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Backlash: Defiance, Human Rights and the Politics of Shame

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Backlash: Defiance, Human Rights and the Politics of Shame

By

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Committee in charge:
Professor Ron E Hassner, Chair
Professor Jason Wittenberg
Professor Steven Weber
Professor Raka Ray

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines the causes and consequences of international "naming and shaming": a ubiquitous tactic used by states and civil society to improve international human rights. When does international shaming lead to the improvement in human rights conditions, and when does it backfire, resulting in the worsening of human rights practices or a backlash against international norms? Instead of understanding transnational norms as emanating from some monolithic "international community," I propose that we gain better analytic insight by considering the ways in which norms are embodied in particular actors and identities, promoted and contested between specific states in relational terms.

Starting from this approach, I apply insights from sociology, social psychology, and criminology to develop a theory of international "defiance," or the increase in norm offending behavior caused by a proud, shameless reaction against a sanctioning agent. As detailed in Chapter 2, defiance unfolds through domestic and international logics that incentivize elites to violate international norms for political gain. Anticipating these political effects, regimes often provoke and manipulate shaming for strategic purposes. In the long-term, defiance can attach oppositional norms to collective identity, transforming domestic and international normative orders. I argue that international pressure is more likely to provoke defiance under three conditions: (1) the target has weak social ties with the shamer (e.g. economic, political, or ideological); (2) the shamer lacks credibility due to bias or inaccuracy; and (3) the shame is stigmatizing, denigrating the actor instead of the behavior.

Existing empirical studies on "naming and shaming" tend to focus exclusively on the country being shamed, obscuring the relational dynamics at the core of the shaming process. My empirical work, in contrast, explores these relationships head-on. In Chapter 3, I evaluate the role of social ties (the first condition driving defiance) in both the causes and consequences of interstate shaming using novel data from the Universal Pe-

riodic Review, a process conducted by the United Nations wherein states "peer review" one another's human rights practices. I show that not only is shaming driven by the relationship between sender and target, but states will accept or defy shaming based on this relationship, regardless of the norm in question. In other words, when it comes to human rights shaming, the *critic* matters just as much as the *criticism*.

Chapter 4 shines the spotlight on the shamer, exposing the political biases that shape human rights reporting. I argue that if human rights reporting is stigmatizing, it can risk defiance and backlash. How can one measure and compare stigma in media portrayals in a systematic way? I propose a solution using new data on U.S. news coverage of global women's rights, 1980-2014 along with novel computational text analysis tools. Chapter 4 presents evidence suggesting that American media stigmatizes Muslims in their coverage of women's rights abroad by propagating the stereotype that Muslims are uniquely or particularly discriminatory against women.

While I cannot address the impact of such coverage writ large, I follow up on one particular story that captured widespread media attention in 2010-11: the "Save Sakineh" campaign, which involved a massive, global shaming operation directed at Iran for sentencing a woman to stoning for adultery of 2010-11. Chapters 5 and 6 conduct an in-depth qualitative study of the case, leveraging in-depth interviews and extensive archival research to trace the micro-politics of defiance. I illustrate the role of social ties, credibility, and stigma in the development of the campaign, as well as the co-constitutive relationship between Western shaming and Iranian defiance. Chapter 7 concludes by sketching some additional implications of my argument, directions for future research, and policy recommendations.

To J.M.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

In the last three decades, a number of studies in international relations (IR) have argued that international "naming and shaming" can improve human rights conditions around the world. The constructivist literature on norm diffusion offers important theoretical models of the process by which states are pressured into improving their human rights practices.[1] Several quantitative studies suggest shaming can lead to an improvement in human rights conditions,[2] while a plethora of case studies document "success stories" of states bettering their behavior as a result of global condemnation.[3]

While this literature has gone far towards explaining the influence and diffusion of international norms, it is generally biased towards successful and progressive normative change. Not only do we know little about cases in which global pressure failed to generate causal impact, we know even less about cases in which pressure generated significant, but normatively undesirable results. With few exceptions, most studies of human rights shaming consider two possible outcomes: an improvement in human rights conditions, and status quo ante.[4] The possibility of human rights worsening as a result of shaming – a "backlash" effect – is rarely considered.

On the other hand, anecdotal examples of norm backlash are easy to find:

- In the last 10 years, efforts to shame Caribbean governments into complying with their treaty obligations have been largely unsuccessful with respect to death penalty issues. According to one observer, "to the contrary, support for capital punishment appears to have increased over time among both state actors and the public."[5]
- In 2002, Nigerian women's rights activists sent an open letter to Western feminists and human rights promoters asking that they cease campaigning on behalf of Amina Lawal, a woman sentenced to stoning in Northern Nigeria. Activists reported that some Nigerian officials had become increasingly committed to-

[1] Keck and Sikkink 1998; Risse and Ropp 1999.

[2] DeMeritt 2012; Cole 2012a; Cole 2012b; Krain 2012; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Hendrix and Wong 2013; Murdie 2009; Murdie and Davis 2012; Murdie and Peksen 2015.

[3] Franklin 2008; Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002; Ropp, Sikkink, and Risse 1999; Sikkink 1993a.

[4] The main exceptions being Hafner-Burton 2008; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005.

[5] Helfer 2002.

wards carrying out Lawal's death sentence after receiving various protest letters with Western postage.[6]

- During the 2015 holiday season, Israel's ambassador to the U.S. Ron Dermer announced that all of the presents sent from the Israeli embassy would be produced in the occupied West Bank and Golan Heights. A letter to gift recipients described the decision as an effort "combat the latest effort by Israel's enemies to destroy the one and only Jewish state," referring a recent European Union decision to label good originating from the occupied Palestinian territories.[7]
- Islamic insurgents such as ISIS, the Taliban, and Boko Haram attract recruits by producing videos and images that intentionally provoke global outrage. Speaking of the strategic logic of such marketing campaigns, Rafia Zakaria clarifies: "Theirs is a counter-global discourse defining itself against international norms… Flagrant acts of barbarity bestow on them moral legitimacy."[8]

Existing studies would have difficulty accounting for such outcomes. In general, deviance from international norms is under-studied and under-theorized.[9]

This dissertation contributes towards filling these gaps by advancing our understanding of international "naming and shaming" and its unintended consequences. I do this through a number of innovations:

- I revise the conventional theory of international norm dynamics through a review of its sociological underpinnings. The exercise provides the foundation for my theory of defiance, which motivates the empirical analyses that follow (Chapter 2).
- I test my claims using quantitative analysis of the most elaborate multilateral human rights peer-review process in the international system: the United Nations Universal Periodic Review (Chapter 3).
- I reveal political biases in both the quantity and substance of human rights reporting using new data from 35 years of U.S news coverage of women's rights abroad and novel computational text analysis techniques (Chapter 4).
- I illustrate the micro-mechanisms of my theory through an in-depth investigation of a recent case involving global shaming of Iran (Chapters 5 and 6).
- Building off the theory and analysis, I provide tangible foreign policy recommendations concerning human rights violations abroad (Chapter 7).

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[6] BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights 2003; Sengupta 2003.

[7] Schulberg 2015.

[8] Zakaria 2014.

[9] The main exceptions being Adler-Nissen 2014; Nincic 2005; Wagner, Werner, and Onderco 2014.

As the first major scholarly treatment of norm backlash and defiance, this dissertation will contribute fresh insight into the politics of shaming, while setting a broad research agenda for the study of norm socialization and its relation to deviance.

The purpose of the introductory chapter is to set the conceptual and theoretical foundation for the rest of the dissertation. I first trace the scholarly debate over international norms and socialization, focusing on how "naming and shaming" came to be understood as an important strategy in the promotion of human rights worldwide. In section 2, I describe the shortcomings present in the literature, which I attribute to an overall teleological conception of norm dynamics whereby socialization is conflated with compliance. Section 3 clarified some conceptual issues and describes my meta-theoretical approach to shaming as a social, relational interaction. I then introduce my theory of 'defiance' and summarize the key arguments in this dissertation, followed by a preview the empirical findings, and a discussion of scope limitations. The chapter concludes with a road map for the rest of the dissertation.

1 International Norms: An Intellectual History

Today, it is no longer controversial to claim that norms matter in world politics. A robust literature exists on norm creation, diffusion, compliance, and resistance, spanning the fields of security and political economy to international law and diplomacy. Still, it is important to revisit the intellectual history of the norms literature for three reasons: 1) to set a conceptual foundation for the rest of the dissertation; 2) to understand existing theoretical approaches to shaming; and 3) to map the remaining gaps in our understanding. This section offers such an inventory, situating the norms literature in historical and theoretical context.

1.1 A Return to Norms

Norms, ideas, and identities have always informed the study of international politics.[10] American IR, however, began loosing interest in ideational concerns with the advent of the behavioral revolution in the 1960s and its call for a more "scientific" approach to politics, emphasizing rigorous methods and measurements. Norms were largely brushed off as residue of a debunked idealism.[11] Meanwhile, Waltz's seminal

[10] Finnemore and Sikkink 1998. For the purposes of this dissertation, I rely on Katzenstein's often-used definitions. "Norm" refers to "collective expectations for the proper behavior of actors with a given identity," and can be either regulative or constitutive. "Identity" is "a shorthand label for varying constructions of nation- and statehood." Katzenstein 1996, 5–6. For further discussion of what constitutes norms in international relations theory, see Goertz and Diehl 1992.

[11] Carr, Cox, and Cox 1964.

Theory of International Relations (1969) established a new paradigm for the study of IR based on rationalism and materialism.[12]

In the last three decades, the constructivist research program has called for a return to ideas, emphasizing the independent role of norms in world politics.[13] As an intellectual movement, constructivism has roots in three schools of thought. First, the English School argued that modern states form not only a *system* of states, but also an international *society*.[14] Second, sociological institutionalism identified "world culture" in the convergence of state policies in a variety of arenas.[15] Finally, IR scholarship on regimes emphasized the role of norms and principles, albeit in a rationalist paradigm, opening the door for a more sweeping "ideational turn" in the late 1980s.[16]

Constructivism is not a substantive theory of politics.[17] Rather, it is a framework emphasizing the socially constructed nature of agents. Instead of treating states' identities or interests as given, constructivists consider these empirical questions to be theorized and studied.[18] They are especially concerned with the role of norms in constructing agents, viewing intersubjective beliefs, identities and interests as mutually constitutive.[19] In other words, norms don't just *constrain* nation-states, but also constructs their identities as particular *kinds* of nation-states.[20] For instance, human rights norms now increasingly define a "civilized state" in the modern world.[21]

In order to prove their empirical capabilities, constructivists were forced to frame their arguments vis-à-vis the dominant theories of the time, ones based on rationalism and materialism.[22] Thus much of the early work in constructivism sought to demonstrate that norms "mattered" in the sense of exerting independent causal power on state behavior, contra realist expectations.[23] As Johnson says: "All [constructivist approaches] take the realist edifice as target, and focus on cases where structural material notions of

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[12] Fearon and Wendt 2002. It is noteworthy that even though Waltz himself does not depend on a rationalist-state assumption, his disciples fully ingrained the rationalist, materialist, and structuralist assumptions into a cohesive theory of neorealism. See Legro and Moravcsik 1999.

[13] Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Finnemore and Sikkink 2001; Katzenstein 1996.

[14] Bull 2002; Buzan 1993.

[15] Meyer et al. 1997; Boli and Thomas 1999.

[16] Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Krasner 1982; Kratochwil and Ruggie 1986; Wendt 1987.

[17] Fearon and Wendt 2002; Finnemore and Sikkink 2001; Onuf 1998.

[18] Hopf 1998, 175.

[19] Fearon and Wendt 2002; Finnemore 1996; Meyer et al. 1997; Ruggie 1998.

[20] Ropp and Sikkink 1999b; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998.

[21] Levy and Sznaider 2006; Keck and Sikkink 1998, 29; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Risse 2000, 5; Sikkink 1993b, 412. Some use "liberal" instead of "civilized." Ropp and Sikkink 1999b, 8.

[22] Hopf distinguishes "conventional" constructivists from their "critical" counterparts. While both have roots in critical social theory, conventional constructivists stress that they do not depart from "normal science," sharing positivist epistemological commitments with mainstream IR. Hopf 1998, 182.

[23] Katzenstein 1996.

interest cannot explain a particular strategic choice."[24] The result of this intellectual exchange was a dubious "major debate" about whether constructivist theories could "supplant realist theories."[25]

The terms of inclusion led to a number of distortions in the constructivist research program, whereby constructivism was understood not in its own right, but as the negation of realism. Given realism's association – fairly or not – with a belief in inevitable conflict, constructivists assumed the reputation as idealists, suggesting that norms could help overcome collective action problems and encourage greater cooperation at the international level.[26] In other words, norms were discussed primarily as a homogenizing force, mediating power relations instead of being imbricated in them.[27] In their preoccupation to convince rationalists that norms "mattered," constructivists were inadvertently shaping an empirical research program biased towards successful and normative progressive change.

1.2 Norm Diffusion and Socialization

While facing a number of critiques from rationalists,[28] constructivists continued to build a research paradigm for the study of international norms. One of the first tasks was to theorize the emergence and diffusion of norms. Finnemore and Sikkink's theory of a "norm life cycle" established the dominant paradigm on this issue.[29] They posit that norms emerge from norm entrepreneurs, who are motivated by "empathy, altruism, and ideational commitments" in their efforts to establish a better world.[30] Once adopted by some states, norms diffuse through a process of *socialization*, whereby states "are induced to change their behavior by adopting those norms preferred by an international society of states."[31]

Socialization hinges on states' "identities as members of an international society."[32] According to Shannon, "[a]s a member of an identity group, one desires to en-

[24] Johnston 1995, 41. Quoted in Desch 1998, 141. Indeed, all of the essays in Katzenstein's groundbreaking volume explicitly target neorealism and, more importantly, frame their arguments in terms of neorealist analysis ("Neorealism would predict X, but Y, therefore constructivist Z").
[25] Desch 1998.
[26] Ruggie 1992; Wendt 1994. For a strong critique, see Mearsheimer 1994.
[27] Consider, for instance, Risse's chapter in Katzenstein's volume, where he discusses NATO's unlikely endurance. Democracies, he argue: "externalize their internal norms when cooperating with each other. Power asymmetries will be mediated by norms of democratic decision-making among equals emphasizing persuasion, compromise and the non-use of force or coercive power." Risse 1996, 268–71. Quoted in Checkel 1998, 334.
[28] Desch 1998; Goldstein and Keohane 1993; Mearsheimer 1994.
[29] Finnemore and Sikkink 2001.
[30] Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 898.
[31] Ibid., n. 62.
[32] Ibid., 902.

hance one's social image, seeking the approval and respect from peer members."[33] When enough states adopt a new norm (i.e. the "norm cascade") it amounts to "peer pressure," driving countries to conform.[34] Complying brings praise, increased social worth and pride, while violation is met with shame, disapproval and isolation.[35] Over time, states internalize these norms as part of their identities, giving them a "taken for granted" status.[36] (These micro-foundations are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.)

For skeptics, what looks like socialization is merely an exercise in instrumental adaptation.[37] In other words, states espouse their commitment to a particular norm as "window dressing" – a low cost method of conveying legitimacy – without the intention to implement.[38] This phenomenon, known as "decoupling," is particularly endemic in the realm of human rights.[39] Repressive regimes may ratify human rights treaties as a legitimizing move, without the capacity or willingness to comply with the provisions.[40] How and to what extent, then, do international norms exert independent influence on state behavior?

1.3 Shaming and Transnational Civil Society

These questions drove norms scholars to emphasize the role of transnational advocacy networks (TANs) and the tactic of "naming and shaming" in the socialization process.[41] In their seminal study, Keck and Sikkink describe TANs as networks of civil society actors working transnationally (between and across state boundaries) on a principled issue such as human rights, bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services.[42] TANs are important because

[33] Shannon 2000. Finnemore and Sikkink borrow their concept of socialization from the American legal literature, resulting in similar assumptions of "peer groups."
[34] Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 903.
[35] Ibid., 904.
[36] Ibid., 904–5. This "internalization" stage has much more in common with "socialization theory" as it was originally applied to individuals. Epstein 2012, 139.
[37] Ropp and Sikkink argue that instrumental adaption is the first stage in the socialization process. Ropp and Sikkink 1999b, 12.
[38] Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005.
[39] Ropp and Sikkink 1999b, 12.
[40] Cole 2012a; Cole and Ramirez 2013; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Hafner-Burton, Tsutsui, and Meyer 2008; Meyer et al. 1997.
[41] Alvarez 2000; Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink 2002; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Merry 2006; Moghadam 2005; Montoya 2008; Price 1998; Price 2003; Ropp and Sikkink 1999a; Risse 1994, t; Sikkink 1993b; Sikkink 1998; Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco 1997; Tarrow 2001; Tarrow 2005; True and Mintrom 2001; Tsutsui and Wotipka 2004. Although Finnemore and Sikkink acknowledge that states can act as agents of socialization (through diplomatic actions, material sanctions, etc.), most of the norms literature emphasize the role of transnational advocacy networks in pressuring target states to comply with international standards
[42] Keck and Sikkink 1998.

they provide crucial linkages connecting domestic activists with international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), e.g. Amnesty International or Human Rights Watch.[43] For international groups, linkages with local actors provide credibility and on-the-ground information.[44] For less powerful domestic actors, transnational networks provide access, leverage, information and resources. International solidarity is also thought to empower and legitimate domestic groups, spurring the mobilization of social movements and NGOs in target countries.[45]

TANs work through "moral consciousness-raising, argumentation, dialogue, and persuasion."[46] Their hallmark tactic is "naming and shaming" norm violators. As a discursive tool, shaming threatens the international status, reputation and legitimacy of regimes via bad publicity.[47] As Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui put it, shaming by "civil society provides the enforcement mechanism that international human rights treaties lack, and can often pressure increasingly vulnerable governments towards compliance."[48]

TANS mobilize shame through a "boomerang" pattern of influence. When a state (most often in the Global South) violates rights, domestic groups seek the assistance of international allies, especially when they have no recourse within domestic political arenas. INGOs accelerate this process through repackaging, dissemination and targeted delivery to key journalist and opinion leaders in the West. Eventually, these forces cumulatively push Western governments, international governmental organizations, and media to pressure the target state from the outside. So, to the extent that domestic actors are connected with transnational advocacy networks, they can successfully pressure their governments into improving their human rights practices.[49]

In the long term (i.e., after multiple "boomerang throws"), shaming can result in the full internalization of global norms into domestic structures. Building off Keck and Sikkink's framework, Risse et al's "spiral model" describes this long-term iterative process of global shaming.[50] The model has 5 stages. The first phase describes a repressive state with weak domestic opposition. If and when transnational advocacy networks succeed in putting the repressive state on the international agenda (Phase 2, "denial"),

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[43] While rarely stated explicitly, the dichotomy between "international" and "domestic" agents usually maps onto a West/non-West divide, with "domestic actors" describing on-the-ground human rights defenders in non-West countries. Ropp and Sikkink explicitly refer to 'Western' states in their spiral model of socialization. Ropp and Sikkink 1999b.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Keck and Sikkink 1998.

[46] Ropp and Sikkink 1999a, 5. Some people refer to this kind of persuasion explicitly in Habermasian terms, which imply other assumptions such as its foundation in logic, equal partnership, and respect. See Risse 2000.

[47] Ropp and Sikkink 1999b, 13–16.

[48] Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005, 1384–5.

[49] Ropp and Sikkink 1999b, 5; Simmons 2009.

[50] Ropp and Sikkink 1999b.

the state usually responds by denying the validity of international norms and intrusion into its sovereign affairs. If pressure continues, the state begins to make "tactical concessions" (Phase 3) such as stopping the most visible human rights violations or ratifying international human rights treaties in an effort to avoid further attention. At this point, shaming becomes a particularly effective strategy of persuasion, because it leverages a state's own rhetoric against it. If shaming continues, the state's behavior will remain consistent with their tactical concessions, moving into a phase of "prescriptive status" (Phase 4). Further acts of "institutionalization and habitualization" can occur, leading to rule-consistent behavior (Phase 5).

Shaming is successful when (1) enough pressure is generated, and (2) states are vulnerable to this kind of pressure.[51] Keck and Sikkink argue that the degree of pressure can be influenced by issue characteristics (for instance, issues involving bodily harm to vulnerable populations are particularly compelling) and network characteristics (dense networks are more effective at mobilizing). Crucially, however, target states must be *vulnerable* to the pressure in the first place. While this vulnerability can take material forms (e.g. sanctions, the withdrawal of foreign aid), it is most often discussed in terms of identity and reputation. Throughout the literature, it is assumed that most states wish to maintain a particular image as respecting human rights. At the very least, reputational concerns push a state to engage in human rights discourse, during which normative pressure can occur.[52] As Ropp and Sikkink put it, "very few norm-violating governments are prepared to live with the image of a pariah for a long period of time."[53]

In sum, constructivists see the international realm as a society in which norms, identities, and interests operate together as mutually constitutive. Norms such as human rights define particular communities of states, prescribing appropriate behavior for actors with particular identities, e.g. "civilized" states. The first wave of norm scholarship argued that norm diffusion occurred through a process of socialization, whereby states learn standards of appropriate behavior from their peers, comply with these standards in order to demonstrate their belonging to a particular group, and eventually internalize these standards as a part of their identity. "Naming and shaming" is a powerful technique to induce states to change their behavior and adopt international norms, because states are vulnerable to the embarrassment and loss of legitimacy that come with non-compliance.

2 Shortcomings and Corrections to the Norms Literature

[51] Ibid., 18.

[52] Risse and Ropp 1999, 238.

[53] Ibid., 25, 262.

In an intellectual environment that largely denied the impact of ideational phenomena, simply establishing that norms were important in international politics was a significant breakthrough.[54] However, the literature was quickly criticized for being unable to account for variation or deviation in the diffusion process. Clearly, norms varied in their influence on different actors.[55] The problem, critics argued, was rooted in three features in the "first wave" of norms scholarship.

First, the norms literature focused heavily on structural explanations, ignoring role of agency in norm diffusion. To the extent that the literature did contemplate agents, the key actors were transnational activists, norm entrepreneurs, and other principled agents working on the international level to promote cosmopolitan values. Socialization is a two-way process, and yet local agents were downplayed, as well as those actors whom we may dislike but are norm entrepreneurs nonetheless.[56] By offering a unilinear causal story "from socializer to socializee," the literature could not account for cross-national variation in norm diffusion or compliance.[57]

Second, the first wave of norms scholarship was criticized for focusing on "nice" norms such as the prohibition of chemical weapons, land mines or whale hunting; the struggle against apartheid and racism; the promotion of human rights, etc.[58] The implicit bias ended up assigning causal primacy to cosmopolitan and universal norms, which were considered more desirable and thus more likely to prevail over "bad" regional or local norms, seen as atavistic and on the wrong side of history. As a result, this approach ignored the strength, appeal, or importance of competing norms "that are deeply rooted in other types of social entities-regional, national, and subnational groups."[59]

Finally, critics took the norms literature to task for centering on what Nadelmann called "moral proselytism," or the decentralized "discovery" of moral knowledge by voluntary actors across the globe.[60] This resulted in a sustained concern with conversion rather than contestation. By assigning causal primacy to "international prescriptions" that rain down on local practices, the literature could not fully account for deviations in the diffusion process, such as rule-breaking.

A second wave of norms research sought to correct for these shortcomings, and thereby account for contestation and resistance in the diffusion process. Here, I consider three of the most notable trends in this area. Ultimately, I argue, such correctives failed

[54] Ibid., 245.
[55] Finnemore and Sikkink 2001, 397.
[56] Checkel 1997.
[57] Epstein 2012, 140.
[58] Acharya 2004; Checkel 1997; Checkel 1998; Epstein 2012; McKeown 2009. Cf Goertz and Diehl 1992; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Klotz 1999; Peterson 1992; Price 1997; Price 1998; Sikkink 1993b; Ray 1989.
[59] Legro 1997, 32. Quoted in Acharya 2004, 242.
[60] Nadelmann 1990

to overcome the fundamental problem plaguing the norms literature, i.e. its teleological conception of socialization as compliance (described in section 2.4).

2.1 Norm Congruence

One early corrective to the norms literature stressed the mediating impact of domestic norms and structures.[61] Scholars identified the concept of norm *congruence*, or the fit between international and domestic norms.[62] Legro, for instance, posited that the "organizational culture" of various national militaries led to them respond differently to outside norms.[63] Likewise, Checkel argued that historically rooted domestic identities drove a divergence in Germany and the Ukraine's compliance with European citizenship norms.[64] Gurowitz found something similar with regards to Germany and Japan's respective responses to refugee norms. In short, international norms that align with domestic ones are more likely to be adopted.[65]

While these perspectives were lauded for capturing the importance of domestic contexts in norm diffusion, some scholars found them unduly static.[66] By assigning causal importance to an existential "match" between fixed norms, how could such arguments account for change in normative structures?

2.2 Domestic Actors and Localization

A different perspective considered socialization as a two way process, stressing the role of local actors in the reception of global norms. Acharya offered a more dynamic alternative to norm congruence in the concept of *localization.* Localization involves "the active construction (through discourse, framing, grafting, and cultural selection) of foreign ideas by local actors, which results in the former developing significant congruence with local beliefs and practices."[67] Variation in norm acceptance could thus be explained by the differential ability of local agents to reconstruct foreign norms to ensure a better fit with prior local norms.

Unfortunately, Acharya's account falls into the same teleological trap he tries to avoid. As he readily admits in his later work, localization implies that local actors are always norm-*takers*, never norm-*rejecters* or norm-*makers*.[68] By focusing on local responses to foreign norms, localization fails to consider the ways in which local resistance

[61] For a review, see: Cortell and Davis Jr 2000.
[62] Acharya 2004, 243.
[63] Legro 1994; Legro 1997.
[64] Checkel 2001.
[65] Gurowitz 1999.
[66] Acharya 2004, 243.
[67] Ibid., 245.
[68] Acharya 2011, 98.

"trickles up" to global structures.[69] Likewise, by treating local norms *a priori*, localization can only account for the movement from unruly local norms to ones that better conjure with cosmopolitan standards. There is no account for the opposite occurring, that is, the construction of local norm *in opposition to* foreign ones.

2.3 The Will to Violate

A final perspective considers more directly the process by which agents violate international norms. Using a psychological approach, Shannon argues that norm conformity is the "default option,"[70] but violations can result when (1) leaders perceive a conflict between a given norms and "national interests", and (2) there is sufficient room for interpretation of the norm or the situation so that leaders can avoid the stigma of violation. Because states generally want to avoid negative social judgments, they will try to rework the interpretation of norms in order to fit their needs.

Once again, Shannon locates the forces of resistance outside of socialization itself. In this case, resistance stems from the exogenous "will to violate," located in material self-interest. Social concerns – self-esteem, identity, social image, status, respect – all inherently drive actors towards compliance. Thus, like the majority of his colleagues, Shannon sees the natural end result of socialization in normalization and conformity.

2.4 Towards a Third Wave

I argue that the teleology plaguing the norms literature is due to one crucial misstep: socialization is conflated with compliance.[71] In this paradigm, norms are an inherently homogenizing and normalizing force in the world. Insofar as socialization is successful, it drives conformity and reduces variety among states.[72] Meanwhile, any deviation from international norms is considered a failure of socialization resulting from either insufficient pressure (boomerang/spiral models), or in exogenous forces such as material interests, domestic political structures, or fixed local norms. While the literature can account for why some states would initially resist a particular norm, it cannot explain why states adopt more divergent positions as a result of being shamed.[73] In short, the possibility that deviation is *endogenous* to socialization – that social pressure could actually motivate states to violate – is overlooked.

In the last five years, a new wave of norms research has begun to expand beyond this focus of norms as a homogenizing force. This new agenda emphasizes norm contes-

[69] For a parallel critique, see: Adler-Nissen 2014, 151.
[70] Shannon 2000, 294.
[71] For a similar point, see: Zarakol 2014, 313.
[72] Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 902.
[73] For a parallel critique, see Symons and Altman 2015, 74.

tation, rejection, and erosion;[74] the stratifying and differentiating power of norms;[75] and the role of stigma and deviance in norm dynamics.[76] These works providing an indispensible starting point; yet we lack a comprehensive theory or empirical research program on the relationship between shaming and deviance. This dissertation contributes to such a project in two ways, one theoretical and the other empirical. First, I present a theory modeling the process by which foreign pressure can backfire, resulting in further norm-offending behavior by state actors. Empirically, I move beyond the question of *whether* shaming makes a difference to *when* it makes a difference (and what that difference is.) Together, the theory and evidence provide a number of avenues for future research on international norms, deviance, and the politics of shame.

3 Concepts, Argument, and Empirical Approach

In this section, I clarify some important conceptual issues, sketch my main argument, and outline my empirical approach. I close by addressing some important scope conditions of this research.

3.1 Conceptual Clarifications on Norms, Identity, Shaming

This dissertation is primarily about international norms, identity, and shaming. International norms can take a variety of forms; this dissertation does not pretend to tackle all of them. Instead, I focus on what Finnemore and Sikkink call "evaluative or prescriptive" norms that concern "standard[s] of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity."[77] Prescriptive norms differ from regulative or constitutive norms by virtue of their moral dimension. The typical example is rights norms such as human rights, women's rights, sexuality rights, etc. Among other things, these norms assign governments particular standards distinguishing appropriate from inappropriate behavior in the domestic sphere.[78] Although many prescriptive norms are codified in formal institutions (such as UN conventions), their interpretation is never fully stable, and is subject to constant reinterpretation and debate.

By definition, norms concern "identity." For the purposes of this dissertation, I use "identity" to refer to collective identification or categorization on the basis of some "groupness." In the words of Brubaker and Cooper, this "is the emotionally laden sense of belonging to a distinctive, bounded group, involving both a felt solidarity or oneness

[74] Ayoub 2014a; Ayoub 2014b; Bailey 2008; Cardenas 2011; Cooley 2015; Hurd 2012; McKeown 2009; Panke and Petersohn 2011; Symons and Altman 2015; Wiener 2004.

[75] Kelley and Simmons 2015; Towns 2012.

[76] Adler-Nissen 2014; Epstein 2012; Nincic 2005; Wagner, Werner, and Onderco 2014; Zarakol 2014.

[77] Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 891.

[78] Obviously, international norms are more than just set of expectations, but the literature is too vast to review here. For one sliver of the debate, see Ignatieff and Gutmann 2003; Brown 2004.

with fellow group members and a felt difference from or even antipathy to specified outsiders."[79] Most of the time, I use identity in the context of national identity, but I also discuss regional or subnational identities. When I refer to the corporate identity of states, I rely on Wendt's insight that a state's "corporate identity will depend on powerful and enduring notions of *collective* identity among individuals."[80]

Finally, I study norm dynamics primary as they manifest through *shaming*. For the purposes of this dissertation, shaming refers to social processes involving an expression of disapproval for particular behaviors with appeals to collective norms. Shaming is certainly not the only mechanism by which norms diffuse; there are also conventions and treaties, international organizations, bilateral and multilateral economic sanctions, and so on. However, to the extent that normative structures are instantiated through practices, shaming is the primary mode by which norms are produced and reproduced.[81] Contrary to the conventional picture, norm socialization involves more shaming and denunciation than friendly persuasion or respectful argumentation.[82] Stigmatization is crucial because works to clarify, stabilize, and reproduce norms by demarcating the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable behavior. In this way, "stigma helps the world hang together."[83]

This dissertation analyzes shaming primarily as a social interaction that is *relational*, *dialectical*, and *embodied*. First, shaming is a fundamentally a relational process: deployed *by* particular actors, *targeting* specific actors, *in reference to* particular behaviors, and *in front of* a particular audience. Shaming is also dialectical in the sense that the shamer and target respond and react to one another, which in turn shapes their behavior.[84] Finally, because norms are instantiated through shaming, and because shame is relational, norms can be thought of as embodied. Norms are associated with certain actors and certain identities, and one's attitude towards an actor will contour the interpretation of the norm embodied or associated with that actor. As I discuss further in later chapters, leaders are often hyperaware of the origin of norms when responding to pressure.[85]

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[79] Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 19.

[80] Wendt 1999, 230.

[81] Hopf 1998, 177–80; Onuf 1998; Wendt 1992.

[82] The only discussion Finnemore and Sikkink devote to stigmatization is when they state, almost parenthetically: "We recognize norm-breaking behavior because it generates disapproval or stigma." Risse, Ropp and Sikkink give more sustained attention to shaming, but discuss it only as a method of moral consciousness-raising and persuasion as opposed to stigmatization in the strong sense. Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 892; Ropp and Sikkink 1999b.

[83] Adler-Nissen 2014, 150. See also Zarakol 2014.

[84] This is similar to Risse's "logic of arguing" although it does not assume, as Risse does, that actors seek a communicative consensus. Oftentimes, actors are more drawn to particular arguments precisely because they *conflict* with another's. See Risse 2000.

[85] Zarakol 2014, 313.

As should be clear from the above discussion, shaming unfolds through discourse: words, speech, dialogue, rhetoric, ideology, and persuasion. This does not, however, render shaming irrelevant to strategic concerns or material outcomes. As Kelly and Simmons recently observed, social pressure is now one of the primary tools of international influence.[86] As overt coercion has become increasingly costly, both politically and financially, the costs of "soft power" via information, marketing, and social persuasion have declined.[87] In this sense, shaming involves both the "logic of appropriateness" as well as the "logic of expected consequences," hinging on sincere ideological beliefs along with strategic behavior that exploits those beliefs to maximize power and influence.[88] That such discursive work is socially powerful is evidenced by the amount of resources political leaders invest in it. After all, if "Talk is Cheap," why pay for it?

3.2 Summary of the Argument

We typically think of shaming as following some norm violation. I argue that the opposite might be true as well. Shaming can backfire and cause further norm violation by provoking *defiance.* Inspired by insights from social psychology, sociology, and criminology, defiance refers to "the increase in incidence or commitment to a particular norm offending behavior by a shamed regime, caused by a proud, shameless reaction against the shaming agent." Defiance explains the process by which shaming, or the anticipation of shaming, drives norm-offending behavior, even for actors who were previously neutral towards a candidate norm. Here, shaming is not merely irrelevant, but counterproductive insofar as it actively promotes further norm-breaking.

Defiance unfolds through domestic and international logics that incentivize elites to violate international norms for political gain. Domestically, the "proud, shameless reaction" provoked by shaming empowers domestic opponents to a candidate norm, constrains sympathizers, and punishes local advocates, e.g. human rights activists. Internationally, defiance encourages norm-violation as a way to promote a state's international identity, status, and reputation in the eyes of those who resent opposing normative actors. Anticipating these political effects, regimes often provoke and manipulate shaming for strategic purposes. In the long-term, defiance can attach oppositional norms to collective identity, transforming domestic and international normative orders.

I argue that international pressure varies in its impact depending on the context in which it is deployed. Shaming is more likely to provoke stronger defiance under three conditions: (1) the target has weak social ties with the shamer (e.g. economic, political, or ideological); (2) the shamer lacks credibility due to bias or inaccuracy; and (3) the shame is stigmatizing, denigrating the actor instead of the behavior.

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[86] Kelley and Simmons 2015, 55.

[87] Ibid., 56.

[88] Olsen and March 1989.

3.3 Empirical Strategy and Findings Preview

I test these claims through a novel empirical approach. Existing studies of international pressure focus exclusively on the country being shamed, operationalizing shaming as a binary event (or count of events) with two possible outcomes: improvement or status quo ante.[89] Not only do such designs obscure the relational dynamics at the core of the shaming process, they flatten important dimensions of variation on both the independent and dependent variables. My empirical work, in contrast, unpacks social pressure on a number of facets: the source (*who* the shamer is), the substance (what *issue* at stake, as well as the *tone* or *framing*), and the outcome (beyond the success/status-quo dichotomy). Employing mixed-method approach, I investigate the three conditions described above (on social ties, credibility, and stigma) as they unfold in a number of different arenas.

First, I exploit newly available data on the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), a process conducted by the United Nations Human Rights Council wherein states "peer review" one another's human rights practices. While many studies focus on civil society actors, fewer have explored the process by which states shame other states. Insofar as social pressure is an important foreign policy device, interstate shaming constitutes a useful site in international norm dynamics. The UPR represents a valuable laboratory in this regard, encompassing 100% participation of UN member states in a systematic and formalized environment. Through quantitative analysis, I demonstrate the importance of social ties (the first condition driving defiance) in both the causes and consequences of interstate shaming. I show that not only is shaming driven by the relationship between sender and target, but states will accept or defy shaming based on this relationship, regardless of the norm in question. In other words, when it comes to human rights shaming, the *critic* matters just as much as the *criticism*.

My second empirical chapter shines the spotlight on the shamer, exposing the political biases that shape human rights reporting. Scholars have long recognized the importance of media coverage in the shaming process.[90] But quantitative studies tend to focus on the distribution of attention, neglecting questions concerning the substance, tone, or framing of such coverage. I argue that if human rights reporting is stigmatizing, it can risk defiance and backlash. How can one measure and compare stigma in media portrayals in a systematic way? My second empirical chapter proposes a solution using new data on women's rights reporting in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* 1980-2014 along with novel computational text analysis techniques. Chapter 4 presents evidence suggesting that American media stigmatizes Muslims in their coverage of wom-

[89] DeMeritt 2012; Cole 2012a; Cole 2012b; Krain 2012; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Hendrix and Wong 2013; Murdie 2009; Murdie and Davis 2012; Murdie and Peksen 2015.

[90] Clark 2012; Cole 2010; Hafner-Burton and Ron 2012; Heinze and Freedman 2010; Joshi and O'Dell 2016; Ramos, Ron, and Thoms 2007.

en's rights abroad by propagating the stereotype that Muslims are uniquely or particularly discriminatory against women.

While I cannot address the impact of such coverage writ large, I follow up on one particular story that captured widespread media attention in 2010-11: the "Save Sakineh" campaign, which involved a massive, global shaming operation directed at Iran for sentencing a woman to stoning for adultery of 2010-11. Chapters 5 and 6 conduct an in-depth qualitative study of the case, leveraging in-depth interviews and extensive archival research to trace the micro-politics of defiance. I illustrate the role of social ties, credibility, and stigma in the development of the campaign, as well as the co-constitutive relationship between Western shaming and Iranian defiance.

3.4 Limitations and Disclaimers

While this dissertation contributes new and relevant knowledge on the politics of international norms, it remains limited in a number of ways. Transnational shaming is a complex phenomenon, one that involves a cast of state and non-state actors, formal and informal institutions, and a range of processes occurring on multiple levels of analysis from interpersonal to intergovernmental. Clearly it is not possible to do justice to all of these facets, nor do I pretend to. Instead, I take a limited but multi-pronged approach, focusing on a handful of arenas that are particularly illuminating.

Because of my interest in shaming as a social interaction, my key explanatory variables concern the dynamic between shamer and target. This focus precludes a number of other factors that almost certainly play a role in human rights compliance, including autonomous domestic structures.[91] When I do discuss domestic politics, I usually address the dynamics vis-à-vis global/international forces, i.e. the "second image reversed."[92] More generally, the analysis is limited in scope to norms that have relatively low material stakes for states. Compared to those concerning national security or international trade, norms such as women's rights or sexuality rights do not provide an easy "state survival" account for violation. While the mechanisms discussed in this dissertation are potentially applicable to other sorts of norms, I leave that question for future research.

Finally, none of the empirical analyses I offer are capable of definitively establishing causality. Indeed, causal inference is inherently problematic in this regard because, as I argue, shaming and defiance are co-constitutive phenomena. We can, however, *explain* (if not predict) this mutual constitution over time through observation. The purpose of the empirical analyses is to provide support for my overall argument through both quantitative and qualitative data. Through this mixed method approach, I

[91] Cardenas 2011; Simmons 2009; Simmons 2010.

[92] Gourevitch 1978.

hope to present enough evidence that the reader is convinced of my argument's validity over alternative explanations.

4 Road Map

The dissertation is organized as follows. The next chapter revises the conventional theory of shaming in international affairs through a review of its psychosociological underpinnings. Applying insights from social psychology, sociology, and criminology, I introduce the concept of defiance and delineate its domestic and international logics through a number of examples. I also present conditions in which shaming is more likely to provoke defiance and backfire, motivating the empirical analysis to follow. Chapter 3 explores social ties in the Universal Periodic Review. Chapter 4 turns the spotlight on the shamer, conducting a computational text analysis of U.S. media coverage of global women's rights. Chapter 5 introduces the "Save Sakineh" campaign and discusses its emergence and escalation. Chapter 6 continues on the Sakineh campaign with a discussion of Iran's reaction, the escalation that followed, and its ultimate consequences. Chapter 7 concludes by sketching some additional implications of my argument, directions for future research, and policy recommendations. Enjoy.

Chapter 2 Shaming, Identity & Defiance

The previous chapter introduced the conventional theory of norm socialization, whereby states are "shamed" into compliance. I argued that the theory suffers from a teleological conception of normative change, conflating socialization with compliance. As a result, conventional accounts have difficulty explaining norm-violation without appealing to some exogenous force.

This chapter seeks to correct those shortcomings by exploring the conditions under which shaming might backfire. I first revise the conventional theory of international shaming through a review of its psycho-sociological underpinnings. Applying insights from social psychology, sociology, and criminology, I develop a theory of defiance, or the increase in norm violating behavior caused by a proud, shameless reaction to the shaming agent. I argue that defiance unfolds through domestic and international logics that incentivize leaders to violate norms for political gain, and illustrate these logics through several examples involving the sexuality rights norm. I also identify three conditions in which shaming is more likely to provoke defiance and backfire: (1) the offender is poorly bonded to the shamer, (2) the shaming lacks credibility either because its biased or inaccurate (3) the shaming is stigmatizing, rejecting the offender as an agent rather than the abuse as a violation.

The chapter proceeds as follows. The first section reviews the micro-foundations underlying the conventional paradigm of norm socialization in IR as well as its problems. The second section describes alternative psycho-social models, including social identity theory and symbolic interactionism, that highlight shaming's ambivalent effects. After consolidating these findings into the concept of "defiance," section 3 applies this concept to the international realm and explains how it is different from resistance. Sections 4 and 5 sketch the domestic and international logic of norm violation, respectively. Section 6 describes how the dynamics of shaming (the context in which it is deployed) make defiance more or less likely.

1 Shaming and Compliance

In this section, I review the micro-foundations underpinning the conventional approach to norm diffusion. I show that the current approach depends largely on a "deterrent" theory to shaming, which results a number of theoretical problems when applied to the international realm.

1.1 The Social Function of Shame

The constructivist world begins with the individual who is primarily driven by the psychological desire to maintain positive self-concept.[1] This sense of self is formed and sustained through interactions with others in a structure of collective meanings.[2] Through social relations, an individual's self-concept or "identity" is formed, constituting her interests, preferences, and motivations.[3] For constructivists, social norms – "standard[s] of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity"[4] – are internalized in agents through a process of socialization, defined as "induction of new members . . . into the ways of behavior that are preferred in a society."[5] Among other things, socialization produces the psychological need for social approval, resulting in motives or dispositions to behave in a way that is prescribed by the society at large.

One of these dispositions, and the most powerful in driving conformity, is shame. It has been posited that shame is the primary social emotion, ubiquitous in social encounters, generated by the "virtual constant monitoring of the self in relation to others."[6] As William McDougall put it in 1908: "Shame is the emotion second to none in the extent of its influence upon behavior."[7] Likewise, Cooley (1922) considered shame, along with pride, as the primary "social self-feelings."[8] Shame is often associated with other emotions such as embarrassment, rejection and humiliation; but, as Thomas Scheff points out, what all these terms have in common is that they involve a threat to one's social identity and the social bond.[9] It is this facet – the public or relational nature

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[1] Self-concept has been described using a variety of terms, including ontological security, self-esteem, etc. (e.g. Mitzen 2006.) These claims have been justified at length elsewhere, but for now I take them as a starting point. See Berger 1966; Berger and Luckmann 1991; Giddens 1991; Mitzen 2006; Wendt 1994; Mead 1934.

[2] As Wendt notes, identities "may be relatively stable in certain contexts, in which case it can be useful to treat them as given. However, this stability is an ongoing accomplishment of practices that represent self and other in certain ways (Ashley 1988), not a given fact about the world." See Wendt 1994, 386; Wendt 1992, 397.

[3] Wendt 1992; Wendt 1994; Wendt 1999, chap. 5.

[4] Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 891.

[5] Ibid., 62; Ropp and Sikkink 1999b, 11. In its original conception, socialization referred to the process by which children learn shared norms from their parents and internalize them as constitutive of their identities, thereby emerging a fully-fledged social actor. By drawing an analogy to "new states," the constructivist literature has been critiqued for infantilizing states. See Epstein 2012.

[6] Scheff 1988, 397. Contrary to popular opinion, shame is not merely a sexual phenomenon; it is universally salient in social relations. See Riezler 1943.

[7] McDougall 2003. Quote found in Scheff 1988, 398.

[8] Cooley 1992. Quote found in Scheff 1988, 398.

[9] Scheff 2000, 96–7. Emphasis in the original text. For a discussion of the varying conceptions of shame, see Ahmed 2001, 91–2.

of shame – that differentiates it from guilt, which is a more private experience arising from internalized standards.[10]

Shame is particularly important as a motivator for pro-social behavior and conformity. In addition to formal punishments and rewards, society displays a "complex and highly efficient system of informal sanctions that encourage conformity."[11] The emotional experience of rejection, or the anticipation of rejection, is a prominent component of this social sanctioning process. Rejection usually leads to painful emotions of embarrassment, shame, or humiliation, while social acceptance usually leads to pleasant emotions such as pride.[12] Empirical studies have confirmed this intuition, suggesting that shame is more powerful than law or formal punishments in shaping behavior.[13] Even rational choice and legal thinkers emphasize the role of social inducements such as shame in collective action.[14]

Given its motivational power, external actors often manipulate shame in order to exert social control; i.e. "shaming." To clarify, shame as a noun is a painful emotion experienced by individuals.[15] The process of *shaming* involves "all social processes of expressing disapproval which have the intention or effect of invoking remorse in the person being shamed and/or condemnation by others who have become aware of the shaming."[16] Crucially, shaming appeals to community norms and attempts to impose those norms on individuals.

Shaming does not just work on the target; it also serves an important role for society at large by clarifying, reinforcing, and stabilizing social norms. Shaming is not merely a result of a failure to comply with a given notion of what is "normal" but an integral part of the construction of normality itself.[17] As Durkheim famously claimed, deviance – at least in limited quantities – is what holds society together.[18] Even when shaming penalties fail to induce feelings of shame in the targeted offender, they may still deter other members of the community from criminality, thus reaffirming community norms.[19] If norms are what hold society together, including international society, then shame and stigma are a crucial part of that social order.[20]

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[10] For a review of this distinction and its controversy, see Smith et al. 2002.

[11] Scheff 1988, 395.

[12] Scheff 1994, 74–75.

[13] For a review, see Rosenblatt 2013.

[14] McAdams 1997; Posner and Rasmusen 1999; Posner 2009.

[15] Russell 1998.

[16] Braithwaite 1989, 100. Quoted in Rosenblatt 2013.

[17] Adler-Nissen 2014.

[18] Durkheim 2014.

[19] Harvard Law Review 2003, 2191.

[20] Shaming is ubiquitous even in the most homogenous societies, which is unsurprising given its importance for conformity. See Massaro 1997.

1.2 The Deterrent Approach to Shame

Given the relationship between shaming and pro-social behavior, many advocate the use of social pressure techniques to encourage desirable behavior.[21] Such arguments constitute what criminologists call a "deterrence" approach to shaming.[22] The deterrence argument posits that shaming reinforces social norms by expressing disapproval, and thus increasing the social costs of targeted behaviors.[23] Shaming has been used to promote voting, reduced alcohol consumption, encourage recycling, and so on.[24] Some legal scholars have even advocated for the return of traditional shaming penalties, such as wearing an embarrassing sandwich-board notifying onlookers of the crime one has committed. Referencing the social norms literature described above, they argue that shaming is an effective and cheap way to deter criminal behavior by increasing the social and emotional costs of such behavior.[25]

This is the approach that generally dominates in the constructivist literature on "naming and shaming" and international norms. Looking to Risse, Ropp and Sikkink's "spiral model," we see that shaming on a transnational level resembles shaming at an interpersonal level. Human rights shaming creates in-groups (norm abiders, liberal democratic states) and out-groups (norm violators); repressive regimes targeted for shaming are labeled "pariah" states and cast out of the "community of civilized nations."[26] While some states may not care, others deeply resent this casting out, as it threatens their social identity as members of this civilized community.[27] As Shannon puts it, "[n]orm conformity meets the need of social approval. By definition, norms reflect society's consensus about appropriate behavior."[28]

Two problems arise with the IR literature's reliance on the deterrent model of shaming. First, the deterrence argument cannot account for cases in which shaming results in further deviance.[29] While shaming has the capacity to encourage pro-social behavior and reinforce social norms, alternative accounts from the same psychological and sociological literatures (discussed below) point to its ambivalent and unpredictable nature.[30] In fact, the complex nature of shame has led many scholars to forcefully cau-

[21] Posner and Rasmusen 1999.
[22] Braithwaite 1989; Sherman 1993.
[23] Ibid., 691.
[24] Cialdini and Goldstein 2004; Gerber, Green, and Larimer 2010; Panagopoulos 2014; Panagopoulos 2010; Schultz et al. 2007.
[25] Kahan 1997; Kahan 1996; Massaro 1997, 689.
[26] Ropp and Sikkink 1999b, 14.
[27] Ibid., 15.
[28] Shannon 2000, 300.
[29] Sherman 1993.
[30] de Hooge, Zeelenberg, and Breugelmans 2010.

tion *against* the use of shaming to manipulate behavior because shaming may produce further deviance.[31] Due to this finding, the deterrence theory of shaming tends to be poorly respected among criminologists. According to one review of the empirical literature, "there has been a lot of research suggesting it just is not true."[32]

Second, the deterrent model of shaming rests on one crucial assumption: that shaming occurs in the context of shared norms and communal identity. Thus the link between transnational shaming and conformity rests on two ancillary claims regarding the nature of international society: (1) states interact with one another in a community of peers, and (2) the norms being enforced through shaming reflect the consensus of this "international community" to which every state identifies. Indeed, reading the canonical literature on the topic, one gets the distinct impression that there are only two identities operating at the international level: the "civilized community of states" and "the rest." The problem, of course, is that a multitude of identities operate at the level of the international system, and the deterrent approach cannot account for dynamics across such cleavages.

2 Shaming and Defiance

By focusing solely on the deterrent model, the IR literature has foreshortened the theoretical resources from which it draws. In contrast to the deterrent approach's emphasis on conformity and norm consolidation, this section draws on psychological and sociological theories of identity to suggest that shaming can provoke: (1) defensiveness and rejection of the shamer and message, (2) norm polarization, (3) self-fulfilling perceptions of stigma, and (4) an increase in norm-offending behavior. I draw on two theoretical approaches – Social Identity Theory (SIT, from psychology) and symbolic interactionism (from sociology). After discussing these mechanisms individually, I consolidate them into the concept of "defiance," which I will later apply to the international system.

2.1 Social Identity Theory

SIT is a leading social psychological paradigm, developed by Henri Tajfel in the late 1970s to analyze the role of self-conception in group membership, group processes, and intergroup relations.[33] As a theory of norms, social identity theory emphasizes social context, and specifically social identity and self-categorization, as key mediating

[31] Netter 2005, 197.
[32] Ahmed 2001, 46.
[33] Hogg 2006.

factors in norm dynamics.[34] Social identity refers "to part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his member of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership."[35] SIT postulates a universal desire to achieve and maintain membership in a particular social group, because such membership is foundational to one's positive self-image and self-esteem.[36] Furthermore, people will attempt to enhance their self-image by enhancing the status of the group to which they belong, striving for what SIT scholars refer to as "positive distinctiveness."[37]

From a SIT perspective, social norms function to delineate the contours between groups. In other words, group-specific norms maximize differences between the group and outsiders, while minimizing perceived differences inside the group. From this perspective, norms are understood not as "good people do X in Y context", but "members of category X are supposed to do (or ought to do) Y in situations A, B, C ..."[38] Group norms are obeyed because one identifies with the group, and conformity is mediated by self-categorization as in-group member.[39] Social identity also confers the disposition to shame and punish deviators within the group, since lack of conformity threatens the group's integrity. One important implication of SIT is that people tend not committed to any given norm per se, but rather to the *identity* that a norm supports.

Crucially, SIT sees intergroup relations as a dynamic contest for status and positive distinctiveness.[40] In general, people will behave in ways that benefit their group in this regard. Because people derive much of their self-esteem from social identity, if they feel that their group is not doing well compared to others – that it is being stigmatized, criticized, denounced, discriminated against, or absorbed by another group – they will treat this as an "identity threat" resulting in defensive reactions.[41] The general principle is quite intuitive: "if a group is attacked, members of the group will defend it."[42] When brought to bear on intergroup shaming, this basic mechanism suggests a number of unintended consequences.

2.1.1 The Intergroup Sensitivity Effect

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[34] Abrams et al. 1990.

[35] Tajfel 1981, 255.

[36] Membership and self-categorization also reduces uncertainty (Hogg 2006, 120.) In this way, SIT is compatible with theories of ontological security, which propose a universal desire for uncertainty reduction for the purposes of agency. For a review as well as an IR application see Mitzen 2006.

[37] Tajfel and Turner 1979.

[38] Fearon 1999, 27.

[39] For more on the concept of 'self-categorization' and its relationship to SIT, see: Turner et al. 1987.

[40] Hogg 2006, 120.

[41] Hornsey, Oppes, and Svensson 2002; Hornsey and Imani 2004. For a review, see Branscombe et al. 1999.

[42] Hornsey and Imani 2004, 366.

First, shaming is highly mediated by the group-affiliation of the critic, a phenomenon known as the intergroup sensitivity effect (ISE).[43] In controlled experiments, criticisms evoke more defensiveness when they stem from out-group members compared to an identical criticism stemming from in-group members.[44] Specifically, out-group critics were evaluated more negatively than their in-group counterparts ("It's okay if *we* say it, but *you* can't"), and participants were less supportive of the criticism when it came from an out-group member, even when it had objective merit.[45] Interestingly, authors of one study explicitly mention international human rights shaming when discussing potential implications. In such cases, they argue, shaming can backfire because "we are psychologically predisposed to deny the validity of the comments, even where they have a legitimate basis."[46]

The ISE is more than just attributional bias; it hinges on perceptions of motive. In the absence of other information, criticism from an out-group member is seen as driven by hostile and destructive motives, engendering an identity threat and provoking a defensive response.[47] In other words, group membership serves a kind of heuristic for gauging trust.[48] Similar findings can be found in studies of persuasion, which show that message recipients are constantly searching for the speaker's motive ("Why would they say that?"). When people think that their interlocutor has a vested interest in holding a certain attitude, they attribute such attitudes to personal bias and are unlikely to be influenced by the message.[49] Likewise, if a criticism stems from an out-group member, recipients easily attribute the comments to the biases associated with intergroup competition. ("They're only saying that to make us feel their group is better")[50]

In contrast, in-group critics are viewed in a relatively positive light in controlled experiments, even when criticizing group norms. However, this tolerance of dissent is withdrawn if the in-group critic does not follow certain "identity rules" governing when and how criticism is appropriate.[51] For instance, criticism must not be aired in front of an out-group audience (the "airing our dirty laundry" effect.) Likewise, criticism should be silenced if the group is engaged in an explicit intergroup conflict (the

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[43] Ariyanto, Hornsey, and Gallois 2009; Esposo, Hornsey, and Spoor 2013; Hornsey, Oppes, and Svensson 2002; Hornsey and Imani 2004; Hornsey 2005; Hornsey, Trembath, and Gunthorpe 2004; Jeffries et al. 2012.

[44] Hornsey and Imani 2004, 366.

[45] Hornsey, Oppes, and Svensson 2002.

[46] Hornsey and Imani 2004, 366.

[47] Another mechanism driving this distrust involves the perception that outgroup members have no reputational concerns when making their criticism. Kuran 1997.

[48] Hornsey and Imani 2004, 367.

[49] Ibid., 87.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Hornsey 2005, 302.

"united we stand" effect).[52] Finally, tolerance of in-group critics is withdrawn if participants are given reason to doubt the loyalty or commitment of the critic; for instance if the critic is a newcomer, uses identity-distancing language, or is a low identifier.[53] In all cases, the in-group critic is perceived as not having the best interests of the group at heart.

2.1.2 Norm Polarization

If intergroup criticism is sustained, groups may shift their normative positions as a result, becoming more polarized. Polarization arises when members of a group drift towards a more extreme position in whatever direction associated with their group following an interaction with an out-group member.[54] Various mechanisms have been proposed for the polarization phenomenon,[55] but they all rest on the basic idea that norms are a function of intergroup relations. The interpretive validity of a message is shaped by in-group norms, which are themselves defined by "what the group has in common *in contrast to other relevant out-groups*."[56] Specifically, when people perceive a divergence between the norms and attitudes of their social group and those of a salient out-group, they are motivated to emphasize distinct group identity by enhancing normative differentiation, thus shifting their views in a polarized direction.[57] Polarization is especially likely in groups that are highly cohesive, salient, and important for its members, with ethnicities and nations being potent examples.[58] As observed in a number of domains, the very fact that members of an out-group support some proposition could entrench the preexisting beliefs of an in-group.[59]

2.1.3 Self-Fulfilling Stigma

Norm dynamics are especially volatile in cases of power imbalance and stigmatization. If people feel they are victims of discrimination or hostility from another group, they are likely to reciprocate with intergroup hostility.[60] Furthermore, when a member

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[52] Ariyanto, Hornsey, and Gallois 2009; Chekroun and Nugier 2011.
[53] Hornsey 2005.
[54] Sunstein 2002.
[55] Abrams et al. 1990; Hogg, Turner, and Davidson 1990; Isenberg 1986; Mackie 1986; Myers and Lamm 1976.
[56] Hogg, Turner, and Davidson 1990, 3.
[57] As Sunstein points out, there are two mechanisms going on here. One is the group making a decision that is more extreme than the median member. The other involves individuals shifting their views towards what they think is the prototypical norm, which is often more extreme than the "objective" (i.e. median) view, leading to extremity. Sunstein 2002, 11.w
[58] Cooper, Kelly, and Weaver 2001; Kuran 1998; Sunstein and Hastie 2015, 77–8.
[59] Sunstein and Hastie 2015, 86; Nyhan, Reifler, and Ubel 2013.
[60] Hornsey, Oppes, and Svensson 2002, 294.

of an out-group stigmatizes an in-group norm, in-group members will typically respond with a higher commitment to that norm.[61] Together, this may lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy, whereby people with high "stigma consciousness" are likely to forgo opportunities to invalidate stereotypes about their group and behave in line with stereotypical expectations of themselves, resulting in more stigma.[62]

In some cases, a low-status group can cope with its stigma using "social creativity" strategies.[63] This might involve comparing the in-group to others on a new dimension, or changing the values assigned to the attributes of the group so that comparisons that were previously negative are now perceived as positive. Tajfel noted that the "Black is Beautiful" movement is a classic example of social creativity, whereby a stigmatized group sought to change the mainstream evaluative status of a group label "Black," and thus promote the value of that social category.[64] "Geek" and "gay" are other well-known examples. In general, it is common for groups to re-appropriate the negative labels attributed to them.[65]

2.2 Labeling and Sociological Interactionism

The myriad findings I have discussed can be thread together this way: shaming activates social identity processes to produce unintended consequences (non-compliance and non-conformity.) In this regard, the psychological approach of SIT is compatible with the sociological theory of labeling, derived from the school of symbolic interactionism.[66] Labeling theory is concerned with whether and how a label, either real of perceived, relates to subsequent behavior on an individual level.[67] Importantly, labeling theory predicts that labeling an offender "deviant" produces further deviance, or "secondary deviance."[68] Howard Becker, one of the leading founders of labeling theory, summarized the argument this way: "To put a complex argument in a few words, instead of the deviant motives leading to the deviant behavior, it is the other way around; the deviant behavior in time produces the deviant motivation."[69]

Building off Becker, the sociologist Ervin Goffman predicted that stigmatized persons such as criminals will often be drawn into deviant "subcultures" that turn

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Pinel 2002; Pinel 1999; Major and O'Brien 2005a.

[63] Tajfel and Turner 1986.

[64] Tajfel and Turner 1979.

[65] Galinsky et al. 2003.

[66] For a compact summary of symbolic interactionism, see: Stryker and Serpe 1982, 201–205. For a comparison of symbolic interactionism and SIT, see Hogg, Terry, and White 1995.

[67] Adler and Laufer 1993, 18.

[68] Massaro 1997; Lemert 1972; Douglas and Waksler 1982.

[69] Becker 2008, 26.

mainstream's stigma into an emblem of status-enhancing pride.[70] Such subcultures foster "subnorms that may be antithetical to those of the law-abiding world," leading to "both an inducement to further crime, as law-breaking is seen as a socially positive act within the group, and disincentive to noncriminal alternatives."[71] Thus in order to cope with the shame-inducing effects of stigma, offenders will come to see their "stigma" as a vital part of their identity, transforming it into pride and rejecting the norm-abiders of mainstream society. In this way, Goffman's sociological theory is compatible with psychological theories of stigma. The later proposes that members of a stigmatized group may cope with identity threat by identifying more closely with that group.[72] Goffman contributed the possibility of new identity attachments, ones that are *based* on their stigma.[73]

2.3 Defiance

Labeling theory has been applied to various so-called deviant behaviors such as mental illness, sexuality, and drug use.[74] Its most prolific use, however, is in studies of crime. In criminology, labeling theory predicts that conferring the stigmatic label of "criminal" produces secondary deviance – i.e. further norm-offending – by activating a self-categorization process resulting in deviant identity.[75] The criminologist Lawrence Sherman proposed that sanctions will result in secondary defiance when it provokes *defiance*, or "the net increase in the prevalence, incidence, or seriousness of future offending against a sanctioning community caused by a proud, shameless reaction to the administration of a criminal sanction."[76] Defiance provides the causal mechanism linking sanction to future norm offending, both in individual behavior as well as groups, (what Sherman calls "general" defiance).[77]

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[70] Goffman 2009, 81.

[71] Katyal 1997, 2460. Quoted in Harvard Law Review 2003, 2201.

[72] Major and O'Brien 2005b.

[73] For more examples, see: Stryker, Owens, and White 2000.

[74] Link and Phelan 2013; Scheff 1974.

[75] Harvard Law Review 2003; Funk 2004; Farrington 1977; Harris 1976; Rasmusen 1996; Wellford 1975; Paternoster and Iovanni 1989; Lemert 1972.

[76] Sherman 1993, 459.

[77] Defiance is quite distinct from deviance. Deviance denotes behavior that violates some norm; defiance describes the mechanism driving deviance. Further, in its original criminological usage, defiance was used to describe *secondary* deviance, not primary offending. However, in reality, this distinction is often more theoretical than empirically helpful. What some may call primary deviance is often related to some previous sanction in historical memory. Defiance may also be driven by the *anticipation* of sanction, in which case the distinction between primary and secondary becomes muddled. In general, by virtue of its roots in labeling theory, defiance remains agnostic about the objective "reality" of norm-offending behav-

Although Sherman doesn't explicitly reference SIT, the concept of defiance is quite compatible with the social psychological mechanisms described above, as well as the broader sociology of sociological internationalism. All three approaches concern the process by which sanctions (including informal sanctions such as shaming) interact with self-categorization to provoke reactions that motivate further deviance. In this sense, we can think of defiance as an operationally useful umbrella concept, aggregating and consolidating key insights from SIT and labeling theory.

3 Defiance and International Norms

So far, I have argued that the IR literature on norms and transnational advocacy depends heavily on the deterrent approach to shaming. I described a number of alternative social psychological mechanisms that link shaming to defiance, resulting in increased norm violation. In this section, I apply the concept of defiance to world politics.

But first, a methodological caution is in order. Even though IR scholars have a long history of borrowing insights from psychology and sociology, doing so engenders a number of methodologically issues. The most common critique of psychological borrowing is that it erroneously generalizes from interpersonal to inter-state phenomena. While IR scholars often use the metaphor of persons to describe states, states have neither a psyche nor subjectivity.[78] However, this critique has limited bearing on my argument because the theories from which I draw operate at the level of the *group*, not the individual. SIT is particularly appropriate in this regard, as it is "is grounded in the critique of reductionism."[79] Sherman's concept of defiance, too, concerns the behavior of groups in addition to individuals. In fact, several of the aforementioned studies authorize the use of their findings in the political terrain, explicitly mentioning international shaming when discussing potential implications.[80]

Still, some scholars caution that social psychological theories such as SIT require certain assumptions, such as a relative parity in material capabilities, that diverge from the realities of interstate life.[81] But we should also acknowledge the features in the international realm that are highly salient to SIT. For instance, world politics is structured by perhaps the most well-defined and influential form of collective identity in the social world: nationhood. As Inglehart and Baker note, "Despite globalization, the nation remains a key unit of shared experience, and its educational and cultural institutions

ior prior to the act of naming it. As Becker put it, "deviant behavior is behavior that people so label"(Becker 2008, 9. Quoted in Wagner 2010, 4.).

[78] Wendt 2004.

[79] Hogg 1993, 92. Quoted in Mercer 2005, 237.

[80] Hornsey and Imani 2004, 366.

[81] Hymans 2002; Wohlforth 2009, 36–8.

shape the values of almost everyone in that society."[82] Moreover, these social groups (i.e. nation-states) are in a constant state of comparison and competition, fighting for status, respect and recognition in addition to material resources.[83] Finally, research demonstrates that many interstate conflicts are driven by identity motivations similar to those described by SIT.[84] For all these reasons, many scholars are cautiously optimistic about the application of such theories in IR.[85]

Finally, some may be wary of drawing on experimental research due to problems of external validity. Mediating factors such as culture may invalidate psychological mechanisms observed in specific populations. It should be noted that many of the findings I discussed above have been observed in diverse cultural contexts.[86] Additionally, insofar as world politics exhibit isomorphic features, including shared political rationalities, we may confidently pursue such applications even as we remain cautious about potential confounds.

3.1 The Concept of International Defiance

In the international realm, defiance refers to the increase in incidence or commitment to a particular norm offending behavior by a shamed regime, caused by a proud, shameless reaction against the shaming agent. Note that this concept does not exhaust the potential unintentional and/or negative consequences that might arise from international shaming.[87] But, as I hope to demonstrate, the concept is helpful for understanding many of the salient dynamics surrounding normative pressure, as well as providing a number of falsifiable and testable hypotheses.[88]

As a concept, defiance has several important components. First, defiance is driven by *shaming*, not the candidate norm per se. Specifically, it is a reaction against a sanctioning *agent* – a specific actor from which the target perceives shaming to emanate. Right away the concept forces us to consider shaming as a social interaction, wherein norms are interpreted, promoted, and contested in the context of a relationship. The

[82] Quoted in Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash 2015a.
[83] Dafoe, Renshon, and Huth 2014; Fattah and Fierke 2009; Lindemann 2011; Paul, Larson, and Wohlforth 2014; Towns 2012; Wohlforth 2009; Wolf 2011.
[84] Buzan, Wæver, and De Wilde 1998; Creppell 2011; Kinnvall 2004; Mitzen 2006; Steele 2008; Williams 2003; Zarakol 2010.
[85] Flockhart 2006; Greenhill 2008; Hymans 2002; Huddy 2001; Mercer 1995; Paul, Larson, and Wohlforth 2014; Symons and Altman 2015; Wohlforth 2009.
[86] For instance, findings supporting the intergroup sensitivity effect were observed in Muslim and Christian groups in Australia. See Ariyanto, Hornsey, and Gallois 2009.
[87] For a discussion of other potential negative consequences, for instance, see: Autesserre 2012; DeMeritt, Conrad, and Fariss 2014; Hafner-Burton 2008; Kennedy 2002; Rao 2010; Stiles 2002.
[88] Bouffard and Piquero 2010.

specifics of this interaction, and especially the relationship between shamer and target, are a crucial facet of defiance.

Second, defiance involves a "proud, shameless reaction," against a shaming agent. This reaction is driven by the psycho-social mechanisms described in the previous section. The "proud" here refers to pride in one's social identity as a member of a relevant group, e.g. a nation. Foreign pressure denigrates the status of this group, constituting an identity threat that provokes a negative, defensive reaction against the shamer and, by extension, the content of the criticism. In the context of international politics, a defiant regime rejects that it has anything to be ashamed of, i.e. that it has done anything wrong. It also questions the legitimacy of the shamer by refusing to "give in" and comply.

Finally, defiance results in an "increase in incidence or commitment to a particular norm offending behavior." In other words, defiance reverses the causal arrow centered in the norms literature, whereby the motivation to deviate results in an actor being shamed. In cases of defiance, shaming results in the motivation to deviate.[89] Norm-violation is primarily a means of expression whereby the defiant actor dis-affiliates with the shamer and renounce its authority. Importantly, the display does not require that the defiant actor was *ex-ante* committed to norm violation. It does, however, suggest that a defiant regime may grow to become committed to violation as a result of being condemned for it.

3.2 Defiance v. Resistance

It is worth noting that the word "defiance" originates from the Middle English to denote the renunciation of an allegiance or friendship; to defy is to be disloyal to a person or community. In this way, it differs from resistance. As I conceptualize it, resistance implies that an actor opposes a candidate norm regardless of what others think. Defiance, in contrast, is primarily a renunciation of one's relationship to the *shamer.* Any norm-violation that follows is a consequence of that renunciation. The difference may appear overly theoretical, but it is crucial insofar as the two concepts make very different predications concerning the impact of normative pressure. Sustained shaming weakens resistance. Defiance, in contrast, is bolstered by it.

[89] In its original criminological usage, defiance was used to describe secondary deviance, not primary offending. In reality, this distinction is often more theoretical than empirically helpful. What some may call primary deviance is often related to some previous sanction in historical memory. Defiance may also be driven by the *anticipation* of shaming, in which case the distinction between primary and secondary becomes muddled. In general, by virtue of its roots in labeling theory, defiance remains agnostic about the objective "reality" of norm-offending behavior prior to the act of naming it. As Becker put it, "deviant behavior is behavior that people so label"(Becker 2008, 9. Quoted in Wagner 2010, 4.).

Consider the norm socialization model offered by Risse, Ropp and Sikkink (see Chapter 1.) These scholars urge that their "spiral model does not assume evolutionary progress toward norm implementation, but claims to explain variation and lack of progress."[90] For instance, the presence of class-based, ethno-national, or religious forces may serve as "blocking factors" that prevent human rights progress by threatening either the territorial integrity or international cohesion of the state.[91] This "backlash" is especially likely in phase 2 of the model ("denial") following initial shaming, wherein the norm-violating state rejects criticism as illegitimate intervention in the internal affairs of the country, mobilizing nationalist rhetoric and accusing critics of being "foreign" and "imperialist." "Thus the initial 'boomerang throw' often appears to be counterproductive because it allows the state to solidify domestic support."[92]

But while shaming might precipitate a "rally around the flag" effect in the spiral model, those blocking attempts are last-ditch efforts, put forth by those already committed to norm-violating behavior, and epiphenomenal to deviance. Importantly, blocking can be overcome with more intense shaming efforts, which damages the legitimacy of these alternative arguments.

Defiance, in contrast, describes the process by which shaming interacts with states' identities to motivate further offense. Shaming solidifies the association of a particular norm with a hostile out-group, which in turn activates opposition to that very norm, even when the target group was previously neutral or ambivalent. In this sense, those blocking factors associated with "class-based, ethno-national, or religious forces" are not merely competing arguments or a hurdle in the road to compliance; they are constitutive (a cause and a consequence) of shaming itself. Insofar as shaming is the fuel driving the mechanism, we should expect to see a higher commitment to norm violation as shaming increases in intensity.

Finally, people may dismiss the role of defiance as essentially a rhetorical phenomenon, with limited bearing on material outcomes. If so, it is curious why shaming – which is also a rhetorical phenomenon – should be accepted as a significant, or potentially significant, factor on state behavior. Some would argue that shaming is important because it operates as a signaling mechanism, reputation device, or mobilization enabler.[93] If so, defiance should have similar functions. Like any change in ideology or discourse, the "proud, shameless reaction" transforms what is politically viable. The next section describes those transformations and their consequences on elite behavior.

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[90] Ropp and Sikkink 1999b, 34.

[91] Risse and Ropp 1999, 260.

[92] Ibid., 262.

[93] Lebovic and Voeten 2006; Lebovic and Voeten 2009.

4 The Domestic Politics of Defiance

Now that we have a good grasp of what defiance denotes conceptually, how does it operate politically? In this section, I describe how defiance unfolds in domestic contexts, shifting the political incentives that encourage political leaders to violate foreign norms. The next section extends the logic to the international realm, showing how defiance can manifest from "above" as well as "below."

Defiance can originate from elites, who have psyches like everyone else. More often, however, foreign pressure provokes the "proud, shameless reaction" among relevant audiences, which then figures in the domestic system of incentives that encourage leaders to violate foreign norms. It does this in three ways: (1) by *empowering* domestic opponents to a candidate norm; (2) by *constraining* sympathizers to a candidate norm; and (3) by *punishing* local advocates of the candidate norm, e.g. human rights activists. Although these mechanisms are intimately related, it is useful to distinguish between them in order to specify the political logic surrounding defiance.

4.1 Empowering Norm Violators

For some elites, defiance can be politically advantageous. Foreign shaming activates in-group sensitivity effects, resulting in a defensive posture and increased hostility towards out-groups, while transforming domestic political discourse by increasing societal commitment to values and practices that seem to be assaulted by "hostile foreigners."[94] This can fuel a "united we stand" or "rally 'round the flag" effect, whereby the regime, now seen as the protector of those attacked values, is strengthened while political opponents are less likely to garner public support.[95]

To the extent that it is politically advantageous, some authoritarian leaders will intentionally violate norms in order to "egg on" foreign condemnation, thus consolidating their domestic control. Nincic observes this pattern in "renegade regimes", concluding that "punishment designed to weaken the regime may actually fortify its position, at least in the short to medium term."[96] This observation calls into question the argument that shaming weakens authoritarian regimes by providing "a signal to domestic political rivals that the incumbent is weak, reducing the collective action costs for rival elites to coordinate the remove the incumbent."[97] On the contrary, when shaming results in defiance, the opposite mechanism is more plausible: shaming strengthens the

[94] Nincic 2005.
[95] Baker and Oneal 2001; Chapman and Reiter 2004.
[96] Nincic 2005, 40.
[97] Wright, Escribà-Folch, and others 2009.

incumbent by rallying up nationalist support and undermining rival elites by putting them at risk of being called foreign co-conspirators.

Defiance can also be strategically valuable in democracies or mixed regimes, for similar reasons. In contexts of political competition, a "proud, shameless" population rewards leaders who stand up to a foreign enemy. In some cases, foreign shaming can tip the scales in a domestic political cleavage towards the side that appeals to nationalist discourse over international engagment. In other cases, defiance can fuel an "outbidding" process, whereby elites attempt to one-up each other by offending the symbolic norms of an out-group.[98] Scholars have identified such out-bidding spirals in a range of contexts, from anti-Americanism in the Middle East, where both secular and religious governments compete for who can be more defiant against the United States,[99] to anti-Obama and Islamophobic rhetoric in the 2016 Republican primary.[100]

4.2 Constraining Norm Compliers

Just as defiance can bolster some political actors, it can be costly for others. Defiance constrains elites from a certain course of action, i.e. norm-compliance, by increasing the political cost for leaders who "give in" to foreign pressure. Fearon spoke of a similar mechanism in the context of international crises with his identification of "audience costs."[101] Whether in the context of military bargaining or other kinds of disputes, "backing down" is "costly for a leader because it gives *domestic* political opponents an opportunity to deplore the *international* loss of credibility, face, or honor."[102]

As Fearon taught us, the cost of "giving in" might be more potent in countries with stronger domestic audiences. Here, the "proud, shameless reaction" can take on a life of its own, trapping elites into precarious positions, resulting in seemingly "irrational" foreign policies.[103] Even if leaders are inclined to comply with international norms on account of their foreign policy interests, they must reckon with domestic forces that attach compliance with weakness and a loss of political legitimacy. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that foreign shaming is less effective on democracies and

[98] Horowitz 1985.

[99] Blaydes and Linzer 2012.

[100] Beauchamp 2015.

[101] Fearon 1994. Contrary to the common application of audience costs to explicit threats in military bargaining, Fearon's original conception involved much broader affective concerns over national honor and reputation. See Dafoe, Renshon, and Huth 2014.

[102] Fearon 1994, 581. Experimental evidence shows that audience costs arise because citizens care about the international reputation of the country or leader. See Tomz 2007.

[103] In the domestic realm, research has shown moralized attitudes lead citizens to oppose compromises, punish compromising politicians, and forsake material gains. See Ryan 2016.

hybrid regimes.[104] Defiance provides a plausible mechanism, insofar as "backing down" is more costly in competitive domestic contexts.

4.3 Punishing Local Activists

Finally, defiance punishes civil society actors, activists, and other vulnerable communities, who come to represent the foreign enemy at home (i.e. a "fifth column.") Domestic NGOs are often the target here. Indeed, with the rise of international shaming, there appears to be a concurrent rise in new laws aimed at regulating and weakening domestic NGOs. According to a recent study, nearly half of the world's states have passed more restrictive NGO laws since 1955, most of which (69) appeared after the Cold War.[105] NGOs that receive foreign funding are most at risk.[106]

Recent work explains such regulations as attempts to consolidate domestic control by crippling groups that could mobilize large-scale dissent.[107] As one study put it,

> governments prioritize political survival over aid, international reputations and norm compliance, and are willing to buck world polity legitimation pressures when they perceive serious threats to their rule."[108]

In other words, governments are willing to sacrifice international status for power at home.[109] On the other hand, it is difficult to see how small and unpopular NGOs, such as those advocating for sexuality rights in sub-Saharan Africa, constitute a serious threat to the incumbent regime. I argue there is another piece to the puzzle, in SIT mechanisms concerning the "identity rules" that govern when and how it is appropriate to deliver criticisms.[110]

Recall, for instance, that in-group critics are expected to keep their comments "in-house," facing increased censure when they make their comments to an out-group audience. By "airing the dirty laundry," critics damage the group's reputation and status in the eyes of others. Similarly, human rights activists are often accused of betraying national pride by embarrassing the nation in the eyes of the world. In 2002, for example,

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[104] Hendrix and Wong 2013.
[105] Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash 2015b, 422–3; Howell et al. 2008.
[106] Christensen and Weinstein 2013; Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash 2015b; Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash 2016; Rutzen 2015.
[107] Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash 2015a.
[108] Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash 2016, 5.
[109] The implication is that external actors must keep pushing back against such restrictions, because foreign shaming increases the costs to such behavior. Christensen and Weinstein 2013.
[110] Hornsey 2005, 311.

Pakistan's president banned rape-survivor and human rights advocate Mukhtar Mai from international travel in order to "protect Pakistan's image abroad."[111]

Tolerance of in-group critics is also withdrawn when the critic's motives are drawn into question. If the critic is seen as having ulterior motives, her comments will be "cloaked in a shroud of suspicion and negative emotion."[112] This explains why activists are often accused of being driven by self-interest or political gain. It also illuminates the rhetorical logic of calling activists "foreign" or "Western"; the critic's commitment and adherence to group norms serves as a heuristic to determine motive.[113]

Finally, in-group members are expected to silent dissent when their group is facing a threat from the outside.[114] This effect becomes especially pertinent in the context of international shaming, where domestic criticism could be "seized upon and exploited by the enemy."[115] Examples of NGO restrictions in the name of "national security" abound. To take one example: In 2014, India's recently-elected government presented a budget to Parliament attacking civil society organizations such as Greenpeace, Amnesty International and Action Aid for threatening "national economic security" and sponsoring "anti-national protests."[116]

In short, NGO restrictions may occur *because* states care about their image in the international realm, not *in spite* of those concerns.[117] Even if domestic elites are realistically driven by a fear of domestic opposition, defiance among the public renders such restrictions politically viable. Either scenario prompts us to reconsider widely held assumptions about transnational advocacy that describe foreign involvement as welcome assistance. Contrary to the conventional understanding, international ties can be a major liability to local activists.[118]

4.4 An Illustration: Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Law

[111] Rediff 2005.
[112] Hornsey 2005, 306.
[113] Ibid., 306–11.
[114] Ibid., 311–8.
[115] Ibid., 315.
[116] Mashru 2014.
[117] Zarakol makes an analogous point in her discussion of Turkey and Japan's refusals to apologize for past atrocities, despite international pressure to do so. As she convincingly demonstrates, these behaviors are rooted in the fact that both Turkey and Japan deeply care about what the West thinks of them. See Zarakol 2010.
[118] Clifford Bob, for instance, writes that "eschewing external help … may be a strategic decision given the realities of domestic politics" such as in Cuba and Malaysia, where top politicians denounce NGOs as foot soldiers of Western imperialism. Despite such recognition, Bob is quick to dismiss such outcomes as "caveats." Bob 2005, 17.

To illustrate the domestic politics of defiance, consider Uganda's anti-homosexuality law. Since 2012, America has embarked on an ambitious campaign – leveraging its foreign aid and public diplomacy – to promote sexuality rights abroad.[119] It also devoted more than $700 million into supporting gay rights groups, with more than half going to sub-Saharan Africa. Obama spoke out specifically against the proposed anti-homosexuality bill in Uganda, which, in some versions, applied capital punishment to offenders. Obama threatened that the bill would "complicate" U.S. relations with its long-term aid recipient.[120] President Museveni – whom Ropp and Sikkink once referred to as a "true believer" in human rights[121] – seemed fearful of the international risks the bill posed, urging his parliamentarians to "handle it in a way which does not compromise our principles, but also takes into account our foreign-policy interests."[122] According to conventional accounts, the onslaught of foreign shaming, coupled with the threat of aid cuts and other material sanctions, should have worked best in the Uganda case.[123]

And yet what we saw was the opposite. As one writer put it, the wave of international attention

> seemed to have spawned an equal and opposite reaction: turning the legislation and its attendant homophobia into symbols of national self-determination – something that increasingly energized the populist bona fides of whichever politician or public figure happened to be championing the bill and its cause.[124]

By tying aid to gay rights, US intervention fueled a proud, shameless reaction among the Ugandan population, who saw it as an abuse of power. Defiance fueled a "united we stand" effect among Ugandan lawmakers, who rallied behind the Anti-Homosexuality bill, making it the first to pass unanimously since the end of military rule in 1999. Although he personally opposed it, Mosevani was backed into a corner, forced to demonstrate his country's sovereignty for his own legitimacy.[125] According to Ugandan journalist Andrew Mwenda, "the mere fact that Obama threatened Museveni publicly is the very reason he chose to go ahead and sign the bill."[126] He did so in a particularly defiant fashion, "with the full witness of the international media to demonstrate Uganda's independence in the face of Western pressure and provocation."[127]

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[119] Onishi 2015.
[120] Obama 2014.
[121] Ropp and Sikkink 1999b, 15.
[122] Kimball 2010.
[123] Ropp and Sikkink 1999b, 36–37.
[124] Allen 2014.
[125] Quoted in Ibid.
[126] Quoted in Ibid.
[127] Ibid.

Of course some may argue that shaming is epiphenomenal to defiance, and that supporters of the bill would use any argument in their favor to rouse public support. And yet shaming incited this "proud, shameless reaction" even among the bill's *opposition*. John Nagenda, a presidential advisor who was one of the first public figures to come out against the anti-gay law, recoiled at the paternalism he saw in external pressure. "Uganda is, if you remember, a sovereign state, and we are tired of being given these lectures by people," Nagenda told the BBC in 2011. He added:

> I believe [the law] will die a natural death. But this kind of ex-colonial mentality of saying, 'You do this or I withdraw my aid' will definitely make people extremely uncomfortable with being treated like children.[128]

In fact, shaming might have delayed the "natural death" that Nagenda predicted. The threat of aid cuts not only failed to deter the bill's supporters, it alienated its opposition.

Other nations had similar reactions. Nigeria's own law against homosexuality, passed in 2014, made it illegal to engage in an intimate relationship with a member of the same sex, as well as engage in any kind of gay advocacy.[129] Like Uganda's bill, it was widely regarded by both supporters and opponents to be a reaction against American pressure. Even one of the bill's strongest supporters suggested it was too punitive, adding that "the law would not have come in the form in which it did" without American pressure.[130]

Meanwhile, the anticipation of defiance led many African LBGT activists be wary of international support, and American aid in particular. One the one hand, sexuality-rights NGOs relied on foreign funding for their work. At the same time, they knew that such tactics could provoke defiance, leaving them vulnerable. One anecdote captured by the *New York Times* is particularly illustrative:

> At the office of the Initiative for Equal Rights here, a small community center has served as an oasis for gay Nigerians in this megalopolis. But they were unsettled by the red, white and blue stickers once posted throughout the hall. The stickers — with the message, "U.S.A.I.D. From the American people" — underscored the Nigerian gay rights movement's financial dependence on the West. For some, they also inadvertently gave credence to the widely held belief in Africa that homosexuality is a foreign lifestyle foisted on the continent. "It really affected our advocacy efforts," said Michael Akanji, director of programming for the

[128] BBC News 2011.
[129] Gladstone 2014.
[130] Onishi 2015.

> group. The group was granted a waiver by the aid agency to remove the stickers late last year. [131]

Eventually, some African LGBT activists pleaded with the international community to pull back, warning that their involvement conferred a "real risk of a serious backlash against LGBTI people."[132] By that point, however, widespread defiance had already made life difficult for sexual minorities. "The U.S. support is making matters worse," a 24-year old gay Nigerian told the *New York Times*. "There's more resistance now. It's triggered people's defense mechanism."[133]

Uganda anti-homosexuality law was finally quashed by its Constitutional Court, which ruled the Act invalid because it was not passed with the required quorum. By dismissing the law on procedural grounds, Museveni – widely thought to have control over the Court – was able to kill the legislation "without appearing to cave in to foreign pressure."[134] But by that time, defiance had already transformed Uganda's normative order, entrenching homophobia into its national identity.

In sum, defiance figures into the domestic system of incentives, empowering norm-violators, constraining norm-compliers, and punishing norm-advocates. These three mechanisms not only discourage compliance with foreign pressure, but actively transform domestic normative orders *in the opposite direction* of whatever the shamer is advocating. In other words, defiance drives norm polarization, whereby groups shift their normative positions in order to emphasize group distinctiveness and enhance normative differentiation. Here, shaming is not merely irrelevant but counterproductive insofar as it entrenches norm opposition as constitutive of state identity.

5 The International Politics of Defiance

Uganda and Nigeria are not unique in their defiance to the sexuality rights norm; many states have recently adopted more repressive legislation against sexual minorities.[135] An upsurge in homophobic rhetoric has been observed in a number of countries, while available polling data shows that acceptance of homosexuality is decreasing in states that oppose sexuality rights.[136] Crucially, the fight over such norms is being waged on an international scale, with states like Russia becoming a leader in the "vanguard of a new 'Conservative International."[137]

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[131] Ibid.
[132] Quoted in Allen 2014.
[133] Onishi 2015.
[134] AFP 2014.
[135] Symons and Altman 2015, 85.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Whitmore 2013.

Clearly, defiance doesn't just shape domestic norms, but assumes an important international dimension. How does defiance transform international normative orders? In this section, I show how defiance figures into global norm dynamics. I argue that defiance fits naturally with a constructivist approach to international norms as constitutive of state identity. As I explain below, just as norm-abiding behavior can be constitutive of one's identity and one's community, so can norm-violating behavior.

5.1 The Legacy of "Civilization"

Defiance can occur among rich and power states. But, in some sense, defiance is "baked into" the identities of Third World and postcolonial nations by virtue of their entry into international society. As the English School taught us, international society was essentially the global extension of European order; the rules of inclusion/exclusion in this order were based on a "standards of civilization" paradigm with the European model at its helm.[138] Most non-Western peoples were excluded and stigmatized as backwards, childish, and uncivilized; Western domination was seen as both evidence of this racial inferiority as well its antidote in the sense that exposure to European culture was expected to pull colonized people into modernity.[139]

Postcolonial states responded to their exclusion in paradoxical ways, simultaneously rebelling against and adopting the dominant norms they inherited from colonial powers.[140] In order to gain entry into "civilized" society, Third World elites had "to fashion a 'modern' national culture that is nevertheless not Western."[141] On one hand, postcolonial states adopted Western practices of statecraft such as universal education and modern industry. At the same time, they reified and idealized local practices – especially those that were emphatically dissimilar to European culture – in order to manufacture an autonomous and independent "nation," complete with a glorified past and codified traditions. In other words, postcolonial states struggled to fit themselves into the European political template, where personal and family law was made to represent spiritual and cultural specificity, while market law was cast as transcending national difference. As Rahul Rao put it:

> The greater the success in imitating the Western skills in the material domain, the greater the nationalists' need to preserve the distinctiveness of their spiritual culture. This suggests that as norms converge in the materialist sphere, we might

[138] Acharya 2011, 99; Zarakol 2014.
[139] Zarakol 2010, 10.
[140] Acharya 2011; Ayoob 2004; Zarakol 2010.
[141] Chatterjee 1993, 7. Quoted in Zarakol 2014, 324.

> expect to see elites emphasize pluralist cultural difference more, rather than less strongly.[142]

Ironically, what made non-Western peoples into "civilized" states, capable of participating in international society, is also what makes them more likely to be norm-breakers in the name of "cultural" authenticity.[143]

5.2 Norm Resistance and Counter-Stigmatization

Today, the international normative order remains an object of political conflict. Normative dynamics do not unfold in a separate sphere from global power relations, but deeply imbricated in them, constituting another terrain in which states fight for their interests in an anarchic system. Given their history, it should come as no surprise that historically marginalized states perceive normative pressure, especially coming from dominant states, as a potential threat to their interests. As we saw in Uganda and Nigeria, powerful states may leverage aid or other material benefits to replicate their normative desires across the globe. Further, these preferences often reflect material benefit disguised as moral imperative.

To protect their interests in the face of normative pressure, less powerful states rely on several strategies. First, peripheral actors can promote what Acharya calls "subsidiarity norms" in order to "preserve their autonomy from dominance, neglect, violation or abuse by more powerful central actors."[144] Subsidiarity norms challenge ideational structures that cater to and are controlled by dominant actors, such as the responsibility to protect (R2P). At the same time, they strengthening those existing norms that work to the advantage of peripheral actors, such as sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and self-determination, racial equality, regional autonomy, etc.[145]

Second, states may engage in what Adler-Nissen calls "counter-stigmatization."[146] Drawing from Goffman, Adler-Nissan proposes three types of "stigma management," or strategies states use when responding to shaming efforts. In addition to stigma-recognition (reform) and stigma-rejection (passing), Adler-Nissan argues that states can engage in counter-stigmatization, whereby representatives not only accept the stigma attached to them but transform it into an emblem of pride. Here deviant states value their exclusionary status from a community they want no part of, perceiving the stigmatizer as the transgressor and the "stigma" as a virtue. When international

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[142] Rao 2010, 101. Quoted in Zarakol 2014, 328.
[143] Zarakol 2014, 328.
[144] Acharya 2011, 97.
[145] Ibid., 102.
[146] Adler-Nissen 2014.

shaming provokes defiance among several states, they may band together in groups that base their collective identity on this sense of resistance and exclusion.

These two strategies often work simultaneously, as we saw in the sexuality rights case. In Uganda and Nigeria, foreign pressure provoked counter-stigmatization wherein challengers to homosexuality transformed their stigma (i.e., of being "homophobic") as constitutive of their identities. Meanwhile, evangelical Christians and other civil society groups in the West proselytized their anti-homosexity message to states in the Global South. Together, these alternative networks of states and civil society actors challenged the sexuality rights norm while appealed to subsidiarity norms, such as sovereignty, self-determination, or religious freedom. When enough states adopt anti-homosexuality positions, such views become constitutive of "African" or "Arab" or "postcolonial" identities, invoking pressure on neighboring states to adopt similar positions.

In this sense, defiance diffuses in much the same way as compliance: through socialization pressures. This "counter-socialization" process drives what Symons and Altman call "international norm polarization" or the process by which "a candidate norm is accepted by some states but resisted by others, leading to a period of international disputation between two groups in which socializing pressures pull states toward compliance with rival norms."[147] As sexuality rights become increasingly associated with Western identity, opposition to such rights becomes entrenched in Arab or African identities. Their interaction engenders a shame-defiance spiral, pushing them in opposing normative directions.

5.3 The Soft Power of Defiance

Like its domestic counterpart, international defiance is the result of sincere ideological differences along with strategic behavior that exploit those differences to increase global power and influence. Thus far, we have only considered cases in which defiance occurs *in spite of* foreign policy costs. In Uganda, President Museveni was clearly wary of aid withdrawal, while Nigeria's President Goodluck Jonathan signed his own country's anti-homosexuality legislation in secret "apparently to avoid offense to other countries where such relationships are permitted."[148]

However, in some cases, defiance can also serve to *further* one's foreign policy interests. A regime can use norm-violation as a signal to other states: that it is autonomous from foreign influence; that is opposes the authority of the state(s) with which the norm is associated; or that it allies itself with fellow opposition. In this way, defiance

[147] Symons and Altman 2015.
[148] Gladstone 2014.

can be thought of as an exercise in "soft power."[149] A state that "stands up to a bully" bolsters its legitimacy in the eyes of those that resent being "pushed around" by foreign powers, regardless of what norm is at stake.[150] In other words, just as norm-violating can draw support and legitimacy at home, it can attract support and legitimacy abroad.

This incentive structure leads to an interesting inversion of the "window-dressing" effect, wherein a state displays its commitment with international norms such as human rights without the capacity or willingness to comply, resulting in a "decoupling" of policy from practice.[151] With defiance, a regime might ostentatiously communicate its opposition to an international norm in order to demonstrate its autonomy from foreign influence, with or without any intention or desire to execute the deviance it threatens. With "window dressing," governments comply with a norm as a means to obtain status; with defiance, status is still the primary objective but governments instead choose to *violate* a norm as a means to obtain this goal.

5.4 An Illustration: Russia and the Conservative International

An illustration of these dynamics is Russia's "anti-gay propaganda" law, which most experts attribute to anti-Western more than anti-gay sentiments. The law represents a puzzling anomaly for the conventional framework on norms, considering the intense shaming it attracted.[152] And while it is true that the law is hugely popular domestically, it would be a mistake to explain it simply by pointing to a lack of shared norms around the rights of sexual minorities. In fact, Russia has internally complied with sexuality rights since it decriminalized homosexuality in 1993.[153] Putin could have easily avoided international conflict; instead, he seemed to go out of his way to provoke international, and especially Western, condemnation.

Rather, the political logic behind the law should be understood as a strategy in soft power. By flauntingly his rejection of sexuality rights norms, Putin was marketing defiance against the Western nations those norms represent. As one commentator put it, "The law's massive popularity helped Putin to finally define post-communist Russia by juxtaposing it with Western society."[154] Putin didn't just expect international shaming; shaming was the primary motive.

Not only did Putin justify the law by arguing that Russian values are superior to the West's "faceless, sexual tolerance," he readily admitted that the law was an act of

[149] Nye 1990.
[150] Fearon 1994, 580.
[151] Hafner-Burton, Tsutsui, and Meyer 2008.
[152] For more on "norm cascades" see Finnemore and Sikkink 1998.
[153] Symons and Altman 2015, 63.
[154] Whitmore 2013.

defiance against Western shaming (or, as he would put it, bullying) that was unjustly remaking the world in its own image. It is worth quoting Putin at length in a speech to the Russian Federal Assembly:

> Today, many nations are revising their moral values and ethical norms, eroding ethnic traditions and differences between peoples and cultures. … This destruction of traditional values from above not only leads to negative consequences for society, but is also essentially anti-democratic, since it is carried out on the basis of abstract, speculative ideas, contrary to the will of the majority, which does not accept the changes occurring or the proposed revision of values.[155]

The reference to actions "from above" is a clear dig to Western shaming efforts, while the "destruction of traditional values" works to transform the "stigma" (homophobia) to an emblem of pride (traditional values).

Importantly, Putin's objective was not so much a withdraw from the international community but the formation an alternative community – or what Becker and Goffman would refer to as "subculture" – that inverses the norms constitutive of Western nations. "We know," says Putin, "that there are more and more people in the world who support our position on defending traditional values."[156] Indeed, the anti-gay propaganda law is widely considered part and parcel of an overall campaign to place Russia – with Putin at the helm – as the "vanguard of a new 'Conservative International,'" an alternative community of nations that directly challenges Western progressivism and the norms that undergird it.[157]

To the extent that the anti-gay propaganda law was a purposeful act of defiance against Western norms and the Western community, Western shaming is unlikely to convince Moscow to reform, and in fact simply serves to bolster the "proud, shameless reaction" motivating the law. By attempting to stigmatize Russia for the anti-gay law, "Americans corroborate the picture Putin has painted of America — that it's a chaotic, atheist society of 'tainted capitalism,' where gays are running around expressing their pointless 'free speech' and demoralizing society."[158] In other words, the anti-gay law remained popular because of Western shaming, not in spite of it.

In sum, shaming drives international norm violation in much the same way as it drives norm compliance. Contrary to the conventional view, the desires for international status, legitimacy, and reputation do not inherently drive conformity. In some cases, identity concerns require that a state reject certain norms (or rather, norms emanating from certain actors.) Insofar as defiance crossed borders, states may come together

[155] Putin 2013.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Whitmore 2013.
[158] Kaufman 2014.

through counter-stigmatization, challenging dominant norms and advocating opposition. Finally, norm-violation may serve an important foreign policy function, raising one's status in this alternative community of nations. In all, defiance can profoundly transform international normative orders.

6 Drivers of Defiance

When does shaming result in defiance? In many ways, the question is analogous to debates in criminology and public policy over whether punishment controls crime.[159] Instead of arguing which theory – deterrence of labeling – is correct, criminologists draw attention to the social conditions in which sanction can either deter or promote future offending.[160] Likewise, as IR scholars, the question "Does shaming produce norm compliance or deviance?" is less helpful than "Under what conditions does shaming produce norm compliance or deviance?"

In this section, I return to the psychological and sociological mechanisms presented in the first half of this chapter to present three conditions in which shaming is more likely to result in defiance: the shamer is poorly bonded with the target; the shamer lacks legitimacy, fairness, or accuracy; and the shamer uses stigmatizing language. Clearly, this theory is not all-encompassing and does not exhaust potential domestic or international factors that mediate shaming's impact. Notwithstanding the importance of these other factors, I am interested in how shaming engenders various outcomes depending on the context in which it is deployed.

6.1 Social Ties

Shaming from country A to country B will provoke a more defensive reaction if country B is poorly bonded with country A. Social ties can manifest in strong trade ties, friendly diplomatic relations, shared ideology, military alliance, etc. The underlying logic draws from insights in SIT and the psychology of persuasion, which emphasize perceptions of motive. Individuals tend to react defensively to critics they see as having ulterior motived or vested interest, regardless of the substantive merit of the criticism.

A similar logic applies to interstate shaming, whereby social ties acts as a heuristic for trust. It is common belief that states assume a double standard when it comes to criticizing other states: they shame their geopolitical adversaries in order to cast them in a bad light, while going easy on friends, even if they, too, violate international norms. Shaming between states with different ideological positions or conflicting interests is likely to backfire, because it is assumed that such criticism is driven by political animos-

[159] Sherman 1993, 445.

[160] Bouffard and Piquero 2010; Braithwaite 1989; Sherman 1993.

ity. Shaming by a friend, however, cannot be attributed to ill will in the same way, and in fact may serve as a signal to the target state that the critic's preferences are strong enough vis-à-vis a particular norm that it is worth taking a tough stance and risk alienating the relationship.

The role of social ties is perhaps the most commonsensical of the factors described in this section. And yet rarely do studies consider the relationship between the shamer and the target as an explanatory variable.[161] These patterns are explored in greater detail in Chapter 3. They return again in the case study described in chapters 5 and 6, wherein America's shaming of Iran led to more defiance than shaming from Brazil.

6.2 Credibility and Bias

Source credibility is another import aspect of normative pressure.[162] Shaming lacks credibility when it is substantively arbitrary, hypocritical, discriminatory, excessive, undeserved, inaccurate, or otherwise untrustworthy.[163] The logic is similar to that above concerning social ties. Shaming that lacks credibility fuels defensiveness by giving the impression of ulterior motives.

Shaming can lack credibility in two ways. First, by the presence of bias, discrimination, or unfairness. Indeed, IR scholars have long recognized that shaming (from states, media, NGOs, and intergovernmental organizations) is unevenly distributed across similarly pressing problems, driven by factors that are extraneous to actual violations.[164] Many observers ascribe this unevenness to "politicization," described above, and lament that it damages the effectiveness of the entire enterprise. While "politicization" clearly has a negative connotation, it remains unclear why, precisely, selectivity in the system would provoke a backlash against norms. I propose that bias of this sort ascribes hostile motivations to the shamer, thus provoking a defensive response.

Shaming also lacks legitimacy when it is inaccurate, even if it comes from a credible (i.e. unbiased) shamer. Efforts to shame a regime for abuses can involve misinformation, deceit, or inaccuracies, damaging the legitimacy of the cause.[165] With the rise of digital technology and "viral" advocacy campaigns, shaming efforts are more likely to be tainted by misinformation. Contra the boomerang model, local activists are no longer

[161] A notable exception is Franklin 2008.

[162] Bochner and Insko 1966; Giffin 1967; Hovland and Weiss 1951; Pornpitakpan 2004; Sternthal, Dholakia, and Leavitt 1978.

[163] Sherman 1993, 460–1.

[164] Boockmann and Dreher 2010; Edwards et al. 2008; Hafner-Burton and Ron 2012; Hill, Moore, and Mukherjee 2013; Hug and Lukács 2013; Lebovic and Voeten 2006; Murdie and Urpelainen 2015; Ramos, Ron, and Thoms 2007; Ron, Ramos, and Rodgers 2005.

[165] Joseph 2014.

necessary in obtaining on-the-ground information, and rumor plays a larger role. Other theories may acknowledge that inaccuracies result in decreased credibility, which could damage the effectiveness of shaming, but they would have difficulty explaining the precise mechanism by which inaccurate shaming would make the situation worse than before. Chapters 5 and 6 describe how shaming efforts that are tainted by misinformation or deceit will result not only in failure but in backlash.

6.3 Stigmatization

In his influential study of crime and deviance, Braithwaite argued that shaming comes in two forms: reintegrative and stigmatizing. Reintegrative shaming ensures "that the deviance label is applied to the behavior rather than the person," while inviting the offender back into the community.[166] In contrast, disintegrative or stigmatizing shaming focuses primarily on branding the offender a deviant, encouraging offenders to view themselves as outcasts. In short, "reintegrative shaming prevents such offending; stigmatization increases the risk of crime for the stigmatized."[167]

Likewise, shaming at the international level can be reintegrative or stigmatizing. Reintegrative shaming deters by pointing out instances in which a regime fails to live up to its identity and commitments. It's likely to frame a violation as the result of political context or historically contingent developments. Stigmatized shaming, on the other hand, frames norm-offense as constitutive of a state's identity, which is seen to be at odds with the international community writ large. Shaming of this sort diagnoses violations as symptoms of cultural, religious, or ideological pathology. States violate norms because the regime and/or the population are barbaric or uncivilized; the violations stem from who they are, not what they do or what has happened to them.

Shaming of this kind is likely to engender a self-fulfilling prophecy. A stigmatized state alters its perception of self-concept and self-interest, internalizing its "stigma" as an essential aspect of cultural identity, religious tradition, or political legitimacy. This is especially likely when the *shamer* corroborates this interpretation by attaching norm-violating behavior to an identity attribute, such as culture or religion. One well-documented example is the consolidation of *hijab* as an essential aspect of Muslim identity during the anti-colonial movements in Iran and Algeria, where it was previously stigmatized (and in some cases criminalized) by colonial powers.[168] Other examples abound in which political communities become *more* attached to a particular practice, norm, or symbol as a consequence of previous stigma.

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[166] Braithwaite 1989, 55. Quoted in Harvard Law Review 2003, 2192.

[167] Braithwaite and Braithwaite in Ahmed 2001, 39.

[168] Paidar 1997; Afary 2009.

To review, the context of international criticism will mediate its impact, regardless of the content of the norm. Significant factors include the relationship between the shamer and shame (social ties), the credibility of the criticism (bias/inaccuracy), and the framing of the criticism (reintegrative or stigmatizing). In subsequent chapters, I explore these dynamics in depth.

7 Implications and Conclusion

This chapter made five main points. First, norm diffusion should be understood as an embodied and relational social interaction, as opposed to a top-down process emanating from some monolithic "international community." Second, the microfoundations of international norm socialization engender the possibility for defiance in addition to deterrence, as shown by SIT and symbolic interactionism. Third, defiance involves both sincere ideological beliefs as well as strategic behavior that exploit those beliefs for political gain. I described how defiance figures in domestic and international systems of incentives, encouraging states to violate norms. Fourth, defiance can have a profound impact on local and global normative orders, driving polarization and oppositional identities. Fifth, defiance is more likely when the shamer is poorly bonded with the target, the shamer lacks credibility due to bias or inaccuracy, and the shaming is stigmatizing with respect to the offender.

A deeper appreciation of the subtleties surrounding the shaming process can lead to a better understanding of norm diffusion and norm violation. If shaming works in international society as it does in other realms of life, we must recognize that shaming can spur defiance as well as deterrence. In other words, norm-failure is not just the result of weak or ineffective shaming, but can occur when shaming is intense, and indeed may occur *because* shaming is intense.

Some of these findings should seem quite intuitive to any well-socialized person, who recognize that clumsy criticism risks a defensive, angry response. But for IR, the logic yields a few unexpected results. Not only can shaming backfire, it can backfire in states that deeply care about their status and reputation in the eyes of the world. Further, some states come to deeply identify with particular symbols and practices as a result of being criticized by others (see: "freedom fries"). In some cases, they may openly flaunt international norms as a calculated strategy.

While I have not discussed the mechanisms driving the *shamer's* behavior at any length, it should be clear by now that a similar logic applies to them. Regimes criticize others for the same reasons they defy: to palliate domestic audiences, to affirm their own group-specific norms, to exercise power and influence in the international realm. In this sense, shaming and defiance interact dialectically, leading to potential escala-

tions. In the long term, shaming and defiance can be thought of as co-constitutive, each creating the conditions in which the other can unfold.

The next three chapters provide empirical evidence for the theory I have laid out here, evaluating how the *context* in which shaming occurs mediates its *impact* on state behavior. The next chapter tests my prediction concerning the role of social ties in determining state response to international shaming. Chapter 4 explores the ways in which shaming can be "biased" or "stigmatizing" using computation text analysis. Chapters 5 and 6 explore the relationship between shaming and defiance in greater empirical detail through an in-depth study of a recent campaign in Iran.

Chapter 3 The Macro-Politics of Defiance: Shaming and Relational Ties in the Universal Periodic Review*

The previous chapter revised the conventional theory of international "naming and shaming" to account for defiance and backlash. Instead of treating norms as *de facto* representative of some monolithic "international community," I argue that we obtain better analytic insight by considering the ways in which norms are embodied in particular actors and identities, promoted and contested between specific states in relational terms. The context of this interaction is important when considering the potential impact of social pressure. Specifically, I posit that defiance is more likely under three conditions: (1) the shamer is poorly bonded with the target, (2) the shamer lacks credibility due to bias or inaccuracy, and (3) the shaming is stigmatizing with respect to the offender.

This chapter explores the first condition – the role of social bonds – in greater detail. I do so through a quantitative analysis of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), the most elaborate multilateral human rights peer-review process in the international system. In the UPR, governments voluntarily subject their human rights records to the scrutiny of their peers, who offer feedback in the form of specific recommendations. States under review must then publicly decide whether to accept or reject each recommendation it receives. The UPR represents an insightful laboratory for the study of interstate shaming, exhibiting data that is more complete, granular and multidimensional than existing sources. I analyze over 40,000 recommendations from the first two cycles of UPR, paying special attention to the role of dyadic social ties – including ideological/geopolitical affinity as well as material dependencies – in the shaming process.

The findings confirm the importance of political relationships, both for the causes and consequences of interstate shaming. States tend to spare their geopolitical allies in the review process, as well as states with whom they trade arms or aid. Yet, when aid donors, arms exporters, and geopolitical friends offer recommendations, they are better received by the target, regardless of the substance of the criticism. I account for these results by pointing to ways in which social ties mediate the interpretation of criticism. In a politicized environment, governments expect to be shamed by their enemies, and

* The following chapter is based on co-authored research with Erik Voeten, Georgetown University.

can easily brush off such criticism as a cynical attempt to sully their country's reputation. That is not so easy if allies offer the scrutiny. In short, when it comes to human rights shaming, the *critic* matters just as much as the *criticism*.

The results have important implications for debates surrounding the corrupting influence of "politicization" in international institutions. I argue that prevailing approaches fail to fully appreciate the centrality of political relationships in the shaming process. Indeed, the UPR cannot be expected to approximate an independent or impartial assessment of human rights behavior, because peer-review is necessarily subjective and relational. This does not imply, however, that this institution is meaningless. Insofar as shaming is an inherently relational process, "politicization" is integral to – not a deviation of – international norm diffusion. On the other hand, these ties are an inherently ambivalent force: the same mechanism driving norm compliance (i.e. political affinity) is also responsible for driving defiance (i.e. political animosity).

1 The Universal Periodic Review: Background and Theory

1.1 Substantive Background

The UPR is a systematic peer-review of the human rights records of all UN member states, conducted by the UN Human Rights Council (HRC).[1] The UPR is conducted in cycles, with each state reviewed once per cycle. The first cycle ran from 2008 to 2011. The second cycle started in 2012 and will review 42 States per year until its completion in 2016. During its review, each state voluntarily submits its human rights performance for evaluation by all other UN member states and permanent observers, i.e. the Holy See and Palestine. After the state under review (SuR) presents its national report, any participant can pose questions, comments and/or recommendations for how the SuR can improve its human rights record.[2] The SuR can then respond to individual questions/comments, and decide whether or not to accept the recommendations it receives. Reviews typically last 3.5 hours; the SuR's overall speaking time is 70 minutes while other states have a total of 140 minutes.[3] Once the review is complete, states have 4.5 years to act on recommendations before undergoing another review.

[1] According to resolution A/HRC/RES/5/1, the UPR is meant to assess the extent to which states respect their human rights obligations contained in: the Charter of the United Nations; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Human Rights instruments to which the state is party; voluntary pledges and commitments made by the state (including those undertaken when presenting the candidature for election to the Human Rights Council); and applicable international humanitarian law.

[2] Reviews are conducted by the UPR Working Group consisting of 47 Council members, but any state can participate in the interactive dialogue. Non-governmental organizations can also participate by submitting information that is used to review a country, but they cannot take the floor during the actual review. The Working Group meets three times a year to review 14 states each session.

[3] UPR Info n.d.

The UPR arose in 2006 from the institutional ashes of the UN Human Rights Commission, which was heavily criticized for being too politicized. In a major 2005 UN reform report, Secretary-General Kofi Annan concluded that:

> the Commission's capacity to perform its tasks has been increasingly undermined by its declining credibility and professionalism. In particular, States have sought membership of the Commission not to strengthen human rights but to protect themselves against criticism or to criticize others. As a result, a credibility deficit has developed, which casts a shadow on the reputation of the United Nations system as a whole.[4]

The UPR's peer review system, Annan argued, would "help avoid, to the extent possible, the politicization and selectivity that are hallmarks of the Commission's existing system."[5]

Now in its second term, the UPR is the first human rights mechanism to achieve 100 percent participation of UN member states. For that reason alone, many are hopeful of its potential.[6] But others remain skeptical, lamenting that the UPR has once again fallen victim to politicization and selectivity.[7] Critics point out that rights-respecting states such as Canada tend to be attacked for their liberal economic policies, while oppressive states like Cuba and Iran enjoy praise from their ideological sympathizers. This kind of selectivity damages the UPR's credibility, critics argue, transforming it into a forum that is determined more by political interests than human rights ideals.[8]

The controversy surrounding the UPR raises two main questions. First, what role do political relationships play in interstate shaming? And, if political relationships are influential, to what degree do they interfere with the global promotion of human rights norms?

1.2 Theoretical Approaches

Although scholars have not yet paid much attention to the UPR per se,[9] we can refer to the theoretical literature on shaming and international institutions to draw insights into these questions. Here, I briefly review and contrast two broad perspectives that deal directly of institutions that facilitate "naming and shaming": (1) liberal and constructivist theories, which cast shaming as a potentially effective tool to promote in-

[4] Secretary-General 2005, para. 182.
[5] United Nations Secretary-General 2005, para. 8.
[6] UPR Info n.d.
[7] Schaefer and Groves n.d.
[8] Mchangama and Rhodes 2013.
[9] Notable exceptions include Abebe 2009; Charlesworth and Larking 2015; Cowan and Billaud 2015; Gaer 2007; McMahon 2012a.

ternational human rights, and (2) realist perspectives, which tend to look more cynically on the power of normative persuasion.

The first two chapters reviewed the constructivist perspective on norms in depth. To summarize, constructivists view international institutions like the UPR as social environments in which states learn about shared expectations of appropriate behavior, and face social consequences for their ability or failure to adhere to those expectations.[10] Naming and shaming should encourage states to abide by communal norms by harnessing the power of these social inducements.[11]

For liberal institutionalists, states are not necessarily motivated by social norms *per se*, and yet "naming and shaming" could still be effective via accountability politics. A state's performance vis-à-vis its international human rights obligations influences its general reputation for compliance. The UPR could inform an international audience that a state has failed to live up to past promises. Evaluation affects a state's overall reputation, which in turn could limit beneficial forms of cooperation such as trade agreements or foreign aid.[12] Information diffused in such environments may also trigger domestic mobilization against a government.[13]

Despite their distinct ontologies, constructivists and liberal institutionalists converge on the belief that shaming can be effective (at least on the margins) to the extent that it accompanies bad behavior. Both perspectives view international norms as precisely that – international, i.e. emanating from an accepted standard that all (or most) states strive to embody. Even if governments do not fully internalize these standards, they may still be susceptible to shaming insofar as the failure to live up to these norms damages their reputation or standing within the international community. The UPR's role would be to provide information about states that have failed to live up to communal norms, driving social sanctions.

These views notwithstanding, a number of scholars are doubtful that international bodies can promote human rights observance whatsoever. They would likely view the UPR from a cynical perspective, for two main reasons. First, governments are rarely motivated by social incentives or diffuse reputational concerns. States are primarily concerned with security and economic incentives, which are rarely linked to human rights.[14] Espousals to human rights ideals are mere "window-dressing," superficial and misleading when it comes to actual policy and behavior.[15]

Second, states shame others in order to promote their own interests, not the universality of human rights. There is considerable evidence that human rights shaming is

[10] Goodman and Jinks 2013; Greenhill 2010; Johnston 2001.
[11] Ropp and Sikkink 1999c.
[12] Guzman 2007.
[13] Simmons 2009.
[14] Mearsheimer 1994.
[15] Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005.

often based on factors that are extraneous to actual violations.[16] Some countries receive greater scrutiny for political, economic, and demographic reasons. Importantly, states tend to shame their geopolitical adversaries in order to cast them in a bad light, while going easy on friends, even if they, too, violate human rights norms.

For cynics, the selective nature of human rights enforcement undermines the credibility of the entire regime.[17] Indeed, it was precisely this concern that led to the creation of the UPR in the first place. And yet, there is little reason to believe that the UPR is free from the politicization and selectivity that discredited its predecessor. As the late High Commissioner for Human Rights Sergio Viera de Mello diagnosed the problem: "Let's be frank. Most of the people in this room work for governments. That is politics. For some people in this room to accuse others of being political is a bit like fish criticizing one another for being wet."[18] In this regard, not much has changed. While nongovernmental organizations can participate in the process, the UPR is dominated by states, who are in the sole position to publicly criticize the records of other states. Thus the process is explicitly relational and political. As one report put it, "once states are judge and jury, foreign policy is never far from their thoughts when they take the floor."[19]

In sum, it is impossible to deny the selective and political nature of the UPR. And yet governments appear to care a great deal about their evaluation in such institutions. Moreover, interstate shaming has shown to influence state behavior, at least on the margins.[20] How do we reconcile these two seemingly contradictory insights?

2 Argument and Predictions

2.1 The Relational Politics of the UPR

While it is true that the UPR is politicized, it does not follow that it is irrelevant because it is "political." I argue that the causal logic behind shaming in the UPR depends on the presence or absence of political ties between sender and target. For the state under review, recommendations reveal very different signals depending on the source. In a politicized environment, governments interpret shaming by their enemies as a cynical attempt to sully their country's reputation. Not only are there few incentives to comply in such cases, doing so may confer costs on the part of state delegations

[16] Boockmann and Dreher 2010; Edwards et al. 2008; Hafner-Burton and Ron 2012; Hill, Moore, and Mukherjee 2013; Hug and Lukács 2013; Lebovic and Voeten 2006; Murdie and Urpelainen 2015; Ramos, Ron, and Thoms 2007; Ron, Ramos, and Rodgers 2005.

[17] Hopgood 2013; Moyn 2010.

[18] Vieira de Mello 2003.

[19] FIACAT 2009, 6..

[20] Ausderan 2014; Cole 2012b; DeMeritt 2012; Hafner-Burton 2008; Hendrix and Wong 2013; Krain 2012; Lebovic and Voeten 2009; Meernik et al. 2012; Murdie and Davis 2012.

if they are seen as "kowtowing" to the enemy. Shaming is easily dismissed in such cases, and may even provoke a defiant reaction.

On the other hand, condemnation means something very different when it comes from a state that shares strong political, economic, or security ties with the target. Since there are few *strategic* incentives to criticize friends, shaming in this case serves as a credible signal reflecting the critic's preferences on a particular norm. Those preferences may originate in domestic societal pressure (i.e. an outraged public demanding condemnation of an abuse abroad) or the shamer's own international socialization. In either case, these preferences are strong enough to warrant a tough stance and alienate an otherwise beneficial relationship. In this context, the SuR is more likely to take shaming seriously in order to avoid damaging a valuable partnership.

In this sense, the UPR greatly enriches the informational environment, but not in the way constructivists or liberals would have us believe. The UPR is not a socializing domain as constructivists claim because condemnation is the result of specific political relationships, not a reflection of discordance with the international community writ large. Nor is the UPR a credible source of expertise, as recommendations are filtered through the mouths of state delegations, and rarely expose new information about actual human rights abuses.[21] Rather, the UPR is significant because it reveals if and to what extent states are willing to publicly criticize another country's human rights practices. The process teaches us little about what human rights abuses occur, but it does expose what abuses are tolerated (or not) and by whom. This information is meaningful in its own right, both for governments, who must calculate the foreign policy costs of their behavior, as well as non-state actors, who must bet on expected support of mobilization.[22]

In sum, social ties matter both for how shaming is allocated, as well as how it is received. First, because shaming is a dialectical process, it is not determined by target country characteristics alone. States condemn norm violations selectively, based on their relationship with the violator. Likewise, a state's receptivity to normative pressure depends on its relationship to the source of that pressure. Notably, this argument differs

[21] Johnson and Urpelainen 2012. The UN's independent experts play a role on the margin but they rarely expose rights violations that were not already otherwise known (Piccone and Piccone 2012.)

[22] Similar arguments have been applied to other international institutions. Lebovic and Voeten, for instance, argue that condemnations in the now defunct UN Human Rights Commission exposed information both about a state's poor rights record as well as its inability to muster a sufficiently large coalition to shield itself from multilateral scrutiny. The combination of these qualities allowed multilateral lending agencies to use Commission votes as signals reflecting state power. Likewise, the UN Security Council does not have any privileged information about the likely success of military interventions. Nevertheless, its resolutions send signals that inform domestic and international audiences about the likely political consequences of proposed actions. See Chapman 2009; Lebovic and Voeten 2009; Voeten 2005.

from other theories of norm compliance and resistance that emphasize the *content* of the norm in question rather than the *source* of pressure.[23]

2.2 Hypotheses

I focus on two types of social ties, while recognizing there may be others. First, shaming is mediated by ideological differences between target and sender states. In domestic realm, citizens are more likely to accept messages from elites that share their partisanship.[24] A similar mechanism operates at the level of international governance. States who have embraced the neoliberal order advanced by the U.S. and other Western states can easily defy those who rebel against it (and vice versa). Publicly dismissing a human rights concern from a geopolitical adversary is less likely to endanger cooperative endeavors, inflame domestic opposition, or alienate valuable relationships. In contrast, harsh criticisms from governments with similar ideological dispositions cannot be so easily dismissed.

This leads to two testable hypotheses. On the one hand, we expect that states tend to reserve their most severe criticism for those with dissimilar geopolitical ideologies. At the same time, recommendations coming from like-minded states are more likely to be accepted, controlling for the severity and content of the recommendation.

> ***Hypothesis 1A*** *All else equal, states are more lenient on states that share their geopolitical ideology.*
>
> ***Hypothesis 1B*** *All else equal, states are more likely to accept recommendations coming from states that share their geopolitical ideology.*

Second, military and economic dependence shape both the practice of shaming and its relevance. I consider two dependency relationships: arms exports and foreign aid. Arms importers and aid recipients may fear criticizing their supplier too harshly, lest they sabotage their relationship. As an illustration, one report documented an African diplomat saying that "he would think twice about producing a criticism of western states who are donors, such as the U.S. and the U.K."[25]

Further, arms exporters and aid donors face similar incentives towards their recipients. The U.S. exports arms to Saudi Arabia not just for financial gain but also because it values a strategic partnership. The U.S. offers aid to Egypt not just out of generosity but also because it is part of a strategic arrangement. More generally, both foreign aid and arms exports are at least partially driven by political relationships between states.[26] In addition, powerful states wish to mitigate the perception that they aid and

[23] Keck and Sikkink 1998..
[24] e.g. Bartels 2002; Rahn 1993.
[25] McMahon 2012a, 16.
[26] Alesina and Dollar 2000; Blanton 2005.

abet a human rights violator. Together, this gives exporters and aid donors incentives to be more lenient in their human rights recommendations.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that human rights concerns play a role in the allocation of foreign aid and arms, albeit selectively.[27] If a donor or arms exporter does decide to offer a recommendation, this may be interpreted as a signal by the target state that the relationship is at risk. In this sense, the relationship between target and sender is asymmetric. Donors and arms exporters have the opportunity to make the continuation of an exchange relationship conditional on human rights performance in way that recipients and importers do not. This leads to the following hypotheses.

> ***Hypothesis 2A*** *All else equal, states involved in arms trades or aid relationships are more lenient towards each other.*
>
> ***Hypothesis 2B*** *All else equal, arms importers/aid recipients are more likely to accept recommendations coming from their donors/exporters.*

Of course, these two hypotheses do not exhaust the range of political dynamics in the UPR. There are a number of other relational facets – e.g. trade, regional organizations, religious ties, colonial histories – which may be important, and yet are not considered in this chapter. Likewise, I limit the analysis to dyadic relations, excluding potential audience effects that may result from the fact that state behavior is observed by third-party states, civil society, and domestic parties. Notwithstanding the potential influence of these mechanisms, the analysis of ideological and military/economic dependence offers valuable insight into the relational politics of shaming.

3 Data and Descriptive Findings

3.1 Data

I use data collected by the non-profit organization UPR Info on all recommendations made during the first 20 sessions of the UPR working group (n = 41,066).[28] The data are mined from working group reports from all 192 countries reviewed during the first cycle, and 112 countries in the second cycle.[29] Each recommendation is a unit of observation, with data on the state offering the recommendation (the *Sender*), the state receiving the recommendation (the *Target*, coterminous with the SuR), the SuR's response

[27] Blanton 2005; Nielsen 2013.

[28] At the time of writing, data from reviews occurring in Sessions 21 through 26 were not yet available.

[29] Reports of each review are compiled by a group of three states, known as "troikas," which are selected through a random drawing.[29] Each report contains a section entitled "Conclusions and/or Recommendations" that enumerate individual recommendations formulated during the interactive dialogue, grouped by their designation as "Accepted" or "Noted" (i.e., not accepted) by the state under review.

to the recommendation (the *Response*), the level of action demanded on the part of the SuR (the *Action*), and the specific human rights issue involved (the *Issue*).

The number of recommendations included in each review ranges from 12 (Bahamas and Ecuador in Session 1) to 386 (Cuba in Session 16). Similarly, the distribution of recommendations offered per sender is highly skewed. In total, 169 different states participated in the UPR as reviewers, but some, like Malta, offered only a single recommendation in the entire dataset, while others participated hundreds of times. France leads in this regard, offering a total of 1289 recommendations. Still, there are many regular participants: 104 states offered at least 100 recommendations, accounting for 93% of total recommendations in the dataset.

The SuR's *Response* records whether the state "accepts" a recommendation.[30] Of all recommendations, 74 percent were eventually accepted. Although accepting a recommendation does not necessarily reflect a state's intent to implement, it remains significant nonetheless. In institutional terms, accepting a recommendation forces the SuR to follow up on that item during its next review. In theoretical terms, it may entrap governments into validating the legitimacy of the human rights enterprise. As Risse et al. note in their "spiral" model of human rights diffusion, states open themselves up to normative pressure when they rhetorically accept the legitimacy of an international norm.[31] Even if such rhetoric constitutes "cheap talk," there should be no reason *not* to accept a recommendation, unless doing so involves some politically significance. In other words, *rejecting* a recommendation confers its own importance by challenging the validity or applicability of a norm. We may even consider such a move as an exercise in "defiance" (described in Chapter 2.) For all these reasons, state response is important, even if it is not equivalent to implementation.

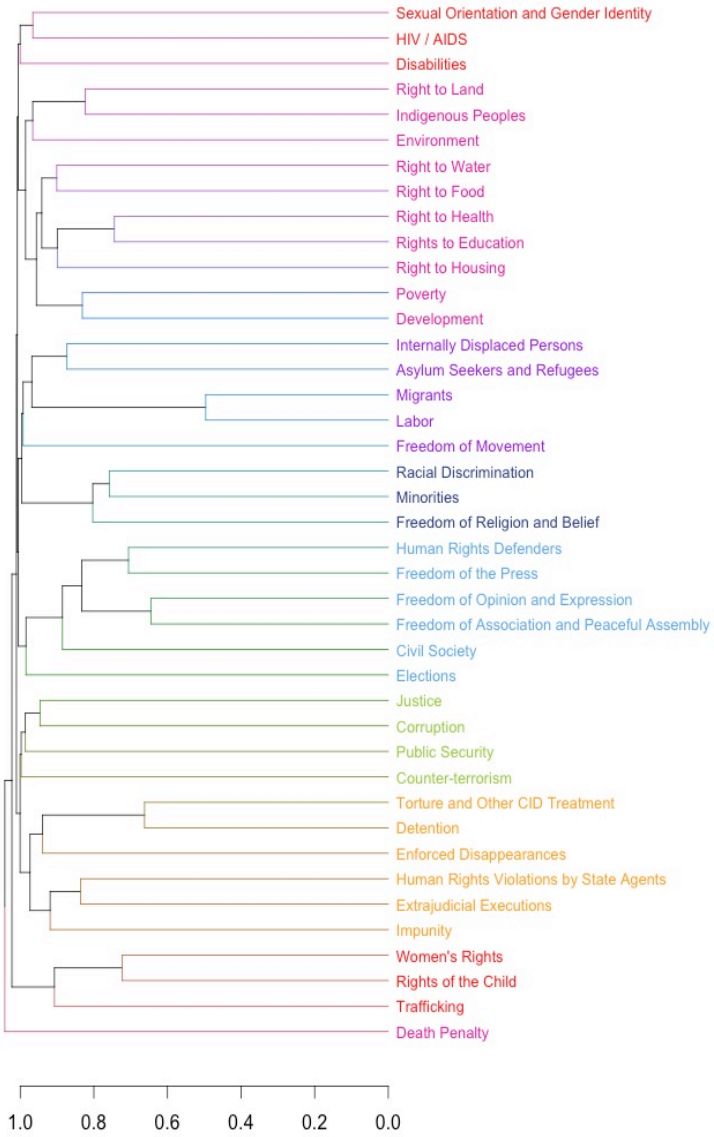
Rates of acceptance vary significantly depending on the type of *Action* entailed, i.e. what is demanded of the SuR. Recommendations vary widely in tone, ranging from disparaging to congratulatory. Researchers at UPR Info coded each recommendation according to 5-point categorical variable based on the first verb and the overall action contained in the recommendation. I recoded *Action* as a 4-point ordinal measure capturing the level of leniency/severity in a given recommendation. Recommendations coded as 1 on this scale would not be considered shaming by any typical definition; they either

[30] HRC Resolution 5/1 (para 32) instructs rapporteurs: "Recommendations that enjoy the support of the State concerned will be identified as such. Other recommendations [...] will be noted." In reality, the nature of these responses have evolved significantly, with states creating categories such as "Reject", "Accept in Part", "Already implemented", etc. As of UPR Working Group Session 17 in 2014, reports of the working group have been standardized to itemize recommendations as either "Accepted" or "Noted." In some instances, states change their response after the review. (UPR Info 2014.)

[31] Ropp and Sikkink 1999. In this "Tactical Concessions" stage, shaming becomes particularly effective as it empowers transnational advocacy and domestic opposition groups, who leverage a state's own rhetoric to advocate change.

praise the SuR or request minimal change (e.g. "share best practices", "request technical assistance.")[32] Unsurprisingly, recommendations of this type are very likely (96 percent) to be accepted by the SuR. Recommendations coded as 2 are the most common, and contain a general behavioral element (e.g. "encourage", "engage with"). Of these, 84 percent are accepted. In contrast, only 57 percent of level 3 recommendations, requesting that the SuR consider a change in behavior, are accepted. Level 4 recommendations are the most demanding, requesting a specific change; only 55 percent of these are accepted by the SuR.

Figure 1: Hierarchal Clustering of Themes.



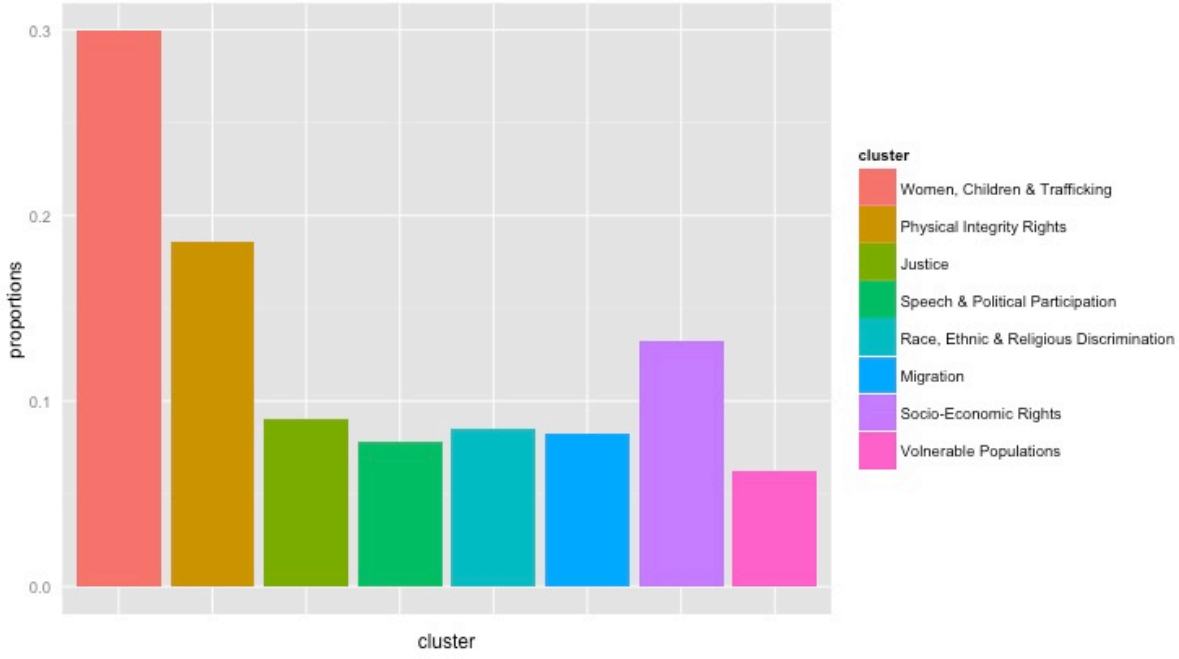
The X-label indicates distance between the clusters as measured by 1 minus the correlation between categories.

[32] E.g. "share best practices", "request technical assistance."

Each recommendation also contains an *Issue* label pertaining to the specific human rights issue addressed, from 54 overlapping categories. Because there are so many codes, I used a simple clustering algorithm to classify issues into manageable and meaningful categories for analysis. I first calculated pair-wise similarities between issues based on their correlational frequencies in individual recommendations. With this metric, I grouped themes into a tree-like structure using McQuitty's method for hierarchical clustering.[33] This allows us to visualize how themes co-occur in the corpus of the recommendations. The dendrogram in Figure 1 illustrates the clusters.[34]

The results indicate an intelligible hierarchy of thematic clusters. I identify eight clusters, identified with different colors in Figure 1, and hand label them as: (1) *Women, Children & Trafficking*, (2) *Physical Integrity Rights* (including the death penalty) (3) *Justice*, (4) *Speech & Political Participation*, (5) *Race, Ethnic, & Religious Discrimination*, (6) *Migration*, (7) *Socio-Economic Rights*, and (8) *Vulnerable Populations*. Figure 2 summarizes the most popular themes in the data. I use these *Issue* clusters in later analyses to compare substantively similar recommendations.

Figure 2: Proportion of All Recommendations Fitting Each Thematic Cluster



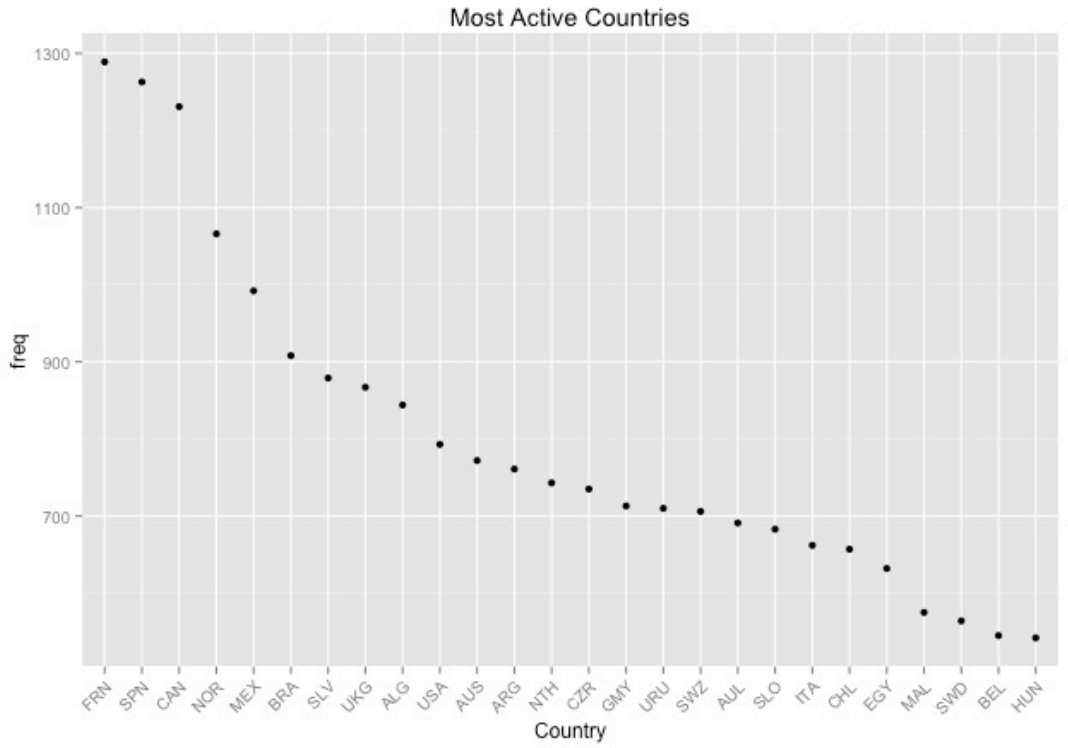
[33] McQuitty 1967. Estimations were done using the *hclust* package in R.

[34] I removed codes that did not correspond to a specific human rights issue, such as "General" and "International Instruments."

3.2 Descriptive Statistics and Factor Analysis

Before exploring the influence of social ties, I begin with some simple descriptive statistics of state behavior in the UPR. The graph below depicts the 26 states who offered 500 recommendations or more. In general, this group is a mixture of established Western democracies and some more recent democracies in Latin America and Eastern Europe. More recent democracies may participate in the UPR process to signal their commitment to human rights.[35] Algeria, Egypt, and Malaysia stand out as the most frequent non-democratic participants.

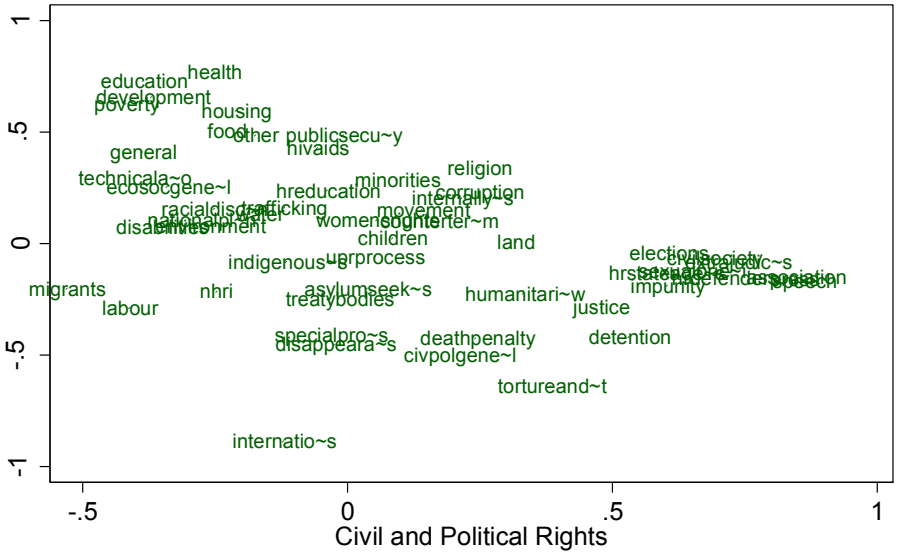
Figure 3: Most Frequent Sender Countries



Using factor analysis, we can see whether states systematically highlight different themes in the UPR generally. I created a dataset with individual sender countries as the unit of analysis, and observations for the proportion of a countries' total recommendations that fits a particular human right issue (of the original 54 categories). The sample is limited to the 104 countries that offered at least 100 recommendations, given that proportions are only meaningful when based on a reasonably large sample.

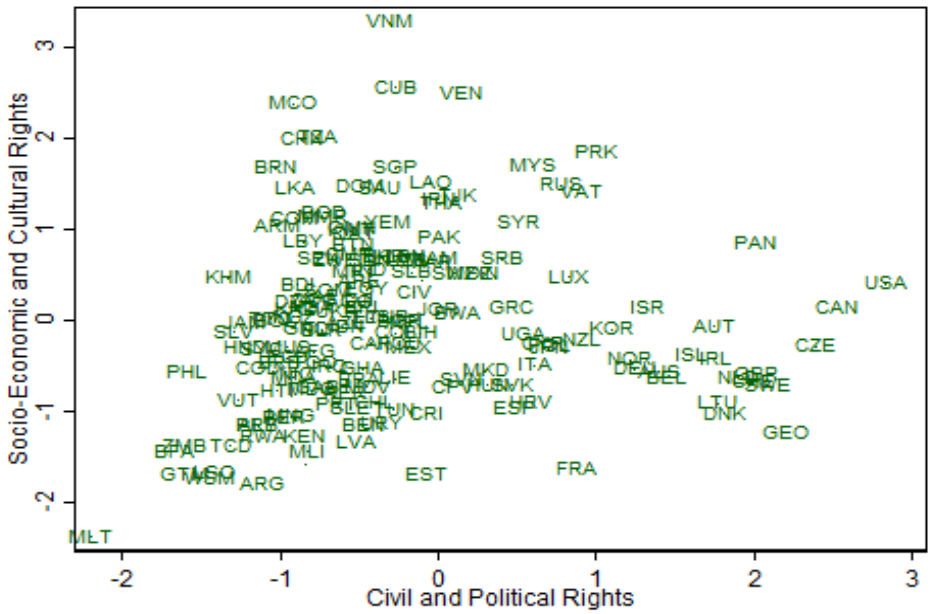
[35] Moravcsik 2000; Risse and Sikkink 2013; Simmons 2009.

Figure 4: Factor Loadings for Sender Countries



Rotation: orthogonal varimax
Method: principal-component factors

Figure 5: Factor Scores for Sender Countries



The data contain considerable structure. Just two factors account for 28% of the variation in the 54 indicators. Moreover, the factors have a straightforward substantive interpretation: the first factor emphasizes civil and political rights (including physical integrity rights) whereas the second factor highlights socio-economic and cultural rights, corresponding with the two major rights categories we identified above. As the factor loading plot in Figure 4 illustrates, indicators that load highly on the first factor

include the freedom of association, speech, civil society, press, extrajudicial executions, impunity, and elections. By contrast, health, education, poverty, development, housing, and food are the indicators that load highest on the second factor.

This confirms longstanding divisions among UN member states about what types of rights should be emphasized at the international level, irrespective of who the target country is. Figure 5 plots the factors scores of countries. The U.S., Canada, the UK, Lithuania, and the Czech Republic are examples of countries that heavily emphasize civil and political rights in their recommendations. Cuba, China, Vietnam, Venezuela, China, Singapore, and Saudi Arabia are examples of countries who focus on socio-economic rights when they offer recommendations. In other words, there are clearly predictable themes highlighted by different countries irrespective of the shaming target.

This is at least suggestive evidence for the fractured and contentious nature of international norm dynamics in the UPR. Contrary to some schools of thought, international human rights institutions such as the UPR are not dominated by Western states, and non-Western states do not eschew international norms altogether. Rather, states promote certain normative agendas. In this sense, some "international" norms are highly associated with certain state identities.

4 Empirical Approach

4.1 Dependent Variables

The statistical analysis of social ties proceeds in three stages. First, I conduct a preliminary examination of state participation, exploring what drives states to offer a recommendation to a specific target country in the first place. The sample consists of all dyads between states undergoing a review in a given year, and members of the United Nations (potential sender states).[36] This yields 58,224 observations of potential sender-target dyads. The dependent variable is *Recommendation*, a binary indicating that a potential sender offered a recommendation to the SuR (true in 25 percent of cases). This analysis tells us little about the key dependent variables, yet it is a necessary first step towards understanding the correlates of participation.

The second and third analyses test the hypotheses directly. The second stage examines how dyadic relationships affect the degree of severity or leniency in recommendations. Here the dependent variable is *Action* (explained above), and the unit of observation is an individual recommendation. In the third analysis, the dependent variable is a dichotomous *Response* variable, indicating whether the recommendation was accepted by the SuR. Using the same recommendation-level sample, I examine how the relation-

[36] In the regression analyses below, some targets in the UPR process, such as Palestine and the Vatican, drop out because they are not UN member states.

ship between target and sender affects the likelihood of acceptance, controlling for the issue and action involved in the recommendation.

Table 1: Summary of Statistical Analyses

Dependent Variable	**Unit of Observation**	**Relevant Actor**	**Relevant Decision**	**Operationalization**
Recommendation	Dyad – UPR Cycle (e.g. "Angola—Afghanistan, Cycle 1)	Sender Country	Whether to offer a recomendation on another country's human rights record.	A binary measure indicating whether a recommendation was issued between a potential target-sender dyad
Action	Individual Recommendation	Sender Country	How lenient or demanding to make recommendation.	A 4-point ordinal measure capturing the level of specificity entailed in recommendations. Higher values indicate more stringent demands.
Response	Individual Recommendation	Target Country	Whether to accept a given recommendation.	A binary measure indicating that a recommendation was accepted by the SuR

4.2 Explanatory Variables

The explanatory variables hold across all analyses. To test the effects of *Geopolitical Affinity* (Hypothesis 1), I estimate the absolute distance between country ideal points using votes in the United Nations General Assembly. This number was subtracted from 1, thereby transforming it into a measure of affinity.[37] Larger values represent smaller distances and thus a higher degree of ideological convergence on global issues.

To test the effects of *Arms Exports* (Hypothesis 2), I include two binary variables indicating whether the sender supplies arms to the target and vice versa, using data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute Arms Transfers Database. Likewise, to test the effects of *Aid Donor* relationships, I use two binary variables indicating whether the sender country is a donor for the target (and vice versa) using data from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

I also include a number of potentially confounding variables. One straightforward possibility is that norm-abiding states tend to shame norm-violating states. Given that geopolitical affinity and aid relationships are plausibly correlated with human rights records, the models include a measure of *Physical Integrity Rights Protections*.[38] I also introduce measures of *Democracy* culled from the latest Polity IV dataset, available

[37] Bailey, Strezhnev, and Voeten 2015.

[38] Fariss 2014.

until 2014.[39] Both variables capture difference between sender and target in order to capture relational dynamics (although all results are robust to including interactive effects between target and sender levels).

Second, all things equal, we would expect that states are more likely to offer recommendations when they have a seat on the Human Rights Council (HRC). Since states are elected to the HRC (a process that may be endogenous to the core variables of interest), I created binary variables indicating whether a target and/or sender are HRC members (*HRC Member*). In addition, potential sender states who themselves undergo a UPR in the same year may wish to be seen as participating, but might shy away from politically-sensitive commentary due to expectations of reciprocity. Although the order of UPR reviews is determined by lot, each country must undergo a review while they serve on the HRC. I thus coded whether the sender country was undergoing a review in the same year as the target (*UPR Review Sender*).

Lastly, many observers note that co-regionals face more pressure to deal tactfully with one another.[40] Shared region is strongly correlated with UN voting patterns and may thus confound relationships between the variables of interest. So I code for whether the target and sender countries come from the same region (*Co-Region*), using classifications from the Correlates of War project.

Finally, in the second and third analyses, I control for the eight thematic categories identified above. The reasoning is straightforward: some human rights issues, such as torture or genocide, may inherently call for more demanding actions. Likewise, countries may accept or reject recommendations based on the issue involved. In the third analysis, I control for *Action,* for similar reasons.

4.3 Modeling Concerns

There are likely unobserved characteristics of sender and target states that affect their propensity to send and receive recommendations. All models include fixed sender and target country effects, which control for un-modeled and stable state characteristics. Including fixed effects may obscure correlations between relatively stable country characteristics and outcomes, however, since the main variables of interest are relationship-specific, controlling for fixed country characteristics is appropriate.[41] I also include fixed effects for the year in which the UPR review was conducted to control for possible learning effects or unobserved contextual factors that shape the review process at particular times. Notably, more recommendations were made in the second round of the review process than in the first.

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[39] Marshall, Jaggers, and Gurr 2002.

[40] FIACAT 2009; McMahon 2012b; UN Watch 2009.

[41] Dyadic fixed effects are impossible in this context given that individual dyads occur at most twice in the data (and some only once).

In the first and third analysis, I present OLS estimates, but all results are qualitative similar when employing logit estimation.[42] In the first analysis, I also report the results of a negative binomial regression on the number of recommendations. In the second analysis I present ordinal probit estimates, as the categories in *Action* are unlikely to be evenly spread.[43] Finally, I include a Heckman selection model as a robustness check.

5 Results

5.1 Interstate Interactions in the UPR

States are not forced to participate in every review. Indeed, time constraints limit participations during the interactive dialogue.[44] States have a total of three minutes to make recommendations to the SuR, and only those presented orally during the working group sessions are entered into the record.[45] These constraints incentivize the SuR to solicit the input of friendly states, who eschew harsh criticism in favor of praise and positive feedback, often with the understanding of reciprocal treatment when it comes time for their own review. Indeed, as one African diplomat put it, many states view the UPR as a means to "protect" and "support" each other from criticism, especially criticism emanating from Western Europe.[46]

The statistical analysis, summarized in Table 2, confirms that observation. There are three notable findings. First, states disproportionately intervene in the reviews of states with which they share political interests or affinities. Specifically, states are more likely to offer a recommendation (1) as they move closer to the SuR in terms of *Geopolitical Affinity* (although this does not affect the number of recommendations), (2) when they have an aid relationship with the SuR (as either donor or recipient), and (3) if they share a geographic region with the SuR. Regional influences are particularly strong: with an effect of 13 percentage points. Indeed, in most reviews, the regional grouping most represented is the group to which the SuR belongs.[47] Although there is no significant effect of military transfers, the overall patterns validate the suspicion that states disproportionately participate in the reviews of "friendly" states in order to signal their support.

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[42] While political scientists typically use logit or probit models to analyze data with binary dependent variables, OLS generally yields superior estimates of marginal effects in the context of dependent data and where the outcome of interest is not a rare event. Beck 2015.

[43] OLS results are consistent with the ordered probit. See Appendix A.

[44] Resolution 5/1 on Institution-building of the HRC instructs that the review should "not be overly long." A/HRC/RES/5/1 paragraph 3(i).

[45] McMahon 2012b, 13.

[46] Ibid., 16.

[47] FIACAT 2009, 26.

Table 2: Determinants of Participation in the UPR

VARIABLES	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) # of Recs
Geopolitical Affinity	0.06***	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Arms Exports (Target to Sender)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	-0.11
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.09)
Arms Exports (Sender to Target	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.02)	0.02)	(0.02)	(0.07)
Aid Donor (Target to Sender)	0.05***	0.04***	0.04***	0.06***	0.33***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.04)
Aid Donor (Sender to Target)	0.14***	0.13***	0.13***	0.12***	0.33***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)
HRC Member (Target)		0.00	0.00	0.01	0.10***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.04)
HRC Member (Sender)		0.09***	0.09***	0.08***	0.51***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)
HRC Member (Both)		0.01	0.01	0.02**	-0.17***
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)
UPR Review (Sender)		0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.08***
		(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.02)
Same Region		0.13***	0.13***	0.15***	0.69***
		(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.02)
Physical Integrity Rights Protections (Sender minus Target)			0.01	0.01*	
			(0.01)	(0.01)	
Democracy (Sender minus Target)				0.00	
				(0.00)	
Constant	1.02***	0.79***	0.79***	0.79***	0.85***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.17)
Observations	57,539	57,539	57,491	39,482	39,482
R-squared	0.41	0.43	0.43	0.41	

*Standard errors in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

A good illustration is Tunisia's 2008 review. Of the 64 states that spoke during the interactive dialogue, over 50 used their time to congratulate Tunisia on its human rights performance. Japan, a donor, called it a model of democracy. France, another donor, delicately avoiding sensitive issues of torture or freedom of expression. Nearly half of the participants belonged to the Organization of the Islamic Conference, whose

members tend to act in concert in UN institutions.[48] Tunisia is hardly unique in this regard; many reviews read like tribute as opposed to opprobrium.

Second, there is some evidence of institutional effects. Countries sitting on the HRC are more likely to participate, as well as countries that are undergoing a review during the same year. Given sender fixed effects and the fact that the timing of UPR reviews is random, the latter effect could be interpreted as causal. As above, it is plausible that states are motivated to participate with the aim of shielding others from harsh criticism, thus ensuring their own protection by virtue of reciprocity. Differences in human rights or democracy levels between potential sender and target states do not correlate with participation.

Together, the results suggest that states often participate not to shame their peers but rather to protect them. Given that the number of states able to participate in the interactive dialogue is limited, the positive intervention of so many "friendly states" may amount to a reciprocal strategy aimed at avoiding harsh criticism.[49] These findings confirm that offering a recommendation is not necessarily equivalent to shaming, and that the real action lies in *how*, not *whether*, states interact in the UPR.

5.2 Determinants of Demands

The second analysis concerns the degree of severity in UPR recommendations. I present four ordered probit models revealing the effects of dyadic relationships on severity, conditional on participation, summarized in Table 3. Figure 3 presents average marginal effects with respect to the most demanding type of recommendation (based on the first model). The results generally support the hypotheses: all else equal, states tend to be more lenient on their political, military, and security partners.

First, states tend to take a softer stance with geopolitical friends (H1A). In all models, *Geopolitical Affinity* is statistically significant and substantively negative, suggesting that, conditional on making a recommendation, states grow more lenient as the SuR moves closer in UNGA voting space. Inversely, states are more demanding towards their ideological adversaries. Notably, this is true even when controlling for the specific human rights issue at stake.

There is also evidence that states are less demanding if they export military arms or donate development aid to the SuR (H2A). In all models, *Arms Exporter (Sender to Target)* is negative and significant, suggesting that arms exporters are less demanding toward their client when they comment. Similarly, the *Aid Donor (Sender to Target)* is negative and significant across all models, confirming the hypothesis that donors are lenient towards their aid recipients. As for the *receivers* of military arms and aid, the evidence is mixed on their shaming behavior towards their patrons. While *Arms Exporter*

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid., 27.

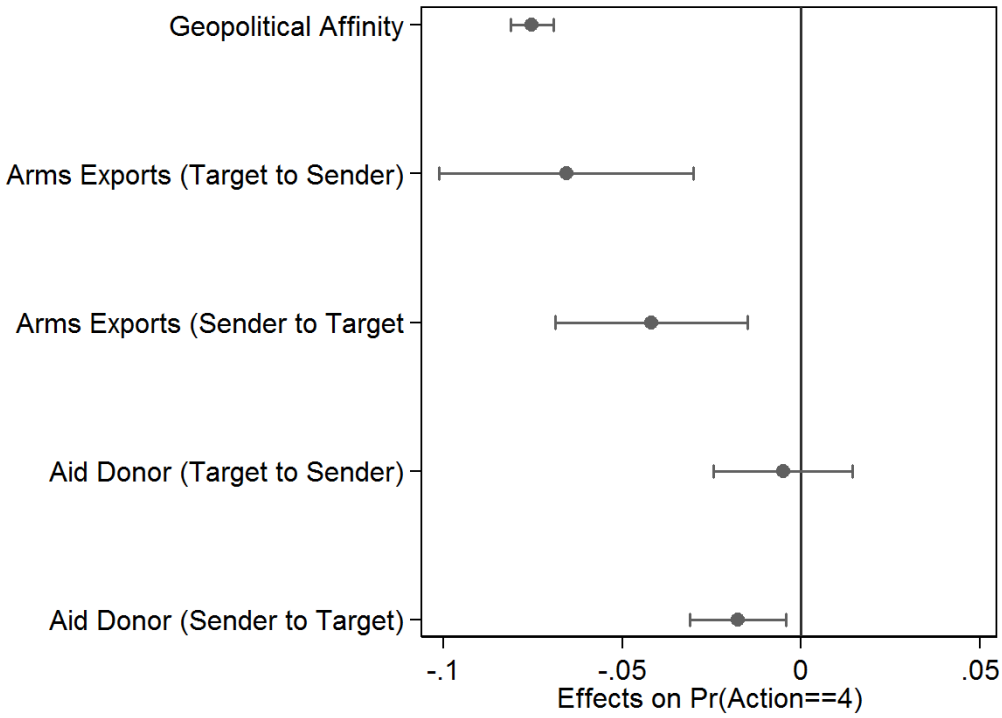
(Target to Sender) is negative and significant across all models, the coefficient *Aid Donor (Target to Sender)* is only significant in one model.

Table 3: Ordered Probit Analysis of Determinants of Recommendation Severity

VARIABLES	(1) *Action*	(2) *Action*	(3) *Action*	(4) *Action*
Women, Children & Trafficking	-0.15***	-0.15***	-0.15***	-0.16***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Physical Integrity Rights	0.37***	0.37***	0.37***	0.37***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Justice	-0.06***	-0.06***	-0.06***	-0.08***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Speech & Political Participation	-0.17***	-0.17***	-0.17***	-0.17***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Race, Ethnic, & Religious Discrimination	-0.16***	-0.16***	-0.16***	-0.20***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Migration	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Socio-Economic Rights	-0.42***	-0.42***	-0.42***	-0.40***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Vulnerable Populations	0.16***	0.17***	0.17***	0.19***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Geopolitical Affinity	-0.25***	-0.24***	-0.24***	-0.29***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Arms Exports (Target to Sender)	-0.21***	-0.22***	-0.21***	-0.21***
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Arms Exports (Sender to Target	-0.14***	-0.14***	-0.13***	-0.12***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Aid Donor (Target to Sender)	-0.02	-0.02	-0.02	-0.07**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Aid Donor (Sender to Target)	-0.06***	-0.06**	-0.06**	-0.06**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
HRC Member (Target)		-0.07***	-0.08***	-0.07**
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
HRC Member (Sender)		0.04**	0.04**	0.01
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
HRC Member (Both)		0.08***	0.08***	0.08***
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
UPR Review (Sender)		-0.00	-0.00	-0.01
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Same Region		-0.02	-0.02	0.01
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Physical Integrity Rights Protections (Sender minus Target)			0.06**	0.09***
			(0.03)	(0.03)
Democracy (Sender minus Target)				0.03***
				(0.01)
Constant cut1	-1.46***	-1.45***	-1.44***	-1.34***
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Constant cut2	-0.11	-0.09	-0.09	0.04
	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Constant cut3	0.16	0.18	0.18	0.29**
	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Observations	39,575	39,575	39,575	33,367

Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 6: Marginal Effects of Relational Variables on *Action*



One interpretation for these patterns is that countries may be signaling their commitment to a security and/or economic relationship, above any human rights concerns. Consider, for example, when the Obama administration approved $1.3 billion in military aid to Egypt following Sisi's crackdown on dissenters. The move attracted widespread scrutiny, with journalist Glenn Greenwald bemoaning that the administration "lavished the regime with aid, money and weapons" while ignoring it repression.[50] In fact, Secretary of State John Kerry did address Egypt's human rights issues while announcing the renewed military relationship, but only obliquely, and in a series of platitudes as he sat next to his Egyptian counterpart in a joint press conference. As the *New York Times* put it, Kerry was signaling that American officials "would not let their concerns with human rights stand in the way of increased security cooperation with Egypt."[51]

There is some evidence that recommendations are harsher on average if the sender has a better rights record or is more democratic than the target.[52] Despite these

[50] Greenwald 2015.

[51] Gordon and Kirkpatrick 2015.

[52] This result confirms descriptive findings by McMahon (2012b, 16.), showing that democracies tend to make stronger demands.

caveats, however, the overall pattern remains clear: countries tend to be softer on those with whom they share political, security, and material interests.

5.3 Responses to Shaming

The third analysis explores the conditions in which states accept recommendations. I estimated four OLS models that regress the explanatory variables on the *Response* measure in order to see how dyadic relationships influence the likelihood of recommendation acceptance. The results provide strong evidence that states in the UPR will vary their reaction to shaming according to their relationship with the shamer.

As predicted by Hypotheses 1B, states are more likely to accept recommendations coming from ideological sympathizers. Recipient states are seven percentage points more likely to accept a recommendation as the sender state moves one standard deviation in its UN voting pattern, even after controlling for substantive characteristics of the recommendation and the action-level required.[53] In addition, recipients are seven percentage points more likely to accept recommendations from suppliers of arms and three percentage points for an aid donor (H2B).

Unsurprisingly, states are more likely to accept those recommendations that involve vague or congratulatory language over those involving specific demands. Similarly, states appear to more open to some issues than others. Namely, recommendations relating to "*Women, Children & Trafficking*" are 10 percentage points more likely to be accepted than the default category. Those involving "*Socio-economic Rights"* also appear to be amenable to states. In contrast, recommendations involving "*Physical Integrity Rights*" and "*Migration*" (involving citizenship/refugee issues) are less appealing, even when controlling for the level of specificity in recommended actions. One explanation could be the nature of these issues vis-à-vis state culpability. Recommendations concerning socio-economic rights and women/children/trafficking issues tend to concern state capacity, which provokes less defensiveness than those directly condemning state actors as the violators of such rights.

There is some evidence that states are more likely to accept recommendations when the sender state has a better human rights record than they do. However, the effect for democracy runs in the opposite direction. Thus it remains unclear the degree to which superior moral uprightness or credibility translates into influence.

These patterns notwithstanding, the results confirm the importance of political relationships in states' receptivity to shaming. Two recommendations that address identical human rights violations, while making similar demands, can land with very different reactions depending on the source.

[53] The ideal points have mean zero and standard deviation one.

Table 4: Determinants of SuR Response

VARIABLES	(1) *Response*	(2) *Response*	(3) *Response*	(4) *Response*
Action = 2	0.05***	-0.05***	0.05***	-0.06***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Action = 3	0.27***	-0.26***	0.26***	-0.28***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Action = 4	0.27***	-0.27***	0.27***	-0.27***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Women, Children & Trafficking	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***	0.10***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Physical Integrity Rights	0.06***	-0.07***	0.07***	-0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Justice	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Speech & Political Participation	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Race, Ethnic, & Religious Discrimination	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Migration	0.07***	-0.07***	0.07***	-0.08***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Socio-Economic Rights	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Vulnerable Populations	0.03***	-0.03***	0.03***	-0.03***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Geopolitical Affinity	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.08***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Arms Exports (Target to Sender)	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Arms Exports (Sender to Target	0.07***	0.07***	0.07***	0.06***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Aid Donor (Target to Sender)	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Aid Donor (Sender to Target)	0.03***	0.03***	0.03***	0.02***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
HRC Member (Target)		0.02**	0.02*	0.00
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
HRC Member (Sender)		0.00	0.00	0.00
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
HRC Member (Both)		-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01
		(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
UPR Review (Sender)		0.00	0.01	0.00
		(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Same Region		-0.01*	-0.01*	-0.01*
		(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Physical Integrity Rights Protections (Sender minus Target)			0.03***	0.10***
			(0.01)	(0.02)
Democracy (Sender minus Target)				0.02***
				(0.00)
Constant	1.07***	1.07***	1.07***	-1.31***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.06)
Observations	37,050	39,575	39,575	33,367
R-squared	0.33	0.33	0.33	0.34

*Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

5.4 Robustness Tests

I conduct two main checks on the robustness of these findings. First, the latter two analyses – on *Action* and *Response* – may be influenced by selection bias, because states may only offer recommendations in the first place if they are likely to be less demanding or accepted by the SuR. As a robustness check, I estimated Heckman selection models on the dyadic sample used in the first analysis on state participation (see Table 2). Because many states offered multiple recommendations, it was necessary to aggregate recommendations per observation. The Heckman models include mean levels of action required and the proportion of recommendations accepted as the relevant dependent variables in the outcome equation. Whether a sender state undergoes a UPR review the same year is theoretically and empirically related to increased participation, but not to the levels of action required or likelihood of the acceptance. I implemented the two-step Heckman estimator as the full maximum likelihood model did not converge when all fixed effects were included in the model.

There is evidence of selection bias for the models on the response of states, but not on the action required. Still, for the most part, the main coefficients of interests maintained their substantive and statistical significance. The one exception is in the analysis of *Response,* wherein the model controlling for *Physical Integrity Rights Protections* (model 4.3) exhibited a coefficient on *Aid Donor (Sender to Target)* that barely misses the standard significance cutoff (.06).

Second, I replicated the third analysis on *Response* for each issue area. The core hypotheses hold for recommendations concerning women, children and trafficking, as well as physical integrity rights, the two most common recommendations. The effect of *Geopolitical Affinity* remains large, positive, and significant in all policy areas; recommendations are much more likely to be accepted if they come from ideological affiliates. The effects of *Arms Exports (Sender to Target)* are large and significant for the most sensitive issues, including physical integrity rights, justice and racial/religious discrimination. However, both the *Aid Donor (Sender to Target)* and *Arms Exports (Sender to Target)* coefficients are not significant in all issue areas. All tables for robustness checks are included in Appendix 1.

6 Implications and Conclusions

By highlighting the role of social ties, this chapter presented evidence revealing the deeply political character of norm dynamics in the UPR. The empirical findings demonstrate that governments are more lenient on states with which they share geopolitical affinity and material interests. But when they *do* criticize, their condemnation is better received by the SuR. This suggests that interstate shaming is conditional on preexisting relationships, and that its efficacy is determined at least in part on social bonds.

The results are, of course, limited in a number of ways. I analyzed only two types of political relationships – ideology and economic/security dependence – ignoring oth-

ers such as trade, religious identity or colonial cleavages. And the UPR is not representative of every instance of interstate shaming. These caveats notwithstanding, the findings suggest the importance of relational ties in mediating the shaming process. While I have not explored the material consequences of the UPR – that is, whether or not states implement the recommendations directed at them – the findings here should be considered alongside chapters 5 and 6 that document the long-term impact of shaming/defiance in finer detail.

The results also raise new questions concerning the nature of "politicization" in norm dynamics. Predominate theories of norm compliance (and divergence) largely depend on an outdated model of shame production, one that obfuscates the relational dynamics driving this process. In the conventional view, the introduction of political interests or affinities is an inherently corrupting influence. And yet, in the UPR, these political relationships contribute the very mechanism by which social pressure drive behavioral outcomes. Indeed, with the exception of a few pariah states that have alienated themselves from nearly all states, shame is typically the result of specific political relationships and not necessarily a reflection of discordance with the international community writ large. So, to the extent that institutions such as the UPR promote human rights compliance, it is likely because of these political dynamics, not in spite of them.

On the other hand, the influence of this "politicization" is normatively ambiguous. Saudi Arabia, for instance, may indeed improve human rights behavior following protest from allies. But it may also be emboldened to continue abusing human rights an account of its allies' acquiescence. Likewise, states may be driven to defy international norms following criticism from their enemies. I do not suggest that "politicization" is normatively desirable; simply that it is empirically integral to the shaming process, for better or worse. Future chapters explore that inherent ambivalence in greater detail.

Chapter 4 Shame and Stigma:
Islamophobia and Women's Rights in U.S. News Coverage

To review the argument thus far, I propose that international shaming should be understood as a relational social interaction, the dynamics of which mediate shaming's impact on state behavior. I have suggested that shaming is more likely to result in defiance when it is targeted at a poorly bonded state, lacks credibility, or is stigmatizing. The previous chapter explored the role of social ties. It also discussed bias by revealing the ways in which political interests enter the decision-making of state delegations in the UPR.

This chapter concerns the role of stigmatization in the shaming process. Human rights are premised on the principles of peace, tolerance, and respect. How, then, can human rights discourse be stigmatizing to an entire group? In Chapter 2, I posited a distinction between shaming that is reintegrative versus stigmatizing. Reintegrative shaming points to instances in which a state fails to live up to its identity and commitments, framing a violation as the result of political context or historically contingent developments. Stigmatized shaming, on the other hand, frames norm-offense as constitutive of a state's identity, diagnosing violations as symptoms of cultural, religious, or ideological pathology. Here, shaming is likely to provoke defiance because it is interpreted as being driven by hostile motives.

The difference between stigmatic v. reintegrative shaming is found at the level of discourse, framing, and tone. How, then, can we observe, measure, and compare "stigma" across cases? This chapter contributes a potential solution using American media reports of global women's rights. Human rights scholars have long recognized the importance of media coverage to human rights discourse, driving a number of recent quantitative studies.[1] I take this research one step further by systematically evaluating both the *distribution* (why are some cases covered more than others?) as well as the *substance* (how are some cases covered compared to others?). I do this by employing novel computational text analysis methods on new data from 35 years of *New York Times* and *Washington Post* reporting on the situation of women abroad.

[1] Clark 2012; Cole 2010; Hafner-Burton and Ron 2012; Heinze and Freedman 2010; Joshi and O'Dell 2016; Ramos, Ron, and Thoms 2007.

I argue that American media coverage stigmatizes Muslims in their coverage of women abroad. Drawing on the theory of gendered orientalism, I provide evidence for two main findings. First, statistical analysis reveals that Muslim women (i.e. women from Muslim and/or Middle Eastern societies) are more likely to appear in the U.S. press if they live in societies with poor records of women's rights, while non-Muslim women are more likely to appear if their rights are respected. This suggests a kind of confirmation bias, whereby Muslim women are considered newsworthy to the extent that they suffer from discrimination. Second, U.S. news media tend to frame reporting about women in Muslim societies around the specific issue of women's rights and gender discrimination, at the expense of other issues. This framing is biased on two accounts. There is an intergroup bias because the issue of gender discrimination is more prevalent in stories about Muslim societies than non-Muslim societies. In addition, there is an interreality bias in the sense that this differential remains even after controlling for the material status of women in the reported country. In other words, stories about women in Muslim countries are more likely to feature content about systemic gender inequality, even for countries will relatively good records of women's rights. There is also evidence to suggest this bias has grown more severe in the post-9/11 era.

Together, the findings suggest that American media stigmatizes Muslims in their coverage of women's rights abroad by propagating the stereotype that Muslims are uniquely or particularly sexist. I speculate that such media portrayals drive a number of political outcomes, including American public opinion of Muslim-Americans as well as perceptions of gender equality within the Muslim community. Although it does not tackle media effects directly, this chapter contributes a substantial and necessarily piece of the puzzle by identifying a key mechanism whereby shaming via media reports stigmatizes certain groups.

1 Islamophobia and Gendered Orientalism

Following the topical themes in this dissertation, this chapter considers shaming targeted at the Muslim world. In the last three decades, a large theoretical literature has developed critiquing Western media coverage of human rights in Muslim contexts. Much of this scholarship is indebted to Edward Said's groundbreaking *Orientalism*, which posited that historical Western representations of the 'Orient' were structured by Manichean binaries separating the civilized 'West' from the barbaric 'East' in an effort to establish Western cultural superiority. Since 9/11, the theory has undergone a significant revival, driven by scholars who see 'neo-orientalism' at work in the War on Terror and related political developments.

One of the most insidious aspects of orientalism concerns representations of gender relations, or what is referred to as gendered orientalism. Perhaps even more than terrorism, portrayals of Muslim women work to stigmatize Muslims as a cultural

threat to Western values of freedom, tolerance, and equality. This basic insight has inspired a large body of work critiquing U.S. media coverage of women in Muslim and Middle Eastern societies.[2] While the literature spans multiple disciplines, theoretical approaches, and empirical territory, scholars converge on three modal claims.

First, American media discourse is purportedly obsessed with Muslim women's oppression, for which the veil is the ultimate symbol and case in point.[3] Popular media outlets portray Middle Eastern and Muslim societies as uniquely or particularly misogynistic, especially compared to Western countries.[4] This misogyny is ascribed to Islam and/or Arab culture, which is presented as inherently sexist and discriminatory against women.[5] According to the theory, not only is this narrative simplistic and sensationalist, it conflicts with the reality of women's lives insofar as it inaccurately portrays the degree and cause of Muslim women's suffering.[6] Furthermore, it denies women's agency by reducing their lives to a totalizing oppression,[7] while demonizing Muslim, Arab, and Middle Eastern men as barbaric and cruel.[8]

Second, American media discourse tends to compare the lives of Muslim women to those of Western women, who are portrayed, by contrast, as liberated and free of sexist constraints.[9] This dichotomy justifies a rescue mission by which Western feminists must "save" Muslim women from their oppressive religion (i.e. Islam), culture, or traditions.[10] The "savior" narrative has been heavily denounced as paternalistic and imperialist.[11]

Third, the need to "save" Muslim women, bolstered by American media portrayals, is often used to justify undesirable political projects at home and abroad.[12] The increased coverage of Afghan women post-9/11 is an oft-cited case in point,[13] but scholars have also looked to historical cases in which footbinding, female genital mutilation, and sati were used to legitimize colonialism.[14] One implication is that U.S. media coverage of Muslim women is closely related to public policies that concern Muslims generally, both at home and abroad.

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[2] Abu-Lughod 2001; Charrad 2011.
[3] Ahmad 2009; Macdonald 2006.
[4] Kumar 2012; Razack 2004.
[5] Ahmad 2009; Bahramitash 2005; Razack 2004; Volpp 2000.
[6] Abu-Lughod 2013; Razack 2008.
[7] Mahmood 2011; Scott 2009.
[8] Bhattacharyya 2008; Puar 2007.
[9] Yegenoglu 1998.
[10] Abu-Lughod 2002.
[11] Ibid.; Cooke 2002; Mohanty 2003.
[12] Abu-Lughod 2010; Maira 2009; Razack 2008.
[13] Cloud 2004; Fowler 2013; Hirschkind and Mahmood 2002; Klaus and Kassel 2005; Shepherd 2006; Stabile and Kumar 2005.
[14] Mani 1987; Teng 1996; Wade 2009.

In short, gendered orientalism concludes that American media coverage cast Muslim as uniquely or particularly misogynistic, which reinforce stereotypes of Muslims generally as uncivilized, barbaric, and a cultural threat to Western values. But while rising to the level of common sense in some disciplines, the argument is treated with suspicion in others, perhaps due to the literature's general prioritization of theoretical innovation over empirical findings. Notwithstanding a number of rich qualitative studies, we have yet to see an empirical analysis that is able to test these claims against a large dataset.

2 Hypotheses and Data

2.1 Hypotheses

If the gendered orientalism argument were true – that is, if American media really did stigmatize Muslims in their portrayals of Muslim women – how would we know? This section derives two falsifiable hypotheses from the theory. The first concerns the discursive binary separating oppressed Muslim women from their freer non-Muslim counterparts. Few scholars of gendered orientalism would deny the existence of women's rights violations in Middle Eastern or Muslim societies. But they would argue that such violations tend to be noticed more often in Muslim societies than elsewhere, especially compared to Western countries, which are more or less assumed to have achieved gender justice. In this way, American media are influenced by the stereotype that Muslim and Middle Eastern countries are uniquely or especially sexist, and perpetuate that stereotype via confirmation bias, "seeing" violations in some societies and ignoring it elsewhere.

This implies a testable hypothesis concerning the distribution of attention in U.S. reporting of women abroad. Among stories of Muslim women, I hypothesize that those living in countries with poor women's rights records are overrepresented in U.S. news coverage, while the opposite is true for non-Muslim women.[15] In other words, there should be an inverse relationship between women's rights protections and the quantity of news coverage about women in Muslim versus non-Muslim countries. I call this the *confirmation bias* hypothesis, because it involves the tendency for media to report information confirming the stereotype that Muslim women suffer from gender discrimination, while disproportionately giving less attention to alternative possibilities.

[15] Throughout this chapter, I use the phrase 'Muslim women' as shorthand to refer to women living in Muslim-majority or Middle Eastern countries. I do not presume to know these women's religious identity. Due the predominate associations in American consciousness, however, I assume these women are 'read' as Muslim by American readers. Nevertheless, as a robustness check, I use three different metrics throughout the analysis corresponding to Muslim demographics or the geographic region of the country of interest. See below for details.

> ***Hypothesis 1*** *There is an interactive effect between women's status and Muslim demographics in the allocation of U.S. news coverage of women abroad. Women's status is negatively correlated with the quantity of stories about Muslim women, but positively correlated with stories about non-Muslim women.*

While the first hypothesis has to do with *quantity* of coverage, a second possible mechanism concerns the *framing* of such coverage. According to the theory, not only are Muslim women more likely to make the news if they live in a country that discriminates against them, their entire lives are reduced to this supposed inequality.[16] Even women who live in relatively egalitarian societies will be portrayed as oppressed, if they are Muslim. Non-Muslim women, on the other hand, will be reported in higher dimensions and with more complexity.

This, too, generates a testable hypothesis. Coverage of women can assume a variety of content, from rights and equality to sports, fashion, politics, etc. If we believe the gender orientalist argument, however, we would expect coverage of Muslim women to feature a more concentrated discussion of women's rights and gender inequality, compared to coverage of non-Muslim women. We would also expect this differential to be driven by bias, not the reality of women's rights and gender discrimination on the ground.

> ***Hypothesis 2*** *U.S. news coverage of women in Muslim and Middle Eastern countries will feature a higher prevalence of content related to "women's rights and gender discrimination," relative to other topics, compared to non-Muslim and non-Middle Eastern countries, even when controlling for the material status of women's political, social, and economic rights.*

In other words, if we compare two countries with equivalent records of women's rights, one Muslim and one not, U.S. news coverage will focus more on women's rights in the Muslim case. I label this the *reduction* hypothesis, since it claims that women in some countries are reduced to their (lack of) rights. The next section describes the data used to test these two hypotheses.

2.2 Data

The primary data used in this study consists of all articles about women in non-U.S. countries, published in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, 1980–2014. Clearly, the inferences drawn from this data cannot be straightforwardly applied to American media writ large. With that reservation, however, there are three reasons to value this sample. First, the 35-year range includes enough temporal variation to validly test the hypotheses raised above; few other outlets cover that great a time period. Second,

[16] Abu-Lughod 2013; Ryan 2011.

these two outlets are often considered "papers of record," i.e. the most prominent, accurate, and influential of U.S. news outlets. Other media outlets, including print and television news, rely on the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* for their reporting.[17] Lastly, and importantly, these sources constitute a "hard test" of the hypotheses by virtue of their sober, and relatively liberal, reputation. We would expect to find anti-Muslim stereotypes in more sensationalist media outlets, and those with a more conservative outlook.[18]

Using the LexisNexis database, I downloaded all articles containing the subject term "women" from these two outlets during the specified time period. Subject terms are derived from LexisNexis's SmartIndexing technology, which applies controlled vocabulary terms for different taxonomies such as subject, geographic region, language, etc. In addition to subject, documents are assigned country terms along with a relevance score that calculates how important or salient each country is to a document. Scores of 85 percent or higher indicate a major term. I assign each article to a single country using its most salient country term, if that term has a relevance score of 85 percent or higher. Articles with missing major country terms were discarded.[19] Because this study explores how U.S. media represent women abroad, I discarded all articles that were primarily about the United States. The final sample includes 4531 documents: 3726 from the New York Times and 805 from the Washington Post.

These data were then aggregated into a country-year data set, with each document assigned to an observation based on the year in which it was published and the country it most concerned. The country-year data set includes all current and historic U.N. states, plus Palestine but excluding the United States, for a total of 199 countries and 6448 observations. County-years were assigned a regional classification loosely based on Hafner-Burton and Ron's six regional groupings: Powerful West (West) with 28 countries; Asia (Asia) with 33 countries, including Pakistan; Latin America (LA) with 33 countries; the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) with 22 countries, including Afghanistan; Sub-Saharan Africa (Africa), with 46 countries; and the Eastern Europe / Central Asia (EECA) with 31 countries.[20]

These regional groupings used in this study generally conform to the United Nations' regional classification, with some exceptions. First, former countries are assigned to regions based on where their current territorial manifestations are classified. Second, due to ambiguity surrounding whether Pakistan and Afghanistan are part of the Middle East or Asia, I decided to code these countries based on their assignment in most

[17] Schraeder and Endless 1998.

[18] Public opinion data demonstrate that views towards of Muslims are divided among party lines, with Republicans having a more negative opinion. See Telhami 2015.

[19] Some articles contained more than one major country term; in these cases, I took the term with the highest relevance score. These cases accounted for only 9 per cent of the corpus.

[20] Hafner-Burton and Ron 2012.

U.S. higher education area studies programs, with Afghanistan going in MENA and Pakistan in Asia, as these assignments generally reflect the location of these nations in U.S. popular consciousness. Finally, the Powerful West is a region that Hafner-Burton and Ron include in their study and that I agree is important given the theoretical argument we wish to test. This region includes advanced industrialized countries of North American and Western Europe, along with three highly developed countries in Asia and the Middle East – Australia, Israel and New Zealand.

3 Testing Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis concerns the distribution of U.S. media attention towards women abroad. When discussing the world's women, which societies are more or less likely to be covered? Here, the dependent variable (likelihood of coverage) is operationalized in two ways. The first is a simple binary, *Reported (Binary)* indicating whether a country-year observation featured at least one article in the sample (true in 1451 cases). The second measure, *Reported (Count),* is a count indicating the total number of articles about women for that observation.

Hypothesis 1 claims that the effect of women's rights on the likelihood of coverage is conditional on whether the unit of observation is a Muslim or Middle East country. Thus an interaction term is necessary for the model.[21] The mediating variable (whether the observation is a Muslim or Middle Eastern country) is operationalized in three ways: *Percentage Muslim* captures the Muslim percentage of a population according to research by the Pew Research Center.[22] *Muslim Majority* is a binary indicating whether the Percentage Muslim is 50 per cent or above. *MENA* is a binary indicating whether a country is included in the Middle East and North Africa regional classification described above. I estimate models with all three measures to ensure that my results are robust to alternative measures.

Estimating the material condition of women's rights and gender equality is problematic due to conceptual difficulties.[23] While recognizing the limitations of such a measure, I rely on the popular Cingranelli-Richards Rights Index (CIRI), which culls data from the U.S. State Department's annual human rights country reports.[24] CIRI offers

[21] Clearly, respect for women's rights is itself affected by whether the observation is a Muslim or MENA country. However, tests using variance inflation factors indicate that collinearity was not a problem in the models; furthermore, the results are robust across a number of specifications.

[22] Pew Research Center 2011.

[23] Peksen 2011.

[24] Of course, the U.S. State Department reports may themselves be biased. But this bias makes my findings even more revealing, because we would expect that U.S. news media follow a commensurate understanding of "women's rights" with that used by the U.S. State Department. In other words, the following

three variables capturing the notion of women's rights as they are effected in law and practice: *Women's Economic Rights*, *Women's Political Rights*, and *Women's Social Rights*.[25] Each variable is an ordinal variable ranging from 0 (indicating that women's rights were not guaranteed by law during a given year) to 3 (indicating that women's rights were guaranteed in both law and practice.) The composite variable *Women's Rights Index* estimates the overall situation of women's rights by taking the mean of these three indicators for each observation.

I include a number of controls that may affect the likelihood of coverage. First, a straightforward alternative explanation suggests that reporting about women is proportional to general news coverage. The variable *Country Reports* records the number of articles that appear in the *New York Times* reporting on particular country-year, including those that are unrelated to the subject "women." We would expect coverage about women to be highly correlated with overall coverage for a given country-year.

On the other hand, reporting about women may exhibit special features that make it different from general reporting. Journalists may treat stories about women as "softer" news, requiring more personal interviews and field research than "hard" news items. One implication is that reporters may find it especially difficult to report on women in authoritarian countries, which tend to restrict freedoms of speech, assembly, and the press. To account for this possibility, I include a *Democracy* variable from the Polity IV dataset's Polity2 index, which is constructed by subtracting the 10-point autocracy index that measures the autocratic features from the 10-point democracy index

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results shows U.S. news media are disproportionately focused on women from Muslim societies, even when accounting for a U.S.-centric understanding of women's rights.

[25] The *Women's Political Rights* variable include the following rights: "The right to vote; the right to run for political office; the right to hold elected and appointed government positions; the right to join political parties; the right to petition government officials." *Women's Social Rights* includes: "The right to equal inheritance; the right to enter into marriage on a basis of equality with men; the right to travel abroad; the right to obtain a passport; the right to confer citizenship to children or a husband; the right to initiate a divorce; the right to own, acquire, manage, and retain property brought into marriage; the right to participate in social, cultural, and community activities; the right to an education; the freedom to choose a residence/domicile; freedom from female genital mutilation of children and adults without their consent; freedom from forced sterilization." *Women's Economic Rights* is coded based on the following: "Equal pay for equal work; free choice of profession or employment without the need to obtain a husband or male relative's consent; the right to gainful employment without the need to obtain a husband or male relative's consent; equality in hiring and promotion practices; job security (maternity leave, unemployment benefits, no arbitrary firing or layoffs, etc.); non-discrimination by employers; the right to be free from sexual harassment in the workplace; the right to work at night; the right to work in occupations classified as dangerous; the right to work in the military and police force." The *Women's Political Rights* and *Women's Economic Rights* variables are only available to 2011. *The Women's Social Rights* variable is only available to 2004. For more details see Cingranelli and Richards 2012.

that identifies the democratic characteristics of a polity.[26] Therefore, *Democracy* ranges from –10 (most autocratic) to +10 (most democratic).

Journalists may also find it difficult to report on countries that are mired in domestic turmoil and violence. I include a variable *Instability* culled from the Banks Cross-National Time Series Data Archive composite index of political instability, which encompasses multiple indicators including riots, antigovernment protests, guerrilla attacks, general strikes, purges, government crises, and assassinations. Higher values denote greater levels of political unrest and violence. Finally, I include controls for *GDP per capita* (logged) using World Bank Development Indicators and *Population* (logged) using data from the United Nations. The rationale is that journalists find it easier to report about women in rich, populous countries, where they can conduct field research and/or interviews.

I use statistical models that account for the cross-national time-series structure of the data. Because the panel data are highly correlated, I use generalized estimating equations.[27] When modeling the dependent variable using *Reporting (Binary)*, I use a probit regression. When modeling the dependent variable using *Reported (Count)*, I use a negative binomial regression since this variable consists of over-dispersed counts.[28] To deal with heteroskedasticity, all estimates use Huber-White corrected robust standard errors clustered on country. Time-variant independent and control variables are lagged by one year to mitigate simultaneity issues and lessen any incorrect direction of inference. I also include a lagged dependent variable to correct for serial correlation.[29] The results are summarized in Tables 1 and 2.

The models provide strong support for Hypothesis 1. All three interaction terms are statistically significant and negative, suggesting that the effect of *Women's Rights Index* differs across Muslim (MENA) and non-Muslim (non-MENA) countries. To help interpret these results, Figure 1 visualizes the marginal effect of *Women's Rights* on *Reported (Count)* for each of the three Muslim/MENA-related variables.[30] For stories about Muslim/MENA countries, *Women's Rights Index* is negative correlated with *Reported (Count),* meaning that rights-violating countries are overrepresented in this subsample. In contrast, *Women's Rights Index* is positively correlated with *Reported (Count)* in the non-Muslim/MENA subsample.

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[26] Marshall, Jaggers, and Gurr 2002. These data are only available to 2013.

[27] Zorn 2001.

[28] Note that a tobit is inappropriate here because coverage cannot assume negative values. See Sigelman and Zeng 1999.

[29] Lagged dependent variables risk artificially suppressing the explanatory power of other independent variables. See Achen 2000. However, this bias runs in opposition to my predictions. See Appendix B for models without this lagged DV.

[30] Results are substantively identical for probit model on the *Reported (Binary)* DV. Graphs made using code by Strezhnev 2013.

Table 5: Probit Analysis of U.S. News Coverage of Women Abroad

	Reported (Binary)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.480***	0.479***	0.480***
	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.061)
Country Reports	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.0003)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
Women's Rights Index	0.089	0.099	0.114
	(0.066)	(0.064)	(0.069)
Muslim Majority	0.443**		
	(0.167)		
MENA		0.584**	
		(0.186)	
Muslim Percentage			0.531**
			(0.186)
Democracy	0.006	0.010*	0.007
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Instability	0.00001	0.00001	0.00001
	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)
Population	0.387***	0.386***	0.382***
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)
GDP per capita	0.131***	0.118***	0.129***
	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.024)
Women's Rights x Muslim Majority	0.380**		
	(0.128)		
Women's Rights x MENA		0.392**	
		(0.152)	
Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage			0.405**
			(0.138)
Constant	8.413***	8.328***	8.360***
	(0.450)	(0.452)	(0.448)
N	3934	3950	3934
Log Likelihood	1638.940	1644.268	1638.933
AIC	3297.881	3308.536	3297.866

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

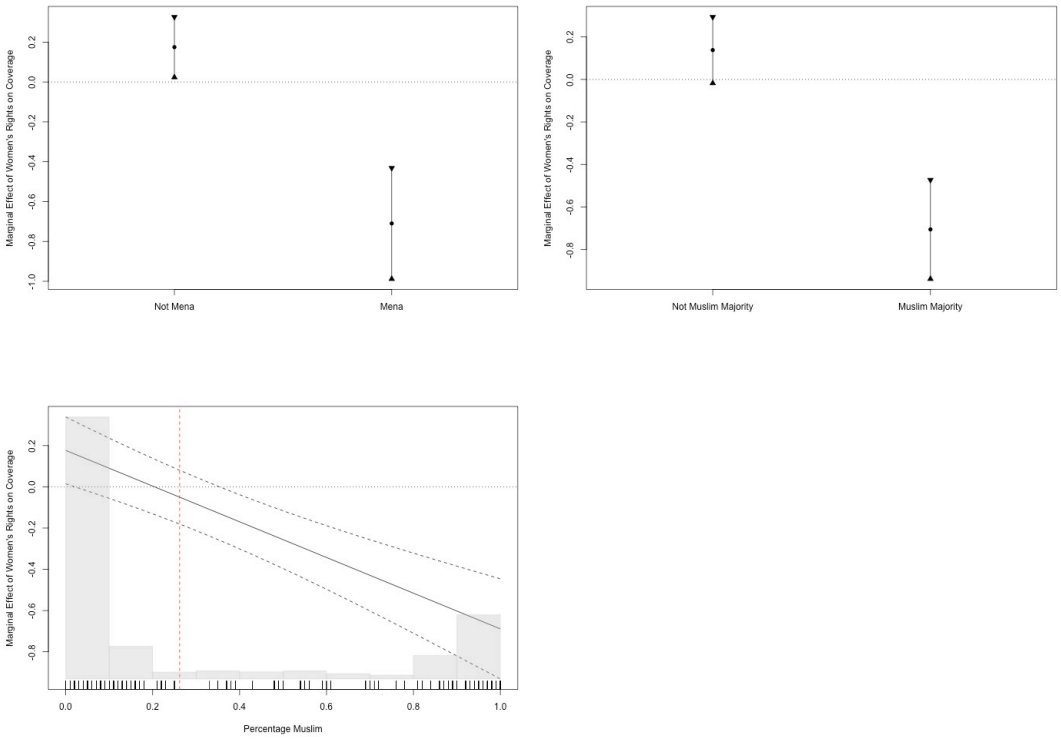
Table 6: Negative Binomial Analysis of U.S. News Coverage of Women Abroad

	Reported (Count)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.142***	0.140***	0.143***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Country Reports	0.001***	0.001***	0.001***
	(0.0002)	(0.0002)	(0.0002)
Women's Rights Index	0.138	0.175	0.177
	(0.097)	(0.091)	(0.104)
Muslim Majority	1.086***		
	(0.323)		
MENA		1.403***	
		(0.332)	
Muslim Percentage			1.211***
			(0.355)
Democracy	0.004	0.014	0.006
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Instability	-0.00000	-0.00001	-0.00000
	(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)
Population	0.543***	0.545***	0.534***
	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.025)
GDP per capita	0.207***	0.173***	0.207***
	(0.036)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Women's Rights x Muslim Majority	-0.844***		
	(0.206)		
Women's Rights x MENA		-0.885***	
		(0.223)	
Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage			-0.865***
			(0.219)
Constant	-11.879***	-11.766***	-11.828***
	(0.619)	(0.602)	(0.627)
N	3934	3950	3934
Log Likelihood	-3539.673	-3539.608	-3539.259
theta	0.920***	0.935***	0.922***
	(0.063)	0.064)	0.063)
AIC	7099.346	7099.215	7098.518

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Figure 7: Marginal Effects of *Women's Rights Index* on *Reported (Count)*



The results suggest a double standard when it comes to what stories the American news media considered worthy of publishing. Not only are women in MENA and Muslim countries represented more often and in greater quantities, they garner special attention if their rights are violated. This is not to say that all stories about Muslim women are primarily about women's rights or gender discrimination. But, all else equal, Muslim women from relatively egalitarian societies are less likely to be covered than their oppressed counterparts, suggesting that Muslim women are considered newsworthy to the extent that they experience discrimination.

On the other hand, we witness the opposite dynamic occurring for stories about other societies, where stronger rights correlate with higher likelihood of coverage. The articles in this subsample tend to feature issues such as work-life balance, electoral politics, the feminist debate over pornography, individual accomplishments in business or the arts – issues that tend to correlate with a better overall situation for women's rights. Again, this is not to imply that stories of systemic gender discrimination in non-Muslim countries are absent, just that women living in relatively egalitarian societies are disproportionately featured. Together, the results suggest a kind of confirmation bias whereby the media tend to feature sexist Muslim societies in contrast to egalitarian non-Muslim societies.

The findings are robust across a number of specifications. First, to show that the results are not model dependent or due to extrapolation, I ran simpler models focusing

on key variables of interest. Second, I estimated alternative models replacing the *Women's Rights Index* composite variable with individual scores representing *Women's Political Rights*, *Women's Social Rights*, and *Women's Economic Rights* respectively. The results with substantively equivalent across all models.[31]

4 Testing Hypothesis 2

4.1 Measuring Substantive Focus

While the above findings pertain to the *quantity* of coverage about women abroad, the second hypothesis pertains to the *quality* of coverage. How does the substance of news vary depending on the society being discussed? Articles about women can take a variety of content, from elections and protests to sports and fashion. But gendered orientalism claims that U.S. media coverage of women in Muslim and Middle Eastern countries is obsessed about one issue in particular: women's rights and gender equality. Testing this hypothesis requires measures of the distribution of topics in the corpus. Fortunately, recent advances in computational text analysis enable new tools to categorize and compare texts on a large scale.[32] Among the most promising tools for social scientists is the probabilistic topic model, an algorithm used to code the content of a corpus of texts into substantively meaningful categories, or "topics," using the statistical correlations between words in a corpus.[33]

For the purposes of this study, topic modeling holds a number of advantages over other methods given the outcome of interest. The main benefit of this method is its ability to infer and analyze substantively meaningful categories (topics) with minimal assumptions and expense.[34] Unlike human-coder approaches, an automated topic model estimates topics from the observed data without assuming the substance, division, or keywords of topics beforehand. Thus it ameliorates the potential for confirmation bias. It is also fully replicable, because it is fully automated, which is an important validity concern for content analysis.[35]

One alternative workflow is to categorize each document based on whether or not it pertains to women's rights as a whole, and then calculate the proportion of articles in the "rights" category for each country-year. Unfortunately, such a blunt metric flattens important dimensions of variation. Most articles about women have at least one mention of women's rights and gender equality, but differ in the degree to which they emphasize this theme. The gendered orientalist argument claims that for Muslim and/or

[31] Reports of all models are included in Appendix 1.
[32] Grimmer and Stewart 2013.
[33] Mohr and Bogdanov 2013.
[34] Quinn et al. 2010.
[35] Neuendorf 2011.

MENA countries, every story, whether about politics or sports or literature, is framed as a women's rights issue. A mixed-membership topic model estimates the outcome of interest more directly, because it represents texts as a distribution over many topics, not just one category. This allows us to compare how one document compares to another in terms of its proportion – not just presence – of a topic. However, as a robustness check, I also apply document-level labels indicating whether an article (as a whole) pertains to women's rights and gender equality using a simple word search strategy.[36] This provides an alternative measure of the main outcome variable used in the models described below.

4.2 Data Preparation and Model Estimation

To estimate the topic model, the corpus was first preprocessed following the standard recipe for automated text analysis. First, I removed capitalization, numbers, and punctuation. I then removed stop words, or those words that are extremely common but unrelated to the research topic, such as "and", "or", "the", etc. Since I was more interested in general frames than specific events, I removed named entities such as the names of specific people, locations, and organizations, from the text of the articles.[37] The popular Porter Snowball II stemmer was applied to the corpus, reducing words to their stem or root.[38] Finally, I also removed sparse terms by discarding all words used in less than 10 documents out of the entire corpus. The final document-term matrix had 4531 documents, 7653 unique words and 1,007,249 total words.

To identify and explore thematic topics in U.S. news media reporting about women abroad, I use the Structural Topic Model (STM), developed to facilitate the analysis of metadata and topics in text corpora.[39] STM extends the popular topic modeling tool Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) by incorporating document-level metadata into the analysis as covariates. This allows scholars to measure systematic changes in topical prevalence according to changes in metadata, similar to a regression framework.

When estimating an STM, the analyst must make a number of important decisions pertaining to model selection. First, she must specify the number of topics (K) to

[36] I use a computational strategy to apply boolean labels to documents. If a document contained the word 'right' (including the plural 'rights'), 'equal', 'sexist', or 'sexism', it was labeled as pertaining to women's rights. Approximately 52.6 per cent of documents were classified as 'true' on this boolean label. For each country-year observation, I summed all country-year documents containing the women's rights label, and divided this count by the total number of articles for that country year. This offers a similar fractional variable to the *Women's Rights Focus* variable used in the main analyses.

[37] I identified using Stanford's Named Entity Recognizer as well as my own dictionary of nationalities. See Finkel, Grenager, and Manning 2005.

[38] Porter 2001.

[39] Roberts et al. 2014, 5. I use the R package *stm* to estimate the model, by Roberts et al. 2014.

be estimated. There is no one solution to this problem.[40] The choice of *K* depends on a number of factors, including the nature of the documents under study and the level of granularity the analyst wishes to capture. In addition, STM depends on a multi-modal objective function, meaning that models with the same parameters (that is, the same data, covariates, and number of topic) may produce different results – that is, different topics – depending on the starting seed value.

Generally speaking, the best topic model is the one that generates the highest quality topics, and a higher quality topic is one that displays a higher degree of semantic interpretability. Two measures exist to evaluate interpretability quantitatively: cohesiveness and exclusivity. A topic is cohesive if its top words are likely to co-occur within documents. It is exclusive if top words are unique to that topic, or unlikely to appear in the top words for another topic.[41] Oftentimes scholars will generate a number of candidate models and then discard those with low degrees of exclusivity and cohesiveness given a set *K*.[42]

Even with these tools, however, selecting a model usually requires human judgment to evaluate the semantic meaning of topics.[43] For instance, we can try to summarize a topic by seeing which words have the highest probability of appearing in a topic. But because LDA topics are a distribution over all words, this technique usually prioritizes words that have high frequency in the entire corpus, but may not be semantically informative (i.e. "women" in this case). Another technique is to identify words that are exclusive to that topic, such as simplified frequency-exclusivity scoring (FREX).[44] A third technique is to see which document is most representative of a topic and read it to infer the topic's content.

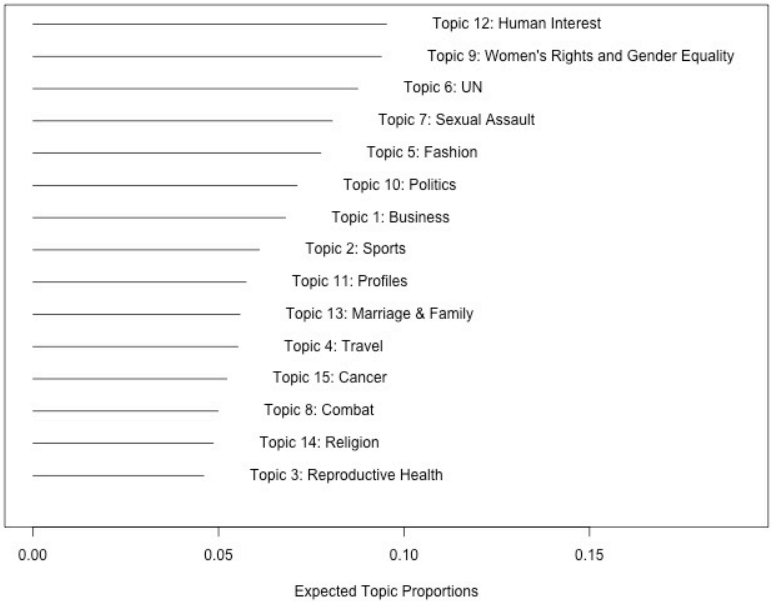
To address model specification issues, I estimated over 50 models varying the number of topics and starting seed values, and relied on the techniques described above to choose the highest quality model and apply semantic labels to each topic in that model. I did not look at corpus or region-level topic distributions before choosing a model to prevent bias. The final model estimated 15 topics by regressing topic prevalence on region and year covariates. Table 3 gives a summary of those topics, including each topic's semantic label (applied by me), as well as top words calculated by frequency and FREX metrics.[45]

[40] Roberts et al. 2014.
[41] Ibid., 6.
[42] Roberts et al. 2014.
[43] Mohr and Bogdanov 2013.
[44] Lucas et al. 2015, 5.
[45] The words reported are stemmed, as explained above.

Table 7: Summary of Topic Labels

	Labels	Probability	FREX
1	Business	said, work, compani, year, percent, job, busi, worker, million, market	compani, bank, industri, factori, employ, market, employe, busi, corpor, manag
2	Sports	team, women, game, play, world, said, olymp, sport, player, first	game, olymp, sport, player, soccer, athlet, coach, team, medal, championship
3	Reproductive Health	cancer, health, women, doctor, said, hospit, aid, breast, clinic, year	cancer, infect, patient, clinic, virus, hospit, doctor, surgeri, breast, health
4	Travel	black, dress, one, cloth, wear, design, street, fashion, citi, white	restaur, jacket, shirt, color, skirt, blue, worn, cloth, fashion, pant
5	Fashion	film, book, show, art, work, stori, life, one, play, write	film, artist, novel, art, museum, theater, movi, charact, fiction, reader
6	UN	women, said, will, right, confer, organ, group, world, issu, govern	confer, deleg, forum, organ, meet, intern, secretari, peac, committe, statement
7	Sexual Assault	said, polic, rape, case, report, sexual, violenc, victim, court, crime	rape, crime, victim, sentenc, crimin, polic, gang, prosecutor, convict, violenc
8	Combat	said, war, militari, kill, attack, soldier, women, forc, two, combat	soldier, troop, bomb, armi, militari, combat, command, civilian, gun, camp
9	Women's Rights and Gender Equality	women, men, femal, law, right, chang, male, equal, mani, issu	equal, male, gender, femal, discrimin, men, women, law, status, chang
10	Politics	polit, minist, govern, elect, parti, presid, said, vote, leader, prime	elect, vote, minist, prime, parti, candid, voter, cabinet, politician, polit
11	Profiles	year, mrs, work, school, first, mother, said, student, husband, children	mrs, student, colleg, graduat, career, school, degre, teacher, univers, becam
12	Human Interest	said, like, say, one, peopl, just, want, get, can, think	know, think, feel, thing, someth, realli, see, lot, tell, just
13	Marriage & Family	famili, girl, women, husband, said, children, villag, live, marri, marriag	villag, marriag, famili, rural, bride, marri, girl, shelter, husband, wive
14	Religion	said, islam, religi, right, church, ban, law, countri, women, practic	islam, religi, religion, secular, veil, circumcis, fundamentalist, church, genit, koran
15	Cancer	abort, studi, women, said, research, use, percent, report, birth, rate	abort, pill, contracept, fertil, implant, hormon, research, studi, method, data

Figure 8: Corpus Summary



There is a clearly discernible topic corresponding to "Women's Rights & Gender Equality" in this corpus, as inferred by the word stems (*right*, *equal*, *discrimin*, *status*, etc.) Figure 8 gives a corpus-level summary of topic distributions. The most common topics are "Women's Rights & Gender Equality" and "Human Interest," with the average document devoting about nine percent of its content to each of these topics. "Reproductive Health" is the least common topic, accounting for about four percent of the corpus' content.

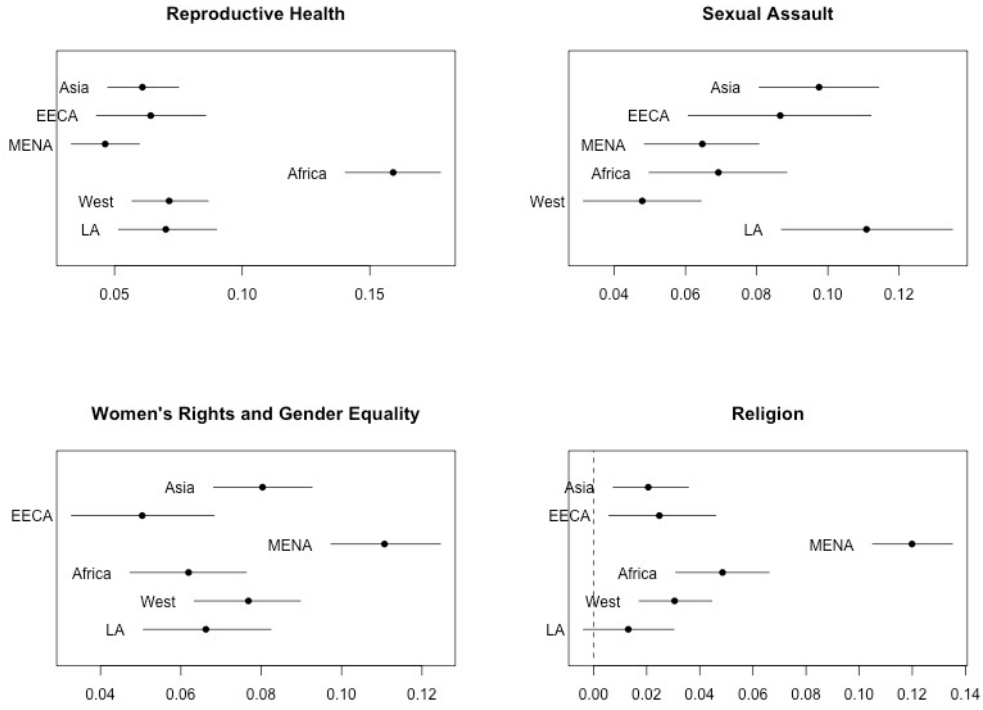
4.3 Comparing Coverage across Region

Coverage of these topics is unevenly distributed across regions. To get a better sense of this, STM allows us to plot the relationship between topical prevalence and metadata in a regression-like framework. Specifically, the model estimates the expected proportion of an unseen document devoted to a topic as a function of the region it is about and the year in which it was published. Holding time constant, a number of topics vary significantly in their expected proportions depending on the region covered.

Figure 9 visualizes these findings for a number of topics. As the graphs show, if we came across an unseen article reporting about a MENA country, we would expect approximately 11 percent of its content to be devoted to "Women's Rights & Gender Equality," with a confidence interval of a little over 1 per cent. But if that article was about a Western country – even if it was published in the same year – we would expect less than 8 percent of its content devoted to "Women's Rights & Gender Equality," In other words, reporting about women in MENA countries devotes 73% more coverage to

"Women's Rights & Gender Equality," compared to their counterparts in the West, and more than four times the attention to "Religion."

Figure 9: Expected Document Proportions for Four Topics



4.4 Modeling Hypothesis 2

The reader may find these results unsurprising, given the varying situation of women's rights around the world. In other words, U.S. coverage about women's rights may focus more on MENA and Muslim-majority countries because those are the societies that are less hospitable to women, and, as we've seen above, the press tends to focus on Muslim and MENA countries with the worst records of women's rights violaitons. Hypothesis 2 of the gendered orientalist argument, however, argues there is a bias, even when account for realities on the ground.

The dependent variable in Hypothesis 2 is the percentage of coverage devoted to women's rights for a particular country-year (*Rights Focus*). We expect this percentage to be higher for Muslim and Middle Eastern countries, even when controlling for women's material status. I operationalize the outcome variable by taking the average proportion of articles assigned to the topic "Women's Rights & Gender Equality," weighted by number of words in each article. In other words, I sum the number of words about "Women's Rights & Gender Equality" and divide it by the total number of words across all articles in that country-year. This gives us an estimate of the degree to which these

newspapers focused on this topic relative to others for each observation, ranging from 0 to 1.

The dependent variable *Rights Focus* is then regressed onto two main explanatory variables in order to test the hypothesis described above. The first is *Women's Rights Index*, measuring respect for women's political, social, and economic rights, using the same CIRI indicator described above. The second is whether the observation represents a Muslim or Middle Eastern country, again using the same variable previously described: the fractional *Percentage Muslim* ranging from 0 to 1, the dichotomous *Muslim Majority*, and the dichotomous *MENA* variables.

I also include two controls that may affect the amount of rights language in reporting. First, coverage of women's rights may be driven by the general state of human rights protections in certain countries. For instance, the poorer a country's rights protections, the more coverage it may receive on its rights situation in general, including women's rights. For this reason, I include a *Democracy* variable, described above. I also include a measure of general human rights protections, the *Physical Integrity Rights* index, also from the CIRI dataset.[46]

Because country-years had to contain at least one article to be included in the sample (n = 1451), I use a two-step heckman model to account for potential selection effects. The selection equation is identical to the model presented in Table 1, where the dependent variable is the *Reported (Binary)* variable, indicating whether a country-year contained any articles in the data set. Conditional on inclusion, an OLS model was estimated regressing *Rights Focus* on the four explanatory variables. I also include a one-year lagged dependent variable into the model, based on the reasoning that journalists maintain their thematic focus for a particular country from year to year. As with the previous models, I lag time-variant explanatory variables by one year and use Huber-White corrected robust standard errors clustered on country. The results are summarized in Table 4.

As expected, *Women's Rights Index* is statistically significant and negative in all models, indicating that U.S. news media will focus their coverage of women around "Women's Rights & Gender Equality" in those areas with poor respect for women's rights. However, even when we control for the material status of women's rights on the

[46] Cingranelli and Richards 2012. The *Physical Integrity Rights* variable is composed of the four integrity rights variables, including disappearance, extra-judicial killing, political imprisonment, and torture. It is a nine-point scale that ranges from a minimum of zero to a maximum of eight, where zero indicates no respect for physical integrity rights and eight indicates full respect for those rights. The data is available to 2011. It should be noted that there are alternative measures for the state of human rights protections used in the literature, such as the CIRI's Empowerment Rights Index, and the Political Terror Scale measures. I chose the Physical Integrity Index in the models discussed below, but I also estimated models using these two alternative measures, with the same substantive results.

ground, we find that the coefficients on the *Muslim Majority*, *MENA* and *Muslim Percentage* variables are statistically significant and positive. In other words, U.S. news media talk more about "Women's Rights & Gender Equality" if the country being covered is in the MENA region or has a larger Muslim population, regardless of women's status in these societies.

Table 8: Two-Step Analysis of Rights Focus in U.S. News Coverage of Women Abroad

	Rights Focus		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	0.092***	0.097***	0.089***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Lagged DV	0.057	0.056	0.057
	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.042)
Women's Rights Index	-0.020***	-0.022***	-0.020***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Muslim Majority	0.033***		
	(0.009)		
MENA		0.035***	
		(0.011)	
Muslim Percentage			0.035***
			(0.010)
Democracy	-0.0003	-0.00003	-0.0004
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Physical Integrity Rights	0.006***	0.005***	0.006***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
IMR1	-0.013	-0.011	-0.014
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
N	608	608	608
R-squared	0.627	0.625	0.626
Adj. R-squared	0.623	0.621	0.622
Residual Std. Error (df = 601)	0.072	0.072	0.072
F Statistic (df = 7; 601)	144.291***	143.186***	143.729***

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

This finding supports Hypothesis 2, which states that women from Muslim and/or MENA countries are represented narrowly in U.S. news media, characterized largely by their subordination, whereas women from other societies are portrayed in greater complexity. First, there is an intergroup bias insofar as the issue of gender discrimination is more prevalent in stories about Muslim societies than non-Muslim societies. Second,

there is an interreality bias in the sense that this difference remains, even after controlling for the material status of women in the reported country. While the magnitude of the *Rights Focus* coefficients may appear small (ranging from 3.4 to 3.6 percent increase), the mean of this measure across observations is only 8.7 percent. In other words, if a 1000-word article about a non-Muslim case features 87 words about women's rights, a otherwise equivalent article about a Muslim society would include approximately 35 more words about this topic. In sum, the American news media tend to frame stories about Muslim women around the topic of "Women's Rights & Gender Equality", substantially more so than non-Muslim women.

As in the previous analysis, results are robust to a range of alternative specifications. First, while the addition of a lagged DV helps correct for serial correlation, it shrinks the sample size considerably, because observations must contain at least one article at year *t* and *t–1* to be included. As a robustness check, I removed this lagged DV, allowing for a larger sample. Second, I replaced the composite *Women's Rights Index* variable with the three individual indicators representing *Women's Political Rights*, *Women's Social Rights*, and *Women's Economic Rights*. Third, I estimate models using an alternative measure of the dependent variable *Rights Focus*, which is independent of the topic model. Finally, I estimated one-step models using fractional logit. In all models, the results were substantially identical.[47]

5 Extensions

5.1 Coverage of Sexual Assault

The topic concerning "Sexual Assault" deserves further mention. Scholars of gendered orientalism claim that U.S. media is obsessed not only with gender equality but also violence against women in the Muslim world. The topic of "Sexual Assault," however, displayed relatively low prevalence in articles about women in the Middle East / North Africa region compared to those in Latin America, Asia, Eastern Europe / Central Asia and Africa. This presents evidence *against* an intergroup bias whereby "Sexual Assault" is associated exclusively with Muslim women. Unfortunately a test for interreality bias, like the one above for "Women's Rights & Gender Equality," is impossible due to lack of reliable data on sexual assault, rape, or violence against women at the country-year level.

We can, however, gleam some qualitative insights through an examination of the documents themselves. Doing so reveals makes clear that this topic encompasses a broad range of specific issues, ranging from rape to war crimes and police/criminal justice more generally. For instance, representative articles about sexual assault in the EE-

[47] Reports of all alternative models are included in Appendix B.

CA region center primarily around two modal issues: wartime rapes during the Balkan conflicts, especially Bosnia; and the trial and imprisonment of the Russian feminist punk rock band Pussy Riot. Relevant coverage in Latin America focuses on smuggling and trafficking, the drug war, and murders of hundreds of women in and around the northern Mexican city of Ciudad Juarez. Coverage on sexual assault in Africa focuses heavily on female genital mutilation and war crimes in Rwanda and the Congo.

Interestingly, more than 40 percent of all coverage about "Sexual Assault" stem from Asia.[48] A substantial portion of this coverage concerns the Delhi gang rape case that occurred in December 2012. In fact, 30 percent of all articles about Asia in the whole sample were published between 2012 and 2014, and the majority of these concerned India. By all accounts, the interest that this particular story attracted was unprecedented. As for the Middle East / North Africa region, representative articles feature content that is highly associated with culture and religion, including stories on stoning in the Sudan, moral 'crimes' in Afghanistan, a Sudanese woman facing fines for wearing trousers, and virginity tests of Egyptian protesters. This makes sense, given the disproportionate focus paid to religion in general in the MENA region (see Figure 3.)

In sum, unlike coverage of "Women's Rights & Gender Equality," coverage of "Sexual Assault" tends to be much more evenly distributed among Muslim and Middle Eastern societies. On the other hand, coverage of "Sexual Assault" focus overwhelmingly on non-Western countries; displaying the lowest prevalence in stories about Western women. In addition, coverage of "Sexual Assault" emanating from the Middle East / North Africa tends to focus on stories with a significant cultural and religious component. While the results are inconclusive, it is plausible that readers may come away with the impression that sexual assault is a strictly non-Western problem, rooted in cultural and religious identity.

5.2 9/11 and Change over Time

The literature on gendered orientalism is mixed regarding the role and significance of 9/11 and recent historical events. On the one hand, scholars insist on the long history of orientalism, and have been discussing the gendered aspects of this discourse decades before 9/11. On the other hand, many scholars describe 9/11 as a pinnacle moment, ushering a new age of anti-Muslim sentiment, especially in the United States. The literature on gendered orientalism has been booming in the last decade.

With these data, some trends appear roughly stable across time, i.e. before and after 9/11. For instance, while the MENA region was the most covered region in the sample from 2002 to 2005, that increase goes away once we normalize for the amount of *New York Times* coverage devoted to MENA countries in general. Likewise, the effects

[48] See Supporting Information for more details on this statistic.

described in the *Confirmation Hypothesis* (H1) appear stable in the pre- versus post-9/11 era.[49] On the other hand, initial analysis suggests the possibility that the *Reduction* bias (H2) may have gotten more severe in the post-911 era. I estimated models introducing a dummy variable *After 9/11*, indicating whether the observation occurred in 2002 and onwards, as an interactive term. The coefficients on *Muslim Majority*, *Mena*, and *Muslim Percentage* variables increase to .042-.047 in the post-9/11 sample, from .024-.025 in the pre-9/11 sample, with standard errors between .011 and .014. Given the number of modeling assumptions involved in this analysis, this cannot be taken as definitive evidence that U.S. media are becoming more biased vis-à-vis Muslim women after 9/11. It may, however, give plausibility to that claim.

6 Implications and Conclusions

No society is immune from gender discrimination. But this chapter demonstrates that representations of women – and their rights – are unevenly portrayed in U.S. news reporting. First, I put forth a confirmation bias hypothesis, whereby Muslim women are considered newsworthy to the extent that they suffer from discrimination. Not only is there a bias in terms of quantity of coverage, but in the substance and framing as well. In the reduction hypothesis, women from Muslim and MENA societies are more likely to have their social experience reduced to one facet – "Women's Rights and Gender Equality" – in contrast to their counterparts in the rest of the world, who are represented in higher dimensions. While this kind of content analysis cannot definitively demonstrate the effects of media coverage on public attitudes, it does provide plausibility to the claim that readers are exposed to a particularly pernicious stereotype of Muslims: they are especially sexist.

This has two major implications. First, given that the American public tends not to differentiate between Muslims at home and abroad,[50] the disproportionate emphasis on women's inequality in Muslim lands may shape negative attitudes towards Muslim-Americans by painting them as a cultural "other." Importantly, a large number of correlational and experimental studies have demonstrated the impact of negative media portrayals of Muslims on public opinion.[51] These media effects go beyond generic attitudes to support for specific policies. For instance, exposure to media stereotypes of Muslims as violent has shown to increase Americans' support for public policies that harm Muslims, such as military action abroad and civil restrictions at home.[52] Just as stories about

[49] See Appendix B for tables.

[50] Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 2009; Sides and Gross 2013..

[51] Das et al. 2009; Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 2009; Nisbet, Ostman, and Shanahan 2008; Saleem and Anderson 2013; Saleem et al. 2015.

[52] Saleem et al. 2015; Sides and Gross 2013.

crime have shown to shape public opinion of African Americans[53] and social welfare policies,[54] stories about women's rights may shape public opinion of Muslims and the War on Terror. In fact, media has shown to exert a stronger influence on public attitudes of Muslims than other informational sources,[55] which is unsurprising considering that most Americans do not have direct contact with Muslims in their daily lives.[56]

Second, an obsession with Muslim women's rights may, ironically, have counterproductive consequences for the goal of gender equality among the Muslim community. Considering the already volatile environment surrounding Islam in the American public sphere, a disproportionate policy focus on Muslim women's oppression is likely to be met with suspicion and incredulity among Muslim men and women alike. This is especially likely when the media's diagnoses of sexism in Muslim societies point overwhelmingly to Islam. Tired of feeling singled out, Muslims both at home and abroad may learn to equate feminist criticism with imperialism and Islamophobia, thus undermining even local initiatives for gender equality.[57]

Yet, a number of questions remain. First, due to the limited sample, we do not know to what degree these biases vary across media platform (e.g. print, television, conservative, liberal, social media, etc).[58] Also, the precise mechanisms driving these trends – i.e. confirmation bias and reduction – remain unclear. What makes journalists write about women's rights, or about Muslim societies, the way they do? Finally, while I have speculated that stigmatic frames are more likely to provoke unintended consequences, I cannot evaluate the impact of such coverage writ large.

In the next two chapters, I attempt to shed light on these questions by focusing on one particular story that gained wide attention the American media: the immanent stoning to death of Sakineh Mohammadi-Ashtiani in Iran.

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[53] Dixon and Linz 2000; Entman 1992; Gilliam Jr and Iyengar 2000; Hurwitz and Peffley 1997; Peffley, Shields, and Williams 1996.

[54] Gilens 1996b; Gilens 1996a; Kellstedt 2000; Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002.

[55] Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 2009.

[56] Panagopoulos 2006.

[57] Terman 2016.

[58] Some scholars of gendered orientalism argue that conservative and right-wing factions are the worst offenders, whereas other insist that the stereotypes surrounding Muslim women are ubiquitous amongst even progressive crowds, e.g. Kumar 2012.

Chapter 5 The Micro-Politics of Defiance:
Iran and the Sakineh Affair, Part 1

On 10 September 2006, Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani, a 39-year-old mother of two, was found guilty of adultery by a court in Tabriz, Iran. Her sentence was death by stoning. Three years later, her local advocates reached out to Western human rights activists for assistance. The international community responded *en masse,* turning the "Save Sakineh" campaign into a global *cause celebre* for human rights. In the months between July 2010 and January 2011, the Sakineh's name was printed in over 300 newspapers worldwide. Protests on her behalf took place in over 100 cities around the world. Government officials in at least 40 countries publicly condemned the sentence, calling it barbaric and medieval.

"It was really the most successful naming and shaming [campaign] that I can recall," says Hadi Ghaemi, director of the International Campaign for Human Rights. "I use the case quite often as an example to illustrate what a successful international campaign could look like."[1] Many of his colleagues agree, calling it an exemplary illustration for the normative power of human rights and transnational activism.

But the "Sakineh Affair" was more complicated than this characterization suggests.[2] During the height of the campaign to save her, Sakineh was tortured, subjected to mock executions, and forced to perform in state-sponsored propaganda, including one particularly horrific "documentary" in which she was seen confessing to and re-enacting the murder of her husband in gruesome detail all the while condemning the

[1] Ghaemi 2015.

[2] In this chapter, I refer to Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani as "Sakineh," and Sajjar Ghaderzadeh (her son) as "Sajjad," whereas I refer to all other individuals by their full or last names. There are two reasons for this. First, the vast majority of primary documents perform this same operation, and switching between titles makes for choppy reading. More important than this practical concern is the theoretical justification. This chapter is not about Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani; it is about "Sakineh." The former is an individual whom I do not know and cannot know, whose voice is constantly filtered through her lawyer, activists, journalists or the Iranian State. I chose not to reach out to Ms. Ashtiani or her family because, if I have learned anything from this research, it is that these individuals do not need to be solicited by more foreign writers. Thus I am left with the "Sakineh" that is presented by and through individuals working for their own particular imperatives. This is not to say that I am, in contrast, "neutral" to stoning or more objective. It is simply to say that I am interested in "Sakineh" – the entity behind an international incident – not Ms. Ashtiani, a stranger behind an impenetrable epistemological wall.

Western interferers advocating on her behalf. Her lawyers and family members were arrested, tortured, and exiled. Western media and activists made serious missteps, disseminating incorrect information and putting Sakineh in even more danger. Iran's intense defiance clashed with global pressure internationally, resulting in a storm of diplomatic conflicts between Iran's government and other countries. The affair resulted in mutual embarrassment, scandalous encounters, and high political risk for all involved. While Sakineh was eventually released, it wasn't until 2014 – three years after the global campaign had fizzled out.

The Sakineh case exhibits remarkable anomalies and eccentricities unaccounted for by conventional theories of transnational advocacy. Why did Iran resist international pressure surrounding this case so strongly? What was at stake politically, both for Iranian officials and Western advocates? Was the global shaming campaign to save Sakineh a case of "boomerang" success or backlash?

In the next two chapters, I conduct a close investigation of the events surrounding Sakineh's case in order to explore how the theoretical arguments presented in Chapter 2 operate on a micro-level. I offer three objectives. The first is to demonstrate the utility of the "defiance" concept in capturing Iran's reaction to international shaming. I show that Iran's resistance was motivated less by some domestic commitment to stoning *per se* than by a willingness to defy foreign shame and pressure. The "proud, shameless reaction" driving defiance was rooted in intersubjective understandings surrounding Iranian national identity, which manifested through domestic political incentives that encouraged leaders to stand their ground in the face of international – an especially Western – condemnation.

The second line of argument concerns the role of political ties, credibility, and stigma in provoking Iranian defiance. First, Iran contested the shame emanating from France in remarkably different terms than the shame emanating from Brazil, due to their respective political, economic and ideological ties (or lack thereof). Second, I highlight the influence of (mis)information, bias, and credibility on the campaign's development. For Western advocates, a symbiotic relationship between media and activism resulted in a frenzied campaign, wherein the insatiable hunger for content overwhelmed the desire for valid, verifiable information about the case. Third, both sides conflated shaming (of a practice) with stigmatization (of an actor.) That is, the practice of stoning was equated with the Islamic Republic as a whole, and a denunciation of one became an attack on the other. All of these factors drove defiance in Iranian officials, who implemented their own counter-shaming campaign, ultimately causing more condemnation.

Finally, I argue that Western shaming and Iranian defiance developed in a mutually constitutive relationship. Each side effected behavior that, while seemingly in their best interest, ended up galvanizing the opposition. By provoking each party in an itera-

tive fashion, the shame-defiance spiral resulted in the political escalation of a seemingly apolitical case.

I rely on qualitative, interpretivist methods to pursue these claims. Employing a *Verstehen*, or "interpretivist" approach,[3] I construct a narrative of events from over 500 primary sources, including newspaper articles, press releases, letters, and in-depth interviews.[4] Because my argument concerns both the causes and consequences of the "Save Sakineh" campaign, my narrative is split into two chapters. The present chapter focuses on the way in which shaming was deployed, narrating the birth of the campaign and its ascent to global prominence. I also describe the political context of Iran, which is important for understanding what the campaign meant to Iranian elites. The next chapter (Chapter 6) continues by narrating Iran's counter-shaming campaign, the escalation of the international conflict, and its eventual consequences.

The rest of this chapter proceeds as follows. Section 1 gives background into the case and its relevant actors, including Sakineh's lawyers and advocates. Section 2 explains how Sakineh's sentence sparked an international campaign, capturing the attention of activists, media, and governments, and describes the rhetoric and discursive framing of the campaign. Section 3 takes a step back to look at the political context in Iran, describing how stoning – and the international campaign to eliminate stoning – came to represent a dilemma for Iranian leadership.

1 Sakineh as a Case

1.1 Background

For a woman so well publicized, we know remarkably little about Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani. Here's what we do know: Sakineh was born c.1968 in the rural town of Osku in the East Azerbaijan Province of Iran. She is said to come have from "humble origins."[5] As a member of the Azeri ethnic minority, her mother tongue is Azeri Turkic, and she knows little Persian, the official language in Iran.[6] She is mother to two children: Sajjad Ghaderzadeh, the eldest, and a daughter, whose named is reported conflict-

[3] Abel 1948; Kratochwil 1991; Ruggie 1998. While quantitative analysis can identify important patterns, shaming cannot be understood without a concurrent appreciation of an actor's beliefs, self-concept, and perception of others. Interpretivism takes as its central object of concern the beliefs of those it studies, and the meanings they create for their actions and the actions of others. Phillips 2013.

[4] It is important to note right away that there exists no consensus on the facts of this case. As will become clear, news reports of events, even from reputable sources such as the *New York Times*, should be treated with caution due to the pervasiveness of misinformation that has characterized this case. With this in mind, this chapter attempts to provide the first authoritative history of the Sakineh case.

[5] Amnesty International 2010b.

[6] Mostafaie 2010a.

ingly as both Farideh and Saideh.[7] Not much else is known about Sakineh's life before 2005, besides that she was married, and worked as a teacher at a small nursery in Osku for two years.[8]

The legal details concerning Sakineh's case are also difficult to pin down due to conflicting reports and changing stories. According to the most credible reports, in 2005, Sakineh's husband Ebrahim Ghaderzadeh, aged 44, was murdered by electrocution at the hands of his cousin, Isa Taheri. Shortly thereafter, Taheri and Sakineh were arrested as suspects. Taheri was found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. Sajjar, Sakineh's son and Ghaderzadeh's heir, chose to forgive Taheri and accept *diyeh* or "blood money" as retribution in lieu of execution.[9] Taheri was sentenced to 10 years in prison, but was released early for reasons unknown.

Sakineh was initially accused of murder as well, but was not tried because her children opted against pressing charges, as was their right under Article 205 of the Islamic Penal Code.[10] Instead, she was charged and convicted of being a deliberate accessory to murder, under Article 612, and sentenced to the maximum of 10 years in prison.[11] According to one of Sakineh's lawyers Houtan Kian, Sakineh's conviction was commuted to a lesser charge of "complicity" in murder upon a judicial review conducted by the Supreme Court in 2009, and her sentence was reduced to 5 years, the maximum sentence for this offense.

In May 2006, apparently arising out of the investigations into her husband's murder, Sakineh was convicted of having had "illicit relations" with two men.[12] The criminal branch of Osku's court handed down a punishment of 99 lashes, which was carried out in the chamber of Osku courthouse in front of Sakineh's then 17-year-old son Sajjar.[13] Despite this conviction, the Sixth Branch of the Penal Court of East Azerbaijan Province – a different court – re-charged Sakineh with "adultery while married."[14] Unlike "illicit relations," which covers a range of supposedly inappropriate behavior, adultery is strictly defined in the Islamic penal code as "the act of intercourse, including

[7] Ghaderzadeh 2010; Mohammadi-Ashtiani and Mohammadi-Ashtiani 2010.

[8] Dehghan 2010i.

[9] Ghaderzadeh 2010.

[10] Amnesty International 2010b.

[11] Ibid. Amnesty International reports that, according to court documents they have seen firsthand, this sentence was initially upheld by the Supreme Court.

[12] Ibid. Later documents mention only one man by the name of Messrs Nojumi. Ministry of Justice of the Islamic Republic of Iran 2006. But most reports, including those of Sakineh's lawyers, say that Sakineh was convicted of "illicit relations" with *two* men.

[13] Ghaderzadeh 2010.

[14] Amnesty International 2010b.

anal intercourse, between a man and a woman" when one party is married."[15] On 10 September 2006, Sakineh was sentenced to death by stoning for the crime of adultery.[16]

The Islamic Penal Code of Iran prescribes stoning as the punishment for adultery and is very specific about how stoning should be performed.[17] Article 102 states that men shall be buried up to their waists and women up to their breasts for the execution. Article 104 states, referring to the penalty for adultery, that the stones used should "not be large enough to kill the person by one or two strikes; nor should they be so small that they could not be defined as stones (pebbles.)"[18] At the same time, the burden of proof required for adultery cases is almost impossible to reach, requiring multiple confessions or eye-witnesses.[19] For this reason, stoning is extremely rare in Iran.

For Sakineh, the procedures leading to her conviction have been a major point of controversy since the beginning. Out of five ruling judges, only three found Sakineh guilty. The other two dissented on grounds that the trial constituted double jeopardy, given that she had already been flogged following the first trial.[20] The dissenting judges also argued that there was "the circumstantial evidence contained in the court record does not offer irrefutable knowledge of the guilt of the accused to the court."[21] Instead, Sakineh was ruled guilty on the basis of loophole known as *elm-e ghazi*, or the judge's "knowledge" or "intuition," allowing a guilty verdict despite the lack of evidence.[22]

There are also reasons to believe that Sakineh was denied a fair trial under Iranian law. She might have had difficulty understanding the case since she speaks Azeri Turkic, not Persian. Several sources report that during the trial, Sakineh retracted a con-

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[15] The Islamic Republic of Iran 1991, Article 63.

[16] Ministry of Justice of the Islamic Republic of Iran 2006.

[17] The Islamic Republic of Iran 1991, Article 83.

[18] In some cases, if a victim can escape from the ditch during the stoning, they will be freed. However, because women are buried up to their breasts and men only at their waists, women will have a smaller chance of escaping than men. See Sadr and Vahdati 2007.

[19] Following Shi'a jurisprudence, Article 68 of the penal code requires that a man or woman must confess to adultery four times before a judge can sentence stoning. Article 71 annuls the confession if a person recants. Alternatively, adultery can be proven by eyewitness testimony from either four just men or three just men and two just women, as per Article 74. But eyewitnesses must actually see the act of coitus first-hand, specifically penis-vaginal penetration. Furthermore, witnesses can themselves be charged with "false accusation" if the accused is not found guilty, a crime that carries its own punishment. Due to these demanding evidentiary requirements, many religious scholars argue that stoning is more of a symbolic deterrent in Islamic law than a literal punishment, since adultery is so difficult to prove.

[20] Ministry of Justice of the Islamic Republic of Iran 2006.

[21] Ibid.

[22] In Iran, most adultery convictions are based not on confession or eyewitness testimony but on the judges' "knowledge" or "intuition" (*elm-e ghazi*). Article 105 of the Islamic Penal code allows a judge to rule according to his own "intuition" if his ruling is based on documented evidence. But critics of stoning in Iran argue that these rulings are often biased and faulty, stemming from the judges' perception instead of hard evidence. Terman and Fijabi 2010.

fession she had made during initial pretrial interrogation, saying she was forced to make that confession under duress and maintaining her innocence.[23] Some sources report that she was found humming in contentment on her way back to the patrol wagon following the verdict, believing that she had been acquitted, because she misunderstood the judges during sentencing, who used the Arabic word (*rajm*) for stoning.[24] Despite these and another anomalies, Iran's Supreme Court confirmed her death sentence in 2007. Her appeal and multiple requests for clemency were also denied.

1.2 Initial Outreach

Unlike most victims of stoning who are abandoned by their families before the execution, Sakineh had the support of her two children, who believed she was innocent. In 2007, Sakineh's son Sajjad reportedly "knocked on every door trying to find a way to save his mother."[25] He searched "stoning" (*sangsar*) at an Internet café and came across the name of Mina Ahadi, an Iranian ex-patriot and human rights activist living in Germany, along with her phone number.[26] Sajjad called Ahadi, who recommended that he contact Mohammad Mostafaie, an Iranian defense attorney known for his advocacy in cases of adultery and juvenile executions.[27] Mostafaie agreed to take up Sakineh's case, and served as her lawyer until he was forced to flee Iran in August 2010, at the height of the controversy surrounding the Sakineh Affair. He now lives in Norway.

Mostafaie played an important role in Sakineh's story, and his own life was turned upside down because of it. Born c.1974, Mostafaie grew up in a poor family. He decided to pursue law after witnessing a public execution when he was 14 years old,[28] making it his "life's purpose" to defend juveniles and other vulnerable groups charged with the death penalty in Iran.[29] After getting his law degree, Mostafaie joined a network of Iranian lawyers who worked on such cases, and soon made a name for himself among human rights defenders worldwide. By his own estimates, he has defended over 40 individuals in his career, [30] including 13 cases of stoning.[31]

Like many other human rights lawyers in Iran, Mostafaie believed in the power of international awareness and pressure. "We cannot always see the effects immediately," he told Bernard-Henri Levy in a 2010 interview, "but, in more or less long range

[23] Human Rights Watch 2010; Amnesty International 2010b.
[24] Mostafaie 2010a.
[25] Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani: The Real Story 2010.
[26] Ibid.
[27] International Committee against Stoning 2010g.
[28] Mostafaie says he was 15 in Gholamhosseinpour 2014. But he says 14 in Mostafaie 2012.
[29] Mostafaie 2012.
[30] Watson 2010.
[31] Mostafaie 2010a.

terms, there's no doubt. It is capital."[32] He blogged about his cases on his personal website, *www.modafe.com,* which was widely read and circulated among the Persian-language blogosphere.[33] In this way, Mostafaie used the strong connections he had to the Iranian diaspora, especially those working in media and civil society, to lobby for international support on behalf of his clients in Iran.

These communications would often get Mostafaie into trouble with government officials. "When I persuaded them that my only goal was to save lives and had no political motives, they left me alone."[34] In fact, unlike many of his collaborators in the Persian diaspora, Mostafaie insists that his work is strictly legal, not political. "I have no adverse intentions and I am not propagandizing against the system," he writes in one of his blogs.[35] He also denies any affiliation with the Green movement, despite defending supporters and advisers of opposition leaders. "I respect all groups," he said in an interview with the BBC. "But I have never been in any group."[36]

Despite these risks, Mostafaie continued to blog about the plight of his clients. On 24 June 2009, he wrote about Sakineh, warning that she was in imminent danger of being stoned to death.[37] A few hours later, Norway-based NGO called Iran Human Rights translated the information in Mostafaie's blog post into English and published it on their website.[38] A few weeks after that, on 20 August 2009, Amnesty International issued an Urgent Action – a call for international action – about Sakineh relaying the same information.[39]

But the story failed to circulate any further at that time. Mostafaie wouldn't write about Sakineh again until about a year later.[40] On about 12 June 2010, he published another blog post about Sakineh, again in Persian.[41] It contained the same basic facts as the 2009 story, again warning that Sakineh could be stoned any day. Again, the article was re-blogged on some Persian-language media sites.[42] This time, however, the story went viral, and Sakineh's case soon became an international incident.

1.3 A perfect storm

[32] Ibid.
[33] Mostafaie 2010b. The site has since been taken down.
[34] Gholamhosseinpour 2014.
[35] Mostafaie 2010b.
[36] Interview with Mohamed Mostafaei, Iranian lawyer 2010.
[37] Mostafaie 2009.
[38] Iran Human Rights 2009.
[39] Amnesty International 2009.
[40] Mostafaie posted a letter to his blog written by a third party concerning stoning and Sakineh's case on May 24, 2010. This is the only other time Mostafaie mentioned Sakineh between July 24, 2009 and June 2010.
[41] Mostafaie 2010c.
[42] Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty 2010.

Why did Sakineh's case explode in the summer of the 2010, capturing worldwide attention, when merely a year before it was no more than a blip on the international human rights radar?

In many ways, Sakineh's case was a "perfect storm" of factors that scholars believe attract greater international human rights advocacy and attention.[43] Sakineh was a poor, ethnic minority woman threatened with one of the most horrifying deaths imaginable for what many don't even consider a crime. The chain of responsibility unambiguously led to Iranian State authorities, who had a poor reputation in the West. When the case ignited in 2010, Iran was already receiving intense scrutiny for its contested 2009 Presidential election, its controversial nuclear program, and its overall poor human rights record. Some activists I talked to emphasized the fact that the case broke in the summer, during a slow news cycle.

But this still doesn't explain why *Sakineh* herself was chosen, given that, at the time her case ignited global consciousness, at least nine women and two men were in prison awaiting stoning sentences in Iran. In fact, just two years earlier, the Stop Stoning Forever Campaign, a domestic Iranian initiative, organized a successful campaign to save Mokarrameh Ebrahimi from her own stoning sentence.[44] While this case got some press in Western channels, it was nowhere near the magnitude of Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani. Furthermore, by the time Sakineh's story broke in 2010, the domestic anti-stoning campaign was severely weakened due to the exodus of human rights defenders following the 2009 post-election crackdown. The ones who remained – like Mohammad Mostafaie – advocated for Sakineh but did not elevate her case among others in terms of publicity. Thus the question remains: Why her? Why now?

Many factors – norm characteristics, local advocacy, timing, and context – contributed to Sakineh's rise in prominence. But it was the activities of one woman, Mina Ahadi, who ushered Sakineh onto the international stage.

1.4 Mina Ahadi

Mina Ahadi was the woman Sajjad initially called in 2007 after searching "stoning" on the Internet and finding her contact information. An Iranian ex-patriot living in Germany, Ahadi is a polarizing figure in the Iranian human rights community. Her personal background, a remarkable story in itself, illuminates why.

Ahadi describes her life in Iran as a constant struggle for freedom. Born in Abhar, Iran in 1956 to an Azeri family (her native tongue is Azeri Turkic, the same as Sakineh's), Ahadi felt oppressed by Islam even before the Revolution. "When I was a child I was supposed to wear a chador," she recalls. "I kept asking my mom why I wasn't al-

[43] Bob 2005; Carpenter 2007b; Keck and Sikkink 1998.

[44] Ebrahimi's partner Jafar Kiani was himself stoned to death on July 5, 2007 in in Agche-kand village near Takistan, Ghazvin. After a fierce campaign, Ebrahimi was released from prison on March 17, 2008.

lowed on the street to play, etc. And the answer was always 'because we are Muslim. We are a Muslim family.'"[45] Ahadi vowed to move to a big city, where she could be free from the "prison" of the hijab.[46] "The first day I entered university I threw away my chador and wore a mini skirt and went out to the street, very pretty. And I thought: 'Okay, now I have my freedom.'"[47]

Ahadi studied medicine at the University of Tabriz, where she met her husband, Ismail Yeganeh-doost, a physics student.[48] According the Iranian judiciary, from 1979-83, Ahadi was a member of a group called Communist Militant Kurdish Revolutionary Fighters. In 1980, her husband was executed for his involvement in the Komaleh, an armed Kurdish separatist group and, for Iran, a notorious terrorist group. Ahadi herself became a member of Komaleh in 1983, according to Iranian officials.[49]

Ahadi doesn't exactly deny these charges. When I asked her in an interview if she was *Komaleh*, she responded with a resounding "*Yes*!"[50] In her own words, Ahadi protested the Shah as a leftist, but immediately after the Revolution, she turned her dissent towards the new Islamic regime. After being expelled from university for protesting compulsive veiling, she started working at a factory. In 1980, the police came to Ahadi's house while she was away and arrested her husband and their five guests (the exact number changes across Ahadi's various statements). They were executed shortly afterwards.[51]

"This changed my life," she says. "For 30 years now I have been fighting against executions and against stoning because I have felt what it means when you lose a loved one a family member in this way."[52] Ahadi escaped to Tehran, where she lived underground for eight months. In 1981 she fled again to Iranian Kurdistan where she struggled as a "guerilla fighter" for 10 years.[53] In 1990 Ahadi fled once against to Vienna. Since 1996 she has been living Cologne, Germany. She is currently a member of Central Committee of the Worker-Communist Party of Iran, founded in 1991 to usher a revolutionary overthrow of the Islamic Republic.[54]

Ahadi continued her activism in Europe. In 2001, she founded the International Committee against Stoning (ICAS), part of an umbrella operation called *Count Me In* –

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[45] Ahadi 2012.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ahadi 2011.
[48] Ahadi 2012.
[49] Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani: The Real Story 2010. This report says Yeganeh-doost was expected in 1981, conflicting with Ahadi's account saying her husband was executed in 1980.
[50] Ahadi 2015.
[51] Ahadi 2011.
[52] Ahadi 2012.
[53] Ahadi 2011.
[54] The website is available here: http://wpiranfa.com

Iran, which includes other initiatives such as International Committee against Executions, Iran Solidarity, and Equal Rights Now. From what I can tell, these groups are not registered non-profits. They exist mostly online, and are coordinated by Ahadi and her colleague Maryam Namazie, another Iranian ex-patriot living in the United Kingdom and a fellow member of the Central Committee of the Worker-Communist Party of Iran.

In addition to their work on human rights issues in Iran, Ahadi and Namazie are known for their secular activism in Europe. "Religion makes you stupid," Ahadi writes in her 2009 biography (co-authored Sina Vogt) entitled *I have Apostized: Why I Fight for Freedom and against Islam*.[55] Ahadi calls for a general ban on headscarves for students and teachers. "It starts with the scarf and ends with honor killing," she writes.[56] She also strongly opposes so-called "Muslim organizations" in Germany, saying that they "represent Shari'a law."[57] Ahadi's frustration with the legitimation of such groups motivated her to establish the Central Council of Ex-Muslims in Germany in 2007. (A sister organization was set up by Maryam Namazie in the UK.) That same year Ahadi won the Irwin Prize for Secularist of the Year from the UK's National Secular Society. She is especially proud of the fact that Richard Dawkins once praised her "a charismatic leader."

Ahadi's fiercest criticism, though, is reserved for Western governments for their policies of "appeasement" and "support" towards Iran and other so-called "Islam-stricken"[58] regimes.[59] She calls for European governments to cut off diplomatic ties with these nations until they put an end to stoning and other human rights violations.[60]

Ahadi's uncompromising positions receive a mixed reception among her fellow human rights activists. "The problem we have," Hadi Ghaemi told me, speaking generally, is that "some people are motivated by their political objectives, not necessarily with the intention of saving that individual [who has been abused]. This makes it difficult to differentiate naming and shaming to fight the Islamic Republic, and naming and shaming to hold Iran to their international obligations."[61] Sussan Tahmasebi, another veteran Iranian human rights activist, adds that these political motives are difficult to disentangle from personal goals. "Many human rights activists try to raise the profile of cases as a way of raising their own profiles," she tells me, "without regard for what may actually have impact."[62]

Indeed, most of the criticism I heard of Ahadi revolved around her relationship to publicity. Put bluntly, reporting by or about Ahadi carries a certain spin. For exam-

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[55] Ahadi and Vogt 2008.
[56] Ohrdorf 2007.
[57] Al-Mikhlafy 2007.
[58] National Secular Society 2007.
[59] Ahadi 2003b.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ghaemi 2015.
[62] Tehmasebi 2015.

ple, she credits ICAS for saving "numerous women" sentenced to death by stoning,[63] including Safieh Hussaini in Nigeria, Zafaran Bibi in Pakistan and Abouka in Sudan,[64] even though I couldn't find any evidence of ICAS involvement with these cases. Likewise, ICAS is often reported to have "over 200 branches throughout the world," when in reality it has over 200 *members*, meaning individuals or entities who sign on to their email list and agree to sign petitions and write protest letters as per campaign recommendations.[65]

Still, Ahadi is incredibly effective at garnering media attention, a skill most human rights activists I spoke with praised, and said was crucial for their work. Her crowning achievement in this regard was Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani.

2 Sakineh as a Cause

2.1 A Phone Call, a Letter, and a Photograph

The way that Ahadi tells it, Sajjad first cold-called her in 2007. "Is this a human rights organization?" he asked. "My mother is going to be stoned in Iran to death. Mina, you have to help me." Ahadi promised she would. "'I won't allow your mother to be stoned to death," she told him.[66] It was then that she put him in touch with Mohammadi Mostafaie. Ahadi also claims that ICAS wrote numerous appeal and publicized the case when she first heard from Sajjad in 2007,[67] but I could not find any documentation linking Ahadi to Sakineh until 2009, when Ahadi wrote a few blog posts mentioning Sakineh's case without going into detail.[68]

Three years later, on 2 June 2010, Sajjad called again, warning that his mother would be stoned in two weeks time. This time, Ahadi took direct action. "If you want me to help your mother," she told him, "you have to write a letter together with your sister. You will have to write that 'my mother is going to be stoned to death and I and

[63] Ahadi 2012.
[64] Ahadi 2003b.
[65] Ahadi 2003a.
[66] Ahadi 2011.
[67] Ahadi 2010a.
[68] The earliest documentation I can find linking Ahadi to Sakineh is a blog post / appeal published 3 June 2009 on the website for "Equal Rights Now" – another group under the Count Me In – Iran umbrella organization. The appeal mentions Sakineh's name along with two others – Kobra Babaie and Rahim Mohammadi – all of whom were said to be awaiting stoning in Tabriz prison, but doesn't go into any details regarding Sakineh's case. Besides being the first piece of evidence linking Ahadi to Sakineh, the post is also noteworthy for including the earliest publication of Sakineh's photo that I can find – the infamous passport shot that was eventually disseminated around the globe. Ahadi 2009a. A few days later, on 7 June 2009, Ahadi mentioned Sakineh again in an open letter to President Obama, in which she mentions speaking to Sakineh's daughter, but again does not go into the details. See Ahadi 2009b.

my sister, we don't want this to happen.'"[69] Personal touches like letters are important, according to Ahadi, in order to "give a face to these people," meaning victims.[70] Likewise, Ahadi requested that Sajjad send her a photo of Sakineh, from her identity card. "Because with a photo I can show: She has feelings, she has dreams, she has thoughts."[71]

Sajjad responded to Ahadi's request, sending her a letter written in Persian, which she then circulated. The letter was quickly translated by Mission Free Iran, a sister group of ICAS, and on 26 June 2010, was published in English, along with a black-and-white identity card photo of Sakineh. The letter starts:

> Do not allow our nightmare [sic] become a reality,
> Protest against our mother's stoning!
> Today we stretch out our hands to the people of the whole world. It is now five years that we have lived in fear and in horror, deprived of motherly love. Is the world so cruel that it can watch this catastrophe and do nothing about it?[72]

Below the letter, Mina Ahadi's name and phone number were listed.

Within days, the letter was translated into dozens of languages, mostly by anonymous readers, and circulated in blogs and list serves.[73] Within two weeks, the story was picked up by *Ynetnews*,[74] *The Jerusalem Post*,[75] *The Daily Mail*,[76] Amnesty International,[77] *CNN*,[78] *The Guardian*,[79] *Newsweek*,[80] and *BBC News*.[81] Thanks to Ahadi's skills as a marketer of human rights causes, the "Sakineh Campaign" was pushed to center stage.

2.2 "One among hundreds"

Throughout the month of July 2010, Sakineh's case ascended to global prominence. Sajjad and Farida's letter galvanized activists, inspired the press, and demanded the attention of governments. Together, these three forces reinforced and motivated each other until the "Save Sakineh" campaign snowballed into an international *cause celebre*, sparking interest and outrage around the world.

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[69] Ahadi 2012.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Mohammadi-Ashtiani and Mohammadi-Ashtiani 2010.
[73] Ahadi 2012.
[74] Dudi Cohen 2010.
[75] The Media Line 2010.
[76] Theodoulou 2010.
[77] Amnesty International 2010a.
[78] Basu 2010.
[79] Dehghan 2010a.
[80] Somaiya 2010a.
[81] BBC News 2010a.

The International Committee to Stop Stoning (ICAS) – for which Ahadi was spokesperson – played a central role in getting Sakineh's name in the media and keeping it there. First and foremost they crafted a compelling story, complete with a photo of a beautiful woman, the pleas of children fighting to save her, and the courage of tireless advocates willing to defy the regime by publicizing her case."[82] ICAS turned Sakineh into a symbol: "One among hundreds, she now represents all victims."[83] In the words of one commentator, Sakineh was a "microcosm of all that the rest of the world recognizes is so terribly and glaringly wrong with Iran."[84]

The brutality of the Iranian state was contrasted with the angelic portrayal of Sakineh herself, an "ordinary woman whose beauty made prisoners and the guards jealous."[85] Despite maintaining that adultery ought not be criminalized, campaigners stressed Sakineh's purity and innocence. Her only crime, it was said, was "to be a woman in Iran."[86] French philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy, who was very active the campaign, speculated in detail about Sakineh's love life in order to prove she did not commit adultery, going so far as to ask Sajjad in an interview whether he thinks his mother was unfaithful to his "allegedly cuckolded father."[87] Like Sakineh's three sentencing judges, Levy, too, judged based on his "sense" and "feeling," but concluded "that Sakineh may have fallen in love, but she probably never acted upon her sentiments."[88]

So important was maintaining Sakineh's innocence that ICAS categorically denied she had any connection to her husband's murder. "We are repeating that Ms. Ashtiani has committed no crime," they said in a press release. "Rather she is an example of the utter oppression of women under the Islamic regime in Iran.[89] Not only did Ahadi and other campaigners downplay the fact that Sakineh was found guilty of being an accessory to murder, they may have intentionally obscured court documentation proving as much.[90]

Besides her beauty and innocence, Sakineh's story captivated audiences precisely because her stoning sentence was imminent, but not yet completed. According to her closest advocates – Sajjad, Mostafaie, and Ahadi – there was still hope, and that hope rested in the global public who had the power to do something about it. The human rights community was nearly unanimous on this point, expressing little doubt over whether Western pressure was helpful or effective towards Sakineh's case. Irshad Man-

[82] Fletcher 2010j.
[83] Ibid.
[84] The Times 2010d.
[85] Dehghan 2010f.
[86] Wente 2010.
[87] Levy 2010b.
[88] Ibid.
[89] International Committee against Stoning 2010r.
[90] I received this information from someone who wishes to remain anonymous..

ji, a well-known Canadian feminist author, acknowledged in an op-ed that international outcry could "be spun as interference, complicating the work of campaigners on the ground in Iran."[91] But she was quickly to dismiss that possibility in this case, saying, "in Iran, activists say global pressure works," citing Nobel-prize winner Shirin Ebadi, who wrote an editorial about the case saying that Sakineh's best hope was for the Western public "to get as noisy as possible."[92]

Manji was following the lead of another noisemaker Heather Reisman, a Canadian woman and chief executive of Indigo Books and Music. After reading a story about the case, Reisman wrote an email to 10 friends and some of North America's most influential women, including Arianna Huffington, Mary Matlin (a political consultant to former United States president George W. Bush) and Samantha Power. "Somehow, notwithstanding the sense of potential futility, I feel we must try and do something," she urged them.[93] Within hours, a petition was created on www.freesakineh.org pleading Iranian authorities to free Sakineh.[94] Like Manji, Reisman was inspired to do something after speaking to "Iranians living in exile, who gave guidance and advice on our course of action,"[95] including Shirin Ebadi, Marina Nemat, and Azar Nafisi.[96] She credited the "empowering nature of the Internet" in providing her the platform for action.[97]

By 27 July 2010, Reisman's petition had reached 137,000 signatures, including celebrities like Michael Douglas, Annie Lennox, and Lindsay Lohan and politicians like Former President of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso and New York major Michael Bloomberg.[98] Similar petitions gathered steam in other countries. A member of the original 10-woman team Louis Dennys, a Random House Publisher, reached out to Luis Schwarcz, head of the Companhia das Letras publishing house in Brazil, who translated the petition to Portuguese and circulated it in that country.[99] (Brazil eventually became an important actor in the Sakineh Affair).

2.3 "If you reduce the pressure, my mother will be executed"

These petitions were heavily covered in major news publications like CNN,[100] the Guardian,[101] the Times of London,[102] BBC, Globe and Mail,[103] which in turn generated

[91] Manji 2010.
[92] Ibid.
[93] McArthur 2010.
[94] Letter to religious authorities 2010.
[95] Spivak 2010.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Reisman 2010.
[98] Spivak 2010.
[99] Ibid.; Levy 2010a.
[100] CNN 2010a.
[101] Dehghan 2010a.

more signatures. In this way, activists and the media had a symbiotic relationship; together, they created the very story that galvanized activists and provided content for journalists.

For Ahadi, media publicity was priority number one. To facilitate coverage, ICAS published several other letters and interviews with Sajjad and Farideh, and introduced them to Western journalists.[104] They invited media to protest events organized outside Iranian embassies in London and Washington D.C.[105] They also published press releases containing exclusive information about the status of Sakineh's case, garnered mostly from her children and unnamed sources. ICAS's updates stressed the urgency of Sakineh's situation, warning that she could be stoned at any minute. They used media savvy and emotive titles like "The Government of Murderers!"[106] and "Sakineh's children still worried."[107]

Media coverage became both the means and the goal, creating a feedback loop that generated confidence on the part of activists, and thus more activism. ICAS often issued press releases detailing how much publicity they were getting; the news was that ICAS was in the news.[108] Sometimes, Ahadi herself became the story, with her own history standing in for the injustices suffered by Sakineh. In one representative CNN profile of Ahadi, it reads:

> Through a bullhorn, Ahadi appeals to the passing masses to support people condemned to death half a world away – sentenced to die by stoning or hanging in Iran for offenses that would not nearly be criminal in a western democracy. Ahadi is herself a perfect example. She and her husband were sentenced to death right after the Islamic Revolution. Their capital offense? "I protested against the Islamic regime," says Ahadi, a medical student at the time, "and against the head scarf law back then."[109]

Here and elsewhere, the details of Ahadi's involvement with a Marxist-Leninist separatist group, calling for a violent overthrow of a recognized government, were omitted.

The media did more than simply report on the campaign; they got involved. Martin Fletcher from the *Times* (London) and Saeed Kamali Dehghan from the *Guardian* covered Sakineh's case extensively for months; both took credit for bringing the story to

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[102] Smyth 2010.
[103] McArthur 2010.
[104] Dehghan 2010a.
[105] R.E.A.L. Organization 2010; International Committee against Stoning 2010c.
[106] Ahadi 2010c.
[107] Ahadi 2010b.
[108] For example: Ahadi 2010d.
[109] Brumfield 2010.

light and sparking the international campaign.[110] The *Times* was especially involved, publishing 538 articles mentioning Sakineh's name, dwarfing other outlets. (Martin Fletcher was usually on the byline.) On 8 July, the paper published its own open letter protesting Sakineh's sentence, signed by 80 "A-list" celebrities "from Robert De Niro to the President of East Timor."[111] They also organized a "stone-in" on 9 July, where protesters acted out the punishment in front of the Iranian embassy in London.[112]

The *Times* reported on several occasions about its own influence in the campaign, as well as affirmations from Sakineh's closest advocates.[113] In one story, it quoted Mostafaie:

> The Iranian human rights lawyer representing Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani praised *The Times* last night for its campaign to save her from execution. "You have no idea how thrilled we were to hear a British newspaper had stood up for this woman and put her on their front page," Mohammed Mostafaie said… "I have been working on this case for many months but since your paper's publication this morning, I have had over a hundred phone calls."[114]

The *Times* also quoted Sajjad, whose gratitude was particularly powerful in motivating the campaign. In a column entitled "It is only publicity in the West that has stayed the execution," Martin Fletcher quoted Sajjad as saying: "I beg you, don't give up. If you were not there, my mother would already be dead." Sakineh's life, he said, was in the hands of the *Times* and its readers: "If you reduce the pressure, my mother will be executed."[115]

As for Sakineh herself, she was rarely heard from directly. But Ahadi did manage to relay a message from her during a press conference held by ICAS on 30 July: "I thank all of you from Tabriz prison," the message read. "Mrs. Ahadi, tell everyone that I'm afraid of dying. Help me stay alive and hug my children."[116] A few days later on 6 August, the Guardian printed an "exclusive" interviewed with Sakineh (through an unnamed intermediary) where she denies committing adultery or murder. Why, then, was she being persecuted? "The answer is quite simple," she answers. "It's because I'm a woman. It's because they think they can do anything to women in this country."[117] Over all, one message was repeated again and again: international pressure was Sakineh's only hope.

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[110] Fletcher 2010h.
[111] The Times 2010a.
[112] Smyth 2010; Fletcher and Keeley 2010.
[113] Smyth 2010; Fletcher and Keeley 2010.
[114] Staff 2010.
[115] Fletcher 2010i.
[116] International Committee against Stoning 2010i.
[117] Dehghan 2010c.

2.4 Triumph and Emergency

Besides the gratitude of Sakineh's family, the campaign was bolstered by a few early victories: On 7 July, Foreign Office Minister to the U.K. Alistair Burt issued a statement saying he was "deeply distressed" by the news of Sakineh's stoning, calling it "medieval."[118] In response, the Iranian embassy to the U.K. issued a statement saying that "according to information from the relevant judicial authorities in Iran, she will not be executed by stoning punishment."[119] Western media celebrated the announcement as confirmation that Iran was "bowing to international pressure."[120] "Our campaign has shown that we can force the regime to back down," Ahadi announced. "Our pressure is working."[121]

At the same time she took credit for the victory, however, Ahadi also urged campaigners not to slow down their efforts. The announcement from the Iranian embassy, she said, was a ruse to "create doubt and detract from the campaign to save Sakineh" [122] and warned that "her execution is becoming ever more probable."[123] Mostafaie, too, was cautious: "Iran needs more than an Internet outcry, a newspaper campaign or the clamor of celebrities," he told the *Times*. "The penal code for adultery needs to be changed."[124] After hearing these warnings, major publications began reporting that Sakineh might be hanged instead of stoned.[125] In this way, Ahadi was able to transmit a tone of hopeful urgency, a sense of simultaneous triumph and precariousness. Every development in Sakineh's case from then on was seen as proof both that the campaign was working, as well as that it needed to intensify.

To Ahadi's delight, the campaign did indeed gain momentum, demanding the attention of more and more Western governments. Because the intensity of the campaign was its own barometer of success, every additional voice was a sign of victory. Diplomatic officials denounced Sakineh's stoning sentence in United Kingdom,[126] Canada,[127] Italy,[128]It France,[129] Spain,[130] Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark and Iceland,[131]

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[118] Burt 2010.
[119] Channel 4 News 2010b.
[120] The Hindustan Times 2010.
[121] Channel 4 News 2010a.
[122] Ahadi 2010d; Channel 4 News 2010a.
[123] Iranian Students News Agency 2010b.
[124] Staff 2010.
[125] Levy 2010a; Fletcher and Bannerman 2010; Channel 4 News 2010a; Daragahi and Katz 2010.
[126] Agence France-Presse (AFP) 2010.
[127] Akin 2010.
[128] International Committee against Stoning 2010e.
[129] RFI 2010a.
[130] EFE 2010.
[131] Europe 1 2010.

and the United States.[132] On 8 September 2010, the European Parliament adopted the "Resolution on the human rights situation in Iran, in particular the cases of Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani and Zahra Bahrami."[133] European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso said of the vote: "In my long experience in the European Parliament, I have never known such a huge majority in favor of a resolution of this type, one vote against, 22 abstentions and [over] 600 in favor."[134] (The one vote against was later reported to be an error and was to be amended in the later parliamentary records.)[135]

Some national leaders adopted the case as a personal cause. In Canada, Laureen Harper, the wife of the Prime Minister, added her name to Reisman's www.freesakineh.org petition.[136] French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner said he was "ready to do anything to save [Sakineh]. If I must go to Tehran to save her, I'll go to Tehran."[137] Carla Bruni-Sarkozy wrote a personal letter to Sakineh.[138] "Your face, your brain, your soul, transformed into a target for stone throwers… this nightmarish image that revolts us… might become reality," she wrote. "France will not abandon you."[139] That same week, France urged the European Union to threaten new sanctions against Iran in order to pressure the regime to release Sakineh.[140]

The campaign's biggest success, however, and the biggest turning point in Sakineh's case, came on 31 July 2010, when Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva offered Sakineh a home in exile in Brazil. "If my friendship and affection for the president of Iran [Mahmoud Ahmadinejad] matters, and if this woman is causing problems there, we will welcome her here in Brazil," Lula said.[141] The announcement was reported around the world as an unexpected twist, not only in the Sakineh campaign but in Brazil-Iran relations in general.

3 Sakineh as a Dilemma

Sakineh presented a dilemma for Iranian leadership, especially after Brazil got involved. For Iranian authorities, stoning was not merely a domestic norm, a religious requirement, or traditional practice. Rather, it was politically loaded and highly conten-

[132] CNN 2010a.
[133] European Parliament 2010.
[134] Ibid. See explanation of votes.
[135] Casert 2010.
[136] Akin 2010.
[137] Al Arabiya 2010d.
[138] RFI 2010a; Fletcher 2010c. Her letter was included with two others from French public figures: Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the former French President, and Segolene Royal, the former French presidential candidate.
[139] RFI 2010a.
[140] RFI 2010b.
[141] Barrionuevo 2010.

tious issue, inextricably tied to the legacy of the Islamic Revolution and its core discourses on Western imperialism, cultural authenticity, self-determination, and Iran's reputation on the world stage. Thus to understand Iran's reaction to the international pressure demanding an end to its stoning law, we need to know how stoning emerged in the first place, and how it came to represent a political dilemma for its leadership.

3.1 The History of Stoning

The history of stoning in Iran is, in many ways, the history of the Islamic Republic. The practice was unheard of in modern Iran before 1979, and first introduced during the political and social upheaval brought on Islamic Revolution. One of the most popular revolutions in modern history, the Islamic Revolution not only succeeded in removing the dictatorial Pahlavi regime but introduced far-reaching social, economic, and political changes to Iranian society. Other scholars have written poignantly on the history and ideology of the Revolution, but three points are worth repeating here.

First, the Islamic Revolution was predicated on a political discourse that diagnosed cultural imperialism as the main ontological threat to an authentic, flourishing Iran. In the revolutionary paradigm, the imperialist domination of Muslim societies was achieved not though military or economic domination per se, but the manipulation and undermining of religion and culture, i.e. *gharbzadegi*, or "Westoxification."[142] The Shah came to manifest cultural imperialism, and the Islamic Revolution its defeat.

Second, because women were so important to the modernization policies under the Pahlavi regimes, they were once again taken as the cornerstones of the opposition during the Islamic Revolution. Both secular and religious camps associated the "modern" gender policies of the Shah with dictatorship, imperialism and political repression. In the paradigm of cultural imperialism, women's bodies were considered the main terrain in which the process of geopolitical domination took place.[143]

Third, and as a result, sexual deviance became closely associated with imperialist domination, counterrevolution, and a threat to the survival of the budding Islamic Republic. After the defeat of the Shah, one initiative implemented by revolutionaries was a broad "anti-corruption" campaign that sought to combat "cultural counterrevolution" by cleansing the post-revolutionary society of any infiltration of "Western" gender relations.[144] As the family was turned into a political institution, the violation of laws intended to protect it – e.g. adultery – became political crimes against the State. Not only were sexual crimes "political" in the sense that they threatened the preservation of the Islamic family and thus the national order, foreign interference in the punishment of these crimes was considered a threat to the ontological security of Iran itself.

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[142] Arjomand 1988; Ahmad, Green, and Alizadeh 1982; Boroujerdi 1992; Moaddel 1992.
[143] Afary 2009; Moallem 2005; Najmabadi 1991; Tohidi 1994; Paidar 1997; Yeganeh 1993.
[144] Paidar 1997, 345; Yeganeh 1993.

In this context, stoning was introduced as a revolutionary act meant to thwart foreign domination. The punishment was first implemented not by the leaders of the Islamic Revolution but by small Revolutionary Courts run by local clerics and their militias of radicalized youth, who implemented stoning as part of their mandate to safeguard the provinces against political and military counter-revolution.[145] The first case of stoning was reported in July 1980 from Kerman, a city in southeastern Iran, and was reported on State-run television.[146] After these few courts began implementing stoning, other courts across the country followed suit. Stoning became codified in law after the revolutionary courts withered away with the passing of the Islamic Penal Code in 1983.

3.2 The Stoning Dilemma

From its inception, stoning was the subject of intense debate and disagreement inside Iran.[147] Immensely unpopular among domestic and foreign populations alike, the practice presented a dilemma to Iranian leadership. On the one hand, stoning was Shari'a (at least according to authoritative clerics),[148] and Iran could not change its sovereign laws based on the disapproval of non-Muslim countries, as this would violate the entire ethos of the Islamic Revolution. As Western interference (especially in sexual matters) became associated with cultural imperialism, counterrevolution, and even threats to national security, stoning became the ultimate symbol of sovereignty. Western condemnation was not just expected but *welcomed* in that it bolstered the national narrative of Iran as an Islamic protagonist standing up to imperialist enemies.

On the other hand, adherence to traditional Shari'a sometimes conflicted with the interested of the Islamic Republic, and even Islam itself. Azam Teleghani, a woman Member of Parliament, protested against stoning when it first emerged, arguing that it would only strengthen oppositional propaganda against the newly established Islamic Republic.[149] Her position was echoed among a number of liberal clerics, including Khomeini's son Ahmad, who thought stoning harmed the national interest of Iran and damaged the reputation of Islam.[150]

In some sense, stoning represented the dilemma of the Islamic Republic itself: Which matters take priority when Islamic governance conflicts with Islamic law? How should the Islamic Republic balance the national interests with the legacy of the Islamic Revolution? These were highly contentious political questions. Khomeini himself was

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[145] Sadr 2010.

[146] Ibid., 7.

[147] Abbasgholizadeh 2007.

[148] For more on the contentious religious debate surrounding stoning, see Terman and Fijabi 2010.

[149] Sadr 2010, 7.

[150] Paidar 1997, 346; Terman and Fijabi 2010. Even Knomeini would not initially condone this punishment. See Abbasgholizadeh 2007.

deeply embroiled in such conundrums during his tenure, culminating in a letter he issued in 1988, where he said: "The government is empowered to unilaterally revoke any Shari'a agreements which it has concluded with the people when these agreements are contrary to the interest of the country or Islam."[151]

But while Khomeini could theoretically abolish stoning, he lacked either the will or power to do so. Instead, his proffered solution was for stoning to remain in the penal code but not enforced. That way, traditionalists were satisfied that the Islamic Republic was being ruled by Shari'a, while pragmatists were satisfied that the country could avoid significant international scrutiny and domestic outcry, because no one was actually being stoned to death. That compromise was sustained, more or less, for the next 20 years.[152] While authorities never explicitly denied that stoning was part of their penal code, neither did they formulate a clear defense of the practice.[153] When challenged by human rights groups, they usually countered by saying that the penalty was rarely carried out and practically abandoned.

Stoning was put back on the agenda during the presidency of reformist Mohammad Khatami, (1997-2005) who eagerly wanted to engage the West with his "Dialogue of Civilizations" initiative. For Khatami, stoning only served to tarnish the country's reputation among friends and enemies alike. According to a European diplomat present at those negotiations, "the Iranians were frustrated that they were losing points for behavior they could easily change and didn't view as strategic priority."[154] In December 2002, while in the course of negotiation with the European Union, Iran imposed an official moratorium on stoning under the direction of the head of the Judiciary Ayatollah Shahroudi, while again keeping the law officially "on the books."

Khatami's pragmatic vision threatened the traditional clerical class, who found themselves losing governing authority to technocrats. A concentrated attack by "hardliners" led to the election of President Ahmadinejad (2005-2013) and with it, a partial revival of stoning. Unlike pragmatists or reformers, hardliners were known for their resistance to social pressure, either from domestic or international sources. Defiance was their defining political characteristic.[155] In this context, while stoning remained discouraged, the checks that kept lower level judges from imposing the punishment during

[151] Tamadonfar 2001.

[152] Stoning remained on the books. So even though judges were encouraged to find alternative punishments for adultery, some low-level courts – usually clustered in particular provinces like Tabriz – ordered it anyway. We don't know how many stonings took place between the ratification of the Islamic Penal Code in 1983 to 2002 because they were conducted secretly in private prison compounds, and the media was banned from reporting on them. Ultimately, leaks from prisons and other covert sources indicate that at least two dozen stonings occurred, and probably more. Abbasgholizadeh 2007; Sadr 2010.

[153] Leyne 2010a.

[154] Moaveni 2010.

[155] Sadr 2010.

Khatami's administration dissolved. On 7 May 2006, two individuals were stoned to death near Mashhad, marking the first report of stoning since Shahroudi's 2002 moratorium. On 5 July 2007, another individual, Jafar Kiani, died of stoning in Agche-kand village in Ghazvin.[156]

These deaths mobilized local civil society to protest the stoning law, giving rise to national initiatives such as the Stop Stoning Forever Campaign, and putting stoning back on the international human rights agenda.[157] But, perhaps counter-intuitively, this only intensified the incentives for Iranian hardliners to double-down on the legitimacy of the punishment as a way to defy civil society. In the words of Iranian journalist Niusha Boghrati,

> Media attention of cases like [Sakineh's] actually increases the chances that this woman will be executed because the government wants to prove to civil society groups that no matter how hard you try, and how much support you get from the UN or international human rights groups, we still have the capacity to curb you.[158]

3.3 Brazil as a turning point

When Brazil unexpectedly entered the debate, the latent dilemma underlying Iran's stoning policy pushed into full relief. This was mostly due to the close ties between the two nations. At the time, Ahmadinejad was making a concerted effort to extend Iran's influence in Latin America, opening six new embassies in the region from 2005 to 2009.[159] "When the Western countries were trying to isolate Iran, we went to the U.S. backyard," he declared.[160] The budding relationship between Iran and these nations was build not on mutual economic self-interest as well as a shared anti-U.S. and anti-imperialist ideology. Ahmadinejad was hailed as a "gladiator of anti-imperialist struggles" by Venezuelan President Hugo Chaves.[161]

Special attention was paid to Brazil, the largest economy in the region and one of the fastest growing in the world. In November 2009, Ahmadinejad became the first Iranian president to make a state visit to the country since the Islamic Revolution. For Brazil's leadership, a relationship with Iran was part and parcel with an overall desire for

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[156] Terman 2007.

[157] Ibid.

[158] The Media Line 2010.

[159] These included Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Uruguay, in addition to the five embassies already in operation, i.e. Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico and Venezuela. See Arnson, Esfandiari, and Stubits 2010.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid.

foreign policy independence and international partnerships beyond the U.S.[162] With this aim in mind, Brazilian President Lula da Silva publicly defended Iran's right to peaceful nuclear energy and voted against U.N. sanctions, infuriating the West.[163]

Lula's interference into the Sakineh affair was, by all accounts, an about-face for a country reputed for its policy of non-interference. In fact, only a few days before offering Sakineh asylum in Brazil, Lula repeated that Iran's laws needed to be respected.[164] But he supposedly had a change of heart after reading more about Sakineh, and became willing to enter "turbulent waters" in order to save her.[165] Still, the offer was carefully worded, characterizing Sakineh as someone inconveniencing the Iranian government rather than a victim of its cruelties.[166] Behind the scenes, some speculated that Lula offered Sakineh asylum for political reasons, in an effort to weaken his opposing party, who was critical of Lula's relationship with Iran.[167] The announcement was also a way to flex Brazil's foreign policy muscle. If Lula was successful with Sakineh, it would showcase the county's growing political capital in international affairs. Shaming was an exercise in world power.

For the Iranian leadership, pressure from Brazil meant something very different than pressure from Canada or France. Sakineh became a major liability, embarrassing Iran in the eyes of its allies and threatening its international reputation. In the words of one editorial, "[d]espite the daily acts of defiance, the Islamic Republic is deeply sensitive to the way it is seen by the outside world."[168] At the same time, Western activism was only bolstered by Brazil's announcement, exciting Iran's "proud, shameless reaction." Any move that could be seen as bowing down to Western pressure was intolerable for hardliners. Haleh Esfandiari articulated the conundrum this way:

> There are those in the regime who wish this whole affair would disappear because they see it as an embarrassment for Iran, and there are those who argue that the government should not cave in to international pressure and are looking for ways to carry out the sentence and hang her.[169]

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[162] Ibid.

[163] Leyne 2010b; The Economist 2010. For Lula, reaching out to Iran was also part of his ambition for a more influential presence on the world stage, with Brazil playing a larger role in attempting to broker peace in the Middle East, for instance. In fact, Ahmadinejad's visit came on the heels of visits by both Israeli President Shimon Peres and Palestinian Authority president Mahmoud Abbas. See Arnson, Esfandiari, and Stubits 2010.

[164] Barrionuevo 2010.

[165] Ibid.

[166] The Economist 2010.

[167] Ibid.; Camarena 2010.

[168] Leyne 2010a.

[169] Esfandiari 2010b.

In other words, the fault line among Iranian's leadership was not between those who supported stoning and those who did not. Rather, it was between those who didn't want stoning to tarnish the reputation of the regime, and those who didn't want to bow down to Western pressure – which would tarnish the reputation of the Revolution. Brazil's entrance into the debacle constituted a domestic crisis by virtue of these cleavages. The Sakineh Campaign was now the Sakineh Affair.

4 Summary Thus Far

To review, this chapter described the context surrounding shaming in the Sakineh case. It narrated the build-up of the campaign from obscurity to global *cause celebre,* introducing the main actors – Sakineh's family, her lawyer Mohammad Mostafaie, the global activist Mina Ahadi, and various journalists and celebrities – and their motives. I also described the rhetorical themes that inspired worldwide condemnation: Sakineh's innocence and purity, Iran's brutality and misogyny, Western condemnation as Sakineh's only hope, a sense of simultaneous triumph (that the campaign was working) and precariousness (that Sakineh could be stoned at any moment), and the notion that the intensity of the campaign was its own barometer of success.

I also addressed the political context in Iran in order to explain how the campaign was received and understood by Iranian leaders. I argued that stoning – as well as foreign condemnation of stoning – presented a dilemma for Iranian political leadership by virtue of intersubjective understandings surrounding Iranian national identity and legitimacy. This dilemma manifested in domestic cleavages that sought different strategies to deal with foreign shaming in order to maintain Iran's reputation in the eyes of the world.

So what does all of this say about the consequences of the Sakineh campaign? The next chapter provides that account.

Chapter 6 The Micro-Politics of Defiance:
Iran and the Sakineh Affair, Part 2

At the time Lula made his announcement, Mohammadi Mostafaie was missing. A week earlier on 22 July 2010, Mostafaie was summoned to the 2nd Branch of Shahid Moghaddas Court's Interrogation Office in Evin Prison,[1] where he was questioned about some financial issues.[2] A few days later, authorities issued a warrant for his arrest for fraud and ransacked his office. When they failed to find him, authorities arrested Mostafaie's wife Fereshteh Halimi and brother-in-law Farhad Halimi.[3] "They took my wife hostage to get hold of me," Mostafaie recounted. "If I'd surrendered in that situation they would think they could do that to anyone."[4]

Mostafaie fled to Turkey, where he was briefly detained before obtaining asylum in Norway.[5] His relatives in Iran were released shortly thereafter.[6] On 3 September, Mostafaie's wife and 7-year-old daughter escaped Iran to join him in Norway. Martin Fletcher from the *Times* was at Oslo airport to greet them.[7] Mostafaie said that he hoped he could return to Iran but only if his safety could be guaranteed. "Right now, I've lost the ability to work on the behalf of my clients. That means I've lost everything. Without that, it doesn't matter whether I'm in heaven or hell."[8]

Mostafaie's exile significantly intensified the Sakineh campaign, provoking a renewed onslaught of international condemnation. How would Iran respond? This chapter picks up where the last one left off, narrating Iran's counter-shaming campaign, the escalation of the international conflict, and the eventual consequences of the Sakineh campaign. The first section describes Iran's counter-shaming campaign and the rhetorical devices it used to provide an alternative account of the Sakineh affair. Section 2 narrates the publicity war between Western advocates and Iranian officials, tracing the co-

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[1] Ahadi 2010e; Dehghan 2010g.

[2] International Committee against Stoning 2010q.

[3] Dehghan 2010e; Esfandiari 2010a; International Committee against Stoning 2010q. Halimi's father (Mostafaie's father-in-law) was also arrested at a later time. See Fletcher 2010h.

[4] Fletcher 2010g.

[5] Bednarz 2010; Dehghan 2010d; Fletcher 2010e; Mostafaie 2010a; Telegraph 2010b.

[6] International Committee against Stoning 2010f; Fletcher 2010h. Mostafaie's brother-in-law and father-in-law were released before his wife.

[7] Fletcher 2010l; Watson 2010.

[8] Telegraph 2010b.

constitution of shaming and defiance. Section 3 describes the final consequences of the affair, emphasizing its ambivalent effects for the actors involved.

1 Sakineh as Damage Control

1.1 The Counter-Shaming Campaign

While Iranian leaders were split on what to do about Sakineh and the stoning law, they agreed on the need to discredit the negative publicity threatening Iran's reputation around the world. So authorities embarked on an intense counter-shaming campaign. It was a bold move for a country that, until this point, tended to respond to criticism about its stoning law with deflection and evasiveness. Iran's publicists focused on conveying three points to domestic and international audiences: First, they redirected attention to an aspect of the story whitewashed by Sakineh's advocates: her husband's murder. Second, they denounced the campaign to save her as a political ruse meant to sabotage Iran's alliances. Third, they targeted Mina Ahadi personally, arguing that the campaign was more about her ideological goals than human rights.

1.1.1 Sakineh is a murderer

On 3 August, Iran officially rejected Brazil's offer of asylum, but did so a markedly gracious way. Ramin Mehmanparast, spokesperson of the foreign ministry in Tehran, called Lula "a very humane and emotional person" who had not been fully informed on the case, adding that the details would soon be made clear to him.[9] Heretofore, information about the murder had been kept from the public, Iranian officials said, because the details were "too horrific" to disclose.[10] "[Sakineh's] contribution to the murder of her husband was so harsh and heart-breaking," according to East Azerbaijan judiciary head Malek Ejdar Sharifi, "that many criminologists believe that it would have been better for her to have decapitated her husband."[11]

By deflecting the adultery angle, Iran attempted to normalize the case as a criminal matter, not one of human rights, while legitimizing Iran's Judiciary. "This dossier looks like many other dossiers that exist in other countries,"[12] Mehmanparast told Press TV, Iran's English language television outlet. "If in human societies we were expected to release those who commit serious crimes, we would also have to ask you to release your murderers."[13] Sakineh was found guilty of murder, authorities said, and Iran was like every other country in their practice of punishing murderers.

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[9] Associated Press 2010.
[10] Yong 2010b.
[11] LA Times 2010.
[12] Al Arabiya 2010d.
[13] Radio Zamaneh 2010.

To clarify, Mehmanparast and other Judicial spokesmen never explicitly denied that Sakineh was sentenced to stoning for adultery. But they were careful not to mention stoning explicitly, saying only that "the verdict regarding the extramarital affairs has stopped and it's being reviewed."[14] Sakineh's "death sentence," Mehmanparast insisted, was related to her murder charges.[15]

Sakineh's advocates immediately contested those claims. On 7 August, ICAS released copies of official court documents of Sakineh's second trial, proving that the death conviction was related to adultery only.[16] Houtan Kian, who replaced Mohammad Mostafaie as Sakineh's lawyer, found those documents during the course of his research in Tabriz. "It was thanks to him that we had the sentence - the documentation," says Roya Boroumand, who credits Kian for contributing a crucial element in the campaign. "It was no joke!"[17] Indeed, most of what we now know about Sakineh's trail comes directly from Kian's research. Unfortunately, court documents of Ghaderzadeh's murder trial were lost, most likely destroyed by Iranian intelligence officials at the height of the controversy.[18]

Even sections of the Iranian Judiciary contradicted Mahmanparast's claims. In August, the Human Rights Division of the Judiciary compiled a report confirming that Sakineh was sentenced to 10 years prison for accessory to murder, and stoning for adultery.[19] But in an effort to normalize the case and legitimize Iran's Judiciary, Mehman-

[14] Al Arabiya 2010d; The New York Times 2010.

[15] Al Arabiya 2010d.

[16] International Committee against Stoning 2010d.

[17] Boroumand 2015.

[18] International Committee Against Stoning 2010b; Dehghan and Black 2010b.

[19] Ironically, this report converged in most respects to research conducted by Amnesty International and Sakineh's lawyers. Here's a summary: In 2005, Ibrahim Ghaderzadeh was murdered. Sakineh was placed under investigation, and confessed to having an illegitimate relationship with Isa Taheri for two months before he "deceived" her into helping him murder Ghaderzadeh. Together, Sakineh injected Ghaderzadeh with a syringe and Taheri electrocuted him. Sakineh was charged with being an accessory to murder and also for adultery. Concerning the adultery charge, an order of incompetence was issued on the credibility of the province penal courts and the facts were sent to the Sixth Penal Court of the Province of East Azerbaijan." (This might be an attempt to explain the double jeopardy following the initial trial of "illicit relations" or the sentence of 99 lashes, which go unmentioned in the report.) The Sixth Penal Court sentenced Sakineh to stoning for adultery according to Judicial Verdict 19/6/85-38. The verdict was confirmed by Bench 39 of National Supreme Court in Verdict 6/3/1386-206/29. Sakineh and Taheri's murder charges were then brought to Bench 12 of the Province of East Azerbaijan. Under Verdict 15/8/85-39, Taheri was sentenced to death and Sakineh to 10 years imprisonment. Bench 31 of the National Supreme Court confirmed those verdicts in Verdict 20/1/86-46/31. Taheri's death sentence was commuted to 10 years imprisonment after the exchange of blood money, overseen by Bench 12 of the Province of East Azerbaijan Penal Court in verdict 22/1/88-88099741272000003. See Jomhuri-ye Eslami 2010.

parast insisted that Sakineh's murder charges were still under active investigation, and that the verdict would be issued soon.[20]

1.1.2 The politicization of human rights

Second, Iran claimed that by turning the case into a human rights matter, the West was politicizing the issue for geopolitical ends. Mehmanparast called the Sakineh Affair "a Western conspiracy to interfere in international relations of countries," in order to sabotage the consensus between Iran, Brazil, and Turkey regarding Iran's nuclear program.[21] "They have tried to exploit this case, politicize it and turn it into a political charade," he told Press TV.[22]

Ahmadinejad was particularly vocal on this point, which is not surprising given his political signature as an anti-imperialist populist. In a 19 September interview with American journalist Christian Amanpour, Ahmadinejad patently denied that Sakineh was ever sentenced to stoning, contradicting his own judiciary.[23] The denial provoked heavy criticism from Western commentators, and was easily disproven.[24] But Ahmadinejad quickly went on the offensive, accusing the West of hypocrisy. Speaking to a group of Muslim students during his New York City tour, Ahmadinejad compared the "Western media storm" over Sakineh to the lack of protests over Teresa Lewis, a 41-year-old grandmother from Virginia on death row.[25]

According to Ahmadinejad, Western governments concocted the Sakineh campaign as a political tool to attack Iran. It is illuminating Addressing people in the northern city of Gorgan on 5 October, the President said:

> In my recent visit [to New York], as you have seen, they [the West] used all humane values as a tool to dominate other nations. A woman in a part of Iran has made a mistake and faced trial. They made such a hue and cry in the world that if you visit one of these search engines [on the Internet] you will realize that they made around four million pages against Iran under the pretext of this issue. Who are the people behind this scene? The same people who are active behind the scene in America. The same people who are active behind the scene in the Zionist regime. The same people who are actually running America. The same group who decided to wage a war in Afghanistan and Iraq. The same people who turned 9/11 into a pretext to massacre other nations."[26]

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[20] Al Arabiya 2010d; The New York Times 2010.
[21] Radio Zamaneh 2010.
[22] Press TV 2010a.
[23] Interview with Clinton and Ahmadinejad 2010.
[24] Farley 2010.
[25] Fletcher 2010a; Islamic Republic News Agency 2010.
[26] Islamic Republic of Iran News Network 2010b.

Thus the global shaming over Sakineh was, according to Ahmadinejad, part in parcel with America's military campaign in the Middle East – a direct attack on Iran's security interests and regional influence. Importantly, the Sakineh campaign demonstrated the *weakness* of the U.S. in the face of ascending Iranian influence:

> They planned to save the US economy from one side and on the other side they could see that the Iranian nation's great revolution was conquering not only the Middle East and the Southwest Asia, but all the continents like a great cultural flood at a fast pace. And nations are joining the justice seeking and monotheist caravan of the Iranian nation. They sat and thought about what to do to break the great revolutionary wave. They decided that the Middle East and Southwest Asia had to be occupied by their armed forces.[27]

For Ahmadinejad, shaming over Sakineh and imperialist domination were one in the same. By framing the situation in this way, Ahmadinejad made it all but a political impossibility to release Sakineh.

1.1.3 Ahadi as the mastermind

Third, Iran argued that the Sakineh campaign was masterminded by a renowned anti-Iran activist – i.e. Mina Ahadi – who manipulates information in order to serve her own political ends: to attack, stigmatize and discredit the entire Iranian regime. In his interview with Amanpour, Ahmadinejad referred to her obliquely: "An individual in Germany has created a disturbance with the publication of forged news. This has turned opinion against Iran."[28] Likewise, Manouchehr Mottaki, an Iranian Foreign Minister, told *Der Spiegel*:

> The West must be careful not to allow itself to be misled by people who seek to harm our reputation. Many of the things that were reported on the most recent case are either completely incorrect or contradictory… The campaign is now backed by people who, with the help of a few European politicians and the media, are playing a rigged game. We will soon announce further information about what is behind this game.[29]

The "rigged game" was orchestrated, according to Iranian officials, by none other than Mina Ahadi.

Amazingly, Ahadi did not deny any of these charges. In fact, she accepted the accusation as an honor, confirming that the campaign was an *intentional* attack on the en-

[27] Islamic Republic of Iran News Network 2010c.
[28] International Committee against Stoning 2010b.
[29] Fletcher 2010k.

tire Iranian political system. "This is a movement against the Islamic regime of Iran," Ahadi wrote, "which perpetrates murder and crime."[30]

1.2 "If they can get away with stoning Sakineh they can get away with anything."[31]

I would argue that Iran's response to the campaign went beyond mere intransigence to palpable defiance. At times, Iranian authorities made choices that seemed to accomplish nothing but provoke more fury. For instance, after French first lady Carla Bruni published an open letter to Sakineh in late August, the conservative *Kayhan* newspaper, considered the mouthpiece of Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamene'i, responded with an article calling Bruni a "French prostitute" and a home wrecker.[32] After the French Foreign Ministry condemned the paper, *Keyhan* double downed, repeating the charge that Bruni was an "Italian prostitute," and adding:

> A look at Carla Bruni's past clearly shows why this woman with a bad track record has supported an Iranian woman who has committed adultery, is an accomplice in the murder of her husband and has been sentenced to death. In fact, she [Carla Bruni] herself also deserves death.[33]

Likewise, when Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi condemned the case, *Kayhan* published another story with the headline "Italian Mafia leader joins the band to defend betrayal and crime."[34]

The move by *Kayhan* fractured domestic parties. The foreign relations arm of the Iranian government tried to distance itself from the remarks, with Foreign Ministry spokesman Ramin Mehmanparast saying that insulting foreign dignitaries like Carla Bruni-Sarkozy was incorrect and not sanctioned by the government.[35] Even Ahmadinejad condemned the insults (without explicitly naming *Kayhan*), calling them "contrary to religion" and "a crime worse than a crime." "If there really is justice," he said, "the perpetrators should be prosecuted."[36]

Perhaps most confounding was Iran's decision to put Sakineh on State television on three separate occasions, given that stoning was an intensely taboo topic in Iranian media. The first time was on 11 August, when Sakineh appeared on the '20:30' program broadcasted by *Seda va Sima,* the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting, largely thought

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[30] International Committee against Stoning 2010b.
[31] Fletcher 2010f.
[32] Islamic Republic of Iran News Network 2010a.
[33] Keyhan 2010b.
[34] Keyhan 2010a.
[35] Al Arabiya 2010b.
[36] Al Arabiya 2010a.

to be controlled by Iran's intelligence services.[37] The interview was part of a polished prime-time event, complete with appearances by the case's prosecutor and Sakineh's friends and family.[38] In a strange effort to protect her identity, Sakineh's face was blurred, while a subtitle introduced her as "S.A." along with the words "The case of murder tainted with immorality." [39]

Holding a piece of paper in her left hand, Sakineh spoke into the microphone in her native Azeri as a Persian voice-over translates, discussing her relationship with her husband's cousin and the murder of her husband. While she did not explicitly confess to murder, Sakineh said that the man (i.e. Isa Taheri) "deceived me with his words."[40]

> He told me: 'Let's kill your husband'! I totally could not believe that my husband would be killed. I thought he was joking … Later, I found out that killing was his profession. He came (to our house) and brought all the stuff. He brought electrical devices, plus wire and gloves. Later, he killed my husband by connecting him to the electricity.[41]

After Sakineh's statement, the lead prosecutor of Iran's East Azerbaijan province appeared, saying that Sakineh injected an anesthetic into her husband. "After the husband went unconscious, the real murderer killed the victim by connecting electricity to his neck," he said.[42]

Sakineh went on to criticize the international campaign on her behalf, especially Mostafaie:

> Why has [my lawyer] publicized my case? Why has he disgraced me? Not every relative of mine was aware of my case and my imprisonment. I am saying to you [my lawyer] how dare you dishonor me like this. I am going to file a lawsuit against you.[43]

As the show's narrator explained, Western media had given the case special publicity because they wanted to pressure Iran to release the three Americans hikers who had been in prison for more than a year after being arrested near the Iraqi border.[44]

If Iran's goal was to ameliorate international pressure, their strategy failed. After Houtan Kian went on record saying that Sakineh was tortured before going on camera,[45] the interview was denounced by Amnesty International,[46] the Canadian[47] and UK

[37] CNN 2010b.
[38] Yong and Worth 2010.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Dehghan 2010h.
[41] Al Arabiya 2010e.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Dehghan 2010h.
[44] Al Arabiya 2010e.
[45] Dehghan 2010h.

governments,[48] among others. The Sakineh Affair was deemed "a new low in Iran's relationship with the West."[49] The interview also drew more attention to the case from Iran's allies, including Turkey, India, and several Arab-speaking countries.[50] Pressure from Turkey was particular damaging, given that it was a key ally, along with Brazil, in Iran's fight over its nuclear program.[51] The Vatican also got involved; like Turkey, they used a more covert strategy involving behind-the-scenes diplomacy.[52] The rationale was that private, peer negotiations would help more than media blitz. "They're unaffected by Western denunciations," said Michel de Salaberry, a former Canadian ambassador to Iran. "The only hope this woman has is if some kind of bargain could be arranged. Tehran only understands realpolitik."[53]

Despite whatever occurred behind closed doors, Iran continued to escalate the situation in public. While stoning Sakineh seemed unlikely, authorities signaled that she could be hanged at a moment's notice. "The officials don't want to step back because they see it as a sign of defeat for the regime if they do so," Houtan Kian said, days after his own house in Tabriz was ransacked by intelligence services. "Sakineh's case has become a battle between Iran and the media and the people around the world."[54]

Viewed as a whole, Iran's counter-shaming strategy greatly mirrored the rhetoric of the "Save Sakineh" campaign. When Western media stressed Sakineh's innocence, Iran portrayed her as a murder. When the Western campaign pointed to Iran's weakness in the face of global condemnation, Iran pointed to the West's weakness vis-à-vis Iran's growing international influence, especially surrounding the nuclear issue.[55] And when Ahadi used Sakineh as evidence of Iran's barbarity, Iran used her own rhetoric against her, accusing her campaign of manipulating the issue of human rights for political ends. If human rights defenders were using the power of persuasion to shame Iran

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[46] Amnesty International 2010c.

[47] Government of Canada 2010.

[48] Usborne and Editor 2010.

[49] Pendlebury 2010.

[50] International Committee against Stoning 2010p; Allana 2010; Haberturk 2010.

[51] Facing domestic pressure, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan asked his foreign minister Ahmet Davutoğlu to try to stop the execution of Ashtiani. Following PM's instructions, Davutoğlu launched an intensive diplomacy over the phone with his Iranian counterpart Manohucher Mottaki. See Haberturk 2010.

[52] BBC News 2010b; The CNN Wire Staff 2010b.

[53] Martin 2010.

[54] Dehghan 2010i.

[55] The homology on this point was particularly visible. Iranian State TV said: "It seems the Americans have started this simple and hasty game because they have nothing in their hands. They know that the outside world will not take this game seriously." BBC Monitoring Middle East 2010a. Meanwhile, an editorial in the *Independent* states: "What kind of regime flogs a 43-year-old woman and threatens to stone her to death? The appalling treatment of Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani is a testament to the regime's weakness, not its strength." See Smith 2010.

into changing its behavior, Iran was using those same tactics – traditional and social media, publicity, affective storytelling and outrage – to fight back.

2 Sakineh as a Marketing War

For Western advocates, Iran's actions added insult to the existing injury of Sakineh's stoning sentence. Their outrage was no longer limited to Sakineh's treatment; the campaign itself was attacked by Iran's counter-shaming campaign. The Sakineh affair had become an all out publicity war between the power of human rights and the survival of the Islamic Revolution. As Kian put it: "If they can get away with stoning Sakineh they can get away with anything."[56] For both sides, "winning" was imperative. This section details some of the battles in that war, and how Sakineh and her family became collateral damage.

2.1 Denial of Murder Charges

Once Iran went on the offensive, some papers began reporting that Sakineh had been charged with and/or found guilty of crimes relating to her husband's murder. Activists responded in different ways. Both Mostafaie and Heather Reisman's campaign openly acknowledge Sakineh's "complicity" sentence, but urged that she was never sentenced to execution for it. The murder was irrelevant, they said, in the face of Sakineh's unfair trial, double jeopardy, and stoning sentence.[57] "The murder was not our issue," Roya Boroumand, who was an advisor for Reisman's campaign, told me. "Whether [Sakineh] was a very bad person or a very good person, cute or ugly, it doesn't matter. If there's no evidence for adultery, there's no evidence for adultery."[58]

But Ahadi and colleagues disagreed, and continued to to vehemently deny that Sakineh was ever charged with murder, despite evidence to the contrary.[59] This caused tension in the broader campaign, especially between Ahadi and Mostafaie. After Mostafaie went on record about Sakineh's murder charges to *Der Spiegel* on August 16,[60] Ahadi published an ICAS press release the next day admonishing Mostafaie for his

[56] Fletcher 2010f.

[57] Letter to religious authorities 2010.

[58] Boroumand 2015.

[59] Ahadi states: "We have previously published documents regarding Sakineh's case in Tabriz court that clearly show there was never a trial in which Sakineh was accused of murder." (International Committee against Stoning 2010m.) Media portrayals corroborate this claim. Patrick Martin of The Globe and Mail says, erroneously: "Observers insist Ms. Mohammadi Ashtiani was never formally charged with murder or even complicity in murder, a charge that would carry a 15-year sentence." See Martin 2010.

[60] Bednarz 2010.

"prejudicial statements."[61] She called Mostafaie's *Spiegel* interview "utterly irresponsible" in light of the life-or-death nature of Sakineh's situation and said they were "met with immediate objection of Ashtiani's children."[62] Ahadi urged the public to only comment on Sakineh's case "with the utmost precision and sense of responsibility" and to refer only to the information made available through ICAS.[63] The same day, Ahadi released a letter by Sakineh's children firing Mostafaie as their mother's representative.[64]

Fletcher was particularly stubborn in clinging to the narrative that Sakineh was 100% innocent, and thus the perfect symbol to "expos[e] the barbarity of a regime."[65] On 15 December, Fletcher interviewed Mostafaie, who explained that Sakineh suffered in an abusive marriage, was manipulated by Isa Taheri into aiding the murder of her husband, and sentenced to 10 years for "complicity." Fletcher refused to trust Mostafaie, warning "the *Times* cannot corroborate his story." Eventually, he acquiesced a bit: "Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani may not be a saint but, if her lawyer is to be believed, she is most definitely a victim of the pitiless society in which she lives."[66]

The unwillingness of Ahadi, Fletcher, and others to acknowledge Sakineh's murder charges was not simply a divergence in opinion or even strategy. It had real implications for Sakineh's case by damaging its credibility. "Being dishonest in human rights work always hurts human rights work," Boroumand told me. She added:

> Human rights advocates don't have a lot of power. But they have the moral superiority. It is a psychological war. We don't have bombs. In this psychological war we have to have the moral high ground in order to sometime, rarely, make a difference. Once you start messing with the facts you area losing and giving ammunition to the other side. Because then they know you are a liar too.[67]

Unfortunately, misinformation continued to plague the campaign.

2.2 The Fake Photo Incident

[61] The press release said: "In the interview with the world renowned German paper Mostafaie said, among other things, that Sakineh Ashtiani had drugged her husband [before her accomplice killed him] and thus had a hand in his murder." International Committee against Stoning 2010g. It is not at all clear – at least in the English translation – whether Mostafaie himself said that Sakineh had drugged her husband or whether he was relaying that this is what Iranian authorities had concluded.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] International Committee against Stoning 2010a.

[65] Fletcher 2011b.

[66] Fletcher 2010b.

[67] Boroumand 2015.

It is ironic that Fletcher should urge caution before jumping to conclusions. His reporting on Sakineh was plagued with misinformation and rumor, and his own paper made a mistake that might have gotten Sakineh flogged 99 times. On 28 August 2010, the *Times* published a photograph of a woman without *hijab*, claiming it was Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani, along with the headline: "Revealed: True face of the woman Iran wants to stone."[68] It was a great scoop, but there was just one problem: the photo wasn't Sakineh. Five days later, the *Times* issued an apology saying "the photograph printed was not of Ms. Ashtiani but of Susan Hejrat, an Iranian exile who lives in Sweden and sits on the central committee of the Hekmanist [sic] party, a breakaway faction of Iran's Communist party."[69]

The *Times* largely blamed the mistake on Mostafaie, who "was responding to a request for a fresh picture of her."[70] Mostafaie said he got the photo from Sajjad, who emailed him two photos of his mother from an Internet café: the widely used passport *chador* photo and another of Hejrat. Mostafaie said he only saw Sakineh once in prison, and couldn't see her full face concealed behind the *chador*, which is why he mistook her in the photo. Hejrat, who is colleague of Ahadi in the Iranian communist party, used the photo with articles she wrote online about Sakineh. "It could have been mixed up in an e-mail," she told the *New York Times*.[71]

Sajjad (via Ahadi) denied he was the source of the photograph.[72] In a letter published through ICAS, he renewed his "gratitude and thankfulness" to the "honorable" Mostafaie, while at the same time accusing him of corruption and incompetence. Moreover, Mostafaie's actions, he wrote, suggested "his unintentional collusion with those who are bloodthirsty within the system."[73]

The "unintentional collusion" Sajjad was referring to was a report, first disseminated by ICAS, that Sakineh had supposedly been sentenced to 99 lashes for the photograph mix-up. Sajjad said that his mother had been called in to see the judge in charge of prison misdemeanors, who sentenced her to 99 lashes on charges of "spreading corruption and indecency" by disseminating a photo of herself without *hijab*.[74] He was told this by Kian, who was informed by one of Sakineh's recently released cellmates in Tabriz prison.[75] In a statement on 4 September to the Guardian, Sajjad says, "As far as we know, the sentence of 99 lashes has not been administered yet."[76]

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[68] The Times 2010b.
[69] The Times 2010c.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Somaiya 2010b.
[72] International Committee Against Stoning 2010a.
[73] The CNN Wire Staff 2010a.
[74] International Committee Against Stoning 2010a.
[75] Somaiya 2010b.
[76] Dehghan and Beaumont 2010.

The next day, however, that story changed. In an interview with the *New York Times*, Houtan Kian said that Sakineh's sentence of 99 lashes had already ben carried out in Tabriz Prison.[77] As for the *Times*, they interpreted the incident as yet another example of Iran's cruelty instead of a lesson in reliable journalism. Simon Pearson, an editor, said that the newspaper was investigating the confusion over the image. "But if what we're hearing is correct," he said, referring to the lashing sentence, "you'd have to draw the conclusion that they are sending a message to the Western media that Ashtiani will suffer if we cover her story."[78]

Mostafaie was skeptical that the Iranian government would lash Sakineh for a photograph that wasn't even of her. He contacted a close friend who worked at the Tabriz judiciary, who vehemently denied the reports. Mostafaie suggested that Mina Ahadi faked the story to smear him after he refused to participate in a press conference with her in France.[79] According to him, Ahadi was "a member of the workers communist party, who falsely claims to be a human rights defender," and was manipulating Sajjad as a mouthpiece for her own ideological goals.[80] "Everything Sajjad does is under complete direction of Mrs. Ahadi," Mostafaie writes.[81]

Ahadi did not take these accusations lightly. She responded by accusing Mostafaie of colluding with the Islamic Regime:

> We should not allow the statements of those who unfortunately try to appear in the role of prosecutors for and supporters of the Islamic Republic to undermine the worldwide human campaign to save Sakineh and others like her caught in the prisons of the Islamic Republic.[82]

Shortly thereafter on 16 September, Sakineh once again appeared on the "20:30" program of *Seda va Sima* to deny that she was lashed, calling such reports "false and rumors."[83]

Like the disagreement surrounding Sakineh's murder charges, I find the significance of the "wrong photo" incident to go beyond mere interpersonal squabbling. First, it demonstrates the difficulty of reliable information retrieval and dissemination, even in an age of mass communication technology. To this day, we cannot definitively conclude one way or the other whether Sakineh was lashed, or sentenced to lashing, for that mislabeled photograph. As a channel of communication, digital technology was more conducive to the circulation of rumor and outrage – e.g. a fake photograph itself –

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[77] Somaiya 2010b.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Mostafaie 2010e.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] International Committee against Stoning 2010h.
[83] Dehghan 2010b.

than new facts. As Internet culture expert Clay Sharky puts it, "the key thing that's changed is not information … but the ability to coordinate reaction."[84] Not only did these reactions not help Sakineh's case, they caused her real physical harm, i.e. a coerced TV interview, and possibly 99 lashes.

Second, the incident exposes key facets of the news media and their role in this case. The *Times*' insatiable drive to scoop their competitors with new information – a "fresh picture"– overpowered their responsibility for fact checking and reliability. For reporters, any negative consequences resulting from the *Times'* actions could be attributed to the cruelties of the Islamic Regime. In fact, the suffering of Sakineh was in some ways welcome, because it provided fresh content. This might explain why news of the Sakineh's "lashing" was printed again and again, not as a possibility but fact, in highly respected outlets like the *New York Times*, even though the story was entirely unverifiable, derived from 2-degrees of hearsay, and had key details change over time.

Finally, the irony of that fake photograph – said to be of Sakineh but really of an Iranian expat in Europe working for a revolutionary communist party – should not be lost. Even though Ahadi insisted since the beginning that photographs were crucial to humanize victims, to "give a face to these people" so that global audiences can know them personally, the dissemination of that photograph, and the ease with which people initially accepted it, shows that we never really knew Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani.

2.3 The Two Germans

If there was any doubt that the media's insatiability caused harm to Sakineh and her family, the incident involving two German journalists should lay those doubts to rest. In early October, two German journalists, Marcus Hellwig and Jens Koch, entered Iran illegally on tourist visas, hoping to interview Sajjad and Kian for an article on Sakineh. The reporters worked for *Bild am Sonntag*, the largest selling German national Sunday tabloid "notorious for its mix of gossip, inflammatory language, and sensationalism."[85] To plan their trip, the journalists consulted heavily with Ahadi, who put them in contact with Sajjad and Kian and arranged the interview.[86]

The two Germans met Sajjad and Kian on 10 October in Kian's office. They had apparently made arrangements for a German-Persian translator to help them conduct the interview, but those plans fell through. Even though Ahadi knew as early as August 20 that Kian was under heavily surveillance by Iranian intelligence (including having his telephone calls monitored),[87] she volunteered to serve as a remote translator on the

[84] Bennett 2015.
[85] Steininger 2012.
[86] Gebauer 2010.
[87] International Committee against Stoning 2010l.

phone.[88] Shortly after the interview started, at 7pm local time, security forces raided Kian's office and arrested all four.[89]

Judiciary spokesman Gholam-Hossein Mohseni-Ejei explained the arrest by referring obliquely to Ahadi: "One of the fugitive Iranians who escaped abroad [i.e. Ahadi] had called Mohammadi's family telling them two foreign reporters want to have an interview with them." Mehmanparast later expounded, saying that the two journalists "were arrested because they had a link to a foreign anti-revolution network" in Germany.[90] Hellwig and Koch were eventually charged with espionage, causing a severe rift between the already strained diplomatic relationship between Germany and Iran.[91] Mahmanparast warned Germany about even more defiance: "We are willing to caution the German friends that the method of exerting pressure to change the court and judiciary officials' decision will backfire."[92]

Many in the human rights community were devastated by the news, concerned particularly for Houtan Kian. "I was in tears," Boroumand told me. "I was mad at Ahadi's group, at her in particular." She explains:

> The authorities were already upset with him [Kian.] And then you [Ahadi] send two journalists? And you translate over the phone? Yourself? And then you pick up the phone that is tapped? And what were they getting there? What was the use? Except for you to show that you have pulled something off that is media worthy? And then go brag about it?[93]

Ahadi told me that she doesn't regret getting on the telephone that day. When I asked her if she ever felt responsible for Sajjad and Kian's arrest, she said no. "Anyone who says I was responsible doesn't understand the nature of dictatorships."[94]

2.4 November 3 "Execution"

With Sajjad and Kian in prison, Ahadi continued to release information without her main informants. And even though there was no one to corroborate, the media continued to report Ahadi's claims as facts. For example, on 1 November Ahadi announced that Iran was planning to execute Sakineh in two days time.[95] The story prompted swift

[88] Gebauer 2010.
[89] International Committee against Stoning 2010j.
[90] Iranian Students News Agency 2010a; Daily News Egypt 2010.
[91] Al Jazeera English 2010.
[92] FARS News Agency 2011.
[93] Boroumand 2015.
[94] Ahadi 2015.
[95] International Committee against Stoning 2010n.

condemnation by media outlets, followed by British foreign ministry officials and the White House.[96]

Again, Mostafaie expressed his doubts, reporting that his contacts in Tabriz prison denied the news.[97] On his blog, he warned that such rumors came at a cost to Sakineh's case:

> Sakineh Mohammadi has been prey for those who wish to reach political or personal ends. This is not moral or humane… Spreading these rumors does not help victims of the death penalty or their families, nor does it help human rights activists. We must be more vigilant and precise in our media efforts.[98]

Meanwhile, French Foreign Minister Bernard Kouchner said he received assurances from Iranian Foreign Minister Manouchehr Mottaki who denied the news.[99]

November 3 came and went, and Sakineh was not executed. Instead of expressing doubts over the original report, campaigners chose to interpret the lack of execution as an immediately consequence of their activism. ICAS responded in the usual way, by taking credit for orchestrating the global outreach effort. "Tens of interviews took place with Mina Ahadi," they wrote, and "millions" wrote letters (supposedly, in 2 days). "Once again, the Islamic Republic of Iran clearly saw the widespread global reaction to its decision to execute Ms. Ashtiani and did not go ahead with her execution. Ms. Ashtiani's execution, however, is still imminent."[100]

2.5 Iran fights back

These discrepancies did not go unnoticed in Iran and in that, fanned the flames of Iranian defiance. On 3 November – the same day Sakineh was supposedly to be executed – Malek Ajdar Sharifi used the speculation to delegitimize the campaign. According to Press TV, Sharifi said that "the hostile Western media campaign regarding the case aims to invent poisonous propaganda against the Islamic Republic of Iran rather than sticking to their main duty of objectively disseminating information."[101]

Meanwhile, Iran continued to publicize its own account. On 15 November, state-run Iranian TV Channel Two aired a seven-minute report featuring Sakineh, Sajjad, Kian and the two German reporters to delegitimize the campaign as a "propaganda war against Iran." Sakineh (again in Azeri, again with her face blurred) recounted the murder of her husband, followed by archive video of Ahadi saying that Sakineh was a "victim of the Islamic Republic's law." The presenter described Ahadi as one of the individ-

[96] Telegraph 2010a; Reuters 2010; Mobasherat 2010.
[97] Voice of America 2010.
[98] Mostafaie 2010d. My translation.
[99] New York Times 2010.
[100] International Committee against Stoning 2010k.
[101] Press TV 2010c.

uals taking advantage of Sakineh for own benefit, and explained her political background with Komaleh separatist group.

The program also included blurred footage of Sajjad: "Mostafaie didn't play a positive role. In fact, he had a negative role," he said. Sakineh reappeared: "He [Mostafaie] put me on the spot and went abroad thanks to me. He made my name and photo displayed by foreign TV channels." After showing a clip on gatherings and reactions in her support, Sakineh continued: "They are defending me without any reason. I do not even know these people." Sajjad also addressed Kian: "He [Kian] wanted us to talk to foreign media to make the case more sensitive but it just got worse… Everything I told the foreign media was a lie."[102]

The presenter then addressed the matter of the two German journalists. "They were sent by Ms. Ahadi," Sajjad said. Video showed one of the German citizens with a Farsi voiceover, saying: "I didn't know anything about this issue. But Ms. Ahadi knew about it and since she could benefit from the propaganda on my arrest she sent me to Iran. I'll definitely file a complaint against Ms. Ahadi when I return to Germany." The other German citizen adds: "I agree that I made a mistake because I was unaware and I was deceived by Ms. Ahadi." Again Sakineh appears: "Ms. Mina Ahadi, this is none of your business. I committed a sin."[103]

Ahadi responded to the broadcast by clarifying that the two German journalists traveled to Iran "to report and to do interviews on their own volition."[104] But like Mehmanparast, media attacks only encouraged Ahadi to push harder:

> In the past five months, under one of the most powerful international campaigns which was initiated by Mina Ahadi and the Committees against Stoning and Execution, the Islamic Republic's officials have issued numerous contradictory announcements, but the harder they have tried, the more they have exposed themselves and the reality that is the Islamic Republic of Iran. They aimed to go ahead with the execution of Sakineh on several occasions, but the pressure of this global campaign has forced them to retreat. This recent attempt too will lead to even more indignation.[105]

And so this dynamic continued, by which Western pressure spurred defiance by Iranian officials, which in turn encouraged more Western pressure. At one point, Mehmanparast articulated the heart of the matter, and the political stakes driving Iran's defiance:

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[102] BBC Monitoring Middle East 2010b.

[103] Ibid.

[104] International Committee against Stoning 2010o.

[105] Ibid.

> The other side is only looking for pretexts against the Islamic establishment and if... we give into their demands they will assert, so there will be nothing left of the revolution and the establishment.[106]

2.6 Jubilation and Defeat

The themes of rumor, misinformation, and hysteria emerged again and again throughout the campaign, with devastating consequences. But perhaps no more clearly than the moment on 8 December, when Ahadi announced to the media that sources in Iran said Sakineh had been freed.[107] "This is the happiest day in my life," she rejoiced. "I'm sure that this day will be written in Iranian history books, if not the world's, as a day of victory for human rights campaigners."[108]

Several major news outlets relayed the news that Sakineh had been freed, printing photographs showing her at home with Sajjad at their home in Osku. Others joined in on the celebration, including Italian Foreign Minister Franco Frattini and Canadian First Lady Laureen Harper.[109] Fletcher felt particularly proud of his role. That Sakineh was saved was:

> due almost entirely to the courage of Mohammed Mostafaie, her lawyer in Tehran, and of her children, Sajjad Ghaderzadeh, 22, a bus conductor in Tabriz, and his sister Farideh, 17, *and – last but not least – to a decision by The Times five months ago this week that her sentence should not go unchallenged. This newspaper has campaigned relentlessly for her freedom ever since*.[110] [Emphasis mine]

But hopes were quickly shattered. Sakineh was not released. The photos turned out to be stills from a preview of a Press TV program that was meant to produce a visual recount of the crime at the murder scene.[111] "Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani – The Real Story" first aired on PressTV's "Iran Today" program on Friday 10 December at 20:35 GMT.[112]

The 25-minute "investigative report" featured Sakineh literally acting out the murder of her husband, with Sajjad playing the part of his own murdered father. The so-called re-enactment was filmed in "true crime" style, in black-and-white, with a shaky hand-held camera and accompanied by dramatic music.[113] Unlike the previous on-camera confessions, in which Sakineh spoke in her native Azeri, she was seen here

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[106] AFP 2010b.
[107] Yong 2010a.
[108] Dehghan and Black 2010a.
[109] Yong 2010a; AFP 2010a.
[110] Fletcher 2010d.
[111] Press TV 2010b.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Al Arabiya 2010c.

explaining the crime in fluent Farsi (with English subtitles), narrating the crime. The reconstruction was interspersed with actual photographs with Ghaderzadeh's dead body, showing vivid burns on his body.[114] The audience also saw clandestine, candid footage of Isa Taheri, who was apparently out of prison.

The program's female narrator reports that the stoning sentence handed down by Iran's Supreme Court was "symbolic" and unlikely ever to be carried out due to the 2005 moratorium.[115] Once again, Ahadi was accused of seeking to politicize Sakineh's case in order to undermine the Islamic Republic. Tabriz prosecutor Mousa Khalilollahi was shown alleging Ahadi of being involved in counter-revolutionary groups. "And now she has taken up this case with political motives and for her own interest in foreign countries," he added.[116] Sajjad was again "interviewed"; in between the sobs of tears, he blamed Ahadi for publicizing the case abroad and for insisting that he and Kian do an interview with the two journalists from *Bild am Sonntag*.

"It was a very disturbing piece," said Ghaemi. "It was the Iranian government turning a judicial case into a public relations case."[117] As the Iranian government's only English-language media outlet, Press TV is largely considered to be Iran's foreign policy arm. According to Mostafaie, "All the media attention on Sakineh has resulted in condemnation of the regime and now it's trying to justify its actions."[118]

In addition to the "investigative report," Press TV pounced on the fact that Ahadi mistakenly announced Sakineh's release. In a report:

> Iran has often pointed out that the dissemination of half-truths about the case by Western officials and media outlets is part of a Western campaign to undermine the Islamic Republic system. … Some Western media outlets quoted [Ahadi's] campaign and claimed that Ashtiani had been released without contacting any Iranian officials to confirm the report. Ahadi then rejected the report about the release of the two, without mentioning the fact that she was the one who started the rumor.[119]

3 Sakineh as a Success?

3.1 The End of the Campaign

[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] CNN 2010c.
[118] Fletcher 2011a.
[119] Press TV 2011.

Two days after the Press TV program aired, Sajjad was released on $40,000 bail.[120] A couple weeks later, he appeared in a state-organized press conference, along with his mother. Sajjad told journalists that he did not doubt his mother's guilt, and yet he pleaded that her stoning sentence be commuted.[121] "We lost our father and we don't want to lose our mother," he said.[122] Sakineh told reporters that she would sue Ahadi, the German journalists, and those "who have disgraced me and the country."[123]

Marcus Hellwig and Jens Koch – the two German journalists – were also released after 4 months in detention and returned to Germany.[124] According to an investigation by *Der Spiegel*, the release was part of an orchestrated deal whereby Germany helped slip funds past sanctions to reach Iran. The amount was reported to be as high as $1.5 billion.[125]

Kian was not so lucky. In early March 2011, he managed to sneak a letter out of prison via his cellmate, detailing his torture. He was starved; burned on his legs, feet and testicles; and had 12 of his teeth broken by blunt trauma. He was kept in solidarity confinement, except for one cold night when he was dragged into the prison yard, bound by his hands and feet, and soaked with a fire hose.[126] On 20 August 2013, Kian was finally released from Tabriz Prison, after almost three years of detention.[127]

Sakineh herself clearly suffered as well. Speaking almost a year after he was released, Hellwig recounted seeing her while being detained in the same prison. "She looked terrible," he said in an interview with Martin Fletcher. There was "no comparison to the beautiful woman she once was."[128] On 23 February 2011, ICAS reported that Sakineh attempted suicide using a piece of broken glass. She was taken to the hospital and survived.[129]

Ahadi never officially ended her campaign to save Sakineh. But after Sajjad was released (and, presumably, stopped cooperating with Ahadi), ICAS' press releases slowed to a trickle. A decline in media coverage followed. When I asked her why she stopped campaigning, she offered a vague answer about how the campaign had run its course. Around that time, Ahadi continued to travel and give talks on her life and activism, including going on a "solidarity tour" to Brazil in September 2011.[130]

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[120] I couldn't find the source of these funds.

[121] Al Arabiya 2010f.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

[124] They were originally sentenced to 24 months in jail by the Tabriz Revolutionary Court, which was commuted to cash fines of $50,000 each. Associated Press 2011.

[125] Boyes 2011; Indian Express 2011; Marquart et al. 2011.

[126] Kian 2011.

[127] Lawyers for Lawyers 2013.

[128] Fletcher 2012.

[129] International Committee against Stoning 2011a.

[130] International Committee against Stoning 2011b.

3.2 A Win for Western Campaigners

Was the campaign to save Sakineh a success? Ahadi clearly thought so. "Sakineh Mohammadi Ashtiani is still in jail right now, but now I'm sure that no Islamic regime will be able to stone a woman easily ever again. This is the result of our work worldwide."[131] She explained to me: "They know that as soon as they do, all I have to do is go to the embassy and make hell for them."[132] Ahadi continued her activism, advocating for Iranians on death row. One of the most publicized case was of Reyhaneh Jabbari, an Iranian woman convicted of murdering a doctor she alleged tried to rape her. On 25 October 2014, Jabbari was executed despite attracting considerable attention from human rights organizations in the West.

Martin Fletcher also celebrated the Sakineh campaign as a victory for human rights. Three days after Sakineh reportedly attempted suicide, *The Times* announced that its coverage of the Sakineh case had been nominated for an journalism award.[133] Several months later, on the first anniversary of the Sakineh campaign, Fletchers evaluated his own role: "*The Times* did help," he wrote, by (supposedly) initiating the campaign for her release. But he also acknowledged errors, including the fake photo and incorrect reports of Sakineh's release.[134] At the same time, Fletcher was quick to deflect responsibility for those errors: "The regime gloated, but the mistakes were a direct consequence of its suppression of all independent sources of information."[135] As for a final evaluation, *The Times* concluded that the campaign was success:

> One year on, Ms. Ashtiani remains in prison, but the regime has not dared to defy the world by executing her and there have been no reports of other deaths by stoning. Senior officials have repeatedly denounced the campaign to save her as a Western plot to undermine Iran. Defecting Iranian diplomats have asserted that it has kept Ms. Ashtiani alive. [136]

I could not find any names of these "defecting Iranian diplomats."

There was one last triumph: *The Times* announced boastfully that one of their reporters was able to deliver a letter to President Ahmadinejad, requesting an interview about Sakineh's case and access to relevant documents. There has been no reply.[137]

Mostafaie was much more cynical. At one point, he agreed with Ahadi and Fletcher on the power of global shaming. But leaving Iran seems to have changed his

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[131] Ahadi 2011.
[132] Ahadi 2015.
[133] The Times 2011.
[134] Fletcher 2011b.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.

attitude. On 3 February 2012, he gave an interview criticizing the "naming and shaming" tactic employed by Western human rights organizations, asserting that it does not help, even in the short term.[138] When asked how he would rate the role international human rights NGOs, Mostafaie replied:

> Frankly, I have a lot of criticisms. I have worked for years against the death penalty and have met 300 people were condemned to death. I give myself the right to be very angry at theses organizations' performance. I praise people who are sincerely and devotedly trying to save human lives, but the life of a person must not become a tool for an organization to make material gains. You should not play with human life.
>
> In Iran, I cooperated with many organizations, including Amnesty International. They received information from me, but the moment that I left Iran, they never contacted me, not even to use my years of experience. The only thing that they do is to issue statements and write letters, without doing anything useful. Every time that I read a report by a news agency or a political party that describes the conditions of a condemned prisoner as told by his family, I become depressed because I think they are using it as a tool against the Islamic Republic. It is stupid and inhuman to abuse a human life.[139]

Mostafaie continues to live in Norway and has started his own organization to promote the values of tolerance, pluralism, and peaceful co-existence.

3.3 A Win for the Islamic Revolution

Like *The Times*, Iranian officials also celebrated a letter. Theirs was written by MP Zohreh Elahian, head of the Human Rights Committee of the Iranian Majlis, to Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff concerning "Western governments' hostile policies towards Iran."[140] Unlike *The Times*, though, Elahian apparently received a reply:

> Talking to the *Tehran Times* on Saturday, Elahian said Rousseff expressed her gratitude after receiving the letter and stated that Brazil does not pursue a selective and discriminatory policy towards human rights issues. Elahian added that it seems that Rousseff had received false information about certain judicial cases in Iran, including the case of Sakineh Mohammadi-Ashtiani, who has been convicted of murder and adultery.[141]

[138] Gholamhosseinpour 2014.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Mehr News Agency 2011.
[141] Ibid.

Elahian added that she invited Rousseff to Iran to "promote bilateral cooperation on human rights issues" and that she accepted the invitation.[142] In the publicity war of the Sakineh Affair, Iran claimed victory. Indeed, whether Iran suffered long-term damage to its international reputation because of Sakineh is difficult to ascertain.

The influence of the campaign on Iran's domestic practices is equally ambiguous. In 2011, the Iranian Judiciary set out to revise the Islamic Penal Code, and, for the first time in years, put stoning back on the agenda. Many activists predicted that the punishment would finally be abolished. But contrary to expectations, the draft bill only provided alternative punishments (hanging or flogging) in circumstances wherein a verdict of stoning "would result in mischievousness and cause the degradation of the [IRI] Regime."[143] Even that, it seemed, was too much of a compromise for hard-liners. At the last minute, the Judicial and Legal Commission of the Parliament, fearing blockage from the Guardian Council, removed the prevision providing alternative punishments to adultery. In the end, the revised Islamic Penal code removed stoning as the prescribed punishment of adultery, but makes no specific provision on how to punish this crime.

By inserting enough ambiguity into the Code, Iranian officials attempted to mislead international audiences into thinking that the punishment was eradicated while, in reality, stoning remained in Iran's legal framework. Article 220 of the new Code says that if no specific punishment is provided for a *hadd* crime (e.g. adultery), it should be referred to Article 167 of the Constitution. Article 167 refers such cases to valid Islamic sources and fatwas. According to the *fiqh* enforced by the Islamic Republic, the punishment for adultery is stoning to death. As one commentator put it, stoning has "merely been moved to a more obscure position so as not to attract the attention of critics." [144]

One MP – Mohammad Dehqan, a Member of the Judicial and Legal Commission of Parliament – admitted as much. When a reporter asked, "so, you have not solved the question [of stoning] but only relocated it?" He responded yes. "All of us know that there are not good reactions to this issue around the world; but they do not know that our holy book has so ordered."[145]

Indeed, if the international uproar over Sakineh's sentence achieved anything, it was not the reform of Iran's stoning laws but their obfuscation from the global spotlight. For some theorists, "denial" is in and of itself a success.[146] But this isn't exactly denial; Iranian officials never said that stoning has been abolished, or that it is a violation

[142] Ibid.
[143] Nayyeri 2011.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Quoted in Ibid.
[146] Ropp and Sikkink 1999b.

of human rights, or that it is wrong. They have simply taken measures to prevent international criticisms of it.

Speaking on the Sakineh affair in June 2011, Larijani summarized the point. First, he denied that stoning is wrong:

> Noting that our entire system has come under attack with regards to the issue of stoning, Larijani said: The West believes that stoning is not a punishment but a form of torture and that, in that regard, there is no proportion between the crime and the punishment. … Unfortunately, the West has succeeded in waging such a campaign on the issue of stoning that even those who have a positive view of our system have been questioning us on it.[147]

For Larijani, stoning is not problematic because it violates international norms, but simply that it often becomes "subject of political attack," and should thus be balanced with the "expediency of the system."

> The verdict issued by the judge is not something we take lightly; our vitality depends on it. The supreme leader has also said that we should not do something that brings the secular West's war with Islam to the location of stoning. We should therefore take the struggle elsewhere.[148]

In terms of domestic policies, that's precisely what happened.

4 Implications and Conclusions

Sakineh was released on 19 March 2014 – nearly four years after the campaign started and three years since it dissolved completely. Larijani announced that the release was for "good behavior," adding: "The stoning sentence might have been raised in this case, but the finalized verdict, which was death by hanging, was for the murder, not the adultery."[149] She spent a total of nine years on death row.

In the final evaluation, it is difficult to ascertain whether the Sakineh campaign represented a success or failure of international advocacy. Here we must consider the counterfactual. What would have happened had there been no or minimal international interference in Sakineh's case? True, she could have been stoned to death; on the other hand, stoning is exceptionally rare in Iran, even for those who are sentenced. A more likely scenario is that she could have been executed by some other means, a practice that is depressingly common. On the other hand, there is also the possibility that Sakineh could have been released in 2011 after fulfilling her 5-year "complicity in mur-

[147] Islamic Republic News Agency 2011.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Tomlinson 2014.

der" sentence, her stoning sentence commuted as in similar cases.[150] In these alternative scenarios, Sajjad would have been spared the trauma of forced television appearances, detention, and harassment. Mohammad Mostafaie would have continued working Iran, and Houtan Kian would be free, instead of languishing in a jail cell for three years undergoing torture.

Despite our capacity as researchers, we will never know for certain whether transnational advocacy helped or harmed Sakineh and others in her position. But this case study offers a number of other lessons about transnational advocacy, norms, and defiance. Here I review the three lines of argument I introduced in Chapter 5.

4.1 Defiance and the Commitment to Norm Violation

First, the Sakineh case illustrated the defiance mechanism in fine detail. I argued that Iran's resistance was motivated less by some domestic commitment to stoning *per se* than by a willingness to defy foreign shame and pressure. Stoning was hardly a pillar of Iranian identity. The practice was unheard of before 1979, and remained so unpopular domestically that the regime enforced a long-standing taboo on any media discussion mentioning the practice. On the other hand, Iranian officials were shaped by intersubjective beliefs about what constituted Iranian national identity, and interpreted foreign shaming through the lens of these beliefs. This understanding of Iranian national identity was deeply influenced by historically constructed narratives juxtaposing "authentic" sexual mores with Western imperialist ambitions to uproot these normative orders as a strategy towards cultural, political, and economic domination. Iranian political discourse sutured national pride and esteem with the rejection of Western interference and the embrace of a modern, sovereign Islamic state.

In this context, it was politically impossible for Iranian officials to give sway to foreign shaming from Western governments and celebrities accusing Iran of being barbaric and uncivilized for enforcing its Islamic sexual norms. Contrary to the basic assumption underlying conventional constructivist approaches – that the desire to bolster self-esteem leads states to comply with international norms in order maintain social approval from their peers – Iran's desire for positive self-image and self-esteem led to a desire to garner social *dis*approval. This is especially true of criticism emanated from Western countries, which were not considered "peers" of a common identity group but rather threats and deviants themselves. For Iran, defiance and norm violation signaled independence, sovereignty, national pride, and a respectable reputation among international community – especially the Global South – for a country that refuses to be bullied by Western powers.

[150] Sadr 2010.

In this way, international shaming can actually result in the further polarization of domestic norms in contradistinction to foreign ones. The causal relationship inverts the one conventionally proposed in the literature, whereby a lack of norm congruence leads to norm violation and thus international shaming. Here, international shaming is constitutive of a certain understanding of national identity – i.e. in opposition foreign intruders – that *produces* domestic (mis)alignment with foreign norms. In brief, Iran did not resist shaming because it was independently committed to the punishment of stoning; rather, Iran upheld this norm to the extent that it was being shamed for it. This explains why Iran eventually released Sakineh, but only after the shaming campaign dissipated.

4.2 Social Ties, Credibility, and Stigma in Transnational Advocacy

Second, I highlighted the role of political ties, credibility, and stigma in provoking Iranian defiance. By virtue of their divergent political, economic and ideological ties, Iran contested Western pressure in remarkably different terms than pressure coming from Brazil or Turkey. The latter was probably more helpful for Sakineh's case, at least in preventing her from being executed. However, as I showed, Iran could not practically comply with Brazil and Turkey without appearing to "give in" to the West. This resulted in a somewhat scattered and topsy-turvy counter-shaming campaign that attempted to assuage Iran's allies while simultaneously rejecting foreign influence.

I also highlighted the consequences of (mis)information, bias, and credibility for transnational advocacy. In their collusion, Western advocates and journalists built a sweeping campaign that, while arousing the passions of global audiences, also resulted in several missteps. The number and severity of factual errors certainly brought Sakineh harm by discrediting her advocates in the eyes of Iranian officials. However, both journalists (such as Fletcher) as well as activists (such as Ahadi) could easily avoid accountability in this regard; given the subject matter, any discrepancies could be blamed on the opacity surrounding Iran.

Further, given that Ahadi, Fletcher and others in their camp had a *political* interest in subverting the Iranian government, they used Sakineh's story to stigmatize the Islamic Republic in the eyes of the world. By suturing the practice (stoning) with the actor (Iran), the campaign provoked a defiant response in Iranian officials, who were compelled to defend stoning (albeit indirectly) as a way to defend their own political legitimacy.

4.3 Self-Fulfilling Prophecy of Stigma/Defiance

By pointing to these missteps, I am not assigning responsibility to Western activists for Iran's abuses; nor do I doubt that Ahadi and Fletcher had a genuine concern for Sakineh's wellbeing. But, in terms of strategy, Ahadi and Fletcher's political objectives

were (indirectly) enhanced by Sakineh's suffering in the sense that it confirmed Iran's barbarity. Their actions engenders a self-fulfilling prophecy, whereby foreign pressure created the very conditions in which Iranian officials had no choice but to defy. In this sense, Western shaming and Iranian defiance should be viewed as mutually constitutive phenomena: each side effected behavior that, while seemingly in their best interest, ended up galvanizing the opposition. Unfortunately, Sakineh, her family, and her lawyers ended up suffering as the "collateral damage" in this war of words.

This is not to imply, however, that *all* attempts at shaming, moral pressure, or transnational advocacy will inexorably lead to backlash. The next and final chapter reviews the findings in this dissertation and their implications, both for the theory and practice, while providing modest suggestions on the question of how to shame responsibly.

Chapter 7 Conclusion:
The Shamer's Dilemma

1 Summary of Argument

Despite being thought of as one of the most powerful antidotes to atrocities abroad, this dissertation stressed that "naming and shaming" is a fundamentally risky strategy in the project of human rights promotion. Instead of assuming that shaming represents the will of the "international community" writ large, I approached shaming as a relational social interaction set against historic political relationships, deployed and resisted for strategic purposes, and interwoven in the dynamics of international coercion and conflict.

I argued that shaming can precipitate and even encourage further norm violations by provoking defiance. When normative pressure provokes a "proud, shameless reaction" in the society being shamed, political elites face particular incentives that inhibit their capacity to comply with foreign norms and reward their willingness to violate. This is especially likely when shaming emanates from an actor to which their country has few positive social ties, such as a historic rival. Shaming is also dangerous when it is mired in bias or inaccuracy, damaging the credibility of the shamer and provoking a defensive response. Finally, shame that is stigmatizing—"casting out" an actor as opposed to renouncing a particular behavior or event—is particularly volatile. Instead of encouraging the violator to reform its ways and enter the "community of civilized nations," pressure of this sort may produce an "outsider" identity, driving states towards further deviance.

I started this manuscript by pointing to Durkheim's insight that shaming helps hold the world together by promoting and stabilizing social norms. As we saw, however, normative pressure has a number of unintentional consequences for global orders. In addition to provoking defiance, shaming may also draw an association between particular norms and particular identities and interests, reifying the contours of world factions and leading to greater norm polarization. Mechanisms of counter-stigmatization and counter-socialization may increase the appeal of alternative norms. Lastly, shaming can produce oppositional state identities, undermining the consensus foundational to global norms and engendering normative conflict.

This argument has several implications, both for our theoretical understanding of international norms as well as for policy. This concluding chapter expounds on those

implications in greater detail. I first clarify the ways in which this dissertation extends and refines the existing literature on international norm dynamics. I note the shortcomings of my own work and propose several avenues for future research. I conclude by discussing how my arguments pertain to the NGO sector, foreign policy establishment, and concerned bystanders.

2 Theoretical Implications and Future Research

This dissertation makes several amendments to existing theories of international norms. The most obvious correction concerns the consequences of transnational naming and shaming. In addition to "improvements" and "no effect", I propose that we add "backlash" – or an increase in norm-offending behavior – to the list of potential outcomes of international spotlighting. I also suggest that we unpack "shaming" as an independent variable. Instead of focusing solely on the *intensity* of international pressure, we should take other information into account, such as *who* is doing the pressuring, the *relationship* between source and target, and the *framing* of such pressure. In brief, shaming represents a more complex and more volatile process than previously thought.

In addition to these primary contributions, this dissertation opens several avenues for future research on international norms, transnational advocacy networks, and compliance. I discuss them here under three main headings: the dynamics between norm content versus context; the causes and consequences of transnational advocacy; and the relationship between socialization, compliance, and power.

2.1 Norm Content versus Context

The astute reader will have noticed that the arguments herein placed relatively little causal importance on the substance of a given norm, e.g. whether it involves political freedoms or personal integrity or economic rights. While much of my empirical data draws from the realm of women's and sexuality rights, I did not argue that shaming is particularly volatile when addressing these issues. Instead, I proposed that the political *context* of normative pressure matters at least as much (and probably more) than the abstract *content* of a candidate norm.

This aspect of the argument is most clearly demonstrated in Chapter 3 with the analysis of the Universal Periodic Review. There, the empirical design explicitly controlled for norm *content* by coding for issue area in individual recommendations. Even when we compared recommendations addressing identical concerns – for example, torture – we find that normative pressure varies considerably (in both its causes and consequences) depending on the source, or more accurately, the *relationship* between the source and the target. This seems to indicate a homology in international norm dynam-

ics, whereby patterns of diffusion and resistance are structured similarly regardless of the substance of the norm in question.

This is not to say, however, that all norms are equivalent or interchangeable. Clearly, African states will view sexuality rights differently than the prohibition of slavery or genocide due to their historical experience, regardless of who is currently advocating for these norms. However, it would be a mistake to interpret this fact as evidence supporting an essentialist theory of a cultural salience. It is helpful here to contrast my perspective with the conventional approach. In general, the constructivist literature tends to treat state identity and domestic norms as ontologically prior to violation and sanction: States have fixed identities, domestic cultures, and local norms, which may lead them to violate international standards due to a lack of *norm congruence*. Even Acharya, who proposes a dynamic process of localization or matchmaking, treats local norms *a priori,* accounting only for the transmission from international standards to local practices. It is this assumption that leads critical scholars to charge the norms literature with *depoliticizing* the concept of identity, a begging the question of where state identities come from, why states see themselves as part of the "community of nations" (or don't), and how identities are constructed historically through their interaction with global political orders.[1]

Instead of taking domestic structures for granted, I suggest a dynamic relationship between an actor's normative commitments and political imperatives. In their "spiral model" (see Chapter 1), Ropp, Risse and Sikkink argued that states may comply with human rights norms initially for tactical reasons but over time internalize these norms as part of their own identities, institutionalizing and habituating them into their domestic structures. Defiance may exhibit a similar dynamic, in that shaming may encourage norm-breaking as a strategic move, leading to the construction of oppositional domestic practices, which then become fully internalized as constitutive a state's political culture and identity. The Sakineh case illustrates this mechanism in detail: stoning was hardly a pillar of Iranian identity. And yet it was their encounter with global shaming that led Iranian officials to defend the stoning law as constitutive of their religious authenticity and political autonomy.

That said, I am also aware that my substantive focus on women's and sexuality rights may inhibit the generalizability of these claims. While anecdotal evidence finds defiance-like mechanisms at play in other normative realms, we lack adequate comparative analyses showing the degree to which shaming varies in its impact across issue areas.[2] Future studies are needed to evaluate the likelihood of defiance and backlash in other sorts of norms, as well as to decipher to degree to which different norms exhibit different patterns of diffusion/resistance.

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[1] Epstein 2012; Zarakol 2014.

[2] Bailey 2008; Hurd 2012.

2.2 The Causes and Consequences of Transnational Advocacy

While the puzzle motivating this dissertation explicitly addressed the *consequences* of international shaming (i.e. when does it backfire?), the findings have important implications for theories concerning the *causes* of shaming as well. Scholars have long-recognized that global humanitarian attention is unevenly distributed among similarly pressing problems.[3] This dissertation extends and refines our understanding of why some abuses become global causes célèbres while others go unnoticed.

Chapter 3, for instance, demonstrated that countries criticize one another selectively, based on their foreign policy interests. Specifically, states are more lenient towards their geopolitical, military, and economic partners. Chapter 4 revealed biases in American news coverage of global women's rights, whereby Muslim societies are cast as more discriminatory regardless of their actual records on gender equality. Finally, Chapter 5 presented detailed evidence concerning the mobilization of global condemnation of Iran's stoning law. Contra conventional accounts, the rise of the Sakineh campaign could not be explained solely by reference to the nature of the abuse, the strength of domestic civil society, or the involvement of prominent international NGOs. While each of these factors played a role, I emphasized the importance of Mina Ahadi's intervention in crafting and marketing Sakineh's story to media outlets.

Together, these findings prompt us to rethink several underlying assumptions and predictions contained in the boomerang and spiral models of transnational advocacy (described in Chapter 1.) Indeed, the Sakineh campaign more closely resembles Clifford Bob's account of Third-World protest movements in *The Marketing of Rebellion*, where global attention goes to the savviest, not the neediest or the most credible.[4] The one caveat is that, in the Sakineh case, the marketing-savvy actor (i.e. Ahadi) lived thousands of miles away, acting relatively autonomously and without a great deal of guidance from on-the-ground actors. Given what happened to Sakineh's family and lawyers, this kind of "activism by proxy" prompts us to reevaluate widely held beliefs that local challengers uniformly benefit from global attention.

Finally, this conversation is important because, as I have argued, the production of shame mediates its impact. By considering the causes and consequences of foreign pressure simultaneously, this dissertation contributes to two literatures that are overly disjointed. That is, one group of scholars study shaming as an *dependent* variable by asking what determines of the human rights agenda, which countries get singled out for

[3] Carpenter 2007b; Carpenter 2007a; Carpenter et al. 2014; Bob 2005; Hafner-Burton and Ron 2012; Hill, Moore, and Mukherjee 2013; Ramos, Ron, and Thoms 2007; Ron, Ramos, and Rodgers 2005.

[4] Notably, Ahadi and her organization (the International Committee against Stoning) lacked the credibility typically associated with prominent INGOs, and yet they were still able to attract public attention. This calls into question findings that locate activists' power in their credibility. See Hill, Moore, and Mukherjee 2013.

the global spotlight, and how transnational advocacy networks set their strategic priorities.[5] Another group looks into shaming as an *independent* variable, asking what impact, if any, shaming has on state behavior or other outcomes of interest.[6] Rarely do these literatures speak to one another, investigating how the first process influences the second. I propose we take a more holistic empirical approach to transnational advocacy and moral pressure, investigating the overall structure that determines both the production and the impact of naming and shaming efforts.

2.3 Socialization, Compliance, and Power

Finally, I urged that we theoretically decouple socialization from compliance. The fact that leaders care about their image on the world stage does not inexorably lead to homogeneity among states. In fact, social concerns surrounding reputation, legitimacy, and status may motivate leaders to *defy* foreign pressure in order to exert their autonomy or signal their alliance with an opposing faction. Chapter 2 fleshed out the psycho-social microfoundations underlying this insight. We then saw these mechanisms in action in the Sakineh case, where defiance signaled independence, sovereignty, and national pride for a state that rested its international reputation on its refusal to be bullied by Western powers. Overall, it is important to recognize that there exists *multiple* "international communities" – beyond the amorphic category of "civilized nations" – that figure into state socialization. In a structure of anarchy, few norms are capable of defining world society writ large; one state's violation may be another's compliance.

In addition to decoupling socialization from compliance, this dissertation also attempted to move beyond the simple dichotomy divorcing norms and power. Importantly, norms are promoted in relational terms, and are incapable of escaping the political baggage present in that dyadic relationship. I've also highlighted the ways in which shaming (and defiance) functions as a tool for political influence and self-promotion, beyond "moral consciousness raising."[7] At the same time, just because shaming is fundamentally political does not mean it is toothless or meaningless. In fact, as Chapter 3 demonstrated, normative pressure is particularly effective when it credibly threatens a valued strategic partnership. In other words, shaming works *through* processes of power and conflict in the international system, not in spite of it. Viewed in this

[5] Barry et al. 2014; Bob 2005; Carpenter 2007b; Carpenter 2011; Carpenter et al. 2014; Cole 2010; Hafner-Burton and Ron 2012; Heinze and Freedman 2010; Hendrix and Wong 2014; Hertel 2006; Hill, Moore, and Mukherjee 2013; Lebovic and Voeten 2006; Ramos, Ron, and Thoms 2007; Ron, Ramos, and Rodgers 2005; Meernik et al. 2012; Murdie 2013; Murdie 2014; Murdie and Urpelainen 2014; Ovsiovitch 1993.

[6] Ausderan 2014; DeMeritt 2012; Cole 2012a; Cole 2012b; Krain 2012; Hafner-Burton 2008; Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui 2005; Hendrix and Wong 2013; Lebovic and Voeten 2009; Murdie 2009; Murdie and Davis 2012; Murdie and Bhasin 2011; Murdie and Hicks 2013; Murdie and Peksen 2013; Murdie and Peksen 2014; Murdie and Peksen 2015.

[7] Risse and Ropp 1999, 25, 262.

light, it becomes clear that norms are not antithetical to power relations, but are an extension of them. However, future studies are needed to fully grasp the complex relationship between norms and power in the international system.

3 Policy Recommendations

The arguments in this dissertation present a conundrum for those who wish to promote human rights and other forms of social justice across boarders. On one hand, I have stressed that shaming can backfire, motivating further abuse. On the other hand, human rights violations demand some kind of condemnation; simply allowing violations to take place is moral and political impossibility. In this section, I sketch how the "shamer's dilemma" affects various actors, while offering some very modest guidance for how to cope.

3.1 For NGOs

My arguments have the greatest salience for international non-governmental organizations, who rely heavily on "naming and shaming" in their struggle to promote human rights worldwide. Specifically, this dissertation urges INGOs to reconsider their strategic prioritization of media publicity, "conscienceless-raising," and public mobilization, including the use of petitions, letter-writing campaigns, and urgent actions.

INGOs are increasingly relying on such tactics for their work. "When I was at Human Rights Watch," Roya Boroumand explained to me, "there was one communications person. Now ask them how many they have. Before you even do politics, you have to get the media on board. … Because it works! Otherwise you would put your energy elsewhere." Unfortunately, it remains unclear whether human rights organizations are turning to media because it's helpful for victims, or because it raises their own profiles, increasing their legitimacy and attracting more resources.

Importantly, media publicity constitutes double-edged sword for human rights promotion: The same rhetoric that flares up media attention, which is useful to mobilize international pressure, is also the rhetoric that flares up defiance. Even Boroumand conceded that mass media "can be just as destructive as they are constructive."[8] In the Sakineh case for instance, publicity of the case was both constructive (for gaining the attention of influential parties, such as Brazil and Turkey, who pressured Iran) as well as destructive (by including incorrect information, stigmatizing the Iranian government, and provoking a defensive response.) When they do engage the media, INGOs should pause and undergo a critical evaluation of the costs and benefits of doing so, including potential unintended consequences such as those described here.

[8] Boroumand 2015.

As an alternative, INGOs may consider shifting their resources towards other activities that potentially have a more positive impact. For Mostafaie, a more fruitful tactic lies in "work[ing] on individual defendants, analyzing the specific case and supporting the accused from the time of arrest," instead of intervening shortly before execution.[9] I would align myself with this view. Indeed, one of the most powerful things NGOs can do is provide credible information on human rights violations to both local advocates and international audiences. But this is only possible if they devote resources towards research and fact-finding missions, embed themselves in local context, and create partnerships with on-the-ground actors. Of course these things are easier said than done, involving a number of challenges including risks to personal safety and security.[10] On the other hand, research indicates that INGOs have the greatest impact when they have a domestic presence in the target country.[11] Donors can aid in this endeavor by supporting those NGOs that are doing the greatest good on-the-ground, not necessarily those who receive the greatest publicity.

In addition to shifting resources from publicity to research and direct service, it is imperative that NGOs try their best to maintain neutrality. While I recognize and respect arguments critical of the "anti-politics machine" endemic to the NGO and development sector, I am also highly sensitive to the practical risks involved when human rights organizations "take sides" in political conflict. A common theme throughout this dissertation is that states can (and will) dismiss criticism if they are able to cast such criticism as politically motivated and hostile. Although NGOs are not states, they still hold the capacity to represent political interests, especially given the highly interwoven nature of states, donors, and civil society.[12] NGOs must work strategically to mitigate the perception that they are politically motivated in order to lesson the risk of defiance and backlash.

3.2 For governments

Most political leaders seem intuitively aware of defiance and the risks it poses. That's why they take careful steps and use delicate language when criticizing other states, especially their friends and allies, lest they sabotage their interests. Leaders also know that the identity of the critic is just as important as the content of the criticism. For instance, the promoters of the controversial Human Rights Council resolution on "Human rights, sexual orientation and gender identity" put great importance in having

[9] Gholamhosseinpour 2014.

[10] At one point, Amnesty International had a policy banning local branches from campaigning on behalf of the country in which they were stationed. This was due to security concerns. That policy has since changed.

[11] Barry et al. 2014; Murdie and Davis 2012.

[12] Cooley and Ron 2002; Berkovitch and Gordon 2008.

South Africa present the final text.[13] They knew that having Western states shame their former colonies (for what the later consider sexual deviance) would not bode well.

On the other hand, governments that wish to promote human rights as part of their foreign policy must reckon with their own domestic constraints and pressures, including a potentially outraged public demanding unequivocal condemnation of a perceived atrocity abroad. The United States, for instance, is under constant pressure by societal groups for going "too soft" on its allies that violate human rights.[14] Those who demand a firmer stance may be operating under misguided assumptions concerning the efficacy of international shaming. Unfortunately, in many instances, the objective to enact normative change is compromised by other political imperatives, such as assuaging relevant audiences and interest groups at home.

While it may be politically unpopular, the evidence presented in this dissertation suggests that governments are in a better position to persuade states with which they share political or economic ties. In other words, a strategy of engagement – not isolation – provides the best chance for human rights promotion. Practically speaking, this means trading with human rights violators. If a government is incapable of taking this route, it may attempt to work *through* other states that have friendlier relations with the violating state. In any case, attempting to isolate an abuser is likely to backfire. Insofar as shaming relies on the persuasion of actors to voluntary change their behavior in order to maintain social relationships, stigmatizing a norm violator or calling for their removal from the "community of civilized nations" only serves to break the ties on which effective shaming depends.

3.3 For Allies

My point in raising the risks of transnational advocacy causes is not to reject, dismiss, or disparage Western attention to human rights concerns. Nor is it to implicitly condone the accusations made by repressive governments by suggesting that we cut off all international solidarity ties lest we be misconstrued as "imperialists." My main concern is that we ought to know the consequences – intended and unintended – of our actions. Oftentimes, Western-based human rights supporters take action with good intentions, but with poor consequences. And although allies (I count myself in this group) are not responsible for the repression of local human rights activists, we do have a responsibility to do our due diligence when deciding what action we ought to take.

So how does one be a responsible global ally? The bottom line is this: let local human rights defenders guide global action. Not all local activists will always agree on the best course of action to take regarding an issue, but when a reasonable consensus exists that a form of intervention is helpful or harmful, we ought to listen and follow

[13] Symons and Altman 2015.

[14] C.f. Greenwald 2015.

their lead. They know their context best, and are most equipped to guide actions that will minimize the risk of backlash.

To reiterate, this dissertation did not present a normative argument against shaming. Rather, it concerned the myriad empirical dynamics surrounding shaming, which may or may not be normatively desirable. It is important to consider that shaming may have value beyond persuading states into reforming their human rights practices, or may defy instrumental logic altogether. To the extent that the arguments herein have normative implications, they urge a richer empirical investigation into the consequences of shaming – both intended and unintended – as a requisite in any responsible policy or action.

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Appendices

1 Appendix for Chapter 3

1.1 Recommendation Analysis using Logit rather than OLS

I replicated the analysis of UPR participation using logit estimation instead of OLS. As in the main analysis, fixed sender country, target country, and year effects are included, but omitted from table.

Table 9: Determinants of Participation in the UPR (Logit)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
VARIABLES	*Recommendation*	*Recommendation*	*Recommendation*	*Recommendation*
Geopolitical Affinity	0.51***	0.22***	0.22***	0.20***
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Arms Exports (Target to Sender)	-0.08	-0.11	-0.11	-0.08
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Arms Exports (Sender to Target	0.19	0.15	0.15	0.18
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Aid Donor (Target to Sender)	0.54***	0.56***	0.56***	0.58***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Aid Donor (Sender to Target)	0.81***	0.75***	0.75***	0.69***
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)
HRC Member (Target)		0.08	0.08	-0.01
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Physical Integrity Rights Protections (Sender minus Target)			.03***	.10***
			(.01)	(.04)
HRC Member (Sender)		0.65***	0.64***	0.54***
		(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
HRC Member (Both)		-0.14**	-0.14**	-0.09
		(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
UPR Review (Sender)		0.21***	0.21***	0.22***
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Same Region		1.24***	1.24***	1.25***
		(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Constant	3.89***	2.08***	2.06***	1.77***
	(0.32)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.35)
Observations	49,420	49,420	49,372	37,225

*Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

1.2 Selection (Heckman) models of *Action* and *Response*

For the following analyses, I recoded the *Action* variable as a binary, with categories 1 and 2 recoded as 0 and 3 and 4 recoded as 1. *UPR Review (Sender)* is the exclusion criterion. Fixed sender country, and target country, and year effects included but omitted from table.

Table 10: Determinants of Recommendation Severity (Heckman Model)

VARIABLES	(1) *Action (Binary)*	(2) Section	(4) *Action (Binary)*	(5) Section
Geopolitical Affinity	-0.07***	0.12***	-0.07***	0.12***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Arms Exports (Target to Sender)	-0.06**	-0.06	-0.06**	-0.06
	(0.03)	(0.09)	(0.03)	(0.09)
Arms Exports (Sender to Target	-0.01	0.10	-0.01	0.10
	(0.02)	(0.09)	(0.02)	(0.09)
Aid Donor (Target to Sender)	-0.02	0.33***	-0.02	0.33***
	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.04)
Aid Donor (Sender to Target)	-0.03***	0.45***	-0.03***	0.45***
	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.04)
HRC Member (Target)	-0.03**	0.05	-0.03**	0.05
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)
HRC Member (Sender)	0.00	0.38***	0.00	0.37***
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)
HRC Member (Both)	0.04***	0.09***	0.04***	0.09***
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)
Physical Integrity Rights Protections (Sender minus Target)			.03***	.10***
			(.01)	(.04)
UPR Review (Sender)		0.11***		0.12***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Same Region	-0.01	0.71***	-0.01	0.71***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Constant	0.59***	1.08***	0.59***	1.06***
	(0.06)	(0.19)	(0.06)	(0.19)
Observations	57,539		57,491	

*Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

Table 11: Determinants of SuR Response (Heckman Model)

VARIABLES	(1) *Response*	(2) Selection	(4) *Response*	(5) Selection
Women, Children & Trafficking	0.04***		0.04***	
	(0.00)		(0.00)	
Physical Integrity Rights	-0.05***		-0.05***	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Justice	-0.00		-0.00	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Speech & Political Participation	-0.02***		-0.02***	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Race, Ethnic, & Religious Discrimination	-0.01**		-0.01**	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Migrants	-0.06***		-0.06***	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Socio-Economic Rights	0.03***		0.03***	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Vulnerable Populations	-0.01**		-0.01**	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Action (Mean)	-0.24***		-0.24***	
	(0.01)		(0.01)	
Geopolitical Affinity	0.07***	0.12***	0.06***	0.12***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)
Arms Exports (Target to Sender)	0.01	-0.06	0.01	-0.06
	(0.02)	(0.09)	(0.02)	(0.09)
Arms Exports (Sender to Target	0.06***	0.10	0.06***	0.10
	(0.02)	(0.09)	(0.02)	(0.09)
Aid Donor (Target to Sender)	-0.00	0.33***	-0.00	0.33***
	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.04)
Aid Donor (Sender to Target)	0.02*	0.45***	0.02*	0.45***
	(0.01)	(0.04)	(0.01)	(0.04)
HRC Member (Target)	0.01	0.05	0.01	0.05
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)
HRC Member (Sender)	-0.01	0.38***	-0.01	0.37***
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)
HRC Member (Both)	-0.00	-0.09***	-0.00	-0.09***
	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)
Same Region	-0.02***	0.71***	-0.02***	0.71***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)
UPR Review (Sender)		0.11***		0.12***
		(0.02)		(0.02)
Constant	-1.07***	1.06***	-1.07***	1.06***
	(0.05)	(0.19)	(0.05)	(0.19)
Lambda	-.04** (.02)		-.04** (.02)	
Observations	57,491		57,491	

*Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

1.3 Responses to Shaming by Issue Area

Table 12: Acceptance of Recommendations by Issue Area

VARIABLES	(1) Women, Children & Traf-ficking	(2) Physical Integrity Rights	(3) Justice	(4) Speech	(5) Race	(6) Migration	(7) Socio-Econ	(8) Vulnera-ble
Action = 2	-0.03***	0.07***	-0.03	-0.04	0.09***	-0.08***	-0.01	-0.05**
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.03)
Action = 3	-0.18***	0.27***	0.17***	0.30***	0.28***	-0.40***	0.20***	-0.17***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Action = 4	-0.18***	0.29***	0.25***	0.24***	0.28***	-0.39***	0.13***	-0.23***
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.03)
Geopolitical Affinity	0.04***	0.04***	0.05***	0.09***	0.08***	0.09***	0.04***	0.10***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Arms Exports (Target to Sender)	0.02	-0.08	0.02	0.08	0.07	-0.02	0.13***	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.08)
Arms Exports (Sender to Target	0.03	0.09***	0.12***	0.00	0.15***	0.02	0.06*	-0.07
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Aid Donor (Target to Sender)	0.02	0.07**	0.02	-0.04	0.00	-0.05*	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)
Aid Donor (Sender to Target)	0.02*	0.03*	-0.01	0.01	0.04	-0.01	-0.04*	0.05*
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Constant	-1.12***	1.21***	1.27***	1.59***	1.16***	-0.34***	-1.24***	-0.49***
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.15)
Observations	11,849	7,315	3,588	3,087	3,286	3,228	3,887	2,507
R-squared	0.27	0.41	0.44	0.46	0.44	0.46	0.39	0.51

*Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1*

2 Appendix for Chapter 4

2.1 Robustness Tests for Table 1

Table 13: H1A: Partial Models with *Muslim Majority* Measure

	Reported (Binary)					
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**
Women's Rights Index	0.255***	0.206***	0.137**	0.163**	0.318***	0.110
	(0.042)	(0.046)	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.058)	(0.065)
Muslim Majority	0.697***	0.527***	0.710***	0.766***	0.995***	0.553***
	(0.116)	(0.134)	(0.141)	(0.141)	(0.158)	(0.166)
Country Reports		0.005***	0.004***	0.004***	0.003***	0.002***
		(0.001)	(0.0005)	(0.0005)	(0.0003)	(0.0003)
Democracy			0.024***	0.024***	0.019***	0.008
			(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Instability				0.00003*	-0.00003	-0.00001
				(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)
Population					0.413***	0.438***
					(0.024)	(0.023)
GDP per capita						0.144***
						(0.024)
Women's Rights x Muslim Maj	-0.571***	-0.396***	-0.458***	-0.488***	-0.755***	-0.466***
	(0.092)	(0.104)	(0.109)	(0.110)	(0.125)	(0.128)
Constant	-1.061***	-1.344***	-1.290***	-1.355***	-8.137***	-9.262***
	(0.075)	(0.083)	(0.087)	(0.094)	(0.413)	(0.444)
N	4764	4396	4069	4004	4001	3934
Log Likelihood	-2698.938	-2093.924	-1965.272	-1937.026	-1727.805	-1671.856
AIC	5405.876	4197.848	3942.544	3888.051	3471.610	3361.712

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 14: H1A: Women's Political Rights

	Reported (Binary)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.805***	0.798***	0.804***
	(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.102)
Country Reports	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.0005)	(0.0005)	(0.0005)
Women's Rights Index	0.229*	0.243*	0.253*
	(0.100)	(0.096)	(0.105)
Muslim Majority	0.803**		
	(0.304)		
MENA		1.070***	
		(0.325)	
Muslim Percentage			0.948**
			(0.341)
Democracy	0.008	0.017	0.010
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Instability	-0.00002	-0.00002	-0.00002
	(0.00003)	(0.00003)	(0.00003)
Population	0.676***	0.669***	0.666***
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.042)
GDP per capita	0.232***	0.212***	0.231***
	(0.040)	(0.042)	(0.041)
Women's Rights x Muslim Majority	-0.483**		
	(0.171)		
Women's Rights x MENA		-0.506*	
		(0.198)	
Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage			-0.516**
			(0.193)
Constant	-14.860***	-14.680***	-14.768***
	(0.809)	(0.807)	(0.804)
N	3925	3941	3925
Log Likelihood	-1635.346	-1639.345	-1635.329
AIC	3290.691	3298.690	3290.659

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Table 15: H1A: Women's Social Rights

	Reported (Binary)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.797***	0.811***	0.801***
	(0.121)	(0.121)	(0.121)
Country Reports	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Women's Rights Index	0.062	0.094	0.100
	(0.087)	(0.085)	(0.092)
Muslim Majority	0.164		
	(0.212)		
MENA		0.547*	
		(0.242)	
Muslim Percentage			0.304
			(0.239)
Democracy	0.004	0.016	0.006
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Instability	-0.00001	-0.00001	-0.00001
	(0.00003)	(0.00003)	(0.00003)
Population	0.656***	0.638***	0.646***
	(0.048)	(0.047)	(0.048)
GDP per capita	0.236***	0.207***	0.225***
	(0.052)	(0.055)	(0.052)
Women's Rights x Muslim Majority	-0.577**		
	(0.208)		
Women's Rights x MENA		-0.603*	
		(0.262)	
Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage			-0.632**
			(0.222)
Constant	-14.185***	-13.853***	-14.025***
	(0.926)	(0.920)	(0.924)
N	2961	2972	2961
Log Likelihood	-1199.489	-1203.432	-1200.333
AIC	2418.978	2426.864	2420.667

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 16: H1A: Women's Economic Rights

	Reported (Binary)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.778***	0.776***	0.776***
	(0.103)	(0.103)	(0.103)
Country Reports	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.0005)	(0.0005)	(0.0005)
Women's Rights Index	0.087	0.050	0.124
	(0.090)	(0.086)	(0.094)
Muslim Majority	0.582**		
	(0.217)		
MENA		0.792**	
		(0.257)	
Muslim Percentage			0.742**
			(0.252)
Democracy	0.007	0.018*	0.010
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Instability	-0.00002	-0.00002	-0.00002
	(0.00003)	(0.00003)	(0.00003)
Population	0.663***	0.661***	0.654***
	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.042)
GDP per capita	0.252***	0.232***	0.246***
	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.042)
Women's Rights x Muslim Majority	-0.626***		
	(0.180)		
Women's Rights x MENA		-0.552**	
		(0.214)	
Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage			-0.676***
			(0.201)
Constant	-14.462***	-14.296***	-14.349***
	(0.797)	(0.798)	(0.794)
N	3881	3897	3881
Log Likelihood	-1620.619	-1627.747	-1620.838
AIC	3261.237	3275.495	3261.676

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

2.2 Robustness Tests for Table 2

Table 17: H1B: Partial Models with *Muslim Majority* Measure

	Reported (Count)					
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**	**Model 4**	**Model 5**	**Model 6**
Women's Rights Index	0.430***	0.305**	0.217*	0.235*	0.515***	0.206*
	(0.091)	(0.110)	(0.089)	(0.099)	(0.096)	(0.102)
Muslim Majority	1.359***	1.249***	1.465***	1.488***	2.003***	1.339***
	(0.249)	(0.296)	(0.339)	(0.361)	(0.338)	(0.373)
Country Reports		0.005***	0.005***	0.005***	0.002***	0.002***
		(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Democracy			0.027*	0.026*	0.021*	0.003
			(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Instability				0.00002	-0.0001*	-0.00002
				(0.00002)	(0.00002)	(0.00002)
Population					0.605***	0.640***
					(0.023)	(0.024)
GDP per capita						0.226***
						(0.041)
Women's Rights x Muslim Maj	-1.185***	-0.928***	-1.020***	-1.033***	-1.544***	-1.088***
	(0.185)	(0.211)	(0.218)	(0.226)	(0.213)	(0.246)
Constant	-0.984***	-1.760***	-1.677***	-1.712***	-11.860***	-13.627***
	(0.173)	(0.227)	(0.222)	(0.255)	(0.480)	(0.589)
N	4764	4396	4069	4004	4001	3934
Log Likelihood	-4935.680	-4243.077	-4016.625	-3961.884	-3671.746	-3591.307
theta	0.183*** (0.008)	0.412*** (0.021)	0.442*** (0.024)	0.435*** (0.023)	0.771*** (0.050)	0.837*** (0.056)
AIC	9879.360	8496.153	8045.251	7937.769	7359.492	7200.614

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 18: H1B: Women's Political Rights

	Reported (Count)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.542***	0.530***	0.536***
	(0.065)	(0.064)	(0.065)
Country Reports	0.0004***	0.0004***	0.0004***
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Women's Political Rights	0.079	0.101	0.105
	(0.054)	(0.053)	(0.057)
Muslim Majority	0.504**		
	(0.158)		
MENA		0.668***	
		(0.160)	
Muslim Percentage			0.636***
			(0.172)
Democracy	0.009	0.014**	0.010*
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Instability	0.00002*	0.00002*	0.00002*
	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)
Population	0.333***	0.334***	0.331***
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
GDP per capita	0.167***	0.148***	0.168***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Women's Rights x Muslim Majority	-0.224*		
	(0.088)		
Women's Rights x MENA		-0.209*	
		(0.099)	
Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage			-0.255**
			(0.098)
Constant	-8.658***	-8.599***	-8.716***
	(0.379)	(0.372)	(0.380)
N	3925	3941	3925
Log Likelihood	-2118.207	-2120.545	-2116.665
AIC	4256.414	4261.090	4253.330

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 19: H1B: Women's Social Rights

	Reported (Count)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.542***	0.548***	0.538***
	(0.079)	(0.078)	(0.079)
Country Reports	0.0005***	0.001***	0.001***
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Women's Social Rights	0.023	0.034	0.054
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.042)
Muslim Majority	0.255*		
	(0.107)		
MENA		0.453***	
		(0.119)	
Muslim Percentage			0.378***
			(0.114)
Democracy	0.005	0.012*	0.007
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Instability	0.00002*	0.00002	0.00002*
	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)
Population	0.335***	0.337***	0.335***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
GDP per capita	0.172***	0.154***	0.167***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.026)
Women's Rights x Muslim Majority	-0.400***		
	(0.119)		
Women's Rights x MENA		-0.314*	
		(0.142)	
Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage			-0.447***
			(0.125)
Constant	-8.600***	-8.574***	-8.620***
	(0.449)	(0.441)	(0.451)
N	2961	2972	2961
Log Likelihood	-1538.311	-1539.663	-1537.615
AIC	3096.622	3099.327	3095.231

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 20: H1B: Women's Economic Rights

	Reported (Count)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.509***	0.506***	0.505***
	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.065)
Country Reports	0.0004***	0.0004***	0.0004***
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Women's Economic Rights	0.071	0.045	0.096*
	(0.043)	(0.042)	(0.045)
Muslim Majority	0.504***		
	(0.097)		
MENA		0.627***	
		(0.107)	
Muslim Percentage			0.607***
			(0.105)
Democracy	0.007	0.015**	0.009
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Instability	0.00002*	0.00002	0.00002*
	(0.00001)	(0.00001)	(0.00001)
Population	0.334***	0.339***	0.332***
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
GDP per capita	0.168***	0.149***	0.167***
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.021)
Women's Rights x Muslim Majority	-0.422***		
	(0.089)		
Women's Rights x MENA		-0.322***	
		(0.097)	
Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage			-0.436***
			(0.094)
Constant	-8.604***	-8.533***	-8.629***
	(0.384)	(0.376)	(0.385)
N	3881	3897	3881
Log Likelihood	-2099.694	-2105.066	-2098.879
AIC	4219.387	4230.131	4217.758

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

2.3 Robustness Tests for Table 4

Table 21: H2: Partial Models with *Muslim Majority* Measure

	Rights Focus		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	0.094***	0.094***	0.093***
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Women's Rights Index	-0.004	-0.004	-0.014**
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Muslim Majority	0.038***	0.039***	0.036***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Democracy		0.00003	-0.0004
		(0.0004)	(0.0004)
Physical Integrity Rights			0.005***
			(0.001)
Lagged DV	-0.010**	-0.010**	-0.016***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
N	1113	1113	1039
R-squared	0.573	0.573	0.581
Adj. R-squared	0.572	0.571	0.578
Residual Std. Error	0.077 (df = 1109)	0.077 (df = 1108)	0.076 (df = 1033)
F Statistic	372.659*** (df = 4; 1109)	297.861*** (df = 5; 1108)	238.263*** (df = 6; 1033)

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 22: H2: Women's Political Rights

	Rights Focus		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	0.093***	0.097***	0.090***
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Lagged DV	0.060	0.065	0.061
	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.042)
Women's Political Rights	-0.014**	-0.013*	-0.013*
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Muslim Majority	0.036***		
	(0.009)		
MENA		0.036***	
		(0.011)	
Muslim Percentage			0.039***
			(0.010)
Democracy	-0.0005	-0.0003	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Physical Integrity Rights	0.004***	0.003**	0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
IMR1	-0.014	-0.011	-0.014
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.008)
N	607	607	607
R-squared	0.625	0.621	0.624
Adj. R-squared	0.620	0.617	0.619
Residual Std. Error	0.072	0.072	0.072
F Statistic	142.736***	140.540***	142.157***

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 23: H2: Women's Social Rights

	Rights Focus		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	0.078***	0.084***	0.075***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Lagged DV	0.039	0.047	0.039
	(0.049)	(0.052)	(0.050)
Women's Social Rights	-0.015**	-0.017***	-0.015**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Muslim Majority	0.049***		
	(0.011)		
MENA		0.047***	
		(0.012)	
Muslim Percentage			0.052***
			(0.012)
Democracy	-0.0002	-0.00002	-0.0003
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Physical Integrity Rights	0.007***	0.006***	0.007***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
IMR1	-0.011	-0.009	-0.012
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
N	461	461	461
R-squared	0.635	0.631	0.634
Adj. R-squared	0.630	0.625	0.628
Residual Std. Error	0.074	0.075	0.074
F Statistic	112.951***	110.971***	112.261***

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 24: H1B: Women's Economic Rights

	Rights Focus		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	0.074***	0.081***	0.071***
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Lagged DV	0.072	0.068	0.070
	(0.043)	(0.044)	(0.043)
Women's Economic Rights	-0.007	-0.010*	-0.007
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Muslim Majority	0.039***		
	(0.009)		
MENA		0.042***	
		(0.010)	
Muslim Percentage			0.042***
			(0.010)
Democracy	-0.001	-0.0003	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Physical Integrity Rights	0.005***	0.004**	0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
IMR1	-0.012	-0.010	-0.012
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
N	603	603	603
R-squared	0.622	0.621	0.622
Adj. R-squared	0.618	0.617	0.617
Residual Std. Error	0.072	0.072	0.072
F Statistic	140.275***	139.531***	139.935***

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 25: H2: Fractional Logit

	Rights Focus		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.432	0.418	0.442
	(0.506)	(0.508)	(0.508)
Women's Rights Index	-0.183*	-0.182*	-0.183*
	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.076)
Muslim Majority	0.327**		
	(0.104)		
MENA		0.373**	
		(0.114)	
Muslim Percentage			0.342**
			(0.113)
Democracy	-0.003	-0.001	-0.004
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Physical Integrity Rights	0.068***	0.062***	0.071***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Constant	-2.410***	-2.390***	-2.430***
	(0.124)	(0.117)	(0.131)
N	637	639	637
Log Likelihood	-15695.540	-15707.120	-15724.350
AIC	31403.080	31426.250	31460.690

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 26: H2: Alternative Measure of DV

	Rights (Binary)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	0.728***	0.694***	0.710***
	(0.060)	(0.057)	(0.062)
Lagged DV	0.051	0.038	0.049
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Women's Rights Index	-0.128***	-0.110***	-0.122***
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Muslim Majority	0.042		
	(0.051)		
MENA		0.158**	
		(0.050)	
Muslim Percentage			0.069
			(0.055)
Democracy	0.001	0.004	0.001
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Physical Integrity Rights	0.005	0.002	0.006
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
IMR1	-0.017	-0.013	-0.019
	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.041)
N	608	608	608
R-squared	0.744	0.748	0.745
Adj. R-squared	0.741	0.745	0.742
Residual Std. Error	0.349	0.346	0.348
F Statistic	249.971***	254.566***	250.551***

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 27: H2: Alternative Measure of DV Without Lagged DV

	Rights (Binary)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	0.751***	0.731***	0.734***
	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.045)
Women's Rights Index	-0.110***	-0.105***	-0.106***
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.026)
Muslim Majority	0.087*		
	(0.038)		
MENA		0.156***	
		(0.041)	
Muslim Percentage			0.108**
			(0.042)
Democracy	-0.0004	0.002	-0.0003
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Physical Integrity Rights	0.005	0.002	0.005
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
IMR1	-0.054*	-0.041	-0.053*
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)
N	1039	1040	1039
R-squared	0.687	0.688	0.687
Adj. R-squared	0.685	0.686	0.685
Residual Std. Error	0.393	0.392	0.392
F Statistic	377.319***	380.058***	377.988***

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

2.4 Hypothesis 1, Before and After 9/11

To explore change over time, I conducted a simple test to see whether the effects described in Hypothesis 1 remained in the pre- and post-9/11 eras. I estimated the same models described in Tables 1 and 2 on two different subsamples, one for years 1980—2001, and the other for years 2002—2014. The results appear qualitatively similar in pre-9/11 versus post-9/11 subsamples, with the exception of the model involving the *Women's Rights x MENA* term in the post-9/11 sample, which is no longer significant at the $p > .05$ level. The results for the probit model on *Reported (Binary*) are shown below, and are substantively identical to the negative binomial model on *Reported (Count)*, not shown.

Table 28: H1A: 1980—2001

	Reported (Binary)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.729***	0.713***	0.732***
	(0.132)	(0.132)	(0.132)
Country Reports	0.004***	0.004***	0.004***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Women's Rights	0.139	0.271	0.199
	(0.149)	(0.147)	(0.158)
Muslim Majority	0.509		
	(0.389)		
MENA		1.217**	
		(0.425)	
Muslim Percentage			0.697
			(0.442)
Democracy	-0.008	0.009	-0.004
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Instability	-0.00003	-0.00002	-0.00002
	(0.00004)	(0.00004)	(0.00004)
Population	0.695***	0.684***	0.684***
	(0.055)	(0.055)	(0.055)
GDP per capita	0.318***	0.252***	0.302***
	(0.055)	(0.057)	(0.055)
Women's Rights x Muslim Majority	-0.690*		
	(0.293)		
Women's Rights x MENA		-0.811*	
		(0.334)	
Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage			-0.751*
			(0.322)
Constant	-15.525***	-15.193***	-15.345***
	(1.048)	(1.046)	(1.038)
N	2511	2519	2511
Log Likelihood	-1021.774	-1026.756	-1023.113
AIC	2063.547	2073.511	2066.226

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

Table 29: H1A: 2002—2014

	Reported (Binary)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Lagged DV	0.829***	0.861***	0.826***
	(0.166)	(0.164)	(0.166)
Country Reports	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Women's Rights	0.194	0.106	0.224
	(0.193)	(0.185)	(0.198)
Muslim Majority	1.137*		
	(0.475)		
MENA		0.989	
		(0.514)	
Muslim Percentage			1.250*
			(0.501)
Democracy	0.033*	0.035*	0.034*
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.014)
Instability	-0.00002	-0.00002	-0.00002
	(0.0001)	(0.0001)	(0.0001)
Population	0.637***	0.641***	0.630***
	(0.067)	(0.066)	(0.067)
GDP per capita	0.081	0.078	0.081
	(0.071)	(0.075)	(0.071)
Women's Rights x Muslim Majority	-0.744*		
	(0.362)		
Women's Rights x MENA		-0.696	
		(0.433)	
Women's Rights x Muslim Percentage			-0.783*
			(0.379)
Constant	-13.072***	-12.947***	-13.019***
	(1.272)	(1.283)	(1.269)
N	1423	1431	1423
Log Likelihood	-609.979	-612.798	-609.718
AIC	1239.957	1245.597	1239.437

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.

2.5 Hypothesis 2, Before and After 9/11

Similar to the method above, I estimated the same model described in Table 4 but with the introduction of a dummy variable *After 9/11*, indicating whether the observation occurred in 2002 and onwards, as an interactive term. The results are substantively identical to the original analysis, with the exception of the model involving the *MENA* term in the pre-9/11 sample, which is no longer significant at the p > .05 level. The results are summarized below.

Table 30: H2: Before and After 9/11

	Rights (Binary)		
	Model 1	**Model 2**	**Model 3**
Intercept	0.093***	0.098***	0.091***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Lagged DV	0.055	0.054	0.054
	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.042)
Women's Rights Index	-0.021***	-0.023***	-0.020***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Democracy	-0.0004	-0.0001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Physical Integrity Rights	0.006***	0.005***	0.006***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Muslim Majority: Pre 9/11	0.024*		
	(0.012)		
Muslim Majority: Post 9/11	0.042***		
	(0.011)		
MENA: Pre 9/11		0.025	
		(0.013)	
MENA: Post 9/11		0.047***	
		(0.014)	
Muslim Percentage: Post 9/11			0.024*
			(0.012)
Muslim Percentage: Pre 9/11			0.044***
			(0.012)
IMR1	-0.008	-0.007	-0.009
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
N	608	608	608
R-squared	0.628	0.626	0.627
Adj. R-squared	0.623	0.621	0.622
Residual Std. Error	0.072	0.072	0.072
F Statistic	126.701***	125.629***	126.315***

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05

Robust standard errors clustered on country appear in parentheses.