

Sanganee, M. B.
Aalborg University

Sanganee, M. B.

Umbrella Organizations in Politics

- A study on how NGOs and INGOs campaign for political change

Marc B. Sanganee
Development and International Relations
Aalborg University
May 30, 2018

Keystrokes: 154,464

Abstract

The political power of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is an issue rarely addressed by mainstream scholars of international relations, who tend to emphasize the power of states or the liberal market when analyzing international politics. However, the growing number of national and international NGOs (INGOs) in the world demands a deeper understanding for how these actors engage in political matters. The notion of global governance is useful for understanding why NGOs possess political power, as it suggests that non-state actors are growing in importance in relation to states. This has become evident after seeing states develop their levels of human rights due to international pressure accumulated with help from NGOs. NGOs can namely play a crucial role in bringing domestic human rights violations onto the international agenda, as their various links to the international community enhance their ability to communicate. Studying the mechanisms and relations within umbrella organizations is thus relevant for understanding these political actors, as they highlight the possibilities created by uniting national NGOs and INGOs for common purposes.

Motivated by the growing political influence of such actors, the thesis investigates how NGOs attempt to affect political change by communicating through campaigns. The research on NGOs in different national contexts is capable of explaining how domestic factors are reflected in NGOs' communication, which can vary in relation to the target government's attitude on human rights. Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's theory, Socialization of Human Rights Norms, facilitates the analysis to great extents, as its framework concerns the transnational relationships that NGOs and INGOs maintain when engaging in politics. In order to analyze how NGOs attempt to affect political change, the thesis compares campaigns between NGOs of the same umbrella organization, as it can highlight how the different approaches depend on their national contexts. Moreover, the respective styles of communication are analyzed through the scope of Constructivism, which focuses attention on ideas, identities, and norms. Constructivist thought

compliments the analysis of NGO campaigns, as it can create an understanding for the political objectives that NGOs seek to achieve. The thesis further clarifies how support from INGOs can empower the campaigns of NGOs, as they then are capable of gaining increased international attention.

The thesis finds that NGOs engage in politics in different ways depending on which national context they operate within and what umbrella INGO they represent. Depending on the level of human rights development within a state, campaigns of NGOs can vary in relation to how the target government is presented; what human rights violations that are exposed; and how likely the campaign is to gain increased international attention from INGOs, states, and human rights regimes. However, the thesis also explains how the campaign-strategies of umbrella INGOs differ from each other, as it will expose why NGOs prioritize different strategies when engaging in politics. Finally, the thesis concludes that NGOs and INGOs are capable of affecting political change by developing campaigns; however, argues that their persuasive communication and political achievements are influenced by the target government's development of human rights and the structure of the given umbrella INGO.

Key words:

NGOs; INGOs; Human Rights; Political Development; Save the Children
International; ActionAid International; Amnesty International

Contents

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Introduction | 7 |
| Methodology | 9 |
| Theory | 14 |
| Transnationalism | 15 |
| Constructivism..... | 17 |
| Socialization of Human Rights Norms..... | 20 |
| Criticism of Theory | 25 |
| Analysis | 27 |
| Amnesty International and Minority Rights..... | 27 |
| AI-IOPT’s Political Pressure on the Israeli Government | 27 |
| AI India Fighting the Caste System..... | 33 |
| Comparing Campaigns of AI’s National Sections..... | 36 |
| Save the Children and the Syrian Refugee Crisis..... | 38 |
| SCI Jordan Appealing for International Support | 39 |
| SCI Denmark’s Engagement in Refugee Politics | 44 |
| Comparing Campaigns of SCI’s National Sections..... | 48 |
| AI and SCI’s Different Strategies of Political Engagement | 49 |
| ActionAid International and the rights of LGBTQIA people | 51 |
| AAI Sweden’s Overseas Aspirations..... | 51 |
| AAI Uganda Limited by Force | 53 |
| Comparing AAI to Its Fellow INGOs | 57 |
| Conclusion | 58 |
| References | 65 |

Acronyms

| | |
|---------|---|
| AAI | ActionAid International |
| AI | Amnesty International |
| AI-IOPT | Amesty International Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories |
| CEO | Chief Executive Officer |
| CRC | Convention on the Rights of the Child |
| ESCWA | Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia |
| EU | European Union |
| FOM | Foreign Office Minister |
| HRBA | Human Rights-Based Approach |
| INGO | International Non-Governmental Organization |
| IR | International Relations |
| JRP | Jordan Response Plan |
| LGBTQIA | Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Asexual |
| LIPRIDE | Liberia's Initiative for the Promotion of Rights, Identity, Diversity, and Equality |
| MNC | Multinational Company |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| NSA | National Security Act |
| NHRC | National Human Rights Commission |
| NHRI | National Human Rights Institute |
| SCI | Save the Children International |

| | |
|-------|--|
| SHRN | Socialization of Human Rights Norms |
| UDHR | Universal Declaration of Human Rights |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNHCR | United Nations Human Rights for Refugees |
| UK | United Kingdom |

Introduction

In their book, *Transnationalism from Below*, Smith and Guarnizo (1998) present the notion of global governance, with aim of clarifying how non-state actors are capable of affecting political change. They explain that "...global governance represents an attempt to move transnationally-constructed order beyond the coercive enforcement of managerial devices towards a politically more enduring and consensual 'global framework for actions and policies'" (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998, p. 36). It is thus suggested that the realist perception of states as the solely influential powers in international politics is becoming weaker, since the emergence of global governance has given room to new actors that use other methods of governing than do nation states.

Among the new governing actors are namely international non-governmental organizations (INGOs). INGOs have rarely been perceived to be powerful actors by scholars of international relations (IR); however, Ahmed and Potter (2006) explain that IR scholars' failure to address the growing political influence of INGOs stem from the untraditional ways in which the new actors organize for action. Historically, INGOs have avoided political repertoires and refused to align themselves with political parties in order to seem non-political and hence escape criticism. However, many INGOs have recently acknowledged that advocating for human rights means engaging in politics (Ahmed & Potter, 2006).

Ahmed and Potter (2006) explain that the power of INGOs' development work rarely appears political but suggest that the long-term effects have potential to be. Moreover, they argue that INGOs' most significant political power "...consists of demonstrating through persuasion and action that there are other ways of organizing social and political arrangements besides those currently in use" (Ahmed & Potter, 2006, p. 15). According to Ahmed and Potter (2006), the most common activities of INGOs are "...educating the public, advocacy, empowering people through local economic development and network construction, and monitoring international agreements", all of which involve persuasive communication and aim at creating an understanding of how the world operates (Ahmed & Potter, 2006, p. 15).

INGOs often focus on international problems related to e.g. human rights or environmental development; however, INGOs do not only operate with regard to international politics, but also seek to gain an influence on the national level. In order to do so, many large INGOs have developed

into umbrella organizations with national non-governmental organization (NGO) members that operate in accordance with the top of the umbrella. As an example, Amnesty International (AI) is an umbrella organization with more than 70 national sections, e.g. AI Ghana, AI Philippines, and AI Denmark (Amnesty International, n.d.). According to AI, the INGO's national sections are responsible for lobbying local governments; campaigning, fundraising, and communicating with their country; developing strategies for media work; recruiting new supporters for the organization; and conducting research projects within their nation state (Amnesty International, n.d.). However, the national sections are not completely free to do as they please, as they have to work in accordance with AI's International Secretariat, which ensures that AI speaks with "one voice" globally (Amnesty International, n.d.)

The relationship between umbrella INGOs' international agendas and how their national sections operate therefore becomes relevant, as national sections of INGOs tend to share the same values but relate to different countries, and thus, different governments, citizens, and societies. Motivated to analyze how INGOs' national sections operate with regard to their respective countries, the thesis poses the problem formulation as followed;

Considering national governments' different stands on human rights, how do national sections of umbrella INGOs attempt to affect domestic political change in relation to the respective states they operate within?

In order to provide an answer to the problem formulation, the thesis will analyze campaigns from the national sections of three large INGOs; AI, Save the Children International (SCI), and ActionAid International (AAI). AI has its headquarters in London, and its more than 70 national sections uphold the United Nations' (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The organization was established in 1961 by the British lawyer, Peter Benenson, who had sparked a campaign that challenged the Portuguese government which, according to Benenson, unjustly had imprisoned two of its citizens (Barnett, 2005). The very foundation of AI is thus to challenge governments by engaging in political debates in order to mobilize people against injustice, which is also what its national NGOs practice today.

SCI is an older organization developed after 1919, when British Eglantyne Jebb established the Save the Children Fund to feed children that faced starvation after the First World War (Save the Children International, n.d. a). Jebb was the first person to declare that children had individual

rights, and her ideas increased in influence after the UN adopted them into the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (Mulley, 2012). Today, SCI, with its headquarters in London, upholds the CRC, and so do its 30 national member NGOs that operate in 120 countries in order to improve children's well-being (Save the Children International, n.d. b). The history of Jebb and SCI already suggests that the INGO is capable of affecting political change, and its profile has potential to be a powerful advantage when its national sections engage in politics.

Finally, the last INGO to be introduced is AAI, which claims to be the only INGO with headquarters in Africa, namely in Johannesburg (ActionAid, n.d. a). AAI was funded by British Cecil Jackson-Cole in 1972, and is thus the youngest INGO to be addressed in this thesis. The INGO was originally a child-sponsorship charity that enabled British citizens to support children in India and Kenya, but today AAI has expanded its repertoires that now include fighting for women's rights and promoting democratic governance (ActionAid, n.d. b). AAI has developed its own Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA), which is meant to guide the member NGOs when developing their national campaigns (Hargreaves, et al., n.d.). However, AAI differs from the two other INGOs since the umbrella organization not only establish national sections themselves, but also adopt existing independent NGOs by the process of making them associates and later affiliates (full members). The INGO hence represents a federal model of organization, whose national sections share values, mission, and vision, but remain independent in their national operations (ActionAid, n.d. c). Today, AAI has a total of 27 associates and affiliates that work in 45 countries all over the world (ActionAid, n.d. d).

Methodology

Five years of working experience under four NGOs¹ in different countries originally motivated me to analyze NGOs' political power, as I had witnessed the impact that such actors can have on human rights for groups of people. However, only after confrontation with Ahmed and Potter's (2006) book on NGOs in politics did I realize the importance of NGO campaigns, which I for several years had engaged with on the social media platform, Facebook. Ahmed and Potter's findings gave me a new understanding of the ideas expressed by NGOs, and I started realizing the strategic planning and the desire for political achievements that motivated the campaigns.

¹ Educare India, Eventure, SCI, and Save the Children Youth

First, my idea was to compare the campaigns of three Danish NGOs; AI Denmark, AAI Denmark, and SCI Denmark. Especially AAI and AI's Danish sections had during the refugee crisis heavily criticized the Danish government for its considerations of deporting Syrians, and their persuasive way of communicating supported the observations that Ahmed and Potter (2006) make on constructivist issues like identities, ideas, and norms. However, after further researching theoretical frameworks for the analysis I was confronted with Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) theory; Socialization of Human Rights Norms (SHRN). Their theory made me aware of the different circumstances that national sections of INGOs face depending on which state or region they operate within. I hence came to the conclusion that merely comparing Danish NGOs would be insufficient for understanding the varying strategies of NGOs in general. Instead, I chose to analyze campaigns of six NGOs from different countries, hoping that a comparison would create a broader understanding of how NGOs can engage in politics.

Since SHRN also refers to the transnational links that domestic NGOs have with INGOs and the international community, the theory is capable of merging Ahmed and Potter's observations on Transnationalism and Constructivism into a theoretical framework that is useful for the analysis of how national sections of umbrella INGOs can engage in politics. By engaging in an analysis through the research of campaigns published on online and social media like Facebook and NGO-websites, I am capable of analyzing the promoted ideas, and thus the political objectives, of NGOs and their umbrella INGOs. As I am limited to engage with NGOs of various nations on online platforms, I build my thesis around social media and other online campaigns.

With its more than two billion users, Facebook is deemed relevant for the analysis of campaigns as it is on this social media platform that NGOs have potential to reach most people (Digital Marketing Institute, n.d.). As an example, AI's Facebook page has more than two million followers from across the world (Amnesty International, n.d.). However, national sections of INGOs have also established their own Facebook pages, like SCI Denmark, which on Facebook is followed by more than 73,000 people; and AI India with around 150,000 followers (Red Barnet, n.d.) (Amnesty International India, n.d.).

Comparing two national sections from each of the three INGOs; AAI, AI, and SCI, enabled me to analyze the differences between campaigns from NGOs that share the same principles but operate in different countries. After comparing NGOs within the same umbrella organization with each other, the findings lead to an analysis of the different approaches between the three umbrella INGOs. In

this way, I intend to create a broad understanding of how NGOs and INGOs attempt to influence political change under different circumstances and through different campaign strategies. Not only do I wish to deduce what a given national context can mean for the campaigns of national NGOs, I also seek to clarify what impact the international bonds that NGOs maintain with their umbrella INGOs can mean for their operations.

The INGO, AI, and its national sections are incorporated in the analysis because of AI's historical influence on national political change. By following AI Denmark's Facebook page in several years, I realized that AI presents one of the most critical attitudes towards governments around the world, as the INGO and its national sections are not afraid of directly calling out politicians and governments when they cause human rights violations. I therefore found AI's campaigns relevant to analyze as the INGO's communication tends to be persuade through shaming of governmental actors, which is a strategy identified by the theoretical framework of the thesis.

The two national sections to be compared in AI's analysis are AI Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories (AI-IOPT) and AI India. Common for the two NGOs is that they operate within states where minorities face relatively high levels of human rights violations. The Israeli occupation of Palestine is arguably violating the human rights of the Palestinian minority, while low-caste Dalits in India also are discriminated against because of cultural and religious beliefs. The analysis is hence capable of comparing how two NGOs from the same umbrella organization deal with different types of minority rights.

The main difference between the two situations is however that Israel seems to deny that its occupation of Palestine involves human rights violations, while India, on the other hand, has acknowledged that Dalits face discrimination because of the caste-system, which therefore has become illegal to practice. The different attitudes towards violations of minority rights enable the analysis to compare how the national NGOs communicate the human rights violations. More specifically, the comparative analysis is able to create an understanding for why NGOs' communication can vary in hostility in relation to which government they address. Furthermore, the analysis is able to suggest why some campaigns of NGOs are capable of gaining more international attention than others, as the international response to the respective campaigns are analyzed in the context of socialization phases and IR of states.

To compare with AI, I have chosen the INGO, SCI, which I personally have represented on a local level in Aalborg, Denmark. In addition to personal interest, the experiences I gained in SCI Denmark made me aware that SCI was more careful about expressing political standpoints, as the NGO refrained from condemning the Danish government in cases where other NGOs did. I hence found it relevant to analyze how national sections of SCI campaign in comparison to AI's domestic NGOs. The comparison between SCI and AI provides an example of how INGOs can engage in politics through different strategies of persuasive communication that can motivate improvements of human rights. Moreover, making sense of these strategies also includes an explanation to why some umbrella organizations are encouraged to denounce national governments while other INGOs are more careful about criticizing such actors.

SCI Denmark and SCI Jordan are the two national sections of the INGO that will have their campaigns compared in the analysis. Both NGOs are involved with the refugee crisis caused by the Syrian Civil War, and they promote the rights of refugees within their respective societies. However, as Denmark and Jordan face the Syrian refugee crisis under different circumstances, a comparison between SCI's national sections in the two countries becomes relevant. While Jordan is a neighboring country to Syria and has received one of the largest flows of Syrian refugees in the world, Denmark, with its around 2,300 kilometers distance from Syria, has received less than 10 percent of the Jordanian amount (Black, 2012) (Bendixen, 2018).

However, the most relevant aspect of the analysis between the national NGOs in Denmark and Jordan is related to their respective paths of recent development in relation to human rights. On the one hand, Denmark is a country with relatively high levels of human rights among its domestic population, but the Danish government's recent initiative to distance itself from the UN's quota on refugees suggests that Denmark is taking a step back in relation to refugee rights. On the other hand, the government of Jordan that generally has lacked development of human rights in relation to Western states has in the Syrian refugee crisis carried one of the heaviest loads. The interesting aspect of the analysis thus develops out from the observation of how two governments move in opposite directions in relation to the phases of SHRN, and how that development affects the ideas presented in the campaigns of SCI and its national sections. The analysis will be able to challenge and elaborate on the theory of SHRN, as it will analyze a situation which Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink were unable to predict back in 1999.

The comparative analysis of SCI Denmark and SCI Jordan's campaigns will, as in the previous analysis, be put in an international context, in order to see which campaigns that have provoked most international responses. First, it will be investigated which ideas that SCI prefers to expose for the international community when developing human rights, and second, the international response to SCI and its respective national campaigns will be analyzed to deduce why some NGOs can be more successful in gaining external attention than its foreign counterparts.

Finally, the last campaign analysis in the thesis concern AAI and two of its national sections. AAI differs from the two other INGOs because of its federal structure that allows the umbrella organization to expand through adoption of already existing national NGOs (ActionAid, n.d. c). As opposed to AI and SCI, AAI's national sections are self-governing NGOs united by AAI's '*guiding principles*' that do not demand full commitment (ActionAid, n.d. c). AAI's structure hence provides possibilities for notable differences in campaigns between NGOs within the umbrella INGO, which is a relevant aspect to analyze as it can underline how national circumstances can either limit or facilitate NGO campaigns.

The comparative analysis will hence concern AAI's national sections in Uganda and Sweden, and the topic will be on how AAI Uganda and AAI Sweden campaign in relation to rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and asexual (LGBTQIA) people. These human rights are analyzed in the Ugandan and Swedish contexts because the two states represent opposing attitudes towards the issue. Comparing AAI Uganda's campaigns to AAI Sweden's will create an understanding for how oppressing governments can limit the political influence of NGOs, while liberal governments can provide a favorable environment for such actors.

However, the comparison between AAI Sweden and AAI Uganda's relationship with LGBTQIA campaigns distances itself from the two previous comparative analyzes, since an interpretation of Uganda's changing attitude towards LGBTQIA rights will be included in this chapter. Analyzing the development of Uganda's level of LGBTQIA rights is relevant for the thesis because it provides an example of how international pressure from NGOs, INGOs, and the international community can accumulate political change within a nation. Several important aspects of the Ugandan case corresponds with the theory of SHRN, and the Ugandan government's development of LGBTQIA rights is hence deemed necessary for understanding the valuable observations that Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink have made on the political influence of NGOs.

Conclusively, the analysis will increase understanding for how NGOs from umbrella organizations operate in different national sections and for various human rights purposes. Links will be drawn between the level of human rights within states and how that affects the ideas communicated by the campaigns of domestic NGOs. Furthermore, analyzing how domestic NGO campaigns can become international by support from INGOs will expose which factors that increase the chances of an international response to human rights violations. The case of AAI Uganda will finally conclude how the transnational links between NGOs, INGOs, human rights regimes, and states can accumulate improvements of human rights.

Theory

In their book, *'NGOs in International Politics'*, Ahmed and Potter (2006) clarify how NGOs can affect political change. They argue that the mainstream IR theories, Realism and Liberalism, fail to address the growing influence of NGOs in international politics due to their respective dominant focus on nation-states and multinational companies (MNCs).

“The crucial problem in studying NGOs within the framework of international relations is that they organize for action in ways that are not readily seen in traditional political-science terms. They do not possess the great resources of state-centered international politics: sovereignty, territory, and coercive capability. Nor do they enjoy economic power on a scale comparable to many MNCs, the standard non-state actor of interdependence theory and international political economy” (Ahmed & Potter, 2006, p. 11).

Ahmed and Potter (2006) explain that the power of NGOs' development work rarely appears political but suggest that the long-term effects have potential to be. Another reason behind the lack of theoretical approach to NGOs in IR; however, stem from the way in which NGOs have perceived themselves (Ahmed & Potter, 2006). According to Ahmed and Potter (2006), NGOs have avoided political repertoires by remaining unrelated to political parties and refusing to define their work as political in order to escape criticism. Only recently have a number of NGOs acknowledged that human rights advocacy means engaging in politics (Ahmed & Potter, 2006).

When engaging in politics, Ahmed and Potter (2006) clarify that “[NGOs’] power consists of demonstrating through persuasion and action that there are other ways of organizing social and

political arrangements besides those currently in use” (p. 15). In relation, they emphasize that “...educating the public, advocacy, empowering people through local economic development and network construction, and monitoring international agreements” are the common activities of NGOs (Ahmed & Potter, 2006, p. 15). These activities share common features since none of them involve coercion or illegal frameworks, and all involve persuasive communication and aim at creating understandings of how the world operates (Ahmed & Potter, 2006).

Since the power of NGOs in international politics often are overlooked by mainstream theories of IR, Ahmed and Potter (2006) point to Transnationalism and Constructivism which they see as better equipped to understand the growing political influence of NGOs. In the following sections, the two theories will be elaborated with aim of creating an understanding of how NGOs are capable of affecting political change.

Transnationalism

“The concept of trans-nationalism refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people and institutions across the borders of nation-states.” (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, n.d.).

Transnationalism is, according to Ahmed and Potter (2006), a useful tool for understanding the political influence of NGOs since “NGOs have formed coalitions across borders to tackle global issues, and they often do this independent of governments” (p. 13). In accordance, Weiss and Jacobson (1998) present the transnationalist claim that “[t]he traditional view of the international system as hierarchical and focused almost exclusively on states has evolved into one that is nonhierarchical. Effective power is increasingly being organized in a nonhierarchical manner.” (p. 3). It is thus argued that in addition to states, NGOs and other non-state actors are growing in importance in relation to issues like environmental protection and sustainable development (Weiss & Jacobson, 1998).

In their book, *Transnationalism from Below*, Smith and Guarnizo (1998) present the notion of ‘global governance’ in an attempt to clarify how NGOs act on issues that go beyond state boundaries. It is argued that NGOs represent a problem-solving internationalism as they “..transcend specificities and adress the problems of humanity as a whole” (Smith & Guarnizo,

1998, p.). Since NGOs tend to focus on issues that are not bound within single nation-states, they support the transnationalist argument concerning the growing influence of cross-border links.

According to Smith and Guarnizo (1998), NGOs have participated in global governance in two ways. “First they have convened rallies, demonstrations, international caucuses, participated in preparatory meetings and gathered in designated cosmopolitan sites” (p. 49). NGOs have further engaged in international politics by accepting invitations to international summits where they have lobbied government representatives on issues of environment and development in an attempt to affect political change (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). The activities of NGOs hence often involve engaging in transnational political matters, and their power can arguably be illustrated by the number of participants in NGO summits, which have become among the largest international gatherings in the world (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998).

Secondly, NGOs have engaged in global governance by “...creating a cosmopolitan phantasmagoria of their own” (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998, p. 49). According to Smith and Guarnizo (1998), NGOs have done so by assembling people across the globe for common purposes. In this spirit, NGOs have formed coalitions and created development plans on behalf of people, in order to guide states on transnational issues aiming at creating a political impact within and between states (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998).

NGOs’ international approach to problem-solving is independent from state governments and hence demands less conventional IR theories for the investigation on whether these actors are capable of making political impacts. As opposed to Realism, a transnationalist approach can namely be utilized to research how the transnational behavior of NGOs enhances their participation in global governance. Furthermore, the theory allows exploration of the international links that NGOs maintain with INGOs and other actors of the international community. However, since the thesis will analyze these transnational links in the context of campaigns, Transnationalism alone is incapable of providing a proper understanding of NGOs’ political power. Instead, the next chapter will explain how constructivist notions of power are capable of facilitating the analysis.

Constructivism

“...constructivist analysis focuses attention on ideas, norms, epistemic communities, global civil society, and regimes—areas of international politics most conducive to the exercise of NGO influence.” (Ahmed & Potter, 2006, p. 14)

Building on the transnationalist argument concerning the political impacts that NGOs affect due to their international agenda, the theory of Constructivism is useful for understanding how the political power of NGOs are created. In relation to states, it is clear that NGOs lack power resources due to their inability of establishing laws; becoming full members of intergovernmental organizations; and maintaining coercive forces as armies or police (Ahmed & Potter, 2006). While acknowledging the unattainable powers of states, constructivists clarify that the way in which states act politically can potentially be determined by non-state actors, such as NGOs, since states operate with regard to norms and identities shaped by a variety of actors (Ahmed & Potter, 2006). In order to understand the constructivist perspectives, Ahmed and Potter (2006) argue that

“[a] key constructivist insight is that the environment—the international system—is not fixed and immutable and therefore does not determine actors’ behavior. Rather, the international system is created through the repeated interactions of states and other actors. The kind of international system that exists at any one time is the result of how key players understand the system and, therefore how they understand their interests and identities, and those of others, within that system... Constructivist analysis allows the possibility that national interests are not fixed, that states’ understandings of what is appropriate political behavior can be changed. By extension, NGO attempts to change the ways in which states act and how they define themselves and their roles have the potential to transform the international system.” (p. 13-14).

In *the Handbook of International Relations*, Carlsnaes et al. (2013) underlines that “...constructivists of all types are not interested in how things are but in how they became what they are” (p. 11). According to Constructivism, inter-subjective ideas have constitutive effects on the international system. Constructivists argue that norms and identities are the source of people’s reasons and practices, and when institutionalized, they determine how states act in the international

system (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013). In relation, the theory concerns the notion of ‘added value’, which explains how political interests are created from norms and identities drawn upon by different actors. A constructivist argument concerning added value is that neither material objects nor ideas can alone create political interests, it is only when the two elements are combined that interest is created. In other words, Constructivism perceives political interests to be ideas about the material world. (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013).

Constructivists argue that political change comes from added value in relation to “...the emergence of new constitutive rules, the evolution and transformation of new social structures, and the agent-related origins of social processes.” (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013, p. 13). According to Constructivism, added value therefore mostly stem from sources of agency, process, structures and practices.

“In reference to agency, constructivism has generated theoretical and empirical studies about, for example, policy entrepreneurs, epistemic communities, and transnational advocacy networks. Regarding the mechanisms of change, some constructivists emphasize collective learning, cognitive evolution, epistemic change, and the ‘life cycles of norms’, all of which involve the institutionalization of people's novel knowledge, practices, and discourses.” (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013, p. 13)

This quote supports the argument that NGOs are capable of affecting political change, since many such actors are involved with transnational advocacy on issues of environment and development, which are areas to where NGOs arguably can be perceived as international policy entrepreneurs often forming epistemic coalitions.

As Ahmed and Potter (2006) argue, the power of NGOs is the power to persuade. Constructivism helps explain how NGOs are capable of affecting political change, since the theory clarifies that social reality is created through communication (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013). Since NGOs’ power is constituted by their persuasive communication, the constructivist clarification presented by Carlsnaes et al. (2013) is usefull for understanding how NGOs engage in politics;

“...[actors] engage in a discourse that helps demonstrate the validity of their arguments; this discourse in turn promotes collective understandings. So rather than studying instrumental bargaining and choice, constructivism focuses on the effects of

social communication on social relations — for example, how debate and persuasion help promote shared understandings” (p. 14).

According to Carlsnaes et al. (2013), mainstream theories of IR tend to argue that states act with regard to instrumental rationality based exclusively on calculations of cost-benefit. In addition, Constructivism proposes the concept of communicative rationality, which too can be calculative, but also is based on practical reason stemming from persuasive communication, and is sensitive to historical, social, and normative contexts (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013).

Moreover, Constructivism includes other notions of power than do the theories of Realism and Liberalism. Instead of seeing power as exclusively material, constructivists identify nonmaterial sources of power;

“...such as speech acts, hegemonic discourses, dominant normative interpretations and identities, and moral authority. It also includes the imposition of meanings on the material world, the capacity branded by social groups to provide an authoritative vision of the world, and Gramscian hegemonic power, which brings the interests of powerful groups into harmony with weaker groups and incorporates these interests into ‘an ideology expressed in universal terms’ (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013, p. 15)

As previously stated, a key constructivist argument is related to the notion of norms. Constructivism underlines that “[n]orms constitute social identities and give national interests their content and meaning” (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013, p. 16). In relation to NGOs, constructivist studies have shown that such actors are capable of teaching and diffusing norms and are hence able to constitute political interests of states (Finnemore, 1996).

States’ national identities can thus determine their national and transnational behavior. Constructivism further clarifies that studying identities are crucial for understanding international practices, institutions, and change, as they are capable of affecting international conflict as well as cooperation (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013). Constructivist studies therefore suggest that “...politics can be understood as a series of dialogues concerning the relationship between identities, norms, [and] regional order” (Barnett, 1998, p. 15). This observation arguably gives room for NGOs’ potential to affect political change due to their power of establishing and diffusing norms and identities through persuasive communication and action.

While mainstream theories of IR often stress states' national sovereignties as a determining factor for international politics, Constructivism underlines that national identity, the component of national sovereignty, is not fixed but can evolve with changing practices (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013). In relation, constructivists point to human rights, which are often upheld by NGOs, and clarify that such norms can constitute new international systems. It is thus argued that certain responsibilities increasingly are being moved away from sovereign states to the international society (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013).

In relation to the growing responsibilities of the international society, constructivists point to the notion of global governance, which also was issued by transnationalists. According to constructivists, "...morally valuable global governance can be arrived at via a mixture of capabilities and knowledge, on the one hand, and fairness and legitimacy, on the other" (Carlsnaes, Risse, Simmons, & Adler, 2013, p. 18). When operating to improve the standards of human rights, NGOs can hence utilize their moral position to gain political influence. So while Transnationalism links NGOs' participation in global governance to their transnational connections, Constructivism explains that the ideas, identities, and norms that NGOs shape, are capable of affecting international politics. In order to connect the two notions of NGOs' participation in global governance, the next chapter will concern the theory of SHRN, which merges Transnationalism and Constructivism into an approach that explores how ideas can become transnational because of NGOs and INGOs.

Socialization of Human Rights Norms

In their book, *"The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change"*, Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) draw on social Constructivism and transnational connections when exploring the linkage between international human rights norms and domestic political change. They argue that "...the diffusion of international norms in the human rights area crucially depends on the establishment and the sustainability of networks among domestic and transnational actors who manage to link up with international regimes, to alert Western public opinion and Western governments" (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999, p. 5). INGOs and domestic NGOs engaged with human rights are thus part of a transnational advocacy network that, according to Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999), serve three purposes:

1. They expose the actions of norm-violating states for the international community, while reminding liberal states of their identity as human rights promoters.
2. They mobilize domestic opposition groups by legitimating their claims against norm-violating governments.
3. They create a transnational structure that challenges norm-violating governments by simultaneously pressuring from above (e.g. INGOs, UN, and other states) and below (e.g. domestic NGOs).

Considering the strategies of such actors, this thesis seeks to investigate how domestic NGOs attempt to affect political change by analyzing their campaigns on human rights. In relation, Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) clarify that human rights advocates are capable of transforming human rights from an idea into a norm within a state. This process they call the SHRN, and it describes how the idea of human rights can develop into collective expectations for proper behavior.

Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) argue that there among states exists what is perceived to be a liberal sub-community, consisting of (mostly Western) countries in a sphere of peace, democracy, and human rights. In this community, human rights play a crucial role in prescribing appropriate behavior and forming identities. When a state performs well on human rights it sends a signal to other states that it is a part of the liberal community and is thus a liberal state. Sending liberal signals can be important for states when e.g. attempting to join international organizations as the European Union (EU) (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999). However, "...the process of human rights change almost always begins with some instrumentally or strategically motivated adaption by national governments to growing domestic and transnational pressures" (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999, p. 10). It is thus argued that domestic NGOs, being promoters of human rights, are among those capable of creating awareness and pressuring national governments into adopting the norms of human rights.

When actors such as domestic NGOs attempt to establish human rights norms within a state, they do not always exclusively rely on logical arguments, but also persuade by appealing to emotions, evoking symbols, shaming, and denouncing (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999). It is argued that these techniques do not aim at changing minds with logic, but by isolating or embarrassing the target government. "Persuasion is also not devoid of conflict. It often involves not just reasoning with opponents, but also pressures, arm-twisting, and sanctions." (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999, p. 14). In other words, domestic NGOs seek to challenge the human rights violating governments by the

most effective means. The process of shaming can create the idea that the target government is not a part of the liberal community of states, and can hence pressure leaders into adopting human rights norms in order for them to gain a desired identity (Risse, Ropp, & Sikking, 1999).

By their model called the “boomerang effect” (see Figure 1), Risse, Ropp, and Sikking (1999) illustrate four levels where norm-changig activities can occur simultaneously:

1. The transnational interactions among INGOs, international human rights regimes, and liberal (mostly Western) states.
2. The domestic opposition in the norm violating state (e.g. NGOs).
3. The links between transnational networks (e.g. INGOs) and domestic opposition.
4. The norm-violating government.

The boomerang pattern of influence can occur when domestic groups, such as NGOs, partner up with INGOs to put pressure on the target government in order for it to adopt human rights norms.

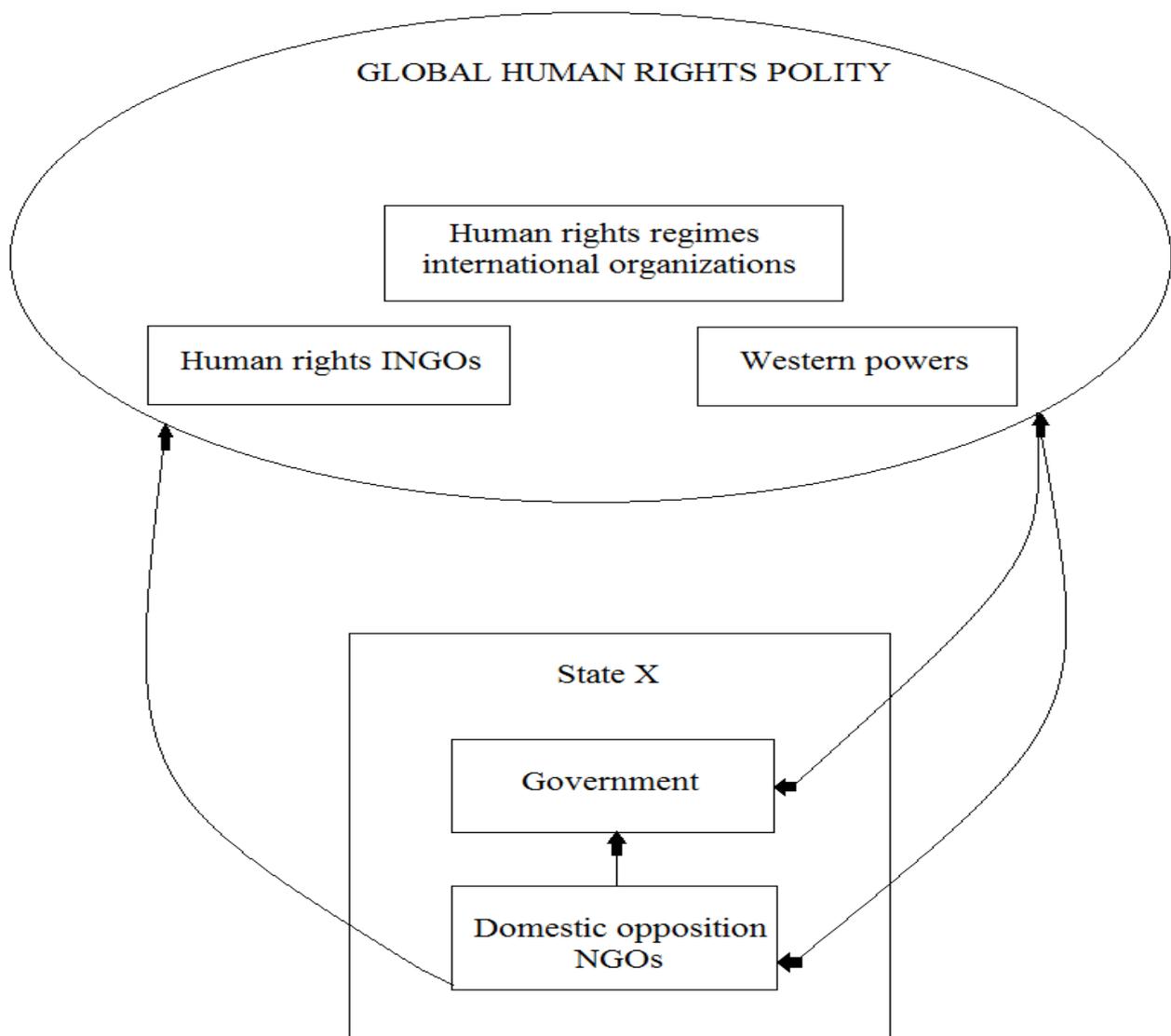


Figure 1: The boomerang effect

The INGOs can then persuade the donor institutions, international human rights organizations, and dominant states to further pressure the norm-violating government (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999). “International contacts can “amplify” the demands of domestic groups, prise open space for new issues, and then echo these demands back into the domestic arena” (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999, p. 18). The domestic NGOs are further empowered by transnational networks that can provide them with access, information, leverage, and even money (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999).

In relation to the SHRN, Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) explain that ‘state X’ can be in one of five different phases. NGOs attempting to change national politics face different challenges depending on which state (and phase) they operate within. The five phases are described as followed:

a) Phase 1: repression and activation of network

The domestic opposition is oppressed to the extent that it hardly challenges the government. Because of oppression, NGOs struggle to provide information to the INGOs, and therefore state X rarely becomes subject of international campaigns. Only when INGOs and other transnational actors succeed in gathering sufficient information will state X move into the second phase (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999).

b) Phase 2: denial

State X has been put on the international agenda of human rights networks, often in the aftermath of an outstanding and extreme violation of human rights. Information has been successfully passed on from NGOs to INGOs, and the INGOs start lobbying the international human rights organizations and Western states in order to make them act upon the issue. Western governments are thus reminded about their stand on human rights, and may feel pressured to live up to it. The information provided by domestic NGOs can thus mobilize international pressure on state X, with aims of forcing the government to improve its human rights conditions. However, in this phase state X will usually deny the validity of human rights norms, while domestic NGOs still are too weak to pose a serious challenge to the government. Nevertheless, the denial phase is an important step in the SHRN, since merely talking about human rights proves that state X is in the process of socialization. Actors can help move state X into the third phase by creating campaigns involving material pressure, which can delegitimize flows of e.g. economy or military into state X, or simply underline that state X should not be welcomed in liberal communities. How long state X

finds itself in the second phase of socialization depends on how dependent it is on foreign flows of e.g. aid, or how state X values its status in international groupings (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999).

c) Phase 3: tactical concessions

International pressure has been maintained and increased, and state X finds it necessary to make tactical concessions. As a response to the international pressure, state X can e.g. permit greater amounts of domestic protests, which empowers the domestic NGOs that hence are more capable of criticizing the national government. However, in this phase, state X will usually act on a purely strategic foundation, with aim of e.g. regaining foreign aid or lessen international isolation, and the socialization can thus still result in a backlash. Nevertheless, state X's concessions empower the domestic NGOs that become legitimized by international attention from transnational networks. The domestic NGOs are linked to the international network of human rights, and whenever state X makes drastic violations the government will be pressured from above and below. NGOs will increasingly shame state X, which will be more likely to regulate its stance on human rights due to its domestic and international legitimacy. State X thus enters into dialogue with human rights promoters such as NGOs, which over time can increase in power and move state X into phase four. (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999)

d) Phase 4: prescriptive status

State X, domestic NGOs, INGOs, and other actors regularly refer to human rights norms when discussing the behavior of state X. Though state X may still violate the norms, it no longer sees human rights as a controversial idea. In this phase, domestic NGOs engage in a more logical mode of argumentation rather than shaming state X. As a result, state X starts to act in accordance with human rights norms that gradually will become institutionalized within it. (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999)

e) Phase 5: rule-consistent behavior

Actors such as NGOs and INGOs have continued the dialogue and maintained the pressure on state X's socialization of human rights, that are now fully institutionalized and reflected in the behavior of state X. Domestic NGOs operate as reminders of human rights norms in relation to domestic and foreign affairs (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999).

In sum, Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) argue that domestic NGOs and their links to the transnational human rights networks are most crucial in the early phases of norms socialization.

When domestic NGOs succeed to communicate human rights violations of state X up to INGOs, the issue can gain international attention from powerful actors such as international organizations or Western states. NGOs are thus capable of “...starting a process of “shaming” and moral consciousness-raising” aimed at pressuring state X to adopt human rights as national norms (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999, p. 34). Moreover, NGOs and their focus on human rights can within state X empower and mobilize the initially weak domestic opposition. It is however mostly in the earlier phases that NGOs will engage in shaming state X, since the government’s increasing alignment with human rights will make domestic NGOs engage in a more rational mode of argumentation (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999).

Criticism of Theory

Despite facilitating an analysis of NGO’s political power and domestic behavior, it seems as if the theory, SHRN, lacks abilities to precisely determine which of the five phases of the socialization process that fits a given state. The writers, Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999), use the parameters; ‘the right to life’ (free from extrajudicial execution and disappearance) and ‘the freedom from torture, arbitrary arrest, and detention’, when measuring how far state X has developed in the socialization process; however, this thesis argues that such parameters are insufficient in accounting for human rights norms as a whole. Instead, it is suggested that states can develop in relation to different articles of the UDHR, and therefore be in several different socialization phases depending on which specific human right the analysis concerns. States that value freedom of speech do not necessarily support LGBTQIA rights to the same extent; while states that are in earlier phases of socializing the norm of medical care can be in later phases in relation to the freedom of religion (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2016).

Domestic NGOs may accordingly use different strategies on different campaign topics depending on how a state operates in relation to a specific norm, rather than on human rights as a whole. This is e.g. seen in European countries where governments are being challenged by domestic NGOs in relation to the latest refugee crisis, despite the states’ institutionalization of most human rights (Dearden, 2017). In relation, this thesis argues that the line between phase four, ‘prescriptive status’ of human rights, and phase five, ‘rule-consistent behavior’, is blurry because not one state in the world is completely consistent in human rights behavior. Yes, Switzerland may contain high standards of human rights domestically; however, Swiss companies violate human rights in the

developing world (Blum & Zihlmann, 2017). The same arguably accounts for any Western state that has engaged in wars in e.g. Iraq and Afghanistan.

As this thesis will also show, states' development in relation to human rights is not always linear, and even states within the last phase of socialization are in risk of demotion. While Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) suggest that when states are in the last phase of SHRN, they will behave consistently with regard to human rights; this thesis will show that even states that are regarded as liberal can develop backwards in the socialization phases. This observation can be perceived as a limitation on the power of NGOs as it suggests that the sustainability of their achievements is not ensured. However, as this thesis argues that states can be in different socialization phases depending on the given human right, it also suggests that liberal states can have institutionalized some human rights while not being fully committed to others. Therefore, seeing a liberal state develop backwards in the phases of SHRN does not necessarily mean that NGOs (and other actors) have completely failed to commit the government to human rights in general; it only suggests that there are certain aspects of human rights that the government has not fully institutionalized.

Nevertheless, the theory of SHRN from 1999 is in some ways out-dated for the analysis of NGOs' behavior in the present global society. Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) namely argue that domestic NGOs within a given society attempt to influence national politics by gaining support from the international community, which, according to their theory, consists of INGOs, human rights regimes, and states. However, due to the theory's age, it is incapable of incorporating the growing possibilities created by the internet. Because of the emergence of the internet, national NGOs are no longer limited to national politics but can also engage in the promotion of human rights overseas. As an example, Danish sections of umbrella INGOs frequently campaign on human rights violations caused by poverty in African countries or war in the Middle East. With regard to this observation, this thesis will attempt to update the theory of SHRN by including the notion of how national NGOs engage in transnational matters.

Despite lacking abilities to define socialization phases and incorporate the possibilities of the internet, the thesis finds the theory useful for understanding the link between governmental attitudes on human rights and NGOs' communication for political influence. Furthermore, SHRN provides a theoretical framework that can be utilized to understand the political influence created by connections between national NGOs of umbrella organizations and their INGOs, which is a relationship rarely investigated by IR scholars.

Analysis

In the following chapters the campaign strategies of national NGOs will be analyzed to make sense of the different approaches and whether these depend on the state in which the respective NGOs operate (as suggested by Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink). The thesis will include national sections of AI, SCI, and AAI when analyzing how the respective NGOs campaign for specific improvements of human rights. The investigation is therefore not on NGOs and their relationship to human rights as a general concept, but rather case-studies of how NGOs from the same umbrella organizations use different approaches to combat the same categories of human rights, depending on which country they operate within. Before beginning each analysis of the national NGOs, their respective states will hence be analyzed in the framework of SHRN, in order to characterize the national governments by the phase of socialization they each find themselves in. The socialization-phase of the state will be but in perspective to the campaigns of national NGOs in order to deduce how governmental attitudes can influence NGOs' political communication.

After clarifying campaign strategies of each NGO, it will be analyzed how effective they have been in gathering international attention for the human rights violations which they seek to end. In order to do so, the relationship between NGOs and their umbrella INGOs will be analyzed with emphasis on which campaigns the respective INGOs prioritize to expose for the international community. Moreover, the international response from politicians, governments, and human rights regimes will seek to clarify why some campaigns gain more international support than others.

Amnesty International and Minority Rights

AI-IOPT's Political Pressure on the Israeli Government

The first national section of an INGO to be examined is the NGO, AI Israel and Occupied Palestinian Territories (AI-IOPT). AI-IOPT differs from the remaining NGOs of the analysis since it not only operates within a state, but also within territories being occupied by the state. This situation leaves the analysis with a unique starting point, and it must then be clarified which issue and what geographical area is under concern when analyzing Israel's stand on human rights. While Freedom House (2018) ranks Israel in the top category as a 'free' state, the same organization

clarifies that the Palestinian territories, West Bank and Gaza Strip, are among the bottom of ‘not free’ nations, mostly due to Israeli intervention (Freedom House, 2018). The analysis of this thesis will hence concern how AI-IOPT operates in relation to examples of human rights violations caused by Israel’s occupation of the Palestinian territories, in order to see what strategies the NGO uses in its campaigns for rights of the Palestinian minority.

According to the UN’s Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA), the Israeli government oppresses and violates the human rights of the Palestinian people on levels comparable with apartheid in South Africa (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, 2017). Freedom House (2018) further clarifies that Israel violates human rights in terms of “...physical barriers and constraints on movement, demolitions of homes and businesses, severe restrictions on political and civil liberties, and expanding Jewish settlements”. Moreover, Israel’s blockade of Palestinian territory and its military incursions are considered to contain several violations of human rights against the Palestinian people (Freedom House, 2018).

However, despite international criticism, the Israeli government does not support the allegations made against them. This recently became evident after the Israeli Prime Minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, delegitimized Palestinian human rights promoters by comparing them to Nazis seeking to “trample the Jewish state” (Hay, Tzuri, Yanko, Curiel, & Azulay, 2018). Generally, Israel has a more skeptic attitude towards human rights promoters who address the violations of the Israeli government. This can be seen as Israel has tightened its restrictions on human rights NGOs by denying them access to international support in an attempt to limit their political power (Freedom House, 2018).

Though NGOs and INGOs promoting human rights long have condemned the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories, the Israeli government seems unwilling to acknowledge its own human rights violations of the Palestinian people. When refusing to live up to international human rights standards, the Israeli government often refers to religion, as Israel upholds the Zionist belief that the Jewish people carry a religious right to the Palestinian territories (Bellchambers, 2016). It thus becomes evident that Israel, in relation to the occupied Palestinian territories, is situated in the second phase of the SHRN, labeled ‘denial’, since the government denies the validity of human rights norms by e.g. drawing on religious arguments. The Israeli government; however, does not completely ignore the human rights advocating NGOs, as it often responds to criticism (Bellchambers, 2016). According to Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink’s (1999) theory, the Israeli

government's willingness to respond to national and international pressure further supports the argument that Israel has developed past the first phase of SHRN.

It now becomes interesting to analyze how Israel's phase of socialization affects the way in which AI-IOPT operates with regard to human rights in the occupied Palestinian territories. Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) explain that when NGOs attempt to affect domestic political change, they often shame and denounce the target government in order to put the human rights violations on the international agenda. An example of such a strategy can be seen after Israel imprisoned a sixteen year old Palestinian girl, Ahd Tamimi, who is a famous activist referred to as the 'symbol of the Palestinian resistance' (Serhan, 2018). In a Facebook post aimed at creating attention to Tamimi's case, AI-IOPT shames the Israeli soldiers that arrested Tamimi by accusing them of shooting children, raiding homes, and threatening Palestinian civilians (Amnesty International Israel/OPT, 2018). Constructivists would argue that by linking Israeli soldiers' identity to murder and threats, AI-IOPT adds negative values to their identities in order to create international resistance towards the Israeli government. This observation is connected to Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999), who argue that "[p]ersuasion is also not devoid of conflict. It often involves not just reasoning with opponents, but also pressures, arm-twisting, and sanctions." (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999, p. 14).

On the other hand, AI-IOPT adds positive values to the opposing side by describing Tamimi and her family as heroes who "...have fought bravely against Israeli occupation" (Amnesty International Israel/OPT, 2018). By identifying Tamimi as a hero, AI-IOPT justifies Palestinian resistance while attempting to increase international support for the cause. This is further highlighted by AI-IOPT's appeal for the international community to "... exert global pressure on Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu", who, according to the NGO, is responsible for imprisoning more than 350 Palestinian children (Amnesty International Israel/OPT, 2018). AI-IOPT thus utilizes Tamimi's status as a famous national activist to emphasize a general problem related to Palestinian child prisoners.

From a constructivist perspective, AI-IOPT engages in persuasive communication that adds values to the opposing actors. Tamimi and other Palestinian child prisoners are described as heroic victims of human rights violations, while the Israeli soldiers and Netanyahu are perceived to be oppressing and unjust. Constructivists would argue that by calling on the international community to put pressure on the Israeli Prime Minister, AI-IOPT asks external actors to distance themselves from the norm of having children imprisoned, and the NGO hence draws on the notion of identity in

relation to human rights. AI-IOPT seems to suggest that the community of liberal states, which Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) identify as human rights promoters, should denounce the Israeli government; and the NGO's campaign thus constitutes an attempt to change the norm of having Palestinian children imprisoned by accumulating international pressure on Israel.

As Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) explain that national NGOs can expose human rights violations by bringing the message on to INGOs, it becomes relevant that AI has published an article on their website with the headline, "Israel: Release teenage Palestinian activist Ahed Tamimi" (Amnesty International, 2018). In the article, AI calls for authorities to release Tamimi, before going into a more detailed description of what child prisoners can experience in Israeli prisons.

"The Israeli army prosecutes hundreds of Palestinian children in juvenile military courts every year, often after arresting them in night raids and systematically subjecting them to ill-treatment, including blindfolding, threats, harsh interrogations without the presence of their lawyers or families, solitary confinement and in some cases physical violence. There are currently some 350 Palestinian children in Israeli prisons and detention centres, according to local human rights organizations." (Amnesty International Israel/OPT, 2018).

The article hence serves as a confirmation of the transnationalist argument that NGOs can seek power by carrying a transnational agenda. AI-IOPT's Tamimi-campaign namely becomes empowered by its umbrella INGO, AI, which seeks to attract further international focus on Israeli human rights violations. And it seems as if the INGO has been relatively successful after UN human rights investigators also have called on Israel to release Tamimi (Lazaroff, 2018). The UN human rights reporters accordingly go on to address Israel's general mistreatment of Palestinian children, and thus engage in promoting the same values and ideas as AI and AI-IOPT (Lazaroff, 2018). UN's special rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories claims that "[t]he Convention on the Rights of the Child, which Israel has ratified, clearly states that children are to be deprived of their liberty only as a last resort, and only for the shortest appropriate period of time... None of the facts of this case would appear to justify her ongoing detention." (Lazaroff, 2018). Also chairman of the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention, José Guevara, expresses criticism towards Israeli detention of Palestinian children when explaining that "[s]adly, this is not an isolated case. Figures from Palestine show that Israel detains and prosecutes between 500 to 700 Palestinian children in military courts annually" (Lazaroff, 2018).

However, the international human rights regimes are not the only ones who have listened to AI and other non-state actors engaged with Israeli violations of human rights, as Western politicians also have engaged in the discourse against Israel. United Kingdom's (UK) Foreign Office Minister (FOM), Alistar Burt, condemned Tamimi's arrest and said that "Israeli soldiers shouldn't have been in the occupied territory of the West Bank in the first place" (Gilbody-Dickerson, 2018). Burt's statement suggests that the exposure of Tamimi's case has been useful for accumulating broader international pressure on Israel, since the FOM not only delegitimizes Tamimi's arrest, but also Israeli soldiers' presence in the West Bank.

Furthermore, Lisa Singh, member of the Australian Labor Party, expressed her concerns in parliament, where she called for Australia to take action against the Israeli human rights violations.

"Even if the politics on this are hard, Australia must raise its voice... We have a commitment to protect and advance human rights... We cannot look away while children are illegally detained far from their families. I wish to thank those international organizations, non-governmental organizations, [and] academics that have been reporting on this, including UNICEF [and] Amnesty Australia... I say to Ahdut, and all the children wrongly held in Israeli military jails, that I stand with so many in the international community for their freedom and for an end to practices that violate children's rights" (Singh, 2018).

As Singh credits INGOs and NGOs in her statement, Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) theory of SHRN finds support, since it refers to the transnational links that benefit NGOs in their struggle for human rights. In accordance with the boomerang effect model, the domestic NGO, AI-IOPT, has successfully brought on its Tamimi-campaign to its umbrella INGO, AI, which passes the message out to the international community of UN investigators and Western politicians. Singh and Burt's denunciations hence correspond with Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) notion of how Western states often are reminded about their identity in relation to human rights when NGO-campaigns reach their doors.

Another relevant and influential aspect of the Tamimi campaign is how AI, as an umbrella organization, utilizes its national sections to create attention on an issue that is not directly linked to the respective countries where the NGOs operate. In her speech for the Australian parliament, Singh addresses AI Australia as a source of information in relation to Tamimi and other Palestinian

children's imprisonment in Israel (Singh, 2018). By doing so, Singh provides an example of how effective an umbrella organization can spread information, gather attention, and create external pressure, as AI's national sections are capable of working together to make stakeholders across the globe aware of Israeli human rights violations (an observation further analyzed in the chapter on AAI). Not only are AI's national sections appealing to local politicians, on social media the NGOs also gather signatures from citizens of their respective states to further pressure the Israeli government into releasing Tamimi (Amnesty International Denmark, 2018). In this way, AI's national sections can empower AI-IOPT's campaign by exposing it to politicians and citizens of various nations in order to accumulate pressure on the Israeli government.

From a constructivist perspective, AI-IOPT's Tamimi-campaign has promoted the idea of Israel as the 'bad' and Palestinians as the 'good'. In this way, AI-IOPT seemingly attempts to change the international norm of ignoring Israeli mistreatment of Palestinian children. Whether Western states officially will condemn the arrest is yet to be seen; however, the international attention that AI-IOPT's campaign has gathered suggests that NGOs indeed have the power to engage in global governance. Following the campaign, hundreds of people have called for Tamimi's release in the U.S. and Europe by participating in demonstrations (Lazaroff, 2018). Moreover, Palestinians in the West Bank have clashed with Israeli soldiers during protests aiming at pressuring Israel to free the teenager from jail (Keinon, 2018). Encouraging the civil society to act and demonstrate is according to transnationalists a way for NGOs to use international connections to pressure local governments, and the Tamimi-campaign therefore serves as evidence for the power of NGOs and INGOs in global governance (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998).

Pressure has been put on the international human rights regimes and the Western powers to act upon Israeli human rights violations, and time will show whether it will lead to an actual improvement of human rights norms in the occupied territories. Since Israel is perceived to be an ally of many Western governments, it may very well demand continued attention before the Israeli government will feel the need to improve its stand on human rights significantly. However, based on this analysis, NGOs are crucial actors in bringing the Israeli human rights violations on the international agenda, which is why Israel seeks to disempower such actors by limiting their international ties (Freedom House, 2018).

AI India Fighting the Caste System

To further reflect on the power of domestic NGOs, AI-IOPT will be compared to its companion, AI India, which serves under the same umbrella INGO. The issue of comparison will be India's relationship with people from lower castes, who often experience human rights violations in the Indian society. According to a report from India's National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), crime against people from lower castes occur every 18 minutes in India (Jha, 2016). Dalits belong to the lowest caste in the system, and even though the Indian government formerly illegalized the caste system in 1955, Indian Dalits remain subjects to human rights violations, as many upper caste Hindus still believe in the religious hierarchy (Wu, 2018) (Foster, 2007). In an attempt to distance itself from caste discrimination, India has institutionalized quotas for Dalits and other disadvantaged groups in government jobs and educational institutions (BBC News, 2017).

The Indian government is hence in a later phase of SHRN when it comes to improving Dalit rights. India has realized the human rights violating situations caused by the caste system that has been made illegal to practice, and the Dalits have been granted special quotas in order to compensate for their disadvantaged position. Furthermore, lower castes have also been granted a national commission in order to provide safe-guards against exploitation of Dalits (National Commission for Scheduled Castes, 2018).

These observations seem to put India in the fourth phase of the SHRN, which Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) describe as the phase where governments begin to improve human rights conditions by institutionalizing them (and thereby giving them 'prescriptive status'). However, despite working to improve the conditions of human rights, governments in phase four may still violate the given norm, which also seems to be the case in India, where Dalits still face discrimination. (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999) (Foster, 2007). This case seems to suggest that the step between phase four and five in the SHRN can be wide, as India, despite having started the institutionalization process of Dalit rights decades ago, still seems far away from defeating the caste-based human rights violations due to the many social and economic inequalities between Dalits and dominant castes (Jha, 2016).

However, as this thesis suggests that India, in relation to Dalit rights, has developed into the fourth phase of socialization where human rights have prescriptive status, it becomes relevant to

investigate how AI India operates in comparison with AI-IOPT, which campaigned within a state in phase two. It will in the following paragraphs be researched whether the different attitudes that Israel and India present in relation to minority human rights have an effect on how domestic NGOs operate, and whether the given phase has an influence on how successful NGOs are when attempting to bring human rights violations onto the international agenda.

On April 6, 2018, AI India published a Facebook post saying, “In 2015, we'd campaigned for justice for a Dalit family from Baghat, Uttar Pradesh, who fled their village fearing caste-based violence. Yesterday, the Supreme Court said the family deserved compensation for false cases filed against them & ordered an investigation into alleged police complicity.” (Amnesty International India, 2018). The post includes a picture of legal papers and a title saying “GOOD NEWS!” (Amnesty International India, 2018). Compared to AI-IOPT’s Tamimi-campaign, AI India’s Facebook post seems to express a more positive attitude, and does not engage in shaming the Indian government like AI-IOPT’s campaign did with Israel. Instead, constructivists would argue that AI India adds values of power and legitimacy to itself, while promoting the idea that the Indian government is developing in the right direction because of AI India’s influence. The post hence signals a relationship between AI India and the Indian government, as the campaign highlights a situation where the government listened to and learned from AI India. The values that AI India adds to its own identity therefore are similar to that of a teacher, while the Indian government’s identity seems more like a student. By expressing such identities, the campaign challenges the realist assumption that states are the only powerful actors in politics, since it presents AI India as being wiser than the Indian government.

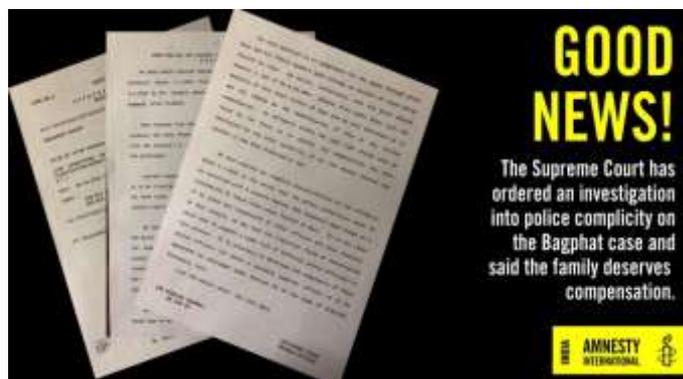


Figure 2: Amnesty International India's campaign on Dalit rights

However, when moving attention to AI India's website, articles with higher levels of hostility are to be found. In an article headlined, "*URGENT ACTION*", AI India presents the case of Chandrashekhar Azad, a nationally famous Dalit rights activist held in administrative detention under the National Security Act (NSA) for arranging demonstrations (Amnesty International India, 2017). In the article, AI India urges people to send appeals to the Indian authorities in order to release Azad. AI India further describes the situation of Azad, who has been arrested on accusations of involvement in rioting after a clash between Dalits and dominant caste groups had occurred. In the article, AI India explains that "[t]he unrest followed the killing of two Dalit men and the burning of at least 50 Dalit homes...by men from a dominant caste in April and May 2017." (Amnesty International India, 2017). By exposing mistreatment of Dalits by dominant castes, AI India seems to identify Azad and other Dalit activists as victims and thus legitimate actors, while dominant castes are identified as oppressing and unjust. In other words, AI India distances itself from the caste system, which the NGO describes as discriminatory towards Dalits (Amnesty International India, 2017). From a constructivist perspective, AI India hence attempts to change the caste-based norms by highlighting how they violate human rights.

However, it is not only the caste system that is subject to criticism by AI India. The NSA is also described as unjust since

“[a]dministrative detention laws allow for people to be detained without charge or trial. Under international law, administrative detention is only permitted in exceptional circumstances and when subjected to stringent safeguards. In India, administrative laws such as the NSA have often been used to detain individuals on vague grounds, ignoring regular criminal justice safeguards. Amnesty International opposes all systems of administrative detention.” (Amnesty International India, 2017).

AI India hereby opposes the NSA, an Indian law which is claimed to violate human rights of Dalits and other Indian citizens. The NGO seeks to undermine the law by creating the idea that it serves a negative purpose. Constructivists could see this as a way of adding a negative value to the law, in an attempt to change the norm of detention in India. However, what is interesting about the article is that it at no time addresses the Indian government directly. Though the NSA is a national law applicable in all Indian states except Jammu and Kashmir, AI India only puts a small amount of emphasis on the authorities of the state, Uttar Pradesh, when describing whom readers should send

their appeals to (Amnesty International India, 2017). Instead of shaming the Indian government, AI India hence criticizes the caste system and the NSA when attempting to affect normative and political change.

When researching the topic on AI's website, it can be seen that the INGO has reposted AI India's article concerning Azad's detention, in order for it to gain increased international attention. However, AI has not exposed its own thoughts on the subject as the INGO relies solely on AI India's research when presenting the campaign. On AI's Facebook page, the INGO has since Azad's arrest failed to post about Azad or any caste-related issues, which may provoke the idea that the INGO sees it as less relevant than e.g. AI-IOPT's Tamimi-campaign. AI's (lack of) focus on the Azad-campaign thus suggests that AI India only has been partly successful in receiving support from its umbrella INGO, which has made a low-effort attempt to gain further international attention for the case.

On the international arena, caste related topics have gained attention from the UN in a recent report stating that Dalit women die more than 14 years earlier than non-Dalit women (UN Women, 2018). The statement is however made in a report concerning a broad and general analysis of gender equality, and is not a part of an exclusively caste-based criticism. Among Western politicians and governments, it also seems as if Dalit rights have little to do with the political agenda, since this thesis' research² found no recent statements related to India's caste system by foreign politicians. It therefore seems as if AI has failed to gain sufficient attention from human rights regimes and Western states, which Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) perceive as crucial actors in the empowerment of domestic NGOs' ability to affect national political change.

Comparing Campaigns of AI's National Sections

When comparing AI-IOPT's campaign on Palestinian child prisoners with AI India's campaign on caste discrimination, notable aspects arise. Firstly, AI-IOPT's campaign has an ongoing focus on Tamimi's case, and her famous character is being utilized to gain international attention from external actors. In comparison, AI India also makes a personification of a broader problem by highlighting the case of Azad when emphasizing human rights violations of the caste system.

² The research included websites of the UN and governmental websites of Denmark, Canada, USA, the UK, and others.

Campaigning on individual cases to expose a larger problem thus seems to be a common practice of AI's national sections. This observation supports Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) argument that "[NGOs'] international contacts can "amplify" the demands of domestic groups, prise open space for new issues, and then echo these demands back into the domestic arena" (p. 18). It thus seems like AI India and AI-IOPT seek to emphasize the individual cases, not only to bring them justice, but also to gather international attention for a general problem.

However, when it comes to addressing the respective governments, AI-IOPT seems to engage in a more hostile communication than AI India. While AI-IOPT opposes the Israeli government by describing it as violent and unjust, AI India merely seems to promote the idea that the Indian government is less competent than the NGO, and therefore in need of its guidance. Based on Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) theory of SHRN, it is argued that the reason behind the NGOs' different approaches when addressing the respective governments come from the different phases of SHRN that Israel and India are in. Because Israel is still denying the validity of Palestinians' human rights, AI-IOPT shames the Israeli government to greater extents than AI India, whose government has institutionalized laws to combat caste based human rights violations, and therefore is in a later phase of socialization. Instead of shaming the Indian government, AI India criticizes the NSA and the caste system as a cultural practice rather than a governmental human rights violation. This correspond with Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) observation that NGOs tend to shame governments in earlier phases of socialization, while engaging in a more rational mode of argumentation with governments in later phases.

While both NGOs encourage further action to combat the human rights violations, AI-IOPT seems more successful in gaining international support for its campaign than do AI India. This can be seen as their common umbrella organization, AI, is more encouraged to campaign on Tamimi's case than on the case of Azad. AI utilizes Tamimi's imprisonment to emphasize the human rights violations of Israel by campaigning on social media and other platforms, but the INGO has little to say about the violations that Dalits face in India. The same apply for AI's other national sections that are involved with the Tamimi campaign but never mention Azad or any caste related violations. It is argued that because Israel is in an earlier phase of SHRN in relation to Palestinians, AI and its national sections are more encouraged to take up AI-IOPT's campaign than AI India's. India's steps towards institutionalizing human rights for Dalits seemingly make the Indian government less of a

target when it comes to campaigns of INGOs and foreign NGOs, even when the legal action does not equal fully combatting the problem.

However, another aspect in the comparison is related to how the international community perceives the respective governments. AI may condemn Israel to further extents than India, not only because of the differences in phases of SHRN, but also because of the relationship that crucial actors of the international community maintain with the government of Israel. Several Western governments that Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) perceive as members of the liberal (human rights-committed) community of states namely contain political and military ties with Israel (Williams, 2018). Condemning Israel is hence more relevant for AI than denouncing the Indian government, as changing the international attitudes towards the Israeli government, by reminding liberal actors about their human rights-identities, could create a bigger impact and potentially improve the levels of human rights to greater extents.

AI's respective approaches to the two campaigns expose what effect the INGO can have in relation to promoting the issues onto the international arena. While Azad's case, and caste related problems in general, have gained minimal attention from external actors, AI-IOPT's Tamimi campaign has been issued by UN human rights investigators; foreign politicians; and foreign NGOs. Furthermore, AI-IOPT's campaign has brought demonstrations to the streets of Europe, the U.S., and Palestine, while AI India's campaign only has sparked protests within India. It thus becomes evident that there is a connection between what INGOs campaign for and what the international community reacts to. In connection with Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) theory of SHRN, it is more likely that a state denying the legitimacy of certain human rights will be subject to international pressure than a state where human rights have prescriptive status. In other words, states that have developed further in the socialization process will be less likely to receive international criticism. This analysis therefore claims that, in relation to Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) boomerang effect model, AI-IOPT's campaign has been more successful than AI India's, since it has put Israel under more international pressure.

Save the Children and the Syrian Refugee Crisis

Moving on from AI, the following chapter will focus on the INGO, SCI, whose national campaigns will be analyzed to gain further understanding of the connection between states' standpoint on human rights and the strategies of domestic NGOs. The topic for this analysis will be refugee rights,

which in current times seem to be of uppermost relevance to the international community that has not seen an amount of displaced persons this large since World War Two (McKirdy, 2016). The national sections of SCI to be compared are SCI Jordan and SCI Denmark that handle the refugee crisis under different circumstances. After the comparative analysis of the two national sections, SCI will be compared to AI in order to identify similarities and differences between how the two umbrella organizations operate.

SCI Jordan Appealing for International Support

SCI Jordan operates within a state that currently contains more than 660,000 thousand registered Syrian refugees; however, INGOs claim that in 2014, the actual number of Syrians reached 1.4 million, making Jordan the third largest recipient of Syrian refugees (UNHCR, 2018). Jordan, a small aid-receiving country, has because of the refugee influx been drained from resources of especially water and agriculture, and the crisis has hence had damaging effects on the Jordanian economy (Black, 2012). In Zaatari, one of Jordan's many refugee camps, the 80,000 Syrian inhabitants have made the camp Jordan's fourth biggest city, where human rights levels are low due to the lack of access to nutrition, healthcare, and education. (Oxfam International, n.d.) (Human Rights Watch, n.d.).

In relation to the Syrian refugee influx, the Jordanian government seems to acknowledge that it is incapable of providing the newcomers with sufficient levels of human rights without help from the international community, as Jordanian officials explain that the lack of financial assistance constitutes the lack of human rights in the refugee camps (Human Rights Watch, n.d.). "Sooner or later, I think, the dam is going to burst", said Jordan's King Abdullah ahead of a donor conference on Syria, as he appealed for further assistance from the international community (BBC News, 2016). The Jordanian government therefore does not deny the human rights violating conditions that most Syrians live under, and neither does Jordan deny that Syrians deserve human rights; instead, Jordan denies full responsibility for the violations due to its economic incapability of coping with a situation that the government did not cause itself.

In relation to the SHRN, it can thus be argued that Jordan has moved on from the second phase of socialization, as the Jordanian government does not deny that the refugees are living under human

rights violating conditions. The development of the Jordan Response Plan (JRP) to the Syrian refugee crisis further suggests that the Jordanian government is in a later phase of SHRN, since the JRP seeks to combat the human rights violations that Syrians in Jordan face (Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 2016).

However, despite taking initiatives to combat human rights violations, Jordan has in recent years also moved in another direction, as the government has started to deport refugees back to Syria, where the civil war seems far from over (Su, 2017). By sending refugees to a war-zone, the Jordanian government violates the human rights of refugees to an extent that can be fatal, and the deportations are thus contradictory to the JRP, which seeks to improve the human rights for Syrians (Su, 2017). This thesis hence argues that the development of the JRP is a ‘tactical concession’, as described by Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999), who argue that such concessions often are carried out by states who are in need of e.g. external aid. By developing the JRP, Jordan seeks to signalize commitment for improving refugees’ human rights in front of the international community, which then may feel more encouraged to provide resources to the Jordanian government in order to combat the problem. However, since Jordan has reached the point where its government deports refugees back to Syria, the JRP does not reflect a full commitment to improving human rights. Therefore, it is argued that Jordan is in the third phase of the SHRN, where governments make tactical concessions to gain external help, rather than actually improving human rights sufficiently (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999).

SCI Jordan is thus suggested to operate within a state in the third phase of socialization, and the analysis will attempt to deduce what that means for the campaign strategies of the NGO. On SCI Jordan’s website, the NGO introduces its domestic operations by presenting facts about the crisis.

“Jordan now hosts the largest number of registered Syrian refugees in the region. More than half of all Syrian refugees in Jordan are children under 18. The Syrian refugees are currently living in camps...and in host communities, with numbers increasing daily as hundreds of new arrivals cross the border from Syria. Hundreds of seperated children and unaccompanied minors have crossed into Jordan.” (Save the Children Jordan, n.d.).

The statement reflects an understanding for the problem that Jordan faces due to the refugee influx, as SCI Jordan presents information that highlights difficulties caused by the crisis. On its Facebook

page, SCI Jordan further exposes facts about the Syrian refugee crisis, as the NGO in March 2018 posted a video showing Syrian children with their names and ages. In the post, SCI Jordan writes: “7 years into the Syrian crisis. 2,670,573 Syrian refugee children. Some children were born as refugees. Some barely remember a glimpse of home.” (Save the Children Jordan, 2018). In accordance with Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink’s (1999) observation on NGO strategies, SCI Jordan appeals to emotions when it states that Syrian refugee children have lived in refugee camps for so long that they cannot remember their homes. In its campaign, SCI Jordan promotes the idea that children fleeing the Syrian Civil War are victims living under unjust conditions, and therefore are in need of assistance.

However, the NGO does not shame the Jordanian government for not living up to international human rights standards, nor does SCI Jordan seek to promote any negative ideas about Jordan. Instead, the NGO recognizes that Jordan is faced with a humanitarian challenge and wishes to spread information about the crisis to gain further support in combatting it. This becomes further evident on SCI Jordan’s website where a picture of a young girl is situated next to the text, “Stop crossing your arms and looking over Syria, instead give us your helping hand.” (Save the Children Jordan, n.d. b). By campaigning under such statements, SCI Jordan promotes the idea that unspecified actors of the international community fail to take action in combatting the refugee crisis because they are waiting for the Syrian Civil War to be over instead. From a constructivist

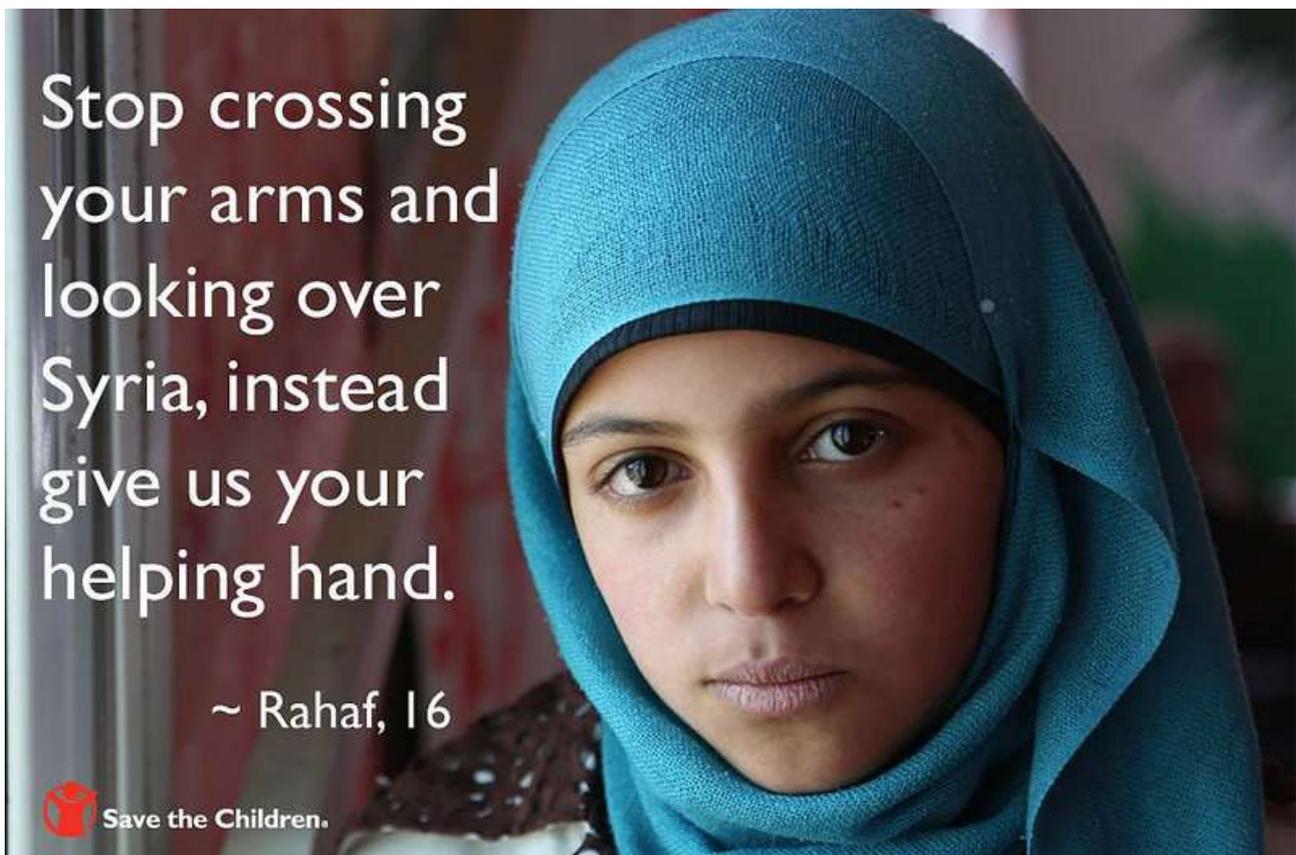


Figure 3: Save the Children Jordan's refugee campaign

perspective, the NGO hence suggests that there is a negative norm of not dealing with the refugee crisis properly, and SCI Jordan hence seeks to implement a new norm that involves taking immediate action in order to improve the human rights of refugee children, rather than waiting for them to return home. However, SCI Jordan does not specify which exact stakeholders that should change their behavior, and the campaign is thus able to appeal to various actors of the international community, including civil societies, states, human rights regimes etc. By displaying the teenage girl, Rahaf, in the campaign (see Figure 3), SCI Jordan appeals to emotions in order to make viewers feel sorry for Rahaf and other victims of the crisis, which can provoke support for SCI Jordan's improvement of human rights.

When moving attention to SCI's website, it can be seen that SCI Jordan has been relatively successful in gaining attention for its campaigns relating to the refugee crisis. In an article from 2014, SCI writes about Azraq, a new refugee camp opened by the Jordanian government. SCI seems positive about the initiative, and states that "[t]he opening of the camp is the latest contribution by Jordan to supporting those fleeing the violence in Syria... These solid structures offer protection against harsh weather conditions, and have avoided the need to accommodate refugees in tents..." (Save the Children, 2014). The INGO goes on to list all the functionalities within the camp, before quoting Andrew Harper, a representative of the United Nations Human Rights for Refugees (UNHCR), who compliments Jordan for its efforts while making a direct appeal to the international community.

"The opening of Azraq camp reinforces Jordan's continuing commitment to protect people fleeing violence in Syria... Since the start of the conflict, refugees have found sanctuary in Jordan... We are all thankful to Jordan for its support to Syrian refugees and appeal to the donor community to do much more to support the Syria refugee response in Jordan, which as of today is only 27% funded. If the international community expects Jordan to continue to be able to keep its borders open and share its limited resources then Jordan has the right to expect the international community to do more to help it achieve this goal." (Harper, as cited in Save the Children, 2014)

Constructivists would argue that by quoting Harper, SCI promotes the idea that Jordan is a leading actor in developing human rights for refugees. The statement thanks the Jordanian government for its efforts, before addressing the international community in negative terms due to the lack of funding for the JRP. In this way, the idea of Jordan as a good and sacrificing actor is created, while

the international community is described as unwilling to support the Jordanian challenges. The article further criticizes the international community when it underlines that if actors expect more of Jordan, Jordan has the right to expect more of the international community. The statement thus identifies Jordan as an active promoter of human rights, while the international community's identity is described as passive and unthankful. By promoting these ideas, SCI seeks to affect the way actors behave in relation to the refugee crisis. The lack of funding from external actors is challenged by SCI's article, and the INGO seeks to add values and formulate ideas about the respective actors in the refugee crisis in order to gain further support in combatting it.

In relation to Jordan's refugee crisis, the international community of human rights regimes and nation states has reacted with varying degrees of solidarity. This is not only confirmed by Harper's statement, but also by UN agencies' newly created partnership with Microsoft that aims at creating jobs for people affected by the refugee crisis in Jordan (UN Development Programme, 2017). This partnership not only underlines the international attention that the crisis has gathered, it also challenges Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's theory that fails to include the growing influence of MNCs in international humanitarian development (Carbonnier, 2001). Furthermore, seeing the international community actively creating jobs for people affected by the Syrian refugee crisis is a norm created with help from NGOs and INGOs that continue to put the crisis on the international agenda.

Furthermore, also nation states have responded with a degree of solidarity. As an example, the Canadian government has promoted similar ideas as SCI when stating that "[s]ince 2011, the crisis in neighbouring Syria has had a negative impact on Jordan's economy, fiscal position, public infrastructure, services and social cohesion. The Government of Jordan is facing extreme pressure as it struggles to address the needs of more than 642,000 REGISTERED refugees, 85% of whom are living in host communities." (Government of Canada, n.d.). Moreover, according to the Canadian government, Canada has in 2016 developed new strategies for combatting the refugee crisis in Jordan and other states in the region, and Canada has hence changed its norms in relation to the crisis (Government of Canada, n.d.). Also Sweden has, according to Jordan's Minister of Planning and International Cooperation, Imad Fakhoury, played a crucial role in convincing the international community to support Jordan, as the Swedish government has pledged to donate 40 million U.S. dollars to Syria's neighboring countries (The Jordan Times, 2015).

It is thus argued that the ideas promoted by SCI Jordan have helped change international norms in relation to the refugee crisis. It is however not to be claimed that the domestic NGO alone has

gained international attention for Jordan's refugee problem, but that SCI Jordan's transnational relationship with SCI have assisted the norm changing behavior of the international community. SCI Jordan has through communication with SCI helped expose the Jordanian challenges to the international community by campaigning for further support. In this way, international human rights regimes and nation states have responded to the crisis instead of remaining passive, and a change of norms in the international community have occurred. Whether the international community in general has provided a sufficient response to the refugee crisis in Jordan is however not for this thesis to say, all that can be concluded is that in recent years, a degree of norm change have unfolded within some states.

SCI Denmark's Engagement in Refugee Politics

In comparison with SCI Jordan, another national section of SCI, namely SCI Denmark, will be analyzed in terms of campaign strategies on the refugee crisis. Denmark is often regarded to contain one of the highest levels of human rights in the world, having created its National Human Rights Institute (NHRI) in 1987, and institutionalized most human rights norms ranging from the abolishment of torture to improving the rights of persons with disabilities (The Danish Institute for Human Rights, n.d.). Due to the Danish government's institutionalization of most human rights norms, many would argue that Denmark belongs to the fifth phase of the SHRN, which, according to Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999), includes all states that have institutionalized human rights to the extent that they consistently behave in accordance with the norms.

However, because of the recent Syrian refugee influx, Denmark has as the only UN member refused to live up to its promise of automatically giving asylum to at least 500 quota refugees per year (Thomsen, 2017). The commitment of accepting quota refugees was enacted by Denmark in 1989 as part of a UN programme that aimed at easing the burden of countries neighboring war zones; however, in 2017, the Danish government established a law allowing self-determination on the number of accepted asylum applications due to the current refugee crisis (Thomsen, 2017). Other new initiatives in relation to the refugee crisis in Denmark include the passing of laws that encourage the police to confiscate jewelry from refugees when they reach Denmark's border; restrictions on family reunification; and discussions of opening refugee camps in Africa instead of on Danish soil (Asher-Schapiro, 2016) (Larsen & Just, 2018).

When it comes to rights for refugees, it therefore seems as if Denmark has developed backwards in relation to the SHRN, as the Danish government institutionalizes laws that oppose human rights instead of promoting them. It is therefore argued that Denmark, in relation to refugee rights, is no longer in the latest phase of socialization, but has fallen back to the fourth phase where refugee rights merely have prescriptive status. This is partly due to the abnormality of being the only UN member that refuses to automatically accept quota refugees, but also because of the consequences that refugees may face due to the new Danish initiatives (Su, 2017).

Denmark's relapse on human rights for refugees arguably challenges Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) theory on norm socialization, which claims that once a state has institutionalized human rights norms, it will not fall back and deny the validity of those norms. However, as the Danish government justifies the refusal of accepting quota refugees by pointing to the number of asylum seekers that Denmark has recently received, the government actually denies the legitimacy of UN's refugee programme (Thomsen, 2017). One could argue that denying the validity of refugee rights would put Denmark into the second phase of the SHRN; however, refugees that do gain asylum in Denmark have relatively high levels of human rights, making it difficult to place Denmark in the theoretical framework. However, for the analysis, the exact phase of Denmark's socialization is of less importance than the notion of a state that develops backwards in relation to the SHRN.

In March 2018, SCI Denmark posted an article on its Facebook page headlined: "Seven years of war-hell has stolen the childhood and future for Syria's children" (Red Barnet, 2018, translated by author). In the article, SCI Denmark's Secretary General, Jonas Keiding Lindholm says:

"[t]he international community has failed Syria's children for way too long and has to find a solution for the conflict now...Denmark and the rest of the EU have to intensify support for Syria's neighbors that have received millions of Syrians since the war started seven years ago. Moreover, any talk in Denmark concerning the deportation of Syrian refugees must end right now. It will take many, many years before there will be any possibilities for a safe life in Syria" (Lindholm, as translated by author; article from Red Barnet, 2018).

Lindholm's statement makes a number of demands; first to the international community which, according to him, has neglected Syria's children and therefore needs to find a solution for the Syrian Civil War; and second, to Denmark and the EU, as he argues that they should increase their

support for Syria's neighbors. The Secretary General of SCI Denmark then specifically denounces Danish speculations on sending back Syrian refugees; a statement which could be interpreted as a critique towards Denmark's recent refusal of automatically accepting quota refugees. By demanding Denmark to end considerations of deporting Syrians, Lindholm directly criticizes a norm in the Danish society, which from a constructivist perspective signals an attempt to influence politics. His appeal for further action from various actors of the international community hence constitutes participation in global governance, as the NGO-representative seeks to change the political behavior of several stakeholders.

Denmark's refusal of accepting quota refugees is also addressed by SCI Denmark's umbrella INGO, which touches the topic on SCI's website. Here, the INGO has posted an article that criticizes the recent 'global anti-refugee backlash' (Save the Children International, 2018). In the article, SCI argues that "[w]ealthier countries have failed to meet commitments made at conferences in London in 2016 and Brussels in 2017... Politicians in Europe, notably in Denmark and Germany, are now discussing the deportation of refugees to Syria. Yet, to date, only three per cent of vulnerable Syrian refugees have been resettled in wealthy countries." (Save the Children International, 2018). When claiming that wealthier countries have failed their commitments, SCI attempts to change the norm of state actors by pressuring them to live up to their promises. The INGO then points its finger at Denmark and Germany, where talks concerning deportations of refugees are presented as unjust, due to the small percentage of Syrians that have actually been resettled in wealthier countries. By exposing the relatively small percentage of resettled vulnerable Syrian refugees in wealthier countries, SCI seems to suggest that states discussing deportations of Syrians lack commitment to human rights. Identifying the group of countries as 'wealthy' further promotes the idea that these states should be able to find other solutions than deportation. In this way, the INGO challenges the behavior of Denmark and other states, and thus engages in global governance by trying to create new norms that contain higher levels of human rights.

SCI's standpoint in relation to the deportation of Syrians is further highlighted by SCI's Chief Executive Officer (CEO) (and former Prime Minister of Denmark), Helle Thorning-Schmidt, who is quoted in the article.

"No child should have to return home before it is safe. Right now, many parts of Syria are unsafe for children. Bombs are still falling and basic services like schools [and] hospitals lie in ruins. Children have told us of the deep psychological wounds

they carry after enduring years of war. Many children are still having nightmares. Once there is peace, the homes and schools of Syria must be rebuilt before children return. The Syrian refugee children we have spoken to want nothing more than to go home to Syria, but they can only do so when it is safe and sustainable to return.” (Schmidt, as cited in Save the Children International, 2018).

From a constructivist perspective, Schmidt’s statement presents an example of persuasive communication which, according to Ahmed and Potter (2006), is a powerful tool often used by INGOs when engaging in international politics. Her sentences are charged with emotions as they repeatedly refer to children – a typical and rather obvious strategy of SCI. Constructivists would argue that Schmidt adds values of pity and compassion to Syrian refugee children, as she talks about their psychological wounds and the nightmares they suffer from. Schmidt ends her statement by delegitimizing deportation of Syrians, as she argues that it is still unsafe and unsustainable to send back refugee children. In this way, SCI’s CEO supports SCI Denmark’s campaign against the deportation of Syrians, and thus assists the attempt to change the human rights violating norms in Denmark and other states.

Due to the new Danish initiatives that arguably constitute a backlash of human rights for refugees, Denmark has also been subject to a low degree of international criticism. In relation to the confiscation of refugees’ jewelry, UNHCR representative, Zoran Stevanovic, argued that it is “...inhumane and degrading to expect asylum seekers and refugees to let go of their treasured belongings irrespective of value” (Stevanovic, as cited in Agerholm, 2016). However, when it comes to Denmark’s new laws allowing the government to deny asylum to quota refugees, it seems as if the international community has turned the blind eye. Except for criticism from NGOs, INGOs, and several media stations, the research³ of this thesis failed to find any international condemnations relating to Danish discussions on deporting Syrian refugees, which may suggest that SCI and other INGOs have failed to make states and the UN act upon the human rights violating behavior of Denmark. It nevertheless seems interesting that the Danish government receives more international criticism caused by the idea to confiscate refugees’ jewelry rather than the discussions of deporting Syrians into a war-zone (a situation that will be further discussed in the next chapter).

³ The research included websites of governments like the U.S., the UK, Sweden, and Jordan, and human rights regimes like the UN.

Comparing Campaigns of SCI's National Sections

When comparing SCI Denmark and SCI Jordan's campaign approaches to the refugee crisis, it seems as if the two NGOs attempt to affect political change in different manners. Even though both national sections of SCI oppose the international community for its passive agenda, the domestic NGOs have different approaches when addressing their respective governments. While SCI Jordan compliments the Jordanian government for its efforts, SCI Denmark promotes negative ideas about the recent development in Danish refugee politics. This is an interesting notion that challenges Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) theory, which argue that states in the later phases of SHRN (Denmark) will receive less criticism than states in the earlier phases (Jordan).

However, the reason behind the different attitudes towards the NGOs' respective governments can arguably be linked to the recent behavior of the states. Since Denmark historically has been perceived as a liberal state, the government's recent approach to the refugee crisis signals a demotion rather than an advancement of human rights (The Danish Institute for Human Rights, n.d.). The opposite accounts for Jordan, which historically has been subject to criticism from the international community due to lack of human rights, but in relation to the Syrian refugee crisis has been complimented as one of the most helpful actors (Human Rights Watch, n.d.). Based on these cases, it is argued that domestic NGO campaigns not only are influenced by the phase of SHRN that a given state is in, but also by the direction that the state is developing. It must however be noted that the NGOs' style of communication may also be influenced by the respective governments' stand on freedom of speech, as political actors in Denmark possess greater opportunities for criticizing the government than they do in Jordan (Human Rights Watch, n.d.).

Nevertheless, the NGOs' shared umbrella INGO, SCI, seems to follow a similar agenda as its national sections. The INGO namely adds positive values and ideas to the Jordanian efforts in the refugee crisis, while criticizing Danish politicians for discussing the deportation of Syrians. SCI however seems more complimentary about Jordan than it seems critical towards Denmark, as the INGO has published several articles and social media posts specifically appealing for further support to Jordan, while it merely criticizes Denmark as a part of a broader critique of the international community.

However, the difference in levels of attention between Denmark and Jordan's refugee responses becomes even wider when listening to the international community that seems to sympathize with

Jordan to much greater extents than it condemns Denmark. Countries like Canada and Sweden have made commitments to assist Jordan and motivate other states to do the same, and UN representatives frequently appeal for further assistance to Jordan. However, when it comes to Denmark's refugee response, the international community has refrained from criticizing⁴. As Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) explain that liberal states often condemn other states for their human rights violating behavior, questions are raised by the silence on Denmark's human rights backlash. However, since Denmark has institutionalized a wide range of human rights and in theory is a member of the liberal community of states, the international silence on the Danish human rights relapse can be caused by Denmark's status in the international system. It seems like the liberal community of states are more careful about condemning a fellow liberal state, and SCI's attempt to pressure Denmark into abolishing the new initiatives hence becomes weaker. Another reason behind the silence could be linked to the observation made by several INGOs and NGOs concerning the international community's failure of responding to the Syrian refugee crisis, as the international community may feel less motivated to condemn a single state when the majority of the community is perceived to respond insufficiently too. Whatever reason lays behind the silence, it can be concluded that SCI and other INGOs have been more successful in gaining positive attention for Jordan's refugee response than negative attention for Denmark's initiatives.

AI and SCI's Different Strategies of Political Engagement

When comparing SCI to AI, differences in strategies and rhetoric become highlighted by the way the INGOs and their respective national sections communicate through their campaigns. As, Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) argue, NGOs can use several modes of persuasive communication when attempting to influence politics, and the two INGOs of the analysis prioritize different strategies. SCI and its national NGOs namely appeal to certain emotions to greater extents than AI, as the vast majority of SCI Denmark and SCI Jordan's campaigns express sympathy for children by exposing how the Syrian Civil War has affected their lives. SCI thus tends to appeal to emotions of pity for victims of human rights violations, which Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) would see as an attempt to remind liberal states about their commitment to human rights. In relation to states, SCI uses a

⁴ While international media have criticized the human rights violating developments in Denmark, none of the articles of big news stations like BBC or CNN refer to any non-Danish politicians or governments that stand critical towards the Danish initiatives.

similar strategy of victimization, as the INGO and its national sections promote the idea that Jordan needs assistance in handling the refugee crisis.

That is not to say that AI and its domestic NGOs do not appeal to emotions, as AI-IOPT's Tamimi campaign also expresses compassion for child prisoners. However, AI uses the strategy of shaming to greater extents than SCI, as AI and its national sections do not refrain from condemning governments and politicians – an observation confirmed by how AI addresses Netanyahu and Israeli soldiers. Compared to AI, SCI is less hostile when criticizing states for their human rights violating behavior, as the INGO and its national sections do not make as harsh condemnations of governments. Instead of directly shaming states, SCI refers to other actors, such as representatives of the UN or other INGOs, when presenting critical points. Nevertheless, representatives of SCI, such as SCI Denmark's Secretary General or SCI's CEO, do criticize actors of the international system; however, the critical statements are expressed by various representatives rather than SCI and its national sections as a whole, and SCI thus seems more fastidious about allowing politically motivated critique on behalf of the organization.

This is connected to Ahmed and Potter's (2006) observation on NGOs, as they argue that historically, NGOs have not perceived themselves as political entities and have therefore avoided political repertoires in order to escape criticism. However, Ahmed and Potter (2006) further explain that many NGOs are beginning to realize that promoting human rights equals engaging in politics. It hence seems like AI and its national sections are more willing to stand by its political potential, as they do not refrain from making explicit condemnations of governments, politicians, soldiers and other national or international actors when attempting to affect political change. On the other hand, SCI presents a more neutral attitude, and prefers to support the victims rather than condemning the violators of human rights. When criticizing governments, SCI and its national sections communicate soft critiques, and do not add values of e.g. murder to specific actors, as AI-IOPT did with Israel. SCI's strategy instead involves reminding actors about their commitment to human rights by victimizing people or states, in order for human rights to be improved. Because of its more passive approach to political influence, SCI is more likely to escape critique and resistance from national governments who may be more provoked about the ideas presented in the campaigns of AI.

ActionAid International and the rights of LGBTQIA people

Finally, the last umbrella organization to be subject for analysis is AAI, whose national sections will be compared in terms of campaign rhetoric. The following paragraphs will concern the domestic NGOs; AAI Sweden and AAI Uganda, and the topic of the analysis will be their respective focus on LGBTQIA rights. Different from the two previous cases, the analysis of AAI's national sections will emphasize the Ugandan context above the Swedish, because of Sweden's level of LGBTQIA rights that rarely receives international criticism. Furthermore, the chapter will include an analysis of the development of LGBTQIA rights in Uganda as a consequence of international pressure, in order to expose and comment on the political power of NGOs and INGOs. Conclusively, this chapter will compare AAI's campaign strategies to those of AI and SCI.

AAI Sweden's Overseas Aspirations

Sweden can be perceived to be one of the countries in the world containing the highest levels of LGBTQIA rights (Angus Reid Global Monitor, 2006). This is partly due to the state's history, as Sweden was one of the first countries in the world to legalize same-sex marriage, and the very first state to allow transgender people to legally change their gender before sex reassignment surgery (BBC News, 2009). Moreover, in 1987, Sweden made discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity illegal; and since 2003, homosexual couples have been legally allowed to adopt children (MacGregor, 2002) (Magnusson, 2004). These are just a few out of many legal actions that Sweden has taken in order to ensure human rights for LGBTQIA people. It therefore needs no further analysis to conclude that Sweden, in relation to LGBTQIA rights, are in the fifth phase of SHRN, where states consistently behave with regard to human rights. On the basis of this characterization, AAI Sweden's campaigns on LGBTQIA rights will be analyzed to deduce the relationship between Sweden's socialization phase and AAI Sweden's campaign strategies.

On March 13, 2018, AAI Sweden published a post on their Facebook page concerning a meeting with representatives of AAI and the NGO, Liberia's Initiative for the Promotion of Rights, Identity, Diversity, and Equality (LIPRIDE). According to the post, the organizations gathered in Liberia, where the meeting served to promote rights of LGBTQIA people (ActionAid Sweden, 2018). In the post, a quote from Liberian Social Worker, Maxwell Monboe, is presented in order to highlight the human rights violations that Liberian people face due to sexual orientation and gender identity. "We

live under constant threats, harassment and violence, [and] not least police brutality. In addition, we are often denied medical care and we do not have the courage to report violent crimes to the police because their treatment usually means mockery or more violence.” (Monboe, as cited in ActionAid Sweden, 2018, translated by author). AAI Sweden’s Facebook post ends by concluded that “[h]omophobia is deeply rooted in Liberia, but by educating police, health professionals and the judiciary on the needs and rights of people of [LGBTQIA], positive change in attitudes and behaviour is slowly developing” (ActionAid Sweden, 2018, translated by author).

The Facebook post of AAI Sweden hence focuses on the human rights violating experiences that LGBTQIA people face in a foreign country⁵. By presenting the many different sexual and gender-based violations, AAI Sweden exposes the consequences of homophobia in Liberia, before emphasising the importance of education, which the NGO claims can combat the problem. AAI Sweden is therefore more encouraged to deal with LGBTQIA rights in a foreign country, where the number of homophobic human rights violations are more frequent and severe than in Sweden. This can be connected to Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink’s (1999) theory of SHRN, since Sweden’s phase of socialization in relation to rights of LGBTQIA people explain why AAI Sweden does not focus on domestic violations against people of LGBTQIA, as the Swedish government provides these people with high levels of rights relative to the majority of the international community (Magnusson, 2004). Instead, AAI Sweden focuses on foreign human rights violations of LGBTQIA people, which the NGO assumingly sees as more relevant to tackle, since Liberia, in comparison to Sweden, is further behind in the socialization process.

Constructivists would argue that AAI Sweden’s communication adds negative values to homophobia, which the NGO connects to violence, brutality, harassment, threats, and mockery. AAI Sweden further suggests that homophobia in Liberia is something that can be educated away. By linking homophobia to lack of education, AAI Sweden presents homophobia as a primitive and under-developed idea. The idea of homophobia as being primitive may fit well for AAI Sweden’s domestic audience that has granted LGBTQIA people with some of the world’s highest levels of human rights (Magnusson, 2004). The goal behind AAI Sweden’s focus on Liberian LGBTQIA rights may hence be to legitimize and gain further support for the NGO by exposing how AAI

⁵ AAI Sweden is an NGO that tends to focus on international rather than national human rights violations when campaigning on social media, so this is not an isolated case.

operates in foreign countries. Had AAI Sweden instead criticized the Swedish government for violations of LGBTQIA rights, the NGO may not have gained as much legitimacy or support.

On AAI's website, there is a direct connection to the INGO's database, where articles and campaigns from different parts of the umbrella organization are published. On this database, an article headlined "Lovers in Action" describes the cultural and legal discriminations that LGBTQIA people experience in India, Mauritania, Sudan, Somaliland, Nigeria, South Africa, Malawi, Uganda, and the African continent as a whole (ActionAid International, n.d.). As an example, AAI explains that "[i]n Uganda, after the bill introduced in 2009 [which called] for death penalty for repeated acts of homosexuality, newspapers started outing gays, putting their lives in danger." (ActionAid International, n.d.). The INGO thus seems to follow a similar agenda as AAI Sweden, since both entities emphasize human rights violations of LGBTQIA people in the developing world rather than in developed countries like Sweden. As in the case of AAI Sweden, AAI's geographical approach to LGBTQIA people's rights may also stem from the phases of SHRN that many developing countries are in, since the political impact of INGO campaigns can be more influential in states that violate human rights to greater extents. It therefore becomes relevant to compare AAI and AAI Sweden's campaigns to how NGOs from countries with more hostile attitudes towards LGBTQIA people operate. In this way, it can be deduced whether an NGO from a LGBTQIA-hostile country promotes similar ideas as foreign NGOs from LGBTQIA-friendly states like AAI Sweden.

AAI Uganda Limited by Force

The next country to be characterized is therefore Uganda, which is perceived to hold one of the world's most hostile attitudes towards people of LGBTQIA (Banning-Lover, 2017). Since British colonial rule of Uganda, same-sex relationships have been prohibited by law as it is in 37 other African countries (ActionAid International, n.d.). What makes the Ugandan situation seem more extreme, however, is legal initiatives such as the Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Act, which the Ugandan President, Yoweri Museveni, planned to sign into law in 2014 (McKay & Angotti, 2016). When the bill was introduced, it included life imprisonment and even the death sentence for homosexuals. The bill further proclaimed the right for the Ugandan government to punish NGOs that aided or promoted same-sex sexual acts (McKay & Angotti, 2016). In relation to the rights of LGBTQIA people, it is hence argued that during the development of the anti-homosexual bill,

Uganda was in the first phase of SHRN, where the opposition is incapable of posing a sufficient challenge to human rights violations because of the governments' level of oppression (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999).

The Ugandan government's attitude towards people of LGBTQIA seemingly has a limiting impact on the campaigns of AAI Uganda, which does not address any LGBTQIA-related topics on its official website or its social media platforms. Instead, the NGO maintains an ongoing focus on female rights and educational opportunities, which are focus-areas that the Ugandan government accepts to greater extents. As was the case with its INGO, AAI Uganda's website contains a direct link to AAI's database where campaign material from the entire umbrella organization is published. However, as opposed to AAI's international data-base, pro-LGBTQIA articles are nowhere to be found when accessing through AAI Uganda's website.

When investigating this trend on websites from AAI's national sections that contain a link to the INGO's data-base with English articles, it can be deduced that campaigns including words that describe sexuality (like 'gay' or 'lesbian'), are to be found on websites of AAI's Australian-, Brazilian-, Danish-, Greek-, Italian-, Dutch-, Swedish-, British-, and U.S. American national sections. In contrast, such articles are not present on websites of AAI's domestic NGOs in Bangladesh, Ghana, Guatemala, India, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, the Gambia, Uganda, or Zambia. It therefore seems like AAI's national sections from countries with higher levels of human rights for people of LGBTQIA are more willing to communicate LGBTQIA rights than those in more LGBTQIA-hostile countries.

As Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) argue that NGOs operating within states in earlier phases of SHRN are limited due to governmental oppression, their theory becomes supported by the difference between the focus-areas of AAI's national sections. The lack of attention that AAI Uganda provide for people of LGBTQIA suggests that the government's hostile attitude towards the LGBTQIA rights influence the behavior of NGOs. Since the Uganda Anti-Homosexuality Act clarified that the Ugandan government was willing to punish NGOs that promote the rights of LGBTQIA people, AAI Uganda may have feared that engaging in campaigns that favor people of LGBTQIA would provoke the government into oppressing the NGO, which potentially could destroy the organization. Instead, AAI Uganda is forced to campaign for less sensitive topics like female rights and proper education, which the Ugandan government accepts to greater extents.

In an article written by AAI Uganda's Country Director (CD), Arthur Larok (2017), Uganda's level of oppression of NGOs is further exposed by a description of how Ugandan police, in September 2017, raided offices of AAI Uganda and other NGOs whose bank accounts later were frozed by the government.

“Last month, police raided the offices of ActionAid Uganda, the Great Lakes Institute...and Solidarity Uganda. More raids on the offices of other NGOs have since followed. Every indication is that we should prepare for a long, drawn-out attack on Ugandan civil society...The search warrant claimed that all three organizations were involved in “illicit financial transactions” and “subversive activities to destabilize Uganda.” The severity of these accusations and subsequent raids on other NGOs indicate that an attack on civil society is underway.” (Larok, 2017).

Larok's article supports Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) observation that NGOs campaigning within states situated in early phases of SHRN are oppressed and limited, since it exposes Uganda's willingness to exercise hard power over domestic NGOs. The article thus supports the idea presented in this thesis, which draws a link between AAI Uganda's lack of focus on LGBTQIA rights and Uganda's oppression of LGBTQIA promoters.

Despite AAI Uganda's lack of focus on LGBTQIA rights, AAI has, as previously mentioned, criticized Uganda for its human rights violations against LGBTQIA people in the article called 'Lovers in Action' (ActionAid International, n.d.). However, the INGO does not seem to maintain an intense campaign emphasizing the issue. Instead, other national sections of AAI seems to criticize the Ugandan government to greater extents than the INGO. Take e.g. AAI Denmark, which claims to fight against human rights violations within Uganda.

“[AAI Denmark] strengthens LGBT[QIA]-activists' struggle for rights in Kenya, Uganda, and Nigeria. That happens in collaboration with our local education centers, Global Platforms. Here, we teach activists from the three countries to campaign for LGBT[QIA] rights. A new generation of young LGBT[QIA] activists will gain tools, experience, confidence, and the social network in order to be better equipped for continuing the fight for basic rights.” (Translated by author; article from Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke, 2017).

It thus becomes evident that NGOs are capable of campaigning and operating on issues that are more relevant for foreign countries than for their domestic societies. This notion is a challenge to Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) boomerang effect model, which portrays a more simple framework of how NGOs can influence politics. When Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) argue that national political change begins by seeing domestic NGOs communicating human rights violations up to INGOs, they arguably fail to take the impact that NGOs can have on foreign societies into account. As the cases of the LGBTQIA-friendly Sweden and Denmark suggest, the world has moved on since the creation of the SHRN theory in 1999, since NGOs within countries that are in later phases of the SHRN-process can choose to campaign for foreign governments to follow suit. Based on these findings, it can be noted that even when an NGO operates as a national section dedicated to a specific state, its political influence still has international potential. This observation empowers the transnationalist argument explaining that "[t]he traditional view of the international system as hierarchical and focused almost exclusively on states has evolved into one that is nonhierarchical. Effective power is increasingly being organized in a nonhierarchical manner." (Weiss & Jacobson, 1998, p. 3). Even among organizations does Weiss and Jacobson's notion of a nonhierarchical system of political power seem increasingly relevant, as national sections of umbrella INGOs are not limited to domestic politics but are also capable of developing political influences in foreign countries (like the actual INGOs).

When national NGOs from human rights promoting states tend to incorporate campaigns and operations in countries further behind in the SHRN-process, it may not be surprising that the international community also has condemned Uganda to greater extents than Sweden, which presupposedly has escaped criticism due to high levels of LGBTQIA rights. On the other hand, Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Act has been officially denounced by heads of states from the UK, the U.S., and Australia, while the Swedish government went further and cutted development aid for the country (Muhumuza, 2009) (Radio Sweden, 2014).

When other Western states like the US, the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark joined the Swedish initiative to retain aid, a news-station sponsored by the Ugandan government claimed that the denunciations were unjust, and, in connection with Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) theory of SHRN, began the process of denial (Ankunda, 2010). "The backlash that Uganda has received over the Anti-homosexuality Bill can only confirm our fears. Ugandans (read Africans) have no right to discuss and no right to sovereignty. Uganda has no mandate to make choices for its people and no

role in shaping its destiny” (Ankunda, 2010). It seems as if the state-owned news-station draws parallels to colonial times when arguing that Uganda, and Africa as a whole, are not allowed sovereignty over its own people. From a constructivist perspective, the Ugandan government assumingly seeks to deligitimize the Western denunciations by creating negative ideas about foreign interference in domestic politics. The Ugandan government arguably utilizes historical events to undermine the identities of Western states, and in the process identifies Uganda as a victim rather than an oppressor. In this way, the Ugandan government seeks to deny the legitimacy of Western interference in domestic politics.

However, following the ongoing pressure from Western states, the UN, (foreign) NGOs, and INGOs, Uganda’s Minister of State for Ethics and Integrity, James Nsaba Buturo, announced that the deathpenalty would be dropped from the anti-homosexual bill (Biryabarema, 2009). Despite Buturo denying that the softening of the bill came as a consequence of international pressure, the initiative would by Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) be perceived as a tactical concession (Biryabarema, 2009). As Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) argue that states which highly depend on foreign aid are more likely to make tactical concessions in relation to human rights, the case of Uganda’s softening attitude towards people of LGBTQIA confirms their theory. Merely removing the deathpenalty for LGBTQIA people obviously does not equal fully meeting the standards of human rights, but the tactical concession is, according to Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999), a step in the right direction of the SHRN process, as it can lead to further improvements in the future.

The Ugandan case further underlines the impact that the international community can have on domestic human rights violations within a given state, as Uganda’s level of LGBTQIA rights was raised after Western states threatened to cut aid. It also suggests that foreign NGOs can engage in national politics within states that oppress their own national NGOs. NGOs within liberal states can namely utilize the liberal environment to denounce human rights violations committed by governments of less liberal states, and in the process make INGOs, the UN, and state-actors aware of the issues.

Comparing AAI to Its Fellow INGOs

When comparing the umbrella INGO, AAI, to AI and SCI, the way in which AAI’s national sections operate distances it from the two other INGOs. While AI and SCI’s national sections are united through the same agenda, share the same values, and use the same style of communication,

AAI's national sections are divided on the issue of LGBTQIA rights, which are promoted within liberal states but lack attention within LGBTQIA-hostile nations. AAI Uganda's 'choice' of ignoring human rights violations of LGBTQIA people may however not be a choice, but rather a circumstance which the NGO is forced to obey in order to ensure its existence. Instead, AAI Sweden and AAI Denmark are capable of promoting LGBTQIA rights on African soil, as their very existence is not threatened by a possible conflict with the respective African governments.

Furthermore, another reason behind the different approaches to human rights promotion from AAI's national sections can be linked to how the INGO is structured. While AI and SCI tend to establish national sections themselves, AAI uses a different strategy of governance which allows the INGO to adopt existing NGOs into its umbrella organization (ActionAid, n.d. c). In relation, AAI describes itself as "... a union comprised of self governing affiliates and associates which are members united by a central or international ("federal") structure and by shared values, vision and mission." (ActionAid, n.d. c) The INGO therefore does not have the exclusive power to govern national campaigns; instead, AAI has created what it describes as 'guiding principles' that its domestic NGOs can follow to varying extents (ActionAid, n.d. c). Since the INGO's principles are meant to guide rather than rule, AAI's structure provides possibilities for differences between its national sections' respective campaigns, which is also the case of AAI Sweden and AAI Uganda.

However, when it comes to the ideas that AAI and its national sections express through campaigns, the INGO's strategies share similarities with both AI and SCI. Like SCI, AAI appeals to emotions of compassion towards the victims of human rights violations, which becomes evident when AAI Sweden describes how Liberia's LGBTQIA people have their human rights violated. However, AAI's national sections in Sweden and Denmark are not afraid of condemning African governments for their violations of LGBTQIA rights – a strategy similar to how AI-IOPT denounces the Israeli government. Through these observations it can be concluded that AAI attempts to affect political change with respect to the environment which its national sections operate within, since conflicts with oppressive governments can have costly results.

Conclusion

Each of the three comparative analyzes of national sections from the same umbrella INGOs represents key findings for the thesis. The first analysis which compared AI-IOPT's campaign on

rights for Palestinian children to AI India's campaign on Dalit rights found that the two national sections of AI engaged in different types of communication. While AI-IOPT added negative values to the identity of the Israeli government by linking it to oppression and discrimination, AI India promoted the idea that the Indian government was listening to and learning from the NGO. Instead of shaming the government, AI India criticized the caste system as a cultural practice rather than a legal human rights violation. This finding supports the theory of SHRN, which claims that NGOs will shame governments in earlier phases of socialization, but engage in a more logical mode of argumentation with governments in later phases (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999).

Another key finding in the analysis of AI's national sections is connected to how the INGO and the international community responded to the two campaign topics. AI India's campaigns for Dalit rights did not gain much more than national attention, and AI merely reposted an article of AI India on the INGO's website. However, AI-IOPT's campaign on Tamimi's arrest was highlighted and elaborated on AI's media, where the human rights violations caused by the Israeli government gained international attention. AI-IOPT's campaign thus helped in creating an international response from politicians and citizens around the world, who denounced Israel for its human rights violations.

It is therefore concluded that a government's phase of SHRN not only determines the style of communication that domestic NGOs use, but can also help to explain how likely the human rights violations of the state are to gain attention from INGOs and the international community. Since India has institutionalized human rights by making the caste system illegal and granting favorable quotas for Dalits, AI finds it less relevant to take up caste-related topics, and instead chooses to campaign on Israel's violations of Palestinian rights, as the Israeli government denies that it mistreats Palestinians.

However, despite corresponding with Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) notion of phases, this thesis does not conclude that AI's prioritization of campaigns only are caused by the respective attitudes towards human rights, but instead suggests that Israel's role in the international community also enhances its chances of gaining criticism from INGOs. AI seems aware that a campaign which shames the Israeli government is more likely to gain international focus than a critique of India's caste system, since Israel's political links to Western governments make Israeli human rights violations more relevant for Western politicians and citizens, who have responded with negative attitudes towards Israel. It is therefore noted that NGOs, which operate within human

rights violating states that maintain close ties with liberal governments, stand a better chance of finding support from its umbrella INGO, because their attempts to change ideas about their government's identity could be crucial for the power of the state. AI's commitment to Israel-critical campaigns hence supports Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) observation on how INGOs remind liberal states about their human rights-related identities in order for them to act upon human rights violations. The number of Western politicians, citizens, and NGOs that following the campaigns have engaged in Israel-critical communication suggests that AI successfully has exposed the human rights violations that would create the more powerful response.

Another key finding of the analysis is related to SCI's national sections in Jordan and Denmark that both campaign to improve the human rights of children fleeing the Syrian Civil War. Since SCI Denmark operates within a state in a later phase of SHRN than SCI Jordan, Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) could predict that the level of hostility in SCI Jordan's communication would be higher than in SCI Denmark's. However, because of the severe consequences that the refugee crisis has had on the Jordanian economy and resources, SCI Jordan prefers to compliment the Jordanian government's efforts rather than shaming it for its shortcomings. On the other hand, SCI Denmark, which operates within a state in a later phase of socialization, presents criticism of the Danish government because of its recent backlash in relation to refugee rights. On the basis of this analysis, it is thus concluded that NGOs' level of negative political critique towards a target government do not solely rely on the state's phase of SHRN, but can also be influenced by the direction in which the government is developing.

However, SCI Jordan's lack of critical campaigns towards its government does not mean that the NGO lacks commitment to improve domestic human rights; instead, it shows which actors' political and normative behavior that SCI Jordan seeks to influence. The same accounts for SCI Denmark, which, as opposed to its Jordanian counterpart, stands critical towards the Danish government because of political discussions on deporting Syrians. Also SCI Denmark namely evaluate which actor to support in relation to the refugee crisis, as the NGO criticizes the Danish government while identifying Jordan as an important actor in handling the crisis. The case of SCI Jordan thus suggests that NGOs are not limited to improve human rights by exposing domestic governmental human rights violations, but can also victimize states in order for them to gain international support. This conclusion hence challenges the simplicity of Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) theory, which argues that NGOs influence political change by critically exposing governmental human rights

violations for the international community. Instead, this thesis suggests that in cases where several actors of the international community share responsibility in improving human rights, NGOs may seek to evaluate which actors that are capable of improving their response before engaging in critical communication.

It must however be noted that Jordan's general level of human rights may have an impact on SCI Jordan's communication, as engaging in a critique of the Jordanian monarchy is less appealing since Jordan, in comparison with Denmark, lacks freedom of speech. Nevertheless, also the INGO, SCI, shapes its campaigns in similar ways as its national sections in Jordan and Denmark. In correspondence with SCI Jordan and SCI Denmark, the INGO namely presents positive ideas about the Jordanian efforts in handling the refugee crisis, before softly criticizing Denmark for its human rights backlash. However, as SCI's critique of Denmark is part of a broader critique of the international community, the INGO seems less willing to engage in critical communication of individual governments and instead prefers to improve human right by victimizing Jordan before the international community.

Also the international community has responded with levels of compassion for Jordan, as examples of Swedish and Canadian initiatives show that some governments have acted upon the appeals. In accordance, several UN agencies also have engaged in the debate, appealing for other states to assist the Jordanian government. However, the international community has refrained from criticizing the Danish government for its discussions on deporting Syrians. The lack of critique towards Denmark may be linked to how other states have responded to the Syrian refugee crisis, since SCI argues that the international community generally has provided an insufficient response. This thesis therefore suggests that INGOs can lack international support when criticizing an otherwise liberal government, as other states then may fear to be subject for criticism later. This can also explain why SCI and its national sections are more careful about denouncing individual states and rather wish to support governments that make an effort to improve human rights.

In relation to the case of AAI and its national sections in Uganda and Sweden, another key finding supports Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) theory, which argues that governments in early phases of SHRN can oppress NGOs in order to limit their opportunities of improving human rights. This can be seen when reflecting on AAI Sweden's LGBTQIA agenda, which is absent in AAI Uganda's campaigns. AAI Uganda namely operates within a state that oppresses LGBTQIA people so severely that the NGO is incapable of openly promoting human rights for this group. In addition,

AAI Sweden refrains from campaigning in relation to domestic LGBTQIA rights because the Swedish government provides this group with high levels of rights relative to the majority of the international community. Instead, AAI Sweden campaigns to promote LGBTQIA rights in foreign countries like Liberia, which is in an earlier phase of SHRN. These are relevant findings because they confirm that governmental attitudes towards human rights can determine whether an NGO is capable of promoting these rights. However, AAI Sweden's willingness to campaign and operate for the improvement of human rights in overseas societies show that Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999) have failed to take into account how NGOs within liberal societies are capable of utilizing the environment to bring attention to human rights violations within less liberal states. The theory of SHRN namely perceives national NGOs as exclusively domestic actors; however, this thesis concludes that even NGOs that seem domestic by nature are capable of maintaining international agendas.

The INGO, AAI, also highlights the human rights violations that LGBTQIA people face in Uganda and other developing countries, but does not mention Sweden's LGBTQIA community. The same accounts for several actors of the international community, which condemns Uganda for its Anti-Homosexuality Act. The international response to Uganda's anti-homosexual bill shows that Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink's (1999) theory is right when assuming how NGOs and INGOs can help provoke international pressure, which then can improve the levels of human rights within a state. This becomes evident after Uganda moved into the third phase of SHRN by making a tactical concession involving the removal of the death penalty and life imprisonment for homosexual acts. The tactical concession came after several Western states threatened to cut aid to Uganda if the bill was implemented. This process hence corresponds with the theory of SHRN, and supports the notion of NGOs and INGOs' political power that can help inspire liberal governments to act on human rights violations.

Furthermore, when comparing the umbrella INGOs to each other, two major findings are conducted. The first finding is related to the style of communication used by the three INGOs and their national sections. While AI often engages in campaigns that aim at delegitimizing human rights violating governments by adding negative values to their identities, SCI is less willing to shame states and instead tend to build campaigns around the victims. The case of SCI and its Danish section proves that even when engaging in relatively soft criticism, SCI refers to external or internal sources rather than making critical statements on behalf of the INGO. This does however

not mean that SCI is incapable of affecting political change; it only suggests that the INGO seeks to improve human rights by making the international community feel sorry for the victims. AI too uses the strategy of victimizing; however, as was the case of AI-IOPT, the umbrella INGO also engages in shaming governments for human rights violations through the shaping of identities. It is thus concluded that when attempting to influence politics through persuasive campaigns, INGOs and their national sections can engage in different types of communication. However, a common aspect between the communication of AI and SCI is that both umbrella INGOs strategically plan their communication when campaigning to improve human rights. Whether it involves creating anger towards governments or compassion for victims, NGOs and INGOs use strategic and persuasive communication in order to gain international support for the improvement of human rights.

However, in the case of AAI, it seems like the umbrella INGOs' style of communication is less consistent when compared to the two previous examples. This can be seen by how AAI's national sections in Uganda and Sweden differ in relation to promoting rights of LGBTQIA people, and hence leads to the second finding of the INGO analysis concerning the structure of the umbrella organizations. While AI and SCI's national sections follow the same agendas as their respective umbrella INGOs, AAI Uganda and AAI Sweden are significantly different when it comes to their campaigns on LGBTQIA, since the Ugandan government does not allow NGOs to promote rights for this group. However, AAI's federal organizational structure, which allows the INGO to adopt existing NGOs into the umbrella organization, is more open towards differences between its national sections, since AAI allows its member NGOs to remain independent. Instead of well-defined objectives, AAI has created its guiding principles, which its national sections can follow to varying extents. In this way, AAI Uganda is capable of campaigning within Uganda, as the NGO can refrain from touching the topic of LGBTQIA rights, while upholding its independent status. On the other hand, AAI's national sections in LGBTQIA-friendly states can use the liberal environment to promote rights for LGBTQIA people in Uganda and other developing countries.

On the basis of this thesis, it can thus be concluded that NGOs and INGOs do participate in global governance by engaging in politics on national and international levels. The campaigns of national NGOs can add values and shape ideas about human rights violators and their victims. By doing so, they attempt to gain transnational support from their respective umbrella INGOs, which can help bring international attention to the violations. However, INGOs do not prioritize every campaign topic on equal terms but strategically chose to expose some human rights violations over others.

Which human rights violations that INGOs chose to expose can relate to the phase of SHRN that the target government is in; which direction the state is developing; and what relationships the government has with other actors in the international community. INGOs can seek to encourage actors, such as states and human rights regimes, to pressure the target government into ending its human rights violations, which was the case with AI's campaigns against Israeli oppression of Palestinian children. However, INGOs can also victimize states to increase international support for the government, as SCI did in Jordan's refugee crisis. The way in which INGOs and national NGOs communicate can thus differ, but the common ground for AAI, AI, and SCI is that they engage in politics by developing persuasive campaigns aimed at shaping ideas and identities, in order to improve norms of human rights.

References

- ActionAid International. (n.d.). *Lovers in Action*. Retrieved May 9, 2018, from ActionAid International: [http://www.actionaid.org/search/apachesolr_search/gay?gids\[0\]=429](http://www.actionaid.org/search/apachesolr_search/gay?gids[0]=429)
- ActionAid. (n.d. a). *Who we are*. Retrieved March 17, 2018, from actionaid: <http://www.actionaid.org/who-we-are>
- ActionAid. (n.d. b). *What we do*. Retrieved March 17, 2018, from actionaid: <http://www.actionaid.org/what-we-do>
- ActionAid. (n.d. c). *Our structure and governance*. Retrieved March 18, 2018, from actionaid: <http://www.actionaid.org/who-we-are/our-structure-and-governance>
- ActionAid. (n.d. d). *ActionAid country list*. Retrieved March 17, 2018, from actionaid: <http://www.actionaid.org/where-we-work/actionaid-country-list>
- ActionAid Sweden. (2018, March 13). *ActionAid Sweden*. Retrieved May 9, 2018, from Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/pg/ActionAidSweden/posts/?ref=page_internal
- Agerholm, H. (2016, July 1). *Denmark uses controversial 'jewellery law' to seize assets from refugees for first time*. Retrieved May 3, 2018, from Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/denmark-jewellery-law-migrants-refugees-asylum-seekers-unhcr-united-nations-a7113056.html>
- Ahmed, S., & Potter, D. M. (2006). NGOs and International Relations Theory. In S. Ahmed, & D. M. Potter, *NGOs in International Politics* (pp. 5-16). Boulder and London: Kumarian Press.
- Amnesty International. (2018, January 18). *Israel: Release teenage Palestinian activist Ahed Tamimi*. Retrieved April 10, 2018, from Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/01/israel-release-teenage-palestinian-activist-ahed-tamimi/>
- Amnesty International Danmark. (2015, March 3). *HJÆLP PÅ VEJ TIL DANSKE TRANSKØNNEDE*. Retrieved May 17, 2018, from Amnesty International: <https://amnesty.dk/nyhedsliste/2015/hjaelp-paa-vej-til-danske-transkoennede>

- Amnesty International Danmark. (2018, April 18). *Amnesty International Danmark*. Retrieved April 18, 2018, from Facebook:
https://www.facebook.com/pg/amnesty.dk/posts/?ref=page_internal
- Amnesty International India. (2017, November 10). *URGENT ACTION*. Retrieved April 16, 2018, from Amnesty International India: <https://amnesty.org.in/take-action/urgent-action-dalit-rights-activist-held-without-charge/>
- Amnesty International India. (2018, April 6). *Amnesty International India*. Retrieved April 12, 2018a, from Facebook:
<https://www.facebook.com/AIIndia/photos/a.369882003640.155718.287934483640/10156571895248641/?type=3&theater>
- Amnesty International India. (n.d.). *Amnesty International India*. Retrieved May 21, 2018, from Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/AIIndia/>
- Amnesty International Israel/OPT. (2018, February 6). *Amnesty International Israel*. Retrieved April 10, 2018, from Facebook:
<https://www.facebook.com/Amnesty.International.Israel/photos/a.141129922634173.39512.137449656335533/1627182780695539/?type=3&theater>
- Amnesty International. (n.d.). *Amnesty Global*. Retrieved May 21, 2018, from Facebook:
<https://www.facebook.com/amnestyglobal/>
- Amnesty International. (n.d.). *STRUCTURE AND PEOPLE*. Retrieved May 7, 2018, from Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/about-us/how-were-run/structure-and-people/>
- Angus Reid Global Monitor. (2006, December 24). *Eight EU Countries Back Same-Sex Marriage*. Retrieved May 7, 2018, from Polls & Research:
https://web.archive.org/web/20100227020312/http://www.angus-reid.com/polls/view/eight_eu_countries_back_same_sex_marriage/
- Ankunda, P. (2010, January 11). *Gays Bill: Uganda is being judged too harshly*. Retrieved May 12, 2018, from Daily Monitor: <http://www.monitor.co.ug/OpEd/Commentary/-/689364/839592/-/ak0cekz/-/index.html>

- Asher-Schapiro, A. (2016, January 13). *UN Condemns Danish Plan to Seize Migrants' Cash and Valuables as an 'Affront to Human Dignity'*. Retrieved May 3, 2018, from Vice News: <https://news.vice.com/article/un-condemns-danish-plan-to-seize-migrants-cash-and-valuables-as-an-affront-to-human-dignity>
- Banning-Lover, R. (2017, March 1). *Where are the most difficult places in the world to be gay or transgender?* Retrieved May 9, 2018, from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2017/mar/01/where-are-the-most-difficult-places-in-the-world-to-be-gay-or-transgender-lgbt>
- Barnett, A. (2005, February 27). *The man who fought for the forgotten*. Retrieved March 17, 2018, from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2005/feb/27/humanrights.world1>
- BBC News. (2009, April 2). *Sweden allows same-sex marriage*. Retrieved May 7, 2018, from BBC News: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7978495.stm>
- BBC News. (2016, February 2). *Syria conflict: Jordanians 'at boiling point' over refugees*. Retrieved April 24, 2018, from BBC NEWS: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35462698>
- BBC News. (2017, July 20). *What is India's caste system?* Retrieved April 12, 2018, from BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-35650616>
- Bellchambers, A. (2016, February 27). *Confronting Netanyahu and the Ideology of Likud Zionism*. Retrieved April 10, 2018, from Global Research: <https://www.globalresearch.ca/confronting-netanyahu-and-the-ideology-of-likud-zionism/5510666>
- Bendixen, M. C. (2018, March 9). *HOW MANY ARE COMING, AND FROM WHERE?* Retrieved May 18, 2018, from Refugees.dk: <http://refugees.dk/en/facts/numbers-and-statistics/how-many-are-coming-and-from-where/>
- Biryabarema, E. (2009, December 23). *Uganda government softens proposed anti-gay law*. Retrieved May 14, 2018, from Reuters: <https://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFJJOE5BM0EQ20091223>

- Black, I. (2012, July 31). *Jordan jitters over swelling Syrian refugee influx*. Retrieved April 23, 2018, from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/on-the-middle-east/2012/jul/31/jordan-syria-refugees>
- Blum, P., & Zihlmann, O. (2017, November 5). *The inside story of Glencore's hidden dealings in DRC*. Retrieved March 26, 2018, from The Guardian: <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/nov/05/the-inside-story-of-glencore-hidden-dealings-in-drc>
- Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. (2016). *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*. U.S. Department of State.
- Carbonnier, G. (2001). *Corporate responsibility: What relations between the business and humanitarian worlds?* The International Committee of the Red Cross.
- Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T., Simmons, B. A., & Adler, E. (2013). Constructivism in International Relations: Sources, Contributions, and Debates. In W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse, & B. A. Simmons, *Handbook of International Relations* (pp. 112-144). London: SAGE Publications.
- Dearden, L. (2017, July 29). *EU accused of 'wilfully letting refugees drown' as NGOs face having rescues suspended in the Mediterranean*. Retrieved March 26, 2018, from Independent: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-ngo-rescue-ships-mediterranean-sea-italy-libya-eu-code-of-conduct-deaths-2300-latest-a7866226.html>
- Digital Marketing Institute. (n.d.). *The Battle of the Social Media Platforms in 2018*. Retrieved May 21, 2018, from Trends and Insights: <https://digitalmarketinginstitute.com/blog/2018-02-24-the-battle-of-the-social-media-platforms-in-2018>
- Finnemore, M. (1996). *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Foster, P. (2007, February 14). *Caste system still blighting India*. Retrieved April 12, 2018, from The Telegraph: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1542669/Caste-system-still-blighting-India.html>
- Freedom House. (2018). *Freedom in the World 2018*. Retrieved April 10, 2018, from Freedom House: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/gaza-strip>

GayLawNet. (n.d.). *GayLawNet*. Retrieved May 9, 2018, from Laws:

<http://www.gaylawnet.com/laws/se.htm>

Gilbody-Dickerson, C. (2018, January 11). *UK minister on Ahed Tamimi: 'Israeli soldiers should not have been there'*. Retrieved April 12, 2018, from RT: <https://www.rt.com/uk/415508-ahed-tamimi-palestine-burt/>

Government of Canada. (n.d.). *Canadian international assistance in Jordan*. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from Canada.ca: <https://www.canada.ca/en.html>

Hay, S., Tzuri, M., Yanko, A., Curiel, I., & Azulay, M. (2018, April 07). *Netanyahu: IDF protects us from those pretending to speak for human rights*. Retrieved April 10, 2018, from Ynet News: <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-5223460,00.html>

Human Rights Watch. (n.d.). *Jordan: Events of 2016*. Retrieved April 24, 2018, from Human Rights Watch: <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2017/country-chapters/jordan>

Jha, A. K. (2016, February 3). *The Dalits: Still untouchable*. Retrieved April 17, 2018, from India Today: <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/the-big-story/story/20160215-dalits-untouchable-rohith-vemula-caste-discrimination-828418-2016-02-03>

Keinon, H. (2018, January 14). *PALESTINIANS CLASH WITH ISRAELI SOLDIERS DURING PROTEST FOR AHED TAMIMI*. Retrieved April 18, 2018, from the Jerusalem Post: <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Palestinians-clash-with-Israeli-soldiers-during-protest-for-Ahed-Tamimi-534694>

Larok, A. (2017, October 18). *Our offices were raided in Uganda - here's what to do if yours are too*. Retrieved May 10, 2018, from ActionAid International: <http://www.actionaid.org/2017/10/our-offices-were-raided-uganda-heres-what-do-if-yours-are-too>

Larsen, J. B., & Just, A. N. (2018, February 5). *Lejr i Afrika og loft over indvandring: Socialdemokratisk udspil splitter rød blok*. Retrieved May 3, 2018, from DR: <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/politik/lejr-i-afrika-og-loft-over-indvandring-socialdemokratisk-udspil-splitter-roed-blok>

- Lazaroff, T. (2018, February 14). *U.N. CALLS ON ISRAEL TO FREE AHED TAMIMI*. Retrieved April 11, 2018, from The Jerusalem Post: <http://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/UN-calls-on-Israel-to-free-Ahed-Tamimi-542665>
- MacGregor, M. (2002, June 7). *Sweden Opts for Gay Adoption*. Retrieved May 7, 2018, from Made for Minds: <http://www.dw.com/en/sweden-opts-for-gay-adoption/a-571702>
- Magnusson, J. (2004). *Sweden*. Encyclopedia.
- McKay, T., & Angotti, N. (2016). Ready Rhetorics: Political Homophobia and Activist Discourses in Malawi, Nigeria, and Uganda. *Qualitative Sociology*, 397-420.
- McKirdy, E. (2016, June 20). *UNHCR report: More displaced now than after WWII*. Retrieved April 23, 2018, from CNN: <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/06/20/world/unhcr-displaced-peoples-report/index.html>
- Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke. (2017, August 17). *"HVORFOR ER DU HER, NÅR DER IKKE ER NOGEN KRIG?"*. Retrieved May 10, 2018, from Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke ActionAid: <https://www.ms.dk/2017/08/hvorfor-er-du-her-naar-der-ikke-er-nogen-krig>
- Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation. (2016). *The Jordan Response Plan: For the Syria Crisis*. New York: Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.
- Muhumuza, R. (2009, December 4). *Tanzania: New Uganda Anti-Gay Law Irks Sweden*. Retrieved May 12, 2018, from The Citizen: <http://allafrica.com/stories/200912040171.html>
- Mulley, C. (2012, August 19). *Eglantyne Jebb, 1876-1928, Founder of Save the Children and champion of children's rights*. Retrieved March 17, 2018, from HerStoria: <https://herstoria.com/eglantyne-jebb-1876-1928-founder-of-save-the-children-and-champion-of-childrens-rights/>
- National Commission for Scheduled Castes. (2018, April 2). *Introduction*. Retrieved April 12, 2018, from National Commission for Scheduled Castes: <http://ncsc.nic.in/pages/view/73/68-introduction>

- Oxfam International. (n.d.). *Life in Za'atari refugee camp, Jordan's fourth biggest city*. Retrieved April 24, 2018, from Oxfam International: <https://www.oxfam.org/en/crisis-syria/life-zaatari-refugee-camp-jordans-fourth-biggest-city>
- Radio Sweden. (2014, March 5). *Sweden freezes aid to Uganda over anti-gay bill*. Retrieved May 12, 2018, from Sveriges Radio: <https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2054&artikel=5800832>
- Red Barnet. (2018, March 12). *SYV ÅRS KRIGSHELVEDE HAR STJÅLET BARNDOM OG FREMTID FOR SYRIENS BØRN [Seven years of war and hell have stolen the childhood and future for Syria's children]*. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from Red Barnet: <https://redbarnet.dk/nyheder/syv-aars-krigshelvede-har-stjaalet-barndom-og-fremtid-for-syriens-boern/>
- Red Barnet. (n.d.). *Red Barnet*. Retrieved May 21, 2018, from Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/redbarnet/>
- Risse, T., Ropp, S. C., & Sikkink, K. (1999). *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Save the Children. (2014, April 30). *NEW REFUGEE CAMP OPENED IN JORDAN*. Retrieved April 25, 2018, from Save the Children: <https://www.savethechildren.net/article/new-refugee-camp-opened-jordan>
- Save the Children International. (2018, February 5). *HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SYRIANS RISK BEING PUSHED TO RETURN IN 2018 DESPITE ONGOING VIOLENCE, WARN AID AGENCIES*. Retrieved May 3, 2018, from Save the Children: <https://www.savethechildren.net/article/hundreds-thousands-syrians-risk-being-pushed-return-2018-despite-ongoing-violence-warn-aid>
- Save the Children International. (n.d. a). *OUR STORY*. Retrieved March 17, 2018, from Save the Children: <https://www.savethechildren.net/about-us/our-story>
- Save the Children International. (n.d. b). *ABOUT US*. Retrieved March 17, 2018, from Save the Children: <https://www.savethechildren.net/about-us>

- Save the Children Jordan. (2018, March 16). *Save the Children Jordan*. Retrieved April 24, 2018, from Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/pg/SaveChildrenJor/posts/?ref=page_internal
- Save the Children Jordan. (n.d. b). *Photos*. Retrieved April 25, 2018, from Save the Children Jordan: <https://jordan.savethechildren.net/media/photos>
- Save the Children Jordan. (n.d.). *Save the Children's Emergency Response to the Syrian Crisis*. Retrieved April 24, 2018, from Save the Children Jordan: <https://jordan.savethechildren.net/what-we-do>
- Serhan, Y. (2018, January 5). *A Symbol of the Palestinian Resistance for the Internet Age*. Retrieved April 12, 2018, from The Atlantic: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/01/internet-famous-in-the-west-bank/549557/>
- Singh, L. (2018, February 12). *Palestinian children in detention*. Retrieved April 12, 2018, from YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kOajGO9RvLQ>
- Smith, M. P., & Guarnizo, L. E. (1998). *Transnationalism from Below*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers.
- Su, A. (2017, October 20). *Why Jordan is Deporting Syrian Refugees*. Retrieved April 24, 2018, from The Atlantic: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/10/jordan-syrian-refugees-deportation/543057/>
- The Danish Institute for Human Rights. (n.d.). *Human rights in Denmark*. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from The Danish Institute for Human Rights: <https://www.humanrights.dk/research/human-rights-in-denmark>
- The Jordan Times. (2015, May 9). *Jordan thanks Sweden for support in refugee crisis*. Retrieved May 4, 2018, from The Jordan Times: <http://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/jordan-thanks-sweden-support-refugee-crisis>
- Thomsen, J. A. (2017, December 20). *Denmark no longer to automatically accept U.N. refugee resettlement quota*. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-denmark-refugees/denmark-no-longer-to-automatically-accept-u-n-refugee-resettlement-quota-idUSKBN1EE277>

- UN Development Programme. (2017, May 23). *UN Agencies and Microsoft Join Hands to Create Jobs for Communities affected by the Syria Crisis*. Retrieved May 2, 2018, from Reliefweb: <https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/un-agencies-and-microsoft-join-hands-create-jobs-communities-affected-syria-crisis>
- UN News. (2010, January 15). *Top UN rights official urges Uganda to do away with 'anti-homosexuality bill'*. Retrieved May 12, 2018, from UN News: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2010/01/326672-top-un-rights-official-urges-uganda-do-away-anti-homosexuality-bill>
- UN Women. (2018). *TURNING PROMISES INTO ACTION: GENDER EQUALITY IN THE 2030 AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT*. the United States: UN Women.
- UNHCR. (2018, April 7). *Syria Regional Refugee Response: Jordan*. Retrieved April 23, 2018, from Operational Portal Refugee Situations: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/36>
- United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia. (2017). *Israeli Practices towards the Palestinian People and the Question of Apartheid; Palestine and the Israeli Occupation, Issue No. 1*. Beirut: United Nations.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (n.d.). *Trans-nationalism*. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from UNESCO: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/trans-nationalism/>
- Weiss, E. B., & Jacobson, H. (1998). *Engaging Countries: Strengthening Compliance with International Environmental Accords*. Cambridge: MA: MIT Press.
- Williams, D. (2018, May 14). *Israeli joy, Palestinian fury over U.S. embassy launch in Jerusalem*. Retrieved May 16, 2018, from Reuters: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-usa/israeli-joy-palestinian-fury-over-us-embassy-launch-in-jerusalem-idUSKCN1IF1Q7>
- Wu, H. (2018, April 3). *10 killed as widespread Indian caste protests turn violent*. Retrieved April 12, 2018, from CNN: <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/04/02/asia/dalit-protests-india-intl/index.html>