



BUILDING BRIDGES

Connecting with
values to reframe
and build support
for human rights

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AUTHORS

This guide has been written as part of a wider collaboration between Equally Ours, Counterpoint and the Public Interest Research Centre (PIRC).

Equally Ours is a partnership of eight national charities that aims to inspire everyone to understand how human rights benefit all of us in the UK, every day, in very practical ways.

Counterpoint is a research consultancy that uses social science methods to explain how cultural and social dynamics affect politics and markets. With a focus on how civil society operates in different contexts, Counterpoint helps organisations develop solutions for more resilient and prosperous societies.

PIRC is an independent charity conducting and communicating research for a more democratic, equitable & sustainable society. It is also part of the Common Cause network.

Common Cause is group of people and organisations who work to help strengthen the cultural values that underpin long-term social and environmental justice.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This guide has been developed to share the findings of in-depth research into the frames which are being used in discussions about human rights, the values they evoke and what we can do to introduce more positive frames into the debate.

Starting a more positive conversation about human rights is something we should all be focussed on. Human rights are vital to achieving wider aims on equality and social justice, but they are poorly understood, and the current discourse is overwhelmingly unhelpful to these aims. Stories about the positive impact of human rights for people across the country are few and far between. The connection between human rights and wider equality and social justice is missing. This guide provides examples of how you might communicate equality and social justice issues using human rights frames.

Our key findings include:

- » How we frame human rights can and does make a difference to how they are perceived.
- » Frames which activate intrinsic values lead to a greater concern for human rights and social justice more widely.
- » Appealing to intrinsic values is a more effective way of engaging with negative frames than trying to negate them.
- » Long-term repetition of positive frames is vital in creating more support for human rights.
- » Deliberation along with framing can help promote the values that foster more concern for human rights.

In this guide we show that there is a need to create a new 'common sense' on human rights. We will show that repetition of messages that frame human rights as essential, relevant and universal will help move people who are unsure or conflicted about the importance of human rights to be much more supportive. And we will show that in doing this in a way that strengthens deeper intrinsic values, we increase the likelihood of long-term, positive and sustained commitment to equality and social justice.

INTRODUCTION

This is a practical guide to the relationship between values, frames and efforts to build support for equality, human rights and social justice.

It is aimed at charities and campaign groups working in equality, social and environmental justice, whose work helps to promote and protect human rights in practice. It will also be useful for human rights campaigners and advocacy groups.

The guide looks at the role of **values** and **frames** in human rights debates and provides advice on how to engage with these consciously and positively through communications, campaigning and policy development. Our recommendations are based on research that has analysed how current debates around human rights are framed, and how these engage particular values in people.

This guide will help you understand:

- » How to think about values and frames when you're campaigning, communicating and engaging with people about equality, social justice and human rights issues.
- » How the current debate about human rights is framed and how these frames activate particular values.
- » How to use human rights frames for the issues your organisation is concerned about, and how this can build support for the deeper values and principles that underpin your work.

The approach outlined in this guide is designed to complement and integrate with wider efforts to build a collaborative movement to promote and secure human rights for everyone.

Values, frames and human rights

Throughout this guide we refer to values, frames and human rights using these broad definitions:

- » **Values** are the things we consider truly important in life. They are deep guiding principles that give shape to our attitudes and how we behave.
- » **Frames** are ways of understanding the world around us that we use to filter information and arguments. They often operate at a subconscious level and are closely related to our values.
- » **Human rights** are the fundamental rights and freedoms that belong to each and every person. They are set out in international treaties that the UK has signed up to. The Human Rights Act protects many of our human rights in British law.

Human rights are underpinned by, and bring to life, the values of equality, freedom, dignity, respect and autonomy – values that matter to anyone working for greater equality and social or environmental justice.

Connecting with these values creates an important bridge between these shared goals, helping to foster a greater commitment to them in the hearts and minds of the wider public. When we talk about or campaign on equality, social justice and human rights issues, we can choose – consciously – to frame what we say and do in a way that helps to reinforce and strengthen these shared values.

Research the Equality and Diversity Forum carried out in 2012 showed that there is broad public support for the values which underpin human rights in the UK. By far the largest proportion of the public (over 50%) hold conflicting or neutral attitudes to human rights – they are unsure whether human rights are relevant to their lives, but when this relevance is made clear their attitudes become more positive.¹ We therefore focus attention in this guide to reinforcing frames and values that will be effective in influencing this group.

We hope this guide will help you to use frames and values both to integrate a human rights narrative into wider campaigns of equality and social justice and shift the terms of the debate to ensure the promotion and protection of human rights for everyone.

Section 1 discusses why it's important for charities and voluntary organisations to **talk about human rights**.

Section 2 **describes values and frames** in more detail and sets out the academic theory and research that underpins the approach we take in this guide.

Section 3 sets out the **findings from two pieces of research** into the current relationship between human rights debates, frames and values.

Section 4 gives **practical “how to” guidance** about using values and frames for people working in communications, campaigning and policy development.

Section 5 discusses some **next steps** that we plan to take to support organisations in taking this approach.

The Appendix provides:

- 1.** A definition of each value and how values can be grouped together,
- 2.** A components analysis of the 5 frames we tested on the public,
- 3.** Examples of how campaigners can reclaim or reframe particular values,
- 4.** A full breakdown of the frequency of the frames discussed, and
- 5.** An FAQ section.

1. WHY TALK ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS?

Why it's important for lots of charities and voluntary organisations to talk about human rights.

Many charities and voluntary organisations work to secure basic human rights principles of dignity, respect, equality, fairness and autonomy for the people they work with.

A few examples include:

- » Health charities are often concerned about the lack of dignity provided in hospitals, care homes and at home.
- » Children's charities advocate for children to be treated with respect and for their voices to be heard in decision-making.
- » Disability and mental health organisations campaign for autonomy and empowerment to be at the heart of policy and practice affecting people.
- » Charities working with refugees and asylum seekers campaign for humane policies that protect the fundamental rights of the people they work with.

Talking about the issues that affect the people you work with through a human rights lens helps to amplify and build consensus about a wider set of values and principles by:

- » Bringing the idea of individual empowerment at the heart of your message.
- » Emphasising the principles of equality, dignity and respect, and undermining prejudice, discrimination and injustice.
- » Helping people to see the relevance of human rights for their everyday lives and building their understanding and confidence in asserting and respecting them.

Sometimes charities and voluntary organisations don't talk about human rights because they think that this may be off-putting to the people they're communicating with, or they don't feel confident talking about human rights.

In reality, there is broad public support right across the population for the values and principles of human rights and we know that people become even more positive when they see the relevance of human rights to their everyday lives.²

2. INTRODUCING VALUES AND FRAMES

What we mean by values and frames: a summary of the research ideas behind these concepts.

What are values?

Our values are what we consider truly important in life. They are the deep guiding principles that motivate us, shape our decisions, influence how we behave and help us make sense of the world.

We all value many different things: friendship, love, freedom, social justice, the environment, success, safety, wealth, social status, having fun, tradition and so on. We also all place priority on different values at various points in our lives, and in different situations.

We may not often think about our values consciously, but they guide the way we think, how we feel and what we do. Our values play an important role in guiding our attitudes and our actions when it comes to social and environmental issues.

How do values work?

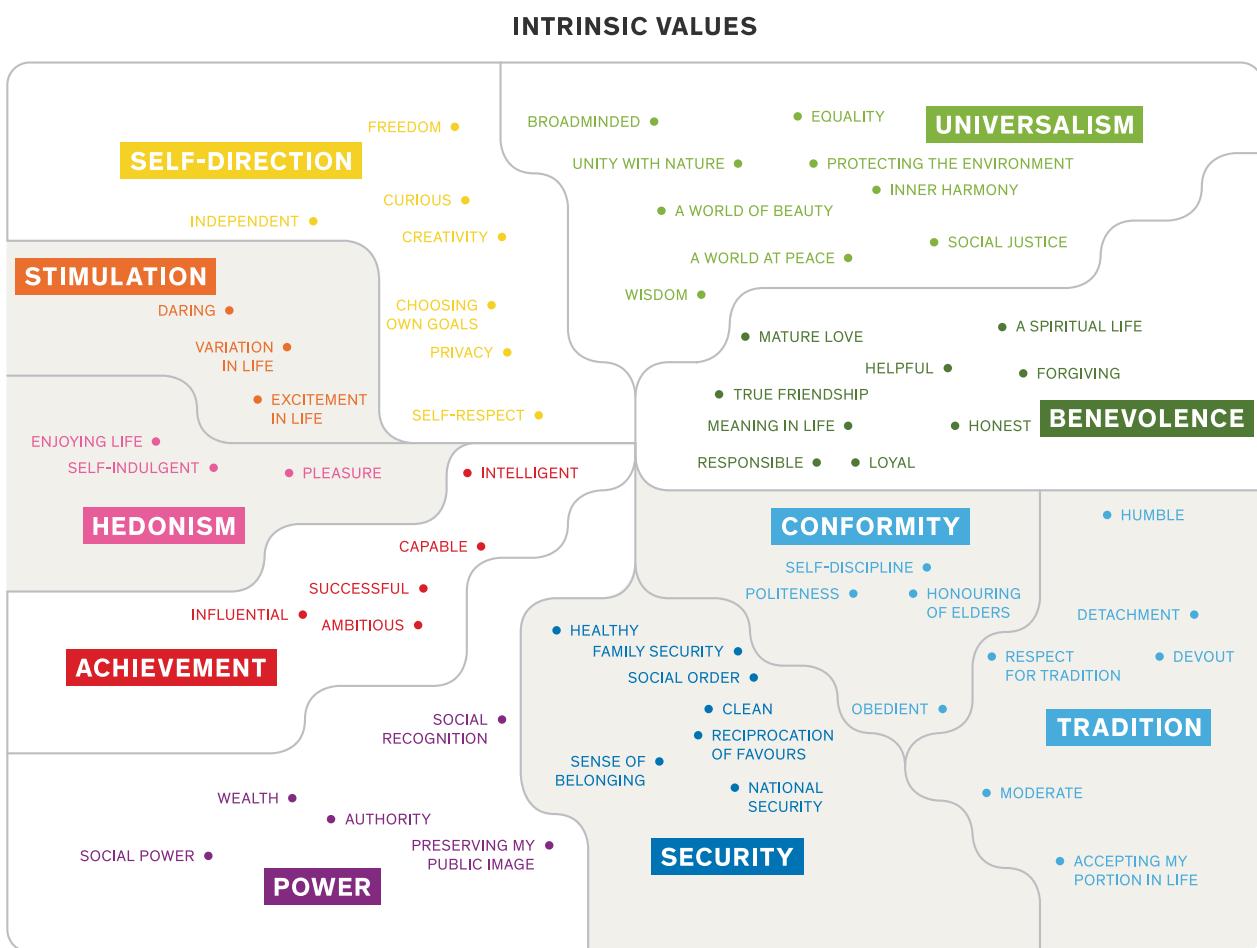
Researchers, working in over 80 countries and using survey data from over 60,000 people, have found a set of 58 values that seem to recur across almost all cultures.³ Almost everyone appears to value all of these things, at least to some extent.⁴ These values and their definitions are listed in the Appendix.

Researchers have also found that there are consistent statistical patterns in the relationships between these values. These relationships can be plotted to create a “values map”, shown in Figure 1.

Values that are close to each other on the map are more likely to be held strongly at the same time. So, someone who values *equality* strongly is also likely to value *protecting the environment* strongly.⁵ Values that are far apart on the map are less likely to be held strongly at the same time. So, someone who values *equality* strongly is less likely to value *authority* strongly (although he or she will almost certainly place some value on both).⁶

Building on the consistent relationships between values, researchers have categorised them into ten groups: universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, security, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation and self-direction. These are defined in Table 1.

Researchers have also identified different types of values within these ten groups. These are **intrinsic** and **extrinsic** values.



EXTRINSIC VALUES

Figure 1. Values map including value groups.

Table 1. Value groups and definitions.

UNIVERSALISM UNDERSTANDING, APPRECIATION, TOLERANCE AND PROTECTION FOR THE WELFARE OF ALL PEOPLE AND FOR NATURE.	POWER SOCIAL STATUS AND PRESTIGE, CONTROL OR DOMINANCE OVER PEOPLE AND RESOURCES.
BENEVOLENCE PRESERVATION AND ENHANCEMENT OF THE WELFARE OF PEOPLE WITH WHOM ONE IS IN FREQUENT PERSONAL CONTACT.	ACHIEVEMENT PERSONAL SUCCESS THROUGH DEMONSTRATING COMPETENCE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL STANDARDS.
TRADITION RESPECT, COMMITMENT AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE CUSTOMS AND IDEAS THAT TRADITIONAL CULTURE OR RELIGION PROVIDE THE SELF.	HEDONISM PLEASURE AND SENSUOUS GRATIFICATION FOR ONESELF.
CONFORMITY RESTRAINT OF ACTIONS, INCLINATIONS AND IMPULSES LIKELY TO UPSET OR HARM OTHERS AND VIOLATE SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS OR NORMS.	STIMULATION EXCITEMENT, NOVELTY AND CHALLENGE IN LIFE.
SECURITY SAFETY, HARMONY, AND STABILITY OF SOCIETY, OF RELATIONSHIPS, AND OF SELF.	SELF-DIRECTION INDEPENDENT THOUGHT AND ACTION - CHOOSING, CREATING, EXPLORING.

Intrinsic values are those concerned with compassion for other people, and for nature, as well as individual autonomy and freedom. They are inward looking and we care about them for their own sake, because they are rewarding in themselves. The “universalism”, “benevolence” and “self-direction” groups of values are all intrinsic.

Extrinsic values are concerned with external reward or approval. They are outward looking and we care about them for the sake of personal material gain or status. The “achievement” and “power” groups are extrinsic values.

These values affect our motivation in different ways. People who have strong intrinsic values are more concerned, committed and active on social and environmental issues. People who have strong extrinsic values are more interested in self-enhancement and wealth. Security values are not in the extrinsic grouping, but they neighbour the power values on the map, and they are motivationally quite close. What they have in common is that they are both driven to some extent by anxiety and self-preservation against threat.⁷

Why do values matter?

Values matter to anyone campaigning for equality, human rights and social or environmental justice. This is because people’s values affect their concern and motivation for these issues. When we build support for our cause in a way that strengthens the wider values of universalism, benevolence and self-direction, we increase the likelihood of long-term, positive and sustained commitment to our own cause’s more specific goals.

There are clear links between people’s values and how they think and act. For example, people who think that intrinsic values are particularly important also tend to have:

- » More positive attitudes towards diversity in general.⁸
- » Greater understanding and appreciation of difference. For example, people are more likely to agree with statements like ‘people with disabilities can teach me things I could not learn elsewhere’.⁹
- » Stronger beliefs that immigrants enrich society, and less agreement that immigration should be capped.¹⁰
- » More positive attitudes towards equality between men and women.¹¹
- » Higher general endorsement of human rights, based on the principle of egalitarianism and less support for military intervention on human rights violations.¹²

On other hand, extrinsic values are associated both with higher levels of prejudice¹³ and less desire to have contact with other groups. The more someone cares about extrinsic values, the more likely they are to agree with the statement ‘I am only at ease with people of my race’.¹⁴

How are values engaged?

We all hold all of the values on the values map, just to different extents. Although some of our values are usually more important to us than others, things we see, hear and experience can engage any of them temporarily.

For example, experiments have shown that we are more likely to give up our time to volunteer after reading language about *equality* and *fairness* (intrinsic values) than after reading words related to *power* and *ambition* (extrinsic values).¹⁵

When one value is engaged, values that are far away on the values map can seem less important (the seesaw effect) and values that are close can seem more important (the spillover effect).

For example, experiments show that if we're encouraged to think about wealth and status, we become less motivated to act in an environmentally friendly way. But after thinking even briefly about the importance of broadmindedness, affiliation, and self-acceptance (intrinsic values), we're more likely to rate climate change as more important.¹⁶

Values are activated – or suppressed – by the way in which we “frame” an issue.

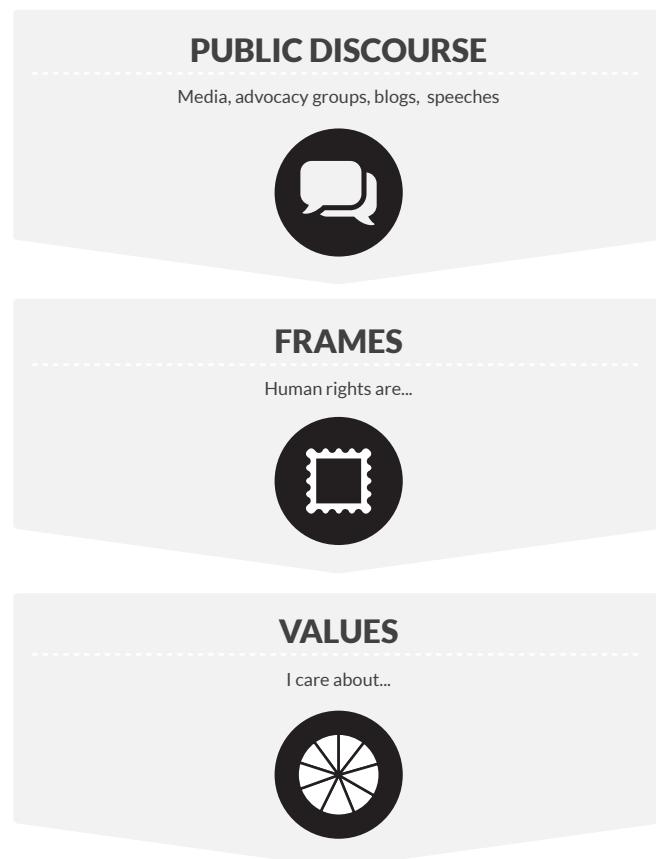


Figure 2 – From values to public discourse.

What are frames?

Frames are mental structures - ways of thinking about the world that help us to organise our ideas, feelings and experiences. Frames can also be used as a tool for communicating about issues.

Frames as mental structures

We automatically store thoughts and experiences in our memory. To make sense of the world, our brains structure and connect this information from our memory to create a picture or a reference point. These structures in our minds are called frames.

Without frames, we would be overwhelmed by information and would struggle to digest the world around us. Frames break up our ideas and experiences into manageable chunks. When we find out new pieces of information, we integrate this information into the frames we already have.

Take the example of the murder mystery frame.¹⁷ If we read or watch a murder story, we expect to be introduced to a victim, a series of suspects, a motive, an investigator and finally a murderer. We expect to see a scenario where the murderer kills the victim and where the investigator catches the murderer. We have these expectations because over time and through repeated exposure our brains have associated these types of characters and scenarios with a murder mystery. Any new piece of information will be interpreted to fit the murder mystery frame. For example, if we find evidence of a weapon, we will probably wonder whether or not the murderer used this weapon to commit the crime.

Frames can be found in everyday debates about equality, human rights and social justice. As in the murder mystery frame, these frames have roles – like a cast of characters – and scenarios played out by whoever is in these roles. For example, the “benefit cheats” frame dominates in discussions about the welfare state, with familiar characters and storylines routinely portrayed by politicians and the media.

The more often frames are repeated, the stronger they get. When frames get strong enough, they can determine the way we tend to think about an issue and define what we consider our ‘common sense’. Any new information or event that we are exposed to will be interpreted based on the frames we already hold. “Facts” will be filtered through our existing frames. If they “fit”, they will reinforce the frame and if they don’t make sense to our frame, they will simply bounce off.¹⁸

Frames as a communications tool

When it comes to communicating about issues, we use particular frames to present our arguments or tell our stories. These frames are bundles of metaphors and associations that, as campaigners and communicators, we often choose without thinking too deeply.

However, the frames we choose and use when we're communicating about an issue can engage people's underlying values in a profound way, which in turn affects how they think and behave about the issue. When we think about how to frame what we say, we are really thinking about how to appeal to the deeper values that we want to engage in people.

For example, in one experiment, people's views on how to deal with crime differed depending on how it was described in a piece of text.¹⁹ When crime was framed as a 'virus' to be treated or eradicated, people were more likely to suggest social reforms like fixing the economy, improving education or providing better health care. On the other hand, when crime was framed as a 'beast' preying on the city, people were more likely to recommend locking people up and increasing police numbers.

In another experiment, people behaved differently when asked to play the same game, depending on its name. When the game was called "the Wall Street game", people were more likely to betray other players. When it was called "the Community game", people behaved more cooperatively with other players.²⁰

In this example, we can see how the values associated with different metaphors and words were engaged, leading people to think and act in line with those values. Because a "community" frame activates values of cooperation and benevolence, people were more likely to cooperate with others. Whereas because a "Wall Street" frame engages values of power and achievement, people were more likely to betray others.

People often hold different frames in their minds at the same time about the same issue. However, some frames are more dominant than others. Like values, repeated engagement of a frame helps to strengthen it. For campaigners, this means it is important to avoid evoking frames that you do not support – by doing this, even if it is to "debunk" or argue against it, it's likely that you will simply reinforce it in the minds of the wider audience. For example, US Republicans have used 'tax relief' to frame taxes as an affliction. Just by discussing and arguing against 'tax relief', US Democrats reinforced a view of taxation that undercuts their own position on the issue – taxes provide for basic services or taxes are an investment in the future.²¹

Thinking about the frames we choose to describe our aims, our work and our campaigns is important: it means that we are consciously thinking about the values that we're engaging in the people we're communicating with. To effectively win over hearts and minds, framing must be part of wider efforts to foster support such as encouraging deliberative discussions and raising awareness of issues through education.

3. VALUES, FRAMES AND CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS DISCUSSIONS

This section sets out the findings from research into how human rights are currently discussed in the media and politics.

We wanted to know what values and frames were being used in public discourse.

To do this, we carried out research into how debates about human rights in the UK are currently framed, and the values these frames evoke. We identified and analysed twelve separate frames.

We found significant differences in the kind of values these different frames brought out and strengthened in people. Importantly, we found that when human rights debates were framed in a way that clearly connected them to intrinsic values, this strengthened support both for human rights and for these wider values – values that underpin the causes that many charities and campaigners are working to achieve.

What we did

Mapping frames in the Media

We analysed broadsheet and tabloid newspapers,²² political blogs²³ and parliamentary speeches from 2013 to identify, classify and measure the frequency of the frames that are currently being used to discuss human rights in the media and politics.²⁴

We also compared the frequency of different frames in England,²⁵ Scotland,²⁶ Wales²⁷ and Northern Ireland.²⁸

We then tested our analysis at a workshop with members of the public and, based on this, finalised a list of twelve frames.

Connecting frames with values

We looked at each frame in more detail to begin to analyse the values it might evoke. We asked questions like: What is the problem implied by the frame, and how should we fix it? What metaphors are used? What emotions are we supposed to feel? Who are the main characters and what roles do they have – e.g. who are the heroes and villains? Figure 3 gives an example of how we approached this.

FRAME EXAMPLE

Put Killer in Dock

The Mirror, March 13 2013

We have a **proud record** of **respecting human rights** in Britain but people were slaughtered without **mercy** in Sudan. ... Britain should be a **beacon** to the world as a **law-abiding, welcoming** country. ... So **we** must **champion** respect for **people everywhere** and, heaven forbid, never become a haven for war criminals.

FRAME COMPONENTS

The problem?

Human rights violations abroad. Britain might have to accommodate criminals.

'We' the British

Assumes that the reader is a law-abiding British citizen, respecting human rights.

The solution?

Britain must set an example to others with its human rights record.

Metaphors

Britain as hero, saviour, defender of rights
Britain as host, welcoming to all.

Emotions

Pride, outrage, righteousness

VALUES

SELF-DIRECTION
UNIVERSALISM
TRADITION
CONFORMITY
ACHIEVEMENT
POWER
BENEVOLENCE
SECURITY

Figure 3 – Worked example of breaking down a frame.

We asked three people with expertise in values theory to independently analyse each frame and score the values it expressed. There were high levels of agreement between these expert coders, giving us confidence that the overall analysis was robust and accurate. Then, we ran a workshop to see how people working on equality and human rights issues reacted to the frames we'd identified, using the same questions we used in our initial analysis of the values being evoked.

Testing values

We tested the values evoked by each frame, and the extent to which attitude changes were maintained over time. We held a deliberative workshop with members of the public who held conflicting views on human rights to explore how their attitudes changed when they were presented with different frames.

This helped us to design a bigger study with over 1,400 people. In this study, we looked at five different frames in more depth, to see whether even one single reading of a frame could affect people's immediate attitudes. We gave everyone one piece of text that expressed one of these frames, followed by a survey on human rights and other social attitudes.

What we found

Mapping Frames in the Media

We found that few articles in the leading national newspapers examined the basic principles of human rights or argued for the importance of protecting human rights in law. Human rights were rarely associated with advances in equality, tolerance and fairness.

There was substantial opposition in the media to applying the fundamental principles of human rights to everyone; instead, minority groups such as foreigners, criminals or prisoners were regularly presented as undeserving of human rights protections.

The dominant media narrative linked human rights with "undeserving" groups and used them as a proxy for anti-European views. Human rights were portrayed as undermining rather than enhancing traditional freedoms and legal protections, rather than empowering and enhancing citizenship.

We identified twelve frames that recurred in discussions of human rights: six frames that promoted the concept of human rights and six frames that undermined the concept of human rights. The following tables describes these frames. Figure 4 shows how frequently they occurred within the UK, and the values they most strongly appealed to.

Frames that promote Human Rights

Frame	Description	Values
Protect Basic Rights	Human rights ensure that public bodies respect and protect our fundamental rights in everyday life; what you can say and do, your beliefs including religion, your right to a fair trial, preventing older people receiving care benefit from neglect or abuse, and other similar basic entitlements. The Human Rights Act allows Brits to safeguard these rights in the UK.	Universalism, Self-direction
Promote Tradition and Patriotism	Protection of human rights is part of the British tradition of fairness and justice. The UK's respect for its tradition of human rights promotes their wider acceptance. The UK should be proud of its human rights record; it is a model for other countries.	Universalism, Self-direction, Tradition, Achievement
Defend British Democracy	Human rights provide Britain with more sovereignty: people can claim their rights much quicker and easier, since you can bring a case to British courts rather than having to go to Strasbourg. More judicial protection of human rights enhances the functioning of democracy: it ensures greater protection and participation for the most vulnerable people in society who may not be politically represented.	Universalism, Self-direction, Power
Everyone has Human Rights	Human rights apply to everyone.	Universalism, Self-direction, Benevolence
Prevent Discrimination	Human rights laws prevent discrimination, including religious discrimination.	Universalism, Self-direction, Benevolence, Tradition
Balance Competing Interests	Courts have struck the right balance between individual rights and the interests of public safety. Human rights such as right to privacy or family ties are qualified in the interest of national security or to prevent disorder or crime.	Universalism, Security, Self-direction, Tradition, Power

Frames that undermine human rights

Frame	Description	Values
Decrease Security	Human rights get in the way of our security interests, jeopardising public safety and preventing the enforcement of existing law to tackle terrorism, disorder, crime and/or immigration.	Security, Conformity, Power
Reduce Our Sovereignty	Human rights allow an unelected European court the task of interpreting British law, which is much better carried out by British judges in British courts and which undermine the country's sovereignty and democracy.	Power, Security, Self-direction
Increase Unfairness	Human rights damage British tradition of fairness because only foreigners, prisoners and criminals use them. These people exploit and abuse them to avoid punishment, pursue selfish demands or protect rights not envisioned by the law.	Security, Tradition, Conformity, Power
Increase Cost	The application of human rights is expensive for British taxpayers.	Power, Security, Conformity, Tradition
Damage British Tradition	Human rights damage British tradition and culture by undermining traditional freedoms, legal protections, and trust in the justice system. They further the interests of foreigners over British citizens.	Security, Conformity, Power, Tradition
Harm Religion	Human rights culture discourages and harms religion and may lead to intolerance or violence towards it.	Tradition, Self-direction, Universalism, Power

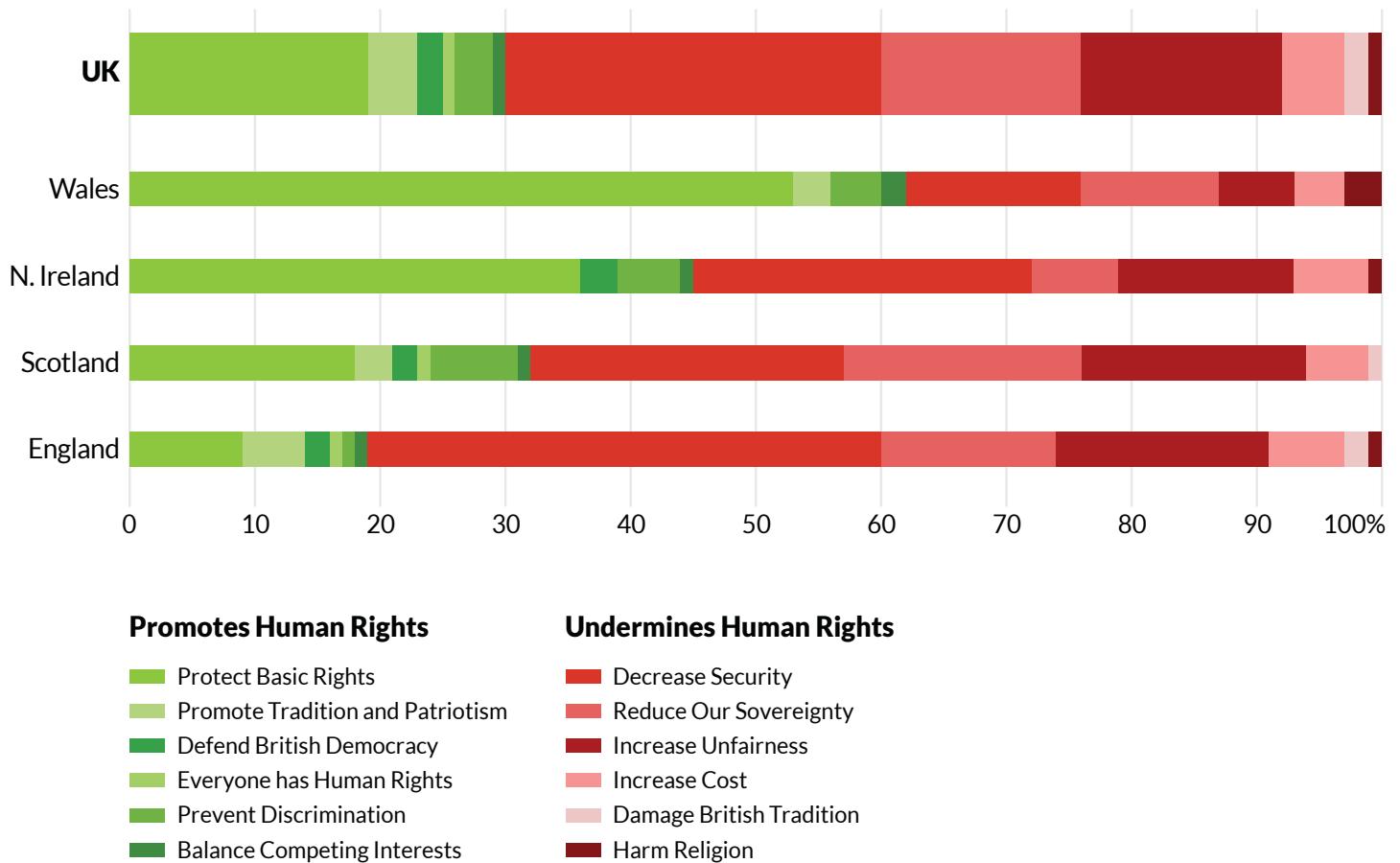


Figure 4. Frame frequency.

In the UK as a whole, and in each individual nation, the most commonly used frames were ones that suggest human rights:

- » Decrease Security
- » Increase Unfairness
- » Reduce Our Sovereignty
- » Protect Basic Rights
- » Promote Tradition and Patriotism

While it is encouraging that the frame 'Human rights protect basic rights' is fairly prevalent, the most crucial frame for human rights is 'Everyone has human rights' but this only makes up 1 per cent of the discourse in the UK.

It is clear from our research that many of the frames currently used (70 per cent) portray human rights in a negative light. In fact, even where the frames promoting human rights are used, it is often in the context of a negative story where someone's human rights are being undermined.

Out of the four nations, the media discourse in England was the least favourable towards human rights where around 80 per cent of the discourse was negative about human rights. Similarly, Scotland's and Northern Ireland's discourse also overwhelmingly criticised human rights, around 70 per cent for Scotland and 55 per cent for Northern Ireland. On the other hand, coverage in Wales was the most favourable towards human rights where more than 60 per cent of the discourse promoted the concept of human rights.²⁹ See Appendix 5 for a full breakdown of the frames and frequencies in eight different national newspapers.

Deliberative workshop

On a positive note, we found that when people with conflicted views about human rights were presented with frames that promoted human rights, their opinions on the issue became much more positive during discussions. This suggest that frames can and do make a difference in changing people's views when it comes to human rights, at least in the short term and when given the chance to participate in discussions.³⁰

Interestingly, even ten days after the workshop, the views of participants stayed more positive than prior to their exposure to frames that promoted the concept of human rights. While we need more studies, these initial findings suggest that exposure to frames in a deliberative context can have medium to long-term effects.

Connecting frames with values

Although we analysed all twelve frames for the values they brought to the fore in people's minds, we have set out five frames in detail here (the full analysis is available in Appendix 2). These frames were shortlisted based on what values they appealed to and how much they appeared in the media.

- » Everyone has Human Rights
- » Defend British Democracy
- » Promote Patriotism and Tradition
- » Decrease Security
- » Increase Unfairness

For each frame, we have given a brief extract of the text used in our research and described the results we found from our workshop and values study. The values that were triggered by the frame have been mapped against the ten main groups of values discussed on page 9.

- » Universalism
- » Benevolence

- » Tradition
- » Conformity
- » Security
- » Power
- » Achievement
- » Hedonism
- » Stimulation
- » Self-direction

We tested the effect these five frames had on people's attitudes to different aspects of human rights. The results showed that reading just one paragraph affected people's attitudes.

1. Everyone has Human Rights

"Human rights protect us all... Free speech and a fair trial, protection from discrimination and torture - these are rights we wish for ourselves."

"It means that politics and politicians are constrained by law. And that everyone has human rights. Even [criminals] who don't believe in them."

"Defendants must be protected from allegations resting on unreliable foundations, regardless of moral judgments on the individual in question. The law must protect all equally, otherwise it protects none."

This frame places huge emphasis on making the issue 'inclusive': here 'we' refers to everyone, and there is no divide between those who deserve or don't deserve human rights: they belong to us all just because we are human. The frame was often used to defend against the decisions that were made that meant that even the 'objectionable minority' received such protections.

The laws are 'protectors' and 'defenders' and ensure we are all treated equally. The authority of the law must therefore be respected. The frame also appeals to our morality.

In our coding and workshops, this frame was rated as strongly intrinsic. It has an explicit focus on the universalism of rights (**universalism values**), specific freedoms (**self-direction values**), and the laws' protective nature (**benevolence**). All of these values predict greater concern for social and environmental justice.

2. Defend British Democracy

"It conferred your rights to life, privacy, liberty, a fair trial, freedom of expression and from discrimination and established the European Court of Human Rights to enforce them.... Europe is a more civilised and progressive place and the convention is a democratic benchmark."

The frame conveys a sense of entitlement to our rights; the rights which are shared by all of us. We are encouraged to feel proud of and grateful towards our democracy in this frame: sometimes with the use of metaphors of achievement and heroes (winning cases, 'our victories').

It is an inclusive frame: 'we' is used to mean humanity, or at least everyone who lives in Europe. And any character can be active in this frame: citizens were often in the active roles in sentences, which is empowering. But this was not always the case, as people were also presented as passive – when they were 'protected', for instance.

The values expressed were primarily intrinsic: **self-direction** (in the active participation of people in their democracies) and **universalism** (in the focus of everyone's right to participate). In our workshop, people suggested that there was also an appeal to **benevolence**. All these values are associated with higher concern for human rights, as well as other social and environmental issues. Interestingly, both the coders and the workshop participants noted a weak appeal to other values: power, security and tradition, perhaps because the frame is connected to national pride, and willingness to maintain the status quo.

3. Promote Patriotism and Tradition

"We have a proud record of respecting human rights in Britain but people were slaughtered without mercy in Sudan...Britain should be a beacon to the world as a law-abiding, welcoming country...So we must champion respect for people everywhere and, heaven forbid, never become a haven for war criminals."

This frame is about a form of patriotism that appeals to British traditions of fairness and justice. The distinction between Britain and 'other' nations, including those we condemn due to their human rights record, is made very clear. Britain's role on the international stage is to be a leader, a trail-blazer, there to set a good example with her human rights record and as a "champion" to ensure respect for people everywhere. This somehow sets us 'above' other nations, in a special position of responsibility and superiority.

It is an argument that puts Britain in the position of the 'hero' or defender of human rights, and implies that British citizens should feel proud of their nation. It appeals both to our sense of national achievement and pride, and also to our sense of global justice.

When coding this frame for values, messages of global justice came through strongly, appealing to intrinsic values such as **universalism** and (to a lesser degree) **self-direction**. As might be expected, extrinsic values relating to the patriotic element also came through relatively strongly (e.g. **achievement** and **power**, as well as **tradition** and **conformity**). This frame is more mixed than the other positive frames, as the latter values are linked to negative outcomes for social and environmental justice.

4. Decrease Security

“The deportation stalled when the illegal immigrant made a complaint to the European Court of Human Rights. The thug was freed back into the community in Small Heath, Birmingham, where he continued his life of crime. He was convicted of criminal damage in 2009 and got 12 weeks in 2011 for a sexual assault.”

“Time and time again we are treated to the spectacle of people who have been found guilty of rape or serious assault being given the right to stay in this country. It is not in the national interest that this situation continues.”

In this frame, security is the core theme. The key actors are criminals (particularly foreign ones), who are often described using de-humanising metaphors such as ‘beasts’ who ‘prey on the public’. The ‘tax-paying, law-abiding’ British people are passive victims of these criminals: the passivity reflecting the sense of insecurity the audience should feel. There is a clear sense of who is ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ in this frame.

The frame is highly emotive: the situation is a ‘spectacle’ and we are often provoked into feeling disgust and anger towards both the situation as a whole and those portrayed as criminals, lawyers and politicians involved. We are particularly encouraged to feel disgust towards criminals, who are ‘othered’ wherever possible.

The frame appealed to extrinsic values (e.g. **power**), but expressed the neighbouring **security values** most highly (see graph below). It also displayed a weak sense of **benevolence** in the nod towards the concern for other people’s safety. Our workshops confirmed this, with overwhelming emphasis being placed on security values. Both security and power values tend to predict lower concern for human rights and greater discriminatory attitudes.

5. Increase Unfairness

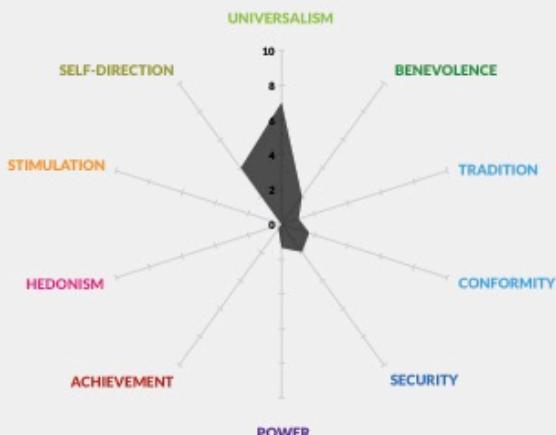
"The judicial elite inhabits a narrow, privileged world where criminals often receive more support than the law-abiding British public, where so-called human rights have perverted traditional justice, and where a fortune in legal aid is squandered... Why on earth should some prisoners receive satellite TV when many law-abiding taxpayers, cannot afford such a service?"

In this frame, the British public are portrayed as suffering at the hands of criminals. Criminals are 'others' not like you and me, who are undeserving of the same protections as the law-abiding. Yet the criminals are also the active characters in this frame - given active places and verbs in the sentences used. This appeals to a sense of helplessness and unfairness in the audience. We are frequently invited to feel disgust, anger and a sense of injustice.

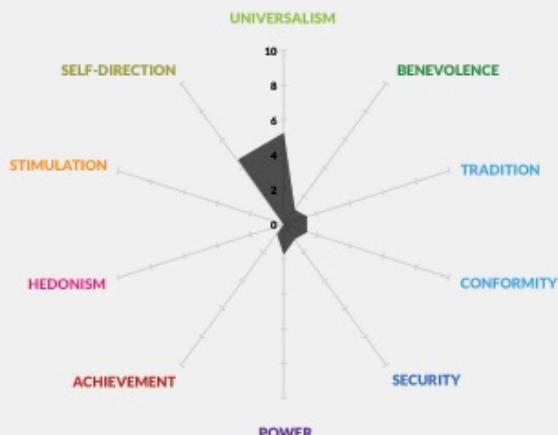
The frame appeals to a particular version of 'fairness' in which a person must earn their rights; it relies on the concept of a natural moral hierarchy in which some people are superior to others. This same belief underlies most discriminatory attitudes.

The frame appealed to extrinsic values (e.g. **power**) but, again, is more strongly related to the neighbouring **security values**; followed by **tradition and conformity**. Our workshop confirmed this, with people associating the frame mostly with security, and somewhat with power. Like the security frame above, these values are most strongly related to discriminatory and anti-social attitudes.

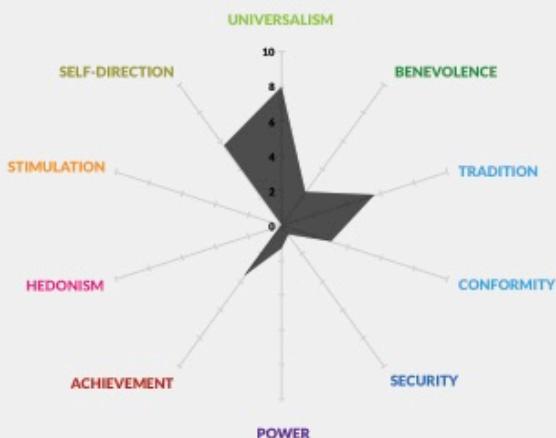
Everyone Has Human Rights



Defends British Democracy



Promote Patriotism and Tradition



Decrease Security



Increase Unfairness

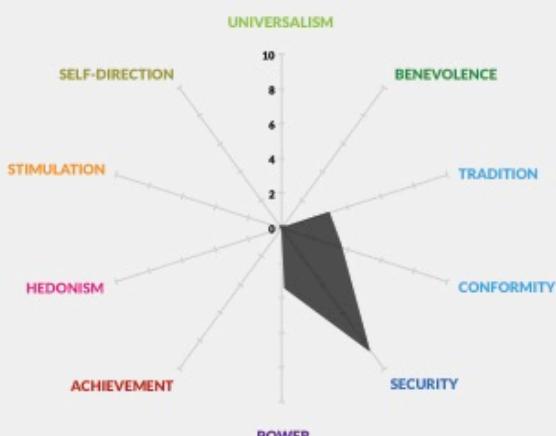


Figure 5. Values results for all five frames.

How frames and values affect people's attitudes to human rights

Our main findings are:

Frames that appeal to intrinsic values build support for human rights

People from the conflicted group who read the Everyone has Human Rights and Defend British Democracy frames were more likely to agree with general statements endorsing human rights.

There were statistically significant differences in how people responded to particular statements about human rights, depending on the frame they read:

“The work of human rights organisations is worth supporting without qualification.”

- » People who read the most intrinsic frames – Everyone has Human Rights and Defend British Democracy – supported this statement most strongly.
- » People who read the Decrease Security frame supported this statement the least.

“It’s important for democracy in general that the rights of minority groups are protected.”

- » People who read Everyone has Human rights supported this statement most strongly, and those who read Decrease Security supported it least strongly.
- » Interestingly, the Defend British Democracy frame ranked only 3 out of 5. This may be because, although it is explicitly pro-democracy, it does not present such strong universalist values as the Everyone has Human Rights frame.

“Every country should have the right to deport a person if he or she threatens the country's security.”

- » This attitude was endorsed most strongly by people who read the Decrease Security frame, and the least by people who read the Defend British Democracy frame.

All in all, the Everyone has Human Rights frame led consistently to more positive social attitudes and greater support for Human rights, whereas National Security led to the opposite. Promote Patriotism sat in the middle, probably because it promoted mixed values. Increase Unfairness was close to Decrease Security but did not lead to such strongly negative attitudes, perhaps because it was less explicit in its appeal to security and power values.

Appealing to intrinsic values is a more effective way of engaging with negative frames than trying to ‘negate’ them.

The Decrease Security frame is often used to undermine the principles and values of universal human rights. Because of this, we tested two different approaches to engaging with this frame:

- » We tried “negating” the frame by using an Increase Security frame that argued human rights are good for national security.
- » We gave people intrinsic frames (Everyone has Human Rights etc) to read at the same time as the Decrease Security frame.

Although the differences were not statistically significant, the overall trend was as follows. People responded to each question on scale between 0 and 5. The Endorsement column in the table below shows the average score (higher numbers = greater endorsement).

Human rights frame	Endorsement	Rank
Decrease Security	3.97	5
Increase Security	3.96	4
Decrease Security + Promote Patriotism and Tradition	4.08	2
Decrease Security + Defend British Democracy	4.05	3
Decrease Security + Everyone has Human Rights	4.18	1

General support for human rights was lowest amongst people who read the original Decrease Security frame, but Increase Security came a very close second. This supports the idea that ‘negating’ a frame can be as bad as simply repeating it. When people read a frame that supported human rights alongside the security argument, however, human rights concern went up. The most support came from people who also read the Everyone has Human Rights frame, suggesting it can be fruitful to counter a national security argument with a strong appeal to intrinsic values.

When we took a closer look at attitudes towards deportation: “Every country should have the right to deport a person if he or she threatens the country's security”, people in the Decrease Security group agreed with this statement most, and **significantly** more than people who read Everyone has Human Rights or Defend British Democracy at the same time. Again, Decrease Security and Increase Security led to the same reaction, supporting the idea that national security arguments, when understood as means to protect ourselves from people we’re afraid of, are harmful to human rights concerns whatever their angle.

Negating a frame is as bad as repeating it!

There is no easy short-term solution. We need constant effort to build and support the values that promote human rights in the UK.

When the conversation about human rights is mostly negative, it is hard to tell a positive story about how they apply to and benefit all of us. It will take more than a few words or slogans to influence the large group of people who hold conflicting views about human rights. For these people to feel more positively about human rights, they will have to hear the frames that make rights relevant and important to them again and again. At the same time we have to ensure that we consistently build and support the values behind the frames.

In addition to framing, deliberation can help promote the values that foster more concern for human rights.

One of the things we found in our workshops was that deliberative processes were themselves a good thing: just having the space to think about and debate human rights made people more engaged with and positive about them. To build long-term concern, we not only need to repeat frames that promote human rights, but also encourage more deliberation that can help connect with the values that encourage human rights to be protected and promoted.

4. USING FRAMES AND VALUES IN YOUR WORK

Approaches you can use when thinking about how to frame your response to an issue, or when planning campaign strategies, or when speaking to the media, politicians and the wider public.

Equality, social justice and human rights are intimately connected. Using frames that engage people's intrinsic values helps to reinforce this connection, building support for the values and principles that underpin all of our work.

So many charities and voluntary organisations are working on campaigns and issues that affect people's human rights – bringing these stories out into the public debate around human rights is a fantastic opportunity to reframe them.

The guidance here is based on the research findings discussed in section 3. It is also based on our practical experience of using values and frames to support campaigns and communications about a wide range of equality and social justice issues.

As a reminder, the human rights frames our research identified as being most useful for activating intrinsic values are:

- » Everyone has Human Rights
- » Defend British Democracy
- » Promote Patriotism and Tradition

We have tested a series of messages that use these frames to talk about a wide range of equality and social justice messages. Polling with 2,500 people shows that doing this really works: people agree very strongly with messages that do this.³¹

When we tested messages that included inclusive words and phrases that focus on human rights as something that "we" can be proud of or "we" should support, they had the most positive impact on an audience who are conflicted about human rights. We were looking for messages which both resonated with people who are not natural supporters of human rights, and increased their overall positive attitudes towards human rights. Two of the best-received messages include:

"We all have an equal human right to high quality, compassionate care, whether we have a physical or mental health problem."

"Any one of us could have a mental health crisis. We all have an equal human right to be treated with dignity, respect and compassion if it happens to us."

There is a need and an opportunity to share a positive story about how human rights are relevant today. All of this research shows that we should connect human rights with positive values like equality and fairness.

When you're communicating about your work

- » When crafting messages do you choose words, images and actions that appeal to the values you really care about?
- » What metaphors and associations are you using and what kind of values do these bring out? Are they helpful to your cause?
- » It's tempting to go for an attention-grabbing headline or a catchy slogan. But do yours bring out the values that matter for your cause, or unhelpful values that might undermine your cause in the long run?
- » Can you be more explicit about how your work is about human rights? Using frames that promote human rights helps to build support for intrinsic values that, in turn, helps to build support for your own cause.
- » How are other people framing the issues you're working on? Are you working within those frames or using your own frames to talk about what you believe?

When you're developing policy

- » The things your organisation campaigns for, the changes it wants to see and the detailed positions it takes on things, are all important ways of expressing values and reinforcing particular frames.
- » Are the values that matter to your organisation intrinsic or extrinsic values? Where do they sit on the "values map"?
- » Does your policy position help to foster these values, or does it reinforce or trigger values that might be counterproductive or in tension with your own?
- » How much time are you spending responding to frames that have been used by other people to talk about issues that affect your organisation? Can you respond to the issues by framing your position in a way that engages intrinsic values?
- » How can you connect specific policy positions to deeper principles of equality, social justice and human rights? Are there ways you can frame the issue to do this?

When you're working with others

- » Building wider movements around shared values and goals is an important way that organisations can help deepen, strengthen and embed frames and values that benefit their individual causes.
- » Are you clear about the values you want to strengthen through your work? And are you clear that you share those with others? Working together to clarify and define your shared values is an important first step.
- » How can you use your awareness-raising, focus groups and other deliberative processes to repeat and strengthen frames that connect to deeper values and principles that you share with others?
- » Does the way you work with others strengthen and reinforce the values that you hold strongly? For example, if you campaign for equality, do you collaborate in a way that puts equality into practice?

Talking about equality and social justice issues through a human rights lens helps to amplify the helpful frames we are working to promote. Repetition of the positive frames, and reinforcement of the powerful intrinsic values, should positively influence public debates and understanding of these issues.

To help show how thinking about values and frames works in practice, we've put together some examples of how you might approach communicating about some equality and social justice issues using human rights frames. To do this we have taken a news story and a campaign group's reaction to the story. We have then re-written the reaction to show how it could be reframed to evoke intrinsic values and more helpful frames. It must be stressed that this is not an exact science, and there are no absolute rules. But the repetition of helpful frames, and avoiding reinforcing unhelpful frames and values, should have long-term benefits for all of us.

THE ISSUE

Media harassment of Lucy Meadows

Lucy Meadows was a teacher who decided to transition from male to female. Media intrusion into her private life contributed to her taking her own life. At the inquest into her suicide, the coroner criticised the media's "character assassination" of her and called for media guidelines to be tightened.

WHAT THE CAMPAIGN GROUP SAID

"Regrettably, abusive press treatment of people like Lucy is not at all uncommon. We highlighted the problem in our submissions to the Leveson Inquiry and concerns have since been raised in the House of Commons. We frequently hear from private citizens concerned about press intrusion into their lives, including photographers camping outside their houses for days so that they are afraid to go out. Some of the victims are children. They often report feeling that they are under siege, unable to go about their ordinary business, with many experiencing feelings of panic and fearing that they will never be able to live normal lives.

As well as causing acute distress, being 'monitored' in the press can place people at risk of attack, with an incident in 2011 in which a disabled trans woman was pulled from her mobility scooter by a gang of young men who said they had seen her story in the papers. Multiple studies have shown that trans people already face a high level of harassment and violence, making this particularly worrying."

COMPONENTS

The problem?

The press: intrusive or abusive

The solution?

Implied: Stricter media guidelines, appeal to abuse of power in Leveson

'We'

Refers to campaign group not general public

'They'

Refers variously to the general public and children, both as victims living in fear

Emotions

Threat, panic, fear, distress

Metaphors

Crime as a beast. Press as attackers, people feel under siege

VALUES

UNIVERSALISM SECURITY ACHIEVEMENT POWER

EXAMPLE: Media harassment of Lucy Meadows

WHAT THEY COULD HAVE SAID

We liked the social justice theme in this message, but it is not particularly empowering of Lucy or transgender people, often describing them as 'they' and putting them in the passive voice, as having things done to them by others. 'We' isn't really used to mean 'all of us', it is used to describe the campaign group. An alternative:

A young teacher who simply wanted to help our kids learn, Lucy had her human rights taken away. Irresponsible press made her private life a national story. That was out of step with the values of the local community that saw Lucy as a valued teacher. This had a devastating effect on Lucy, as it would have on any of us. If the press had respected Lucy's right to a private life, this story would have had a very different ending. We hope the press will take note of what the coroner said today and that this will be the last inquest into the death of a transgender person in such tragic circumstances.

EXAMPLE: “15 minute” home care visits

THE ISSUE

“15 minute” home care visits

The government announcement of a review into 15-minute care visits to older and disabled people following concerns that such appointments deprive people of their dignity and put unfair pressure on staff.

WHAT THE CAMPAIGN GROUP SAID

“The government has an unprecedented opportunity with the Care Bill to stop the scandal of 15-minute care visits. But it is choosing not to take action. Today’s announcement of a one-off review next year is not the solution disabled and elderly people desperately need. The government needs to act decisively today or disabled and older people will continue to face impossible care choices of having a drink or going to the toilet. Today’s announcement ensures that with every day that passes the scandal of these flying visits continues.

None of us would want family and friends to receive ‘care’ visits as short as 15 minutes. It is vital that Parliament backs our call to end the indignity of rushed care.

With two-thirds of local councils commissioning 15-minute visits, the time for action is now. How much longer will disabled people be deprived of essential care?”

COMPONENTS

The problem?

15 minute care visits are insufficient and negligent. It’s a scandal. Government indecisive.

‘We’

Refers to all of us

The solution?

Make parliament put an end to it / improve the provision of care.

Emotions

Pity, anger

VALUES

BENEVOLENCE
UNIVERSALISM
SELF-DIRECTION
POWER

WHAT THEY COULD HAVE SAID

Again, this is quite a strong message of injustice, appealing to intrinsic values. But those affected have a passive voice and are described in victim language: 'desperately need' and 'be deprived'. An alternative:

Everyone is entitled to receive a high standard of home care, which supports them to lead healthy, independent lives. Good home care means supporting people to live full lives as independently as possible – it cannot be sliced up into 15 minute chunks. The current approach to home care is stripping away the human element of caring, it's time to put our human rights at the centre of care.

5. WHAT NEXT?

This section discusses some next steps that we think would be useful to help organisations apply the approach set out in this guide to their day-to-day work.

There is an opportunity to deepen support for human rights, equality and social justice. Groups are coming together and efforts are being made to build a strong chorus line of support for these important and fundamental hallmarks of a fair and good society.

This guide is just one step in helping organisations think about how to activate and strengthen values and frames that build support for equality, social justice and human rights. In order to achieve this, we need to build capacity for those organisations, develop a more strategic approach to communications and carry out more in-depth research.

Building Capacity

Through our collaboration on this project, it has become clear that more needs to be done to support charities and campaigners to use values and frames in their daily work.

It is hard to integrate this approach into the day-to-day reality of writing press releases with short deadlines, or responding to breaking news on social media, or finding time and space to work proactively with other organisations. The pressure to generate column inches, headlines and social media mentions can create incentives to frame issues in particular ways. And, as this analysis has shown, there is a perception that talking about human rights, in particular, is risky.

Equally Ours has carried out audience research to identify tried-and-tested ways of talking about a range of equality and social justice issues, using the human rights frames discussed in this guide. More information is available to anyone who would like to find out about this. We will also be producing a more detailed guide to integrating values-based communications into your organisation's media work.

Stories and case studies which promote helpful frames are an important part of the collateral we need to tell a positive story about human rights and counter the negative discourse. Equally Ours has started to collect these stories on our website, and turning them into films which can be shared more widely. This is an on-going process and we are looking to work with organisations and individuals who have a story to tell on human rights and would like support to do this.

Strategic Communications

This guide is part of a wider project to tell a more positive story about human rights, linking them to equality and social justice. Taking a more strategic, long-term approach to doing this, and incorporating this into communications and policy change work is an important part of making that happen.

There is more work to do to develop a deeper model of political and media theory to sit alongside this work. Just as words are not neutral, the mechanisms for communicating these messages to the public are incredibly complex and influence how they are received. Linking this theory into broader movements in politics and society is an important next step.

Further research

A deeper understanding of the key concepts, frames and metaphors used in the human rights debate in the UK will help us identify what is missing from the current discourse.

Finally, it is worth saying that identifying and using frames in communications is only one part of the overall picture of deepening support for human rights, equality and social justice. We hope that this guide will support and be a valuable contribution to this work.

THANKS

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- » The partner charities involved in Equally Ours, who have contributed their time and expertise to the research process – Age UK, British Institute of Human Rights, Children's Rights Alliance for England, Disability Rights UK, the End Violence Against Women Coalition, the Equality and Diversity Forum, Mind, HEAR, Equality and Human Rights Commission, Human Rights Consortium Scotland, Migrant Rights' Network, René Cassin and Runnymede Trust.
- » The coders who analysed the frames for values: Tim Holmes, Jamie McQuilkin and Richard Hawkins. And the long-suffering Alex Nolan who helped analyse their data.
- » Graphics and layout were designed by Richard Hawkins and Bec Sanderson.
- » We would also like to thank Resolution for helping us in recruiting participants for the deliberative workshops we conducted with the public in the UK.

ENDNOTES

¹ People conflicted about human rights make up around 40 per cent of the population in the UK. People who are ambivalent make up another 11%. Telling the story of everyone's rights, every day. 2013. www.equally-ours.org.uk.

² Telling the story of everyone's rights, everyday, 2013, Equally Ours. Available at www.equally-ours.org.uk.

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⁵ Maio, G. R., Pakizeh, A., Cheung, W. Y., & Rees, K. J. (2009). Changing, priming, and acting on values: effects via motivational relations in a circular model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97(4), 699-715.

⁶ Ibid [Maio et al. 2009]

⁷ Schwartz, S. H. (2012) An overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2 (1) Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1116>

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⁹ Strauss, J. P., Sawyerr, O. O., & Oke, A. (2008). Demographics, individual value structures, and diversity attitudes in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Change Management*, 8(2): 147–170.

¹⁰ Davidov, E., Meuleman, B., Billiet, J., & Schmidt, P. (2008). Values and support for immigration: A cross-country comparison. *European Sociological Review*, 24(5): 583–599.

¹¹ Feather, N.T. (2004). Value correlates of ambivalent attitudes toward gender relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30(1): 3-12.

¹² Cohrs, J. C., Maes, J., Moschner, B., & Kielmann, S. (2007). Determinants of human rights attitudes and behavior: A comparison and integration of psychological perspectives. *Political Psychology*, 28(4): 441–469.

¹³ Feather, N. T., & McKee, I. R. (2008). Values and prejudice: Predictors of attitudes towards Australian Aborigines. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 60(2): 80-90.

¹⁴ Strauss, J.P., Sawyerr, O.O., & Oke, A. (2008). Demographics, individual value structures, and diversity attitudes in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Change Management*, 8(2): 147–170.

¹⁵ Maio, G. R., Pakizeh, A., Cheung, W. Y., & Rees, K. J. (2009). Changing, priming, and acting on values: effects via motivational relations in a circular model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97(4), 699–715.

¹⁷ Lakoff, George (2008). *The Political Mind* (New York: Viking).

¹⁸ Kahan, D.M. (2010). Fixing the communications failure. *Nature*, 463: 297.

¹⁹ Thibodeau, P. and Boroditsky, L. (2011), 'Metaphors We Think With: The Role of Metaphor in Reasoning.' PLOS ONE, available at "<http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0016782>" <http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0016782>

²⁰ Lieberman et. Al (2004). 'The Name of the Game: Predictive Power of Reputations Versus Situational Labels in Determining Prisoner's Dilemma Game Moves', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, pp. 1175-1185.

²¹ Lakoff, G. (2004). *Don't Think of an Elephant: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate*. (White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing Company).

²² Because survey results suggest a marked difference between human rights views of tabloids and broadsheet UK newspaper readers, we chose to map media discourses on human rights by analysing four UK broadsheet newspapers (The Times, The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, and The Independent), and four UK tabloid newspapers (The Sun and the Daily Mirror, The Daily Express and The Daily Mail). According to a study on the public perception of human rights by the Equality and Human Rights Commission and Ipsos Mori, readers of tabloids newspapers are much more likely to agree that human rights does not apply to everyone in the UK compared to broadsheet readers. Kaur-Ballagan et. al (2009), *Public Perceptions of Human Rights*, Equality and Human Rights Commission and IPSOS Mori Social Research Institute, p. 16, available at <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Disability/PoliticalParticipation/Individuals/ResponseRosyInBanD2.pdf>. Broadsheet readers are also more likely to know about human rights in the UK than readers of tabloids newspapers. Kaur-Ballagan et. al (2009), p. 17.

²³ We analysed discourse from political blogs such as Labour List, Left Foot Forward, Conservative Home and Spectator Coffee House.

²⁴ Our content analysis follows from a previous study commissioned by EDF, which highlighted how human rights were discussed and debated in the UK in 2011 through to the first quarter of 2012. This previous study covered media and political discourse on human rights issues in five national newspapers (The Sun, The Daily Mirror, The Daily Telegraph, The Daily Mail and The Guardian) as well web searches and political blogs.

²⁵ In England, we mapped parliamentary speeches and newspapers including the Daily Mail, the Telegraph, the Guardian, the Sun, the Mirror, the Independent, the Daily Express, and the Times.

²⁶ In Scotland, we mapped Scottish parliament speeches and newspapers such as The Herald, The Scotsman and Scotland on Sunday, the Daily Record and Sunday Mail, the Scottish Sun and the Scottish Express.

²⁷ In Wales, we mapped speeches from the National Assembly for Wales and newspapers such as the South Wales Argus, the Western Mail and the South Wales Echo.

²⁸ In Northern Ireland, we mapped the Northern Ireland Assembly speeches and newspapers such as the Belfast Telegraph and Sunday Life, the Irish News, and the Ulster Star.

²⁹ Although media coverage influences public opinion, it's important to consider that the frequency of the frame in each nation does not mean that these percentages match public opinion on the issue. Just because 70 per cent of the discourse in the UK attacks human rights, it does not mean that 70 per cent of the

population in the UK is not positive towards human rights.

³⁰ It should be noted that studies have found that people involved in deliberative processes often become more tolerant in their positions. See Anderson, Vibeke Normann and Hansen, Kasper M. (2007). 'How deliberation makes better citizens: The Danish Deliberative Poll on the euro', European Journal of Political Research, Vol. 46, pp. 531-556. Citizen consultations in Finland and France carried within the framework of the Recapturing Reluctant Radicals project funded by the Open Society Foundation.

³¹ This research was carried out for Equally Ours by YouGov in 2014 and was being prepared for publication at the time of going to press. It will be published soon on the Equally Ours website www.equally-ours.org.uk.