames, I propose incorporating Yang's typology of stereotypical frame components within the coding scheme used to investigate human rights news coverage.

1.2-8. Framing vs. Priming Effects

The research discussed so far has outlined what different frames may look like, how we can identify frames, and that frames can affect attitudes. However, this thesis aims to investigate how psychological mechanisms could explain in what way human rights news might interact with pre-existing schemas associated with the dimensions RWA and SDO to affect human rights attitudes. To address this question, the following section will explore the psychological mechanisms behind media effects. The following sections also set out to further differentiate between two key types of media effects, framing and priming. While both effects can rely on pre-existing schemas, and both effects can cause changes to attitudes following media exposure, the mechanisms behind each of these effects are different.

Agenda setting is a salience-based model, where attitudes are formed and changed based on the accessibility of different objects and object attributes, and framing is often referred to as second-level agenda setting within this framework (Iyengar, 1990; Scheufele, 2000; McCombs, 2005; Chong and Druckman, 2007a; Dunaway et al. 2010; Meriläinen and Vos, 2011). In this model, McCombs (2005) defines frames as an attribute of the object, but only the dominant perspective is classified as a frame, so a frame is defined in relation to non-dominant attributes that are not a “pervasive description and characterisation of the object”. Scheufele (2004) refers to this as “attribute” setting, as a way of clarifying what is meant by second-level agenda setting. Weaver (2007), however, notes that framing appears to include a broader range of cognitive processes than second level agenda setting, while Zhou and Moy (2007) recognise the similarity in the aims of both approaches, and the connection of both to the perceived importance of issues, they recognise that framing and agenda setting are conceptually distinct. Moreover, Chong and Druckman (2007a, 2007b) present a model of framing which is “theoretically indistinguishable” (2007b) from common conceptualisations of priming. Conversely, Scheufele (2000) argues that efforts to integrate framing into agenda setting theory were based on a desire for theoretical clarity and simplicity, but that these efforts failed as the different approaches are axiomatically incompatible.

Much of the work dedicated to clarifying framing conceptually and establishing framing as a schema-based model has come from Scheufele (2000; 2004; Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007; Scheufele and Iyengar, 2014). Schemas are a crucial concept in psychology and refer to

categories that provide a framework for understanding the world around us (Yang, 2015). Schemas can organise the application of prior knowledge to new information, which is referred to as top-down processing, and are activated automatically when incoming information match the informational structure of the schema, which is referred to as bottom-up activation (Narvez and Bock, 2002). Price and Tewksbury (1997) argued that activation links agenda setting, priming, and framing, as the salience of difference aspects of the incoming information can cause the activation of varying schemas. Each activation of a schema strengthens it, but it is important to note that schemas are malleable, and their relationship to other schemas and their size and structure can change to match new information (Narvez and Bock, 2002).

Four key concepts have been established through explorations of the role of schemas: *availability*, *accessibility*, *applicability*, and *usability* (Yang, 2015). *Availability* refers to whether or not schemas are available for retrieval when needed, *accessibility* refers to the schema's potential for activation, *applicability* refers to how well the schema fits to the incoming information, and *usability* refers to the likelihood that the activated schema will be used to make a future judgement. When considering agenda setting and priming in this context, they can be defined as accessibility models, where schemas made salient, or activated, by media representations are more easily retrievable when making decisions about political issues (Chong and Druckman, 2007a, 2007b). In Chong and Druckman's (2007a, 2007b) model of priming and framing, media frames also operate by making considerations more accessible for use by individuals in their expression of an attitude. The intensity of a framing effect is determined by *applicability*, as the goodness of fit of a schema to incoming information determines the strength of the activation of the schema (Scheufele and Iyengar, 2014). However, Chong and Druckman's (2007a, 2007b) model of priming and framing engages with prior considerations (or schemas) one dimensionally; Chong and Druckman (2007a, 2007b) do not consider the potential relationships of stored considerations to other similar, connected considerations, nor do they engage directly with the psychology of information storage and retrieval.

Zhou and Moy (2007) state that cognitive frames are usually taken to be synonymous with schemas or scripts. However, Scheufele (2004) separates these terms. Scheufele (2004) argues that a cognitive frame is a consistent bundle of schemas that form a complex of expectations which in turn affects how incoming information is interpreted. In this model,

object knowledge is represented as schemas that are connected to other schemas through waves of activation. A consistent bundle of schemas (a cognitive frame) can therefore be defined as an entrenched pattern of activation; schemas have been repeatedly, concurrently activated and their relationship emphasised. Different schemas are linked together through an expectation of activation; when a schema within a cognitive frame is activated, schemas which are frequently activated alongside it are also activated (Scheufele, 2004).

The attitudinal effect of frames on audiences is therefore determined by the pre-existing characteristics of individual audience members (Chong and Druckman, 2007a, Yang, 2015). Media frames may invoke pre-established cognitive frames, strengthen the connections that comprise this cognitive frame, and/or encourage the creation of new patterns of knot activation which may lead to the creation of new cognitive frames (Weaver, 2007). A media frame can be described as a relationship between different article components that is consistent and repeated (Scheufele, 2004). Exposure to a media frame leads to the concurrent activation of different schemas, which in turn, through repetition and with time, encourages the formation of a cognitive frame by establishing a network of expected activation; a framing effect, therefore, is the activation of this network of schemas (or cognitive frame) caused by exposure to a compatible media frame. The applicability of the incoming information to the existing cognitive frame determines the strength of the framing effect observed (Scheufele and Iyengar, 2014).

To summarise, priming effects refer to increases in the availability of schemas and the ease with which they can be retrieved for use in the expression of an attitude, for example. By repeatedly activating multiple schemas simultaneously, media frames establish an association between these schemas which anticipates their simultaneous activation. Exposure to relevant frame components may subsequently activate a network of schemas, or a cognitive frame. If exposure to human rights news is creating strong cognitive links between schemas associated with RWA or SDO and schemas associated with human rights attitudes, then tangential news stories that draw on RWA or SDO associated themes, but do not discuss human rights, could also be affecting expressions of human rights attitudes. In addition, repeated exposure to a media frame over time is required to encourage the formation of compatible cognitive frame. Therefore, the observation of a framing effect indicates that media exposure may be having long term effects on the way that people think about an issue.

1.2-9. Sociological and Psychological Approaches to Framing

Psychology and sociology have approached framing differently. These differences are both conceptual and methodological; this thesis draws on both psychological and sociological framing research, and it is therefore important to clarify how this thesis approaches the study of framing effects. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) argue that current framing research is plagued by two problems: many studies operationalise new frames taken from a content analysis without properly grounding their research in previous framing research, and second, researchers often confound frames with content, therefore subsuming any general communication effects, such as persuasion. Scheufele and Iyengar (2014) argue that this is due to the increasing influence of sociological framing studies over psychological framing studies in communications research. In psychological research, framing generally refers to equivalency frames, in which the presentation of two substantively identical things differs in one dimension. Conversely, in sociological research, framing generally refers to emphasis frames (Scheufele and Iyengar, 2014). Emphasis frames are substantively different ways of portraying information, and often contain a range of competing information types and may include persuasive elements in addition to different framing perspectives; the focus on using textual examples experimentally leads to semantic ambiguity that can mask schema-only effects (Scheufele and Iyengar, 2014). In an attempt to provide conceptual precision to the term framing, Scheufele and Iyengar (2014) argue that framing research should move back to focusing on equivalency frames only.

In Yang's (2015) alternate cognitive-sociological model of framing, which incorporates both psychological and sociological approaches to framing, the psychological dimension of the frame refers to internal, individual schemas, while the sociological component refers to the social consequences of schemas. Yang (2015) notes that many sociological studies that examine stereotypes in the media rarely test the effect of stereotypical frames, and instead assume that these frames are having predictable audience effects. In addition, Yang (2015) criticises media effects studies for failing to explore relationships between media frames and broader socio-political issues, particularly how social and political relational structures are reinforced and maintained. In the context of stereotype research, this model therefore adds a third element to the study of media effects. As in a typical framing study, an analysis of media content identifies relevant frames. Second, the cognitive and affective impact of exposure to the identified frames are measured in an exposure experiment. Third, measures of

attitudinal and behavioural intentions, particularly social distance, capture the social consequences of schema activation effects. By linking stereotypes and schemas, Yang's (2015) research focuses on a subset of frame types that have an established sociological, political, and psychological grounding, thus avoiding the problems identified by Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007). In addition, while this approach does not completely address the methodological concerns raised by Scheufele and Iyengar (2014), it brings sociological approaches to framing closer to the identification of schema-based effects.

Still, more traditional sociological framing research provides necessary real-world context and depth to framing research. It also remains particularly useful in identifying where potential schema activation-based framing effects may be occurring. The exemplar framing experiment suggested by Scheufele and Iyengar (2014), in which the skin tone of an individual in an image is manipulated, is influenced by past political and sociological research on racial stereotyping and its effect. Therefore, rather than reflecting two unique and incompatible approaches to framing, the sociological approach and the psychological approach represent two necessary and important stages in frame identification. Sociological framing research indicates where to look for effects caused by the activation of cognitive frames by running emphasis-frame manipulation experiments, while psychological framing research can build on this work by running more precise, equivalency-based experiments to test for the existence and activation of these cognitive frames in more precise experimental conditions, such as in the experiment suggested by Scheufele and Iyengar (2014).

Mirroring Yang's (2015) work, this thesis began by identifying certain schemas associated with RWA and SDO that are also linked to human rights attitudes. I have proposed the development of a coding scheme that incorporates what we know about the dimensions RWA and SDO, human rights, and stereotypes that can be used to identify patterns of information within human rights news that map on to the wider ideologies associated with high levels of RWA and SDO. This thesis asks, does human rights news use themes that map on to the wider ideologies associated with RWA and SDO to frame human rights? Does exposure to these media frames cause a framing effect, resulting in a change in human rights attitudes? This thesis hypothesises both that human rights news will draw on RWA and SDO associated themes to frame human rights, and that exposure to these frames will elicit a framing effect in those high in RWA and SDO.

While these hypothesised frames reflect issue-specific human rights frames, the process by which these issue-specific frames are hypothesised to cause attitude change is generic. In other words, the hypothesised activation of RWA or SDO associated schemas or cognitive frames by exposure to media content that incorporates RWA or SDO associated components, while relevant to human rights, is not necessarily unique to human rights as a specific issue. As noted above, RWA and SDO predict support for a range of different right-wing political attitudes. Nevertheless, these hypothesised frames reflect complex issue-specific emphasis frames that are drawn from and reflect real-world news coverage of human rights. These frames will, therefore, have the potential to mask schema-based framing effects (Scheufele and Iyengar, 2014). However, based on the discussion of media effects presented above, I expect that exposure to RWA or SDO associated human rights frames will affect those high in RWA or SDO through the activation of schemas or cognitive frames associated with both dimensions. As there are reliable ways of measuring RWA and SDO, it would be straightforward to run an experiment to see if exposure to RWA or SDO associated human rights frames interacts with peoples' levels of RWA or SDO to produce changes in people's considerations of human rights.

However, this would not help to determine whether any effects observed can be classified as a framing effect or a priming effect. It would not be possible to tell whether evaluative beliefs associated with RWA or SDO were being primed, increasing their importance in subsequent expressions of attitudes towards human rights, or if a wider cognitive frame that incorporates both schemas associated with human rights and RWA or SDO is being activated. As noted above, if exposure to human rights news is creating strong cognitive links between schemas associated with RWA or SDO and schemas associated with human rights attitudes, then wider news coverage that draws on RWA or SDO associated themes, but does not discuss human rights, could also affect human rights attitudes. This thesis therefore proposes an experimental methodological approach that is designed to identify exposure effects and, more importantly, enable the differentiation of framing effects and priming effects. This differentiation enables adequate testing of the main hypothesis and helps to avoid mislabelling any identified exposure effects. It also helps to negate some of the identified challenges in using issue-specific frame examples. It is therefore necessary to clarify how the models of framing and priming are conceptualised here and detail how this project proposes approaching the experimental and analytical differentiation of these models of media effects.

1.2-10. Differentiating Priming and Framing Effects

As noted above, there is a theoretical distinction between two types of media exposure effects: an availability (or priming) effect, in which certain schemas are made salient and thus more easily retrievable, and an applicability (or framing) effect, in which the strength of the effect activated schemas have is moderated by the compatibility of incoming information to a cognitive frame (Scheufele, 2004). When considering the availability model in the context of media effects, an individual uses the more easily retrievable schemas, those which exposure to a media message has made salient, to inform expressions of political attitudes or behaviour (McCombs, 2005; Dreier and Martin, 2010). When considering the applicability model in the context of media effects, the compatibility of the structure of the media message to the structure of a network of schemas moderates the strength of the effect that the existing schema network has on subsequent expressions of political attitudes or behaviour (Scheufele, 2000;2004).

When considering this model in the context of this thesis, I hypothesise that human rights news coverage uses media frames that links together specific portrayals of human rights with information that is ideologically in line with RWA and SDO. In turn, I hypothesise that exposure to this type of human rights news will cause a framing effect in those high in RWA or SDO. In other words, I expect that repeated exposure to human rights news that incorporates high RWA or high SDO frame components may encourage the formation of cognitive frames through the concurrent and repeated activation of schemas associated with either RWA or SDO alongside schemas associated with human rights. Thus, when activated, these cognitive frames should inform expressions of attitudes towards human rights. If, in a simple media exposure experiment, scores on the measures of RWA and SDO interact with exposure to an experimental frame to produce changes in responses to measures of human rights support beyond the effects of exposure alone, this indicates that one's level of RWA or SDO contributes to the effect that exposure to the media frame has. It does not, however, indicate whether this observed interaction effect is the result of a priming effect or a framing effect.

This thesis, therefore, proposes exposing separate groups of individuals to multiple frame variations within a media exposure experiment, and then comparing the effects of exposure to each variation with the effects of exposure to a control article. By omitting the frame

component associated with human rights in one of the conditions, it will be possible to differentiate priming from framing effects. If the activation of a cognitive frame is responsible for the interaction effect, then any observed interaction effect will be consistent across each of the thematic frame variations, including the frame variation which excludes mention of human rights. If, conversely, the observed effect is a priming effect, the interaction effect will be inconsistent, and will not occur when the topic of human rights is excluded from the article. I have included a series of diagrams to clarify:

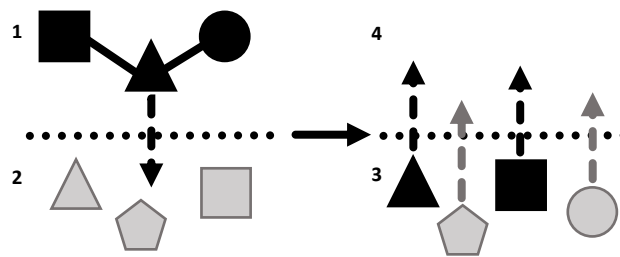


Figure 1, Priming

Figure 1 depicts a highly simplified and abstracted diagram that represents priming. In stage 1, the media content is consumed. Stage 2 uses shapes that are similar to those representing the incoming information in stage 1 to represent pre-existing schema. In stage 3, the relative importance of those pre-existing schema primed by the media content increases. These schemas are represented by the triangle and square, and relative importance is portrayed by depth of colour. Stages 3-4 represent the expression of an attitude. The relative importance of the pre-existing schemas that are not made more salient by the media message remains unchanged, which is represented by the pentagon in the diagram. The circle represents the new information made available for use by the incoming media message; the importance of the new information in subsequent expressions of attitudes or behaviours may be moderated by how engaging, persuasive, or shocking it is, for example (Graber, 1980; Neuman, 1990; Iyengar, 1990; Zaller, 1992; McCombs, 2005; Uscinski, 2009; Dreier and Martin, 2010).

As an example of how this design can enable the differentiation of these effects, let us imagine that we find evidence of a high RWA associated human rights frame, in which specific ideas associated with the wider ideology predicted by high RWA are found to appear frequently alongside specific messages about human rights. We therefore have both a high RWA associated frame component and a human rights frame component that, together, form a frame. If we were to run an experiment to test how this frame affected responses to

measures of human rights attitudes, but we wanted to determine whether or not any attitudinal effects evidenced a framing or a priming effect, we could use three different treatment groups: Group A is exposed to the complete frame; Group B is exposed to **only** the high RWA associated frame component, but **not** the human rights frame component; and Group C is used as the control group. If changes in responses to the human rights measures are identified following exposure, by **excluding** the associated human rights frame component we can determine whether a framing effect or a priming effect is occurring. Under the priming model, we would expect to observe no changes in expressions of human rights attitudes after exposure in Group B as this article contains no information about human rights; therefore, considerations about human rights are not being primed.

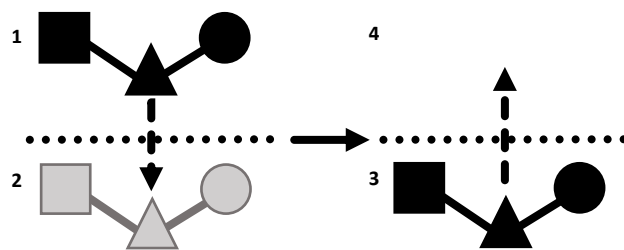


Figure 2, Perfect Framing

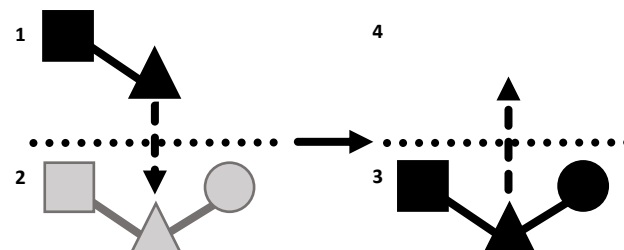


Figure 3, Incomplete Framing

Conversely, in framing, an incoming media frame (stage 1) activates a cognitive frame (stages 2 and 3) which informs the expression of an attitude or behaviour. It is, however, the schema network that is activated, rather than individual schemas (Scheufele, 2004; Chong and Druckman, 2007a; Weaver, 2007). When considering, again, the effect of exposure to the incomplete experimental frame variant that omits the human rights frame component, Group B, we would expect to observe wider changes in human rights attitudes in those participants with a compatible cognitive frame, as the activated network of schemas would include schemas that relate to human rights in those individuals. Exposure to a partial media frame, as in Figure 3, Incomplete Framing, still activates the cognitive frame, as the cognitive frame represents an entrenched pattern of activation that links together different schemas. Therefore, where a cognitive frame exists, both incomplete and perfect framing (see figure 2)

effects should affect expressions of attitudes or behaviours in an equivalent manner. While the strength of the effect of the cognitive frame on subsequent expressions of attitudes or behaviours may not be as strong in incomplete framing compared to perfect framing, the conditions required for perfect framing are unlikely to be realised in either the real world or in precisely controlled experimental conditions (Narvez and Bock, 2002; Scheufele and Iyengar, 2014).

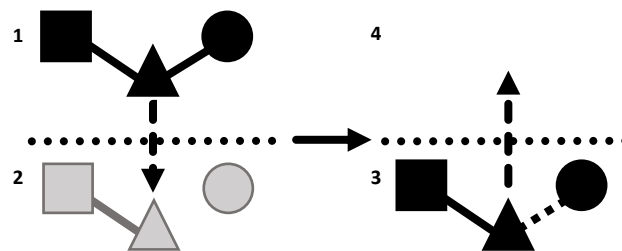


Figure 4, Formative Framing

Figure 4 depicts the formative function of framing. In this case, exposure to the media frame is causing the concurrent activation of a cognitive frame and an additional schema, encouraging the formation of a link between the existing cognitive frame and a separate schema and reinforcing the link comprising the existing cognitive frame. The strength of the new connection is increased with each concurrent activation. While both framing and priming are important effects, framing is theorised to have the potential to cause fundamental and long-term changes in the way that people think about political issues.

In the elaboration of the competing models of priming and framing drawn on throughout this thesis, I refer to the consequences of media effects as attitudinal changes. As I note above, framing and priming differ from communication-based persuasion (Nelson et al. 1997; Yang, 2015). The theoretical mechanisms of framing or priming adopted here do not suggest fundamental, immediate changes in peoples' overall considerations of an object (in this case, human rights) following exposure to a news article. Instead, this model anticipates that, in the case of priming, media exposure will cause an increase in the salience of RWA or SDO-associated schemas about human rights relative to other competing schemas about human rights. In turn, RWA or SDO-associated human rights schemas will be more important in subsequent expressions of human rights. In the case of framing, this model anticipates the activation of a cognitive frame caused by exposure to an applicable media frame. Rather than

activating only those schemas which are directly primed by a news article, the activation of a cognitive frame increases the importance of the wider network of schemas within a cognitive frame to subsequent evaluations of an object. In a pre-test/post-test experimental design, where participant's evaluations of an object are measured before and after a stimulus, a change in the relative importance of schemas or a cognitive frame to the evaluation of an object may result in observed differences between the first and second evaluation. Attitude change in this context, therefore, refers to observed changes in responses to measures that capture individuals' evaluations about an object. The differences between the model adopted here and Chong and Druckman's (2007a, 2007b) model concern whether or not only individual schemas are made more salient following exposure to a news article (referred to here as a priming effect), or whether complex networks of interlinked schemas are activated (referred to here as a framing effect). While this model of framing, therefore, remains theoretically similar to the model proposed by Chong and Druckman (2007a, 2007b), it incorporates both a consideration of how information is stored and the capacity of the mind to connect together, and anticipate the potential need for, multiple related schemas.

1.2-11. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, we saw how both priming and framing effects can have important attitudinal consequences, but how their effects and their implications are subtly, but importantly, different. This chapter developed an original experimental procedure that enables the identification and analytical differentiation of both priming and framing effects, which builds on Scheufele's (1999; 2000; 2004) theoretical differentiation of these effects. As this section has discussed, the identification of RWA or SDO associated priming effects would indicate that people high in these dimensions are particularly susceptible to the short-term attitudinal effects of media exposure. However, this effect would occur only when RWA or SDO is primed alongside specific considerations of human rights. Exposure to information compatible with the wider ideologies predicted by RWA or SDO must be specifically linked to human rights information to affect human rights attitudes.

Conversely, the identification of RWA or SDO associated framing effects would indicate that the repeated, concurrent activation of schemas associated with either RWA or SDO and human rights has encouraged the formation of a cognitive frame that includes both schemas that relate to either RWA or SDO *and* schemas that relate to human rights. Therefore, if this hypothetical cognitive frame is activated by exposure to human rights news frames, this would indicate that media coverage of human rights issues may be having long-term effects on the way certain people think about human rights. Furthermore, a wider cognitive frame may be activated by exposure to individual compatible frame components; therefore, the attitudinal consequences of the framing effect could occur without exposure to a complete frame. In other words, exposure to information compatible with the wider ideologies predicted by RWA or SDO, but that is not specifically linked to human rights, may still affect human rights attitudes. In this case, it is possible that wider right-wing populist or authoritarian media messages, that do not explicitly discuss human rights, may still affect attitudes towards human rights. This would have serious implications for those attempting to limit the effect of the rise of populism on human rights support (Amnesty International, 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2017). This thesis therefore proposes running a series of media effects experiments which test the effects of exposure to RWA or SDO-associated human rights messages on people's attitudes towards human rights. This constitutes the second stage in studying the potential of human rights news to activate right-wing value-attitude-belief

dimensions. The second set of hypotheses presented in section 2. *Hypotheses Summary* are based on expectations which stem from the discussion presented here.

2. Hypotheses Summary

To summarise, this thesis tests investigates two main hypotheses. First, this thesis hypothesizes that news media will contain informational patterns that mirror the wider ideologies associated with specific individual-level dimensions. Second, this thesis hypothesizes that exposure to these ideological patterns will cause media effects in individuals with compatible individual-level dimensions. Throughout the previous chapter, I have highlighted two possible models through which media exposure could interact with existing cognitive structures to produce changes in expressed political attitudes: priming and framing. In the case of priming, I expect that exposure to ideological patterns will cause changes in how political attitudes are expressed in people that have compatible existing schemas. In the case of framing, I expect that exposure to these ideological patterns, or media frames, will cause attitudinal changes in people that have compatible cognitive frames.

This thesis is interested in human rights news media, the individual-level dimensions right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, and changes in expressions of attitudes towards human rights. As both RWA and SDO are associated with attitudes towards human rights, it follows, therefore, that similar concepts and ideological positions may be used to discuss, or frame, coherent positions towards human rights in human rights related news coverage. This thesis, therefore, hypothesises that frame components that are compatible with SDO and RWA will be used in human rights reporting, and that RWA and SDO frame components will be linked to specific human rights frame components to form coherent and consistent complete frames. In framing, when those with compatible cognitive frames are exposed to examples of these media frames, these cognitive frames will be activated and inform subsequent expressions of attitudes towards human rights. In priming, exposure to media frames that incorporate RWA or SDO frame components or human rights frame components will increase the salience of specific schemas that relate to the specific content of the article. In turn, the importance of these pre-existing schemas to subsequent expressions of political attitudes will increase, resulting in changes in subsequent expressions of human rights attitudes. In both cases, this thesis expects to observe an interaction between RWA or SDO exposure to media messages that incorporate RWA or SDO compatible frame components, respectively, affecting expressions of human rights attitudes beyond the effect of exposure to the messages alone.

2.1- Hypotheses

H1.1: Ideological patterns associated with high levels of RWA will be present in human rights news.

H1.1.0: High RWA ideological patterns will be associated with an overall negative portrayal of human rights.

H1.1.1: Right-leaning news companies will publish more human rights news that includes high RWA associated messages compared to centre or left-leaning news companies.

H1.1.2: Stereotypes will be associated with the presence of high RWA ideas or ideological patterns.

H1.2: Ideological patterns associated with high levels of SDO will be present in human rights news.

H1.2.0: High SDO ideological patterns will be associated with a negative portrayal of human rights.

H1.2.1: Right-leaning news companies will publish more human rights news that includes high SDO associated messages compared to centre or left-leaning news companies.

H1.2.2: Stereotypes will be associated with the presence of high SDO positions.

H2.1: When a person who is high in RWA is exposed to a message that uses high RWA associated ideological patterns to discuss human rights, their support for human rights will decrease.

H2.1.1: Any observed decreases in human rights support following exposure to a human rights message that uses high RWA associated ideological patterns will be more pronounced in those high in RWA compared to those not high in RWA.

H2.2: When a person who is high in SDO is exposed to a message that uses high SDO associated ideological patterns to discuss human rights, their support for human rights will decrease.

H2.2.1: Any observed decreases in human rights support following exposure to a human rights message that uses high SDO associated ideological patterns will be more pronounced in those high in SDO compared to those not high in SDO.

H2.3: When a person who is high in RWA is exposed to a positive portrayal of human rights, their support for the military enforcement of human rights will increase.

H2.3.1: Any observed increase in support for the military enforcement of human rights following exposure to a human rights message that uses high RWA associated ideological patterns will be more pronounced in those high in RWA compared to those not high in RWA.

As *section 1.2-6* covers, both framing and priming effects will result in changes in attitudes after exposure to news. Testing the above hypotheses will tell us whether the identified media frames are having an effect on subsequent expressions of human rights attitudes, and if those high in SDO or RWA are more susceptible to these effects. However, testing the above hypotheses will not tell us whether any identified effects occur via framing or priming. Thus, we require two final hypotheses to differentiate between these effects. This procedure used to differentiate these effects is discussed in more detail in *section 5. Experimental Methodology*. This procedure is based on the discussion presented in *1.2-11. Differentiating Priming and Framing Effects*.

H3.1 (Framing Effect): Exposure to a partial frame will produce attitudinal changes in line with the changes observed after exposure to a complete frame.

H3.2 (Priming Effect): Exposure to a partial frame will not produce attitudinal changes in line with the changes observed after exposure to a complete frame.

3. Content Analysis Methodology

To investigate the first main research question “does human rights-opposed news use thematic cues that people high in RWA or SDO may be unconsciously attuned to?”, I proposed developing a coding scheme designed to identify thematic cues within human rights news that align with the broader ideologies associated with RWA and SDO. While the specific hypotheses refer to the presence of coherent ideological patterns associated with high RWA or SDO, in the language of media effects we could label these as RWA or SDO human rights frames. However, we do not yet know whether these coherent ideological patterns exist within human rights news coverage, form repeated and entrenched patterns across human rights news coverage, or cause a framing or priming effect in those exposed to these messages. In order to investigate these questions, this project proceeds using quantitative content analysis incorporating a deductive approach to the coding of the text and hypothesis testing (Angell, 1964; Macnamara, 2005; Howland et al. 2006; Ahuvia, 2001; Neuendorf and Skalski, 2010; Grimmer and Stewart, 2013).

While this project adopts a deductive approach to the coding of the sampled articles, it adopts an inductive approach to the identification of frames. This is in line with the semi-deductive approach adopted by Matthes and Kohring (2008): this project uses hierarchical cluster analysis to identify which of the separate coded units from the coding scheme are used together frequently across different articles. There are several benefits to this approach. The use of a deductive code enables replication of the research, allowing the analysis to be subject to independent verification of the findings, in addition to enabling the verification of the reliability of the approach to the coding of the text (Macnamara, 2005; White and Marsh, 2006; Prasad, 2008; Neuendorf and Skalski, 2010; Mikhaylov et al. 2012).

In addition, as David et al. (2011) notes, the deductive use of predetermined frames in content analyses and experiments is suitable only when there exists a wealth of supporting literature to be drawn from that has identified consistent frame types within the area of interest. Past research on the framing of human rights in the United Kingdom is incomplete: there are no established, complete human rights frames to draw on, and there are no studies that incorporate hypotheses on the potential operational mechanisms of human rights frames into the frame identification process. However, there are a range of studies which examine the media coverage of human rights in the United Kingdom. These studies have identified

complete frame types only within a narrow subsection of human rights media coverage and have identified consistent themes or narratives, both of which can be used to help construct a coding scheme (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). Therefore, rather than disregarding or repeating aspects of this work in an inductive analysis, a deductive approach to the coding of text allows this research project to combine and build on previous research in this area. *Section 3.1-2.* will discuss each of the five parts of the coding scheme in detail. This code is designed to identify textual components which may form media frames. Throughout this thesis, media frames are synonymous with repeated patterns of information; this thesis, therefore, is interested in media effects caused by exposure to common, repeating forms of human rights news. It is possible that priming may occur in response to specific, one-off, or otherwise uncommon portrayals of human rights, but concentrating on common forms of human rights news allows this thesis to consider both priming and framing effects. This approach allows the testing of separate hypotheses about the relationships between the portrayal of human rights and the presence of high RWA and high SDO associated information, which allows the content analysis section of this project to go beyond a frame identification exercise. In addition, it enables the testing of the first set of hypotheses.

3.1- Sampling Procedure

The news sample was drawn from the most read national newspapers and online newspaper sources in the United Kingdom according to the National Readership Survey (Ponsford, 2017b). This way, the content analysis captures a range of ideological sources and maximises the chance the frames identified in the analysis are frames that the general public is likely to be exposed to regularly (Krippendorff, 2004; Atkinson et al. 2014). Howland et al. (2006) argue that the scope of the newspapers is also an important consideration when deciding which publications to include in the analysis; therefore, the London Evening Standard and The Scotsman were excluded due to their regional distribution and sub-national focus. The Daily Record, however, was included for two reasons: it is published by Trinity Mirror plc, a major British news publisher, and has a much larger readership and distribution than The Scotsman. In order of average total online and print monthly readership, this includes: Daily Mail (29,089,000), The Sun (26,196,000), Daily Mirror (25,803,000), The Guardian (22,696,000), The Daily Telegraph (21,358,000), Metro (17,452,000), Independent Online (16,853,000), Daily Express (10,576,000), Daily Star (6,159,000), The Times (5,790,000), Daily Record (4,045,000). This includes the Sunday editions of each paper.

Both online and print content is included in this analysis in order to ensure that articles included in the analysis are reflective of those that the general public would be exposed to regularly. However, there may be both article variation and duplications between print coverage and online coverage from the same organisations. While variations in coverage must be included within this analysis to ensure that all articles produced by these news organisations have a possibility of inclusion in the final sample, article duplications are excluded.

I collected data using LexisNexis. To ensure that the results are generalisable, an adequate sample of the news landscape is required (Neuendorf and Skalski, 2010). Ridout et al. (2012) found little variation between the results provided by different online databases, noting that the main differences were caused by variations in rules on how the search engine operates. The use of electronic databases is standard in this type of study (Ridout et al. 2012); however, there are still some important considerations involved here. As Karlsson and Sjøvaag (2016) note, the inclusion of digital media content can lead to reliability and replicability issues, as digital media content does not exist in a permanent, static state, unlike archived print media.

While LexisNexis provides archival access to both online and print media, there is the possibility that the live online versions of the online articles included in this analysis, that remain accessible to patrons of these websites, will be, or will have been, subject to revision and differ from those archived versions included in this analysis. However, given both the importance of online media to modern consumers and the availability of online news in an easily codeable format through LexisNexis, the benefits of including online content in this analysis outweigh these risks (Karlsson and Sjøvaag, 2016). Despite potential revisions, the archived versions are still versions that were once available to consumers and still contain frames that some audiences will have been exposed to at one time. In addition, as this sample contains both online and print articles, article prominence is not recorded.

The phrase "human rights" (quotation marks not included) was used to search for articles on Nexis.com in the Terms and Connectors option of the Nexis Power Search, with the options "Group duplicates (High similarity)" and "Exclude Newswires" selected. This prevented the inclusion of duplicate articles within and between newspaper sources respectively. This single search was completed for each included newspaper source. As the LexisNexis download option saves every article in a single text file, I used a program called TextWedge Text File Splitter to automatically separate each article within this file into individual text files, using the copyright information at the end of each article as the dividing marker.

I used a form of stratified sampling in which the individual newspapers are the strata, and random samples were drawn from these strata independently, combined with constructed week sampling (Krippendorff, 2004). Content analyses frequently use artificial, randomly constructed weeks of news coverage that are designed to be representative of a typical week's worth of news coverage of that topic (Krippendorff, 2004; Karlsson and Sjøvaag, 2016). Using a constructed week sampling method has been established as more efficient than random sampling at representing a population, as the content of news outlets varies systematically by day according to advertising cycles and format; weekend coverage, for example, is often different to weekday coverage (Lacy et al. 2001). In constructed weeks, the aim is to approximate an average week by stratifying the collected data by weekday, and then using random samples taken from each stratum. This ensures that each weekday is adequately included in the analysis. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), for example, code Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturdays in odd weeks, and Monday, Wednesday, and Friday for even weeks, as a method of reducing the total amount of material requiring analysis.

Past research frequently used two constructed weeks per year as a general rule to guide the sample size, although more recent research studying the reliability of constructed weeks found the ideal number of constructed weeks to use varies by topic (Lacy et al. 2001; Luke and Caburnay, 2011; Parkin and Green, 2016). Parkin and Green (2016) note that our access to data and ability to collect data surpasses the data that can be analysed using non-computational methods. Parkin and Green found that, when studying terrorism, sampling efficiency was reached between 20 and 29 weeks depending on the variable measured and argue that past guidelines on constructed week methodologies were developed to produce samples that holistically represent the news company's output, rather than accurately representing the news company's coverage of one specific topic. When studying health stories, Luke and Caburnay (2011) found that using six weeks per year rather than one week yielded a 59% improvement in confidence intervals, with diminishing returns from 6 weeks onwards.

The period covered is between 4/01/2017-4/07/2017. I wanted to use the most recent time-period possible to ensure that the frames operationalised in the framing experiment remain current, while also recognising that the content analysis itself must be complete before the experiment can be conducted. Therefore, this period covers the 6 months leading up to the date the coding of the sampled news articles began. While studying the sample efficiency of human rights articles falls outside of the remit of this project, I used the recommendations of Luke and Caburnay (2011) to guide the sample size. The total number of articles that fit the search criteria produced by the identified newspapers within this period was 5448. Due to the sheer volume of articles that mention human rights in some capacity, I used 3 constructed weeks within a 6-month window rather than 6 constructed weeks in a 1-year window.

For each of the papers, a count of the number of articles released on each of the days within this period was taken. This was split into days, and a simple mean was taken to provide the average number of articles produced by each newspaper for each day of the week. This figure was then multiplied by 3 to produce the number of articles required for each day within the 3 constructed weeks for each newspaper. The files themselves were then be separated into folders for each newspaper by weekday. Each of these files (the individual articles) was assigned a number based on their position in each folder. A non-repeating random number generator was then used to select files until the number required for each day for each

newspaper is met to avoid sampling bias (Krippendorff, 2004; White and Marsh, 2006; Neuendorf and Skalski, 2010). This procedure produced a final sample size of 754.

3.2- Article Coding

The code used for the article coding is broken down into five sections². First, it contains the date, the newspaper, the full headline, and word count. Then, it contains “article topic”, which contains two subcategories: “National” and “International”. These categories were recoded later to determine the most frequent topics in human rights reporting, but this category also provides a useful initial distinction between national news and international news. The next code item is “Article Author”, which contains three subcategories: “Journalist”, “Expert”, and “Member of Public”, the appendix contains more detail about these categories, but I am interested to see both how content varies between different types of author. The next code item is “Non-author quotes or input” and contains four subcategories: “Expert in line with article argument/tone”, in which expert input is used to confirm the article’s main argument or story, “Expert not in line with article argument/tone”, where expert input is used as a counterpoint, “Member of Public (pulled online comments)”, which covers online comments and tweets used in the article, and “Member of Public (article comment)”, which covers statements given by interviewed members of the public. The next code item is “Mentioned Social Groups” which is used to code any mentions of different social groups, defined as any group used to categorise individuals based on a trait but not an action or decision that defines a group or individual in the article: ethnicity, gender, class, disability, marital status, for example, are included in this category. However, terrorist or criminal, for example, is excluded unless it is combined with a group trait characteristic: items such as “foreign terrorist” or “criminal immigrant” would be coded here.

² The full codebook used in the content analysis is included in section 8.4 of the appendix.

3.2-1. Coding Human Rights

The codebook contains several items used to code how human rights are used within the text. This section of the code contains different themes and frame categories identified by previous studies of human rights media in the UK (Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011). I created a scale (+1 for a positive coding, -1 for a negative coding) to determine each article's overall attitude towards human rights (positive, or in favour of human rights, and negative, or in opposition to human rights). In addition, the relationship between these items and the items in the other sections of the code is explored in detail and as part of the identification of frequently used human rights frames. The relationships between the items in this code section and the following two code sections, which provide further insight into the ideological position of the article, are particularly important to this project.

Additional codes were created for instances where the article is talking about human rights in a way that is incompatible with the available code categories. The items that cover positive approaches towards human rights include: "Human rights as an obvious good", which includes any sentences where human rights are taken to be inherently good; "Human rights require protection", which includes any sentences that mentions the need to protect human rights or warns of threats to human rights; "Different groups should work together on human rights issues", which includes any sentences that suggest or encourage groups working together on a human rights issue; "More or extended human rights are needed or proposed", which includes any sentences that suggest or propose the creation of new rights or the recognition of existing rights in law or socio-political discourse in other ways; "Failure to uphold human rights is criticised or reported", which includes any sentences that use human rights language to describe an ongoing or past situation where human rights are being violated; and "Details specific consequences of withdrawing, reducing, or removing human rights protections", which includes any sentences that detail specific potential consequences of reducing, removing, or eliminating human rights in any way. These code categories cover the different positive portrayals of human rights identified in the previous literature.

The items that cover negative approaches towards human rights, which are again drawn from past literature, include: "Rejection or repeal of human rights. Clear statement that human rights are wrong in some way"; "Aggression/aggressive language toward human rights", which covers any sentences that mention, for example, 'destroying' or 'tearing' up human

rights; “Human rights as an obstacle”, which covers any sentences that present human rights as a barrier to the realisation of some goal; “Individual or group using human rights to gain an unfair advantage”; “Sovereignty is being undermined or prevented by human rights or human rights actors”, which covers any sentences that negatively portray human rights as damaging to the sovereignty or self-determination of Britain; “Human rights help criminals”, which covers any sentences that either show how human rights are helping criminals in some way (to reduce their prison sentences, for example) or that suggests human rights are only beneficial to criminals and not ordinary citizens; and “Human rights are impractical”; which covers any sentences that suggests human rights are not always realisable for practical reasons or that human rights are utopian, and while theoretically nice ideals, are impractical in certain situations. The code categories introduced in this paragraph cover the different negative portrayals of human rights identified in the previous literature.

The second section of the code also contains three neutral code categories. The first neutral code category is “Human rights are discussed in relation to established institutions, laws, policies, or organisations”, which covers any mention of human rights organisations, laws, declarations, treaties, governmental departments, etc. The second neutral code category is “Challenges points made about human rights by ideological opponent”, which covers sentences that provide information about opposing views that are challenged by the article. This is used to consider both the way human rights arguments are formulated in the media and also the potential for audiences to be exposed to varied views about human rights. The final neutral category is “Other”, which is a placeholder code category that is used to code any items relating to the portrayal of human rights that are not captured by other code items in this section. Items in this category were re-coded at the end of the coding to consider the addition of further code categories.

A simple scale variable was created to assess the valence of the overall portrayal of human rights in each of the articles; 1 point is added for each item coded to any of the following positive items per article: *Human rights are an obvious good, human rights require protection, different groups should work together on human rights issues, more or extended human rights are needed or proposed, failure to uphold human rights is criticised or reported, and outlines dangers of withdrawing from or reducing human rights protection*, and 1 point is subtracted for each item coded to any of the following negative items: *rejection or repeal of human rights, aggression/aggressive negative language toward human rights, human rights as an obstacle*,

individual or group using human rights to gain an unfair advantage, sovereignty or British will is undermined or prevented by human rights, human rights help criminals, and human rights are impractical.

3.2-2. Coding RWA Associated information

I also operationalised the ideological positions that past literature has shown are correlated with high levels of RWA, identified in table 1 in *section 1.1-6*. In addition to being used for frame identification, these code categories are used to give articles pseudo or proxy RWA scores using the coded items an additive scale (+1 for single code items and support for, -1 for opposition to where applicable). The coded concepts are, however, fundamentally different to those used in measures of individual level RWA. Rather than being a direct measure of RWA, this scale measures the presence of ideological positions that are associated with different levels of RWA, and the frequency that these messages appear within an article; people high in RWA would be more likely, therefore, to agree with the messages in an article that scores high in this pseudo-RWA scale, for example.

Five of the seven code categories in this section of the code are divided into two sub-codes: the first sub-code is for support of the ideological theme, and the second is for opposition to it. The seven code categories in this section are: “Mentions of threats or security concerns”, which covers any references to any sort of threat; “Support for (3.2.1) or opposition to (3.2.2) military action in response to human rights situations”; “British representatives championing human rights internationally”, which covers any sentences that mention British representatives, such as MPs, making statements in support of human rights at an international level; “Support for (3.4.1) or opposition to (3.4.2) removing limits on police powers or increasing police powers”; “Support for (3.5.1) or opposition to (3.5.2) increased prison sentences”; “Support for (3.6.1) or opposition to (3.6.2) greater powers for intelligence services or removing limits on intelligence services”, which could, for example, include recent discussions about the use of encryption; and “Support for (3.7.1) or opposition to (3.7.2) increased governmental powers or removing limits on governmental powers”, which could include recent discussions on the ability of the government to fast track laws, for example. These code items are expected to cover different ideological positions that correlate with RWA.

3.2-3. Coding SDO Associated information

I also operationalised the ideological positions that past literature has shown are correlated with high levels of SDO, identified in table 1 in *section 1.1-6*. As with the pseudo-RWA code, this section of the code was used for frame identification and to provide a pseudo or proxy SDO score using the coded items as an additive scale (+1 for single code items and support for, -1 for opposition to where applicable). Again, rather than being a direct measure of individual level SDO, this scale measures the presence of ideas and ideological patterns that are associated with different levels of SDO, and the frequency that these messages appear within an article; people that score high in individual level measures of SDO would be more likely, therefore, to agree with the messages in an article that scores high in this pseudo-SDO scale, for example.

Similar to the codes used in the third code section, four of eight of these code categories are divided into two sub-codes, although in this code section the order (support for, opposition to) of some of the sub-codes vary. The eight code categories in this section are: “Support for the armed forces”, which covers any sentences that express a pro-military sentiment; “Opposition to (4.2.1) or support for (4.2.2) governmental spending”, which covers any sentences that, for example, talk about tax payer’s money being wasted, or certain governmental projects being a waste of money, while support for governmental spending may be a discussion of the negative impact of austerity or cuts, for example; “Support for (4.3.1) or opposition to (4.3.2) the death penalty”, for 4.3.1, this includes any sentences that speculate about the possibility of needing to bring back the death penalty or that the use of the death penalty elsewhere is justified; “Opposition to (4.4.1) or support of (4.4.2) welfare programs”, where does not refer only welfare refers to nationalised healthcare, universal credit, disability living allowance, and any other type of welfare system; “Opposition to (4.5.1) or support for (4.5.2) environmentalism”, where environmentalism refers to any policy or idea proposed by the government, other elected officials, or campaign group that aims to protect the environment; “Use of patriotic language”, any use of patriotic language is coded, regardless of other article content, where patriotic language refers to protecting Britain or British people, using Britain or British as a standard against which other elements of the article are compared, talking about the needs of British people or Britain, or otherwise extolling the virtues of Britain or British people; “Use of phrases to position an individual as lesser than an average or normal person”, which includes any sentences that use words such

as weak, undeserving, pathetic, cowardly, undeserving or any other language to position a person or group of people as lesser than another person, group, or societal norm; and “Use of competition-driven language”, which refers to any language that portrays a situation as a competitive or suggests that life is competitive in some way.

3.2-4. Coding Stereotypes

I also incorporated the typology of stereotypical frames elements developed by Yang (2015), which is discussed in 1.2-7. As with the previous code sections, three of the four code items are divided into two subcategories: the first covers use of the stereotype, and the second covers an attempt to counter this stereotype. These code items simply identify examples of routine superficialisation, social categorisation, threatening typification, and legitimate victimisation, in addition to any potential counter stereotyping. The first code category is: “Included information that is related to an individual’s membership of a group, but that is otherwise unrelated to the article’s story”, which covers any inclusion of superficial contextual information about social groups or an individual’s membership of a social group. Examples could include: discussing women’s appearance in an article featuring female politicians, including medical information alongside an article that features an individual with a disability, or including information about religion in an article that features a member of that religion. The second code category is: “Suggestion of treating members of different groups differently (5.2.1) or countering this in some way (5.2.2)”, which aims to cover social categorisation examples. For 5.2.1, items would either suggest different treatment of different groups of people, or uses different language when reporting the same activities between different groups; an example could be calling for the restriction of visas for people of different religions or from certain countries. For 5.2.2, the article would criticises treating different groups differently, or draw attention to and criticises other articles or media that treats different groups differently. The third code category is: “Portrayal of groups or members of different groups as threatening (5.3.1) or countering this stereotype in some way (5.3.2)”. For 5.3.1, coded items connect membership of a social group to a portrayal of threat, and could include, for example, referring to white/black/Asian criminals or gangs, or discussing the dangers posed by immigrants. For 5.3.2, coded items include any attempts to challenge threatening portrays of different groups. The final code item is: “Portrayal of any members of a social group as to blame for the circumstances or situation outlined in the article (5.4.1) or focusing on the societal reasons for the circumstances outlined in the article rather than group or individual reasons (5.4.2)”. For 5.4.1, the coded item blames socially disadvantaged groups for different social problems, rather than looking for wider social causes of the situation. An article on homelessness might focus on the faults of an individual that resulted in their homelessness, such as addiction for example, or unemployed people may be portrayed as to blame for their unemployment through accusations of laziness. For 5.4.2,

the coded item will try to counter this stereotype and shift the blame back to society. Examples include “Welfare doesn’t make people lazy, the system is just set up to make people fail”.

There is the potential for some overlap between code categories between different code sections. Some items were coded twice in certain cases; for example, an item coded as 5.3.1 - “Portray of groups or members of different groups as threatening” is also be coded as 3.1 - “Mentions of threats or security concerns”. The code, however, does not contain redundancies, as both of these items capture different concepts that are useful in the analysis independent to each other. It is necessary to contain overlapping items to adequately capture each the concepts measured.

3.2-5. Intercoder Reliability

To test this code, a random 5% of the sample (n=35) was coded both by me and by a PhD student based at the University of Leeds. In preparation, I conducted a 2-hour training session with the PhD student on using the code. This involved first discussing each aspect of the code before test coding two articles together and one separately before talking through the results. For this test, I used a Qualtrics questionnaire in which each aspect of the code was included as a question. To complete the questionnaire, we both had to indicate simply whether or not the item was present in the article or not: for example, “A clear rejection of human rights? An example may include advocating for the repeal of the Human Rights Act: Present/Not Present”. For code items which include either a compatible point or a counterpoint, the responses include “Not Present/Agree/Disagree”. In the actual coding, I used NVivo to complete the coding so that I could easily locate and extract examples of the components of the article coded in a certain way. I used Qualtrics here to ensure that the coding procedure was unaffected by the second coder’s limited experience using NVivo.

The overall percentage agreement across the entire code was 99%. For both the RWA and SDO code sections, percentage agreement was 100%, although there was limited presence of these items in the sample articles. There was 97% agreement for the human rights code section, and 96% agreement for the stereotype section. Krippendorff’s Alpha was used to test inter-coder reliability for items with any variability between coders:

“Human rights require protection” $\alpha=0.89$

“Human rights as an obvious good” $\alpha=0.86$

“Failure to uphold human rights is criticised or reported” $\alpha=0.84$

“Challenges points made about human rights by ideological opponent” $\alpha=0.8$

“Included information that is related to an individual’s membership of a group...” $\alpha=0.79$

“Treating members of different groups differently” $\alpha=0.72$

“Sovereignty is being undermined or prevented...” $\alpha=0.66$

“Outlines dangers of withdrawing or reducing human rights protection” $\alpha=0.62$

I discussed both “Sovereignty is being undermined or prevented...” and “Outlines dangers of withdrawing or reducing human rights protection” with the second coder. For each item, I

had included some additional examples to hopefully increase understanding of each item. For “Sovereignty is being undermined or prevented...”, I highlighted that this portrayal of human rights is often linked to anti-EU messages. In two cases, the second coder had included articles that contained anti-EU messages, but not an explicit portrayal of human rights as undermining sovereignty. For “Outlines dangers of withdrawing or reducing human rights protection”, the second coder had coded “Present” for two articles that included normative justifications for the need of human rights but did not explicitly detail specific consequences of withdrawing or removing human rights protection. The language of this item has now been changed to: “Details specific consequences of withdrawing, reducing, or removing human rights protections”.

The coding scheme included space for the addition of code items if necessary. Two additional code categories were added to the human rights coding section: human rights victory and philosophy of rights. The code human rights victory includes references to a celebration of either current or historic human rights achievements or landmark events; this is included as a positive portrayal of human rights in the creation of dummy variables in the content analysis. The second code item, philosophy of rights, was only used once in the sample, and was used to code sections of an article in The Sunday Times titled “We may not believe but let's go to church today; Easter is the time for agnostics to recognise the debt we owe Christianity” which included a paragraph outlining the relationship between the origin of human rights ideas in Britain and Britain’s Christian history.

Extensive re-coding was undertaken to capture the different topics of the codes for international and national coverage, in order to examine the variations in coverage between these groups. In addition, the code *Failure to uphold human rights is criticised or reported* was re-coded thematically. This code was the most frequently used during the coding of the articles, and it became apparent that it would be useful to break this code category down into additional categories so any differences in how this frame is used between newspaper sources could be explored.

4. Content Analysis and Frame Identification

4.1 Introduction

To address the first main research question, “does human rights-opposed news use thematic cues that people high in RWA or SDO may be attuned to?”, this chapter presents the findings of the content analysis. This chapter begins providing an overview of how different newspapers portray human rights. This chapter then examines the relationship between the presence of information associated with high RWA and high SDO and the overall portrayal of human rights; as RWA and SDO predict reduced support for human rights it is expected that the presence of information associated with either high RWA or high SDO will be associated with a negative portrayal of human rights. We also do not know whether or not right-leaning newspapers use high RWA or high SDO associated information more frequently than left leaning newspapers; as both RWA and SDO are thought to reflect two different aspects of a right-wing personality, it is likely that articles published in right-leaning newspapers will contain information that maps on to the wider ideologies predicted by these dimensions. The relationship between generalised prejudice and both RWA and SDO also suggests that the presence of high RWA or high SDO associated information ought to be associated with the presence of stereotypes; the first half of this chapter therefore concludes by examining the use of stereotypes in human rights news coverage.

This thesis also asks if human rights news uses media frames which incorporate high RWA or high SDO frame components. Are high RWA or high SDO associated human rights frames present in human rights reporting in the UK? The second half of the content analysis, therefore, discusses the results of a hierarchical cluster analysis which identifies groups of variables often found together in human rights news. In addition to identifying both a high RWA and a high SDO associated cluster, this section discusses the most common type of human rights frame identified and the clearest examples of anti-human rights messages.

This chapter identifies and discusses a central difference between news coverage that frames human rights and news coverage that uses human rights language to frame current affairs or ongoing situations. The overwhelming majority of articles in the sample reflect the latter type of human rights news. When the language of human rights or the work of human rights

organisations is drawn on to frame an issue, the importance and validity of human rights work is emphasised. While this project primarily investigates the relationship between pre-existing schemas associated with RWA and SDO and exposure to human rights-opposed news, both *H2.3*³ and *H2.3.1*⁴ focus on potential interactions between schemas associated with high levels of RWA and positive portrayals of human rights. I therefore propose using news coverage that uses human rights language to frame current affairs or ongoing situations for examples of positive human rights news.

³ H2.3: *When a person who is high in RWA is exposed to a positive portrayal of human rights, their support for the military enforcement of human rights will increase*

⁴ H2.3.1: *Any observed increase in support for the military enforcement of human rights following exposure to a human rights message that uses high RWA associated ideological patterns will be more pronounced in those high in RWA compared to those not high in RWA*

4.2 Content Analysis Findings

4.2-1. News Topics

Gies' (2011) analysis, which compared coverage in The Times and The Guardian, pointed to an ideological divide in the coverage of human rights in the UK. Historically, the Mirror Group (including The Mirror and The Daily Record), the Guardian, and the Independent have provided consistently centre-left news reporting (McNair, 2009). A variable to indicate whether or not a newspaper is right-wing is used throughout the analysis to explore these differences in greater detail. The Metro, despite being published by DMG Media, consciously attempts to remain politically neutral, and avoids opinion pieces or political commentary to increase its mass appeal (Ponsford, 2017; The Economist, 2018). It is, therefore, excluded from inclusion as right-wing in the indicator variable.

Content analyses of newspaper sources historically divided newspapers into broadsheet and tabloid categories in order to control for an assumed variation in the quality of the content (McNair, 2009). However, Gies (2011) noted that negative coverage of human rights could not be split along tabloid/broadsheet lines, as both the Daily Mail and the Telegraph published news stories that were critical of human rights. Moreover, McNair (2009) argues that the traditional tabloid/broadsheet dichotomy is outdated, pointing to the almost universal abandonment of the broadsheet format, the rise of online news, and increasing tabloidization. Instead, McNair (2009) suggests using Red-Top/Tabloid (Daily Star, The Sun, Daily Record, Mirror, Metro), Mid-Market (Daily Mail, Express), and Elite (Telegraph, Times, Guardian, Independent) categories to classify British newspapers. A key component of this divide, and the tabloidization of news, is the amount of sensationalised, emotive content within each paper (McNair, 2009). In addition, elite newspapers typically publish longer articles which explore issues in more depth (McNair, 2009). Both ideological and quality categories are used throughout this analysis.

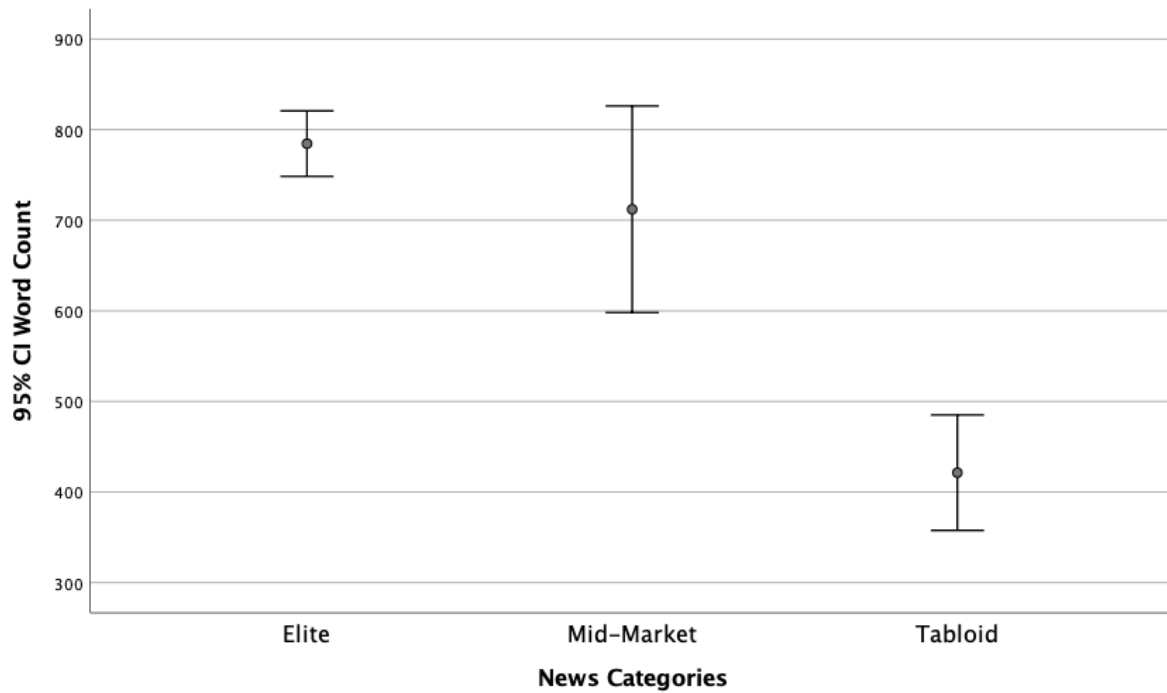


Figure 5, Word Count Error Bars for Elite, Mid-Market, and Tabloid Newspapers

However, as figure 5 shows, there is no statistically significant difference between average article length between elite and mid-market publications, while human rights news articles in tabloid publications are significantly shorter, $F(10,754)=15.65$, $\eta^2=0.04$, $p<0.001$. Notably, as figure 6 shows, there is no statistically significant difference between average length of articles between the Daily Mail and the Guardian, $p=0.486$; as discussed in section 4.2-2., these two news companies represent the most opposed to human rights and the most supportive of human rights respectively.

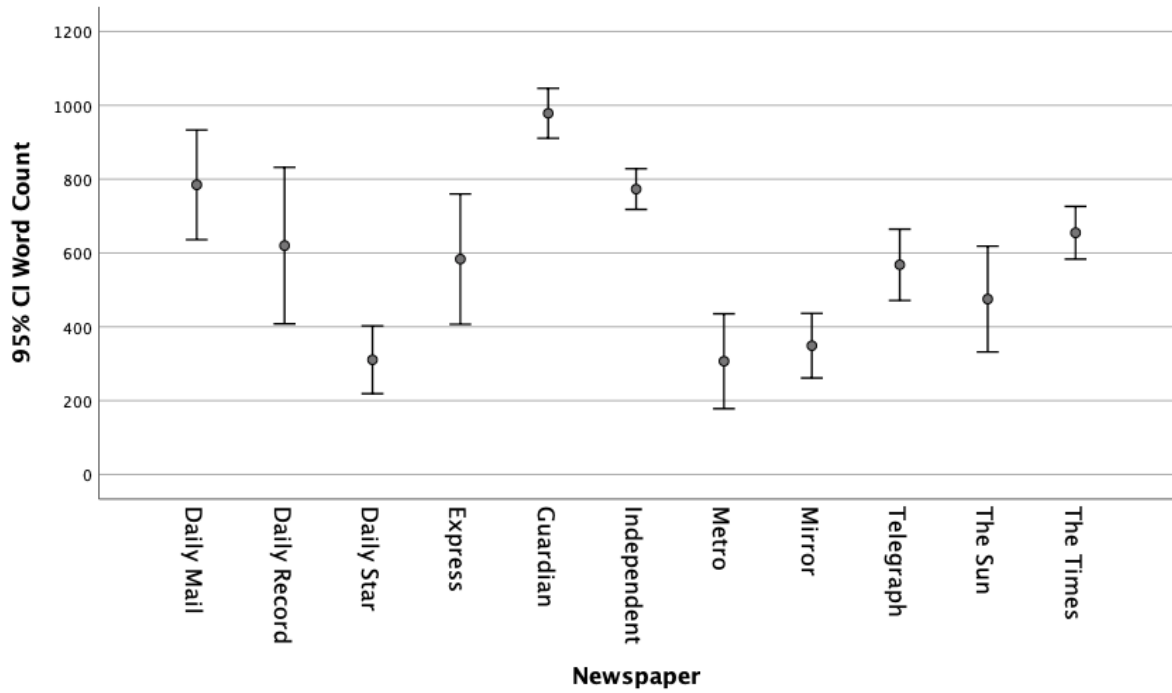


Figure 6, Word Count Error Bars by Newspaper

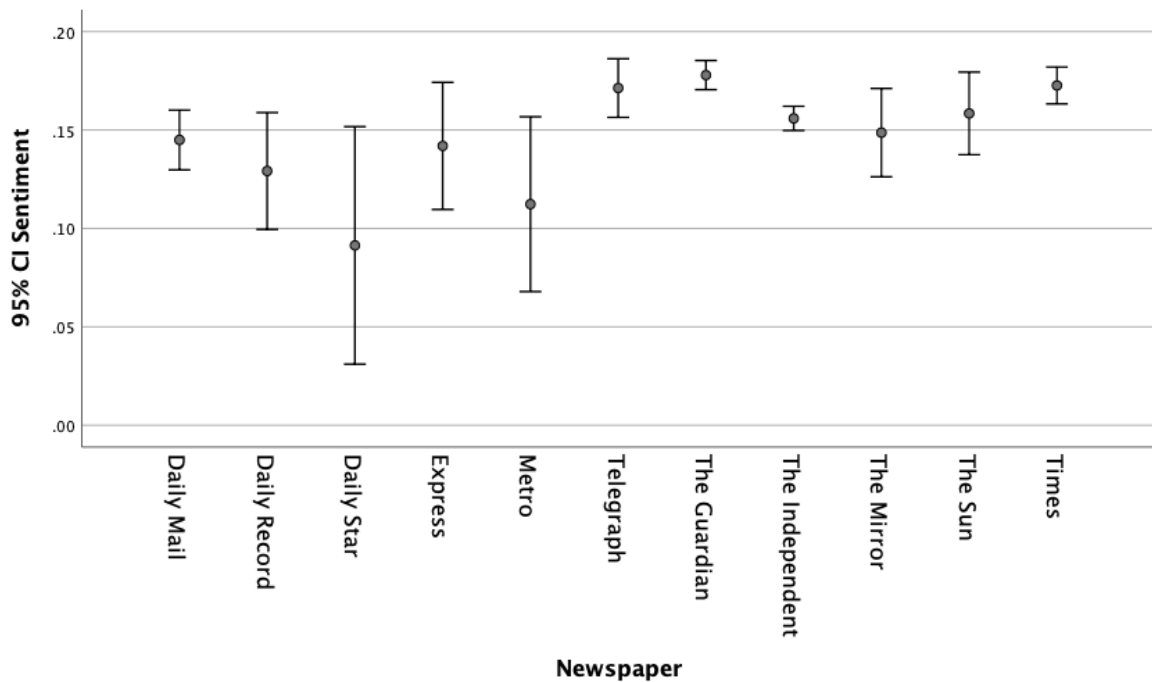


Figure 7, Sentiment Error Bars by Newspaper

To test the overall sentiment of human rights news across different newspapers, I followed the procedure outlined by Silge and Robinson (2017). As displayed in figure 7, there is a significant difference between in overall sentiment between some newspapers,

$F(10,201479)=5.06$, $\eta^2=<0.001$, $p=<0.001$ ⁵. However, the effect size is very small. In line with Gies' (2011) human rights news in elite publications, overall, contains a higher frequency of words which indicate positive sentiment compared to mid-market and red-top publications, see figure 8. However, there was no difference in overall sentiment between right-leaning and centre or left-leaning publications, $F(1,201479)=0.06$, $p=>0.05$.

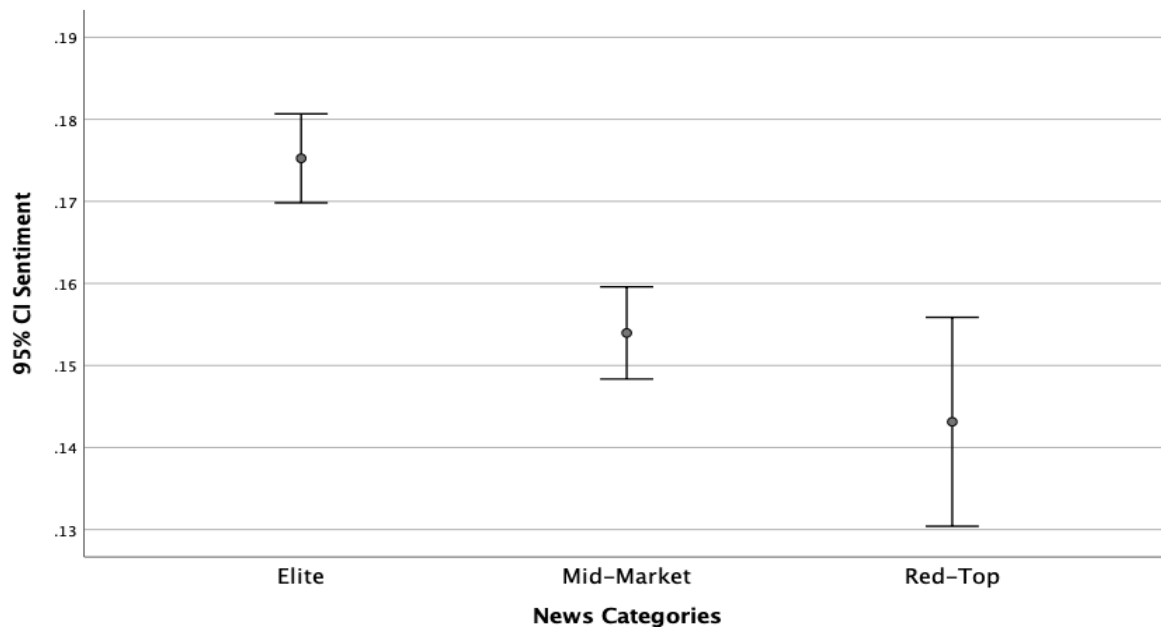


Figure 8, Sentiment Error Bars for Elite, Mid-Market, and Tabloid Newspapers

However, centre or left-leaning papers favour international human rights stories over national human rights stories compared to right-leaning papers. For right-leaning newspapers, there is an increase of 1.40 (-0.17, $p=<0.001$) in the log-odds of reporting a national news story rather than an international news story compared to centre or left-leaning newspapers. Figs 9-12, see following pages, show the broad focus of articles in international and national news coverage in centre or left-leaning and right-leaning newspapers. The general topics of the articles are similar between centre or left-leaning and right-leaning newspapers, although international human rights news coverage in centre or left-leaning newspapers appears to be slightly broader in scope than international news coverage in right-leaning newspapers. Thematic variations between right and centre or left-leaning newspapers and differences in national and international reporting on human rights will be revisited throughout this chapter.

⁵ While the total number of sampled articles is 754, in this analysis each word in the total dataset, extracted using the bing sentiment dictionary, is an observation.

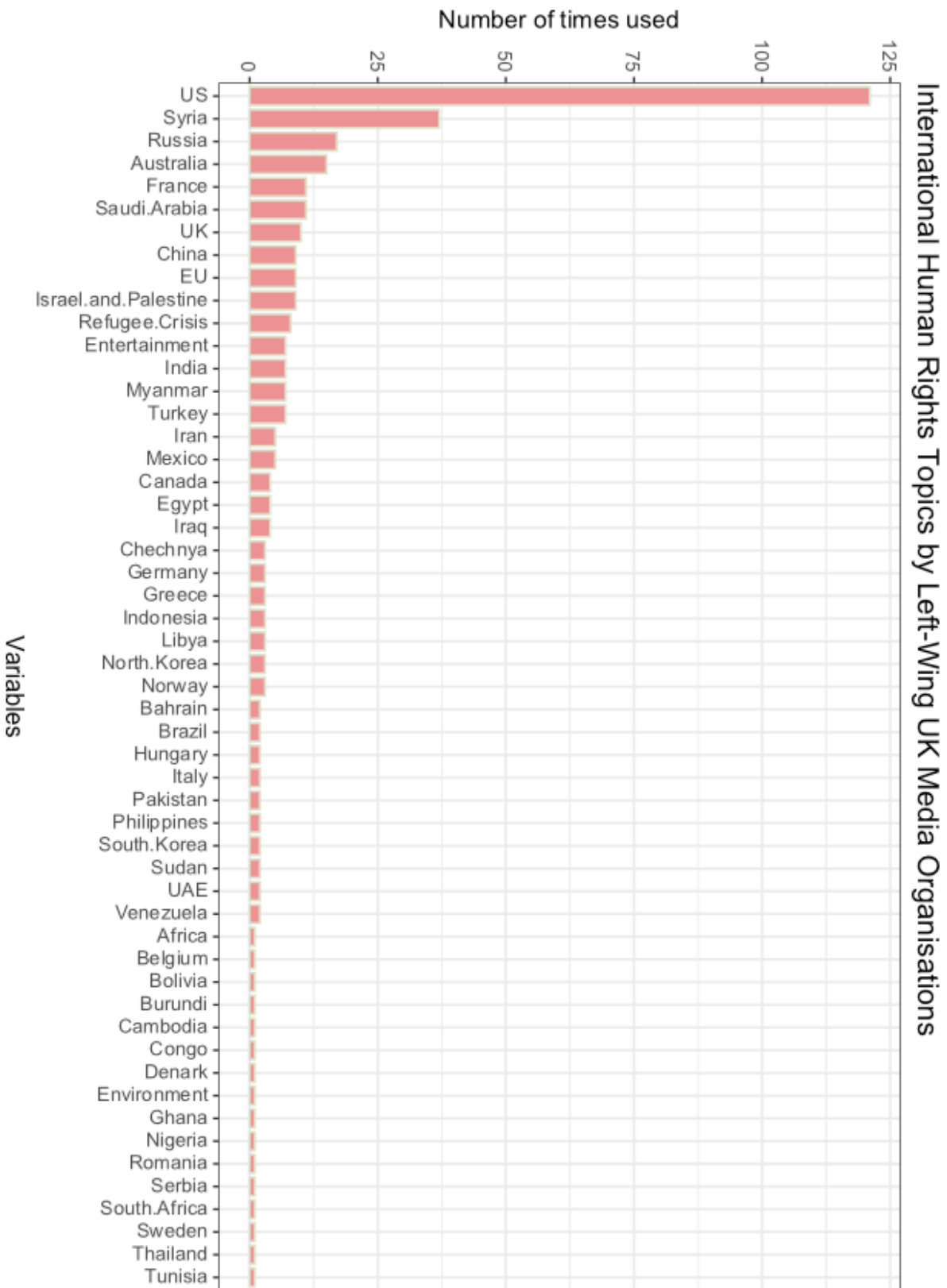


Figure 9

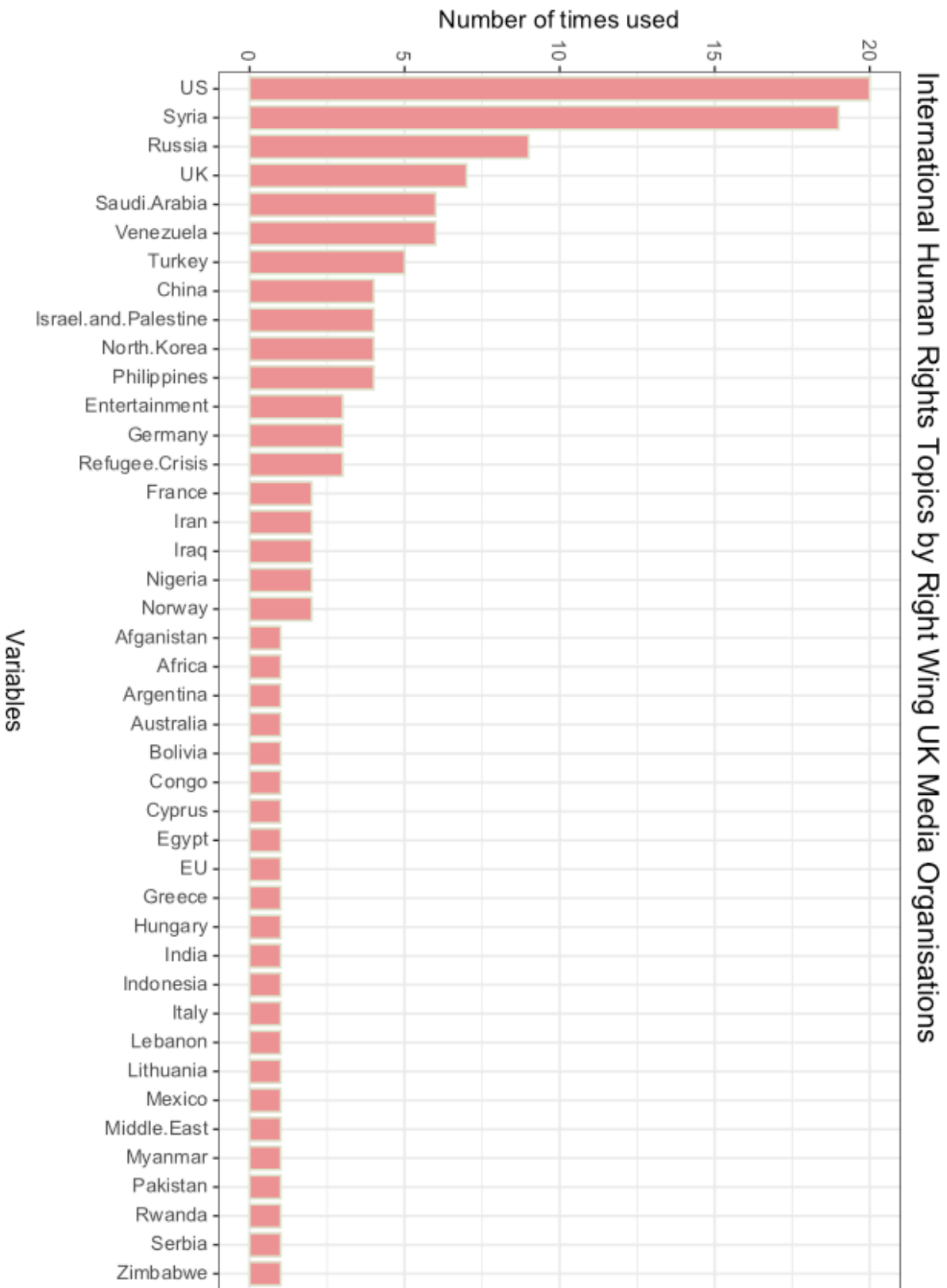


Figure 10

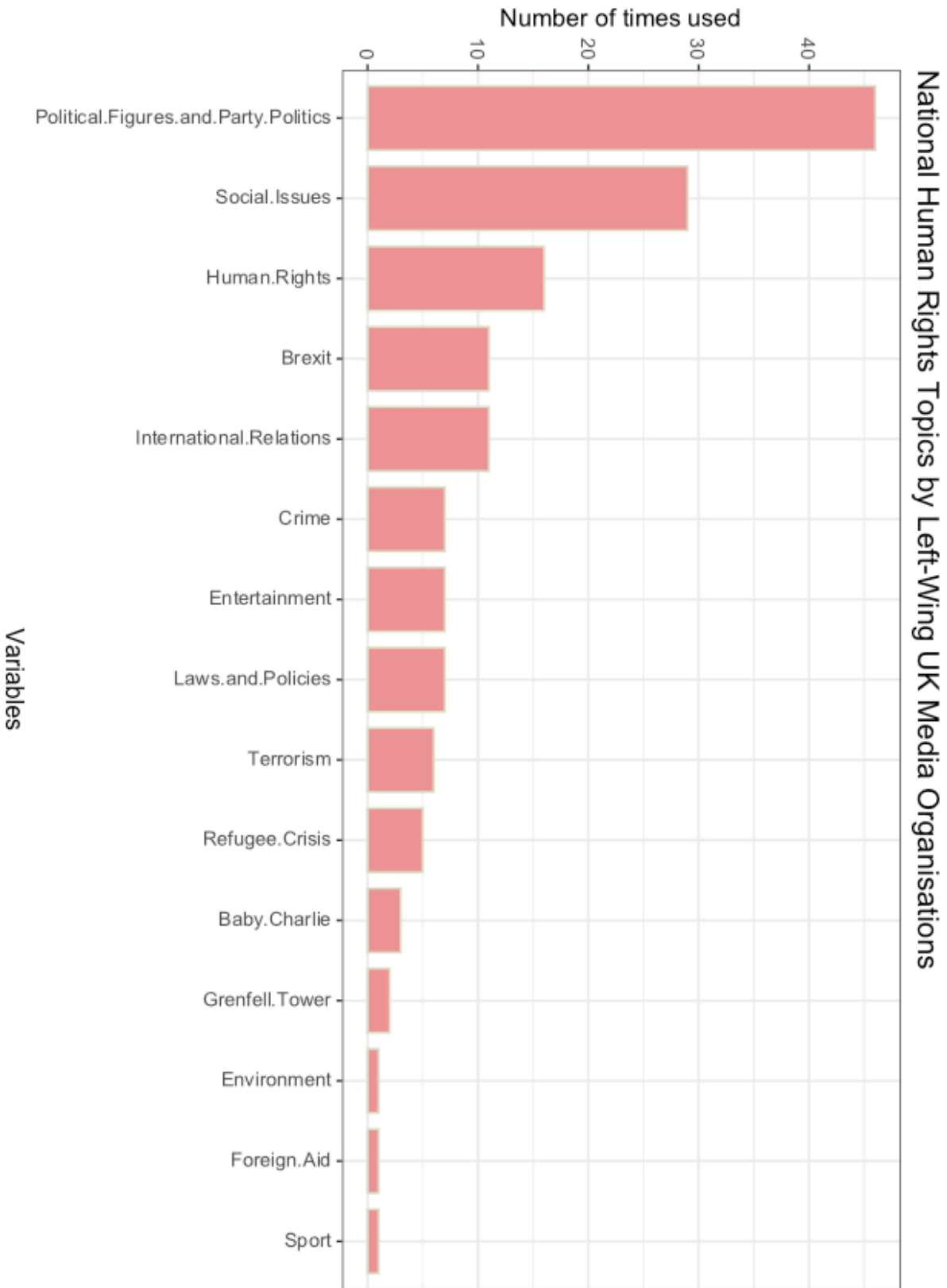


Figure 11

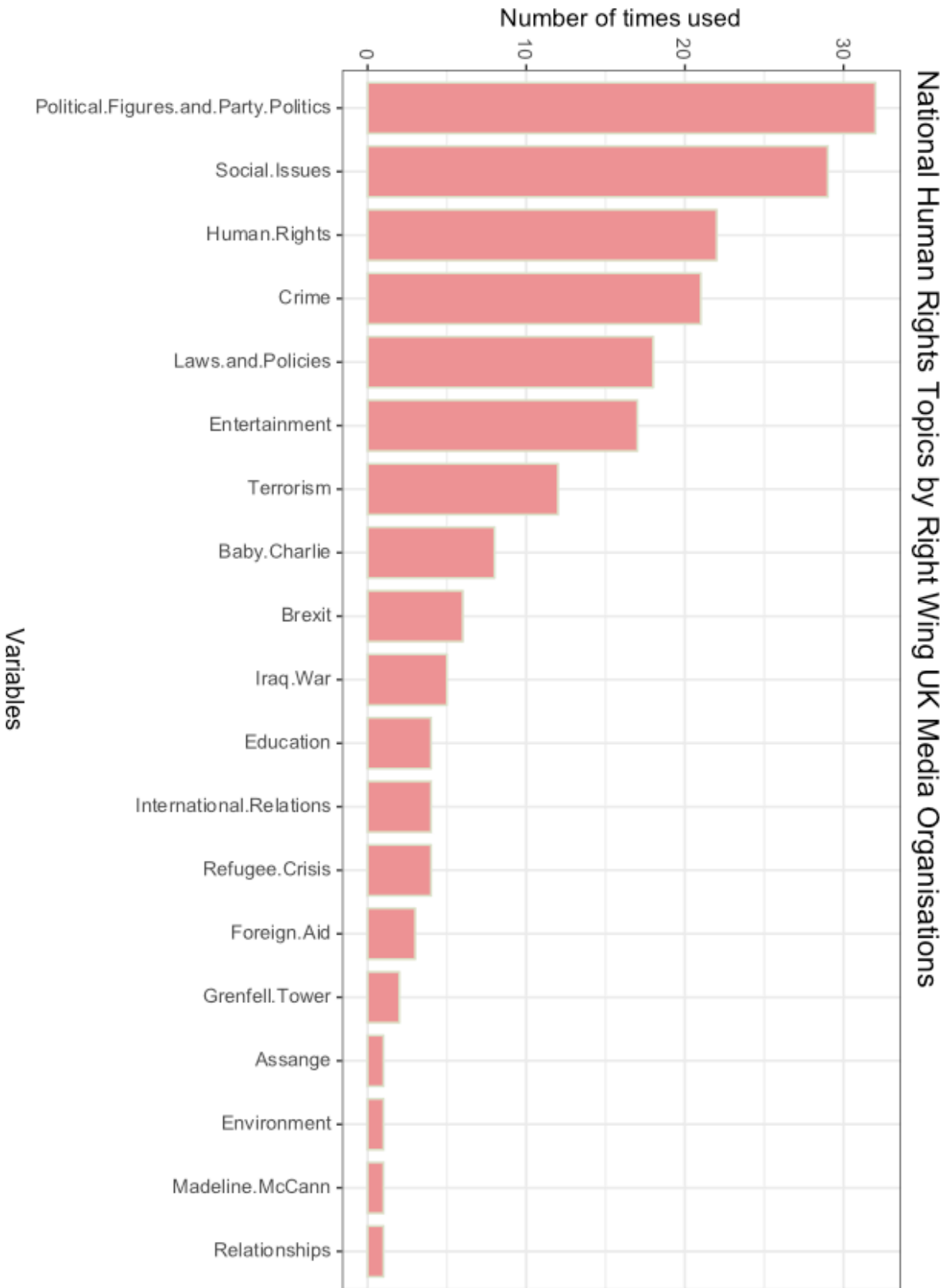


Figure 12

4.2-2. Portraying Human Rights

As discussed, past research has identified an association between right-wing news and an antagonistic narrative towards human rights (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). This, in part, led to this project’s interest in the individual level right-wing dimensions RWA and SDO: reduced support for human rights is predicted by the right-wing dimensions RWA and SDO. This section, therefore, asks: is there a difference between how right-leaning and centre or left-leaning newspapers portray human rights? Do right-leaning papers portray human rights negatively?

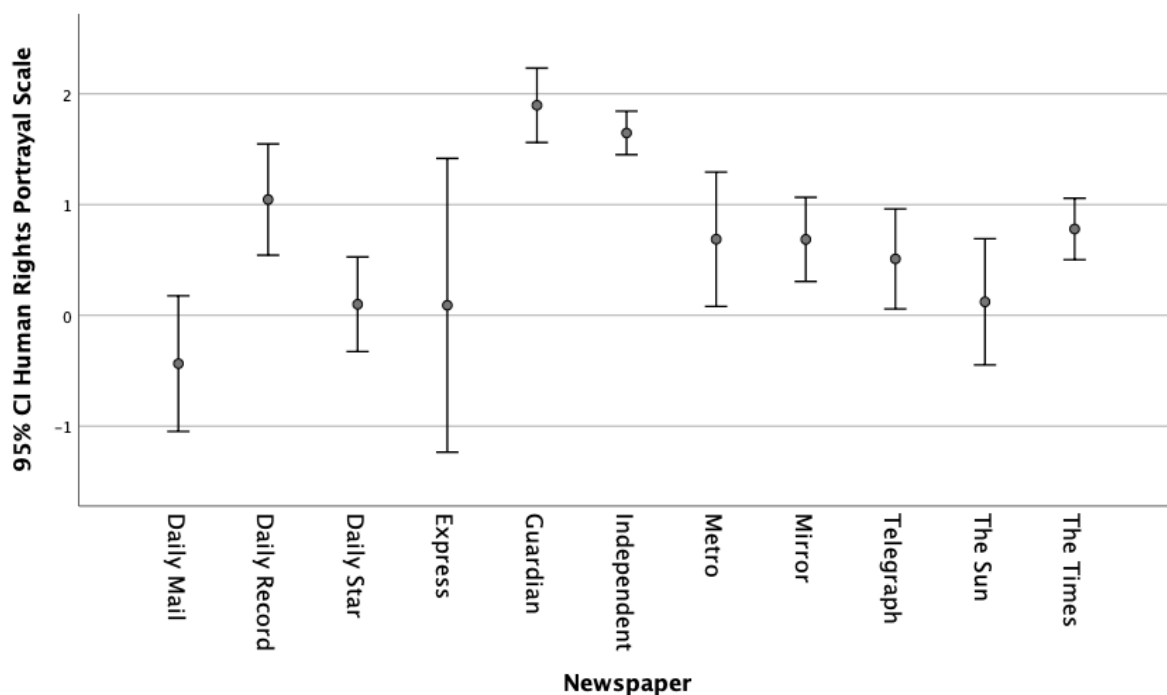


Figure 13, Human Rights Portrayal Scale Error Bars by Newspaper

As figure 13 demonstrates, only in the Daily Mail is the coverage of human rights, on average, negative. There are significant differences between newspapers $F(10,754)=13.03$, $\eta^2=0.15$, $p<0.001$. On average, the portrayal of human rights is the most positive in elite, centre or left-leaning newspapers The Guardian and The Independent. There is a significant difference between the average portrayal of human rights between right-leaning newspapers ($M=.40$, $SD=1.80$) and centre or left-leaning newspapers ($M=1.60$, $SD=1.70$), $t(753)=9.30$, $p<0.001$. Publication in a right-leaning newspaper is significantly associated with a change of -1.23 (0.13, $p<0.001$) in the log-odds of a positive portrayal of human rights compared to publication in a centre or left-leaning newspaper, see figure 14.

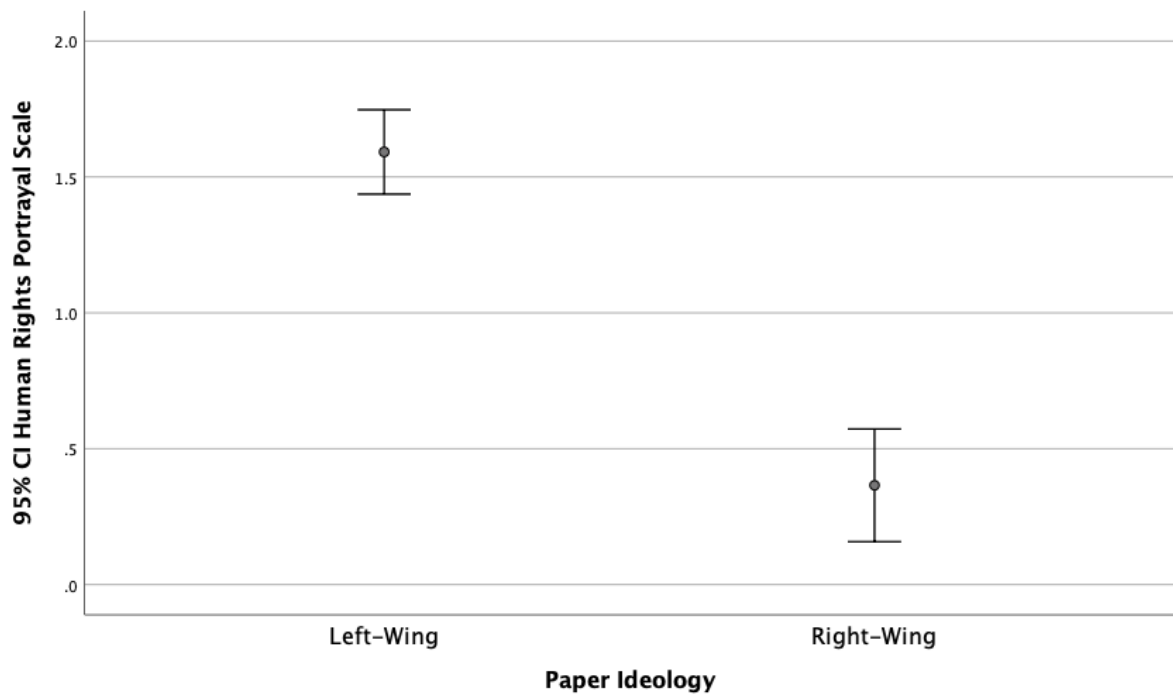


Figure 14, Human Rights Portrayal Scale Error Bars by Newspaper Ideology

In addition, as figure 15 shows, there are significant differences between the average coverage between elite newspapers and mid-market and tabloid newspapers, but not between mid-market and tabloid newspapers, $F(2,754)=36.48$, $\eta^2=0.88$, $p<0.001$. Again, this effect is driven by coverage in the Guardian and the Independent.

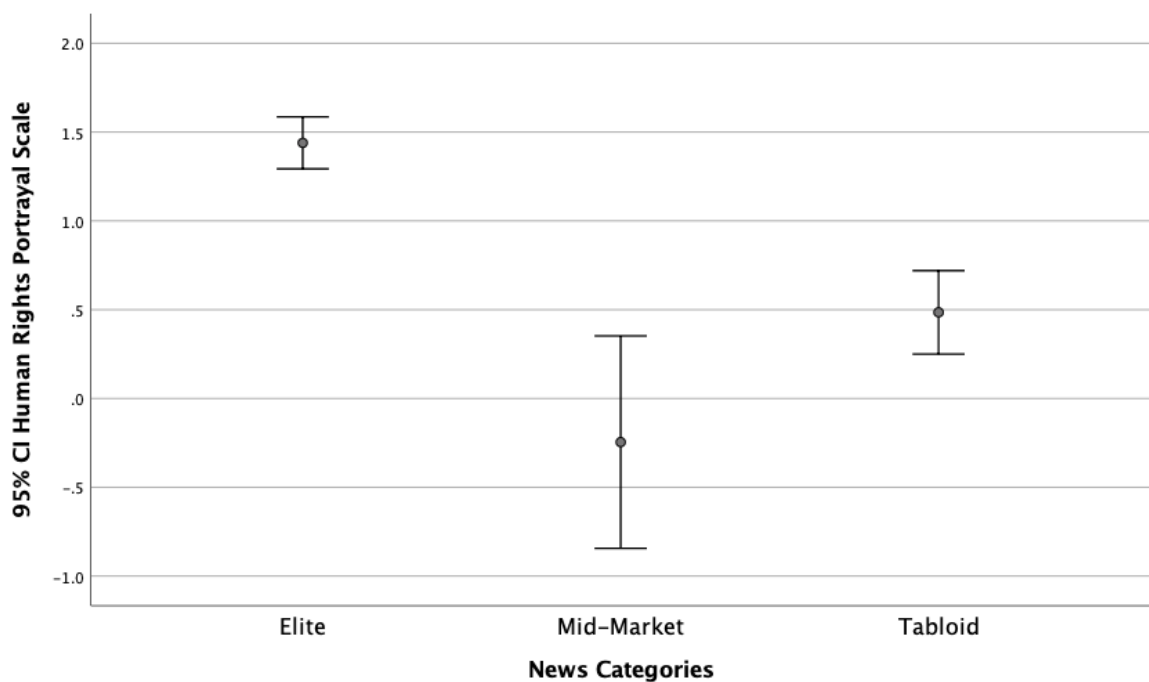


Figure 15, Human Rights Portrayal Scale Error Bars by Elite, Mid-Market, and Tabloid Newspapers

Across the sample, the code item *Failure to uphold human rights* was used more than any other. 36% of the articles from right-leaning newspapers included items coded as *Failure to uphold human rights*, compared to 57% of articles from centre or left-leaning newspapers. It is important to consider this item's role in the human rights portrayal scale. Items coded to this code category are often present in articles covering current situations that are presented, either by the journalist or by a human rights organisation that broke the story, as human rights violations. These articles often rely on the input of human rights organisations or report the findings of human rights organisations.

Failure to uphold human rights is included as a positive portrayal of human rights in the human rights scale variable as it offers an implicit acceptance of human rights as a standard by which the severity, legitimacy, or seriousness of a situation can be judged. It also often includes an implicit acceptance of the legitimacy of the work of human rights organisations. However, it is important to differentiate between how human rights are framed and how human rights are used to frame other news items. In items coded as *Failure to uphold human rights*, human rights are less tangible as an object within the actual article itself; that is, human rights as an abstract concept are an external entity drawn on to shape information about an event. In this sense, *Failure to uphold human rights* represents a, or *the*, 'Human Rights Frame' rather than a way of framing human rights: human rights are used to frame the interpretation of other information (such as the treatment of migrants in border camps, or the conditions faced by those living through a conflict), instead of other information framing the audience's interpretation of human rights themselves. However, the news stories that are the subject of articles containing this code category often have the strongest connection to a tangible human rights reality, as events that can be described as human rights violations are the subject of these articles. The other code categories, in contrast, capture more abstract political, legal, or theoretical conceptualisations of human rights but are also more explicitly attached to an identifiable position towards human rights.

For example, the Daily Mail published an article titled "Boris Sickened" (Daily Mail, 2017d) describes the findings of a report released by Amnesty International about human rights abuses by Assad's regime in Syria. The article reports on human rights abuses and is supportive of both the work of Amnesty and of action in defence of human rights.

“BORIS Johnson yesterday said he was sickened' by reports that Bashar al-Assad's regime tortured and hanged 13,000 political prisoners in four years. Amid compelling evidence that the Syrian president's henchmen carried out an unprecedented policy of extermination', the Foreign Secretary said the dictator had no future as leader'. Civilians perceived to be opposed to the brutal regime - including doctors and aid workers - were executed in mass hangings of up to 50 detainees at a time, according to a chilling Amnesty International dossier.

Victims were given death sentences after sham trials lasting less than three minutes, often on the basis of confessions extracted through torture, the human rights charity said. Many thousands of others held at the notorious 20,000-capacity Saydnaya military prison, north of Damascus, died from starvation and disease. The charity's year-long investigation drew on graphic accounts from witnesses, including judges, officials and former guards at the prison.” (Excerpt from Daily Mail, 2017d)

Conversely, “To Stay in UK.... And Gets £123k of Legal Aid” (Daily Mail, 2017e) focuses on the role of human rights laws in protecting terrorists:

“The taxpayer-funded payments will horrify families of the British Sousse victims, who last week heard harrowing evidence of how their loved ones were gunned down in a 20-minute rampage.

Days after the Tunisia terror attack, the Daily Mail revealed connections between the atrocity and extremists in the UK.

Al-Sibai arrived in Britain in 1994 and was refused asylum in 1998 because of his involvement with the Egyptian terror group Islamic Jihad. He was jailed while the government tried to deport him, but had to be freed after less than a year because Egypt failed to provide assurances that he would not be in danger there.

Human rights laws make it impossible for suspects to be returned to countries where they might be tortured or killed. Over two decades he has received £123,000 in legal aid, which paid for representation by top human-rights lawyers.” (Excerpt from Daily Mail, 2017e)

It is, therefore, worth re-examining the relationship between the ideological source of the articles and explicit positions towards human rights, rather than detailing human rights violations or failures. To focus on articles which present frames to shape the audience's interpretation of human rights rather than articles that use human rights to frame events or situations, I eliminated *Failure to uphold human rights* from the human rights portrayal scale. When articles containing the code category *Failure to uphold human rights* are excluded from the analysis, the mean portrayal of human rights in right-leaning newspapers shifts from being positive to negative by the same degree ($M=.40$, $SD=1.80$ to $M=-0.40$, $SD=1.30$), while the mean portrayal of human rights in centre or left-leaning newspapers remains positive ($M=1.60$, $SD=1.70$ to $M=0.50$, $SD=1.00$), and, as expected, the difference between centre or left-leaning and right-leaning newspapers remains significant, $t(382)=7.00$, $p<0.001$. This finding indicates that publication in a right-leaning newspaper is associated with a negative portrayal of human rights norms, laws, or principles.

I also looked for differences in the inclusion of expert information about human rights. There are differences in the portrayal of human rights between articles that include expert information and those that do not. There is a significant difference between the inclusion of expert information in elite ($M=0.62$, $SD=1.20$) and non-elite ($M=0.86$, $SD=1.30$), $t(753)=-2.21$, $p=0.01$. In centre or left-leaning newspapers, articles that include expert information ($M=2.20$, $SD=1.30$) score, on average, higher on the human rights portrayal scale than those that do not ($M=1.10$, $SD=1.90$), $t(471)=-6.7$, $p<0.001$. In right-leaning newspapers, this variation is still present but the difference between articles that include expert information ($M=0.78$, $SD=1.40$) and those that do not ($M=0.17$, $SD=2.20$) is smaller, $t(280)=-2.80$, $p<0.01$. In addition, there is no significant difference in the average scores in the human rights portrayal scale in right-leaning newspapers between articles that include expert information not in line with the article ($M=.29$, $SD=1.30$) and those that do not ($M=.37$, $SD=1.00$). There is, however, a significant difference in the average scores in the human rights portrayal scale in centre or left-leaning newspapers between articles that include expert information not in line with the article ($M=2.60$, $SD=2.40$) and those that do not ($M=1.50$, $SD=1.60$), $t(471)=4.10$, $p<0.001$. This indicates that a positive portrayal of human rights in a centre or centre or left-leaning newspaper often centres around a rebuttal of an opposing view.

There is also a significant difference in the human rights portrayal scale between articles covering national issues (M=0.45, SD=1.80) and articles covering international issues (M=1.50, SD=1.60), $t(640)=7.70$, $p<0.001$. For centre or left-leaning newspapers, both international (M=1.70, SD=1.00) and national (M=1.00, SD=1.50) articles have positive means, although the difference between these means is still significant, $t(402)=3.70$, $p<0.001$. For right-leaning newspapers, international articles have a positive average score in the human rights portrayal scale (M=0.74, SD=0.80), while national articles have a negative average score in the human rights portrayal scale (M=-0.01, SD=1.90), $t(236)=3.70$, $p<0.001$. Table 3, below, demonstrates that publication in a right-leaning newspaper predicts a decrease in the portrayal of human rights scale when controlling for the effect of publication in an elite or non-elite newspaper.

Right-leaning Paper	-0.99*** (0.13)
Elite Indicator	0.84*** (0.15)
Constant	0.88*** (0.08)
R²	0.15
Adj. R²	0.14
n	754
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Content Analysis. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.	

4.3-2.1 Public Authorship of Anti-Human Rights Messages

The clearest examples of negative portrayals of human rights are collections of letters to the editor with authorship ascribed to members of the public. These letters also contain the most extreme anti-human rights sentiment found within the sample. While this type of human rights article was not hypothesised to exist, the type of human rights portrayal, the curated, competitive nature of these articles, and their public authorship made them stand out during the coding. For example, The Sun published a collection of text messages sent from members of the public titled “Britain is such a soft touch” (The Sun, 2017d), which include quotes such as “MPs need a rethink on what happens to terrorists who commit such crimes on UK soil. The Human Rights Act is wide open to abuse by these people.”, “[t] is disgusting that this man is allowed to remain in this country and get so much in benefits from taxpayers. Throw the Human Rights Act out of the window and send this man back to Iran as soon as possible and save our hardearned money going to an undeserving case like him.” and “we are going to keep an asylum seeker who is a convicted wife beater. Why aren’t we kicking this rubbish out once they have completed their sentences? Why should the burden of these criminals fall on the British taxpayer? How many more cases are there that have gone unreported?”.

These types of articles are interesting, as they are presented as examples of public comments curated by The Sun: an editorial decision was made, at some stage, to group these letters together and present them as a thematic collection. The Sun offers £50 to the winner of their “Star Letter of the day”, which, in this example, was awarded to the following:

“AN ex-terrorist being allowed to live a cushy life in London has appalled me. Fowzi Nejad, jailed for his part in 1980’s Iranian Embassy siege, lives well on benefits in a Peckham flat. All because of a crazy legal rights system which means we cannot deport him back to Iran. So he lives happy and carefree, it is utterly ridiculous. We as a country are a soft touch and a pushover when it comes to letting people abuse the system.”.

While the overall portrayal of human rights in The Sun was mixed and did include some more negative examples of human rights portrayals (see “UK back in control of human rights law; UK IS BACK IN CONTROL”, 31st March 2017, for example), these letters represent the most explicit negative portrayal of human rights within the sample. While this is not a

common type of human rights news, a recent paper by Coppock et al. (2018) demonstrates large and lasting treatment effects caused by exposure to opinion pieces. In addition, given the expected role of social desirability bias in attitudes towards human rights suggested by McFarland and Mathews (2005), this thesis hypothesises that public authorship may make more extreme negative positions towards human more palatable to those predisposed to agree with human rights-opposed opinions.

In contrast to past research on human rights news coverage in the UK, which has often focused its attention to anti-human rights messages in right-wing news, this section demonstrates that the overall coverage of human rights is, on average, positive or balanced. While right-leaning papers do portray human rights less positively than centre or left-leaning newspapers, the average portrayal of human rights in right-leaning newspapers is positive. When tasked with reporting a situation or event that involves human rights violations, news organisations use an implicit positive or non-critical portrayal of human rights, coded here as *Failure to uphold human rights*. This is an interesting dichotomy in the conceptualisation of human rights captured by this content analysis, between the portrayal of material human rights violations and human rights as abstract principles. It appears that when confronted with the reality of human rights violations, right-leaning newspapers provide tacit support for human rights despite frequent negative portrayals of human rights elsewhere. This is explored in more detail in *section 4.3-3.*, which unpacks the code item *Failure to uphold human rights*. However, this chapter has not yet explored how thematic cues, or frame components, associated with pre-existing schemas are used in human rights news. The following sections will therefore examine the presence of themes associated with RWA, SDO, and stereotypes.

4.2-3. Presence and Distribution of RWA Indicators

This section examines the use of RWA associated concepts and the relationships between the presence of high RWA associated information, newspaper ideology, and human rights portrayal. The purpose of this section is to ask if themes which are conceptually similar to the attitudinal positions predicted by high levels of RWA are present in human rights news coverage in the UK. If so, this would suggest that exposure to these messages may be affecting human rights attitudes, either by priming RWA or by contributing to the formation of cognitive links between RWA-associated attitudinal positions and human rights attitudes. This section also separates the RWA associated information included in this section of the code into those associated with support for human rights and those associated with opposition to, or are generally incompatible with, human rights.

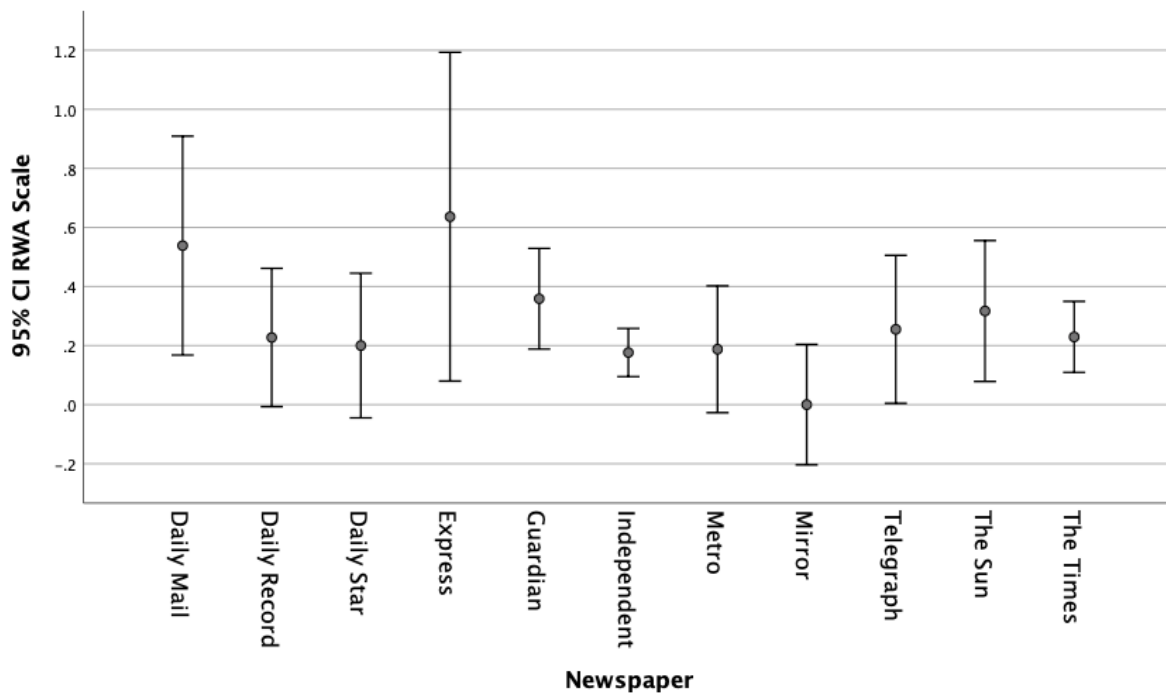


Figure 16, RWA Scale Error Bars by Newspaper

As figure 16 shows, there is a significant difference in the average presence of RWA indicators between newspapers, $F(10,754)=1.88$, $\eta^2=0.02$, $p=0.04$. However, all newspaper sources published human rights news that included high RWA associated information. The differences in mean RWA scores between centre or left-leaning ($M=0.22$, $SD=0.79$) and right-leaning ($M=0.32$, $SD=0.84$) newspapers is not statistically significant, $t(753)=-1.60$,

$p > 0.05$. These findings do not, therefore, support *H1.1.1*⁶. There is also no significant difference in the mean RWA scores between articles covering national news ($M=0.26$, $SD=0.86$) and international news ($M=0.18$, $SD=0.64$), $t(640)=-1.50$, $p > 0.05$. However, mid-market newspapers included significantly more high RWA associated information, on average, $F(2,754)=5.36$, $\eta^2=0.01$, $p=0.005$.

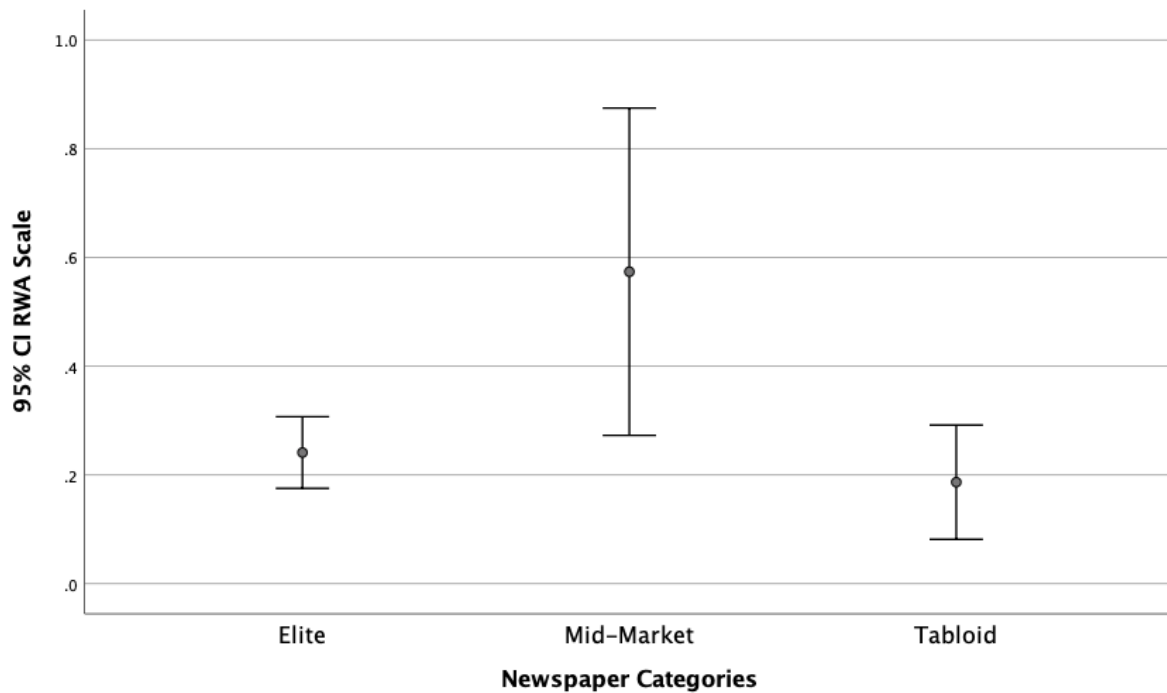


Figure 17, RWA Scale Error Bars by Elite, Mid-Market, and Tabloid Newspapers

In addition, as figure 17 shows, there is no significant difference between the mean scores on the human rights portrayal scale between articles that feature items coded as high RWA ($M=0.90$, $SD=2.00$) and those that do not ($M=1.20$, $SD=1.80$), $t(753)=1.40$, $p > 0.05$. When considering articles only from right-leaning newspapers, there is a significant difference in human rights portrayal scores between articles that contain high RWA code items ($M=-0.10$, $SD=1.90$) and those that do not ($M=0.48$, $SD=1.70$), $t(280)=2.20$, $p=0.02$. In addition, higher scores on the RWA scale do not predict a significant decrease in the human rights portrayal scale (see table 4, below). These findings, therefore, do not support *H1.1.0*⁷.

⁶ H1.1.1: Right-leaning news companies will publish more human rights news that includes high RWA associated messages compared to centre or left-leaning news companies.

⁷ H1.1.0: High RWA ideological patterns will be associated with an overall negative portrayal of human rights.

Table 4: Human rights portrayal scale by RWA scale	
RWA Scale	-.13 (0.08)
Constant	1.17*** (0.07)
R²	<0.01
Adj. R²	<0.01
n	754
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Content Analysis. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.	

However, as noted in *section 1.1-3.*, while high levels of RWA generally predicts lower support of human rights, it also predicts support for national representatives championing human rights and support for the use of military force to defend human rights. The code used for the content analysis includes two code items that reflect these two positions, both of which are included as high RWA associated information in the RWA scale used here. These two items are conceptually compatible with human rights support, while the other high RWA associated information included in the code are conceptually incompatible with the aims of human rights.

For example, The Guardian article “Doctors in Syria [...]” (2017b) includes British representatives championing human rights abroad:

“Responding during the evidence session to a question from MPs about the assessment of human rights risks in projects in Bahrain, Lyall Grant said: "There will be occasions when the National Security Council decides that we should discontinue a programme. We did that with one of the prison programmes in Saudi Arabia earlier this year, for instance. But in Bahrain those programmes are seen to have some effect and we are continuing with them."

A Foreign Office spokesperson said: "The UK continues to work closely with the government of Bahrain to encourage progress on human rights, which includes building effective and accountable institutions, strengthening the rule of law, and police and judicial reform. Any assistance we give to the government of Bahrain complies with the UK's domestic and international human rights obligations."

Fahad A al-Binali, first secretary at Bahrain's embassy in the UK, said cooperation with Britain had focused on areas of police and security reform as well as the justice system. Bahrain had drawn on the UK's experience to meet an urgent need to establish institutions that could gain public confidence, he added.

"There is an acknowledgement that more needs to be done, but, at the same time, there is demonstrable evidence from the reports of these institutions that a lot of progress has been made," said al-Binali." (Excerpt from The Guardian, 2017b)

When opposing human rights, right-leaning newspapers (M=0.28, SD=0.80) are more likely to invoke high RWA themes that are intuitively incompatible with human rights than centre or left-leaning (M=0.17, SD=0.50) newspapers, $t(753)=-2.2$, $p=0.02$. Table 5, below, indicates that the presence of pro-human rights, high RWA associated items predicts a small increase in the human rights portrayal scale, and the presence of human rights opposed, high RWA associated items predicts a decrease in the human rights portrayal scale. This suggests that RWA may also moderate attitudinal changes in support of human rights in certain conditions. However, the r^2 is small.

Table 5: Human rights portrayal scale by the use of RWA items associated with negative and positive human rights	
Use of Low HR RWA items	-.72*** (0.19)
Use of High HR RWA items	1.00** (0.30)
Constant	1.18*** (0.07)
R²	0.03
Adj. R²	0.02
n	754
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Content Analysis. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.	

For example, the Daily Mail article “ONLY SEVEN ON TOP TERROR WATCH” (2017f) includes high RWA associated themes:

“ONLY seven extremists have been placed under anti-terror orders that were watered down in 2011 at the request of the Lib Dems.

The so-called T-Pims - Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures - are the toughest tool the security services have to restrict the activities of jihadi plotters.

They replaced the more restrictive control orders which were axed at the bidding of then Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg following a row over human rights. T-Pims are supposed to ensure that the police and MI5 can protect the public from fanatics who cannot yet be prosecuted or deported by placing curbs on their movements and activities.

Restrictions can relate to overseas travel and limits can be imposed on the possession and use of electronic devices.

But a statement slipped out to Parliament in December revealed that only seven T-Pims had been in force from the end of November. By contrast, almost 400 were placed under house arrest by French authorities in the months after the Paris attacks in 2015.

Chris Phillips, the former head of the national counter terrorism and security office, said: The number of people subjected to T-Pims is far too low given the number of extremists concerned.

It really should be in the hundreds. The last government watered the sanctions down but they may need to look at beefing them up again. They cannot brush this issue under the carpet any longer.” (Daily Mail, 2017f)

In summary, this section found no significant differences in average amount of high RWA associated information per article between centre or left-leaning and right-leaning newspapers, or between national and international news. In addition, there is no significant difference in the mean portrayal of human rights between articles that contain high RWA associated information and those that do not. However, separating the dimensions included as high RWA associated information into two categories, those associated with human rights support and those associated with opposition to human rights, revealed a greater presence of human rights opposed high RWA associated information in right-leaning newspapers compared to centre or left-leaning newspapers. In addition, these recategorized high RWA

code items have different relationships to the portrayal of human rights: as expected, the presence of human rights opposed, high RWA associated information predicts a decrease in the human rights portrayal scale, and the use of pro-human rights, high RWA associated information predicts an increase in the human rights portrayal scale. Therefore, concepts associated with high levels of RWA are present in human rights media in the UK, and the distribution of these high RWA associated concepts are connected to different portrayals of human rights in an ideologically consistent and coherent manner. In other words, human rights news coverage contains patterns of information that are conceptually similar to attitudinal positions that correlate with high levels of RWA. This indicates that exposure to these messages may be contributing to the formation and maintenance of cognitive links between RWA-associated attitudinal positions and human rights attitudes.

4.2-4. Presence and Distribution of SDO Indicators

This section examines the use of SDO associated concepts and the relationships between the presence of high SDO associated information, newspaper ideology, and human rights portrayal. The purpose of this section is to ask if themes which are conceptually similar to the attitudinal positions predicted by high levels of SDO are present in human rights news coverage in the UK in a coherent and consistent manner? If so, this would suggest that exposure to these messages may be affecting human rights attitudes, either by priming SDO or by contributing to the formation of cognitive links between SDO-associated attitudinal positions and human rights attitudes. In this section, I examine the relationship between the presence of high SDO associated information and both newspaper ideology and the negative portrayal of human rights, in addition to the differences in the presence of high SDO associated information in national and international news.

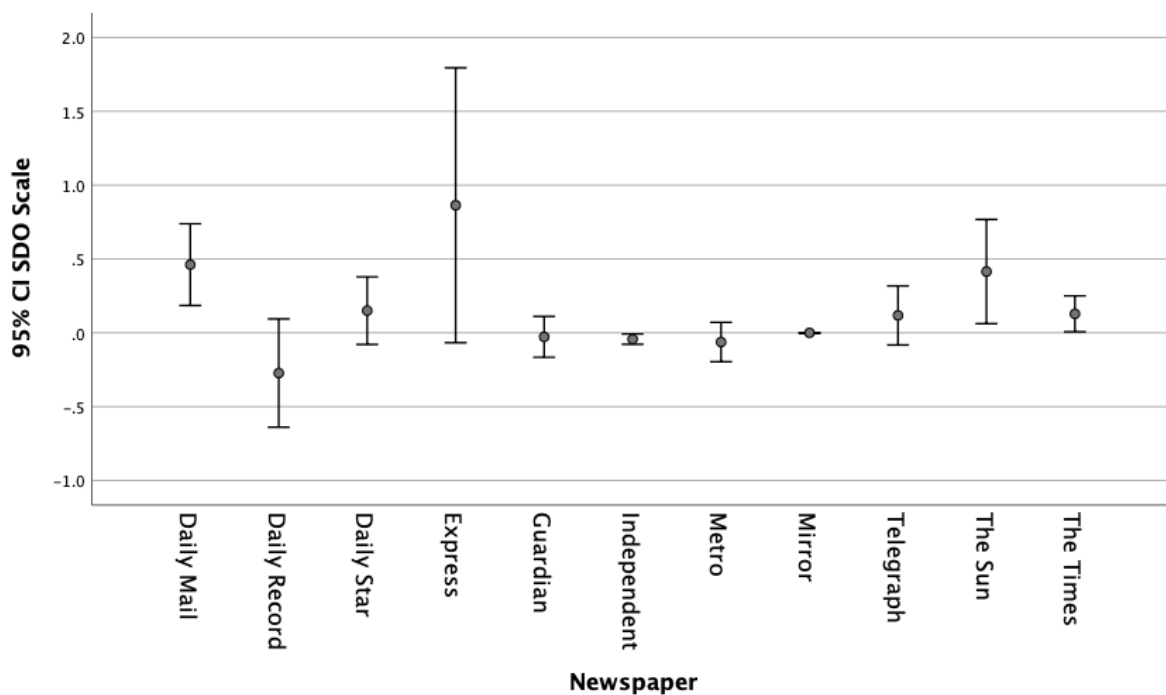


Figure 18, SDO Scale Error Bars by Newspaper

Again, as shown in figure 18, there is a significant difference between newspapers, $F(10,754)=6.43$, $\eta^2=0.08$, $p<0.001$. Unlike for the RWA scale, there is a significant difference in the mean scores on the SDO scale between centre or left-leaning ($M=-0.04$, $SD=0.54$) and right-leaning ($M=0.27$, $SD=1$) newspapers, $t(753)=-5.85$, $p<0.001$. As shown in figure 19, publication in a right-leaning newspaper predicts a small increase in the presence of high SDO items (0.319 [0.05], $r^2=0.04$, $p<0.001$), although the r^2 is small.

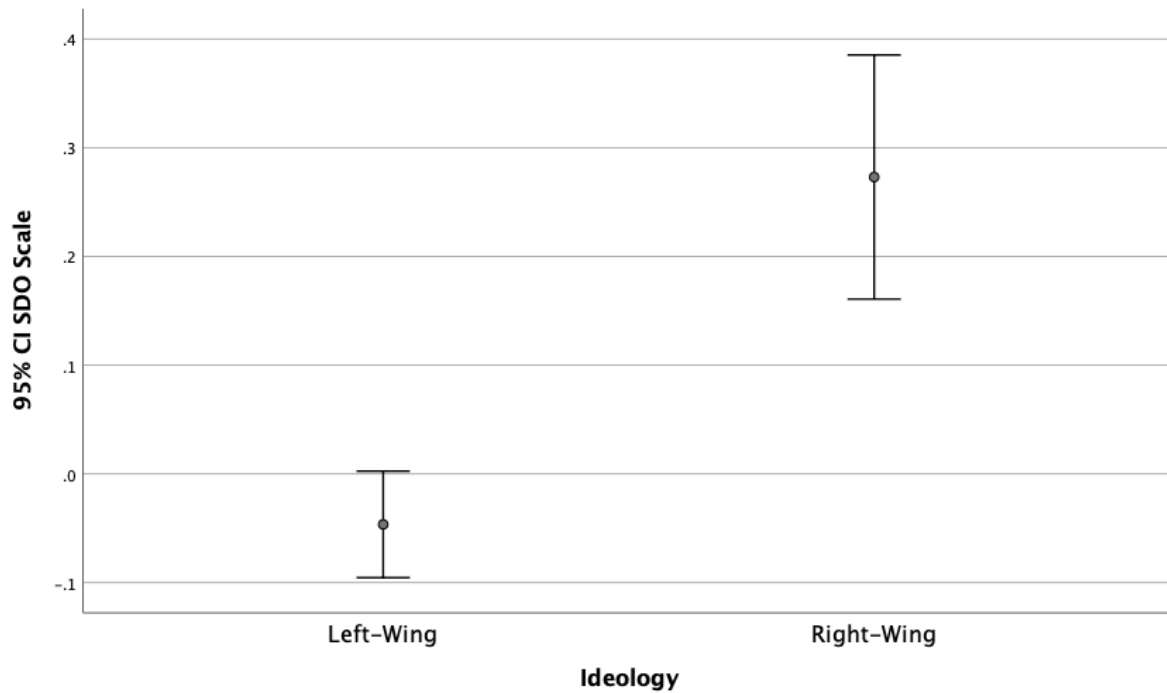


Figure 19, SDO Scale Error Bars by Newspaper Ideology

An article in the Mail on Sunday (“FAKE REFUGEE IN CRIME SPREE IS GIVEN £40K...FOR BEING LOCKED UP”, Mail on Sunday, 2017) provides an example of high SDO associated themes in human rights news, through both the emphasis on apparently undeserving out-groups and the financial cost of human rights:

“A PROLIFIC criminal who has lived illegally in Britain for 17 years has won £40,000 damages because the Home Office locked him up for too long.

Hassan Massoum Ravandy, 46, was awarded the sum after a judge ruled he had been unlawfully detained for 17 months.

The Iranian, convicted of burglary, theft and drugs offences, was given the payout despite Government lawyers protesting that the amount was as much as innocent victims of accidents might receive in compensation.

Last night Tory backbencher Philip Hollobone, who has tabled bills that would make it easier to deport foreign criminals, said: This is yet another crazy judicial ruling and further reason to reform human rights laws so that taxpayers money isn’t spent on compensation for people who don t deserve it.” (Mail on Sunday, 2017)

Unlike with RWA, there is a significant difference in the mean scores on the SDO scale between articles covering national news ($M=0.18$, $SD=0.50$) and articles covering international news ($M=-0.01$, $SD=0.50$), $t(640)=-3.3$, $p<0.01$. Moreover, as expected, higher scores on the SDO scale predict lower scores on the human rights portrayal scale (-0.355 [0.09], $r^2=0.02$, $p<0.001$); although, again, the r^2 is small. As shown in figure 20, there is also a difference between mid-market newspapers and both tabloid and elite newspapers, $F(2,754)=18.78$, $\eta^2=0.05$, $p<0.001$. It is worth noting again, however, that both mid-market newspapers are also right-wing.

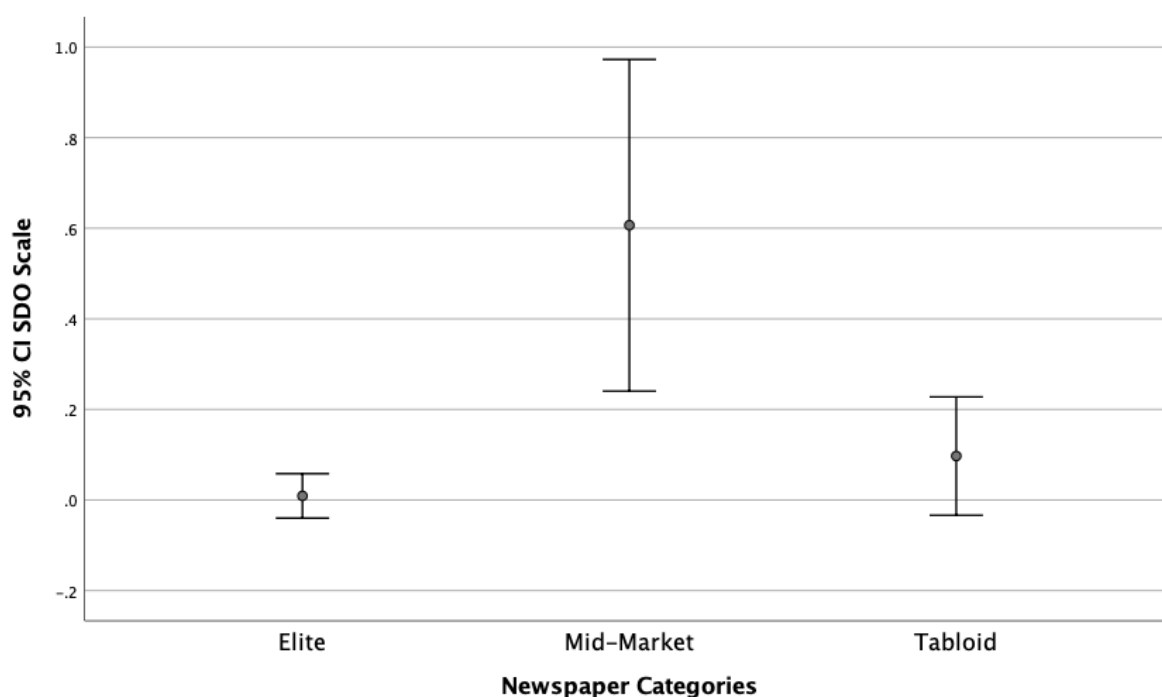


Figure 20, SDO Scale Error Bars by Elite, Mid-Market, and Tabloid Newspapers

In summary, this section found that right-leaning newspapers publish more human rights news containing high SDO associated themes than centre or left-leaning newspapers. This section also found that, unlike for high RWA associated information, high SDO associated information is more frequently found in national news compared to international news. As expected, the presence of high SDO associated information predicts a negative portrayal of human rights. Human rights news coverage does, therefore, use themes similar to the attitudinal positions associated with high levels of SDO and RWA; this suggests that exposure to news coverage of human rights in the UK may be affecting attitudes towards human rights in those high in RWA or SDO.

4.2-5. Presence and Distribution of Stereotypes

In addition to being associated with high levels of RWA and SDO, Yang's (2015) research demonstrates that exposure to stereotypical frames affects attitudes towards outgroups by increasing the desire for social distance from the stereotyped group. Exposure to stereotypical frame components can, therefore, have important attitudinal effects. The relationship is between generalised prejudice and both RWA and SDO suggests that the presence of high RWA or high SDO associated information ought to be associated with the presence of stereotypes. Therefore, this section examines the presence of stereotypes in human rights news. As past research that demonstrates stereotypes are used regularly in news coverage in the UK alongside similar narratives found in human rights-opposed news coverage, I expect to find a relationship between the presence of stereotypes and both a negative portrayal of human rights and the presence of RWA or SDO associated information.

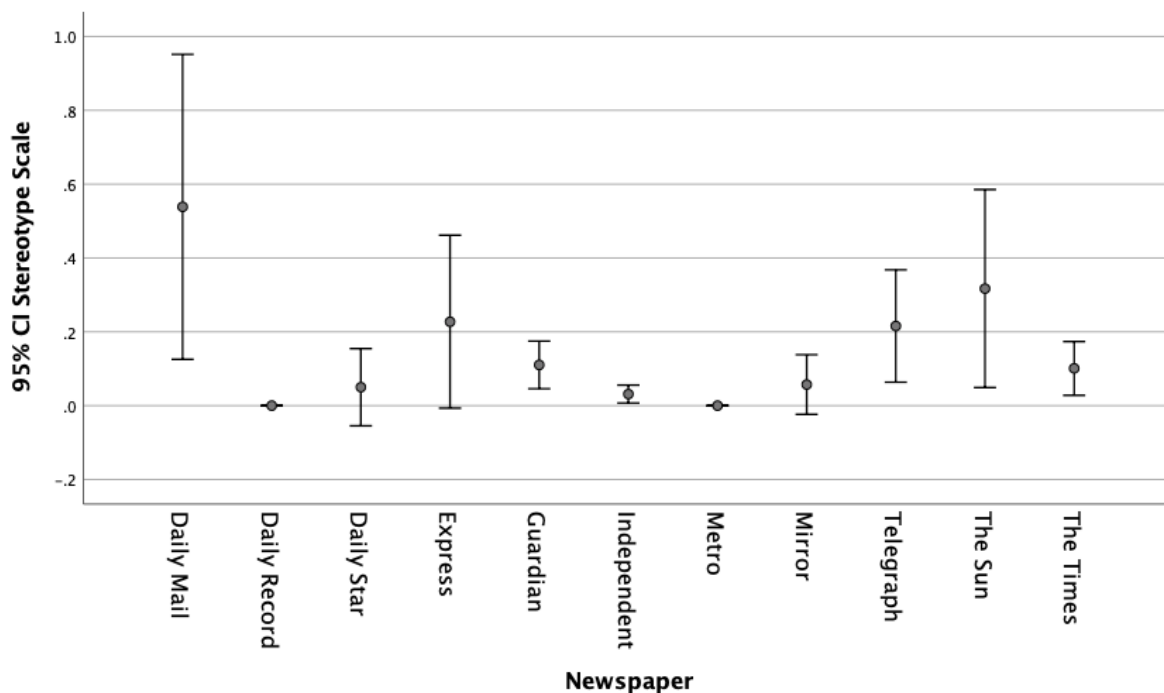


Figure 21, Stereotype Scale Error Bars by Newspaper

As shown in figure 21, there is a significant difference in the presence of stereotypes between newspapers, $F(10,754)=5.51$, $\eta^2=0.07$, $p<0.001$. There is also a significant difference in the mean stereotype scale scores between left wing ($M= -0.04$, $SD=0.45$) and right-leaning ($M=0.19$, $SD=0.67$) newspapers (see figure 22), $t(753)=-5.8$, $p<0.001$. In addition, there is a small but significant difference in the mean stereotype scale scores between articles covering

national issues ($M=0.09$, $SD=0.68$) and articles covering international issues ($M=0.004$, $SD=0.42$), $t(753)=-1.99$, $p=0.04$.

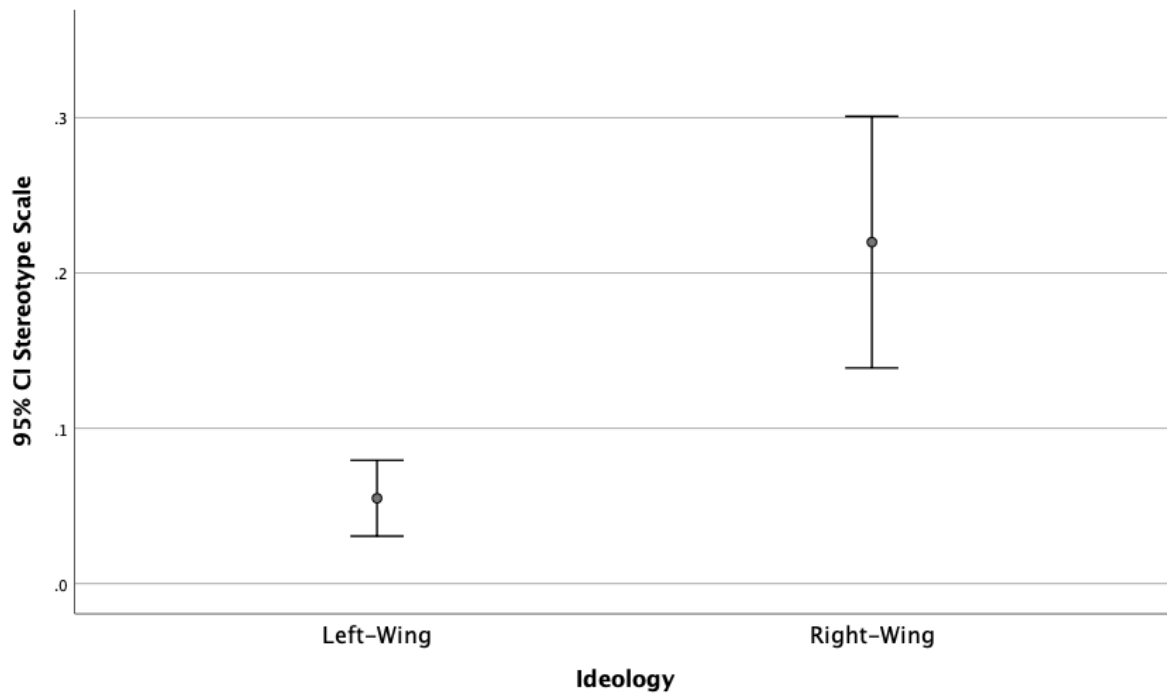


Figure 22, Stereotype Scale Error Bars by Newspaper Ideology

Again, as shown in figure 23, there is a significant difference in the presence of stereotypes between mid-market newspapers and non-mid-market newspapers, $F(2,754)=14.65$, $\eta^2=0.04$, $p<0.001$.

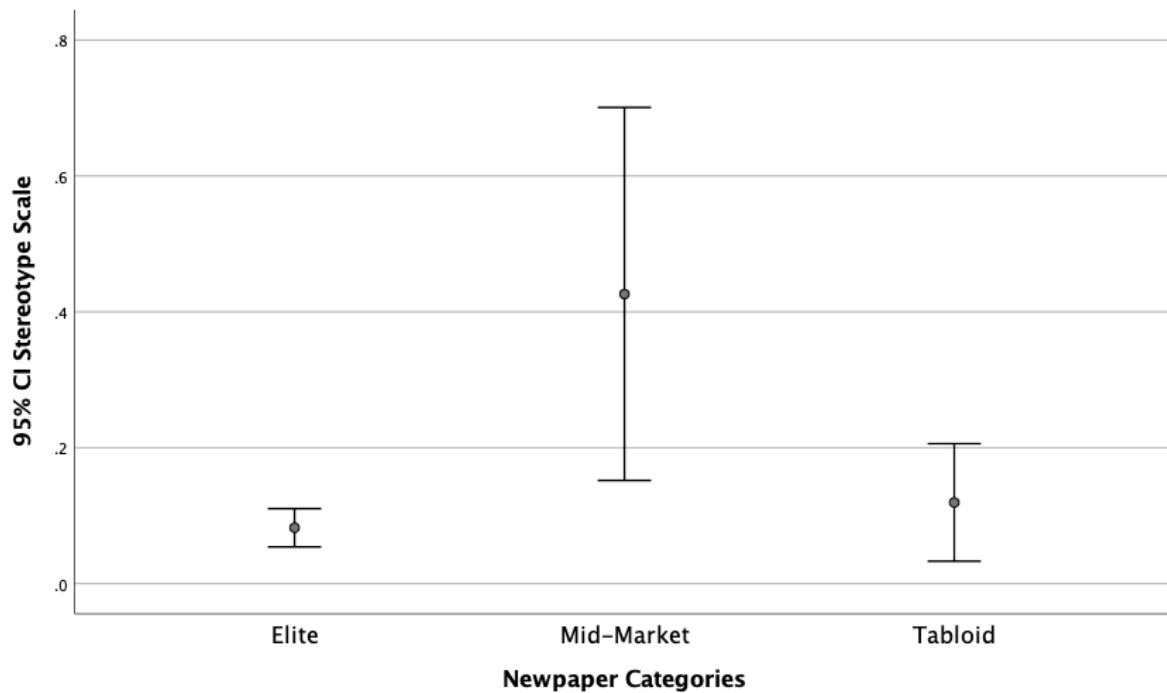


Figure 23, Stereotype Scale Error Bars by Elite, Mid-Market, and Tabloid Newspapers

By a simple count, *Threat typification* stereotypes were the most common stereotype present in the sample: they are present in 30 of 64 articles that contain stereotypes. This stereotype frame category is particularly important due to its connection with expressions of RWA detailed in the literature review; RWA is, in part, an ideological response to threat. Most items coded as *mentions of threat* referred to the threat of Islamic extremism. This is not surprising, as in the period covered by the sample, there were four terrorist incidents in the UK, three of which were associated with Islamic extremism. These incidents are featured prominently in the sample and 16 of the articles that feature the stereotype *groups as threatening* focus on the threat posed by Islamic extremism. Furthermore, past research tells us that people high in RWA are more likely to support authoritarian policies, such as increased governmental surveillance powers, following a terrorist attack (Duckitt, 2001; Cohrs et al. 2007; Kossowska et al. 2011). It is possible that the heightened perception of threat following a terror attack may disproportionately affect those high in RWA.

However, while the frequency of terrorist attacks captured by the sample is unusual, past research tells us that *threat typification* stereotypes are a common and enduring feature of British news (Kushner, 2003; Chakrabarti; 2005; Frost, 2007; Barker et al. 2008; Huysmans and Buonfino, 2008; Tyler, 2008; Moore et al. 2008; Richardson, 2009; Stoenner and Wodak, 2015; Harkins and Lugo-Ocando, 2015; Lawlor, 2015; Parker, 2015; Altikriti and Al-Mahadin, 2015; Binder and Allen, 2016). In addition, *threat typification* stereotypes are used in the discussed of other topics too.

10 of the articles portray threats from non-British nationals, particularly migrants, in a way that emphasises a connection between their nationality and the threat posed. The Daily Mail, for example, presented a list of immigrants found guilty of various crimes in an article titled “THE THUGS WHO SHOULD BE FIRST TO GO” (26th June 2017). This article emphasises the crime committed, the nationality of the offender, and, in the first two examples presented, the role of human rights and the EU in preventing their deportation. Both of these types of articles also often feature calls to reduce migration or close the border in some way to protect Britain from outgroups, and there is overlap here between items coded as *groups as threatening* and items coded as *different groups should be treated differently*.

The category *Different groups should be treated differently* includes a number of items featured in articles that report on examples of stereotyping of this sort, and often also include

counter-stereotypes. It is notable that, in the sample, there were over twice as many counter-stereotypes associated with this category (33 articles, 38 items) than stereotypes (12 articles, 14 items). A number of articles containing both counter-stereotypes and stereotypes in this category covered Trump's travel ban designed, primarily, to target Muslims. All but 2 of the 33 articles featuring counter-stereotypes of this type were published in *The Guardian* or *The Independent*.

Routine superficialisation stereotypes were the second most featured stereotype and are present in 19 of the articles that feature stereotypes. Items coded to this category align with expectations about routine superficialisation and include a blend of superficial information about religious groups, people with disabilities or long-term health conditions, and women. Coverage of Amal Clooney, a human rights lawyer married to George Clooney, uses a type of routine superficialisation common to the representations of women in the media through an extensive concentration on her choice of clothes, often linked to gossip related to her pregnancy (Nacos, 2005; Geertsema, 2009; Yang, 2015; O'Neill and Mulready, 2015).

There is no significant difference in the mean stereotype scale scores between articles that feature high RWA items ($M=0.04$, $SD=0.54$) and those that do not ($M=0.17$, $SD=0.77$), $t(753)=-1.64$, $p=>0.05$. As any *mentions of threats* are considered high RWA associated information throughout this analysis, the code item *mentions of threats* is excluded from the RWA scale for this test. As items coded as *groups as threatening* are coded both as a stereotype and as *mentions of threat*, this finding, therefore, demonstrates only that there does not appear to be an association between the presence of non-threat related high RWA associated information and the presence of stereotypes. As noted above, the stereotype category *groups as threatening* is the most frequent stereotype present within the sample, with 49 examples. All news articles that include the stereotype *groups as threatening* also include *mentions of threat* and are therefore considered to contain high RWA associated themes. In addition, right-wing newspapers contain a significantly higher average number of items coded as *groups as threatening* per article ($M=0.15$, $SD=0.60$) compared to centre or left-wing newspapers ($M=0.01$, $SD=0.13$), $t(753)=-4.9$, $p<0.001$.

There is a small but significant difference in the mean stereotype scale scores between articles that feature high SDO associated information ($M=0.29$, $SD=0.87$) and those that do not feature high SDO associated information ($M=0.03$, $SD=0.52$), $t(753)=-3.2$, $p<0.01$. As

expected, the presence of non-stereotype related high SDO associated information is associated with a significant increase of 1.56 (0.40, $p < 0.001$) in the log-odds that stereotypes will be present. In addition, the presence of stereotypes is associated with a significant increase of 1.91 (0.30, $p = < 0.001$) in the log-odds of a negative portrayal of human rights.

Table 6: Variables associated with a negative portrayal of human rights

Model	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stereotypes	2.08*** (0.32)	1.87*** (0.35)	1.71*** (0.36)	1.57*** (0.36)	1.62*** (0.37)	1.63*** (0.37)	1.63*** (0.37)
High SDO		2.16*** (0.35)	2.03*** (0.36)	1.6*** (0.38)	1.31** (0.38)	1.3** (0.39)	1.35*** (0.40)
Low HR High RWA			1.25*** (0.31)	1.28*** (0.32)	1.25*** (0.32)	1.2*** (0.33)	1.23*** (0.32)
Right-leaning Paper				1.22*** (0.30)	0.94** (0.31)	0.77* (0.33)	0.73* (0.33)
National					0.97** (0.32)	0.74* (0.33)	0.72* (0.33)
Elite						-0.83** (0.32)	-0.79* (0.32)
Word Count							-0.0001 (0.0003)
Constant	-2.36*** (0.15)	-2.62*** (0.17)	-2.86*** (0.19)	-3.42*** (0.26)	-3.7*** (0.30)	-2.97*** (0.40)	-2.8*** (0.46)
Wald Chi²	41.12	37.43	16.16	16.30	9.13	6.95	0.53
n							754

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Data from Content Analysis. Values are logit regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 6 includes the stereotype indicator in a nested logit that includes each of the indicator variables associated with an increase in the log-odds of a negative portrayal of human rights thus far. As the model demonstrates, each variable is associated with a significant increase in the log-odds of a negative portrayal of human rights, and model fit is strengthened by the inclusion of each variable when controlling for the effect of publication in an elite newspaper and word count.

These results, therefore, demonstrate that stereotypes associated with high RWA and SDO are present in a small proportion of human rights news coverage. *Groups as threatening* was the most frequent stereotype category present in the sample articles, and that this was often used when discussing Islamic extremism. In addition, this section noted that coverage in the Guardian and the Independent of Trump’s Muslim travel ban in the US accounted for the majority of counterstereotypes, in this case against people being treated differently based on their religion or country of birth.

What is also interesting is the significant differences in the presence of stereotypes and counterstereotypes between centre or left-leaning and right-leaning newspapers and the presence of stereotypes between articles that use high SDO associated information and those that do not. In addition, this section found that the presence of stereotypes is associated with an increase in the log-odds of a negative portrayal of human rights. Due to the established relationship between high levels of RWA and SDO and specific prejudicial attitudinal positions (see *section 1.1-5.*) and the presence of patterns of information that are conceptually similar to attitudinal positions that correlate with high levels of SDO and RWA in human rights media, the stereotypes identified in this section may also play a role in shaping and reinforcing attitudes towards human rights.

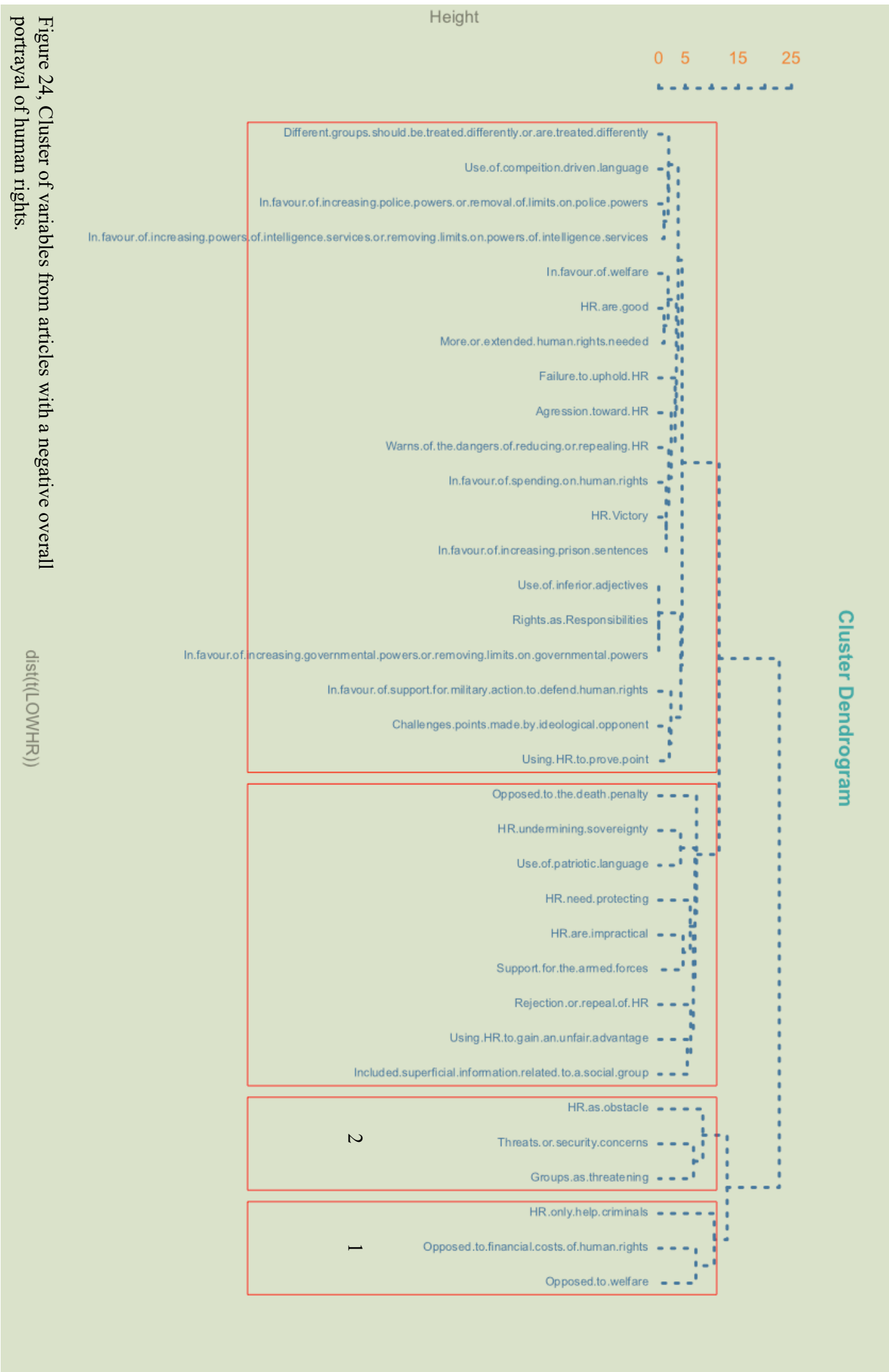


Figure 24, Cluster of variables from articles with a negative overall portrayal of human rights.

Height

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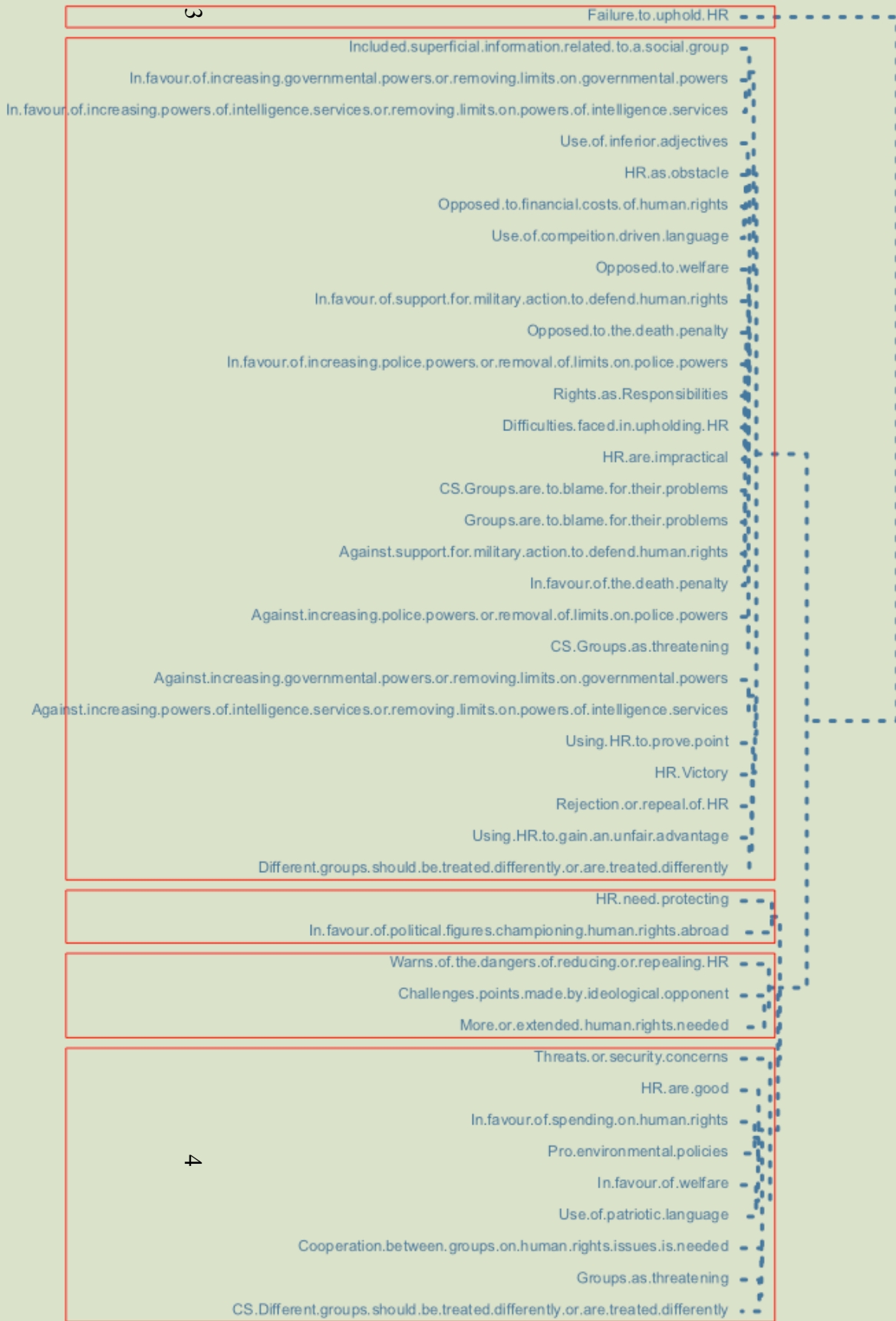


Figure 25, Cluster of variables from articles with a positive overall portrayal of human rights.

dist((HIGHHR))

4.3 Frame Identification

The content analysis has, thus far, demonstrated that information associated with the two attitudinal variables of interest to this study, RWA and SDO, are reflected in human rights media. However, I also hypothesised that human rights frames will utilise RWA and SDO associated frame components. To determine whether or not high RWA or high SDO associated human rights frames emerge from the data, I use hierarchical cluster analyses to identify clusters of variables from the content analysis dataset that appear together frequently in the sampled human rights news. In other words, this will inductively identify frames (Matthes and Kohring, 2008).

The first dendrogram, figure 24, visualises the results of the hierarchical cluster analysis, using Ward's method, of the code items present in articles that portray human rights negatively. The clusters are identified by the red squares. The only two clusters that are thematically coherent from this cluster analysis, and can be taken to represent frames, are clusters 1 and 2. Cluster 1 contains the variables *human rights as an obstacle*, *mentions of threats or security concerns*, and *groups as threatening*. Cluster two contains the variables *human rights help criminals*, *opposed to the financial costs of human rights*, and *opposed to welfare*. *Human rights help criminals* and *human rights obstacle* are the two negative human rights variables most present in the sample.

The second dendrogram, figure 25, visualises the results of the hierarchical cluster analysis, again using Ward's method, of the code items present in articles that portray human rights positively. The vastness of the topics of articles limited the value of this approach to the data: the total data set included over 400 variables, including the recoding for the article topics, the recoding for the different uses of *Failure to uphold human rights*, each mentioned social group, and each mentioned human rights institution, law, or organisation. By focusing on only the variables included in the initial code, the results are easier to interpret. However, many variables are used infrequently and with a variety of other variables. The cluster second from the left on figure 24 highlights this problem: this cluster is a mix of smaller clusters with a low degree of distance between each (represented by the value of height when the clusters branch), and, subsequently, it lacks any thematic clarity that makes interpreting this cluster in a meaningful way impossible.

This highlights two limitations to the approach taken in this project that further research in this area could remedy. First, focusing on all articles that mention human rights produced a large data set that includes variables for coverage of a vast array of topics. Limiting the scope of the content analysis to specific areas of rights, either by the type of human right reported or by the group rights are being applied to (as done by Nash, 2005 and Zhang and Haller, 2013, who focus on LGBT+ rights and the rights of people with disabilities respectively) would likely distil the variables, providing greater weight to the more important variables and diminishing the importance of more dispersed variables, thus creating more distinguished clusters. Alternatively, as news coverage of human rights is highly dependent on social and political events, using multiple samples across different times periods, with a larger sample size, may reveal more important enduring frames through a similar process, by weighting variable clusters that remain important across different periods of news.

Second, this analysis focuses primarily on two specific attitudinal variables and their potential for moderating framing effects related to human rights attitudes. It may be that other attitudinal dimensions are reflected in patterns of information found in human rights media and have the potential to play a similar role in the moderation of framing effects around human rights attitudes. It may be worthwhile to develop a more targeted sampling strategy in line with the attitudinal dimensions under investigation to help reduce the scope and number of the variables included in the analysis.

4.3-1. The SDO Frame

Cluster 1 has an intuitive connection to SDO. *Opposed to the financial costs of human rights* reflects the economic conservatism associated with high levels of SDO, and SDO is negatively correlated to support for welfare and human rights generally (Stellmacher et al. 2005; Cohrs et al. 2007; McFarland, 2015). In addition, high levels of SDO are associated with a perception that outgroups are immoral and undeserving (Duckitt, 2001). The portrayal of human rights as helping underserving groups is, again, an enduring portrayal of human rights identified in past literature (Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011). In particular, the Human Rights Act, 1998 is often portrayed as the “villain’s charter”, which benefits only those least deserving of human rights protection, criminals (Gies, 2011). *Human rights help criminals* captures all references to news items that show human rights helping criminals. Both example articles referenced above include this code item, although it is not always used in connection to an explicit reference to the threat posed by criminals, as in these previous two examples. An excerpt, again from the Daily Mail, provides an example of this type of human rights portrayal:

“THE Hatton Garden burglary masterminds yesterday claimed a bid to claw back £25million in missing loot may be a breach of their human rights. The authorities are threatening to jail the diamond wheezers' for up to 14 years each unless they hand over their ill-gotten gains. But the ageing gang have turned on each other, with some claiming they did not pocket a penny from the vault heist.” (“Paying back loot will breach our human rights, claim Hatton Garden gang as prosecutors begin fight to get thieves to return £25million that is still missing”, Daily Mail, 1st February 2017⁸).

As this consistent theme, that human rights can be used by undeserving people or groups, clusters with high SDO associated information, this cluster identifies a potential high SDO human rights frame type.

⁸ This article is used in the development of the composite article used in the first experiment.

4.3-2. The RWA Frame

Cluster 2 includes high RWA signifier code items. As covered in *section 1.1-5.*, one facet of RWA reflects a desire to submit to a strong, authoritarian power, and RWA also interacts with threat perception to produce support for anti-democratic, authoritarian policies (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; Crowson and Gries, 2010; Kossowska et al. 2011). The intuitive incompatibility between inalienable, state limiting human rights principles and an authoritarian sovereign power desired by individuals high in RWA, highlighted by Cohrs et al. (2007), is represented by the variable *human rights as an obstacle*. An excerpt from an article in the Daily Mail provides an example of this type of human rights portrayal:

“DEALING a hammer-blow to Mrs May's efforts to hasten serious foreign criminals' departure from Britain, the Supreme Court finds her deport first, appeal later' rule unlawful. No prizes for guessing why. Ruling that hard-drug dealers from Kenya and Jamaica shouldn't have been sent home without first being given the chance to appeal, the judges found this made it too difficult for them to claim their right to a family life in the UK. How can we ever rid our country of such undesirables while the Human Rights Act remains on the statute book?” (“HOW MANY MORE MUST DIE BEFORE THEY ACT”, Daily Mail, 15th June 2017⁹).

In addition, the portrayal of human rights as an obstacle to British will is established by past literature as an enduring portrayal of human rights (Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). The example article given in the stereotype section (“THE THUGS WHO SHOULD BE FIRST TO GO”, Daily Mail, 26th June 2017) portrays human rights as an obstacle, includes the threat typification of migrants, and also includes reference the role of the EU in undermining British sovereignty. The connection of this type of portrayal of human rights to a wider Eurosceptic ideology is also established in the previous literature and is discussed in *section 1.2-2.* (Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014).

As this consistent theme, that human rights limits sovereignty and prevents governments from keeping citizen's safe, clusters with high RWA associated information, this cluster identifies a potential high RWA type human rights frame.

⁹ This article is used in the creation of the composite news article used in the second experiment

Failure to Uphold Human Rights Topics by Left-Wing and Right-Wing UK Media Organisations

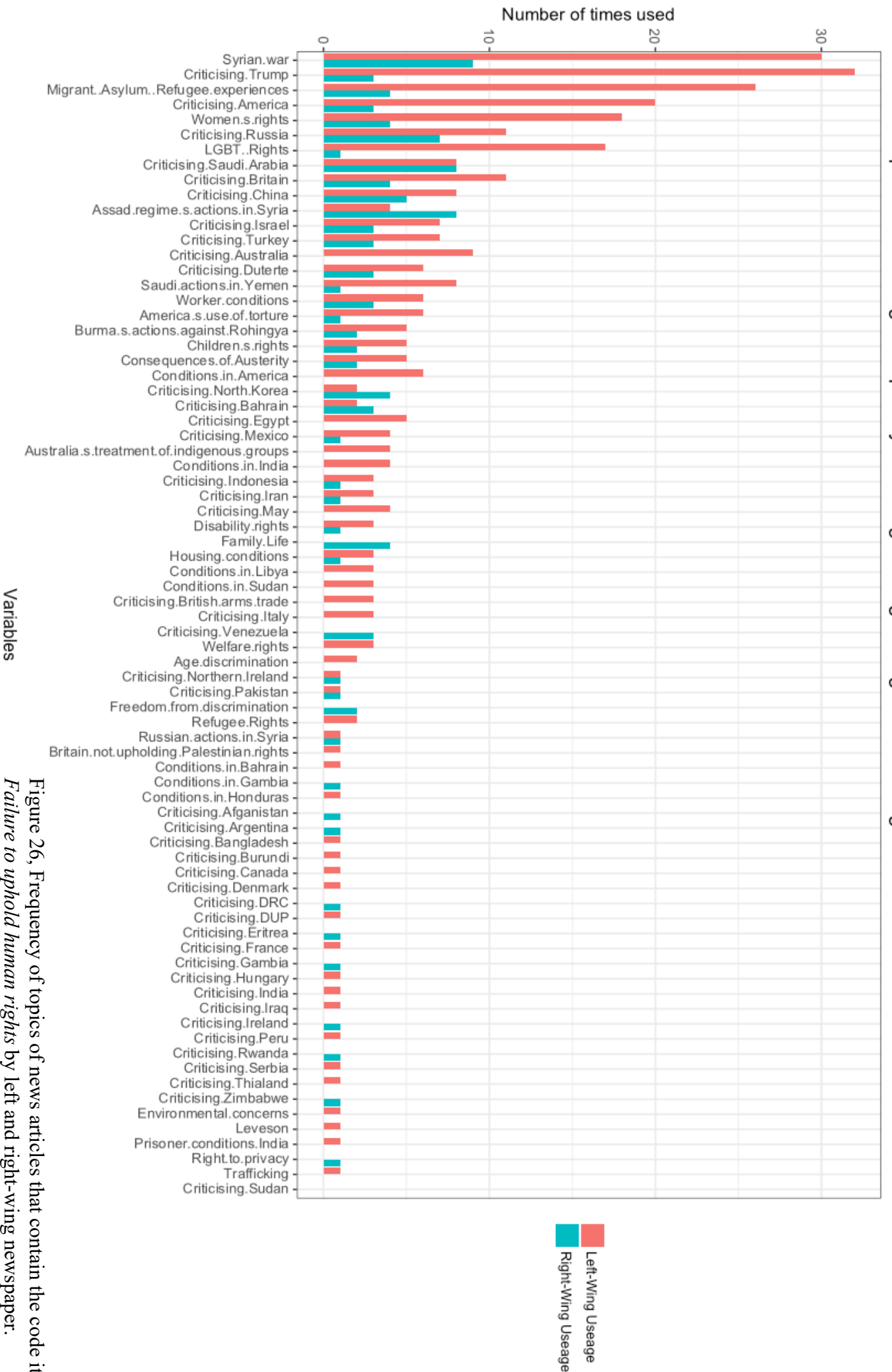


Figure 26, Frequency of news articles that contain the code item Failure to uphold human rights by left and right-wing newspaper.

4.3-3. The ‘Human Rights’ Frame

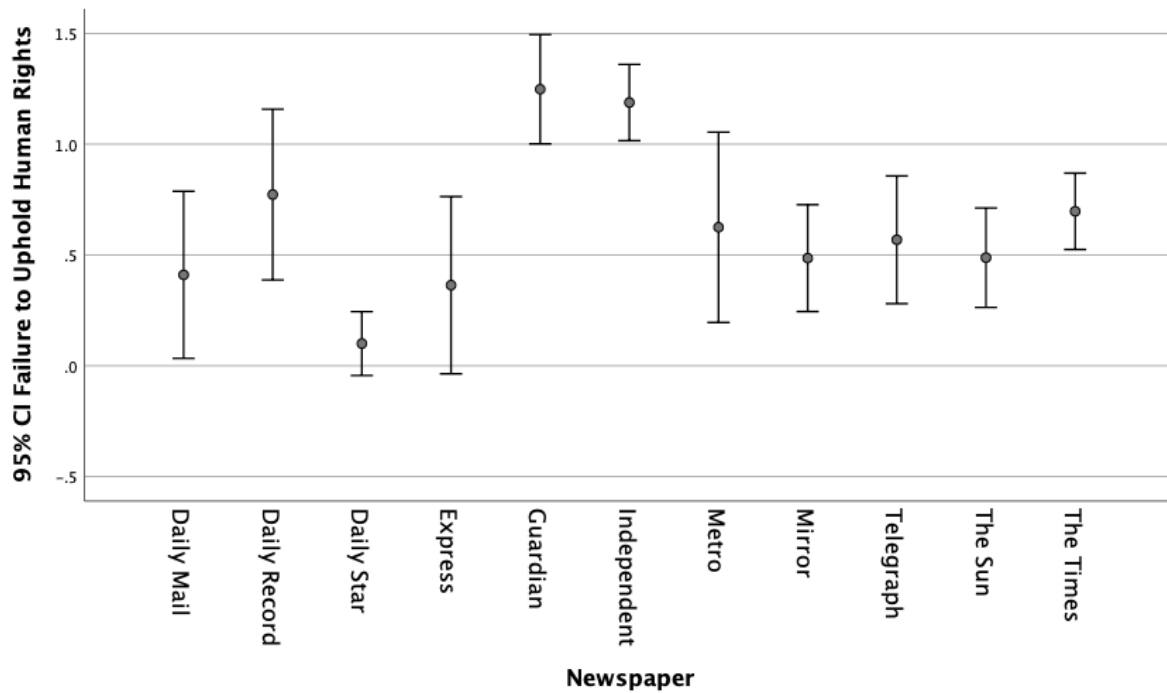


Figure 27, Failure to Uphold Human Rights Error Bars by Newspaper

Failure to uphold human rights is the most common human rights code category used in the coding of the sample, with 371 articles containing this code item. Figure 27 shows the average frequency of items coded to *Failure to uphold human rights* per article, per newspaper. There is a significant difference between newspaper, $F(10,754)=6.25$, $\eta^2=0.08$, $p<0.001$.

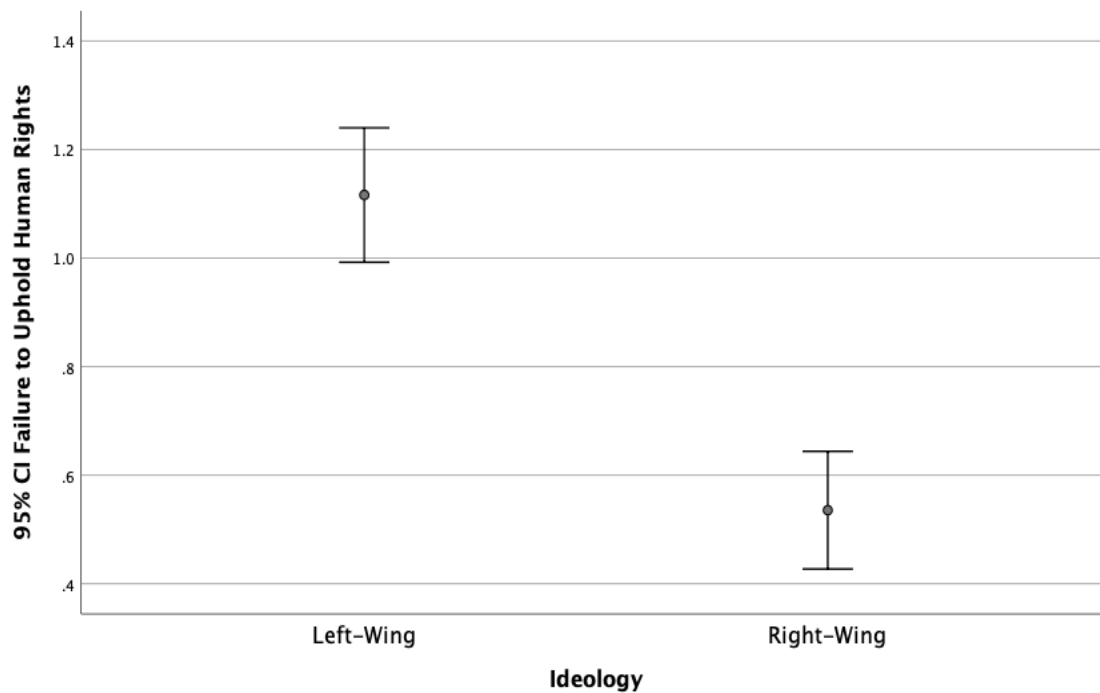


Figure 28, Failure to Uphold Human Rights Error Bars by Newspaper Ideology

As figure 28 shows, there is a significant difference between the average number of items coded to *Failure to uphold human rights* between centre or left-leaning and right-leaning newspapers, $F(1,754)=39.83$, $\eta^2=0.05$, $p<0.001$. There is also a significant difference in the average number of items coded to *Failure to uphold human rights* between elite, and both mid-market and red-top newspapers $F(2,754)=16.82$, $\eta^2=0.04$, $p<0.001$. In both cases, the Independent and the Guardian appear to be responsible for increasing the mean results in both the centre or left-leaning category and the elite category.

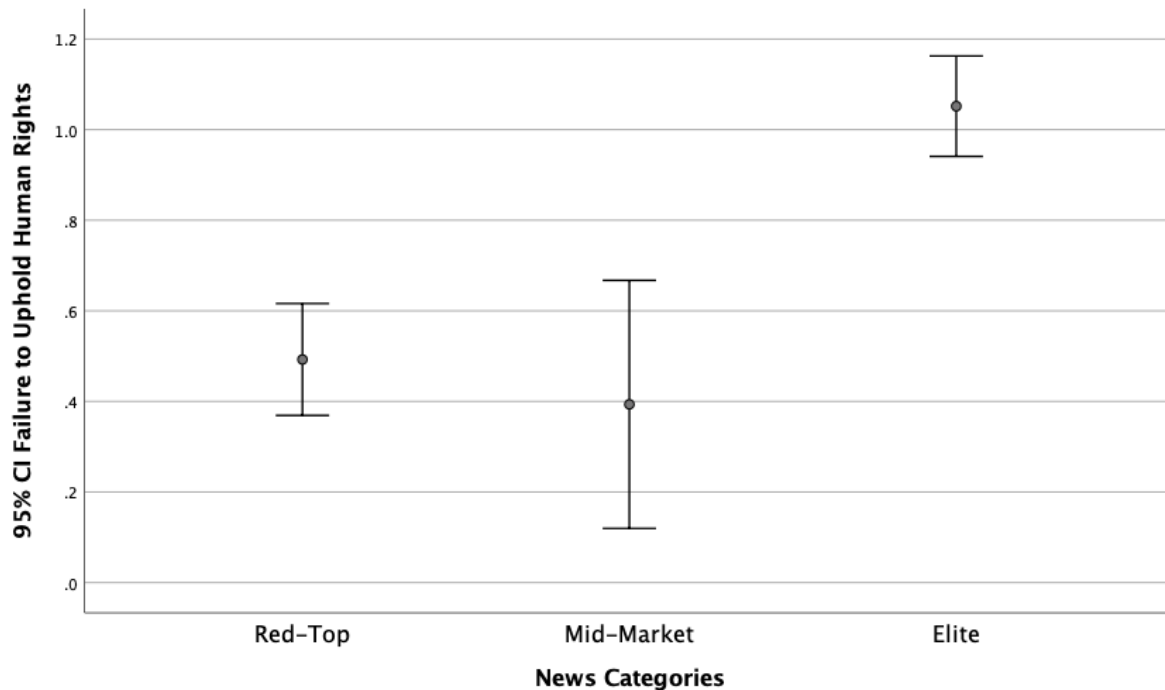


Figure 29, Failure to Uphold Human Rights Error Bars Elite, Mid-Market, and Tabloid by Newspaper

This code item usually captures an implicit positive portrayal of human rights in which an event is described or reported as a human rights violation in some way. *Failure to uphold human rights* represents a, or *the*, ‘Human Rights Frame’: human rights are used to frame the interpretation of other information, instead of other information framing the interpretation of human rights. These news stories often have the strongest connection to a tangible human rights reality, as events that can be characterised as human rights violations are the subject of these articles. The second cluster analysis helps to confirm that *Failure to uphold human rights* is a specific and unique frame type, as it does not cluster with other code items that reflect a positive portrayal of human rights.

As evidenced by figure 26, this code item is used primarily in the reporting of events, regimes, or conditions in non-British countries, although a small proportion of the topics of articles in which the code item *Failure to uphold human rights* is present do cover national news stories. Table 7 further demonstrates that coverage of national news is associated with the largest and most significant decrease in the log-odds of the presence of items coded to *Failure to uphold human rights*, compared to the presence of high SDO and RWA associated code items. When controlling for these factors, publication in an elite newspaper, publication in a right-leaning newspaper, and word count do not predict an increase in the log-odds of the presence of items coded to *Failure to uphold human rights*.

Table 7: Presence of *Failure to uphold human rights* by right-wing indicator variable, national indicator variable, high SDO, high RWA, and elite indicators

Model	1	2	3	4	5	6
Right-leaning Paper	-0.89*** (0.17)	-0.50** (0.18)	-0.43* (0.19)	-0.42* (0.19)	-0.37* (0.19)	-0.36 (0.19)
National		-1.40*** (0.19)	-1.30*** (0.18)	-1.30*** (0.19)	-1.20*** (0.20)	-1.21*** (0.20)
High SDO			-1.20* (0.50)	-1.09* (0.47)	-1.08* (0.47)	-1.08* (0.48)
High RWA				-0.57** (0.24)	-0.56* (0.24)	-0.57* (0.24)
Elite					0.38⁺ (0.22)	0.36 (0.23)
Word Count						0.0004 (0.0002)
Constant	0.30** (0.10)	0.66*** (0.11)	0.66*** (0.11)	0.75*** (0.12)	0.39⁺ (0.24)	0.36 (0.26)
Wald Chi²	27.70	56.70	6.21	5.70	2.79	0.06
n						754

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Content Analysis. Values are logit regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

In the recoded topics of news articles which contain items coded as *Failure to uphold human rights*, the items named *Criticising [country]* in this recoding do not refer necessarily to explicit criticisms directed at a nation state, but also include any reporting of human rights violations specific to that place. However, as human rights fundamentally concern the protection of the individual from the state, or else aim to ensure that the state is doing enough to protect the inherent dignity of individuals (see the *Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, UN,1948), highlighting human rights situations or events in a country is, at a minimum, implicitly critical of that nation state. Indeed, the ‘naming and shaming’ of countries is one of the most powerful tools available to human rights defenders, and many articles are based around efforts of human rights organisations to name and shame human rights violators, or to otherwise bring certain events to attention. Research conducted by Davis et al. (2012) found that the identification of human rights abuses by human rights organisations, and the subsequent naming and shaming of perpetrators, has a pronounced impact on the attitudes of citizens in affected areas: without this work, the proportion of a population that believes their government respects human rights remains constant regardless of the human rights situation. News articles containing items coded as *Failure to uphold human rights* are often driven by the output of human rights NGOs; the coverage of the Syrian war, for example, frequently includes input from the organisation the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights.

The distribution of *failure* across newspapers makes the portrayal of human rights captured by this frame category particularly interesting. As the results of the content analysis demonstrated, articles of this type offset an otherwise overall negative portrayal of human rights in right-leaning newspapers. The figure 26 highlights variations in the usage of this frame by topic between centre or left-leaning and right-leaning newspapers. Across all newspapers, the most common topics in this category were: *Syrian war*, which covers items reporting on the conditions created by the Syrian war, often referring to the deaths of civilians; *Criticising Trump*, which refers to reporting on the policy objectives of or statements by the Trump administration in a human rights context (for example, coverage of Trump's travel ban); and *Migrant, asylum seeker, and refugee experiences*, which refers to reporting on the treatment or experiences of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Many of the latter topics cover the conditions of the Calais border camp or detail the conditions of those escaping the Syrian war. A number of these topics overlap. In right-leaning newspapers, *Failure to uphold human rights* was most frequently present in articles about the Syrian war, followed by *Criticising Saudi Arabia* and criticisms specifically directed at Assad's regime in Syria. Conversely, in centre or left-leaning newspapers, reporting on the activities of the Trump administration was the most common topic in which items coded *Failure to uphold human rights* were present, followed by the *Syrian war* and *Migrant, refugee, and asylum seeker experiences*.

4.5 Conclusion

To address the first main research question, “does human rights-opposed news use thematic cues that people high in RWA or SDO may be attuned to?”, this chapter presented the findings of the content analysis. The content analysis showed that the overall coverage of human rights is, on average, positive or balanced, although right-leaning papers portray human rights less positively than centre or left-leaning newspapers. Concentrating on the portrayal of human rights, this chapter demonstrated that the overall coverage of human rights is, on average, positive or balanced, although right-leaning papers portray human rights less positively than centre or left-leaning newspapers. These findings expand on past research, which focuses on the role of right-wing newspapers in propagating an antagonistic human rights narrative (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014; Pollock, 2014).

There is, however, a twist: on average, right-leaning newspapers portray human rights negatively when considering only code items that capture explicit opinions about human rights as a more abstract political, legal, or theoretical construct, rather than reporting on human rights situations. This is in contrast with centre or left-leaning newspapers which portray human rights positively. It appears that when confronted with the reality of human rights violations, right-leaning newspapers provide tacit support for human rights despite negatively portraying human rights elsewhere. I also found a significant difference in the portrayal of human rights between international and national news stories, finding that, on average, right-leaning newspapers portray human rights positively when reporting international news and portray human rights negatively when reporting national news, again indicating a dual approach to human rights in right-leaning newspapers.

When considering the presence of high RWA associated information, this chapter found that human rights coverage does contain patterns of information that are thematically similar to attitudes associated with high levels of RWA, providing evidence that human rights news may be affecting attitudes by interacting with pre-existing schemas. By dividing high RWA associated information into two categories, this chapter found that right-leaning newspapers were more likely to use human rights-opposed, high RWA associated information compared to centre or left-leaning newspapers. However, there was no ideological difference in the use of high RWA associated thematic elements overall. In addition, this chapter demonstrated

that certain types of high RWA associated thematic components are associated with a positive portrayal of human rights, while others are associated with a negative portrayal of human rights. People high in RWA are likely to support authorities championing human rights, and this theme was identified in human rights news. The cluster analysis revealed a coherent cluster comprised of variables associated with high RWA. This potential media frame portrays human rights as an obstacle to the governmental protection from a threat.

Turning to high SDO associated themes, this chapter found that human rights coverage does contain patterns of information that are thematically similar to attitudinal positions associated with high individual levels of SDO, providing more evidence that coverage of human rights in the UK may be affecting human rights attitudes by interacting with pre-existing schemas. Unlike for high RWA information, this chapter identified a significant difference between the presence of high SDO associated information between right-leaning and centre or left-leaning newspapers and found that publication in a right-leaning newspaper predicts an increase in the presence of high SDO associated information. This chapter found that the presence of high SDO associated thematic components was associated with a negative overall portrayal of human rights. The cluster analysis revealed a cluster comprised of variables associated with high SDO. This potential media frame portrays human rights as helping criminals, in addition to emphasising the financial cost of human rights.

This chapter also identified the use of stereotypes in a small proportion of human rights coverage. This chapter found that there is a significant association between the presence of stereotypes and the overall negative portrayal of human rights. Furthermore, this chapter also highlighted a distinction between the framing of human rights and the use of human rights to frame something else, such as an event or situation. This chapter notes that the variable *Failure to uphold human rights* captures the use of human rights to frame an event or situation, while the other included human rights variables capture different portrayals of human rights as an abstract political, theoretical, or legal concept.

Throughout this thesis, I have proposed a series of research questions. The first question asked was: does human rights-opposed news use thematic cues that people who score high in measures of RWA or SDO may be attuned to? The content analysis has demonstrated that, yes, human rights news does use thematic cues that people who score high in measures of RWA or SDO may be attuned to. It appears, also, that there are specific frames within human

rights news that incorporate RWA and SDO associated frame components. However, I also proposed the questions: by emphasising themes that map on to the wider ideologies associated with RWA and SDO, can human rights-opposed news prime RWA or SDO based opinions about human rights? Does human rights-opposed news increase the saliency of RWA or SDO-associated evaluative beliefs? If so, does this reduce support for human rights in people high in RWA or SDO? Does exposure to human rights media frames that incorporate high RWA and SDO associated frame components cause a framing effect, resulting in a change in human rights attitudes? In order to answer these questions, I ran a series of media exposure experiments.

5. Experimental Methodology

While the content analysis has identified patterns that align with the attitudinal dimensions RWA and SDO in the way human rights stories are presented in the news, we do not know if exposure to these messages can affect attitudes towards human rights. At the start of this project, I proposed two hypothetical models of how human rights news could be affecting attitudes by interacting with pre-existing schemas associated with the right-wing attitudinal dimensions RWA and SDO. I hypothesised that human rights news may prime RWA or SDO associated schemas, increasing their relative importance to subsequent expressions of human rights. I also hypothesised that exposure could activate wider cognitive frames which link schemas associated with RWA and SDO to schemas associated with human rights attitudes. As the content analysis demonstrates, shocking events, such as a terrorist attack, can drive news coverage about human rights that draws on high RWA associated themes. However, this type of human rights news may not be sustained over extended periods of time. We do not know whether it is necessary for people to be repeatedly exposed to human rights news for it to have an effect, or whether exposure to unfamiliar types of human rights news can affect human rights attitudes too.

Priming leads to immediate but potentially short-term effects that do not necessarily tell us whether news exposure is having long-term effects on the way people think about an issue. Priming effects do not depend on previous exposure to similar information; articles can prime pre-existing schemas or evaluative beliefs in new ways and encourage the application of pre-existing ways of thinking to issues which the audience knows little about. Somebody that scores high in measures of RWA, for example, does not have to have repeatedly been exposed to human rights news that draws on RWA associated themes for an article to prime RWA associated evaluative beliefs about human rights. Somebody that has never read any news about human rights, but that gained the schemas which underpin RWA through other experiences, could, hypothetically, be primed to think about human rights using these RWA associated schemas. As we now know that human rights news does draw on both RWA and SDO associated themes, the identification of a priming effect would be important, as it would tell us that that human rights news is capable of priming attitudes towards human rights in the real world and offer insight into how.

Media framing, on the other hand, relies on repeated exposure to information. For a cognitive frame to form, different schemas must be repeatedly and simultaneously activated to generate the connections between these schemas that establish a cognitive frame. Somebody that has never read any news about human rights, but that gained the schemas which underpin RWA through other experiences, would not experience the activation of a cognitive frame when exposed to human rights news that uses RWA associated themes. However, somebody that has been frequently exposed to human rights news that draws on high RWA associated themes may experience the activation of a compatible cognitive frame following exposure to this type of human rights news. In addition, because the cognitive frame expects and encourages the simultaneous activation of both RWA and human rights associated schemas, exposure to either human rights news without high RWA associated themes or news that does not cover human rights issues but does use RWA associated themes may still cause changes in human rights attitudes. The content analysis has identified examples of potential human rights frames that incorporate both high RWA and high SDO associated information alongside a range of other information consistently. However, we do not yet know if these media frames can cause a framing effect. In addition, we do not know which types of information identified in the content analysis affect human rights attitudes.

To investigate the attitudinal effects of exposure to human rights news, I ran a series of media exposure experiments. As I outlined in section 1.2-10. *Differentiating Priming and Framing Effects*, it is possible to design a media exposure experiment that enables the differentiation of priming and framing effects. This procedure relies on utilising multiple different treatments articles which maintain a consistent frame component of interest, but vary the other included information. In doing so, it is possible to establish whether any changes in attitudes are the result of the activation of a wider cognitive frame or a consequence of priming. This is particularly important when considering the roles of RWA and SDO in expressions of human rights attitudes. By omitting the human rights frame component in one of the articles, we can determine whether any observed effects caused by exposure to the types of human rights news identified in the content analysis are caused by either: the simultaneous priming of both RWA or SDO alongside specific considerations about human rights, or through the activation of a wider cognitive frame which incorporates both RWA or SDO associated considerations and human rights considerations. In the case of framing, this would demonstrate that wider news coverage that does not discuss human rights, but contains information that causes the partial activation of RWA or SDO associated cognitive frames,

still affects human rights attitudes. An experimental procedure that assigns multiple thematic variations of the treatment articles, in addition to a control article, to multiple independent groups enables both the identification of media effects caused by exposure to the article and the differentiation of priming and framing effects.

The first two experiments examine the potential interaction between RWA or SDO, media exposure, and reduced support for human rights. These experiments are designed to test hypotheses 2.1 and 2.2:

H2.1: When a person who is high in RWA is exposed to a message that uses high RWA associated ideological patterns to discuss human rights, their support for human rights will decrease.

H2.1.1: Any observed decreases in human rights support following exposure to a human rights message that uses high RWA associated ideological patterns will be more pronounced in those high in RWA compared to those not high in RWA.

H2.2: When a person who is high in SDO is exposed to a message that uses high SDO associated ideological patterns to discuss human rights, their support for human rights will decrease.

H2.2.1: Any observed decreases in human rights support following exposure to a human rights message that uses high SDO associated ideological patterns will be more pronounced in those high in SDO compared to those not high in SDO.

As the sub-hypotheses indicate, the hypothesised effects are interaction effects. Testing these hypotheses requires analysing the effect of interactions between participant's levels of RWA or SDO and exposure to a treatment article on changes in human rights attitudes between before and after exposure to the treatment. The thematic variants of the treatment articles within each of the first two experiments include the same high SDO and high RWA compatible themes, respectively. Therefore, each hypothesis test is repeated for exposure to each of the different treatment variations. This repetition enables the differentiation of framing and priming effects:

H3.1 (Framing Effect): Exposure to a partial frame will produce attitudinal changes in line with the changes observed after exposure to a complete frame.

H3.2 (Priming Effect): Exposure to a partial frame will not produce attitudinal changes in line with the changes observed after exposure to a complete frame.

In other words, the presence of consistent, repeating interaction effects between treatment variations within an experiment (including those which exclude mention of human rights) would indicate a framing effect rather than a priming effect.

Three additional experiments are discussed throughout this section. Based on the findings of the content analysis, the first two of these experiments focus on the frame component *Failure to uphold human rights*. In addition, these experiments enable the testing of hypothesis 2.3:

H2.3: When a person who is high in RWA is exposed to a positive portrayal of human rights, their support for the military enforcement of human rights will increase.

H2.3.1: Any observed increase in support for the military enforcement of human rights following exposure to a human rights message that uses high RWA associated ideological patterns will be more pronounced in those high in RWA compared to those not high in RWA.

The fifth experiment, which is discussed in more detail in this chapter, is also based on the findings of the content analysis. However, it does not examine framing or priming effects. This chapter first details the development of the treatment articles used in each experiment, before discussing the experimental procedure. The experiments required to test these hypotheses require measures of RWA and SDO, in addition to the development of experimental treatments. This chapter, finally, discusses the measures used in the experiments.

5.1- Experimental Frames

The experiments used variants of five types of human rights news. First, I examined the effects of exposure to examples of the first identified frame, which included high SDO associated frame components. Then, I examined the effects of exposure to examples of the second identified frame, which included high RWA associated frame components. I then explored the effects of exposure to variants of the Human Rights Frame, or articles containing items coded as *Failure to uphold human rights*. I included two different versions of this type of news. As the most extreme examples of anti-human rights messages came from members of the public, the fifth type of human rights news varied the authorship of anti-human rights messages to consider the effects of the message source. The construction of the articles used and the rationale for the inclusion of each of the five types of human rights news is explained across the following sections. In each case, the article content is manipulated slightly to maintain experimental control and reduce the differences between conditions. However, the articles are purposefully designed to be extremely close to their source material and consist almost entirely of content taken directly from examples identified in the content analysis. Using real world examples adds mundane realism to the experimental manipulation of the messages (McDermott, 2002; Gaines et al. 2007; Rosenthal and Rosnow, 2008).

However, part of capturing the real world in experimental conditions concerns balancing experimental and mundane realism (Rosenthal and Rosnow, 2008). To improve experimental realism, this experiment uses treatment reinforcement techniques to ensure that participants pay attention to the treatment, and to check that participants are properly exposed to the treatment articles. The article reinforcements for each experiment are presented here alongside the treatment articles for each experiment. The first reinforcement asked participants to summarise the article provided. The second reinforcement was a small paragraph that repeats the main manipulation (the experimental news article) from the treatment article, and any variations in the content that were manipulated between conditions. Then, a final sentence suggested that an opinion poll of the general public indicates that many agree with the statement in some way. This is designed to reflect real-world frame reinforcement conditions through both social exposure to a frame and additional information included in articles.

5.1-1. Experiment 1: Human Rights Help Criminals

The first experiment tests the effect of exposure to a human rights frame that incorporates high SDO associated frame components. The first cluster can be taken to represent a high SDO associated human rights frame: it contained the code item *human rights help criminals* alongside the high SDO signifier code items *objection to the financial cost of human rights* and *opposition to welfare*.

To experimentally test the effects of exposure to human rights news that incorporates these themes, composite articles were created based on real news articles which contain examples of these code items. For this experiment, the articles were developed using extracts from the Daily Mail (2017a) and the Express (2017a). The presence of high SDO associated information was associated with a significant increase in the likelihood that stereotypes would also be present. Therefore, examples of a stereotype are also included in two of the example articles. In this case, the chosen stereotype was an example of a *legitimate victimisation* stereotypical frame type which suggested that criminals should not be allowed to use human rights legislation. As noted above, the use of thematic variants, one of which omits mention of human rights, enables the differentiation of framing and priming effects. Table 8 presents a side-by-side comparison of the different variants. In each case, the included frame elements change. Condition 4 excludes specific reference to human rights, and conditions 3 and 4 both include SDO associated stereotypes. In table 9, the manipulation reinforcement is presented side-by-side. This reinforces the frame components which vary between the different articles. In both tables, the bold text highlights the differences.

Table 8: Experiment 1 – Conditions for Human Rights Help Criminals Sub-types

Condition 1 (Original frame) Human Rights Help Criminals	Condition 2 Human Rights Help Criminals + Objection to financial costs of human rights	Condition 3 Human Rights Help Criminals + SDO stereotypes	Condition 4 No human rights + SDO stereotypes
Human rights laws help criminals again	Human rights laws help criminals again, costing us money	Human rights laws help criminals out of their own mess	Criminals helped out of their own mess
<p>Authorities are trying to recover £25million in missing loot, but criminals are claiming that it may be a breach of their human rights.</p> <p>The authorities are threatening to jail the criminals for up to 14 years each unless they hand over their ill-gotten gains.</p> <p>The criminals claim that, because they were only hired hands that were immediately arrested, they didn't profit from their criminal activities. Their lawyers are preparing a challenge on the grounds that a further prison term which is longer than that imposed for the original crime is disproportionate and violates their human rights.</p>	<p>Authorities are trying to recover £25million in missing loot, but criminals are claiming that it may be a breach of their human rights.</p> <p>The authorities are threatening to jail the criminals for up to 14 years each unless they hand over their ill-gotten gains.</p> <p>The criminals claim that, because they were only hired hands that were immediately arrested, they didn't profit from their criminal activities. Their lawyers are preparing a challenge on the grounds that a further prison term which is longer than that imposed for the original crime is disproportionate and violates their human rights.</p> <p>We've seen in the past that the High Court gave a criminal £27,000 in compensation, while the unnamed victim received just £7,500.</p> <p>Why should tax payers be expected to cover the costs of human rights?</p>	<p>Authorities are trying to recover £25million in missing loot, but criminals are claiming that it may be a breach of their human rights.</p> <p>The authorities are threatening to jail the criminals for up to 14 years each unless they hand over their ill-gotten gains.</p> <p>The criminals claim that, because they were only hired hands that were immediately arrested, they didn't profit from their criminal activities. Their lawyers are preparing a challenge on the grounds that a further prison term which is longer than that imposed for the original crime is disproportionate and violates their human rights.</p> <p>Criminals are the only ones to blame for their problems. It's their fault, so why should they get to use human rights to help themselves?</p>	<p>Authorities are trying to recover £25 million in missing loot, but criminals yesterday launched a bid to stop them having to pay it back.</p> <p>The authorities are threatening to jail the criminals for up to 14 years each unless they hand over their ill-gotten gains.</p> <p>The criminals claim that, because they were only hired hands that were immediately arrested, they didn't profit from their criminal activities. Their lawyers are preparing a challenge on the grounds that a further prison term which is longer than that imposed for the original crime is disproportionate.</p> <p>Criminals are the only ones to blame for their problems. It's their fault, so why should they get to use our legal system to help themselves?</p>

Table 9: Experiment 1 – Manipulation checks and reinforcement

Condition 1 (Original frame) Human Rights Help Criminals	Condition 2 Human Rights Help Criminals + Objection to financial costs of human rights	Condition 3 Human Rights Help Criminals + SDO stereotypes	Condition 4 No human rights + SDO stereotypes
Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.	Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.	Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.	Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.
<p>The article you have just read included the following passage:</p> <p>“Authorities are trying to recover £25million in missing loot, but criminals are claiming that it may be a breach of their human rights.”</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people are unhappy that criminals get to use human rights in this way.</p>	<p>The article you have just read included the following passage:</p> <p>“We’ve seen in the past that the High Court gave a criminal £27,000 in compensation, while the unnamed victim received just £7,500.</p> <p>Why should tax payers be expected to cover the costs of human rights?”</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people are unhappy that money from their taxes is spent on human rights issues.</p>	<p>The article you have just read included the following passage:</p> <p>“Criminals are the only ones to blame for their problems. It’s their fault, so why should they get to use human rights to help themselves?”</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people are unhappy that criminals can use human rights to help get themselves out of situations that they are responsible for.</p>	<p>The article you have just read included the following passage:</p> <p>“Criminals are the only ones to blame for their problems. It’s their fault, so why should they get to use our legal system to help themselves?”</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people are unhappy that criminals can use the legal system to help get themselves out of situations that they are responsible for.</p>

5.1-2. Experiment 2: Human Rights as Obstacles

The second experiment tests the effect of exposure to a human rights frame that incorporates high RWA associated frame components. The second cluster of variables can be taken to represent a high RWA associated human rights frame: the code item *human rights as obstacle* clustered with the additional high RWA signifier code items *groups as threatening* and *mentions of threat*. However, we do not yet know if this identified high RWA frame causes a framing effect in those high in RWA.

To experimentally test the effects of exposure to human rights news that incorporates these themes, composite articles based on real news articles that contain examples of these code items were generated. These articles were developed using articles from the Daily Mail (2017b), the Express (2017b), and the Daily Star (2017a). The presence of high RWA associated information was associated with a significant increase in the likelihood that stereotypes would also be present. Therefore, *threat typification* stereotypes were also included in one of the example articles. As with the first experiment, thematic variants were used, one of which omits mention of human rights. Table 10 presents a side-by-side comparison of the different variants. To minimise the variations in language between the conditions, condition 1 portrayed human rights as an obstacle to safety from an abstract threat. Condition 2 used a *threat typification* stereotype of migrants, as migrants were the most frequent group portrayed as threatening. Conditions 3 and 4 use the threat of terrorism, which was the most common topic associated with this portrayal of human rights. In table 11, the manipulation reinforcement is presented side-by-side. This reinforced the frame components which varied between the different articles. In both tables, the bold text highlights the differences.

Table 10: Experiment 2 – Conditions for Human Rights as Obstacle Sub-types

Condition 1 (Original frame) Human rights as obstacles	Condition 2 Human rights as obstacles + Groups as threatening (Migrants)	Condition 3 Human rights as obstacles + Threat terrorism	Condition 4 No human rights + Threat terrorism
Human rights aren't keeping us safe...	Human rights aren't keeping us safe from dangerous migrants.	Human rights aren't keeping us safe from terrorism.	We aren't being kept safe from terrorism.
<p>It was reassuring to hear the Prime Minister vow that "enough is enough" but as with that other soundbite, "Brexit means Brexit," we are left wondering what it means. Given that Britain is a liberal democracy what measures can be taken to keep us safe, and does Parliament even have the will to do more?</p> <p>For example, human rights will overturn all but the feeblest attempts of the government to keep us safe. Whenever this happens, the Prime Minister must insist that enough really is enough and push through legislation anyway.</p>	<p>How can we ever rid our country of such undesirables while the Human Rights Act remains on the statute book?</p> <p>It was reassuring to hear the Prime Minister vow that "enough is enough" but as with that other soundbite, "Brexit means Brexit," we are left wondering what it means. Given that Britain is a liberal democracy, what measures can be taken to keep us safe from dangerous immigrants, and does Parliament even have the will to do more?</p> <p>For example, human rights will overturn all but the feeblest attempts to deport migrants that are a threat. But that's precisely when the Prime Minister must insist that enough really is enough and push through legislation anyway.</p>	<p>Change human rights laws if they "get in the way" of tackling terror suspects.</p> <p>It was reassuring to hear the Prime Minister vow that "enough is enough" but as with that other soundbite, "Brexit means Brexit," we are left wondering what it means. Given that Britain is a liberal democracy, what measures can be taken to prevent further terrorist attacks, and does Parliament even have the will to do more?</p> <p>For example, human rights will overturn all but the feeblest attempts to detain terror suspects for more than a few days but that's precisely when the Prime Minister must insist that enough really is enough and push through legislation anyway.</p>	<p>Parliament needs to do more to tackle terrorism.</p> <p>It was reassuring to hear the Prime Minister vow that "enough is enough" but as with that other soundbite, "Brexit means Brexit," we are left wondering what it means. Given that Britain is a liberal democracy what measures can be taken to prevent further terrorist attacks, and does Parliament even have the will to do more?</p> <p>The Prime Minister must insist that enough really is enough and push through any measures that will help us.</p>

Table 11: Experiment 2 – Manipulation checks and reinforcement

Condition 1 (Original frame) Human rights as obstacles	Condition 2 Human rights as obstacles + Groups as threatening (Migrants)	Condition 3 Human rights as obstacles + Threat terrorism	Condition 4 No human rights + Threat terrorism
<p>Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.</p>	<p>Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.</p>	<p>Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.</p>	<p>Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.</p>
<p>The article you have just read included the following passage:</p> <p>“For example, human rights will overturn all but the feeblest attempts of the government to keep us safe.”</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people are unhappy that human rights can be an obstacle to the government.</p>	<p>The article you have just read included the following passage:</p> <p>“For example, human rights will overturn all but the feeblest attempts to deport migrants that are a threat.”</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people are unhappy that human rights can be an obstacle to the government deporting dangerous migrants.</p>	<p>The article you have just read included the following passage:</p> <p>“For example, human rights will overturn all but the feeblest attempts to detain terror suspects for more than a few days.”</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people are unhappy that human rights can be an obstacle to the government doing what’s necessary to protect us from terrorism.</p>	<p>The article you have just read included the following passage:</p> <p>“Parliament needs to do more to tackle terrorism.”</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people agree that not enough is being done to protect us from terrorism.</p>

5.1-3. Experiment 3: Failure to Uphold Human Rights

The third and fourth experiments both test the effect of exposure to a human rights frame that incorporates the code item *Failure to uphold human rights*. As this portrayal of human rights is positive, it is incompatible with the wider ideologies associated with high levels of RWA and SDO. However, it is possible that those low in RWA and SDO are particularly susceptible to the attitudinal effects of this frame type. In addition, RWA predicts higher support for the military enforcement of human rights (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004). It is therefore possible that RWA may interact with exposure to positive or non-critical portrayals of human rights to produce increases in support for the military enforcement of human rights. As discussed in the literature review, higher support for the military enforcement of human rights is associated with a lower support more generally for human rights (Cohrs et al. 2007).

This experiment is designed to test two different potential effects. First, the experiment uses a constructed *Failure to uphold human rights* frame to explore potential human rights attitudinal effects caused by exposure to this type of information. Second, the experiment uses the same frame, but also includes a few sentences in which a disliked political figure is blamed for this situation. Early framing research found that frame components that attribute responsibility can have strong attitudinal effects (Iyengar, 1991; Gerhards and Rucht; 1992).

Part of the variation between left and right-leaning newspaper sources in the topics of articles in which items coded as *Failure to uphold human rights* are present, is the subject or target of the article. Centre or left-leaning newspapers feature several articles which highlight human rights situations in countries typically considered to be allies of the UK, such as Australia and, more notably, America, which dominates this type of coverage in centre or left-leaning newspapers. Centre or left-leaning newspapers also contain proportionally more articles that outline human rights situations in Britain, in addition to articles criticizing May's government and highlighting the human rights consequences of austerity, when compared to articles published in right-leaning newspapers. Conversely, right-leaning newspapers give greater precedent to human rights abuses in Saudi Arabia (a political ally to the UK), Russia, Syria, China, and North Korea.

As the most prominent topic covered by articles containing the code item *Failure to uphold human rights* was the Syrian war, the composite articles cover this topic. The actors chosen

are Macron, Trump, May, Assad, and Putin. In addition to these actors each being involved in the Syrian conflict at various times, they also reflect targets of human rights criticism favoured differently by right-leaning newspapers and centre or left-leaning newspapers. In the pre-test section of the questionnaire for this experiment, participants were asked to choose which of these actors they dislike the most, and their choice determined the actor featured in the article in the experimental treatment. In the second condition, participants were exposed to only the base *Failure to uphold human rights* frame, and no blame was assigned. This experiment, therefore, is designed to consider if the use of this frame in an ideologically targeted naming and shaming capacity changes the magnitude or type of attitudinal changes caused by exposure to this type of human rights article. This experiment uses articles from the Sun (2017a), the Independent (2017a, 2017b, 2017c) and the Guardian (2017a) to generate the different articles. Table 12 presents a side-by-side comparison of the different variants. In table 13, the manipulation reinforcement is presented side-by-side.

Table 12: Experiment 3 – Conditions for Failure to Uphold Human Rights Sub-types

Condition 1 Criticising Disliked Politician	Condition 2 ISIS only accountable
100 have died, including 11 children, in a bombing in Syria.	100 have died, including 11 children, in a bombing in Syria.
A large number of civilians who are virtually prisoners of Isis have been killed by bombing in Syria.	A large number of civilians who are virtually prisoners of Isis have been killed by bombing in Syria.
Physicians for Human Rights (PHR), an NGO that has tracked attacks on medical workers during the conflict, said there have been 454 strikes on medical facilities during the Syrian war, killing 814 medics.	Physicians for Human Rights (PHR), an NGO that has tracked attacks on medical workers during the conflict, said there have been 454 strikes on medical facilities during the Syrian war, killing 814 medics.
But are world leaders causing more harm than good in the battle to uphold human rights?	
More civilians caught up in the Syrian conflict were killed by [Syrian/American/French/British/Russian]-led fighters than by Isis in the last month, according to figures released by a human rights organisation.	
[Assad/Trump/Macron/May/Putin] needs to be held to account for these deaths.	

Table 13: Experiment 3 – Manipulation checks and reinforcement

Condition 1 Criticising Disliked Politician	Condition 2 ISIS Only
Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.	Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.
<p>The article you have just read included the following passage:</p> <p>“More civilians caught up in the Syrian conflict were killed by Syrian-led fighters than by Isis in the last month, according to figures released by a human rights organisation.</p> <p>[Assad/Trump/Macron/May/Putin] needs to be held to account for these deaths.”</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people agree that [Assad/Trump/Macron/May/Putin] should be held responsible for human rights failings in Syria.</p>	

5.1-4. Experiment 4: Failure to Uphold Human Rights

The fourth experiment investigated whether exposure to information about the human rights experiences of migrants or refugees affects human rights attitudes, and whether the perceived proximity to migrants or refugees changed whether exposure had pro-human rights effects. As RWA is associated with the perception of threats to one's ingroup, this experiment again explored the relationship between schemas associated with RWA and the effects of human rights news. This experiment, which again used a composite article based around the code item *Failure to uphold human rights*, focused on the topic *Migrant, asylum seeker, and refugee experiences*, which is the third most common *Failure to uphold human rights* topic. What is of particular interest here, and inspired the inclusion of a second experiment focusing on *Failure to uphold human rights*, is that some of these articles that centre primarily around the experiences of those fleeing Syria and Afghanistan are published by the same newspaper organisations (Daily Mail & General Trust and News UK, for example) that often publish articles portraying migrants and asylum seekers as threatening. The Mail on Sunday (the Sunday edition of the Daily Mail), for example, published an article titled "THE HUMAN WOLFPACK", 2nd July 2017, which details the abhorrent treatment and general experiences of those residing in the "Calais Jungle" encampment, and includes input from a Human Rights Watch lawyer:

"[...] The migrants told me they were woken repeatedly through the night and routinely pepper-sprayed as they slept, which a lawyer from Human Rights Watch observing events told me was illegal use of force. Bedding and clothes are also doused with the spray, making them unusable. "A week ago I was sleeping and the police sprayed me. It was like I could not breathe and it hurt my eyes a lot", said 16-year-old Ajmal, from Afghanistan.

Another teenager, with a plaster on his cheek, said officers had chased him that afternoon, spraying and kicking him in the face after he fell. "It is suddenly getting much worse with the police", he said.

Welcome to Calais, which finds itself again on the front line of Europe's migration crisis despite the dismantling of the infamous Jungle camp and dispersal of 8,000 people around France last autumn."

Articles that portray these groups as threatening emphasise the threat of their presence in Britain; these articles often encourage deportation or stronger border control. In addition, an international focus is associated with a positive portrayal of human rights in right-leaning newspapers, while a national focus is associated with a negative portrayal of human rights in right-leaning newspapers. This, again, highlights the dual portrayal of human rights in right-wing news that the content analysis identified. Yang (2015) notes that stereotypical frame components activate wider stereotypical schemas in audiences, which in turn elicit negative feelings including a desire for distance. This suggests that perceived proximity to outgroups may modulate the perception of threat.

RWA is, in part, an ideological response to threat, and the content analysis identified the presence of the threat-based stereotyping of migrant groups in some human rights news. In addition, Shaffer and Duckitt's (2013) findings emphasise the importance of ingroup threat to RWA: while the fear-threat factors *harm to self, child, or country; personal and relationship failures; environmental and economic fears; political and personal uncertainties; and threats to ingroup* all positively correlated with RWA, only *threats to ingroup* predicted RWA. It is expected that any attitudinal shifts observed in favour of human rights following exposure to this treatment article will be attenuated in the condition where the UK is the destination, and that this effect will be moderated by RWA. The role of right-wing dimensions in moderating the effects of exposure to the threat typification of migrant groups is also examined in the second experiment; this experiment, therefore, complements the second experiment and examines instead the role of right-wing dimensions in moderating the effect of exposure to a sympathetic portrayal of migrants human rights experiences.

To examine the role of outgroup proximity on threat perception and human rights attitudes, particularly in those high in RWA, this experiment used a composite article that detailed the experiences of those fleeing Syria. However, the destination of the refugees in the composite article was manipulated. In one condition, their destination was the UK, while in the other, their destination was Jordan. The articles were generated using excerpts from the Daily Mail (2017c), the Sun (2017b), and the Independent (2017d). Table 14 displays the articles used in this experiment. Table 15 details the manipulation check and reinforcement.

Table 14: Experiment 4 – Conditions for Failure to Uphold Human Rights Sub-types 2

Condition 1 Refugee experiences from Syria travelling to Jordan	Condition 2 Refugee experiences from Syria travelling to UK
Refugees and Migrants travelling to Jordan frequently abused	Refugees and Migrants travelling to UK frequently abused
<p>Border forces 'frequently abuse' refugees and migrants traveling to Jordan, report finds; 'They took our mobiles and our money, and beat us so harshly we couldn't get up,' says one Afghan man, Aarif. "The police here, they are very hard on us. Thank God I can run fast, like Usain Bolt!"</p> <p>A recent survey by British charity the Refugee Rights Data Project claimed police brutality was "endemic". Many of the migrants claim they bear the bruises from baton blows and sore eyes from the tear gas used on them.</p> <p>The migrants interviewed said they were woken repeatedly through the night and routinely pepper-sprayed as they slept, which a lawyer from Human Rights Watch observing events said was illegal use of force. Bedding and clothes are also doused with the spray, making them unusable.</p>	<p>Border forces 'frequently abuse' refugees and migrants traveling to the UK, report finds; 'They took our mobiles and our money, and beat us so harshly we couldn't get up,' says one Afghan man, Aarif. "The police here, they are very hard on us. Thank God I can run fast, like Usain Bolt!"</p> <p>A recent survey by British charity the Refugee Rights Data Project claimed police brutality was "endemic". Many of the migrants claim they bear the bruises from baton blows and sore eyes from the tear gas used on them.</p> <p>The migrants interviewed said they were woken repeatedly through the night and routinely pepper-sprayed as they slept, which a lawyer from Human Rights Watch observing events said was illegal use of force. Bedding and clothes are also doused with the spray, making them unusable.</p>

Table 15: Experiment 4 – Manipulation checks and reinforcement

Condition 1 Refugee experiences from Syria travelling to Jordan	Condition 2 Refugee experiences from Syria travelling to UK
Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.	Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.
According to surveys of the general public, many people are concerned about the human rights of migrants and refugees travelling to Jordan .	According to surveys of the general public, many people are concerned about the human rights of migrants and refugees travelling to the UK .

5.1-5. Experiment 5: Authorship

This experiment examined the effect of exposure to an extreme anti-human rights message. The most extreme examples of anti-human rights messages identified in the sample were opinion pieces published in newspapers written by, or at least were published as written by, members of the public. As noted by McFarland and Mathews (2005), social desirability bias may affect human rights attitudes. In addition, recent research found large and lasting treatment effects caused by exposure to opinion pieces (Coppock et al. 2018). Therefore, this experiment considers whether or not public authorship makes extreme negative positions towards human more palatable to those predisposed to agree with human rights-opposed opinions. As both RWA and SDO predict opposition to human rights, it is possible that those high in RWA or SDO may be particularly susceptible to the attitudinal effects of exposure to extreme anti-human rights positions.

In this experiment, I manipulated the source of the content to consider if the source changes any potential exposure effects caused by exposure to the article. Condition 1 attributed the opinion to an MP, condition 2 attributed the opinion to a member of the public, and condition 3 attributed the opinion to a journalist. This experiment uses a letter written to the Sun (2017c). Table 16 shows the variations between the articles used in the experiment, while table 17 displays the manipulation reinforcement.

Table 16: Experiment 5 – Conditions

Condition 1 Expert article opposed to human rights	Condition 2 Public letter opposed to human rights	Condition 3 Journalist article opposed to human rights
<p>An MP, talking about human rights, said:</p> <p>“Once again, the vile suicide bomber was trained as an IS soldier and he was known to UK intelligence. Our Government has allowed young British men to travel to Syria and train on how to kill our children, then come back to live among us, claim our benefits and preach on our streets. God forbid we deport them or refuse them entry into the UK. We must not forget their "human rights". The Government needs to declare zero tolerance on IS sympathisers who are enemies of our country and people.”</p>	<p>Members of the public have written in to voice their opinions on the subject.</p> <p>“Once again, the vile suicide bomber was trained as an IS soldier and he was known to UK intelligence. Our Government has allowed young British men to travel to Syria and train on how to kill our children, then come back to live among us, claim our benefits and preach on our streets. God forbid we deport them or refuse them entry into the UK. We must not forget their "human rights". The Government needs to declare zero tolerance on IS sympathisers who are enemies of our country and people.” Said Brandon Dickinson, London.</p>	<p>Brandon Dickinson Journalist The Sun</p> <p>ONCE AGAIN...</p> <p>Once again, the vile suicide bomber was trained as an IS soldier and he was known to UK intelligence. Our Government has allowed young British men to travel to Syria and train on how to kill our children, then come back to live among us, claim our benefits and preach on our streets. God forbid we deport them or refuse them entry into the UK. We must not forget their "human rights". The Government needs to declare zero tolerance on IS sympathisers who are enemies of our country and people.</p>

Table 17: Experiment 5 – Manipulation checks and reinforcement

Condition 1 Expert article opposed to human rights	Condition 2 Public letter opposed to human rights	Condition 3 Journalist article opposed to human rights
Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.	Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.	Using just a few sentences, please summarise some of the key points from the article you have just read.
<p>The article you just read detailed the views of an MP about human rights.</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people are glad to see MPs speaking out like this.</p>	<p>The article you just read detailed the views of a member of the public about human rights.</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people are glad to see other members of the public speaking out like this.</p>	<p>The article you just read detailed the views of a journalist about human rights.</p> <p>According to surveys of the general public, many people are glad to see journalists speaking out like this.</p>

5.1-6. Control Condition

A recipe published by the BBC (2018) was randomly selected from their cooking page for use as a control article. Cooking recipes represent a common type of article published by news organisations that are unlikely to activate any schemas associated with RWA, SDO, prejudice, or human rights. The control condition was the same in each experiment. To measure changes in human rights attitudes, the experiments required participants to complete the measures twice. The control condition provided a baseline measure of human rights attitude change and checks for effects caused only by repeated exposure to the measures. The manipulation check for each experiment is used to determine whether or not participants are paying attention to the questions asked, in addition to ensuring that participants have been exposed to the article's message. Thus, it was necessary to still expose participants to an article in the control condition to again check if participants were paying attention and responding appropriately. This also ensured that the questionnaires used between the conditions were identical, except for the article used.

"How to cook asparagus

Look for asparagus that is freshly picked and has a juicy, firm feel. The ends should not be too white and dry. Asparagus with thicker stalks will naturally snap at the woodiest part of the spear.

Young asparagus spears are more tender and don't need to be snapped before cooking. Simmer in a frying pan of boiling salted water. Check to see if the asparagus is cooked by testing with knife halfway down the spear. When ready, shake off any water and serve immediately with a knob of butter.

Alternatively, you can blanch your asparagus spears in salted, boiling water for one minute. Remove with tongs and shake off the water. Fry on a hot griddle pan or frying pan in some olive oil until the spears are golden-brown in places. Season with freshly ground black pepper and sea salt flakes."

5.2- Questionnaire Design, Sampling Procedure and Recruitment

The use of online experiments compared to laboratory experiments is becoming more common in experimental political science research. Online experiments have some practical benefits compared to laboratory experiments that influenced the decision to proceed with online experiments here (Clifford and Jerit, 2014; Clifford et al. 2015). First, to conduct the five proposed experiments, a minimum of 300 participants was required. Paying participants the minimum wage to participate online cost between £2.50-£3.50 depending on the average length of time taken to complete the questionnaire. The Department of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Birmingham does not provide access to a subject pool or laboratory facilities, and proceeding with laboratory experiments would, therefore, have required either generating a student sample or paying participants to travel to the University in order to participate. The cost of covering the travel of participants and paying for participation was estimated at £15-£25 per participant, which would have made running the experiments unfeasible. In addition, while a student sample is likely to have been less costly, student recruitment would have required more administrative resources. Moreover, online samples are typically more representative than student samples (Berinsky et al. 2012; Capelos, 2014), and relying on participants local to the University campus would also introduce sampling bias.

However, there remain important limitations to online experiments compared to laboratory experiments. In particular, experimental realism is harder to achieve outside of laboratory conditions (Gaines et al. 2007; Rosenthal and Rosnow, 2008). The experiments conducted here utilise treatment reinforcement techniques and treatment checks to ensure that participants are paying attention to the treatments. Responses to the treatment checks are used to remove participants who cannot demonstrate they have been exposed to the treatments. The checks used are detailed in sections 5.3 and 5.5. Mundane realism is achieved by using media messages that exist in real newspapers in the development of the treatment materials. In a comparison of online vs. laboratory experiments, Clifford and Jerit (2014) found that while online participants self-reported being more distracted during participation, their responses to the attention checks were not significantly different to those in the laboratory. Moreover, the content analysis explicitly included online news content. The experience of consuming online news, and the level of environmental distraction, is likely to be similar to the experience of reading experimental news articles online.

In addition, the questionnaire was designed to maximise participant engagement. The questionnaire¹⁰ used a paged, single screen design rather than a scrolling design, which has been shown to increase response rates (Peytchev and McCabe, 2006; Vicente, 2010; Toepoel et al. 2009). The questionnaires are also identical between experiments except for variations in the treatment conditions (Verba, 1993; McDermott, 2002; Rosenthal and Rosnow, 2008; Vannieuwenhuyze et al. 2010).

In addition, I used a simple presentation that limits visual distractions, which aimed to focus the attention of the participant to the questions at hand (Orr, 2005; Vicente, 2010). The simple presentation with detailed instructions also helps to avoid satisficing; maintaining participant motivation is particularly important in this project given the length of the questionnaire required (Druckman et al. 2006; Krosnick and Presser, 2010). The questionnaire groups all items thematically. Although this procedure is recommended as general good practice (Krosnick and Presser, Druckman et al. 2006), Alwin and Beattie (2016) warn that streamlining the survey by using batteries of similar questions can increase the risk of satisficing. However, many of the scales used in the questionnaire contain both positive and negative items, or pro-trait and con-trait items, which provide a simple additional check for participant satisficing.

This questionnaire mostly uses a 7-point scale with gradations from “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree”. Where possible, the format of the scales used is matched between items to increase the validity of the responses (Orr, 2005). I use equal incremental values with verbal labels for each of the scales used for the questionnaire to increase the validity of the scales (Krosnick, 1999; Druckman et al. 2006; Rosenthal and Rosnow, 2008; Krosnick and Presser, 2010).

Some of the included items in the questionnaire can be considered sensitive items. For example, when responding to items on prejudice, voting preference, or policy preferences, participants may feel inclined to provide answers aligned with wider social norms. Although increasing the anonymity of the experimental conditions reduces this effect, and online data collection rather than face to face data collection can help to minimise this effect

¹⁰ See *Appendix 8.3*

(Tourangeau and Yan, 2007; Krosnick and Presser, 2010), a short form social desirability scale was included in the questionnaire. Sensitive questions can increase item and questionnaire non-response and the accuracy of the responses given, as participants may conceal their true behaviours or attitudes to conform to social expectations (Tourangeau and Yan, 2007).

As MTurk has limited support for use in the UK, this project used Prolific.ac, which is a UK-accessible service which recruits participants in a comparable way. When considering the initial rise of using online recruitment, particularly using forums and other limited population groups, Orr (2005) warns of the potential for introducing sampling error. Schonlau and Cooper (2017) mirror these concerns, noting that both opt-in web surveys and open-access web surveys are non-probability samples, which introduces coverage error (Stern et al. 2014). It is likely that Prolific.ac and MTurk, and other similar online services, have similar participant selection biases; however, MTurk has been shown to provide more representative samples than using student sample pools (Berinsky et al. 2012; Capelos, 2014). Clifford et al. (2015) compared the results of a face to face national (US) survey and a national MTurk survey studying personality and value-based motivations of political ideology, concluding that each approach provided substantively identical results. The questionnaire used in each of the experiments contains a battery of typical demographic questions taken from the Office for National Statistics document “Harmonised Concepts and Questions for Social Data Sources” (ONS, 2015).

The total sample size was $n=399$. The sample was comprised of 68% women and 32% men. The mean age of the sample was 35, with a standard deviation of 12.4. The age range was between 18-76. 22% of participants indicated that they had a disability or long-term health condition. 92% of participants are White British, with the next largest group being British Other at 1.5%, followed by British African at 1%. All other ethnic groups contribute less than 1% to the total. 11% identified as LGBT+. 15% of participants indicated they identified as religious, and the majority of these followed a Christian faith. While this sample is not representative of the British population, and certain groups are overrepresented, the aim of these experiments is only to test the effects of hypothetical interactive relationships between individual level dimensions (primarily RWA and SDO) and exposure to compatible information in human rights news on attitudes towards human rights. As I discuss in section 6.2, there is heterogeneity within the sample across these dimensions. Replication of this

work with larger, representative sample sizes would be a valuable second stage of this research (McDermott, 2002); however, the current project did not have the financial resources available to use a nationally representative sample.

This project used the randomiser feature built in to the Survey Flow options on Qualtrics to distribute participants randomly, automatically, and in equal amounts between the different conditions and the control group; this helps to ensure that any potential sampling bias is distributed throughout each of the conditions rather than affecting the participants in one group more than another (Rosenthal and Rosnow, 2008; Capelos, 2014).

Participants were paid the minimum wage for their participation through Prolific.ac. Participant remuneration is a widespread practice for this type of experiment (Capelos, 2014). Using paid sample pools also helps to overcome issues of survey and item non-response, which introduces additional bias and error to the data collection, in addition to reducing the overall experimental costs, namely the administrative and distributive cost (Krosnick, 1999; Porter and Whitcomb, 2005; Atkeson and Tafoya, 2008).

This study implemented pre-screening offered by Prolific. Participants had to be living in the UK, over the age of 18, and have high approval rates for participation on Prolific. The latter pre-screening measure was implemented on the advice of Prolific as, in the pilot study, a few participants did not complete the questionnaire or otherwise provided nonsensical answers. While setting a cut-off of 90% approval rating helped to eliminate those responses, I removed responses from 3 additional participants for failing the manipulation check, as their responses indicated that they had not read the manipulation. With the implementation of these pre-screening conditions, the total available sample pool remained >20,000, and all these people had an equal opportunity to participate in the questionnaire.

5.3- Deception

This study used two small deceptions. First, the participant information provided with the consent form at the beginning of the questionnaire stated that the researchers were interested in political opinions more generally, but not human rights specifically. Participants were informed that we were studying the effect of media frames on attitudes towards human rights during the debrief. This was to avoid activating any prior attitudes participants may have towards human rights that may have skewed their attitude towards the experiment overall.

Second, participants were told that they were completing two separate and unrelated questionnaires, one related to their political beliefs and one related to the content of an article. This was to avoid any confusion about the repeated measures of human rights attitudes used (which may result in, for example, not answering measures twice or attempting to match answers between the measures). In addition, it focused the attention of the participant to the experimental condition, the article.

This paragraph preceded the article participants were given to read:

“Please read the article below carefully. In the following questionnaire, you will be asked some questions about the article you are about to read. There will also be some additional questions, some of which will be similar to those in the questionnaire you have just read”

This also enabled the manipulation check and the first reinforcement: immediately after the article, participants were asked to summarise the article they have just read. This ensured that they have paid attention to the article given and provided a way of measuring this to eliminate those participants that fail to provide an appropriate response. In addition, the frame of the article was reinforced.

At the end of the experiment, there was a debrief explaining the nature of the experiment in more detail and why the two deceptions were necessary. Finally, the researcher’s contact information was repeated in case the participant would like to ask any further questions or withdraw from participation after being informed about the nature of the deception and the full rationale for the experiment. Again, this type of deception is common practice in this

type of experiment, as revealing the aims of the experiment may alter participant's responses (McDermott, 2002; Capelos, 2014).

5.4- Measuring RWA and SDO

This thesis hypothesises that RWA and SDO will moderate the effects of exposure to human rights news that contains informational patterns compatible with the wider ideologies of these dimensions. The experiments therefore required measures of both RWA and SDO. This study used RWA_5 to measure RWA. This version of the scale was designed as a short form RWA scale designed for inclusion in the ANES 2010-2012 and 2016 Time Series Studies, with factors that load on to each of the different dimensions of RWA (Smith et al. 2010, DeBell et al. 2018). In addition, this scale was designed to avoid any correlation with SDO, and covaries with SDO only very slightly (Smith et al. 2010). This makes it a useful tool for projects that use short forms of both concepts and hypothesise about their effects differently.

While RWA has traditionally been conceptualised as a personality dimension, more modern approaches suggest a conceptualisation of RWA as social attitudes and values; social attitudes may be influenced by personality dimensions but are not direct expressions of personality (Duckitt et al. 2010). From this divide between conceptualising RWA as a personality dimension or a social attitude issue came a debate about the dimensionality of RWA as a construct (Duckitt et al. 2010). Newer approaches often emphasise the social determinants of RWA, particularly social threat, and separate the three traditional components of RWA into distinct, although related, social attitude dimensions (Duckitt et al. 2010). Duckitt et al. (2010) argue that the different dimensions of RWA mirror well established social values: authoritarian submission mirrors conservatism through support for the status quo and existing institutions against the con-trait critical or rebellious attitudes; authoritarian aggression mirrors authoritarianism through values favouring strict coercive control against the con-trait of leniency or permissiveness; and conventionalism mirrors traditionalism through values favouring old fashioned values over modern or progressive values.

RWA_5 contains five questions: (1) "There is no 'one right way' to live life; everybody has to create their own way"; (2) "Our country needs free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people"; (3) "Our country will be great if we honour the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the 'rotten apples' who are ruining everything"; (4) "What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil and take us

back to our true path"; and (5) "The 'old-fashioned ways' and 'old-fashioned values' still show the best way to live.". In the initial data, RWA_5 was found to load on to the different dimensions of RWA: items 1, 2, and 5 were found to load strongly on conventionalism; items 2, 3, and 4 were found to load strongly on authoritarian aggression; and item 2 was found to load strongly on the factor of authoritarian submission (Smith and Hanley, 2014).

This study used SDO-7(s) to measure SDO. Ho et al. (2015) recommend using SDO-7 to capture the different dimensions of SDO discussed above. In addition, Ho et al. (2015) developed SDO-7(s) as a short form version of SDO-7 for use in longer questionnaires where overall length is a concern. SDO-7(s) contains 8 items, including two pro-trait (items 1,2,5,6) and two con-trait (items 3,4,7,8) measures for both SDO-D and SDO-E respectively.

The questions asked were: (1) "An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom."; (2) "Some groups of people are simply inferior to others."; (3) "No one group should dominate in society."; (4) "Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top."; (5) "Group equality should not be our primary goal."; (6) "It is unjust to try and make groups equal."; (7) "We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups."; and (8) "We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed."

As with RWA, Ho et al. (2015) demonstrate that SDO can be broken down into two separate dimensions: intergroup dominance (SDO-D) and intergroup anti-egalitarianism (SDO-E). These reflect the earlier SDO dimensions of "Group-based Dominance" and "Opposition to equality" (Smith et al. 2010). SDO-D covers support for the active maintenance of oppressive hierarchies, while SDO-E represents opposition to equality and manifests as more subtle behaviour. The types of attitudes and behaviours predicted by SDO-E are generally not violent or overtly confrontational, unlike those predicted by SDO-D; for example, SDO-D predicts support for aggressive subjugation of perceived lower social groups, while SDO-E predicts support for the unequal distribution of resources (Ho et al. 2015). Unlike RWA, SDO appears to be more situationally stable (Ho et al. 2015).

Scheufele (2004) warns that exploring participant's schemas in pre-tests activates these schemas and could mask the effect of the treatment, and this questionnaire includes measures of RWA and SDO, which are theorised be attitudinal manifestations of specific schemas, to

indicate the presence of schemas. However, the experimental design takes two measures to protect against these concerns: First, I used a control group which completed the same initial RWA and SDO pre-test measures. By comparing the treatment groups against the control, any attitudinal shifts caused only by the completion of the pre-test measures can be controlled for. Second, the measures of RWA and SDO were taken after the human rights attitude measures, preventing any activation of relevant schemas caused by the pre-test measures affecting the initial measures of human rights attitudes.

In addition to asking about RWA and SDO, my questionnaire also includes measures of political engagement and political party preference: “If you are a supporter of a political party, what is the name of the party you support?” and “Some people follow what's going on in politics most of the time. Others are not that interested. Would you say that you follow what is going on in politics: Most of the time, Some of the time, Only now and then, Hardly at all.”

5.5- Measuring Human Rights Attitudes

As this thesis hypothesises that the attitudinal effects of exposure to common types of human rights news can be moderated by RWA and SDO, a method of measuring human rights attitudes is required. Past studies that sought to measure human rights support have used ad-hoc, one off scales (Moghaddam and Vuksanovic, 1990; Spini and Doise, 1998; Crowson, 2004; McFarland and Mathews, 2005; Crowson and DeBacker, 2008). In addition, a number of these studies use scales designed for the unique human rights environment of the United States, and combine salient rights issues of the time, constitutional rights, international human rights, and issues not generally regarded as human rights issues, which limits their universal applicability and their use for ongoing research in this area (Moghaddam and Vuksanovic, 1990; Crowson, 2004; McFarland and Mathews, 2005; Crowson and DeBacker, 2008).

I used the three scales developed by McFarland and Mathews (2005) to measure Human Rights Commitment (HRC), Human Rights Endorsement (HRE), and Human Rights Restriction (HRR). While the scales used by McFarland and Mathews (2005), McFarland (2015), and McFarland and Hornsby (2015) to capture the three different dimensions of human rights support do use Americanised language, they are easily adapted for use in any Western country with similar foreign policy objectives to the US. Where the questionnaire items referred to the United States or America, I replaced this with the United Kingdom or Britain respectively to change the wording of the items as little as possible.

In addition, this project also includes measures of human rights behaviour (HRB) and the military enforcement of human rights (MEHR), adapted from Cohrs et al. (2007) and Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff (2004). I altered the language of the human rights behaviour scale to add clarity, changing “Written a letter to the editor” to “Written a letter to a newspaper”, and added “Posting on social media about a human rights issue” as an included item.

I also included two rudimentary measures of human rights knowledge (HRK), the second of which is used as a satisficing check. First, participants are asked to name one or two internationally recognised human rights (Sommer, 1999; Cohrs et al. 2007). Second, participants are provided a list of a range of human rights organisations and institutions. This list contains a number of organisations and institutions with a high media presence identified

in the content analysis (European Court of Human Rights, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch), a number of organisations with a low media presence (Physicians for Human Rights, Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights, French Human Rights League), and a fictional human rights organisation (Taken) and institution (European Committee for Free Speech). Participants are also asked if they have ever worked for a human rights organisation. These measures preceded the human rights behaviour and attitude measures.

McFarland and Mathews (2005) also argue that prior attempts at measuring human rights captured facile endorsement of human rights principles that are easily affected by social desirability bias. McFarland and Mathews (2005) note that the effects of social desirability bias are likely to be significant in America, as many prominent human rights form an essential part of American culture (for example, freedom of speech and religion), and note that they regret not including a measure of social desirability in their study of human rights attitudes. While rights comprise a comparatively less obtrusive part of British political culture than American political culture (McFarland and Mathews, 2005; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014), I included a short form measure of social desirability bias, MC-1(10) (Strahan and Gerbasi, 1972). In a review of short forms of the Marlow-Crowne scale, this version and MC-2(10) were found to be equally valid (Fischer and Fick, 1993).

5.6- Approximating Message Exposure

Experiments that include a manipulation are complicated by the potential for contamination from prior, real world exposure to the messages used (Gaines et al. 2007). In this case, it is likely that participants will have been exposed to the treatments used in the experiment prior to their participation. The use of random assignment and comparison with an experimental control group helps to determine that the observed effects are treatment effects, as any sources of bias are distributed randomly throughout each group (McDermott, 2002). In addition, potential prior message exposure was approximated so that any potential effect could be examined.

This project used the recommendations of Scharkow and Bachl (2016) and employed a message exposure estimate variable in the analysis. Scharkow and Bachl (2016) acknowledge that the use of a message exposure estimation variable is more susceptible to measurement error, as it combines the measurement error inherent in the message aggregate measure from the content analysis and the media usage self-report variable, which are combined to provide a media exposure score. However, this approach remains more effective in the identification of media effects caused by repeated exposure compared to a simple self-report variable (Scharkow and Bachl, 2016). When placing linkage analysis within the theoretical framework of framing adopted in this project, it is expected that more frequent prior exposure to a message will strengthen the links between schemas associated with that message. This measure was primarily included here, therefore, to consider the formative potential of media frames.

I included three measures of media consumption: the first asked participants to estimate the regularity of their news consumption; the second asked people to rank their preference of format of news consumption, which includes three online variant options, two television variant options, a newspaper option, and an “Other” option; and the third measure asked participants to indicate which of the newspapers included in the content analysis would they be most likely to buy. The first and third measures were used to create a frequency measure of consumption linked to each of the news organisations used in the content analysis.

The potential message exposure score was calculated in stages. First, the estimation of the regularity of news consumption was used to provide each participant with a score between 0-

90, which is an approximation of the amount of potential exposure to the content of a newspaper within a four-week period matched with the answers available to the participants in the questionnaire:

If a participant selects ‘multiple times a day’, they are provided with an initial approximate monthly exposure score of 90, indicating roughly 3 potential points of exposure per day in a month.

If a participant selects ‘at least once a day’, they are provided with an initial approximate potential monthly exposure score of 35, indicating slightly more than 1 potential points of exposure per day in a month.

If a participant selects ‘less than once a day’, they are provided with an approximate potential monthly exposure score of 20, indicating slightly less than 1 potential points of exposure per day in a month.

If a participant selects ‘once or twice a week’, they are provided with an approximate potential monthly exposure score of 7, indicating slightly more than 1 potential points of exposure per week per day in a month.

If a participant selects ‘less than once a week, they are provided with an approximate potential monthly exposure score of 3, indicating slightly less than 1 potential points of exposure per week in a month.

If a participant selects ‘less than once a month’, they are provided with an approximate potential monthly exposure score of 1, indicating only a maximum of a single point of exposure per month.

Then, second, a message presence estimation for each newspaper was produced based on the results of the content analysis: this figure was the total number of items coded to the code categories used in the experimental manipulation for each newspaper. Where a participant indicates a preference for a newspaper, the message presence estimation figure for that newspaper was added to individual participants’ message presence estimation score: for example, if a frame component from an experiment was featured 21 times in the Daily Mail

and 33 times in the Times, and the participant indicated a preference for these two newspapers, their message presence estimation score, at this stage, would be 54. This figure was then multiplied by the self-reported frequency of news consumption figures given above. This final number, therefore, approximated the number of times each participant could have been exposed to a message similar to that used in the experiment by combining both the information we have about the frequency participants consume news, their news preferences, and the frequency that messages similar to the messages used in the experimental articles are used in each paper. While the multiplication has the potential to create extreme variation between participants, the final score was used to place participants into a high potential exposure indicator variable. This final variable simply told us whether or not a participant had a higher chance of being exposed to a message similar to the message in the article they are exposed to in the experiment. This was done separately for each variation of the experimental articles used, to ensure that the message exposure approximation variable was appropriate.

5.7- Measuring Attitudes Towards Out-Groups

As the literature review established, RWA and SDO predict both prejudice and intolerance (Altemeyer, 1981; Diaz-Veizades et al. 1995; Duckitt, 2001; Sibley et al. 2006; Wilson and Sibley, 2013; Crawford and Pilanski, 2014). Moreover, the content analysis identified the presence of stereotypes in human rights-opposed news which clustered with both high RWA and SDO frame components. Therefore, stereotypes were included in some of the thematic variations of the treatment articles used in the first and second experiment. Stereotypes were also present in the articles used for the fifth experiment, and a frequently stereotyped outgroup was the subject of the story in the fourth experiment. These experiments, therefore, test whether exposure to stereotypes may play a role in RWA or SDO-based human rights framing effects. In addition, in line with the experimental protocol, the inclusion of both a thematic frame variant that includes stereotypes and a measure of attitudes towards outgroups aids in the differentiation of a framing and priming effect. If scores on this measure interact only with exposure to the experimental frame variant that includes a stereotype, this indicates that any observed effects in this condition are a priming effect rather than a framing effect. Conversely, if this interaction is present across the other frame variant conditions, this indicates that schemas associated with this stereotype are activated as part of a wider cognitive frame.

To capture participants' attitudes towards outgroups, this project used a variant of the 'least-liked groups' measure of tolerance (Sullivan et al. 1982; Marcus et al. 1995). While this is an extremely common measure of tolerance (Gibson, 2013), Hjern et al. (2019) argue that this measure is conceptually dependent on prejudice and captures both prejudice and tolerance by tapping into respondent's overall attitudes to outgroups. Therefore, this measure may capture attitudes towards outgroups that predisposes participants to be susceptible to the effects of stereotypical frame components. In addition, its incorporation of a desire for social distance from disliked social groups connects this measure to Yang's (2015) work, which this section of the project builds on; Yang (2015) noted that increased desire for social distance is a potential behavioural consequence of exposure to stereotypical frames.

This measure asked: "There are a lot of different groups in society. For example, there are groups of people with different jobs, different interests, from different ethnic or religious backgrounds, or who listen to different types of music. People can either like or dislike such

groups. If you had to choose, which group in society do you dislike the most?”. This measure then asked participants to rank their agreement with the following statements: “Members of your least liked group should be allowed to teach in schools”, “Members of your least liked group should have their phone taped by the government”, and “You would feel comfortable if a member of your least liked group came to live next door” (Marcus et al. 1995; Tenenbaum et al. 2018)¹¹.

¹¹ This measure was coded so that a higher score indicates lower levels of tolerance, or higher levels of intolerance. It is, therefore, labelled “Intolerance” in subsequent models.

6. Media Exposure Experiments

6.1- Introduction

Based on the findings on the content analysis, we now have an answer to the first research question proposed by this thesis. We know now that human rights-opposed news does use thematic cues that people high in RWA or SDO may be attuned to. However, we do not yet know the answer to the second research question: do these thematic cues affect the human rights attitudes of people high in RWA or SDO? Across the following sections, I present the findings from the five media exposure experiments. To first establish that the theories my hypotheses are built on hold in a UK context, the first section presents an analysis of the relationship between human rights attitudes and the dimensions RWA and SDO. This section also provides an overview of the attitudes captured across the data set.

This chapter then examines whether exposure to the articles used in each experiment cause changes in human rights attitudes compared to exposure to the control article only. This chapter then uses interaction terms to test whether RWA, SDO, or prior message exposure interacted with exposure to the articles used in each experiment to produce changes in human rights attitudes, and whether any observed changes can be classified as either priming or framing effects. This chapter concludes by examining the effects of exposure on human rights attitudes across the sample more generally.

6.2- RWA, SDO, and Human Rights Attitudes in the UK

6.2-1. RWA and SDO

The main hypotheses developed by this thesis are based on expectations about the relationship between human rights attitudes and the dimensions RWA and SDO¹². Past research tells us that RWA predicts lower human rights commitment, higher support for the restriction of human rights, and higher support for the military enforcement of human rights, while SDO predicts lower human rights commitment, lower human rights endorsement, and higher support for the restriction of human rights (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; McFarland and Mathews, 2005). These relationships indicate which types of human rights attitudes might be affected by an interaction between human rights-opposed news and both RWA and SDO. However, there have been no studies which look at this relationship inside the UK. To ensure that the theories which informed this project hold in the UK, it is important to first examine the relationships between the attitudes captured by this project. In addition, the content analysis demonstrates that right-wing newspapers more frequently contain certain types of RWA and SDO compatible information; it follows, therefore, that people high in RWA and SDO will be more likely to prefer to read right-wing newspapers (Onraet et al. 2014). Before proceeding with the results of the experiments, these assumptions are tested.

The most preferred news organisation, of those included in the content analysis sample, was the Guardian, followed by the Daily Mail and the Independent. Higher scores in both RWA and SDO are associated with a significant increase in the log-odds of a participant indicating a preference for a right-leaning newspaper, see Table 18. As the content analysis demonstrated, right-leaning papers are more likely to contain high RWA and high SDO

¹² The mean RWA ($\alpha=0.76$) score was -5.3 with a standard deviation of 5.7. The scale runs from -15 to +15. The mean SDO ($\alpha=0.89$) score is -9 and the standard deviation is 9.1. The scale runs from -24 to +24. There are significant correlations between levels of RWA and identifying as heterosexual (0.29, $p<0.001$), being religious (0.19, $p<0.001$), and age (0.1, $p<0.05$). There are significant correlations between levels of SDO and identifying as heterosexual (0.28, $p<0.001$) and identifying as male (0.1, $p<0.05$). In addition, RWA correlates with SDO (0.65, $p<0.05$). However, there was no relationship between preference for a right-wing party and either RWA or SDO. The identified positive and significant correlation between RWA and SDO is important to consider, as past research has identified relationships between the four human rights attitudinal variables (HRC, HRE, MEHR, and HRR) as dependent variables and both RWA and SDO as independent variables. To check for multicollinearity, variance inflation factors (VIF) were calculated alongside all the regression models presented throughout. In every case, the VIF was between >1 , <2 . This indicates only very slight multicollinearity that does not require correction.

associated information, indicating that higher levels of these dimensions predict a preference for news publications that are more likely to contain messages aligned with their own attitudes.

Table 18: Effect of RWA and SDO on preference for a right-wing paper	
RWA	0.08** (0.02)
SDO	0.05*** (0.01)
Constant	1.10*** (0.17)
n	399
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from pre-test data across the full sample. Values are logit regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.	

6.2-2. Human Rights Attitudes

6.2-2.1 *Human Rights Commitment*

For Human Rights Commitment ($\alpha=0.88$), the mean score is 10.40, with a standard deviation of 9.95 on a scale of -24 to +24. This shows that, on average, participants remained moderately committed to various human rights principles when presented with a choice between human rights-based policies and competing policy objectives. There are positive correlations between human rights commitment and being female (0.18, $p<0.001$), self-reported political engagement (0.19, $p<0.001$), the number of pro-human rights behaviours reported (0.40, $p<0.001$), and the ability to name human rights (0.22, $p<0.001$). There are negative correlations between human rights commitment and age (-0.12, $p<0.05$), identification as heterosexual (-0.25, $p<0.001$), indicating a preference for a right-wing political party (-0.16, $p<0.01$), indicating a preference for a right-leaning newspaper (-0.22, $p<0.001$), RWA (-0.64, $p<0.001$), SDO (-0.68, $p<0.001$), and intolerance (-0.17, $p<0.001$). When controlling for these variables, RWA and SDO remain significant predictors of human rights commitment, replicating McFarland and Mathews' findings (2005). McFarland and Mathews (2005) found that SDO was a stronger predictor of lower human rights commitment than RWA; however, this was not observed here (see table 19, below).

Table 19: Effect of range of variables on Human Rights Commitment	
RWA	-0.65*** (0.10)
SDO	-0.40*** (0.06)
Female Indicator	-0.86 (0.92)
Age	0.008 (0.32)
Heterosexual	0.33 (1.27)
Right-wing Party	-0.47 (0.41)
Right-leaning Paper	-0.12 (0.51)
Intolerance	-0.17* (0.08)
Political Engagement	-0.67 (0.20)
Pro-HR Behaviour	0.70* (0.31)
HR Knowledge	0.09 (0.44)
Constant	-5.27*** (1.36)
R²	0.55
Adj. R²	0.54
Cohen's f²	1.17
n	277
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from pre-test data across the full sample. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.	

6.2-2.2 *Human Rights Endorsement*

For Human Rights Endorsement ($\alpha=0.74$), the mean score is 3.70 and the standard deviation is 4.30 on a scale of -12 to +12. This shows that, on average, participants endorsed human rights to a moderate degree overall. There are positive correlations between human rights endorsement and identifying as female (0.16, $p<0.01$), self-reported levels of political engagement (0.21, $p<0.001$), the number of pro-human rights behaviours reported (0.43, $p<0.001$), and the number of human rights participants were able to name (0.28, $p<0.001$). There are negative correlations between human rights endorsement and identification as heterosexual (-0.23, $p<0.001$), indicating a preference for a right-wing political party (-0.16, $p<0.01$), indicating a preference for a right-leaning newspaper (-0.18, $p<0.001$), RWA (-0.46, $p<0.001$), and SDO (-0.61, $p<0.001$). When controlling for the effect of these variables, SDO remains significantly associated with higher levels of HRE. This is consistent with the findings of McFarland (2015), who found that people high in SDO did not support abstract human rights principles, and McFarland and Mathews (2005) findings, which observed a significant negative relationship between SDO and HRE, but not between RWA and HRE (see table 20, below).

Table 20: Effect of range of variables on Human Rights Endorsement

RWA	-0.08 (0.05)
SDO	-0.19*** (0.03)
Female Indicator	1.20** (0.43)
Heterosexual	0.15 (0.60)
Right-wing Party	-0.24 (0.20)
Right-leaning Paper	-0.19 (0.24)
Intolerance	0.04 (0.04)
Political Engagement	0.16 (0.23)
Pro-HR Behaviour	0.48*** (0.15)
HR Knowledge	0.33 (0.20)
Constant	-0.52 (0.97)
R²	0.44
Adj. R²	0.43
Cohen's f²	0.79
n	285

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from pre-test data across the full sample. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

6.2-2.3 *Human Rights Restriction*

For Human Rights Restriction ($\alpha=0.75$), the mean score is 7.4 with a standard deviation of 6.2 on a scale of -21 to +21. This variable is reverse coded, so higher scores indicate pro-human rights attitudes or attitudes that do not favour the restriction of human rights. These figures show that, on average, participants were moderately opposed to restricting human rights. There are positive correlations between human rights restriction and self-reported political engagement (0.30, $p<0.001$), the number of pro-human rights behaviours reported (0.34, $p<0.001$), and the ability to name human rights (0.26, $p<0.001$). There are negative correlations between human rights restriction and identification as heterosexual (-0.15, $p<0.01$), indicating a preference for a right-leaning paper (-0.19, $p<0.001$), RWA (-0.51, $p<0.001$), SDO (-0.55, $p<0.001$), and intolerance (-0.23, $p<0.001$). When controlling for the effect of these variables, both RWA and SDO remain significant predictors of support for the restriction of human rights, although the effect of RWA is slightly stronger (see table 21, below). Again, this replicates the findings of McFarland and Mathews (2005).

RWA	-0.31*** (0.07)
SDO	-0.24*** (0.04)
Heterosexual	1.60⁺ (0.60)
Right-leaning Paper	-0.47 (0.35)
Tolerance	-0.24* (0.06)
Political Engagement	0.62⁺ (0.23)
Pro-HR Behaviour	0.20 (0.22)
HR Knowledge	0.27 (0.30)
Constant	0.10 (1.27)
R²	0.43
Adj. R²	0.42
Cohen's f²	0.75
n	287
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from pre-test data across the full sample. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.	

6.2-2.4 *Military Enforcement of Human Rights*

For MEHR ($\alpha=0.75$), the mean score is -1.7, with a standard deviation of 6 on a scale of -18 to +18. These figures show that, on average, participants were slightly opposed to the military enforcement of human rights. There are positive correlations between support for the military enforcement of human rights and identifying as heterosexual (0.15, $p<0.01$), indicating a preference for a right-leaning newspaper (0.14, $p<0.01$), RWA (0.30, $p<0.001$), and SDO (0.17, $p<0.001$). There are negative correlations between military enforcement of human rights and being female (-0.12, $p<0.05$), the number of human rights behaviours reported (-0.17, $p=0.001$), and the ability to name human rights (-0.19, $p<0.001$). When controlling for the effect of these variables, RWA remains a significant predictor of support for the military enforcement of human rights. This replicates the findings of both Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff (2004) and McFarland (2015), who found RWA, but not SDO, to predict higher support for the military enforcement of human rights (see table 22, below).

RWA	0.25*** (0.07)
SDO	-0.06 (0.23)
Female	-1.36* 0.64
Heterosexual	1.27 (0.98)
Right-leaning Paper	0.58⁺ (0.35)
Pro-HR Behaviour	-0.15 (0.23)
HR Knowledge	-0.89** (0.32)
Constant	-0.83 (1.19)
R²	0.11
Adj. R²	0.10
Cohen's f²	0.12
n	375
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from pre-test data across the full sample. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.	

This model is less clear than those for commitment, endorsement, and restriction. The coefficients are smaller, as is the r^2 . The model presented in table 23, below, indicates that military enforcement of human rights is slightly but significantly negatively correlated with human rights commitment and human rights restriction (reverse coded) and is slightly but significantly positively correlated with human rights endorsement. This replicates the finding of Cohrs et al. (2007), who noted that their measure emphasises the military component of military intervention rather than the humanitarian component of military intervention. Cohrs et al. (2007) concluded that their measure is indicative of a more negative overall orientation towards human rights and was predicted by right-wing beliefs.

Commitment	-0.13** (0.04)
Endorsement	0.26** (0.09)
Restriction	-0.16** (0.05)
Constant	-0.13 (0.49)
R²	0.06
Adj. R²	0.05
Cohen's f²	0.05
n	399
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from pre-test data across the full sample. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.	

Conversely, commitment is significantly positively correlated with endorsement (1.50 [0.09], $p<0.001$) and restriction (0.71 [0.72], $p<0.001$), and restriction is significantly positively correlated with endorsement (0.65 [0.06], $p<0.001$). In an exploratory factor analysis, commitment and endorsement load on to the same factor, but restriction and MEHR load on to their own individual factors. Therefore, military enforcement of human rights is excluded from the combined **overall human rights** attitude measure (sum of scores on Commitment, Endorsement, and Restriction) when this is used in the subsequent analysis of human rights attitudes.

6.3-2. RWA Interaction Effects

The central aim of this thesis is the investigation of the role of both RWA and SDO in moderating responses to human rights news. As noted in the introduction, this thesis posits two alternate models: first, human rights news coverage may affect attitudes of those high in RWA or SDO by increasing the saliency of, or priming, different RWA or SDO-associated evaluative beliefs. Second, human rights news coverage may affect attitudes of those high in RWA or SDO by activating RWA or SDO-associated cognitive frames. This section therefore asks, does RWA interact with exposure to the treatment articles to predict changes in the variables **human rights commitment, human rights endorsement, human rights restriction, and military enforcement of human rights**? If so, is this interaction consistent across the different thematic variations of the articles used, or does it only occur when human rights are explicitly mentioned?

As discussed, the experiments are designed to test for both types of media effects. This section presents a series of regression models which include an interaction term between participants' measured level of RWA and exposure to each article variant. As this project used the measure RWA_5, RWA can be broken down into its sub-components authoritarian aggression (AA) and conventionalism. Where RWA interaction effects are observed, interactions between exposure to each article variant and the two sub-components of RWA are explored. This is to further understand the nature of the relationship between RWA and attitudinal responses to human rights news.

6.3-2.1. RWA and High SDO Associated News

The frame used in the first experiment is hypothesised to be compatible with the wider ideology associated with high levels of SDO. The human rights frame component used in this experiment clustered with high SDO associated frame components, both of which are used in the creation of the composite article. In addition, it fits in with a hierarchical view of the world: not only are the subjects of the article criminals that chose to engage in criminal activity, they are also bad at being criminals and are trying to use human rights to avoid the consequences of their actions. One variant of the experimental article includes an example of the *legitimate victimisation* stereotype, which emphasised the inherent responsibility of these individuals for their actions and that they should, therefore, be treated differently than other people.

As the articles used in the experiment centre around criminal activities, aspects of this frame are also compatible with the wider ideology associated with high levels of RWA: a subversion of law and order by criminal activity is fundamentally at odds with the conventionalism and authoritarianism components of RWA captured by RWA_5. Therefore, I anticipated that participants' levels of RWA may also interact with exposure to this type of message to predict attitudinal changes that go beyond any effects caused by exposure.

Table 24: Effect of the interaction between exposure to Human Rights Help Criminals+SDO Stereotypes (HRHC+SDO) and RWA on Overall Human Rights

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	-0.15 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.15)	0.13 (0.18)	0.01
HRHC+SDO		-1.07 (1.42)	-4.70* (2.04)	0.13
RWA*HRHC+SDO			-0.70* (0.30)	0.13
Constant	0.40 (1.06)	1.02 (1.35)	-0.70⁺ (1.44)	
R²	0.03	0.04	0.17	
Adj. R²	<0.01	<0.01	0.10	
Cohen's f²				0.20
n			41	

+p=<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 25: Effect of the interaction between exposure to No Human Rights+SDO Stereotypes (NOHRSDO) and RWA on Overall Human Rights

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	-0.16 (0.18)	-0.14 (0.17)	0.13 (2.50)	0.009
NOHRSDO		-2.50 (1.64)	-6.47** (2.50)	0.16
RWA*NOHRSDO			-0.69* (0.34)	0.10
Constant	-0.33 (1.31)	0.97 (1.55)	2.59 (1.69)	
R²	0.02	0.08	0.17	
Adj. R²	<0.01	0.02	0.10	
Cohen's f²				0.20
n			40	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 26: Effect of the interaction between exposure to Human Rights Help Criminals+SDO Stereotypes (HRHC+SDO) and RWA on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	-0.07 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.10)	0.11 (0.12)	0.02
HRHCSDO		-0.98 (0.95)	-3.28* (1.38)	0.13
RWA*HRHCSDO			-0.44* (0.20)	0.12
Constant	0.14 (0.72)	0.72 (0.90)	1.70 (0.97)	
R²	0.01	0.03	0.15	
Adj. R²	<0.01	<0.01	0.08	
Cohen's f²				0.18
n			40	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 27: Effect of the interaction between exposure to No Human Rights+SDO Stereotypes (NOHRSDO) and RWA on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	-0.06 (0.10)	-0.05 (0.10)	0.11 (0.12)	0.02
NOHRSDO		-1.28 (0.95)	-3.68* (1.44)	0.15
RWA*NOHRSDO			-0.42* (0.20)	0.11
Constant	0.06 (0.76)	0.73 (0.89)	1.70 (0.97)	
R²	<0.01	0.05	0.16	
Adj. R²	<0.01	<0.01	0.09	
Cohen's f²				0.19
n			40	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 28: Effect of the interaction between exposure to Human Rights Help Criminals+SDO Stereotypes (HRHCSDO) and RWA on Military of Human Rights

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	0.09 (0.13)	0.12 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.15)	0.02
HRHCSDO		-1.62 (1.18)	1.75* (1.66)	0.03
RWA*HRHCSDO			0.65** (0.24)	0.16
Constant	-0.01 (0.89)	0.94 (1.12)	-0.51 (1.17)	
R²	0.01	0.06	0.21	
Adj. R²	<0.01	0.01	0.15	
Cohen's f²				0.27
n			41	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	0.06 (0.11)	0.06 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.13)	0.02
NOHRSDO		-0.42 (1.01)	2.44* (1.53)	0.07
RWA*NOHRSDO			0.50* (0.20)	0.14
Constant	0.43 (0.79)	0.65 (0.96)	-0.51 (1.02)	
R²	0.01	0.01	0.15	
Adj. R²	<0.01	<0.01	0.08	
Cohen's f²				0.18
n	40			

+p=<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

As tables 24-29 show, participants' levels of RWA interact with exposure to information suggesting the unequal treatment of deviant groups to predict statistically significant changes in **overall human rights, human rights commitment, and military enforcement of human rights**. In each case, there are moderate effect sizes for both the interaction (η^2) and the overall model (Cohen's f^2) (Cohen, 1988). The frame variants *No human rights + SDO stereotypes* omits mention of human rights, indicating that exposure to SDO stereotypes, which emphasise the inherent responsibility of these individuals for their actions, is responsible for this observed effect, rather than the included human rights frame component. This again links to the work of Iyengar (1991), Shah et al. (2004), Gross (2008), and Matthes (2009), which highlights the importance of assigning blame to the impact of a frame. Figures 30 and 31 visualise examples of the relationship between the predicted effect of exposure and RWA.

Figure 30, Predicted Change in Overall Human Rights Attitudes Following Exposure to SDO-associated Stereotypes by Levels of RWA.

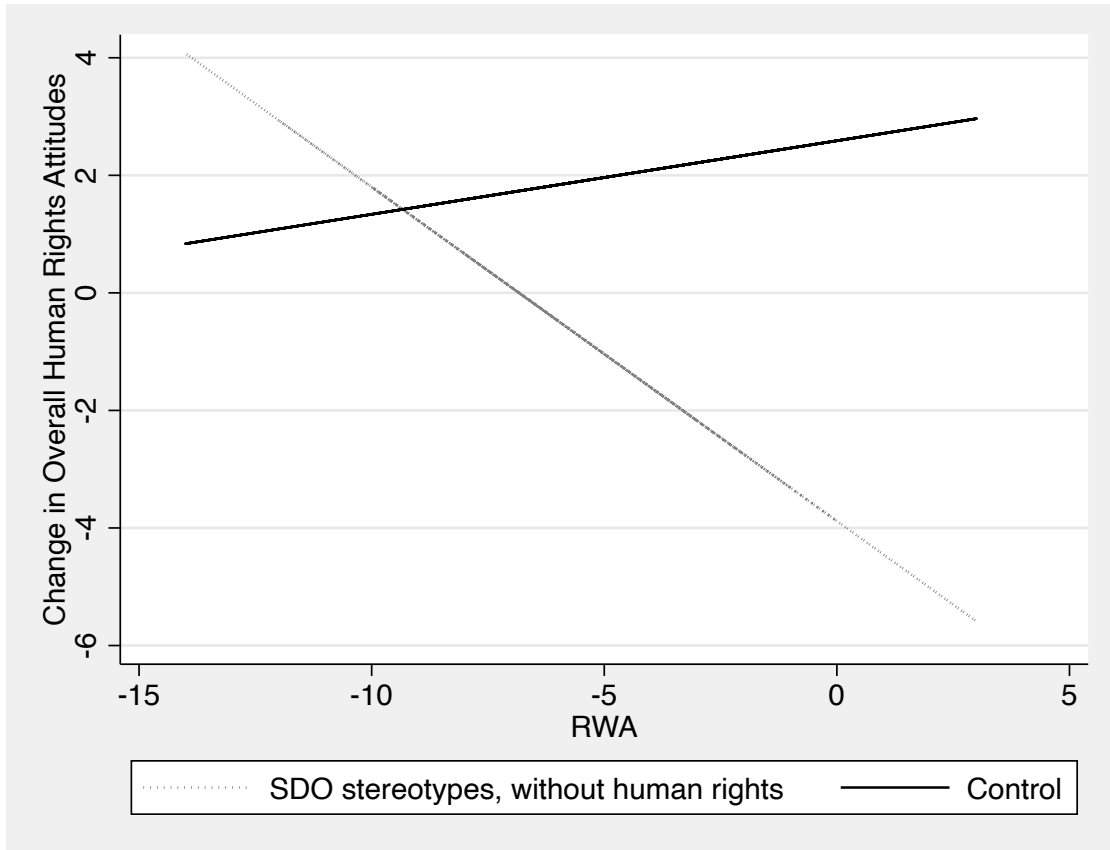
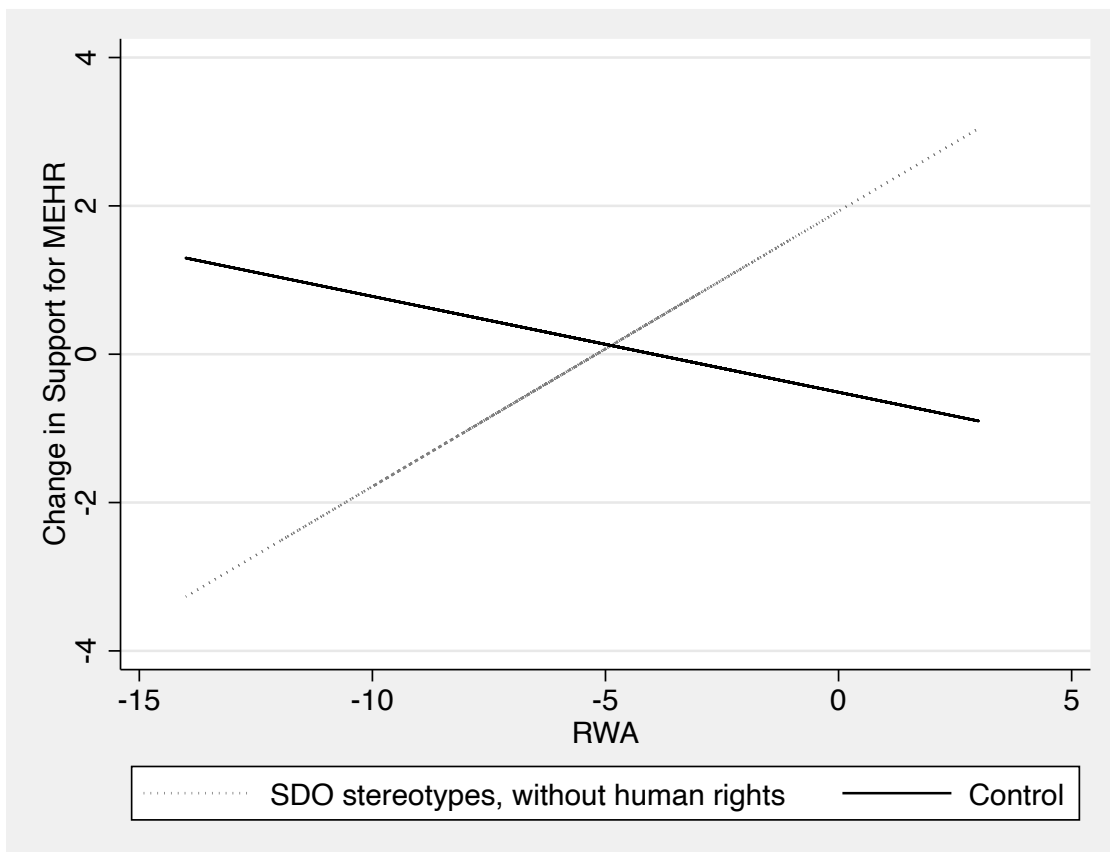


Figure 31, Predicted Change in Support for the Military Enforcement of Human Rights Following Exposure to SDO-associated Stereotypes by Levels of RWA.



As the criminals are not portrayed as specifically violent, it is likely the criminal's subversion of authority presents a symbolic threat to societal order which those high in RWA are particularly sensitised to (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt, 2006; Duckitt and Sibley, 2010; Onraet et al. 2014). What we see here is in-line with previous research on RWA; the perception of threats to social cohesion is more strongly associated with RWA than the perception of personal threats (Dallago and Rocco, 2010). RWA-based prejudice is generally directed at two distinct groups: dangerous groups which threaten security (terrorists, violent criminals, for example), and dissident groups which represent a symbolic, rather than physical, threat to social norms or cause division or disagreement, such as atheists, feminists, and groups that challenge authority or engage in perceived deviant behaviour, for example (Kauff et al. 2015; Crowson and Brandes, 2017; Faragó et al. 2019).

In addition, the **authoritarian aggression** component of RWA is associated with a desire to punish those who transgress social norms or engage in deviant behaviour (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; Crowson and Gries, 2010; Kossowska et al. 2011). The RWA scale used in this project can be broken down into the sub-components of **authoritarian aggression** and **conventionalism**. Tables 30-33 show that **authoritarian aggression** interacts with exposure to the articles *Human rights help criminals + SDO stereotypes*, and *No human rights + SDO stereotypes* to lower **human rights commitment**, and *Human rights help criminals + SDO stereotypes* to increase **military enforcement of human rights**. Conversely, conventionalism only interacts with *Human rights help criminals + SDO stereotypes* to produce increased support for the **military enforcement of human rights** (see table 34). Again, there are similar, moderate effect sizes for each of the interactions and overall models, although the overall effect size is highest for authoritarian aggression, human rights commitment, and exposure to human rights news that contains SDO stereotypes.

Table 30: Effect of the interaction between exposure to Human Rights Help Criminals+SDO Stereotypes (HRHCSDO) and Authoritarian Aggression (AA) on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
AA	-0.22 (0.14)	-0.18 (0.15)	0.23 (0.22)	0.02
<i>HRHCSDO</i>		-0.67 (0.98)	-1.39 (0.97)	0.05
<i>AA*HRHCSDO</i>			-0.70* (0.30)	0.14
Constant	0.34 (0.47)	0.71 (0.72)	1.50+ (0.75)	
R ²	0.06	0.07	0.19	
Adj. R ²	0.03	0.02	0.12	
Cohen's f ²				0.23
n	41			

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 31: Effect of the interaction between exposure to No HR+SDO Stereotypes (NOHRSDO) and Authoritarian Aggression (AA) on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
AA	-0.09 (0.18)	-0.07 (0.18)	0.23 (0.22)	0.02
<i>NOHRSDO</i>		-1.27 (0.95)	-2.47* (1.08)	0.13
<i>AA*NOHRSDO</i>			-0.72* (0.35)	0.10
Constant	0.25 (0.57)	0.91 (0.75)	1.50+ (0.77)	
R ²	<0.01	0.05	0.15	
Adj. R ²	<0.01	<0.01	0.08	
Cohen's f ²				0.18
n	40			

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 32: Effect of the interaction between exposure to No HR+SDO Stereotypes (NOHRSDO) and Authoritarian Aggression (AA) on Military Enforcement of Human Rights

Model	1	2	3	η^2
AA	0.22 (0.19)	0.22 (0.19)	-0.11 (0.24)	0.01
<i>NOHRSDO</i>		-0.49 (1.01)	0.84 (1.14)	0.01
<i>AA*HRHCSDO</i>			0.80* (0.36)	0.12
Constant	0.42 (0.59)	0.68 (0.79)	0.03 (0.81)	
R ²	<0.04	0.04	0.15	
Adj. R ²	<0.01	<0.01	0.08	
Cohen's f ²				0.18
n	40			

+p=<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 33: Effect of the interaction between exposure to No HR+SDO Stereotypes (NOHRSDO) and Authoritarian Aggression (AA) on Military Enforcement of Human Rights

Model	1	2	3	η^2
AA	0.22 (0.19)	0.22 (0.19)	-0.11 (0.24)	0.01
<i>NOHRSDO</i>		-0.49 (1.01)	0.84 (1.14)	0.01
<i>AA*HRHCSDO</i>			0.80* (0.36)	0.12
Constant	0.42 (0.59)	0.68 (0.79)	0.03 (0.81)	
R ²	<0.04	0.04	0.15	
Adj. R ²	<0.01	<0.01	0.08	
Cohen's f ²				0.18
n	40			

+p=<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 34: Effect of the interaction between exposure to Human Rights Help Criminals+SDO Stereotypes (HRHCSDO) and Conventionalism on Military Enforcement of Human Rights

Model	1	2	3	η^2
Conventionalism	0.32 (0.27)	0.28 (0.34)	-0.16 (0.33)	0.01
HRHCSDO		-1.35 (1.17)	2.04 (1.98)	0.03
Conventionalism*HRHCSDO			1.10* (0.53)	0.10
Constant	0.46 (1.00)	1.04 (1.13)	-0.20 (1.23)	
R²	0.03	0.07	0.16	
Adj. R²	0.01	0.02	0.09	
Cohen's f²				0.19
n	41			

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 1. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Although we see an increase in **military enforcement of human rights** compared to a decrease in **human rights commitment**, these findings are consistent with the analysis of the pre-test¹³ questionnaire data, which found RWA to predict lower **human rights commitment**, but higher support for the **military enforcement of human rights**. This is also consistent with the findings of McFarland (2015) and Cohrs et al. (2007). It is important to note that the **military enforcement of human rights** is a unique human rights measure that contrasts with the other included measures of human rights support. Moreover, McFarland (2005) does not consider it to be one component of attitudes towards human rights, and is instead, unlike the other human rights measures, taken from the work of Cohrs et al. (2007). **Military enforcement of human rights** predicts support for a specific type of foreign policy, *the use of military force*, and a specific justification for this type of foreign policy, *to defend human rights* (Cohrs et al. 2007). As Cohrs et al. (2007) note, their measure emphasises the military component of military intervention rather than the humanitarian component of military intervention. In addition, Cohrs et al. (2007) note that higher support for the **military enforcement of human rights** is associated with a more negative orientation towards human rights more broadly.

¹³ Pre-test data, here, refers to data collected prior to exposure to an experimental article.

Past research and the data from the pre-test both demonstrate that higher individual levels of RWA predict lower scores on **human rights commitment** and higher scores on **military enforcement of human rights**; the results of this study, therefore, indicate that schemas associated with RWA are being activated by exposure to content that suggests deviant groups do not deserve legal support, increasing the desire for military action and reducing commitment to human rights.

However, these findings are not in-line with expectations about priming RWA attitudes towards human rights. Under the operational definition of priming adopted in this project, I expected to observe changes in human rights attitudes only when information about human rights is primed alongside other considerations. The observed effect is caused by exposure to high SDO-associated stereotypes rather than specific portrayals of human rights. These findings may instead suggest the activation of a wider cognitive frame that links together RWA-based considerations about what deviant social groups deserve with considerations about human rights. However, we do not have the data to adequately test this assessment. In addition, it is possible that participants understood “our legal system”, which replaced “human rights” in the condition *No human rights + SDO stereotypes*, to include human rights. In which case, this may provide evidence for a form of RWA-based priming in response to content that suggests deviant groups do not deserve legal support.

However, these findings are also not in-line with expectations about framing. No significant interactions between both RWA and exposure to *Human rights help criminals* or *Human rights help criminals +objection to the financial costs of human rights*, that do not contain SDO-associated stereotypes, on **overall human rights**, **human rights commitment** and **military enforcement of human rights** were found. Therefore, this thesis does not find evidence of SDO-associated framing, as a framing effect anticipates consistent effects across the different frame variants. In addition, no statistically significant interactions between both RWA and exposure to the high SDO associated human rights frames on **human rights endorsement** or **human rights restriction** were found.

6.3-2.2. RWA and High RWA Associated News

In this experiment, I am interested in the effect that exposure to a high RWA associated human rights frame has on attitudes towards human rights in people high in RWA. The frame variants used across the second experiment are hypothesised to be compatible with the wider ideology associated with high levels of RWA. The human rights frame component used in this experiment clustered with high RWA associated frame components, both of which are used in the creation of the composite article. It fits in with how people that score high in measures RWA think of the world as a threatening, dangerous place: in the articles used, human rights are portrayed as an obstacle to the government securing safety from a continuing threat. In addition, one of the article variants includes a *threat typification* stereotype. I, therefore, expected to observe that strong interaction effects between RWA and exposure to the different variants of this frame would reduce human rights support.

As expected, tables 35 and 36 show that statistically significant interactions between exposure to high RWA associated human rights frames and participants' levels of RWA reduce participant's **overall human rights** support after exposure to articles that present human rights as an obstacle to safety from either an abstract threat or from the threat of terrorism. In both cases, effect sizes of the models exceeded Cohen's (1988) criteria for a large effect ($f^2 \geq 0.35$).

Table 35: Effect of the interaction between exposure to Human Rights as Obstacle (HRO) and RWA on Overall Human Rights

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	-0.28⁺ (0.16)	-0.31⁺ (0.16)	0.13 (0.22)	0.01
HRO		-1.66 (1.77)	-7.24^{***} (2.61)	0.18
RWA*HRO			-0.80^{**} (0.30)	0.17
Constant	-0.62 (1.39)	-0.01 (1.54)	2.59 (1.71)	
R²	0.08	0.10	0.26	
Adj. R²	0.06	0.05	0.19	
Cohen's f²				0.35
n			40	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 2. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	-0.33* (0.14)	-0.32* (0.14)	0.12 (0.20)	0.01
HROT		-1.86 (1.60)	-5.99** (2.07)	0.18
RWA*HROT			-0.74** (0.26)	0.18
Constant	-1.05 (1.11)	-0.03 (-0.03)	2.59 (1.60)	
R²	0.12	0.15	0.30	
Adj. R²	0.10	0.10	0.25	
Cohen's f²				0.43
n			41	

+p=<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 2. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Figure 32, Predicted Change in Overall Human Rights Attitudes Following Exposure to Human Rights as an Obstacle to Safety from Terrorism by RWA.

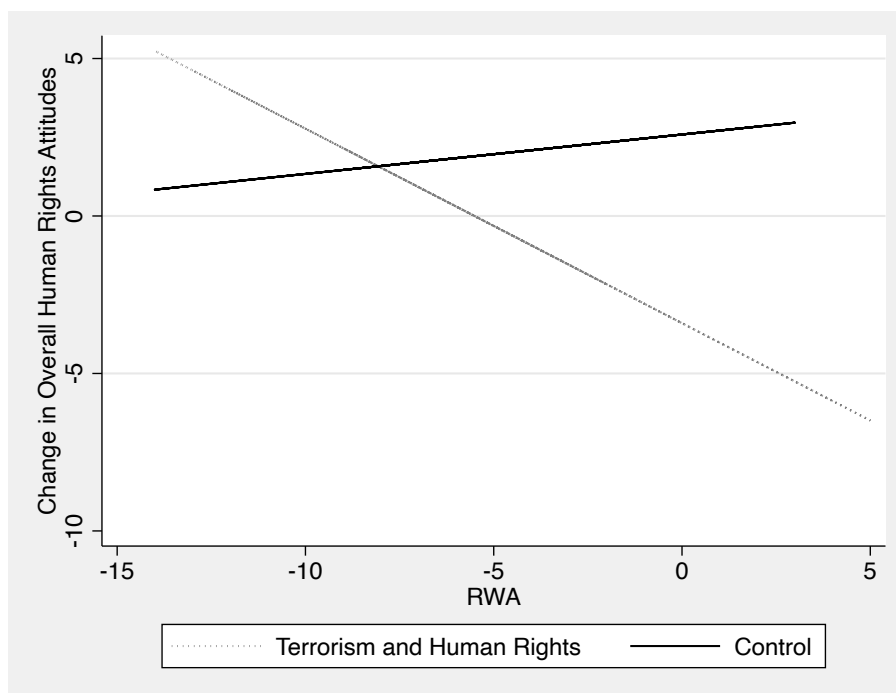


Figure 32 visualises an example of the relationship between exposure to human rights as an obstacle, RWA, and changes in **overall human rights attitudes**. In addition, as tables 37-39 show, I found statistically significant interactions between exposure to high RWA associated human rights frames and participants' levels of RWA that lowered participant's **human rights commitment** after exposure to articles that present human rights as an obstacle to safety from an abstract threat, from the threat of terrorism, or from the threat of dangerous migrants. Each time participants were exposed to a treatment article containing information

about human rights, the η^2 for the interaction term and the f^2 for the model meet Cohen's (1988) criteria for a moderate effect ($\eta^2 \geq 0.13$, $f^2 \geq 0.15$).

Table 37: Effect of the interaction between exposure to Human Rights as Obstacle (HRO) and RWA on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	-0.12 (0.11)	-0.16 (0.11)	0.11 (0.13)	0.01
HRO		-1.90 (1.26)	-5.33** (1.90)	0.18
RWA*HRO			-0.50* (0.22)	0.13
Constant	-0.60 (1.01)	0.11 (1.09)	1.70 (1.24)	
R²	0.03	0.08	0.20	
Adj. R²	0.01	0.04	0.14	
Cohen's f²				0.25
n			40	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 2. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 38: Effect of the interaction between exposure to Human Rights as Obstacle + Terrorism (HROT) and RWA on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	-0.16 (0.10)	-0.15 (0.09)	0.11 (0.14)	0.02
HROT		-1.68 (1.07)	-4.10** (1.43)	0.18
RWA*HROT			-0.43* (0.18)	0.13
Constant	0.74 (0.76)	0.18 (0.95)	1.70 (1.09)	
R²	0.07	0.12	0.24	
Adj. R²	0.04	0.07	0.18	
Cohen's f²				0.32
n			41	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 2. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 39: Effect of the interaction between exposure to Human Rights as Obstacle + Dangerous Migrants (HRODM)*RWA on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	-0.15 (0.09)	-0.12 (0.10)	0.11 (0.14)	0.01
HRODM		-0.90 (1.15)	-2.66* (1.34)	0.10
RWA*HRODM			-0.43* (0.19)	0.13
Constant	-0.20 (0.66)	0.35 (0.96)	1.70 (1.09)	
R²	0.06	0.07	0.20	
Adj. R²	0.04	0.03	0.13	
Cohen's f²				0.25
n			39	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 2. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 40: Effect of the interaction between exposure to Terrorist Threat Without Human Rights (TTWHR)*RWA on Human Rights Commitment

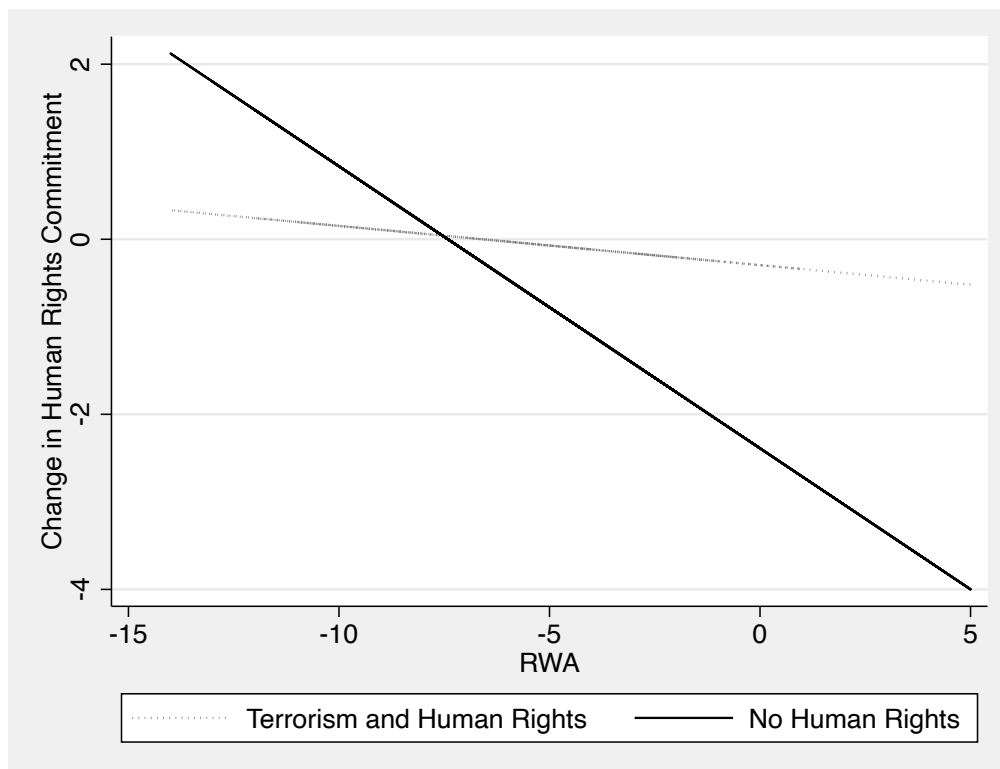
Model	1	η^2
RWA	0.11 (0.14)	0.02
TTWHR	-0.83 (1.50)	0.01
RWA* TTWHR	-0.21 (0.20)	0.03
Constant	1.71 (1.11)	
R²	0.03	
Adj. R²	-0.04	
Cohen's f²		0.03
n	39	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 2. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

These results show us that people who score high in measures of RWA are particularly susceptible to the effects of human rights-opposed news which portrays human rights as an

obstacle to safety from a threat. These findings are in line with expectations about what an RWA-associated priming effect would look like. As table 40 demonstrates, this effect is not observed after exposure to the article variant which omits mention of human rights, indicating that exposure to the portrayal of human rights as an obstacle to safety from a threat increases the relatively importance of schemas associated with RWA to subsequent expressions of human rights attitudes when schemas associated with both RWA and human rights are primed together. This conforms to the model of priming anticipated by the priming hypotheses, and therefore provides support for RWA-associated priming effecting human rights attitudes. As this effect is not observed following exposure the article variant that omits mention of human rights these findings do not conform to the operational model of framing adopted by this project. Figure 33 visualises the relationship between the predicted effect of exposure to an article portraying human rights as an obstacle to safety from terrorism and RWA on human rights commitment, alongside the predicted, but non-significant effect, of exposure to the same article with mention of human rights omitted.

Figure 33, Predicted Change in Human Rights Commitment Following Exposure to Human Rights as an Obstacle to Safety from Terrorism by RWA.



It is important to note that this effect is only observed for the variable **human rights commitment**. No significant interactions between both participants' levels of RWA and exposure to the high RWA associated human rights frames on **human rights endorsement**,

human rights restriction, or military enforcement of human rights were found. This tells us that, for people high in RWA, their willingness to prioritise human rights principles over competing policy objectives decreases after when exposed to the portrayal of human rights as an obstacle to safety. However, their willingness to superficially support human rights principles, restrict human rights, or engage in military action in the name of human rights is unchanged.

These are important findings, as they suggest that the relationship between threat exposure and the dimension RWA on support for the restriction of human rights or other anti-democratic policies may not be as straightforward as previously suggested (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; Crowson and Gries, 2010; Kossowska et al. 2011). However, as the condition that omits mention of human rights details only the government's inability to provide protection from terrorism, it is possible that the critique of an authority (the government) is suppressing RWA-associated attitudinal effects caused by threat exposure (Mallinas et al. 2019). As with the findings of the first experiment, it appears that the **authoritarian aggression** component of RWA contributes more to the effects observed here compared to **conventionalism**. As tables 41-44 demonstrate, **authoritarian aggression** interacts with exposure to each of the human rights-based articles used in the experiment to produce lower **human rights commitment**. **Conventionalism** only interacts with exposure to the base *Human rights as obstacle* article to produce lower **human rights commitment**; however, the effect sizes are slightly larger for **conventionalism** compared to **authoritarian aggression** in this condition. Nevertheless, the effect of **authoritarian aggression** is consistent, and the effect sizes across each condition that mentions human rights are moderate to large (Cohen, 1988).

Table 41: Effect of the interaction between Human Rights as Obstacle (HRO) and Authoritarian Aggression (AA) on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
AA	-0.23 (0.20)	-0.26 (0.20)	0.23 (0.29)	0.02
HRO		-1.74 (1.24)	-3.66* (1.46)	0.15
AA*HRO			-0.88* (0.39)	0.13
Constant	-0.25 (0.78)	0.55 (0.95)	1.50 (1.00)	
R²	0.03	0.08	0.20	
Adj. R²	0.01	0.03	0.13	
Cohen's f²				0.25
n	40			

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 2.
Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 42: Effect of the interaction between Human Rights as Obstacle + Terrorism (HROT) and Authoritarian Aggression (AA) on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
AA	-0.34* (0.17)	-0.30⁺ (0.17)	0.23 (0.24)	0.02
HROT		-1.49 (1.08)	-2.84* (1.09)	0.15
AA*HROT			-0.92** (0.32)	0.18
Constant	-0.35 (0.58)	0.47 (0.83)	1.50⁺ (0.84)	
R²	0.09	0.14	0.29	
Adj. R²	0.07	0.09	0.24	
Cohen's f²				0.41
n	41			

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 2.
Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 43: Effect of the interaction between Human Rights as Obstacle + Dangerous Migrants (HRODM) and Authoritarian Aggression (AA) on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
AA	-0.28⁺ (0.16)	-0.24 (0.18)	0.23 (0.25)	0.02
<i>HRODM</i>		-0.71 (1.19)	-1.28 (1.12)	0.04
<i>AA*HRODM</i>			-0.87* (0.33)	0.16
Constant	-0.23 (0.54)	0.60 (0.83)	1.50⁺ (0.84)	
R²	0.08	0.09	0.23	
Adj. R²	0.05	0.04	0.17	
Cohen's f²				0.30
n				39
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 2. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.				

Table 44: Effect of the interaction between Human Rights as Obstacle (HRO) and Conventionalism on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
Conventionalism	-0.36 (0.29)	-0.44 (0.28)	0.03 (0.33)	<0.01
<i>HRO</i>		-1.93 (1.25)	-6.29** (2.23)	0.18
<i>Conventionalism*HRO</i>			-1.30* (0.57)	0.13
Constant	-0.89 (1.12)	-0.20 (1.19)	1.14 (1.27)	
R²	0.03	0.09	0.21	
Adj. R²	0.01	0.05	0.15	
Cohen's f²				0.27
n				40
+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 2. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.				

6.3-2.3. RWA and ‘The Human Rights Frame’: Blame

In the third and fourth experiments, I examined the relationship between exposure to common positive portrayals of human rights. In the third experiment, the articles discuss the human rights consequences of the Syrian war and either place blame on a disliked political figure or do not assign blame. This was designed to test whether or not the designation of blame was an important frame component; the findings of the content analysis highlight that newspapers appear to use this type of human rights news to criticise political opponents. Past research and the pre-test questionnaire data both demonstrate a connection between RWA and the **military enforcement of human rights**. I, therefore, hypothesised that the individual level dimension RWA may interact with exposure to this type of article to produce increased support for the **military enforcement of human rights**. In addition, as low levels of RWA predicts higher **human rights commitment** and **human rights restriction**, and is correlated with lower **human rights endorsement**, it is possible that participants that are low in RWA may be particularly susceptible to priming or framing effects caused by exposure to articles that detail situations using a human rights lens.

A statistically significant interaction between both individual levels of RWA and exposure to an article that details a conflict situation using a human rights lens on **military enforcement of human rights** was identified, see table 45. The effect size of the model meets Cohen’s (1988) criteria for a large effect. However, this effect was only observed in the condition *No Blame*, where participants are exposed only to information about human rights violations in a condition of war, but not in the condition where responsibility for the violations is placed on a disliked political figure. As placing blame is a common feature of articles that report human rights violations, these results indicate that it is unlikely that this effect occurs following day-to-day exposure to this type of human rights article. In addition, in assigning blame, the article *Disliked Person Blamed* emphasises that the human rights violations are a consequence of military action, which is likely to suppress increases in **military enforcement of human rights**.

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	0.14* (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)	0.01 (0.08)	<0.01
<i>No Blame</i>		1.10 (0.78)	3.15** (1.09)	
RWA*No Blame			0.31* (0.12)	0.15
Constant	0.54 (0.58)	0.06 (0.67)	-0.75 (0.70)	
R²	0.05	0.15	0.27	
Adj. R²	<0.01	0.10	0.21	
Cohen's f²				0.37
n			40	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 3.
Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

In the condition *No Blame*, as table 46 shows, there is also a significant interaction between both participants' levels of RWA and exposure to an article that details a conflict situation using a human rights lens on **human rights restriction**. However, the effect sizes for both the interaction and the overall model are smaller, and only meet the criteria for a small to medium effect, respectively (Cohen, 1988).

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.11⁺ (0.06)	0.08
<i>No Blame</i>		-0.55 (0.59)	0.71 (0.85)	
RWA*No Blame			0.19* (0.10)	0.09
Constant	-0.38 (0.43)	-0.14 (0.50)	-0.64 (0.55)	
R²	<0.01	0.03	0.13	
Adj. R²	<0.01	<0.01	0.05	
Cohen's f²				0.15
n			40	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 3.
Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

These results, therefore, show that RWA can interact with the positive portrayal of human rights to produce increases in support for the military enforcement of human rights and the reduced restriction of human rights. Both the effect size and model fit are strongest for the

military enforcement of human rights. As tables 47 and 48 show, both the authoritarian aggression and conventionalism components of RWA interact with exposure to the article which does not assign blame to amplify its positive effect on the **military enforcement of human rights.** However, again the effect size for the overall model are larger for authoritarian aggression, which meets Cohen’s (1988) criteria for a large effect, compared to a moderate effect for conventionalism.

Table 47: Effect of the interaction between No Blame and Authoritarian Aggression on Military Enforcement of Human Rights

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	0.27* (0.12)	0.27* (0.19)	-0.02 (0.15)	<0.01
<i>No Blame</i>		1.00 (0.78)	2.15* (0.83)	0.16
RWA*No Blame			0.61** (0.22)	0.18
Constant	0.15 (0.45)	-0.32 (0.57)	-0.84 (0.56)	
R²	0.11	0.15	0.30	
Adj. R²	0.09	0.10	0.24	
Cohen’s f²				0.43
n			40	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 3.
Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

Table 48: Effect of the interaction between No Blame and Conventionalism on Military Enforcement of Human Rights

Model	1	2	3	η^2
RWA	0.34⁺ (0.18)	0.35* (0.17)	0.03 (0.23)	<0.01
<i>No Blame</i>		1.05 (0.78)	3.16** (1.27)	0.15
RWA*No Blame			0.69* (0.33)	0.11
Constant	0.68 (0.66)	0.22 (0.74)	-0.71 (0.84)	
R²	0.09	0.13	0.22	
Adj. R²	0.07	0.09	0.16	
Cohen’s f²				0.28
n			40	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 3.
Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

However, we are left with a lingering question. If **military enforcement of human rights** is associated with lower support for human rights, why would support for it increase after exposure to a positive portrayal of human rights? As discussed, the measure **military enforcement of human rights** emphasises the military component of military intervention rather than the potential humanitarian component of military intervention, and predicts support for a specific type of foreign policy, *the use of military force*, and a specific justification for this type of foreign policy, *to defend human rights* (Cohrs et al. 2007). Higher levels of the dimension RWA is consistently associated with support for war, aggressive foreign policy, and the use of torture (Pratto et al. 1994; Doty et al. 1997; McFarland, 2005; Terrizzi and Drews, 2005; Crowson et al. 2006; Jackson and Gaertner, 2010; Lindén et al. 2018). In the measure **military enforcement of human rights**, those high in RWA are provided a clear moral justification for the use of military force which affords them a legitimate output for their desire for aggressive foreign policy. Again, this is in line with past research which shows that those high in RWA are more likely to use moral justifications for their support of war and perceive aggressive foreign policy as a moral imperative (Jackson and Gaertner, 2010).

In article *Disliked Person Blamed*, by assigning blame I emphasised that the human rights violations are a consequence of military action, which is likely to suppress increases in **military enforcement of human rights** by complicating the clarity of the moral justification. Furthermore, Mallinas et al.'s (2019) research found that the authoritarian submission component of RWA is associated with the position that it is moral to obey all authority figures regardless of the authority figure's own ideological position, while the traditionalism/conventionalism component of RWA is associated with the position that it is moral to obey only right-wing authority figures, and immoral to obey left-wing authority figures. In addition, their findings indicate that submission may be related to the belief that obedience to non-authority figures is moral (Mallinas et al. 2019). Assigning blame to an authority figure, regardless of the participant's negative feelings towards that figure, may therefore suppress any potential RWA-associated effects associated with exposure to this type of news article. Thus, these findings suggest that when the human rights consequences of war are discussed in the news, this may prime the pro-military attitudes of people high in RWA. However, this effect was only observed in the absence of the criticism of an authority figure, suggesting that this effect is unlikely to occur following exposure to real world examples of this type of human rights frame.

6.3-2.4. RWA and ‘The Human Rights Frame’: Out-group Threat

The fourth experiment used articles detailing the human rights experiences of migrants and refugees or asylum seekers. As this human rights portrayal is positive, I again hypothesised that participants’ levels of RWA may interact with article exposure to predict higher scores in **military enforcement of human rights**. I also wanted to test whether people low in RWA would be more susceptible to the attitudinal effects of this frame, as the articles centre around the human rights experiences of an outgroup that are frequently stereotyped as threatening. My expectation was that those high in RWA may perceive the outgroup included in the article as posing a threat to the ingroup when their destination was the UK compared to Jordan. However, there were no significant interactions between RWA and exposure to either article used in this experiment.

The results of this experiment and the second experiment, which found that exposure to human rights as an obstacle to safety from the threat of dangerous migrants interacted with RWA to produce lower support for human rights, taken together, suggest that those high in RWA (a group particularly susceptible to perceiving outgroups as threatening) are not chronically sensitised to the threat of migrants or refugees. Instead, migrants or refugees must be portrayed as specifically threatening to engage schemas associated with RWA. This reflects previous findings: an experiment by Duckitt and Sibley (2010) found that RWA predicted opposition to immigration only if the immigrant group was perceived by participants to be an economic or cultural threat, but not if the immigrant group was only perceived as disadvantaged.

In the content analysis, I identified that migrants and refugees were portrayed both sympathetically and as threatening in right-wing news. This ambivalent portrayal of human rights inspired the inclusion of this experiment. Oyamoto et al.’s (2006) research highlighted that the attitudes of those high in RWA towards outgroups strongly reflected public consensus. It is possible that the ambivalent portrayal of migrants and refugees reflects a lack of a clear public consensus on migrants and refugees in the UK. Furthermore, Oyamoto et al.’s (2006) research shows that people with high RWA’s evaluations of immigrants are based on their endorsement of other values, such as egalitarianism. Oyamoto et al. (2006) found that those high in RWA and high in egalitarianism regard immigrants in terms of ingroup inclusion and had higher support for immigration, while those low in egalitarianism regard

immigrants in terms of group threat and had lower support for immigration. SDO, conversely, predicts a consistent negative attitude towards immigration (Craig and Richeson, 2014; Duckitt and Sibley, 2010). RWA can also suppress the pro-social, and pro-immigrant, effect of other dimensions, such as religiosity (Perry et al. 2015). Future studies in this area, therefore, would need to engage with other dimensions beyond RWA, such as egalitarianism and religiosity, that were not measured in this experiment.

6.3-2.5. RWA and Extreme Anti-Human Rights Messages

In the final experiment, I examined the effects of exposure to an extreme anti-human rights message written by a member of the public. In this experiment, I varied the authorship of the experimental article to consider whether authorship changed the effect that exposure had. As higher levels of RWA predicts lower **human rights commitment**, **human rights restriction**, and is correlated with lower **human rights endorsement**, I hypothesised that those high in RWA would be more susceptible to the effects of extreme anti-human rights messages. However, there were no significant interactions between participants' levels of RWA and exposure to any of the articles used in the fifth experiment.

These findings indicate that people high in RWA are not particularly susceptible to the effects of exposure to an extreme anti-human rights message, regardless of the source of that message. While the article is explicitly anti-human rights, it also criticises an authority figure. As Mallinas et al.'s (2019) research suggests, it is unlikely that those high in RWA would be particularly susceptible to a message that is both anti-authority and expressed in a way that may be perceived as violating social norms, regardless of any wider ideological alignment or attitudes towards human rights (Mallinas et al. 2019).

In conclusion, the findings of these experiments do suggest that human rights news can affect human rights attitudes by priming schemas associated with high levels of RWA in certain circumstances. The results presented here show that this effect centres on the human rights variables **human rights commitment** and **military enforcement of human rights**. By breaking RWA down into authoritarian aggression and conventionalism, we see that the observed effects appear to be more frequently associated with the authoritarian aggression component of RWA.

In the first experiment, participants' levels of RWA interacted with exposure to high SDO associated stereotypes to produce decreased **overall** support for human rights and **human rights commitment**, and increased support **military enforcement of human rights**. However, this effect was caused by exposure to high SDO associated stereotypes rather than high SDO associated portrayals of human rights. Therefore, these findings do not conform to the model of priming anticipated by the hypotheses, which anticipated that RWA-associated human rights attitudes could be primed only when human rights were explicitly discussed. As

I discuss above, it is possible that this indicates the presence of a type of RWA framing effect that was not anticipated by the models tested here; however, the experiments do not provide sufficient data to test this.

In the second experiment, exposure to high RWA associated human rights frames interacted with participants' levels of RWA to produce lower **overall human rights** support after exposure to articles that present human rights as an obstacle to safety from an abstract threat and from the threat of terrorism. In addition, we see that participants' levels of RWA consistently amplifies the effect that exposure to the portrayal of human rights as an obstacle to safety has, producing lower **human rights commitment**. As this effect is not observed after exposure to the article variant which omits mention of human rights, these findings indicate that schemas associated with RWA are being primed by exposure to the portrayal of human rights as an obstacle, resulting in a stronger expression of attitudes informed by RWA after exposure. This conforms to the model of priming anticipated by the priming hypotheses, and therefore provides support for *PH2.1*. Finally, in the third experiment, participants' levels of RWA and exposure to an article that details a conflict situation using a human rights lens interacted to produce increases in the **military enforcement of human rights**.

6.4- Repeated Message Exposure Effects

Across the experiments, I expected to find that higher approximate levels of past exposure to similar messages would interact with exposure to an experimental article to amplify any attitudinal effects (Scharkow and Bachl, 2016). Framing effects research assumes that repeated concurrent activation of schemas encourages the formation of cognitive frames; therefore, repeated exposure to media frames which simultaneously activate different schemas encourage the formation of cognitive frames. As with RWA and SDO, this prior exposure variable therefore acts as a potential proxy measure for the presence of related cognitive frames. I expected, therefore, that those with higher levels of prior exposure should be more susceptible to any framing effects caused by exposure. However, only in the third experiment were significant interaction effects between exposure and prior exposure identified.

Table 49: Effect of the interaction between No Blame and Message Exposure (ME) on Human Rights Commitment

Model	1	2	3	η^2
Message Exposure	0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	0.14 (0.84)	0.09
<i>No Blame</i>		0.17 (0.89)	2.23⁺ (1.27)	0.08
ME*No Blame			-0.21* (0.10)	0.12
Constant	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.71)	1.70 (1.24)	
R²	<0.01	<0.01	0.11	
Adj. R²	<0.01	<0.01	0.04	
Cohen's f²				0.12
n			40	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 3. Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

The findings in table 49, however, show prior message exposure interacting with exposure to an article that details a conflict situation using a human rights lens only to slightly offset the positive but non-significant impact that exposure has on **human rights commitment**. However, the effect size of this model is small (Cohen, 1988). Past research suggests that certain types of events, including the sudden out-break of war, have a spectacular quality which drives initial coverage. In these circumstances, news exposure can have a strong effect on attitudes and knowledge about that situation (Graber, 1980; Uscinski, 2009). However, this effect is not sustained over long periods, as long-term coverage an issue causes it to lose

its spectacular quality as the issue becomes mundane. It is likely that, in this experiment, lower levels of prior exposure increased the spectacular quality of this type of news coverage and thus increases participant's susceptibility to attitudinal effects, while higher levels of prior exposure had the opposite effect. It is possible that higher levels of repeated prior exposure to information about human rights violations in war dampens short-term attitudinal effects caused by exposure. This provides further evidence that the effects observed in this experiment are not framing effects caused by the activation of a cognitive frame which has developed through repeated, prior exposure to an issue.

6.5- SDO Interaction Effects

The results so far have provided evidence that indicates that exposure to a range of human rights news can prime RWA, resulting in an amplification of its effect on human rights attitudes. SDO has a similar relationship to human rights attitudes, and, like RWA, is thought to be the attitudinal manifestation of underlying schemas. Therefore, I also expected to find that people high in SDO were particularly susceptible to the effects of exposure to certain types of human rights news on human rights attitudes. However, unlike for RWA, participants' levels of SDO did not interact with exposure to any of the treatment articles to affect human rights attitudes. How can we understand this lack of significant findings that relate to SDO? I propose that there are three possible explanations for the lack of SDO-associated effects: first, while SDO can interact with exposure to certain types of messages to produce changes in human rights attitudes, the experimental articles did not contain appropriate frame components capable of activating SDO-associated human rights attitudes; second, the relationship between SDO and human rights attitudes is more stable compared to RWA; or, third, not enough people high in SDO ($n=9$) were included in the experiment which tested the effects of exposure to human rights news that incorporated thematic elements that were thought to be in line with how those high in SDO view the world.

The articles used in the first and second experiments were designed to reflect real-world human rights news coverage that contains elements that could be compatible with the wider ideologies predicted by high levels of RWA and SDO. The design of these articles was informed by clusters of variables found together in human rights news coverage which were thought to indicate ideological compatibility with attitudes predicted by high levels of either RWA or SDO. They were not designed explicitly to appeal to those high in either dimension. The articles used in the first experiment contained the frame components *human rights help criminals*, *objections to the financial cost of human rights*, and *legitimate victimisation* stereotyping, the latter of which places the locus of blame for some societal issue or situation on the groups that are impacted by it, thereby reducing empathy and increasing contempt for the group (Yang, 2015). In addition, it suggested that these people should not have access to the same legal support as others. For those high in SDO, the salient motivational goals are “of group power, dominance, and superiority over others” (Duckitt, 2006). The human rights frame component *human rights help criminals* was therefore thought to be in-line with the ideology associated with SDO; SDO is connected to seeing the world as divided into natural,

competitive hierarchies, in which some are better and more deserving than others (Duckitt, 2001). The portrayal of human rights as helping undeserving groups is also an enduring type of human rights news coverage; as noted in 4.3-1., the Human Rights Act, 1998 is often portrayed as the “villain’s charter”, which benefits only those least deserving of human rights protection, criminals (Lynn and Lea, 2003; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014).

SDO promotes negativity to out-groups that “activate issues of competition and hierarchical social relations” (Jackson and Gaaertner, 2010). However, unlike RWA, it is not associated with a desire to punish criminals (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; Crowson and Gries, 2010; Kossowska et al. 2011). Furthermore, Duckitt (2006) found that the effect of SDO on attitudes towards housewives, unemployed people, and people with a physical disability was mediated through perceived competitiveness with these groups. In addition, Craig and Richeson (2014) found that SDO predicted greater opposition towards immigration, but only if the immigrants were portrayed as disadvantaged or posed an economic threat. As noted above, in the article used in the experiments the criminals were not portrayed as competitively threatening. It is possible to perceive the criminals in the article as economically competitive, as they are connected directly to a substantial amount of money stolen and, in one of the articles used, they are positioned as the potential beneficiaries of monetary compensation. However, their competitive position is also undermined by their position as hired hands that did not profit financially from the criminal activity, and by the prospect of their imprisonment. Future research on the role of SDO in attitudinal responses to news, therefore, should incorporate a measure that examines the level of perceived competitive threat with the characters of a news article to better understand any role of SDO.

In the first experiment, only 9 of the 80 participants scored >0 in SDO, on a scale from -24 to +24. I wanted to assess whether the lack of observed SDO associated effects was related to the lack of participants with high SDO. Therefore, I replicated this experiment using only the first treatment condition, *Human rights help criminals*. I used Prolific’s own pre-screening method to target only those that identified as right-wing. While self-identification as right-wing does not indicate one’s score on measures of SDO, SDO predicts right-wing political attitudes. Unfortunately, I was unable to effectively implement a custom pre-screening method using the SDO measure from the questionnaire on Prolific due to the limited funding available for running these experiments. This would require running a two-stage experiment which allows only those that have the desirable attributes, identified in the first stage of the

experiment, through to the second stage. This would require running the first stage of the experiment with an indefinite number of participants.

While the pre-screening only increased the participants ($n=41$) with >0 scores in SDO to $n=10$, or 26%, all 10 participants with >0 measures in SDO were exposed to one article, rather than being split across 4 treatment groups as in the initial experiment. As this data set was obtained using pre-screening that was not implemented in other experiments, this data was not included in the analysis of the pre-test data. As with the other experiments, participants on Prolific that had previously completed one of the questionnaires from this project were excluded from participation. However, SDO still did not interact with exposure to the experimental article to produce significant changes in any of the measures of human rights attitudes.

Attitudinal manifestations of RWA have been found to vary based on situational context, potentially as a compensatory control mechanism in response to certain types of threat (Linden et al. 2018, Mirisola et al. 2014; Oyamot et al. 2006). However, this is not true for SDO, which does not appear to be responsive to context or social events (Linden et al. 2018, Mirisola et al. 2014; Oyamot et al. 2006). As the articles used in the first experiment reflect the type of common human rights news coverage most compatible with the wider ideology associated with high SDO, and the frames used in the other experiments reflect the most common positive and negative types of human rights news coverage, the lack of interaction effects across the first four experiments indicates that it is unlikely that SDO plays a role in moderating attitudinal responses to human rights news. Therefore, the human rights attitudes predicted by SDO, replicated in section 6.2-2., may be more stable than those predicted by RWA.

6.6- Wider Exposure Effects

The roles of RWA and SDO in responses to human rights news is central to this project. However, the articles used in each of the following experiments reflect different types of human rights news that the general public may be exposed to. This type of human rights coverage might also affect the human rights attitudes of people through other mechanisms. It is therefore important to also test what effect the experimental articles have on human rights attitudes more generally. To do this, a series of one-way between-subjects ANOVAs were conducted to test for significant changes in **human rights commitment, human rights endorsement, human rights restriction, and military enforcement of human rights.**

In the first experiment, the experimental articles consisted of variants of the high SDO compatible human rights frame. I expected that exposure to this type of human rights coverage may reduce support for human rights. However, the results do not support this claim. For the first set of ANOVAs, the conditions were *Human rights help criminals, Human rights help criminals +objection to the financial costs of human rights, Human rights help criminals + SDO stereotypes, No human rights + SDO stereotypes,* and the control article. The effect of exposure to high SDO associated human rights frames compared to exposure to the control article on responses to the individual human rights scales **human rights commitment**, $F(4,93)=1.08, p=0.37$, **human rights endorsement**, $F(4,93)=0.63, p=0.64$, **human rights restriction**¹⁴, $F(4,93)=0.98, p=0.42$, and **military enforcement of human rights**, $F(4,93)=0.78, p=0.54$, were not statistically significantly different from each other. In other words, while we see changes in human rights attitudes in people high in RWA following exposure to the stereotype used here, exposure to this type of human rights news does not appear to have a wider effect on human rights attitudes.

In the second experiment, the experimental articles consisted of variants of the high RWA compatible human rights frame. Again, I anticipated that exposure to this type of human rights portrayal, which portrays human rights as a barrier to protection from a threat, could reduce support for human rights in the general population. For the second set of ANOVAs, the conditions were *Human rights as obstacle, Human rights as obstacle + Groups as threatening (migrants), Human rights as obstacle + Threat terrorism, No human rights + Threat Terrorism* and the control article. The effect of exposure to high RWA associated

¹⁴ Higher scores in this measure indicate lower support for restricting human rights.

human rights frames on **military enforcement of human rights**, $F(4,94)=3.07$, $p=0.02$, is statistically significant. However, the effect of exposure to high RWA associated human rights frames compared to exposure to the control on responses to the individual human rights scales **human rights commitment**, $F(4,94)=1.12$, $p=0.35$, **human rights endorsement**, $F(4,94)=0.3$, $p=0.87$, and **human rights restriction**, $F(4,94)=1.28$, $p=0.28$, was not significant.

A post-hoc Bonferroni procedure indicates that the difference in changes in **military enforcement of human rights** between those exposed to each variant of the high RWA associated human rights frames and those exposed to the control article is not statistically significant. However, there is a significant difference in the average change in **military enforcement of human rights** between those exposed to an article that portrays human rights as an obstacle to safety from dangerous migrants, $M=1.32$, $SD=3.28$, and those exposed to an article that portrays human rights as an obstacle to safety from terrorism, $M=-1.47$, $SD=2.86$, $p=0.04$; this finding is similar to the difference in average change in **military enforcement of human rights** between those exposed to an article that portrays human rights as an obstacle to safety from dangerous migrants, $M=1.32$, $SD=3.28$, and those exposed to an article that portrays human rights as an obstacle to safety from an abstract threat, $M=-1.35$, $SD=3.00$ although this difference is not significant, $p=0.06$. The results presented here indicate that this type of human rights news may have a wider effect on attitudes towards the **military enforcement of human rights** when it uses *threat typification* stereotypes against migrants. *Threat typification* stereotypes were most frequently used against migrants in human rights news, and we know that newspapers do publish news that portrays human rights as an obstacle to safety from dangerous migrants. However, these results do not support **H2.0**.

In the third and fourth experiment, the experimental articles consisted of variations of the most common human rights frame, in which human rights are used to frame a situation or event. The experimental articles in the third experiment combined two common thematic variants of this frame: targeted criticism of a government or political figure and the Syrian war. The conditions for the third set of ANOVAs, therefore, were *Disliked Person Blamed*, *No Blame*, and the control article. I anticipated that exposure to this type of human rights news would increase support for human rights. A regression model (see table 50, below) demonstrates that exposure to the frame variant that places blame on a disliked political

figure is significantly associated with higher **human rights commitment**, although the effect size is small (Cohen, 1988).

Table 50: Human rights commitment by exposure to the <i>Human Rights Frame</i> variants		η^2
No Blame	0.20 (1.07)	<0.001
Disliked Person Blamed	2.23* (1.04)	0.07
Constant	-0.05 (0.74)	
R²	0.09	
Adj. R²	0.06	
Cohen's f²		0.10
n	61	

+p<0.1, *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001. Data from Experiment 3.
Values are OLS regression coefficients, SE in parentheses.

This finding is in line with previous research which shows that the attribution of blame can be a vital function of a frame (Iyengar, 1991; Shah et al. 2004; Gross, 2008; Matthes, 2009a; Matthes, 2009b). Here, we see that attributing blame for a human rights situation on a disliked political figure increases **human rights commitment**. Assigning blame to a political or ideological opponent is a common use of this type of frame. In line with past research, this finding highlights the value of naming and shaming perpetrators of human rights abuses in the media (Davis et al. 2012). However, the effect of exposure to this frame compared to the control article on responses to the individual scale items **human rights commitment**, $F(2,58)=2.77, p=0.07$, a **human rights endorsement**, $F(2,58)=0.09, p=0.91$, **human rights restriction**, $F(2,58)=0.71, p=0.49$, or **military enforcement of human rights**, $F(2,58)=0.91, p=0.4$, is not significant. These results, therefore, do not support **H3.0**.

The experimental articles in the fourth experiment used a common thematic variant of the 'Human Rights Frame' in which the human rights experiences of migrants and refugees or asylum seekers are described. Some newspapers include stories detailing the human rights experiences of migrants or refugees abroad alongside articles that portray migrants as dangerous or a threat in the UK. This experiment, therefore, manipulated the destination of the migrants or refugees in order to consider the wider effect of frame exposure alongside the effect of perceived social distance from an outgroup (Yang, 2015). It was expected that exposure to both variants of this article may increase support for human rights, although I

anticipated that this effect would be stronger for those exposed to the article where migrants were travelling to Jordan compared to when the migrants were travelling to the UK.

I compared the effect of exposure to the two different versions of this article on support for human rights. I found that support for human rights after exposure was significantly higher when the destination of the migrants was Jordan. The average change in **overall human rights attitudes** between those exposed to the article where migrants are travelling to the UK, $M=0.16$, $SD=6.37$, was lower than for those exposed to the article where migrants were travelling to Jordan, $M=3.92$, $SD=5.86$, $p=0.03$. This finding indicates that the effect of perceived social closeness to an outgroup (in this case, an outgroup that is frequently portrayed as threatening in the media) may override the positive attitudinal effects of this type of human rights portrayal.

The conditions for the fourth set of ANOVAs were: *Refugee experiences from Syria travelling to Jordan*, *Refugee experiences from Syria travelling to UK*, and the control. The effect of exposure to this type of frame compared to exposure to the control on responses to the individual human rights scales **human rights commitment** $F(3,136)=1.75$, $p=0.16$, **human rights endorsement**, $F(3,136)=1.78$, $p=0.15$, **human rights restriction**, $F(3,136)=1.00$, $p=0.40$, and **military enforcement of human rights**, $F(3,136)=0.56$, $p=0.64$, was not statistically significant.

The final experiment explores the effect of an extreme anti-human rights position on attitudes towards human rights. As the most extreme positions against human rights were found in letters from members of the public, this experiment manipulated authorship to consider the effect that the origin of the position may have on its attitudinal impact. I anticipated that exposure to extreme anti-human rights messages may reduce support for human rights, and that this effect may be stronger when the origin of the opinion is a member of the public. The results show that extreme anti-human rights stories are unlikely to have an immediate effect on human rights attitudes, regardless of the origin of the opinion. For the fifth set of ANOVAs, the conditions were: *Journalist*, *Member of the Public*, and *Expert*. The effect of exposure to this type of human rights portrayal compared to exposure to the control article on responses to the individual human rights scales **human rights commitment**, $F(3,79)=0.54$, $p=0.65$, **human rights endorsement**, $F(3,79)=0.34$, $p=0.8$, **human rights restriction**, $F(3,79)=1.02$, $p=0.39$, and **military enforcement of human rights** $F(3,79)=0.06$, $p=0.9$, is

not statistically significant. These findings indicate that this example of an extreme anti-human rights position is unlikely to influence human rights attitudes.

This section has provided evidence that some of the articles used in the experiments may be having a more general attitudinal effect that goes beyond the priming of RWA. In the second experiment, which exposed participants to an article using high RWA associated information, there is a significant difference in the average change in **military enforcement of human rights** between those exposed to an article that portrays human rights as an obstacle to safety from dangerous migrants and those exposed to an article that portrays human rights as an obstacle to safety from terrorism, which reflects a similar but non-significant difference in average change in **military enforcement of human rights** between those exposed to an article that portrays human rights as an obstacle to safety from dangerous migrants and those exposed to an article that portrays human rights as an obstacle to safety from an abstract threat. In the third experiment, exposure to the frame variant that places blame on a disliked political figure is significantly associated with higher **human rights commitment**, and there is a statistically significant difference in the average change in **overall human rights attitudes** between those exposed to the article where migrants are travelling to the UK and those exposed to the article where migrants are travelling to Jordan.

6.7- Summary

Early in this thesis, I suggested that human rights news may be providing thematic cues to people high in RWA or SDO, making them more susceptible to the unconscious effects of exposure to human rights-opposed news. The findings of this chapter show that human rights news can provide thematic cues to people high in RWA, making people high in RWA more susceptible to the attitudinal effects of exposure to human rights news. However, I did not find a similar effect for SDO. The pattern of identified effects conforms to expectations I had about what RWA-based priming would look like. As the articles used in the experiments incorporate messages from real examples of human rights news coverage, these results tell us that human rights news can affect attitudes towards human rights by priming high RWA associated evaluative beliefs about human rights.

In the results presented here, participants' levels of RWA interacted with several distinct types of human rights news to produce lower support for human rights and higher support for the military enforcement of human rights. Significant interactions, with moderate effect sizes, were found between both RWA and exposure to high SDO associated stereotypes to produce lower **overall human rights** and **human rights commitment**, and higher **military enforcement of human rights**. The second of these frame variants, *No human rights + SDO stereotypes*, omits mention of human rights. This indicated that exposure to SDO stereotypes, which emphasise the inherent responsibility of these individuals for their actions, may be responsible for this observed effect, rather than the included human rights frame component. As this effect is caused by exposure to high SDO associated stereotypes rather than high SDO associated portrayals of human rights, these findings do not conform to the model of priming anticipated by the hypotheses. I highlight that as the criminals in the article are not portrayed as specifically violent, it is likely that their subversion of authority presents a symbolic threat to societal order which those high in RWA are particularly sensitised to. Furthermore, **authoritarian aggression**, which is linked to a desire to punish those that engage in deviant behaviour, interacts with exposure to *Human rights help criminals + SDO stereotypes*, and *No human rights + SDO stereotypes* to lower **human rights commitment**, and *Human rights help criminals + SDO stereotypes* to increase **military enforcement of human rights**. Conversely, conventionalism only interacts with *Human rights help criminals + SDO stereotypes* to produce increased **military enforcement of human rights**.

Decreases in peoples' commitment to human rights resulted from the interaction between high levels of RWA and exposure to the portrayal of human rights as an obstacle. As this effect is not observed after exposure to the article variant which omits mention of human rights, these findings indicate that schemas associated with RWA are being primed by exposure to the portrayal of human rights as an obstacle, resulting in a stronger expression of attitudes informed by RWA after exposure. Here, **authoritarian aggression** interacts with exposure to each of the human rights-based articles used in the experiment to produce lower **human rights commitment**. Conversely, **conventionalism** only interacts with exposure to *Human rights as obstacle* to produce lower **human rights commitment**. This finding again demonstrated that there appears to be a stronger link between **authoritarian aggression** and the moderation of the effect of exposure to human rights news compared to **conventionalism**.

Increases in **military enforcement of human rights** resulted from the interaction between participants' levels of RWA and exposure to an article that details a conflict situation using a human rights lens. In the discussion, I argue that the measure **military enforcement of human rights** affords those high in RWA with a clear moral justification for the use of military force, providing them with a legitimate output for their desire for aggressive foreign policy. This section also discusses the lack of RWA-associated effects in the second condition of this experiment, concluding that in emphasising that the human rights violations are a consequence of military action, the condition *Disliked Person Blamed* is likely to suppress increases in **military enforcement of human rights** by complicating the clarity of the moral justification for military action. In addition, this section reasons that assigning blame to an authority figure, regardless of the participant's negative feelings towards that figure, may suppress any potential RWA-associated effects associated with exposure to this type of news article. This type of human rights reporting often includes critiques of authority figures; it is therefore likely that the RWA-associated effect observed in the *No Blame* condition does not occur following real-world exposures to this type of human rights reporting.

Migrants and refugees are often portrayed both sympathetically and as threatening in the British media. The results of the second experiment demonstrate that RWA amplifies the attitudinal effect of exposure to an article in which human rights are portrayed as an obstacle to safety from the threat of dangerous migrants. However, the sympathetic portrayal of migrant groups in the fourth experiment does not interact with RWA to produce lower human

rights support. The results from the fourth and second experiments, taken together, suggest that the portrayal of migrants and refugees as threatening is necessary for the moderation of human rights attitudes by the activation of RWA-associated schemas associated with outgroup threat. In other words, these findings suggest that those high in RWA (a group particularly susceptible to perceiving outgroups as threatening) are not chronically sensitised to the threat of migrants or refugees. We also see a wider effect, unrelated to either RWA or SDO, as a consequence of varying the migrants' destinations. In the condition where the migrants or refugees are travelling to Jordan, exposure to the news article increases participants' overall support for human rights. However, when the migrants or refugees' destination is the UK, exposure to information about the abuse of their human rights does not result in more support for human rights.

This chapter did not find evidence of either high SDO-associated framing or priming effects. This finding was replicated in an additional experiment designed to try and include more people that score high in measures of SDO. This chapter highlights that none of the experimental articles used were designed to activate issues of competition; therefore, those high in SDO may not have been particularly susceptible to the experimental articles. The articles used in the first experiment reflect the type of common human rights news coverage that I thought would be the most compatible with the wider ideology associated with high SDO, and the frames used in the other experiments reflect the most common positive and negative types of human rights news coverage. Therefore, it is unlikely that SDO plays a role in moderating attitudinal responses to human rights news. It does not appear that people high in SDO are particularly susceptible to the effects of human rights news even when human rights news draws on themes broadly aligned with how people high in SDO think about the world. Nevertheless, in line with past research, SDO predicts reduced support for human rights (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; McFarland and Mathews, 2005; McFarland, 2015).

7. Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I brought together psychological research on human rights support, political attitudes, and media effects to investigate how news coverage of human rights might affect attitudes towards human rights. I applied a theoretical framework designed to understand individuals' political orientations to the study of human rights news which, in combination with insight from media effects research, allowed me to propose two different mechanisms through which human rights-opposed news could affect human rights attitudes. I began by developing a coding scheme designed to identify information within human rights news that matched to how people that score high in measures of RWA and SDO think about the world.

Despite the attention given to right-wing, human rights-opposed news coverage in past research (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014; Pollock, 2014), this thesis found that the overwhelming majority of human rights news coverage across the British news landscape was pro-human rights or implicitly supportive of the human rights project and often uses the language of human rights to frame ongoing national and international situations. Within the sample, only for the Daily Mail was the mean portrayal of human rights negative. However, this thesis identified a dual approach to human rights in right-leaning publications. First, this thesis found that right-wing newspapers, on average, portray human rights positively when reporting on international events, but portray human rights negatively when reporting national news. Second, this thesis identified that, on average, right-leaning newspapers portray human rights negatively when presenting explicit opinions about human rights as a more abstract political, legal, or theoretical construct, but positively when reporting on human rights situations. Conversely, centre or left-leaning newspapers, on average, portrayed human rights positively regardless of context. These results indicate that, despite some opposition to the progression or realisation of human rights in the United Kingdom, when confronted with tangible human rights violations, right-leaning newspapers typically provide at least tacit support for human rights. It is also notable that left-leaning publications focus more extensively on international human rights issues and cover a smaller range of national human rights news stories. These findings have practical implications for those wishing to increase support for human rights within the UK; it is likely that readers of both right-leaning and left-leaning newspapers will be regularly exposed to positive portrayals of human rights in international news. However, readers of right-leaning

newspapers are more likely to be exposed to a wider range of national news about human rights, which is likely to portray human rights negatively. Conversely, readers of left-leaning news are less likely to be exposed to a smaller range of national news about human rights, which is likely to portray human rights positively. It may be beneficial, therefore, for human rights organisations, and pro-human rights news organisations, to produce more national content that portrays human rights positively and to cover a wider range of national news topics from a human rights perspective.

Furthermore, the content analysis found evidence of consistent patterns of human rights-opposed news coverage that mapped on to the wider ideologies associated with RWA and SDO, which indicated that people high in RWA or SDO might be particularly susceptible to the attitudinal effects of human rights-opposed news. I incorporated research on psychological effects of media exposure and on right-wing attitudes to investigate whether human rights news could cause a priming effect or a framing effect associated with these right-wing attitudinal dimensions. The results presented in this thesis indicate that human rights news can prime RWA-associated evaluative beliefs about human rights, which in turn causes changes in expressions of support for human rights. In other words, those high in RWA are particularly susceptible to the attitudinal effects of human rights news that increases the saliency of RWA-associated evaluative beliefs. In particular, the portrayal of human rights as an obstacle to safety primed RWA to reduce commitment to human rights-based policies compared to competing policy objectives after exposure.

This finding is important, as this type of human rights news is an enduring portrayal of human rights that has been identified in past research (Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). Therefore, these results tell us that it is likely that human rights news is priming RWA-associated evaluative beliefs about human rights in the real-world. This portrayal of human rights is particularly relevant to current British politics, as it is historically connected to Euroscepticism (Gies, 2011; Nash, 2005). We now know, therefore, that people high in RWA are particularly susceptible to the effects of a common and enduring form of human rights-opposed news in the UK. This finding highlights the potential volatility of attitudes towards human rights, and the susceptibility of human rights attitudes to priming effects in certain circumstances. Those measuring human rights should reflect on both socio-political circumstances at the time of measurement and the susceptibility of human rights attitudes to question order effects. Questionnaires and surveys that measure human rights

attitudes should not, therefore, assume that they are capturing stable political attitudes. More generally, these findings again highlight the vulnerability of human rights to erosion during times of crisis, such as following a terrorist attack (Fetchenhauer and Bierhoff, 2004; Crowson and Gries, 2010; Kossowska et al. 2011).

However, I did not find evidence that human rights news is causing a human rights/RWA-associated framing effect. It is possible that the simultaneous activation of both RWA-associated schemas and human rights-associated schemas through exposure to high RWA compatible human rights news has the potential to encourage the formation of high RWA cognitive frames that incorporate specific considerations about human rights. However, the content analysis demonstrated that the media penetration of high RWA compatible human rights news is low compared to other types of human rights news. It is, therefore, unlikely that day-to-day exposure to human rights news will cause the formation of high RWA associated cognitive frames. Therefore, while I have demonstrated the susceptibility of those high in RWA to short-term changes in expressions of human rights attitudes, it is unlikely that exposure to human rights news is causing long-term changes in how those high in RWA think about human rights. Again, these findings suggest that it is unlikely that right-leaning news coverage of human rights is having a dramatic effect on the human rights attitudes of the general population in the UK; this undermines the underlying assumptions of past literature, which has identified right-wing news as a likely source of public hostility towards human rights (Gilbert and Wright, 1997; Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014; Pollock, 2014).

In addition, I did not find evidence that those high in SDO are susceptible to the attitudinal effects of human rights news. The RWA-associated effects were identified across multiple independent groups and in response to exposure to distinct types of human rights news; this indicates that the expression of attitudes towards human rights by those high in RWA may vary significantly based on salient information at a given time. This is in line with past findings about RWA (Oyamot et al. 2006; Mirisola et al. 2014; Ho et al. 2015; Linden et al. 2018). These results find no evidence of similar attitudinal variations for those high in SDO. These results therefore indicate that the relationship between RWA and attitudes towards human rights is more susceptible to the effects of external information than the relationship between SDO and attitudes towards human rights. Again, this finding is in line with past research which shows that SDO and the attitudes it predicts are more stable (Ho et al. 2015).

A key contribution of this thesis was the development and use of an original experimental procedure that enables the identification and analytical differentiation of both priming and framing effects, which builds on Scheufele's (2000; 2004) theoretical differentiation of these effects. This speaks directly to a divide in the literature about how framing and priming have been conceptualised. On the one hand, framing and priming have been described as axiomatically incompatible (Scheufele, 2004); while on the other hand, framing and priming have been described as theoretically indistinguishable (Chong and Druckman, 2007a, 2007b). By building on literature that distinguishes framing and priming effects (Scheufele, 2004; Weaver, 2007), this thesis clarified how the attitudinal manifestations of framing and priming could be separated, thus building support for the theoretical separation of these effects.

An outcome of this clarification was the conceptualisation of different framing mechanisms: perfect framing, incomplete (or partial) framing, and formative framing. Where a cognitive frame exists and is activated by incoming information, both incomplete framing (where the incoming information partially matches a cognitive frame) and perfect framing (where the incoming information perfectly matches a cognitive frame) should result in a similar framing effect. Given the expected equivalency in effects between incomplete and perfect framing, an experimental design which manipulates the completeness of a frame can help researchers to differentiate between a priming or a framing effect: a priming effect is indicated by the failure of exposure to the least complete treatment frame to produce an attitudinal or behavioural effect. This was observed in the high RWA framing experiment, where a consistent RWA interaction effect on commitment to human rights was observed when participants were exposed to both high RWA associated information and information about human rights, but not when participants were only exposed to high RWA information. These results, therefore, do not indicate the activation of cognitive frame that connects both high RWA and human rights associated schemas and point, instead, to a priming effect.

In addition to being theoretically important, this differentiation tells us more about how media might be affecting attitudes in the real-world: as repeated exposure to a media frame over time is required to encourage the formation of compatible cognitive frame, the identification of a framing effect indicates that media exposure may be causing long term changes in the way people think about an issue. In addition, the presence of an incomplete framing effect indicates that tangential news coverage can affect attitudes of interest.

Conversely, the identification of a priming effect indicates to researchers that the identified effects represent only short-term changes in attitudes following exposure to specific information. Using this experimental approach, this thesis did not find evidence for the existence of cognitive frames that link together high RWA or high SDO associated schemas and human rights associated schemas.

Nevertheless, the development of this experimental design remains inherently important to this thesis. In addition to distinguishing between framing and priming effects, my approach forces researchers to engage with potential media frames at the component level. This has numerous benefits. Principally, it prevents researchers from operationalising one-dimensional frames within media exposure experiments, which was one of Scheufele's (2004) main frustrations with framing effects research. Had I not developed this approach, it is likely that I would have proceeded with the typical one-shot experimental design with one-dimensional frames; subsequently, I would have misidentified the observed priming effects as framing effects. In addition, engaging with frames at the component level enables researchers to consider the effects of potentially powerful frame components, such as stereotypes, independently (Scheufele, 2004; Yang, 2015). This approach also incorporates Matthes and Kohring's (2008) semi-deductive procedure for the identification of frames, which brings frame identification closer to quantitative content analysis. This helps to reduce researcher subjectivity, increase the reliability of the research, and ensure that the research is replicable (David et al. 2011).

Moreover, the approach adopted in this thesis also allows researchers to meld findings from prior media effects research or content analyses with wider theories about the topic of interest. In this thesis, I brought together research on human rights news coverage and research on individual level dimensions to develop a coding scheme that incorporated hypothetical expectations about the potential susceptibility of people with certain characteristics to certain types of ideas or information. In this case, operationalising prior knowledge about RWA in the content analysis code, and then concentrating on the attitudinal consequences of the interaction between RWA and exposure in the analysis, revealed a process by which media exposure can affect attitudes towards human rights, while simultaneously providing new insights into the relationship between RWA and human rights attitudes.

7.1 Limitations

There is one important limitation to the RWA-based experiments that must be discussed. Exposure to a threat may produce a subsequent increase in RWA in those initially low in RWA as a compensatory control mechanism (Mirisola et al. 2014). This is a potential limitation of the experimental design used here, which relies on only measures of RWA taken before participants were exposed to an article. If threat exposure can increase levels of RWA, it is possible that the use of pre-exposure measures of RWA in the analysis may be masking some RWA-associated effects (Oyamot et al. 2006; Mirisola et al. 2014). Indeed, Lindén et al (2018) found that levels of RWA, but not SDO, were higher after immediately after a terrorist attack compared to when the threat of terrorism was not immediate. While Crowson et al. (2006) found that the models are RWA and SDO remained consistent between pre-9/11 and post-9/11 studies despite the increased saliency of terrorism, it remains possible that the use of a pre-exposure only measure may suppress the identification of statistically significant findings, thus increasing the susceptibility of this analysis to type II errors.

However, there is tension in how the relationship between threat and right-wing attitudes has been conceptualised: initially, this relationship provided evidence that threat plays an essential role in the formation of right-wing attitudes, while more modern research highlights that right-wing attitudes predispose a heightened sensitivity to threat (Onraet et al. 2014). The latter relationship is seen as a form of motivated reasoning: people with right-wing beliefs are motivated to interpret the external world as threatening to confirm and justify their own beliefs (Onraet et al. 2014). In my thesis, I draw on the Dual-Process Model. In this model, RWA and SDO are the expression of “motivational goals made chronically salient” (Duckitt, 2006); for those high in RWA, the chronically salient motivational goal is group security and order. Thus, while the perception that the world is threatening and dangerous may contribute to the formation of RWA, which manifests as a desire for group security and order, being high in RWA also motivates the interpretation of the world as threatening (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt, 2006; Duckitt and Sibley, 2010; Onraet et al. 2014). Therefore, it is likely that those high in RWA will still remain more susceptible to the attitudinal effects of exposure to high RWA associated messages compared to those normally low in RWA whose level of RWA may have increased as a compensatory mechanism after exposure to the experimental articles. Based on these findings, however, we do not know whether human rights news can increase levels of RWA and produce RWA-associated responses to human rights in people

that might experience increased levels of RWA as a threat control mechanism. Nevertheless, future work in this area should measure RWA both before and after exposure to a high RWA message to capture any post-exposure changes in participants' levels of RWA.

As noted above, the results of this thesis provide evidence for some immediate RWA-based priming effects caused by exposure to human rights media. However, the results presented here provide no evidence in support of the role of the media in creating or otherwise strengthening RWA-associated human rights schemas or contributing to the development of cognitive frames linking RWA and human rights schemas. Cognitive frames are theorised to form when audiences are repeatedly exposed to media frames, and so I expected to find that higher levels of past exposure to human rights messages that used high RWA-associated frame components increased participants' susceptibility to this type of human rights news. If repeated exposure to information in line with attitudinal positions associated with high RWA, captured in the content analysis by the high RWA signifier code items, was causing the strengthening or development of schemas related to RWA-associated human rights positions, we should have observed interaction effects between prior potential message exposure and exposure to the treatment in the second experiment.

It is possible that the comparatively low media penetration of high RWA human rights news coverage and the high media penetration of implicitly positive portrayals of human rights limits the opportunity for formation of a high RWA human rights cognitive frame. There does appear to be an association between both RWA and SDO with media consumption habits. If the theories which suggest RWA and SDO form in childhood and remain relatively stable throughout adulthood (Duckitt, 2001; Sibley et al. 2006; Wilson and Sibley, 2013) are correct, then it is probable that these dimensions are dictating media consumption habits rather than media exposure shaping, forming, or strengthening these dimensions. Also, it is theorised that RWA develops in response to a perception that the world is a threatening place, and various types of information (for example, life events, news, other media consumption, and social interactions, etc.) may contribute to the development and strength of this dimension (Altemeyer, 1981; Diaz-Veizades et al. 1995; Duckitt, 2001; Sibley et al. 2006; Wilson and Sibley, 2013; Lindén et al. 2018). The findings presented here, therefore, only indicate that human rights news can tap into pre-existing attitudes to affect human rights support. I do not find evidence of media exposure contributing to the formation of schemas.

It is also possible that I did not identify any effects associated with prior exposure because of the way it was measured. First, it is well reported that people overestimate their consumption of the media (Scharkow and Bachl, 2016). Furthermore, there is no way of precisely transforming news media company preferences, consumption preferences, and self-reported media consumption frequency into the frequency that articles containing the specific messages of interest are consumed by the participants. It may be beneficial to conduct a longitudinal experiment that maintains an artificial news environment over a period of time to enable the direct manipulation of exposure to certain types of messages in order to explore the relationship between prior exposure and attitude changes in more detail.

Although, as I note above, the media penetration of high RWA, human rights-opposed news is low, there is an additional caveat that should be noted. This project has focused only on the output of the leading newspaper publications in the UK. While this included online content, it did not consider the role of social media in the dissemination of human rights news. This project used the frequency that specific messages appeared within the sample to consider the prominence of a type of message about human rights; this information was used to estimate the amount of possible prior exposure to a media message for each participant, per experimental frame.

However, this approach assumes that the most likely source of prior exposure is participants' active consumption of content produced by their preferred news source. This thesis did not consider active or passive exposure to messages through social media, nor did it consider the prominence of different types of human rights news on these platforms. More recent media effects research directly explores the prominence of specific articles on social media (see Allcott and Gentzkow, 2017, for example), and this type of approach may be a viable option in response to the publication of a particular virulent example of human rights-opposed news, particularly if it also incorporates high RWA associated evaluative beliefs. Moreover, it is probable that those people which are most susceptible to the effects of certain types of news inhabit homophilic online spaces which increase their exposure to exactly the types of messages they are susceptible to (Brummette et al. 2018). In other words, people high in RWA are more likely to inhabit online spaces which conform to their worldview and are occupied by others high in RWA; in turn, this is likely to increase their exposure to media which incorporates high RWA associated evaluative beliefs. Although this is speculative, the results presented in this thesis, which show that RWA plays an important role in processing

political information, coupled with RWA's desire for ingroup safety and stability, indicates that homophilic, high RWA online spaces are likely.

7.2 Extensions

In this project, the link between real world messages and exposure effects was crucial: we know, now, that it is likely that negative attitudes towards human rights are being primed in those high in RWA by different types of human rights news coverage in the real world. However, there remains a lingering, unanswered question: is it possible to portray human rights in a way that interacts with RWA to amplify pro-human rights attitudinal effects? While the results presented here suggest that priming RWA results only in more negative attitudes towards human rights, it is worth considering that there may be ways of portraying human rights positively which those high in RWA would be particularly susceptible to.

Human rights are designed to provide fundamental protections for the “the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction” (UN, 1948). I had initially speculated that an appraisal of the capacity of human rights to provide protection from threats may be behind the observed changes in human rights commitment in the high RWA experiment, and that emphasising the importance of human rights to the safety of citizens may increase support for human rights in those high in RWA. I do think this is behind the reduction in human rights commitment following exposure to news articles that portray human rights as an obstacle to safety. The explicit exploration of participants’ appraisals of the capacity of human rights to afford safety would provide worthwhile insight into the RWA-associated effects observed here. However, it is unlikely that those high in RWA would be susceptible to a pro-human rights message that emphasises safety: those high in RWA are motivated towards the goal of safety through political authoritarianism. As noted in section 1.2, human rights are often portrayed as limiting the power of authorities and the fundamental aims of human rights are at odds with the many of the fundamental aims of authoritarian regimes. However, it seems possible that linking human rights to established authority figures or authoritative institutions, portraying human rights as authoritative and historical socio-political institutions, or perhaps portraying human rights as a crucial component of social order in a democratic society, may increase human rights support in those high in RWA. Given that people high in RWA are susceptible to the effects of media exposure on human rights support, the development of high RWA, pro-human rights frames would be a worthwhile aim for those aiming to promote human rights. This is something that can be explored in future research.

In addition, there are direct extensions to the project presented here. While only 11% of the articles captured by the sample here portray human rights negatively, the presentation of human rights as an obstacle, which reduces commitment to human rights in people high in RWA, is an enduring type of human rights news (Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014). Some important questions remain in this area: has the nature and type of threat discussed in this type of human rights news changed over time? If so, does the current saliency of the threat change the strength of the RWA associated attitudinal response caused by exposure? What happens when people high in RWA are exposed to competing messages? Can certain positive portrayals of human rights diminish the RWA-associated effects caused by exposure to human rights as an obstacle?

While I have offered some potential explanations for why RWA is important in affecting attitudinal responses to human rights news, I also note that it is likely that RWA is working with or against other individual level dispositions to affect attitudinal responses to human rights news. Focusing on only RWA and human rights commitment would free up space in the experimental questionnaire to include a range of measures of relevant individual level factors (such as egalitarianism and religiosity, for example) and questions that probe more deeply about threat perception and attitudes towards different components of the article. Moreover, the measures of individual level dispositions could be tailored based on the prominent and enduring themes within this portrayal of human rights. This would contribute to the development of a richer model on the role of RWA in attitudinal responses to human rights news.

This thesis has also presented a complete methodological framework which can be applied by any project seeking to investigate potential relationships between individual level dimensions and media exposure effects. Although this project did not find evidence of SDO-associated priming, past research has found evidence that both SDO and RWA can be primed (Duckitt, 2009). Both RWA and SDO are robust predictors of a range of attitudinal positions beyond levels of support for human rights. Where RWA or SDO are established predictors of attitudes, research should consider applying the method adopted by this thesis to explore the capacity of RWA and SDO, or other conceptually similar dimensions, to moderate media effects.

Finally, it is necessary to note that in the years spent writing this thesis both the British and international political landscape has changed dramatically. Populism has brought renewed energy to right-wing politics and provided direct challenges to longstanding liberal supranational institutions and organisations; the media as a democratic institution may have been irrevocably undermined; and a number of right-wing populist projects have seen electoral success (Bakker et al. 2015; Pierson, 2017; Hameleers et al. 2017a; Van Assche et al. 2019). To explain these changes, researchers have started turning their attention to the role of the right-wing dimensions (Bakker et al. 2015; Van Assche et al. 2019). Researchers are also paying more attention to the effects of populist framing (Rydgren, 2005; Burack and Snyder-Hall, 2012; Hameleers et al. 2017b; Hameleers et al. 2018; Bos et al. 2019; Béland, 2019). Many of the characteristics that define populist framing are shared with messages that have been examined throughout this thesis: for example, Trump often frames migrants as collective threats to the in-group to promote authoritarianism (Béland, 2019), and assigning blame to political elite mirrors the Euroscepticism that is often intertwined with portraying human rights as an obstacle (Nash, 2005; Gies, 2011; Burack and Snyder-Hall, 2012; Bell and Cemlyn, 2014; Hameleers et al. 2017a, 2017b). In the examples of extreme anti-human rights messages discussed in the content analysis, scrapping human rights is seen as a simple, obvious solution to complex social issues. Again, this mirrors populist rhetoric (Burack and Snyder-Hall, 2012; Hameleers et al. 2017a, 2017b; Béland, 2019).

Despite evidence of the relationship between right-wing personality dimensions and support for right-wing populist parties (Bakker et al. 2015; Van Assche et al. 2019), researchers have not examined the susceptibility of those high in RWA or SDO to specific types of populist framing. Both Amnesty International (2017) and Human Rights Watch (2017) are working to challenge the effects of populist, authoritarian discourse on human rights. The application of the methodological approach adopted in this thesis, which mapped messages aligned with the wider ideologies associated with RWA and SDO across British news to indicate where to look for media effects, could provide insight into how right-wing populist messages can affect political attitudes. Studying the effects RWA-associated media messages when in competition with alternate messages, the potential of targeted high RWA associated pro-human rights messages to promote human rights support in people that are generally opposed to human rights, and the direct study of the use of populist rhetoric in human rights news would help human rights organisations in their efforts to develop strategies to promote human rights and counter anti-human rights populism.

8. Appendix

8.1 Content Analysis Codebook

Code Part 1: Initial Coding Categories

Content Analysis Code	Scale	Hypothetical examples and further guidance
Article date		
Newspaper		
Full headline		
Word Count		
Article topics	Categorical, highlight and code as either: 1- National 2- International	Highlight and code any topics included in the article under the code category “Article topics”. Focus on broad topics and organisations or actors, for example: “terrorism”, “healthcare”, “immigration”, “privacy”, “human rights”, “Theresa May”. Code these as National for any items relating directly to British news, and International for items relating to international news. News about British international affairs, such as trade or foreign policy, can be coded as both National and International .
Article author	Categorical, highlight author name and information and code as either: 3- Journalist 4- Expert 5- Member of Public	Expert may include members of the following categories, for example: member of government, government actor (policy advisors, previous government employees, current previous employees), human rights actor (human rights organisation representative [Amnesty International, HRW for example], international human rights actor [UN or EU affiliated, for example], human rights legal actor [human rights lawyer or other human rights actor with speciality in human rights law]), academic , and other .
Non-author quotes or input	Categorical, highlight quotes and the attributed name, then code as either: 1- Expert in line with article argument/tone 2- Expert not in line with article argument/tone 3- Member of Public (pulled online comments) 4- Member of Public (article comment)	Expert may include members of the following categories, for example: member of government, government actor (policy advisors, previous government employees, current previous employees), human rights actor (human rights organisation representative [Amnesty International, HRW for example], international human rights actor [UN or EU affiliated, for example], human rights legal actor [human rights lawyer or other human rights actor with speciality in human rights law]), academic , and other . Experts not in line article argument/one are those offered not in support of the article’s argument, but as a counterpoint, and will often follow “However,” or “On the other hand,” in the article. The article may be a critique of a statement released by an expert, for example. Member of Public category is divided into the following subtypes: pulled online comments (includes tweets, Reddit posts or comments, article comments, or other text published on publicly accessible online platforms used in the body of the article), and article comment . Article comment refers to when members of the public are asked directly for comments on this specific story for use in the article. This may be identified by phrases such as: “When asked to comment on this story, Member of the Public said:”, for example.
Mentioned Social Groups	Text Input	Highlight and code any mentions of different groups in the text. Groups, here, is used to refer to any group used to categorise individuals featured in the article, but is likely to include ethnicity, religion, age, gender, sexuality, disability, marital status, class, parenthood, for example. Phrases such as “gangs” or “terrorists” denote criminal behaviour but are excluded unless specific reference is made to membership of a group that could be stereotyped, such as “White/Black/Asian gangs” or “foreign terrorists”, for example.

<p>Highlight and code each sentence of the article that matches the following categories.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Rejection or repeal of human rights. Clear statement that human rights are wrong in some way. 2- Aggression/aggressive negative language toward human rights. 3- Human rights as an obstacle. 4- Individual or group using human rights to gain unfair advantage. 5- Sovereignty or British will is undermined or prevented by human rights or human rights actors. 6- Human rights help criminals. 7- Human rights are an obvious good, and the progression of human rights is desirable. 8- Human rights require protection. 9- Human rights are impractical. 10- Different groups should work together on human rights issues. 11- Human rights are discussed in relation to established institutions, laws, policies, and organisations. 12- More or extended human rights are needed or proposed. 13- Failure to uphold human rights is criticised or reported. 14- Outlines dangers of withdrawing from or reducing human rights protection. 15- Challenges points made about human rights by ideological opponent. 16- Other 	<p>Each code item in this section has two parts, one for the body of the text and one for the headline. If the item you are coding is in the headline, code it using the headline category, and if the item is in the body of the text code it using the body category.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Coded unit must clearly promote rejecting or repealing (and synonyms) human rights, or state that human rights are in some way wrong. Coded unit voices clear opposition to human rights or human rights legislation. 2- Focus is on the verb – destroy, tear up are good examples of aggressive language used. The language used must be directed at human rights (“Tear up the Human Rights Act”, for example). 3- “Human Rights Act prevents police from doing what’s necessary”, for example. 4- “Criminal uses Human Rights Act to get soft sentence”, or “Welfare cheats go to Human Rights Court to protect their income”, for example. 5- “EU judges shoot down British law for violating ECHR”, for example. Any sentences that negatively portray human rights as damaging to the sovereignty or self-determination of Britain. 6- “Criminal gangs hide behind Human Rights Act”, for example. 7- “Asylum seekers are humans too, and we need to protect their rights”, for example. Status of rights is not in question: rights exist, and efforts should be made to ensure they are realised. 8- Emphasises threats to existing human rights. For example, “May’s new bill threatens our human rights”. 9- “Human rights create too much paperwork”, or “Human rights may work in a utopia, but we need action”, for example. Human rights cause practical problems that outweigh their benefits. 10- Communication between different groups or organisations is necessary for the promotion of human rights. “The government should work with the European Courts and the UN to ensure that we are meeting our human rights commitments”, for example. 11- Human rights are discussed factually in relation to institutions, laws, statues, treaties, etc. Articles may report on new laws or the outcome of human rights cases. Any mentions of NGOs, laws, governmental human rights departments, international organisations should be coded here. 12- Calls for new human rights legislation or increased human rights scrutinising or enforcing powers. For example, “We need a stronger Human Rights Act”. 13- The article describes human rights failures, often as criticisms of the government. For example, “Failure to act on UN Human Rights Report demonstrates this government is willing to put its citizens in jeopardy”, “Human rights betrayal”, or “Human rights failure”. 14- Warns of potential dangers caused by the repeal or rejection of human rights. For example, “Withdrawing from the European Convention would lead to greater international instability”. 15- Highlights points made against their position in order to redress these points. For example, an article in favour of human rights may list different arguments made against human rights in order to demonstrate why these arguments are incorrect. 16- Other – any part of the article that relates directly to human rights but does not fit within any other category can be placed here.
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Code Part 3: Right-Wing Authoritarianism Frame Components

<p>Highlight and code any and all sections of the article that fit a yes response to the following questions.</p>	<p>Each code item in this section has two parts, one for the body of the text and one for the headline. If the item you are coding is in the headline, code it using the headline category, and if the item is in the body of the text code it using the body category.</p>
<p>1- Mentions of threats or security concerns.</p>	<p>1- This includes any reference to any threats or security concerns, not just those that relate directly and specifically to any mention of human rights in the article. “The threat caused by...”, “The security risks caused by...”, for example.</p>
<p>2- Mentions of support for (3.2.1) or opposition to (3.2.2) military action in response to human rights situations.</p>	<p>2- For example, coded as 3.2.1, an article may suggest military intervention in response to reports of human rights violations in an area. “The situation in [X] has reached a crisis point, it’s time for military intervention to stop further human rights abuses”. For 3.2.2, an article could suggest that military intervention was a cause of human rights problems, rather than a solution.</p>
<p>3- British representatives championing human rights internationally.</p>	<p>3- Any suggestion that British representatives should use, or are using, their international position to promote human rights. For example, “Theresa May to challenge diplomats on human rights abuses”, for example.</p>
<p>4- Mentions support for (3.4.1) or opposition to (3.4.2) removing limits on police powers or increasing police powers.</p>	<p>4- For example, for 3.4.1, the article may suggest increasing the use of Stop and Search, or allowing the use of force to stop non-violent protests. For 3.4.2, an article may suggest restricting police powers, such as banning Stop and Search or restricting the use of force to break up non-violent protests.</p>
<p>5- Mentions of support for (3.5.1) or opposition to (3.5.2) increased prison sentences.</p>	<p>5- For 3.5.1, any reference to the need for increased or harsher prison sentences is included. For 3.5.2, an article could suggest reducing prison sentences for certain crimes, or focusing more on rehabilitation than prison.</p>
<p>6- Mentions of support for (3.6.1) or opposition to (3.6.2) greater powers for intelligence services or removing limits on intelligence services.</p>	<p>6- For 3.6.1, the article may include mentions of the need for increased internet surveillance measures or banning the use of encryption, for example. Conversely, for 3.6.2, the article may talk about protecting citizens from increased surveillance.</p>
<p>7- Mentions of support for (3.7.1) or opposition to (3.7.2) increased governmental powers or removing limits on governmental powers.</p>	<p>7- For 3.7.1, this may include the ability for the government to fast-track laws in response to a crisis, for example, or the increase of the powers of any governmental department. For 3.7.2, the article might warn of the dangers of allowing the government more powers, such as fast-tracking laws.</p>

Code Part 4: Social Dominance Orientation Frame Components

<p>Highlight and code any and all sections of the article that fit a yes response to the following questions.</p>	<p>Each code item in this section has two parts, one for the body of the text and one for the headline. If the item you are coding is in the headline, code it using the headline category, and if the item is in the body of the text code it using the body category.</p>
<p>1- Mentions of support for the armed forces.</p>	<p>1- Any mention of support or special treatment for the military or individual members of the armed forces. For example, “Protect our troops from prosecution” or “Government needs to do more to support the armed forces”.</p>
<p>2- Opposition to (4.2.1) or support for (4.2.2) governmental spending.</p>	<p>2- For 4.2.1, the article may suggest that scrapping human rights legislation would be a good way to save money, or it might discuss the money wasted on membership of the European Union. This includes using phrases such as “wasting tax-payer’s money”, for example. For 4.2.2, the article would be in favour of current spending or more spending.</p>
<p>3- Mentions of support for (4.3.1) or opposition to (4.3.2) the death penalty.</p>	<p>3- For 4.3.1, this includes speculative support. For example, “Is it time to bring back the death penalty for terrorists?”. For 4.3.2, article voices opposition to the death penalty.</p>
<p>4- Mentions of opposition to (4.4.1) or support of (4.4.2) welfare programs.</p>	<p>4- This includes national healthcare, disability living allowance, job seeker’s allowance and any other state welfare provisions. For 4.4.1, the article may suggest we move to a private health insurance system rather than keeping the NHS. For 4.4.2, the article may suggest that these programs need protecting or increased funding, for example.</p>
<p>5- Mentions of opposition to (4.5.1) or support for (4.5.2) environmentalism.</p>	<p>5- This includes any policy proposed by the government, other elected officials, or campaign group that aims to protect the environment. For 4.5.1, the article may criticise the loss of freedom caused by new environmental policies, for example. For 4.5.2, the article may suggest the need for more environmental protection legislation.</p>
<p>6- Use of patriotic language - mentions of placing Britain, British people, or British values, above another place, group of people, or other values, or talks about protecting or promoting Britain or British values.</p>	<p>6- For example, the article may refer to protecting Britain or British people while discussing an issue involving another country or non-British people, or use Britain or British as a standard against which other elements of the story are compared. E.g. “The values promoted by this group are simply incompatible with what the average Brit wants”. Emphasis is on patriotism or nationalism, “The UK proudly supports human rights” would be coded.</p>
<p>7- Use of phrases to position an individual as lesser than an average or normal person.</p>	<p>7- This includes any reference to any group or individual, and also includes references to Britain or British people looking or being weak. Any language used to position a person or group as lesser. This may include phrases such as weak, undeserving, scum, pathetic, etc.</p>
<p>8- Use of competition-driven language.</p>	<p>8- Competition-driven language can refer to competition synonyms, or to phrases such as “the tough will prosper”, “dog-eat-dog”, or other phrases that portray the world as a competitive place.</p>

Code Part 5: Stereotypes

<p>Highlight and code any and all sections of the article that fit a yes response to the following questions. Some of these items have two components, one for the use of a stereotype, and one for the use of a counter-stereotype.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- Included information that is related to an individual's membership of a group, but that is unrelated to the article's story. 2- Suggestion of treating members of different groups differently (5.2.1) or criticising members of groups being treated differently (5.2.2). 3- Portrayal groups or members of different groups as threatening (5.3.1) or countering this stereotype in some way (5.3.2). 4- Portrayal of members of a group as to blame for their circumstances outlined in the article (5.4.1) or placing the blame on society rather than the individual (5.4.2). 	<p>Groups, here, is used to refer to any group used to categorise individuals featured in the article, but is likely to include ethnicity, religion, age, gender, sexuality, disability, marital status, class, parenthood, for example. Phrases such as "gangs" or "terrorists" denote criminal behaviour, but are excluded unless specific reference is made to membership of a group that could be stereotyped, such as "White/Black/Asian gangs" or "foreign terrorists".</p> <p>Each code item in this section has two parts, one for the body of the text and one for the headline. If the item you are coding is in the headline, code it using the headline category, and if the item is in the body of the text code it using the body category.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1- This often appears as the inclusion of information about the group that is unnecessary to the story, but provides a small amount of contextual information to readers. For example, the article might discuss women's appearance in an article featuring female politicians, include medical information in an article that features an individual with a disability, or include information about religion in an article that features a member of that religion. 2- For 5.2.1, the article suggests different treatment of different groups of people, or uses different language when reporting the same activities between different groups. An example could be calling for the restriction of visas for people of different religions or from certain countries. For 5.2.2, the article suggests attempts to counter this stereotype in some way, and criticises treating groups differently. 3- For 5.3.1, emphasis is placed on either the threat posed by a person, and this is connected to their membership of an out-group, or the threat posed by a religion, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexuality, or class for example. Examples include "White/Black/Asian gangs/criminals", or "The threats to British security from immigrants". For 5.3.2, the article will try to counter the threatening portrayal of a group, for example "Immigrants aren't the threat to British security, inequality is". 4- For 5.4.1, the article blames socially disadvantaged groups for different social problems, rather than looking for wider social causes of the situation. An article on homelessness might focus on the faults of an individual that resulted in their homelessness, such as addiction, for example, or unemployed people may be portrayed as to blame for not being employed through accusations of laziness, for example. Examples could include "too lazy to work". For 5.4.2, the article will try to counter this stereotype and shift the blame back to society. Examples could include "Welfare doesn't make people lazy, the system is just set up to make people fail".
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Framing Experiment RWA Conditions

Survey Flow

Block: Pre-test (32 Questions)

BlockRandomizer: 1 - Evenly Present Elements

Standard: Condition 1 (3 Questions)

Standard: Condition 3 (3 Questions)

Standard: Condition 4 (3 Questions)

Standard: Post-test (14 Questions)

Standard: Block 7 (11 Questions)

Page Break

Q1 Participant Information Sheet

Study of: Attitudes towards different political topics.

I am a PhD student from the Institute of Conflict, Cooperation, and Security (School of Government and Society) at the University of Birmingham. I would like to invite you to take part in a research study that examines peoples' political beliefs. Before you decide, you need to understand why the research is being done and what it involves for you. Please take the time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of the research?

We are interested in different political attitudes that people have in the United Kingdom, and how these attitudes can be explained.

Do I have to take part?

No, you do not have to participate in the study. You will only be asked to consent to take part in the study once you are satisfied that you understand what your participation will involve. You can withdraw at any time without giving reason by emailing the researcher. You can also contact the researcher by email with any questions you have about the content of this study before or after participating.

What will my involvement require?

If you agree to take part in this study, we will ask you to provide us with some information about yourself, answer a short questionnaire about your opinions on a few topics, and then answer some questions your political beliefs. You will also be asked to read a short news article before answering a few more questions. The whole process should take around 10-15 minutes.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

It is unlikely that you will benefit directly, but it is hoped that your participation will inform researchers about the attitudes of people in the United Kingdom. If you are interested in finding out the findings of this study, you can contact the researcher directly using the information provided at the bottom of this page.

What are the possible disadvantages or risks of taking part?

In rare cases, your participation in this study may lead to slight discomfort. But because of the non-controversial nature of the questions, we do not anticipate any discomfort in completing this study. If you are asked to read a news article as part of your participation in this study, you might find that you disagree with the content of the article. If you feel that you are unable to continue with the study, you can stop the questionnaire immediately and withdraw from the project.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Yes. All research data will be securely stored on the University servers. Personal data will be handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act, 1998. This means that all of the information you give will be confidential so that those reading reports from the research will not know who has contributed to it. The researcher will identify participants by an assigned number only that is not linked to your identifying information. Research data will be securely retained for a minimum of 10 years in line with University policy.

Withdrawing Data

In the event that you wish to withdraw the information you have provided, please contact Thomas Stocks at TVS500@student.bham.ac.uk within 3 months of the date of your participation. Data that has been withdrawn will be deleted and will not be used in the analysis of the research study.

How do I find out the outcome of the study?

If you wish, you are given the option of providing an email address at the end of the questionnaire. This will enable the researcher to contact you with information about the outcome of this project after its completion. You do not have to provide your email address if you do not want to.

Who has reviewed the project?

This project has been granted ethical approval by the University of Birmingham Ethics Team.

What if there is a problem?

If you have any complaints or concerns regarding the research, please contact Thomas Stocks at TVS500@student.bham.ac.uk in the first instance.
This research is funded by an ESRC studentship.

Thomas Stocks

PhD Student
School of Government and Society
University of Birmingham
TVS500@student.bham.ac.uk

Dr. Tereza Capelos

Senior Lecturer
School of Government and Society
University of Birmingham
+44 (0) 121 414 6366
t.capelos@bham.ac.uk

Dr. Harriet Tenenbaum

Reader
School of Psychology
University of Surrey
+44 (0)1483 689442
h.tenenbaum@surrey.ac.uk

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Q2 Please select the box next to each item to indicate you agree with the statements below before continuing.

	Click below to indicate your agreement. (1)
I have read and understood the information provided about this project on this page. (1)	<input type="radio"/>
I understand that I can contact the researchers with any questions or concerns about the project by post or email. (2)	<input type="radio"/>
I understand what I need to do. (3)	<input type="radio"/>
I know that I can stop completing the questionnaire at any time. (4)	<input type="radio"/>
I know that I can ask for my answers not to be used as part of the study anymore if I let the researcher know within 3 months of the date of my participation. (5)	<input type="radio"/>
I understand that all information that I give will be held in the strictest confidence in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998). This means that no one other than the researchers will know what I said. (6)	<input type="radio"/>
I understand that any answers given will be anonymous, and that any information provided cannot be connected to me. (7)	<input type="radio"/>
I understand that my name and date of birth are provided to enable me to withdraw from participation in this study, that this information will be separated from the answers I provide and deleted after the 3-month window I have to withdraw from this study. (8)	<input type="radio"/>
I have been given enough time to decide if I want to be in this study. (9)	<input type="radio"/>
I have read and understood all of the points above and choose to take part in this study. (10)	<input type="radio"/>

Q3 Please enter some identifying information. This is so if you choose to withdraw from participation within three months, the researchers can identify the responses and delete the information you have provided.

This could be your first name and date of birth, for example, or something else you will easily remember that you think will be unique to you.

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Q4 How regularly do you watch or read the news?

- Multiple times a day. (1)
 - At least once a day. (2)
 - Less than once a day. (3)
 - Once or twice a week. (4)
 - Less than once a week. (5)
 - Less than once a month. (6)
-

Q5 How would you usually find out about news and current affairs?

Please indicate your preference by ranking each of the following options from 1-6, where 1 is your most preferred option.

_____ Online, by accessing the websites of specialist news organisations (for example, BBC.co.uk, Daily Mail Online) (1)

_____ Online, through friends sharing news or links on social media (for example, Facebook, Twitter) (2)

_____ Online, through following well-known people or organisations (for example, celebrities, charities, politicians) (3)

_____ Watching news shows and channels (for example, Sky News, CNN) (4)

_____ Watching other TV shows (for example, comedy panel shows, chat shows) (5)

_____ Reading the newspaper. (6)

Q6 Out of the following newspapers, which would you be most likely to buy from a shop?
Please select any that apply.

Daily Mail (1)

Daily Record (2)

Daily Star (3)

Express (4)

Guardian (5)

Independent (6)

Mirror (7)

Metro (8)

The Sun (9)

Telegraph (10)

The Times (11)

Page Break

Q8 Some people follow what's going on in politics most of the time. Others are not that interested. Would you say that you follow what is going on in politics?

- Most of the time. (1)
 - Some of the time. (2)
 - Only now and then. (3)
 - Hardly at all. (4)
-

Q9 If you are a supporter of a political party, what is the name of the party you support?

Page Break

Q11 Using the scale provided, please indicate how much you agree with the following statements.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
I am always willing to admit when I make a mistake. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I always try to practice what I preach. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I never resent being asked to return a favour. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have never been irritated when people expressed ideas very different from my own. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like to gossip at times. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There have been times when I took advantage of someone. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
At times, I have really insisted on having things my own way. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Q12 There are a lot of different groups in society. For example, there are groups of people with different jobs, different interests, from different ethnic or religious backgrounds, or who listen to different types of music. People can either like or dislike such groups.

If you have to choose, which group in society do you dislike the most?

Q13 Using the scale provided, please indicate how you feel about these statements:

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
Members of your least liked group should be allowed to teach in schools. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Members of your least liked groups should have their phones tapped by the government. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
You would feel comfortable if a member of your least liked group came to live next door. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Q14 Are you able to name one or two internationally recognised human rights? If not, please move on to the following question.

Q15 Please select any of the following organisations you are familiar with:

- European Court of Human Rights (1)
- Impress (2)
- Amnesty International (3)
- Taken (4)
- European Committee for Free Speech (5)
- UN Human Rights Council (6)
- Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights (7)
- Physicians for Human Rights (8)
- Human Rights Watch (9)
- French Human Rights League (10)
- Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (11)
- Human Rights First (12)
- Liberty (13)
- American Civil Liberties Union (14)

Q16 Have you ever worked for a human rights organisation?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q17 Please tick below to indicate if you have done any of these activities in the last five years:

- Donated money to a human rights organisation. (1)
- Signed a petition about a human rights issue. (2)
- Taken part in a demonstration about a human rights issue. (3)
- Encouraged friends to get involved in a human rights issue. (4)
- Written a letter to a newspaper about a human rights issue. (5)
- Written to a Member of Parliament about a human rights issue. (6)
- Posted something on social media about a human rights issue. (7)
-

Page Break

Q18 On the following items, pairs of issues are presented. Please rate what you see as the relative importance of the two items by selecting a box on the scale provided.

Q19 A. Ending torture of political prisoners in countries around the world.
B. Keeping the price of oil at a reasonable level.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q20 A. Not interfering in another country's internal affairs.
B. Ending slavery where it is still practiced (Sudan, etc.)

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q22 A. Promoting freedom of press and information for every country.
B. Keeping undesirable people out of the United Kingdom.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q23 A. Maintaining a strong British military.
B. Ending child prostitution worldwide.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q24 A. Ending ethnic cleansing and genocide in other countries.
B. Getting Britain involved only in foreign affairs that directly impact our own security.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q25 A. Keeping Britain the strongest nation.
B. Working towards liveable wages for workers in every country.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q26 A. Making medicines available to those that cannot afford them (i.e., the elderly, poor, or victims of AIDS in Africa, etc.)
B. Ending illegal immigration into the U.K.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q27 A. Making sure that Britain's allies around the world support us.
B. Making basic education available to everyone in every country (i.e., through the UN, sponsored charity groups).

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q28 A. Ensuring that all people have access to adequate food, shelter and clean drinking water.

B. Stopping the export of British industry and jobs to other countries.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q29 A. Increasing the standards of living in third world countries.

B. Keeping Britain free from international laws.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q30 A. Not supporting nations that have poor human rights records.

B. Being involved with nations that can aid or benefit the United Kingdom, whatever their domestic policies.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
- Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
- Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
- Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
- Item B is much more important than item A (5)

Q31 A. Preventing crimes against humanity (mass killings and genocide) around the world.
B. Being sure that only the right people are allowed to immigrate to Britain.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
- Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
- Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
- Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
- Item B is much more important than item A (5)

Page Break

Q32 Using the scale provided, please indicate how you feel about these statements:	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
The work of human rights organisations such as Amnesty International is worth being supported without qualification. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am very much personally affected when I am once again reminded by the news of how many violations of human rights take place in this world. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Human rights are of concern to all of us, so everyone should consider how he or she can be committed to the adherence of human rights. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Personal engagement for human rights is not essential because so much is being done already. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Even in times of crisis, everyone should be equal before the law and entitled to equal protection of the law. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Every person who is accused of a severe crime should be considered innocent until proven guilty in a fair trial. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Every person should have the right to choose his or her religion and philosophy of life and express it in private or public. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There are times when people should be kept from expressing their opinion. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

There are times when the restriction of freedom of press is justified. (9)

Even in times of crisis, everyone should have the right to assemble peacefully and to form associations. (10)

Even in times of crisis, every citizen should have the right to take his or her convictions to the streets. (11)

As far as violations of human rights are concerned, a humanitarian attitude means to determinedly use military means to end the human rights violations. (12)

For a long time one has tried to ensure human rights through negotiations. Nowadays I consider it important that one reports to military means if necessary. (13)

Although war has to be objected to in general, it is a different matter if human rights are at stake. (14)

The Armed Forces should be upgraded so that they can intervene more successfully when human rights are violated. (15)

I think it's a contradiction in terms if human rights are enforced by bombs. (16)

It is still better to go to war for a few months than to sit back and accept long-term violations of human rights. (17)

Page Break

Q33 Using the scale provided, please indicate how you feel about these statements:	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Some groups of people are simply inferior to others. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
No one group should dominate in society. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Group equality should not be our primary goal. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is unjust to try and make groups equal. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

Q39 Using the scale provided, please indicate how you feel about these statements:	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
There's no 'ONE right way' to live life; everybody has to create their own path. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Our country needs free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Our country will be great if we honour the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil and take us back to our true path. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The "old-fashioned ways" and "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Page Break

End of Block: Pre-test

Start of Block: Condition 1

Q40 You have now finished the first questionnaire.

Now, please read the article below carefully. In the following questionnaire, you will be asked some questions about the article you are about to read. There will also be some additional questions, some of which will be similar to those in the questionnaire you have just completed.

-

Human rights aren't keeping us safe from dangerous migrants.

How can we ever rid our country of such undesirables while the Human Rights Act remains on the statute book?

It was reassuring to hear the Prime Minister vow that "enough is enough" but as with that other soundbite, "Brexit means Brexit," we are left wondering what it means. Given that Britain is a liberal democracy, what measures can be taken to keep us safe from dangerous immigrants, and does Parliament even have the will to do more?

For example, human rights will overturn all but the feeblest attempts to deport migrants that are a threat. But that's precisely when the Prime Minister must insist that enough really is enough and push through legislation anyway.

Q35 Using just a small sentence or two, please summarise the key points from the article you have just read.

Q36 The article you have just read included the following passage:

“For example, human rights will overturn all but the feeblest attempts to deport migrants that are a threat.”

According to surveys of the general public, many people are unhappy that human rights can be an obstacle to the government deporting dangerous migrants.

End of Block: Condition 1

Start of Block: Condition 3

Q65 You have now finished the first questionnaire.

Now, please read the article below carefully. In the following questionnaire, you will be asked some questions about the article you are about to read. There will also be some additional questions, some of which will be similar to those in the questionnaire you have just completed.

-

Human rights aren't keeping us safe...

It was reassuring to hear the Prime Minister vow that "enough is enough" but as with that other soundbite, "Brexit means Brexit," we are left wondering what it means. Given that Britain is a liberal democracy what measures can be taken to keep us safe, and does Parliament even have the will to do more?

For example, human rights will overturn all but the feeblest attempts of the government to keep us safe. Whenever this happens, the Prime Minister must insist that enough really is enough and push through legislation anyway.

Q66 Using just a small sentence or two, please summarise the key points from the article you have just read.

Q67 The article you have just read included the following passage:

“For example, human rights will overturn all but the feeblest attempts of the government to keep us safe.”

According to surveys of the general public, many people are unhappy that human rights can be an obstacle to the government.

End of Block: Condition 3

Start of Block: Condition 4

Q68 You have now finished the first questionnaire.

Now, please read the article below carefully. In the following questionnaire, you will be asked some questions about the article you are about to read. There will also be some additional questions, some of which will be similar to those in the questionnaire you have just completed.

-

We aren't being kept safe from terrorism.

Parliament needs to do more to tackle terrorism.

It was reassuring to hear the Prime Minister vow that "enough is enough" but as with that other soundbite, "Brexit means Brexit," we are left wondering what it means. Given that Britain is a liberal democracy what measures can be taken to prevent further terrorist attacks, and does Parliament even have the will to do more?

The Prime Minister must insist that enough really is enough and push through any measures that will help us.

Q69 Using just a small sentence or two, please summarise the key points from the article you have just read.

Q70 The article you have just read included the following passage:

"Parliament needs to do more to tackle terrorism."

According to surveys of the general public, many people agree that not enough is being done to protect us from terrorism.

End of Block: Condition 4

Start of Block: Post-test

Q37

On the following items, pairs of issues are presented. Please rate what you see as the relative importance of the two items by selecting a box on the scale provided.

Q38 A. Ending torture of political prisoners in countries around the world.

B. Keeping the price of oil at a reasonable level.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q39 A. Not interfering in another country's internal affairs.

B. Ending slavery where it is still practiced (Sudan, etc.)

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q40 A. Promoting freedom of press and information for every country.
B. Keeping undesirable people out of the United Kingdom.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q41 A. Maintaining a strong British military.
B. Ending child prostitution worldwide.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q42 A. Ending ethnic cleansing and genocide in other countries.
B. Getting Britain involved only in foreign affairs that directly impact our own security.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q43 A. Keeping Britain the strongest nation.
B. Working towards liveable wages for workers in every country.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q44 A. Making medicines available to those that cannot afford them (i.e., the elderly, poor, or victims of AIDS in Africa, etc.)
B. Ending illegal immigration into the U.K.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q45 A. Making sure that Britain's allies around the world support us.
B. Making basic education available to everyone in every country (i.e., through the UN, sponsored charity groups).

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q46 A. Ensuring that all people have access to adequate food, shelter and clean drinking water.

B. Stopping the export of British industry and jobs to other countries.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q47 A. Increasing the standards of living in third world countries.

B. Keeping Britain free from international laws.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
 - Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
 - Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
 - Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
 - Item B is much more important than item A (5)
-

Q48 A. Not supporting nations that have poor human rights records.

B. Being involved with nations that can aid or benefit the United Kingdom, whatever their domestic policies.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
- Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
- Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
- Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
- Item B is much more important than item A (5)

Q49 A. Preventing crimes against humanity (mass killings and genocide) around the world.
B. Being sure that only the right people are allowed to immigrate to Britain.

- Item A is much more important than item B (1)
- Item A is somewhat more important than item B (2)
- Items A and B are of equal importance (3)
- Item B is somewhat more important than item A (4)
- Item B is much more important than item A (5)

Page Break

Q50 Using the scale provided, please indicate how you feel about these statements:

Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Somewhat disagree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat agree (5)	Agree (6)	Strongly agree (7)
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The work of human rights organisations such as Amnesty International is worth being supported without qualification. (1)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

I am very much personally affected when I am once again reminded by the news of how many violations of human rights take place in this world. (2)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Human rights are of concern to all of us, so everyone should consider how he or she can be committed to the adherence of human rights. (3)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Personal engagement for human rights is not essential because so much is being done already. (4)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Even in times of crisis, everyone should be equal before the law and entitled to equal protection of the law. (5)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Every person who is accused of a severe crime should be considered innocent until proven guilty in a fair trial. (6)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

Every person should have the right to choose his or her religion and philosophy of life and express it in private or public. (7)

<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

There are times when people should be kept from expressing their opinion. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There are times when the restriction of freedom of press is justified. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Even in times of crisis, everyone should have the right to assemble peacefully and to form associations. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Even in times of crisis, every citizen should have the right to take his or her convictions to the streets. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
As far as violations of human rights are concerned, a humanitarian attitude means to determinedly use military means to end the human rights violations. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
For a long time one has tried to ensure human rights through negotiations. Nowadays I consider it important that one reports to military means if necessary. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Although war has to be objected to in general, it is a different matter if human rights are at stake. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Armed Forces should be upgraded so that they can intervene more successfully when human rights are violated. (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think it's a contradiction in terms if human rights are enforced by bombs. (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

It is still better to go to war for a few months than to sit back and accept long-term violations of human rights. (17)



End of Block: Post-test

Start of Block: Block 7

Q74 To finish, we want to ask a few general questions about your background and preferences. You do not have to answer these questions if you would prefer not to, but it helps us to understand how representative our sample is.



Q75 Which year were you born?



Q76 Please tick to indicate the ethnic or cultural group you consider yourself belonging to the most.

- White - English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British (1)
- White - Irish (2)
- White - Gypsy, Traveller or Irish Traveller (3)
- White - Any other background (4)
- Mixed - White and Black Caribbean (5)
- Mixed - White and Black African (6)
- Mixed - White and Asian (7)
- Any other Mixed/Multiple ethnic background (8)
- Asian/Asian British - Indian (9)
- Asian/Asian British - Pakistani (10)
- Asian/Asian British - Bangladeshi (11)
- Asian/Asian British - Chinese (12)
- Asian/Asian British - Any other Asian background (13)
- Black/African/Caribbean/Black British - African (14)
- Black/African/Caribbean/Black British - Caribbean (15)
- Black/African/Caribbean/Black British - Any other Black/ African/ Caribbean background (16)
- Arab (17)
- Any other ethnic group (18)

Q77 How would you describe your gender?

Q78 How would you describe your sexual orientation?

Q79 Do you have a disability, long-term illness, or health condition?

- Yes (1)
 - No (2)
 - Prefer not to say (3)
-

Q80 Would you describe yourself as religious?

- Yes (1)
 - No (2)
 - I would prefer not to say (3)
-

Q81 If you do describe yourself as religious, which religion or denomination do you belong to?

- Roman Catholic (1)
- CofE/Protestant (2)
- Reformed (3)
- Other Christian faith (4)
- Islamic (5)
- Jewish (6)
- Hindu (7)
- Sikh (8)
- Other religion (9)

Page Break

Q82 Debrief

What was the purpose of this survey?

This research examines the relationship between the exposure to different kinds of media reporting and attitudes towards human rights in the United Kingdom. Different participants are given different types of news stories, based on real news items. We are interested in how exposure to these different stories affects people's views about human rights.

The initial project description informed you that this study was about political opinions more generally. This was to avoid activating any existing attitudes you may have towards human rights. We also told you that you were completing two separate questionnaires. This was to ensure that you read the article we provided, and that you expected that some of the questions you would be answering were repeats.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Yes. All research data will be securely stored on the University servers. Personal data will be handled in accordance with the Data Protection Act, 1998. This means that all of the information you give will be confidential so that those reading reports from the research will not know who has contributed to it. The researcher will identify participants by an assigned number only that is not linked to your identifying information. Research data will be securely retained for a minimum of 10 years in line with University policy.

Withdrawing Data

In the event that you wish to withdraw the information you have provided, please contact Thomas Stocks at TVS500@student.bham.ac.uk within 3 months of the date of your participation. Data that has been withdrawn will be deleted and will not be used in the analysis of the research study.

Q83 How do I find out the outcome of the study?

Please email TVS500@student.bham.ac.uk to be informed of the outcome of this study.

Q84 What if there is a problem?

If you have any complaints or concerns regarding the research, please contact Thomas Stocks at TVS500@student.bham.ac.uk in the first instance.

Thomas Stocks

PhD Student

School of Government and Society

University of Birmingham

TVS500@student.bham.ac.uk

Dr. Tereza Capelos

Senior Lecturer

School of Government and Society

University of Birmingham

+44 (0) 121 414 6366

t.capelos@bham.ac.uk

Dr Harriet Tenenbaum

Reader

School of Psychology

University of Surrey

+44 (0)1483 689442

h.tenenbaum@surrey.ac.uk

End of Block: Block 7

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