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The Effects of Using Security Frames on Global Agenda Setting and Policy Making

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THE EFFECTS OF USING SECURITY FRAMES ON GLOBAL AGENDA SETTING
AND POLICY MAKING

A Dissertation Prepared

by

SIRIN DUYGULU ELCIM

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 2015

Political Science

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AND POLICY MAKING

A Dissertation Presented

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DEDICATION

To my family for their relentless support...

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ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF USING SECURITY FRAMES ON GLOBAL AGENDA SETTING AND POLICY MAKING

SEPTEMBER 2015

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Why do transnational advocacy campaigns on environmental, health, human rights or humanitarian causes sometimes (but not always) frame these problems as security issues? This is an important question because there is an under-analyzed assumption made by some transnational advocacy networks (TANs) and securitization studies scholars that framing an issue as a security threat has an overall positive effect on convincing states to take actions in addressing transnational social problems. The lack of systematic comparison across cases limits our ability to reveal the advocates' motivations in adopting security frames and the contrasting effects that securitization might have at various stages of advocacy campaigns. It is crucial to address this question as it will help us better understand the sources of transnational advocacy campaigns' influence over states as well as the inner dynamics of advocacy strategies.

The study conducts a systematic comparative analysis of thirty-eight transnational advocacy campaigns to test whether the assumed correlation between using security frames and reaching advocacy success would hold when analyzed comparatively. The

study then takes a closer look at the question by conducting a comparative analysis of nine cases and an illustrative analysis of a securitized campaign (Conflict Diamonds) to address the similarities between securitization and other acts of framing as well as to shed light onto the inner dynamics of securitization.

Based on this analysis, the study argues that rather than being unique and correlated to transnational advocacy success, as argued by the literature, security frames operate like any other frame, and in order for such framing decisions to translate into advocacy success they need to coexist with an enabling strategic environment. The study also provides insights into the conditions that shape advocates' framing choices. In addition to the widely cited role of the broader political context, the study also finds the advocacy networks' own dynamics as well as the advocates' previous experiences and their fields of expertise to be important in shaping their framing choices. The study also argues that advocates engage in multivocalization, which refers to the inclination of the advocates to invoke multiple frames simultaneously to reach out not only to targets of influence but also to potential allies with the goal of strengthening their networks.

The analysis also reveals that the motivations behind adopting security frames are more complex than appreciated by the securitization literature in two ways: (i) a security frame does not have to be tailored toward states or security organizations, it can also be crafted to get the attention and the cooperation of non-state actors; and (ii) a security frame might appeal to an audience not necessarily because of the security threat it voices but because of the non-security concerns it silences.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADPA	African Diamonds Producers Association
AI	Amnesty International
BICC	Bonn International Center for Conversion
CAR	Central African Republic
CARAT	Consumer Access to a Responsible Accounting of Trade Act
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CARMMA	Campaign on Accelerated Reduction of Maternal, Newborn and Child Mortality in Africa
CASE	Critical Approaches to Security in Europe
CCW	Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons
CECIDE	Centre du Commerce International pour le Développement
CENADEP	Centre National d'Appui au Développement et à la Participation Populaire
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
CMC	Cluster Munition Coalition
CNRG	Center for Natural Resource Governance
CSUCS	Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers
DDII	Diamond Development Initiative International
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
ERC	Emergency Relief Coordinator
EU	European Union

FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GAERN	Groupe d'Appui aux Exploitants des Ressources Naturelles
GRPIE	Groupe de Recherche et de Plaidoyer sur les Industries Extractives
IANSA	International Action Network on Small Arms
ICBL	International Campaign to Ban Landmines
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
KP	Kimberley Process
KPCS	Kimberley Process Certification Scheme
LMO	Living Modified Organism
MCH	Maternal and Child Health
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NIZA	Netherlands Institute for South Africa
NMJD	Network Movement for Justice and Development
NOVIB	Nederlandse Organisatie Voor Internationale Bijstand
NRA	National Rifle Association

OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PAC	Partnership Africa Canada
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RELUFA	Réseau de Lutte contre la Faim
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SI	Survival International
TAN	Transnational Advocacy Network
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WDC	World Diamond Council
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WMD	Weapon of Mass Destruction
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
ZELA	Zimbabwe Environmental Law Association

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The Puzzle

“Ebola is a growing threat to regional and global security.”¹

Barack Obama, President of the United States

“Many of us used to think of AIDS as a health issue. We were wrong...nothing we have seen is a greater challenge to the peace and stability of African societies than the epidemic of AIDS...we face a major development crisis, and more than that, a security crisis.”²

James Wolfensohn, Former Head of the World Bank

“Among the future trends that will impact our national security is climate change.”³

2014 Climate Change Adaptation Roadmap

“Sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war in order to deliberately target civilians or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security.”⁴

United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1820

Statements such as those above suggest that a variety of very different problems constitute “threats to national security.” The connection drawn between these concerns and national security is not an organic one, but rather a construct. Yet, identifying these issues as security threats was not necessarily the only way to highlight their importance; moreover, not every problem gets portrayed as a security threat before garnering international attention.

¹ “Ebola is a ‘National Security Priority,’ Obama says,” CNN, 8 September 2014, available at <<http://edition.cnn.com/2014/09/07/politics/ebola-national-security-obama/>>, accessed 10 October 2014.

² Cited in Singer 2002.

³ US Department of Defense, 13 October 2014.

⁴ UNSC/RES/1820, 19 June 2008.

Why do transnational advocacy campaigns on environmental, health, human rights, or humanitarian causes sometimes (but not always) frame these problems as security issues? This question is an important one because, despite numerous observations about the use of security frames by transnational advocacy campaigns, we know surprisingly little about the factors that shape advocates' decisions to use security frames for some campaigns and not the others. Additionally, a dearth of knowledge exists concerning the conditions that translate such framing choices into advocacy success. Our limited understanding of the dynamics of securitization leaves assumptions about the utility of security frames untested, and also curtails the insights we have into securitized campaigns' advocacy strategies.

The conventional answer to this question comes from the securitization theory. According to this literature security is not an objective reality⁵ but an articulated one which means, when successfully executed, any issue can be framed as a security threat through language.⁶ The studies that apply securitization theory to transnational advocacy campaigns observe the success of a number of campaigns such as women, peace and security⁷ and conflict diamonds⁸ and argue that advocates achieve their goals by using security frames as states are more likely to take action when they perceive their security

⁵ Waever 1995.

⁶ Buzan et al. 1998.

⁷ Hudson 2010.

⁸ For instance Partnership Africa Canada (PAC), one of the leading non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the fight against conflict diamonds, describe the problem of conflict diamonds through the role these diamonds play in financing civil wars. "During the 1990s and into the beginning of this century, rebel armies in Angola, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) exploited the alluvial diamond fields of these countries in order to finance wars of insurgency... hundreds of thousands of people died as a direct result of these wars, and many more died of indirect causes. Millions of people were displaced, health and educational infrastructure was destroyed, and development was reversed." ("Diamonds, Death and Destruction: A History," available at <<http://www.pacweb.org/en/diamonds-death-and-destruction>>, accessed 1 May 2014.)

to be threatened.⁹ Therefore, according to these studies, the reasons behind advocates' attempts to securitize their campaigns are self-explanatory and are embedded in the unquestionable primacy of security concerns on states' agendas.

Nevertheless, the conventional wisdom leaves us with a puzzle. Despite the straightforward logic that securitization literature sees behind various attempts to utilize security frames, the studies within the transnational advocacy networks (TANs) literature illustrate that many of the most successful advocacy campaigns ranging from the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL)¹⁰ and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) Campaign¹¹ to Campaign for International Criminal Court¹² were either non-securitized (i.e. did not use a security frame) or explicitly de-securitized (i.e. the issue was deliberately brought out of the security frame). Such examples challenge the primacy that securitization literature attaches to security frames. Moreover, as a number of studies concluded, even though security frames have a positive impact in attracting states' attention to an issue in the short-run, using security frames becomes an impediment in front of properly addressing the problem at hand in the long-run as securitizing an issue brings it out of the realm of politics and hence out of the reach of the civil actors.¹³ These

⁹ Hudson 2010.

¹⁰ ICBL owes its success to its ability to de-securitize the issue by downplaying the military utility of the landmines and emphasizing the humanitarian consequences, instead (Price 1998; Hubert 2000).

¹¹ No Peace without Justice uses a human rights frame and evaluates the UN General Assembly's decision to adopt a worldwide ban on female genital mutilation as a "paradigm shift in the fight against this widespread and systematic human rights violation, committed against millions of girls and women in Africa and around the world" ("Ban FGM Campaign," available at <<http://www.npwj.org/FGM/BAN-FGM-CAMPAIGN.html>>, accessed 9 December 2014).

¹² Coalition for the International Criminal Court uses a human rights frame and defines the purpose of the campaign as "the global fight to end genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity through a commitment to the core values of human rights and justice" ("Coalition for the ICC," available at <http://www.wfm-igp.org/content/coalition-icc>>, accessed 22 May 2014).

¹³ Such as the sidelining of the civil actors in dealing with HIV/AIDS (Elbe 2006) and changing dynamics of international aid where the criteria for distribution changed from "need" to "lack of connection with terrorist groups" (Woods 2005; Mawdsley 2007).

findings further problematize the securitization literature's reasoning in explaining advocates' decisions to use security frames.

In this dissertation, I argue that "securitization" of social problems is not a uniquely effective strategy for influencing states. Rather, it is my claim that using security frames is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for transnational advocacy campaigns' success. On the contrary, I argue that security frames function like any other frame and therefore, their connection to advocacy success is mediated by the strategic environment within which the campaigns operate. I also argue that the advocates' motivations in using security frames are not necessarily a function of their desire to appeal to security concerns of state actors (as argued by the literature). Advocates' decision to use security frames can also be a function of their desire to appeal to non-security concerns of state and non-state actors who could both be targets of influence or potential allies.

I build this study on the observation that the limited dialogue between securitization, TANs and framing literatures is the source of our limited understanding of the reasons behind advocates' use of security frames.¹⁴ This study contributes to such dialogue by treating securitization as an instance of framing and by comparatively testing the claims made about securitization. The study conducts a systematic comparative analysis of thirty-eight transnational advocacy campaigns to test whether the assumed correlation between using security frames and reaching advocacy success would hold

¹⁴ This observation is built on a newly-developing literature that highlights the need to increase the dialogue between framing and securitization literatures (Such as Watson 2011; 2012; Pinto 2014). For instance, Watson problematizes the lack of such dialogue by stating that "scholars working within these frameworks generally do not draw on the other body of literature to inform theoretical development or to accumulate cases. This has resulted in the production of parallel literatures and the duplication of concepts, terminology, and has hindered the development of theory" (Watson 2012, 279).

when analyzed comparatively. The study then takes a closer look by conducting a comparative analysis of nine cases and an illustrative analysis of a securitized (Conflict Diamonds) to address the similarities between securitization and other framing as well as to shed light onto the inner dynamics of securitization.

My findings contribute to the analytical purchase of the securitization literature by comparatively testing the under-analyzed assumptions developed by the literature and by identifying the conditions under which these assumptions hold. My findings also speak to the broader literature on TANs by contributing to the insights we have into the dynamics of advocacy strategies and their role in successful norm-building.

Relevance of the Research Question

What triggers the research question is the discrepancy between the uniqueness that the securitization literature attributes to the advocates' use of security frames and what we know about transnational advocacy campaigns in general. While the former argues that securitization brings success by helping advocates appeal to states' security concerns, the latter teaches us that even though strategically packaging issues in particular ways (framing) is an important component of advocacy success, such connection is mediated by the political opportunity structure within which advocates operate. Moreover, the existence of successful cases of non-securitized and de-securitized campaigns sheds further doubt on the claims of the securitization studies. The contradictory evidence does not disprove the argued connection between securitization and advocacy success; rather, it illustrates the need for a more rigorous analysis in order to understand the exact dynamics of securitization and its connection to advocacy success.

Securitization is broadly defined as the “positioning through language of a particular issue as an existential threat to security.”¹⁵ The prominence that securitization literature attaches to security frames is built on the insights of traditional approaches to international security and the idea that states’ primary interests are to conserve and increase their power and security.¹⁶ Securitization literature is built on this argument and accepts that states care about their security more than anything else. The literature distinguishes itself from the traditional view by claiming that what states consider as threats to their security is open to interpretation.¹⁷ Thus, according to the securitization literature, anything can be framed as a security threat (when done properly).¹⁸

The goal behind securitizing issues is to prioritize them on political agendas. As Sheehan explains, “to securitize an issue not previously deemed to be a security issue is to challenge society to promote it higher in its scale of values and to commit greater resources to solving the related problems.”¹⁹ Securitization is argued to lead to “prioritizing some issues instead of others, the transformation of the political communities that are supposed to be protected, the legitimizing of security practices and the empowerment of actors that can contrast specific threats.”²⁰ Thus, by framing issues as security threats “elites may implement a wide range of extraordinary measures in response to a growing number of issues and developments by drawing on the discourse and practice of security.”²¹

¹⁵ Hudson 2010, 30.

¹⁶ Kennan 1985.

¹⁷ Such as Waever 1995; Buzan Waever, and Wilde 1998; Balzacq 2005.

¹⁸ Such as Ullman 1983; Wæver, Jahn, and Lemaitre 1987; Buzan 1991; Tickner 1992; Buzan et al. 1998; Balzacq 2005.

¹⁹ Sheenan 2005, 52.

²⁰ Trombetta 2011, 138.

²¹ Watson 2011, 4.

While attributing a unique role to securitization in setting agendas, the literature also acknowledges the negative implications of using security frames, as such a move “takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics.”²² Thus, securitizing an issue on the one hand prioritizes it on political agendas, and on the other hand legitimizes the use of extraordinary measures in dealing with it, which is not desirable from a democratic perspective.

The securitization literature focuses on the use of the security language by the elite (the securitizing actor) who engages in such process with the goal of legitimizing the use of extraordinary measures in the eyes of other elites and the public (the audience).²³ Those who apply the securitization literature to the study of global politics suggest that transnational advocacy campaigns themselves can utilize the security language in an attempt to get the state actors to prioritize an issue on their agendas.²⁴

Whether transnational advocacy campaigns use security frames matters because, as sizeable literature illustrates, various non-state actors, among which transnational advocacy campaigns play a significant role, have the ability to shape global political agendas and force states and international organizations to address

²² Buzan et al. 1998, 23. For instance, in the case of environmental protection Barnett (2001, 83) discusses how attempts to securitize environment “transform[ed] environmental problems into security issues” and led to “the spreading of the national security paradigm and the enemy logic” even when the motivations behind this transition were different.

²³ Charrett 2009.

²⁴ Securitization literature is argued to have a “state centric reading of security” (Floyd 2007) which has been a source of criticisms raised against the literature as it is argued to be close to the “mainstream approaches to security” (Smith 2005).

transnational problems.²⁵ Some of the most important developments in global politics were products of such advocacy efforts. For instance, ICBL²⁶ and the Convention on Cluster Munitions²⁷ are vivid examples of how transnational advocacy campaigns can trigger a world-wide action to incorporate various concerns into international law.

Transnational advocacy campaigns are groups of actors who share normative concerns and work internationally with the goal of changing states' and other actors' behaviors.²⁸ Even though transnational advocacy campaigns are guided by moral principles, they are also strategic actors.²⁹ They need to act strategically not only to convince target actors to take action, but also to get ahead of other campaigns with similarly worthy causes and get a share from very limited political and economic resources that the global community is willing to spare.³⁰

The need to juggle these dynamics across different stages of global agenda setting and policy making forces transnational advocacy campaigns to engage in various strategies, one of which is framing issues to make them more appealing to target actors'

²⁵ Such as epistemic communities (Haas 1992; Parson 2003); think-tanks (Stone 2001); and celebrities (Cooper 2007; Huliaras and Tzifakis 2010).

²⁶ "The ICBL provided support for national campaigns worldwide, and by May 1996 the ICBL consisted of some six hundred NGO members from forty countries. As a direct result of their activities the issue received widespread coverage in newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and even comic books. Members of the campaign lobbied the editorial boards of major media outlets, and with no small success: the New York Times, Washington Post, and Economist, among dozens of others, have endorsed the ban" (Price 1998, 621).

²⁷ "[T]he international acceptance of this treaty, which commits states to destroy their stockpiles of cluster munitions within an eight year timeframe, represents a major accomplishment for the CMC [Cluster Munition Coalition]" (Clarke 2008, 10).

²⁸ Keck and Sikkink 1998a.

²⁹ Keck and Sikkink (1999, 90) describe TANs as "simultaneously principled and strategic actors." Similarly Sell and Prakash (2004, 143) define advocacy networks as interest groups "driven by normative ideals and material concerns." For further discussion on various strategies employed by transnational actors see such as Cooley and Ron 2002; Henderson 2002; Sell and Prakash 2004; Bob 2005; Hertel 2006; Burnstein 2007; Bloodgood 2011.

³⁰ As Cooley and Ron (2002, 6) state "the transnational sector" is characterized by "organizational insecurity, competitive pressures, and fiscal uncertainty."

normative and material sensibilities.³¹ Framing can be defined as “the strategic packaging of new ideas and interpretations,”³² and it is important not only because it gives meaning to issues that have not been previously considered as worthy of attention, but also because it determines which actors are included in the issue and which ones are left in the margins.³³

The studies that apply the insights of the securitization literature to the study of transnational advocacy campaigns treat securitization as a unique process that is different from other acts of framing. The studies show that the advocates themselves use security frames in various issue areas ranging from women’s rights³⁴ to illegal wildlife trade.³⁵ The logic that these studies argue in these attempts to securitize is straightforward: states care about their security more than anything else; therefore, appealing to their security concerns increases an advocacy campaign’s chances at success.³⁶ For instance, attempts on the part of both advocates and policymakers to emphasize the security implications of

³¹ As Keck and Sikkink (1999, 90) “...transnational advocacy networks ‘frame’ issues to make them comprehensible to target audiences, to attract attention and encourage action, and to ‘fit’ with favourable institutional venues.” Also see Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002.

³² Joachim 2007, 19. The idea that frames matter was born in sociology (Goffman 1974) and first applied by the social movements literature within political science (such as Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996).

³³ Bob 2005; 2008; Carpenter 2005; 2007; Hudson 2010.

³⁴ For instance Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) defines the importance of women’s rights based on the contribution they would make to peace and suggests that “the exclusion of women, women’s rights and gender remains a key impediment to the attainment of sustainable peace and human security, and must not be ignored!” (“Gender, Peace and Security,” available at <<http://www.wilpfinternational.org/what-we-do/gender-peace-and-security/>>, accessed 1 February 2015.)

³⁵ World Wildlife Fund (WWF), for instance, draws a clear link between wildlife trade and national security and asks the states to take immediate action as “the wildlife trade appears to fund terrorist cells in unstable African countries – threatening national security – and that the industry often uses the same networks and routes as other illegal trades, such as drug trafficking.” (“Illegal wildlife trade ‘threatening national security’, says WWF,” The Guardian, available at <<http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2012/dec/12/wildlife-trafficking-national-security-wwf>>, accessed 1 December 2014.)

³⁶ Securitization accomplishes this goal by “dramatizing” and “presenting” an issue as one of “supreme” priority (Trombetta 2011, 138).

women's rights and gender inequality has paved the way to a UNSC Resolution³⁷ which in return became a "landmark step in raising awareness of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls and acknowledging the vital role of women as agents in conflict resolution and peacebuilding."³⁸

Despite the straightforward logic that the studies see in the advocates' use of security frames, we know from a wide array of studies within the TANs literature that literature that even though framing is an important component of successfully setting setting agendas and initiating global policies, the connection between strategically framing an issue and advocacy success is not a direct or an inevitable one. Rather, it it depends on the strategic environment within which campaigns operate.³⁹ These factors factors range from the opportunities and limitations that the broader political context context presents⁴⁰ to the attributes of the issue at hand.⁴¹ Yet the uniqueness attached to security frames overlooks these conditions and attempts to explain success based solely on the presence of the security discourse.

Another problem that comes with treating securitization as a unique process rather than as an instance of framing is the limited ability that these studies have in explaining the advocates' decision to use security frames in the face of the long-term implications of doing so. Despite the level of importance attached to security frames in explaining

³⁷ S/RES/1325, 31 October 2000. The Resolution "reaffirm[s] the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stress[es] the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution" (emphasis in the original).

³⁸ Hudson 2009, 58.

³⁹ Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Florini 1999; Higgot et al. 2000; Khagram et al. 2002; Cooley and Ron 2002; Ferree et al. 2002; Price 2003; Bob 2005; Davies 2007; Bocşe 2011; Carpenter 2011; 2014; Carpenter et al. 2014.

⁴⁰ For instance "symbolic events" such as meetings and disasters can provide "windows of opportunity" for advocates to alter the agenda (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Ferree et al. 2002).

⁴¹ Problems that have certain qualities, such as ones that create physical damage, are more amenable to advocacy work as it is easier to illustrate the damage (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

advocacy success, the studies that evaluate the long-term policy implications of securitization concede that securitization removes the needs and demands of the vulnerable populations from the focus of the policy making and replaces them security concerns of states. For instance, Elbe claims that securitization of significantly narrowed the room for maneuver that civil organizations have in to the issue.⁴² From the securitization literature's perspective, as discussed above, negative long-term implications are evaluated as inevitable downsides of prioritizing an issue on the global agenda.⁴³

The portrayal of negative long-term implications of using security frames as an inevitable price to pay for getting your voice heard does not necessarily hold. As TANs literature illustrates transnational advocacy campaigns can succeed without using security frames or by effectively de-securitizing their causes. For instance, the Child Soldiers campaign succeeded using human rights and humanitarian frames⁴⁴ and without resorting to a security frame despite the security implications of the use of children for military purposes. The Maternal Mortality campaign also thrived as a human rights and development issue and found a place on the Millennium Development Goals⁴⁵ alongside the HIV/AIDS campaign which did adopt a security frame. Thus, if it is possible to achieve success without using a security frame, we need to take a closer look at the reasons behind advocates' framing choices in order to understand why they choose such a risky frame.

⁴² Elbe 2006.

⁴³ Buzan et al. 1998.

⁴⁴ Maslen 1998.

⁴⁵ "The Right to Health," available at <<http://www.care.org/work/health/maternal-health>>, accessed 1 May 2014.

While claiming a connection between the use of security frames and successfully getting the targets of influence to address an issue, securitization literature itself does not claim that every attempt to securitize would succeed.⁴⁶ Securitization literature distinguishes between securitizing moves and successful securitization and identifies “facilitating factors” that need to exist for such an attempt to succeed.⁴⁷ Thus, securitization literature accounts for unsuccessful attempts to securitize an issue and the failure to prioritize an issue on a political agenda as a result of it. Yet the narrow focus of the securitization literature limits its ability to account for (i) the issues that find a place on the agenda without being securitized; (ii) the issues that get successfully securitized but do not trigger political interest or lead to policy change; and (iii) the issues that find a place on the agenda once they were de-securitized.

The successful examples of non-securitized and de-securitized campaigns, combined with the lasting negative implications of using security frames, put the straightforward logic that the conventional wisdom presents in explaining the reasons behind securitization into question. Rather than disproving the connection between securitization and advocacy success, the contradictory evidence highlights the need for a rigorous analysis in testing the connection between securitization and success, as well as in illustrating the reasons behind advocates’ decisions to use security frames.

⁴⁶ Theoretically anybody can utilize the security frame but securitization literature argues that attempts to securitize an issue (securitizing moves) would only succeed when security discourse is utilized by those who have the capacity to influence the public’s opinion (Buzan et al. 1998).

⁴⁷ According to the securitization literature the mere act of calling something a security threat does not automatically translate the issue into one. The success of such an attempt is conditioned upon the acceptance of the audience, i.e. the actors whose perceptions and actions that the securitizing actor (i.e. the author) aims to change. As Buzan et al. discuss an “issue is securitized only if and when the audience accepts it as such,” therefore, “securitization is not decided by the securitizer, but by the audience” (Buzan et al. 1998; 25, 33). For instance, Salter uses the examples of abandoned American counterterrorism programs (The Total Information Awareness Program, the Terrorist Futures Market and Terrorist Information Protection System) to illustrate that how even in a fertile atmosphere (war on terror) a securitizing move can be rejected by the audience (Salter 2011, 116).

What is Missing from the Existing Studies and Why it is Important to Explore This Question?

The existing studies fall short of answering these questions due to both conceptual and methodological limitations. The dialogue between TANs, framing, and securitization literatures is mostly a unidirectional one where the former two utilize the insights of the securitization studies. The inadequate dialogue curtails the securitization literature's ability to test their assumptions about the uniqueness of security frames and explain the dynamics of securitization.

The limited information flow is mainly a function of the way the literature defines securitization. As Watson summarizes, "securitization theory presents 'security' as a unique discourse with a distinct logic and political effect."⁴⁸ Such an approach limits the attempts to treat securitization as an instance of framing and to identify the complex mechanisms involved in it. Yet, as Vultee discusses by comparing Entman and Buzan et al's arguments, "[f]rames help make clear what kind of a problem a problem is, what sort of tools are used for dealing with it, and which actors are protagonists."⁴⁹ If the main function of framing is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text,"⁵⁰ "securitization is a form of framing that highlights the existential threat of an issue."⁵¹

Treating securitization as a unique process rather than as an instance of framing is problematic because it limits (i) these studies' ability to appreciate various dynamics that are at play in shaping advocates' decisions to choose a

⁴⁸ Watson 2012, 289.

⁴⁹ Entman 2004.

⁵⁰ Entman 1993, 53.

⁵¹ Buzan et al. 1998, 22-23; Vultee 2011, 79.

security frame over other alternatives, (ii) the studies' capacity to explain the conditions under which such choices translate into advocacy success, and (iii) their ability to account for successful examples of non-securitized or de-securitized campaigns.⁵²

Treating securitization as a unique process also limits the insights that the literature provides into the dynamics of securitization. The literature's perception of securitization as essentially an "intersubjective establishment of an existential threat with a saliency sufficient to have substantial political effects"⁵³ restricts the attempts to systematically explain the conditions that surround the processes of securitization. Moreover, the literature also argues that this intersubjective process occurs when a securitizing actor (actor that utilizes the security language) convinces an audience (the target actor) to tackle an existential threat through the need of immediate action.⁵⁴ Yet the literature does not detail out which particular audience that the frame is tailored towards⁵⁵ and why exactly an audience should be persuaded by the claims put forward by the securitizing actor (other than the importance that the audience is expected to attach to its security concerns.)⁵⁶ Such an analysis overlooks multiplicity of audiences and alternative strategic reasons that an audience might have in accepting claims of security. Applying the insights of the TANs and framing literatures would not devalue the contribution of the

⁵² For instance, in criticizing the lack of dialogue between framing and securitization literatures Watson (2011, 4) uses the example of policies developed as a reaction to 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami and he suggests that "unparalleled funding from both public and private sources" were mobilized as a result of framing of the issue as a humanitarian crisis rather than as a security threat. Similarly, the examples of how non-security frames are utilized in justifying the use of extraordinary measures (such as the use of humanitarianism "to justify military interventions in Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, Angola, Mozambique, Kosovo, East Timor, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Zaire, Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, Iraq and Afghanistan") (Watson 2011, 4; De Waal and Omaar, 1994; Wheeler, 2004; Roth, 2004) show the limits of the securitization literature's analytical purchase.

⁵³ Buzan et al. 1998, 25.

⁵⁴ Waever 1995.

⁵⁵ For instance, the security language adopted by the Conflict Diamonds case initially had the diamond industry as its target audience (Smillie 2002a).

⁵⁶ Balzacq 2005; 2011.

securitization literature; on the contrary, it would help the literature provide more nuanced arguments about the inner dynamics of securitization.

Another limitation comes from the lack of comparative studies that role of security frames in transnational advocacy campaigns. The literature is composed of single case studies and edited volumes. These studies provide in-knowledge on the history of different campaigns. For instance, Hudson's detailed on securitization of women's rights issues not only tracks how the issue found a the UNSC agenda, but also discusses the contribution such a venue change made for the efforts of the advocates and the policy makers.⁵⁷ Elbe and Vieira analyze the securitization of HIV/AIDS and discuss both the opportunities⁵⁸ and the limitations⁵⁹ that securitization presented for the advocates in addressing the needs and rights of vulnerable populations. Cook,⁶⁰ Huysmans,⁶¹ Sasse⁶² and Kinney⁶³ present similar analyses for the securitization of human trafficking and immigrants' rights and mostly criticize the long-term implications of reframing these issues as security threats. Despite the insights that these studies provide into these specific cases, the lack of comparative analysis limits their ability to reliably test the extent to which the outcome of the campaign they analyzed was a function of the security frame.

⁵⁷ Hudson 2010.

⁵⁸ Vieira (2007) traces the role that securitization played in turning the fight with HIV/AIDS to an "international norm."

⁵⁹ Elbe (2006) discusses how securitization of HIV/AIDS narrowed the room for maneuver for NGOs.

⁶⁰ Cook (2010) analyzes the dilemmas that advocates face in promoting human rights for migrants within securitized national agendas.

⁶¹ Huysmans (2006) analyzes the gradual securitization of migration, asylum and refugee issues in the European Union in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks.

⁶² Sasse (2005, 673) analyzes the "security-right nexus" of minority and migrants issues and argues that "minority and migration issues and their conceptual interlock have a clear security dimension, but that these concerns are best addressed through rights-based policies."

⁶³ Kinney (2011) tracks the framing choices of the transnational advocacy campaigns against human trafficking and analyzes how such choices shape these campaigns' interactions with different actors.

Edited volumes also suffer from similar limitations; they mostly focus on providing parallel stories analyzed from a particular perspective rather than testing the validity of claims across cases. For instance, a relatively recent volume edited by Thierry Balzacq⁶⁴ is an attempt to not only contribute to the securitization literature's theoretical clarity but it is also an attempt to show how securitization was experienced in different issue areas ranging from environment⁶⁵ to HIV/AIDS.⁶⁶ Yet, while the insights developed by the empirical chapters are utilized to illustrate the mechanisms behind the creation and dissolution of security issues, they do not systematically test these claims across issue areas. Thus, despite valuable insights these studies provide, they fall short of testing the claims about the significance of security frames across cases due to their narrow focus and their methodological limitations. In order to fill this gap, studies that systematically compare securitized, non-securitized, and de-securitized examples of successful and unsuccessful advocacy campaigns are needed.

Addressing these limitations is important for securitization, TANs and framing literatures. First, we need to get a better sense of what function security frames perform and under which conditions they correlate with advocacy success, as gaining these insights would enhance the analytical purchase of the securitization literature. Second, addressing these limitations is also important in expanding the reach of TANs and framing literatures, as testing the arguments developed in these literatures by applying them onto securitized examples of advocacy campaigns would provide an opportunity to further support the insights gained through them. Third, gaining better perceptions into

⁶⁴ Balzacq 2011.

⁶⁵ Trombetta 2011.

⁶⁶ Sjöstedt 2011.

the dynamics of securitization have implications for advocates, as well. Keeping the potential long-term implications in mind, it is important to test the extent to which security frames correlate with advocacy success as overestimations about such correlation can influence advocates' framing choices.

Contribution of the Study

The original contribution that this study makes to the literature is a function of both its theoretical approach and its methodological choices. Analytically, by treating securitization as an instance of framing, the study contributes to the literatures by identifying the questions that have been so far overlooked as well as by providing better answers for the questions that have been asked but not answered properly by the conventional wisdom. Methodologically, by applying mix-methods that combine systematic comparison across cases with an illustrative case study, this dissertation addresses previously under-tested assumptions in the literatures and contributes to the dialogue between them.

The first contribution of this study is the illustration of the need to develop more nuanced arguments within the securitization literature. As discussed above, the main assumption that this study is built on is that the limited dialogue between securitization literature on the one hand and framing and TANs literatures on the other is the main reason behind our limited understanding of why advocacy campaigns engage in securitization. Thus, by approaching securitization as an instance of framing, the study applies the insights gained from framing and transnational advocacy networks' literatures onto securitization literature and provides an opportunity to test the uniqueness attributed to security frames.

By engaging in such an analysis, rather than challenging the main contribution of the securitization literature, the study questions the tunnel-vision that these studies have in evaluating the role and the importance of security frames. The negative cases that the existing studies overlook limits not only the securitization literature's ability to understand why advocates do not choose security frames under certain conditions (or choose to de-securitize), but also their ability to explain why securitization does not always lead to success.

Treating securitization as an instance of framing further contributes to the securitization literature by providing deeper insights into the dynamics that the securitization literature has identified but fell short of adequately explaining. As discussed above, the securitization literature identifies the role that securitizing actors and the audience play in translating securitizing attempts to successful securitization. Yet, the literature does not explain (i) different motivations that securitizing actors have; (ii) the reasons behind audience's acceptance of the claims put forward by securitizing actors; and (iii) the conditions that make such process possible. Thus, this study contributes to the securitization literature by providing more nuanced arguments about strategic conditions that lead to the decisions to use security frames and the role these factors play in translating framing choices into advocacy success.

By increasing the dialogue between securitization, TANs and framing literatures, the study also contributes to the broader debates within the literature regarding the dynamics of norm-building and the role that transnational advocacy campaigns play in it. The insights gained into the dynamics of securitized advocacy campaigns further our

knowledge on advocacy strategies and lend support to the validity of framing and TANs literatures' arguments by testing their applicability across different issue areas.

Methodologically, the study illustrates the importance of comparative analysis in testing the assumptions that are taken for granted when conducting single-case studies. The dynamics that are perceived to be self-evident when one positive case is examined do not necessarily hold when tested across both negative and positive cases. By conducting such an analysis this study further illustrates the importance of combining in-depth case studies with comparative analyses in order to get better insights into the inner dynamics of social processes.

The study also has implications for practitioners as well. Advocates are strategic actors who search for ways to increase their chances at successfully getting the international community to address an issue. Their perceptions about the factors that are more likely to lead to success have a role to play in shaping their framing decisions. Given the potential long-term negative implications of adopting security frames, illustrating the extent to which security frames correlate with advocacy success can play a role in shaping their framing choices. More broadly, by providing insights into dynamics that translate advocates' framing choices into advocacy success, the study also helps the advocates to better understand the conditions of success and develop their strategies accordingly.

How does This Study Go about Exploring the Research Question?

The study explores the research question by engaging in a three-stage analysis presented in the following five chapters. Based on this analysis I argue that both the motivations behind adopting security frames and the role that

security frames play in leading to transnational advocacy success are more complicated than appreciated by conventional wisdom. It is my claim that rather than being unique and correlated to transnational advocacy success, as argued by the literature, security frames operate like any other frame, and in order for such framing decisions to translate into advocacy success they need to coexist with an enabling strategic environment.

As the first step of this study's efforts to illustrate the validity of the arguments stated above, the following chapter provides a detailed review of framing, TANs and securitization literatures. The literature review serves several purposes: (i) it introduces the field to which this study aims to contribute; (ii) defines the main concepts and arguments that form the basis of this study; and (iii) pinpoints the limitations of the existing studies and highlights the contribution that this study aims to make.

In the first stage of the empirical analysis presented in Chapter 3, the study aims to address one of the important methodological shortcomings of the literature by conducting a systematic comparison across thirty-eight cases of transnational advocacy campaigns that took place in the aftermath of the Cold War. The chapter starts out by introducing the methodology used in conducting this analysis along with a discussion on the operationalization of the variables. A detailed discussion on how the data is collected, coded and analyzed is presented, and followed by a discussion on the findings of the comparative analysis.

The universe of cases analyzed in this chapter is compiled using the information provided by the earlier attempts to list transnational advocacy campaigns⁶⁷ and

⁶⁷ The "Transnational Principled Advocacy Movements in the Post-Cold War Era (1990-)" dataset presented by Joshua Busby in his book published in 2010 is used as a starting point in compiling the universe of cases that this study analyzed. The dataset is not an exhaustive one yet it is utilized as a starting point as it is the most extensive one available at this time. The original dataset includes thirty-six cases and

complemented with original research to account for potential omissions and latest developments.⁶⁸ The cases are compared based on their framing preferences and success levels at three different stages of global agenda setting and policy making. multi-stage analysis is conducted because, as Finnemore and Sikkink discuss, advocates' attempts to create norms do not necessarily lead to a "norm cascade" where "a critical mass of relevant state actors adopt the norm."⁶⁹ Therefore, in order not to essentialize advocacy success and to account for different dynamics at play, the study distinguishes between three stages of global agenda setting and policy making (political commitment and policy implementation) in conducting the comparative analysis.⁷⁰

provide information on the main goals and the targets of the campaigns, the leading organizations, campaign outcomes as well as time frame of the campaign (Busby 2010). Campaigns' framing choices were neither used as a selection criterion nor were one of the variables analyzed by the original dataset which sets the foundation for this study's effort to stay away from selection-bias.

⁶⁸ Not all the cases included in the Busby's dataset fit the purpose this study: four of the campaigns were left out as either the advocacy efforts were too disperse to track (Marine Conservation) or the issue was already on the agenda prior to the campaign and the campaign was geared toward reigniting the global interest in the issue rather than placing it on the global agenda (Civilian Protection, Nuclear Non-proliferation and Refugees). The list of cases analyzed is then expanded to account for cases that did not find a place in the original dataset either because they did not fit the purpose of Busby's research or because they gained momentum after the original dataset was compiled. Academic and non-academic sources were analyzed to account for such cases. Academic sources are analyzed through a survey of major academic databases in addition to the survey of major NGOs' websites with the goal of tracing recent campaigns. As a result of this analysis six cases were added to the list of cases to be analyzed for the purpose of this study (Avian Influenza, Conflict Diamonds, Climate Refugees, Illegal Wildlife Trade, Sexual Violence in Conflict, and Women, Peace and Security).

⁶⁹ Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 895.

⁷⁰ For the purpose of this study, agenda setting stage refers to the period that passes between the initiation of the campaign and placing the issue on the global agenda. A campaign is considered to be successful at the agenda setting stage if the issue triggers an action that indicates the acknowledgement of the issue on the part of the target actors such as through United Nations General Assembly resolutions. Political commitment stage refers to the period between the acknowledgement of the issue by the target actors and publicly made commitments to address the issue. The commitment could range from signing of a treaty, pledging of funds and agreeing to become a member of a related international organization. The study evaluates a campaign as successful if major actors whose actions that the campaign aims to change make a commitment. Policy implementation stage refers to the phase where actors are expected to follow through with their publicly made commitments and success is evaluated based on the campaign's ability to lead to ratification of treaties, disbursement of pledged funds and initiation of domestic and legal changes. As I discuss in detail in Chapter 3, it is not reasonable to expect every single target actor to be responsive to the calls of a campaign and change their behavior accordingly. For that reason, in evaluating the success the reaction and compliance on the part of the major target actors is used as the benchmark and campaigns are

The comparative analysis aims to test the frequency at which security frames are used and the extent to which such choices correlate with advocacy success.⁷¹ By illustrating that securitization is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for success, this analysis shows that the reasons provided by the literature in explaining the motivations behind using security frames are not enough to account for such choices. This is not to suggest that security frames are epiphenomenal; rather, it is to illustrate the need for a closer examination of the dynamics behind securitization.

Based on these initial findings, at the second stage of the analysis, I conduct a comparative case analysis and present it in Chapter 4. Nine cases are selected among the thirty-eight cases analyzed in Chapter 3 and compared using a combination of most-similar and most-different systems designs.⁷² The cases are selected from four issue areas and the comparison aimed to reflect variation in both their

categorized as failed, successful and partially successful based on their ability to trigger action on the part of these actors.

⁷¹ The universe of cases analyzed include: Anti-GMOs, Anti-smoking, Anti-structural Adjustment, Anti-Toxics, Anti-War Protests, Avian Influenza, Biodiversity, Child Labor, Child Soldiers, Climate Change, Climate Refugees, Cluster Bombs, Conflict Diamonds, Dams, Demilitarization of Outer Space, Female Genital Mutilation, HIV/AIDS, Human Trafficking, Humanitarian Intervention, Illegal Wildlife Trade, Internally Displaced Persons, International Criminal Court, Jubilee 2000, Landmines, Make Poverty History, Maternal Mortality, Privacy Protection, Rainforest Protection, Sexual Violence in Conflict, Small Arms, Sweatshops, Torture, Transparency, Violence against Women, War Crimes Tribunals, Water Conservation, Women's Reproductive Rights, and Women, Peace and Security.

⁷² Most-similar systems design is a case selection and analysis method used to distill the influence of one independent variable from alternative explanations by comparing cases that are as similar as possible in every aspect except for the dependent variable (Pzeworski and Teune 1970; Gerring 2001; 2007; Landman 2003.) Most-different systems design is used to compare cases that are different from each other except for the dependent variable (Pzeworski and Teune 1970; Gerring 2001; 2007). Most-similar systems design is useful in testing tentative arguments distilled from single-case studies yet they raise questions about their ability to distinguish impact of one single factor from alternative explanations (Gerring 2007; Dimitrov et al. 2007.) Most-different systems design, on the other hand, is problematized as it leads to testing of too many variables using only a limited number of cases (Tarrow 2010). In order to remedy for these shortcomings, the study combines these approaches and the cases are selected based on the similarity in the nature of the issue at hand and then they are paired based on the differences they have either in their use of frames or in campaign outcomes.

use of frames (securitized, de-securitized, non-securitized) and their levels of success.⁷³ The chapter compares eight cases in pairs and through this comparison it highlights the similarities and differences between cases and provides an account of the dynamics surrounding the framing processes for each of the case. These accounts are followed by a discussion section that highlights the insights gained across these comparative analyses. The chapter concludes by taking a closer look at the Campaign for Internally Displaced Persons as the ninth case to further illustrate the interplay between framing and the strategic environment in the context of a non-securitized – less successful campaign.

The comparative case study that I present in Chapter 4 supports the previous chapter by illustrating the interaction between the campaign's strategic environment, which guide the decisions to use different frames, and the factors translate such choices into transnational advocacy success. Using the comparison of more successful and less successful examples of securitized, non-securitized and de-securitized cases of global agenda setting and policy making, I illustrate that the motivations behind adopting security frames are more complex than appreciated by the securitization literature in two ways: (i) a security frame does not have to be tailored toward states or security organizations, it can also be

⁷³ The cases analyzed in this chapter are (i) health: HIV/AIDS (securitized, more successful) and Maternal Mortality (non-securitized, more successful); (ii) humanitarian: Child Soldiers (non-securitized, more successful); Sexual Violence in Conflict (securitized, less successful); and Internally Displaced Persons (non-securitized, less successful) (iii) environment: Climate Change (securitized, more successful) and Climate Refugees (securitized, less successful); (iv) arms control: Landmines (de-securitized, more successful) and Small Arms (securitized, less successful). As the Campaign to End Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones is an ongoing campaign it is difficult to evaluate the level of success that the campaign will eventually reach. Yet, as it will be discussed in Chapter 4, the campaign has been struggling to trigger political commitment. Thus, even though the campaign is indicated as “successful,” the level of success reached so far is very limited and this limitation forms the basis of the comparison that this study investigates.

crafted to get the attention and cooperation of non-state actors; and (ii) a security frame might be appealing to the audience not necessarily because of the security threat it voices but because of the non-security concerns it silences (such as questioning of human rights practices).

The arguments I develop based on the comparative case analysis also contributes to our understanding of the role of framing in norm-creation. The study lends support to the claims in the framing and TANs literatures and argues that the strategic environment within which the advocacy campaigns operate shape advocates' framing choices. In addition to the widely cited role of broader political context,⁷⁴ the study also finds the advocacy networks' own dynamics and the advocates' previous experiences and fields of expertise to be important.

The study also provides new insights into how TANs function by highlighting the complexity of advocates' motivations in making their framing choices. The study argues that advocates engage in multivocalization,⁷⁵ which refers to the inclination of the advocates to invoke multiple frames simultaneously to reach out not only to targets of influence but also to potential allies with the goal of strengthening their networks.

The third stage of the analysis is composed of an illustrative case study that I conducted on the Conflict Diamonds campaign and presented in Chapter 5. This case study is where the insights gained in the previous chapters are analyzed more closely to see how they operate and shape the decisions to use security frames. This chapter also highlights the implications that such choices have for the success and the direction of the

⁷⁴ For instance Keck and Sikkink (1998) talk about how broader political context provides “windows of opportunity” for advocacy campaigns.

⁷⁵ The term “multivocalization” (or “multivocality”) is used in the literature to describe the “efforts to speak simultaneously to multiple audiences” (Busby 2010, 53; Padgett and Ansell 1993; Merry 2006).

campaign. This analysis shows how insights gained through the analysis of non-securitized and de-securitized campaigns can be used to better explain the securitized campaigns.

The chapter begins by providing justification for case selection, and moves to introduce the campaign to the reader by highlighting the main actors and the major turning points of the campaign. The rest of the chapter traces how the campaign was framed at different stages of global agenda setting and policy making, the dynamics surrounding these choices, and the implications of such choices for the direction and the success of the campaign.

The analysis of the Conflict Diamonds Campaign I present in Chapter 5 provides an opportunity to test the arguments developed in Chapters 3 and 4 and to further illustrate how the above identified dynamics have played out in the Conflict Diamonds Campaign. The close analysis of the campaign that is supported by interviews with the advocates involved in the campaign reveals that security frames can be used by both state and non-state actors and the frames could also be tailored toward state and non-state actors. The implications that the security language has for the campaign depends on the author of the security language (securitizing actor) and the appeal that security frames has for an audience might be related to the audience's non-security interests. Lastly, the analysis also illustrates that the sustained use of security frames even when they are no longer deemed as desirable by the advocates is a function of the institutional structure and network dynamics rather than the uniqueness of the security frame itself.

Instead of challenging the securitization literature's fundamental contribution to our understanding of the security field, these arguments contribute to the analytical purchase of the literature by providing more nuanced arguments through a more rigorous analysis of the available evidence. In exploring these questions the study not only theoretically and methodologically contributes to the literature but also provides insights that can be utilized by advocates in making their framing choices.

The last chapter serves as a conclusion and provides a summary of the findings and a discussion on the theoretical, methodological and policy implications of these findings. The chapter also acknowledges the limitations of this dissertation, discusses the measures taken in addressing them and identifies venues for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

As questions arise about the definition of security, increasing attention has been paid to various aspects of the field of research. As Williams states these efforts have forced the security field to, “consider questions surrounding the ‘broadening’ of its agenda to include threats beyond the narrow rubric of state and military security, and to confront the claim that this agenda must be ‘deepened’ to include the security concerns of actors ranging from individuals and sub-state groups ... to global concerns such as the environment that have often been marginalized within a traditional state-centric and military conception.”⁷⁶

The securitization literature contributes to this debate by asking, “What really makes something a security problem?”⁷⁷ According to this literature, a threat to security is an “outcome of a special process” rather than an “objective condition.”⁷⁸ Thus, any issue can potentially be portrayed and treated as a security threat. The reasoning that the securitization literature provides in explaining the actors’ motivations in resorting to such an effort is embedded into the very definition of securitization. As Buzan et al. argue, security threats have a “special nature” that “... justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle them. The invocation of security has been the key to legitimizing the use of force, but more generally it has opened the way for the state to mobilize, or to take

⁷⁶ Williams 2003, 513.

⁷⁷ Waever 1995, 54.

⁷⁸ Williams 2003, 503.

special powers, to handle existential threats.”⁷⁹ Yet, according to this literature, such a portrayal comes with a price as once a state starts to see an issue as a threat to its security it takes measures accordingly, which in return may end up hurting the very goal of solving the problem at hand.⁸⁰

Studies that aim to explore the dynamics of global politics utilize the securitization literature’s insights and analyzed the extent to which securitization plays a role in global politics, especially in shaping the transnational advocacy campaigns’ attempts to force the international community to address transnational social problems. The increased use of security language in promoting issues ranging from women’s rights⁸¹ to HIV/AIDS⁸² by the advocacy campaigns themselves encouraged the scholars to analyze the reasons behind such choices. These studies argued that using security frames are instrumental for advocacy campaigns’ efforts in creating global agendas and initiating global policies as states are highly responsive to issues that they perceive as security threats.⁸³ Thus, the decision to use security frames by the advocates is almost treated as self-explanatory. Yet, these efforts create a problem of essentializing the use of security frames by building their analysis on the uniqueness that securitization literature attributes to security frames. However, when approached from this perspective neither

⁷⁹ Buzan et al. 1998, 21. While the literature generally uses the term “existential threats” the perception of security is broader than that. As Buzan (1991, 432-3) suggests “[s]ecurity is taken to be about the pursuit of freedom from threat and the ability of states and societies to maintain their independent identity and their functional integrity against forces of change, which they see as hostile. The bottom line of security is survival, but it also reasonably includes a substantial range of concerns about the conditions of existence. Quite where this range of concerns ceases to merit the urgency of the “security” label (which identifies threats as significant enough to warrant emergency action and exceptional measures including the use of force) and becomes part of everyday uncertainties of life is one of the difficulties of the concept.”

⁸⁰ Waever 1995.

⁸¹ Hudson 2010

⁸² Elbe 2003; 2006.

⁸³ Such as Hartmann 2010; Hudson 2010; Scott 2012.

the extent to which security frames correlate with success nor the reasons behind adopting such a frame get adequately tested.

While these studies provide insights into the successful examples of securitized transnational advocacy campaigns they do not adequately answer the question of why securitize. The reasons for adopting a security frames remain obscured because (i) as the securitization literature itself acknowledges, securitization comes with long-term negative costs; (ii) adopting security frames may not lead to success as evidenced by the failed examples of securitized campaigns; and (iii) securitization may not be necessary for success as exemplified by the successful examples of non-securitized and de-securitized transnational advocacy campaigns. These potentially contradictory insights create a puzzle that needs to be studied if we want to better explore why advocates engage in securitization.

The existing studies fall short of adequately answering this question for conceptual and methodological reasons. Conceptually, the uniqueness of security frames and the uncontested position security concerns occupy on states' agendas are embedded in the very definition and logic of securitization literature and therefore, remain under-analyzed. In addition to this conceptual limitation, neither the securitization literature itself nor studies that apply securitization literature's insights to transnational advocacy campaigns have so far conducted enough systematic research on when and how securitization works and why it is not only sometimes used.

This dissertation addresses these shortcomings by treating securitization as an instance of framing and thereby shedding light onto the strategic environment in which TANs operate as well as their strategies in order to distill (i) the motivations that

advocates have in using security frames; (ii) the conditions that translate the framing choices into success; and (iii) the factors that shape security frames' implications for the advocacy campaign in the long-run.

Approaching securitization as an instance of framing and combining a systematic comparison of successful and unsuccessful examples of securitized, non-securitized and de-securitized cases with a closer analysis of a smaller number of campaigns allow me to better explain why advocates use security frames. I conclude that the strategic environment within which campaigns operate shape advocates' decisions to use security frames and their decisions are based on a more complex reasoning than explored by the literature. As opposed to the state oriented approach of the conventional wisdom, actors' decisions to use a security frame could be tailored towards non-state as well as state actors, and framing choices can be aimed at appealing to non-security as well as security concerns of the audience.

I assert that advocates tend to use a number of frames simultaneously even when they securitize an issue to not only appeal to the targets of influence, but also to potential allies with the goal of strengthening their networks. Relatedly, the acceptance of the security frame by a target audience (potential allies or targets of influence) could be a consequence of varying strategic and normative calculations on the part of the audience rather than their security concerns. Lastly, the sustained use of security frames even when they are no longer deemed desirable have so far been explained by existing studies as a byproduct of the uniqueness of securitization; yet as I show through the comparative analysis, the sustained use of frames is neither unique to security frames nor a function of their peculiarities.

This chapter reviews the literature to build the theoretical foundation that makes this study's research question (why transnational advocacy campaigns use security frames?) valuable. The chapter starts by reviewing the contribution that securitization literature makes to our understanding of the security field and provides a discussion of the limitations of these insights. Securitization literature is important because it makes this inquiry possible by acknowledging that issues can, through language, be turned into security concerns. Yet, the uniqueness this literature attributes to security frames limits the insights we gain into when and why such attempts succeed.

The second literature that makes the research question worthy of attention is the one that illustrates that transnational advocacy campaigns matter. Transnational advocacy campaigns literature is reviewed below to illustrate under which conditions and through which strategies these campaigns can influence global politics. One of the most important strategies at advocates' disposal is identified as strategically framing issues to increase their appeal to the audience. Yet, as the review of the literature illustrates, framing is a complex and a contested process and it is important to highlight these dynamics as they form the basis of this study's attempt to explain securitization from a framing perspective.

The chapter then goes on to review the studies that attempt to explain the securitized transnational campaigns. These studies expand on the securitization literature by illustrating that non-state actors can also be the authors of the security language and they contribute to the TANs literature by investigating the securitized examples of advocacy campaigns. Yet, these studies suffer from an inherent limitation that comes from their treatment of securitization as a unique process rather than as act of framing. As

discussed in the end of the chapter, there are significant insights to be gained by approaching securitization from a framing perspective which is the basis of this study's contribution to the literature.

Securitization

Securitization can be defined as the, “positioning through language of a particular issue as an existential threat to security.”⁸⁴ The concept of securitization was championed by the Copenhagen School and it is based on the premise that a security threat is not an objective reality but rather a result of an interactive process where any issue can be framed as such. However, not every attempt to securitize an issue succeeds and the success depends on both the actors involved (the securitizing actor⁸⁵ and the audience⁸⁶) and the venue that securitization takes place in.

While the securitization literature contributes to our understanding of the security field, the intrinsic value the literature attaches to security frames shapes (and limits) the insights that the literature provides into (i) the varying reasons that actors have in resorting to a security discourse; (ii) the motivations that the audience have in accepting their claims; and (iii) the conditions needed for such process to succeed. This section describes both the contribution that the securitization literature makes to our understanding of the security field, and its major limitations – which this study addresses by challenging the uniqueness attributed to security frames.

⁸⁴ Hudson 2010, 30.

⁸⁵ The actor who utilizes the security language (Buzan et al. 1998).

⁸⁶ The set of actors whose acceptance of the claims of security threat is needed for the use of extraordinary measures to be legitimized (Emmers 2013).

Defining Securitization and Its Contribution to Security Studies

Securitization literature both contributes to and challenges the traditional understanding of security in international relations. On the one hand, it contributes to traditional studies by acknowledging security concerns as states' primary interests. On the other hand, it challenges the traditional understanding by widening and deepening the scope of what can be categorized as a security threat.

Securitization literature agrees with the traditional conceptions of security on the idea that security concerns are the primary interests of nation states. In international relations theory, security is traditionally interpreted as “war and the military capacity to respond to external threats to the states.”⁸⁷ The core of “national interest” is considered to be the protection of “sovereignty and territoriality.”⁸⁸ Replicating this perception, securitization literature suggests that states react to security threats and therefore, that appealing to security concerns is useful in placing an issue on states' agendas.

The second point in which the securitization literature agrees with the traditional understanding of security is the idea that the principle object of international security is the state.⁸⁹ In other words, existing studies accept that, historically, the state is the actor whose security is to be protected. This perception distinguishes securitization literature from other critical theories as these theories suggest that the object of security should be the individual.⁹⁰ However, securitization literature argues that this understanding of security is neither natural nor inevitable. As Buzan and Waever state, “[w]hat is or is not

⁸⁷ Wolfers 1962; Hudson 2010, 24.

⁸⁸ MacFarlane and Khong 2006.

⁸⁹ Buzan and Waever 1997.

⁹⁰ For more discussion on the difference between Critical Security Studies and Copenhagen School, see Critical Approaches to Security in Europe (CASE) 2006; and Hudson 2010.

prime in international security, including the state, depends on historical conditions.”⁹¹

Thus, while taking the state as the key actor whose security is to be protected, the securitization literature does so without essentializing the primacy of nation-states.

While agreeing with the traditional approaches on states’ primacy in international relations, securitization literature also diverges from this perspective in its understanding of what constitutes a security threat. In the traditional understanding, “military threats from states against other states” are considered to be the main security concerns.⁹²

Securitization literature challenges this by expanding the scope of security threats to include non-military threats originating from non-state actors.⁹³ Securitization literature suggests that the field of security needs

“broadening” of its agenda to include threats beyond the narrow rubric of state and military security, and to confront the claim that this agenda must also be “deepened” to include the security concerns of actors ranging from individuals and sub-state groups (often now formulated under the rubric of “human security”) to global concerns such as the environment that have often been marginalized within a traditional state-centric and military conception.⁹⁴

The earlier works within the Copenhagen School defined security as a speech act.⁹⁵ In the words of Wæver, “it is by labeling something a security issue that it becomes one.”⁹⁶ Thus, according to this argument, regardless of the nature of the issue, anything can be framed as a security threat; however, it is not a random act but rather a deliberate choice that is aimed at a specific political goal.⁹⁷ This particular speech act is performed

⁹¹ Buzan and Wæver 1997, 249.

⁹² This understanding is rooted in traditional realist (such as Carr 1939; Morgenthau 1948; and Herz 1950) as well as neorealist arguments (such as Waltz 1979).

⁹³ Such as Ullman 1983; Wæver, Jahn, and Lemaitre 1987; Buzan 1991; Tickner 1992; and Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998.

⁹⁴ Williams 2008, 513.

⁹⁵ Securitization literature is built on the speech act theory which claims that “to say something is to do something [emphasis in the original]” (Austin 1975, 12). Also see Wæver 1995; and Hudson 2010, 30-1.

⁹⁶ Wæver 2004; and Floyd 2007.

⁹⁷ Wæver 1995.

with the goal of “produc[ing] hierarchical conditions in which security issues are dramatized and presented as supreme priorities of the state or the actor in question.”⁹⁸

Thus, the primary purpose of securitizing an issue is to prioritize it on an actor’s agenda.

The scholars who perceive securitization as a speech act do not suggest that the mere act of calling an issue a security threat automatically turns it into one.⁹⁹ As Buzan et al. state, “the security speech act is not defined by the uttering the word *security*. What is essential is the designation of an existential threat requiring emergency action or special measures and the acceptance of that designation by a significant audience.”¹⁰⁰ Any actor can attempt to frame any issue as a security threat. These kinds of attempts are called “securitizing moves”; however, an issue is considered to be successfully securitized only “once an actor has convinced an audience of its legitimate need to go beyond otherwise binding rules and regulations”.¹⁰¹ Therefore, in order for an issue to be categorized as a security threat the audience needs to accept the legitimacy of such a claim and consent to the use of non-political measures in addressing it.

While scholars have different takes on the exact processes through which securitization occurs, there is more or less an agreement as to why securitization takes place. The framing of various issues as security threats is attributed to the special role that security occupies on states’ agendas. Scholars argue that security language has been increasingly used as a tool for “prioritizing unconventional security issues.”¹⁰² This is based on the premise that “everyone agrees that ‘security issues’ are important and

⁹⁸ Karyotis and Patrikios 2010, 44.

⁹⁹ Waever 1995; Buzan and Waever 2009.

¹⁰⁰ Buzan et al. 1998, 27.

¹⁰¹ Floyd 2007, 329.

¹⁰² Hudson 2010, 22.

deserving of national prominence and financial support.”¹⁰³ As such, issues that have not been previously categorized as security threats get appropriated into security frames. This shift is argued to be exemplified with the rise of various concepts such as “food security,”¹⁰⁴ and “environmental security”¹⁰⁵ as well as the increasing emphasis placed on the security dimensions of non-security issues such as migration¹⁰⁶ and health¹⁰⁷ which will be discussed in detail below.

Even though the earlier works within the securitization literature heavily relied on the speech act theory,¹⁰⁸ as the literature evolved, more emphasis started to be put on explaining securitization as a process.¹⁰⁹ The approaches that were based on speech act theory required the utterance of the words “security” or “threat” to consider an issue to be securitized.¹¹⁰ However, as the literature developed, the scholars moved away from this perception and started to look for alternative indicators. For instance, Balzacq highlighted the importance of “non-linguistic processes of securitization” and suggested that securitization should also be traced in the policy tools and instruments.¹¹¹ Such an approach does not disregard the role of the discourse but rather it suggests that framing of an issue as a security threat can take multiple forms. Following this approach, for instance, in analyzing the securitization of asylum and immigration issues Huysmans suggests that, “even when not directly spoken off as a threat, asylum can be rendered as a security question by being institutionally and discursively integrated in policy

¹⁰³ Shultz et al. 1993, 1.

¹⁰⁴ Such as Cavalcanti 2005.

¹⁰⁵ Such as Deudney 1990; Kakonen 1994; and Litfin 1999.

¹⁰⁶ Such as Bigo 1994; 2002; and Jackson 2006.

¹⁰⁷ Such as Price-Smith 2002; Chen et al. 2003; Prins 2004; Elbe 2006; Sjøstedt 2011.

¹⁰⁸ Such as Waever 1995; Buzan et al. 1998.

¹⁰⁹ Such as Williams 2003; Balzacq 2005; Stritzel 2007.

¹¹⁰ Such as Buzan et al. 1993; Buzan et al. 1998.

¹¹¹ Balzacq 2008, 76.

frameworks that emphasize policing and defense.”¹¹² Following this logic, Huysmans suggests that European Union securitized the issues of immigration and asylum not by explicitly calling them security threats but by focusing on policies that would defend host countries from “collective dangerous force of migrants.”¹¹³

It is important to note that securitization literature has an explicitly stated normative stance on framing issues as security threats. This normative stance can be summarized as “less security, more politics!”¹¹⁴ Securitization literature suggests that securitization is likely to create “security traps” where attempts to attract attention to an issue by framing it as a security threat moves the policy outcome away from the “underlying intentions.”¹¹⁵ As a result, while claiming that security frames are essential in getting states to react to an issue, securitization literature also concentrates on providing recommendations for de-securitization rather than treating securitization as a desirable or a natural process.¹¹⁶

Limitations of the Securitization Literature

The distance that the literature has come in operationalizing securitization has not been enough to defeat criticisms. Most importantly, the reliance of the earlier work on the speech-act theory has made it difficult to understand the role that the audience plays in the securitization process. As Balzacq criticizes, Waeber’s earlier work posits securitization as a “self-referential” practice where the mere act of calling something a security threat is what triggers securitization.¹¹⁷ This perception is argued to contradict

¹¹² Huysmans 2006, 4.

¹¹³ Huysmans 2006, 56. Also see Toğral 2012.

¹¹⁴ Waeber 1995, 56; and Corry 2011.

¹¹⁵ CASE 2006, 460.

¹¹⁶ Corry 2011, 237.

¹¹⁷ Balzacq 2005.

with the literature's claim of securitization as an "intersubjective process" between the securitizing-actor and the audience and limits the ability of the literature to explain under what conditions and for what reasons an audience is more likely to accept the claims of security.¹¹⁸

The later works attempted to compensate for this shortcoming by analyzing the role that the audience has in securitization.¹¹⁹ The critics highlighted both the need to acknowledge the agency that audience has¹²⁰ and the need to account for the fact that there might be "multiple audiences."¹²¹ Yet the uniqueness that the literature attaches to security concerns limits these studies' scope and prevents them from taking audiences' non-security concerns into consideration in explaining their willingness to accept the claims of security (upon which this study aims to shed light).

The uniqueness that the literature attributes to security frames limits the literature's ability to explain the conditions under which attempts to securitize an issue succeed. The earlier lack of interest in the context within which securitization occurs was a function of the assumption that, when done successfully, securitization modifies the context in which it takes place and in return makes the pre-existing conditions irrelevant.¹²² Balzacq, in an attempt to account for this omission, argued that security language resonates with the audience only if the securitizing actor is able to relate its

¹¹⁸ As Balzacq (2005, 178) suggests "[t]he failure to properly incorporate audience and context, however, makes it difficult to address the practically important question of what the proportionate causal weight of audience and contextual factors are in securitizing theory." Also see McDonald (2008) for a detailed discussion on the limitations of the securitization literature.

¹¹⁹ Balzacq 2008; 2011; Léonard and Kaunert 2011.

¹²⁰ For instance Balzacq (2011; 9) emphasizes that the role the audience plays is as crucial as the role of the securitizing actor since the audience is the one that has "the ability enable the securitizing actor to adopt measures in order to tackle the threat."

¹²¹ For instance Roe (2008) distinguishes between the general public who needs to be convinced for moral support and the policy makers who need to be convinced for legal support.

¹²² McDonald 2008.

claims to the “external reality.”¹²³ Thus, the existence of a “perceptive environment” is a necessary condition for the success of an attempt to securitize.¹²⁴

While these studies contribute to the analytical purchase of the securitization literature, they still operate within the assumption that security has its unique role and dynamics in shaping actors’ perceptions, agendas, and actions. This predisposition then limits their interest to the successful instances of securitization and makes them overlook the cases where securitization could have been initiated but did not, or the cases where an audience was convinced to pay attention to an unlikely issue without necessarily being convinced about the security implications of it.

The securitization literature’s portrayal of the “securitizing actors” is also a point of controversy. According to the literature, any issue can be framed as a security threat yet not every actor has the capacity to successfully invoke a security language. As Charrett discusses, “no one is excluded from attempts to articulate alternative interpretations of security,” but as a result of the power structures within the field of security, certain actors, typically state elites, hold an advantaged position over defining security threats.”¹²⁵ Such an approach is problematic because it leaves the non-state actors’ role in framing security concerns out of the picture and limits the framing capacity to the elites and presents a statist approach to security.¹²⁶

As is discussed below, the attempts to use securitization theory in explaining transnational advocacy campaigns’ success contribute to the securitization literature by

¹²³ Balzacq 2005.

¹²⁴ Similarly, Stritzel (2007) talks about the importance of embedding the claims of security to the “broader political context.”

¹²⁵ Charrett 2009; 24. Also see Buzan et al 19.

¹²⁶ “Once ST [securitization theory] is dislodged from its narrow focus on state elites it can actively fulfill its potential to locate securitizing actors at the sub- and supra- state level, as well as other alternative approaches to security such as those expressed by minorities, women and civil society more generally.” (Charrett 2009, 26; Jones 1999: 109; Hoogensen and Rottem 2005)

acknowledging the non-state actors as “securitizing actors” and by treating states as the “audience.” Yet, these studies are also based on the assumption that securitization has its own logic and consequences, and therefore, their ability to explain the complex dynamics surrounding the decisions to securitize remains limited. These limitations could, however, be overcome by treating securitization as an instance of framing and applying the insights developed by literature on framing and TANs to the study of securitized examples of transnational advocacy campaigns.

Securitization as Framing and the Strategic Environment for TANs

The goal of this study is to explain why transnational advocacy campaigns use security frames. The openness that the securitization literature brings to the field of security makes this line of questioning possible. Yet, exploring this question requires us to look beyond the arguments of the securitization literature and overcome the limitations identified above.

The validity of this research question relies on two assumptions: (i) what transnational advocacy campaigns do matters for global politics; (ii) framing is an important part of what advocacy campaigns do and have an impact on their capacity to shape global politics. Based on these assumptions this study argues that, as opposed to what securitization theory implies, securitization is an act of framing that is bound by the same dynamics that shape alternative framing choices.

This section reviews the literature to ground the above listed assumptions and provides justification for both the assumptions and the research question. For that reason, it is important to begin by illustrating that transnational advocacy campaigns matter for global politics. Since not every advocacy campaign manages to influence global politics,

it becomes important to understand the factors that shape their level of impact. Here, a dual dynamic appears: transnational advocacy campaigns are bounded by the strategic environment within which they operate and they in return engage in strategies to utilize their strategic environment to their benefit. Framing is one of the most important strategies but, as the TANs literature shows us, it is a contested process and the impact it has on the success of an advocacy campaign is not automatic, but rather mediated by other factors.

There is an increasing attention paid to the contribution that using security as a strategic frame makes to the success of advocacy campaigns. In analyzing these cases, the studies mostly operate based on the securitization literature's premises and treat securitization as a unique instance rather than a form of framing which is bound by the same dynamics that surround other acts of framing. Not utilizing the insights of the framing and TANs literatures curtails the analytical purchase of these studies which I aim to address in this dissertation.

Transnational Advocacy Campaigns¹²⁷

TANs are networks that involve “relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services.”¹²⁸ TANs are argued to play a role in shaping global politics along with a number of other actors such as epistemic communities,¹²⁹

¹²⁷ While some scholars prefer to distinguish between transnational advocacy networks and transnational advocacy campaigns based on the level of formal contact that exist among the actors (See Khagram et al. 2002), this study uses these concepts interchangeably as it focuses solely on networks that engage in transnational advocacy campaigns. The concept of TANs is used when referring broadly to the actors involved in the campaign whereas the concept of transnational advocacy campaign is used when referring to the activities and strategies pertaining to the campaign.

¹²⁸ Keck and Sikkink 1998a, 2.

¹²⁹ Such as Haas 1992; Parson 2003.

intergovernmental organizations,¹³⁰ celebrities,¹³¹ and think-tanks.¹³² These networks engage in transnational campaigns with the goal of changing states' and international organizations' behavior.¹³³ To realize this change TANs "bring in new ideas, norms, and discourses into policy debates; ... serve as sources of information and testimony; ... [and] promote norm implementation, by pressuring target actors to adopt new policies, and by monitoring compliance with international standards."¹³⁴

The increasing presence of transnational advocacy networks in global politics first paved the way to a number of studies that focused on illustrating that these networks matter. Starting with the groundbreaking work of Keck and Sikkink¹³⁵ an important literature was developed in explaining the role that transnational advocacy campaigns play in shaping global politics.¹³⁶ The role these actors play is argued to be based on their ability to "multiply the channels of access to the international system"¹³⁷ and to "disrupt hierarchies" by shifting power relations among various actors.¹³⁸

After initial work that focused on illustrating the importance of transnational advocacy networks, the field shifted focus and started looking into different ways through which these networks influence global politics and the factors that shape their effectiveness.¹³⁹ More recently, studies expanded their scope and started to question why

¹³⁰ Such as Finnemore 1993; Grigorescu 2002; Oestreich 2007.

¹³¹ Such as Cooper 2007; Huliaras and Tzifakis 2010.

¹³² Such as Stone 2001.

¹³³ Keck and Sikkink 1998a.

¹³⁴ Keck and Sikkink 1998a, 3.

¹³⁵ Keck and Sikkink 1998a.

¹³⁶ Such as Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Price 1998; Florini 1999; Evangelista 1999; Burgerman 2001; Clark 2001; Glasius 2002; Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002; Joachim 2003; Hertel 2006.

¹³⁷ Keck and Sikkink 1998, 1.

¹³⁸ Mathews 1997; Cooley and Ron 2002.

¹³⁹ Such as Gordenker et al. 1995; Klotz 1995; Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Price 1998; Florini 1999; Burgerman 2001; Clark 2001; Beyers 2004; Cardenas 2004; and Sundstrom 2005; Locher 2007.

advocacy networks choose certain issues to campaign on while leaving the others behind.¹⁴⁰

The mounting scholarly work has shown that transnational advocacy campaigns have played a significant role in leading to international agreements ranging from the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (1997)¹⁴¹ to the Rome Treaty of the International Criminal Court (2002).¹⁴² The literature also shows that the transnational advocacy campaigns' role is not limited to the creation of agendas and initiation of agreements but extends to the monitoring role they play once the states commit to taking action. For instance, the "Civil Society Coalition" has an institutionalized role within the Kimberley Process which was established to keep the diamond industry clean from conflict diamonds.¹⁴³ Similarly, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines shifted their focus once the treaty was signed and focused on monitoring the states' compliance through their regular reports.¹⁴⁴

The literature establishes the role that transnational advocacy campaigns play in changing how the international community perceives and chooses to address a transnational problem. Yet, even the most successful examples transnational advocacy campaigns do not necessarily lead to the elimination of the problem at hand. The road to the complete elimination of a problem is a complex and a multi-stage one, and

¹⁴⁰ Such as Bob 2005; Davies 2007; Carpenter 2011; 2014; Carpenter et al. 2014.

¹⁴¹ Price (1998, 613) discusses the role the transnational advocacy networks play as "[t]hrough generating issues, networking, "grafting," and using a transnational Socratic method to reverse burdens of proof, the campaign has stimulated systemic normative change through two processes: norm adoption through the conversion of persuaded moral entrepreneurs and emulation resulting from social pressures of identity."

¹⁴² As Glasius (2002, 146) argues that the NGO Coalition for an International Criminal Court played a significant role in pressuring the states and raising public awareness on the issue and received an "unprecedented" "level of recognition" from the UN.

¹⁴³ "Kimberley Process Certification Scheme," available at < <http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/en/about>>, accessed 17 May 2013.

¹⁴⁴ "Landmine Monitor," available at < <http://the-monitor.org/index.php/LM/Our-Research-Products/Landmine-Monitor>>, accessed 28 December 2014.

succeeding at one stage does not guarantee the same at the next one. Placing an issue on the global agenda (making the target actors recognize the problem) is a necessary step for successfully solving it; however, agenda setting success does not guarantee that states will act on the issue¹⁴⁵ or follow through with their commitments.¹⁴⁶

As Finnemore and Sikkink distinguish in their argument on “norm life-cycles,” norm emergence (where the norm entrepreneurs try to persuade a critical number of states to the importance of a norm) is different from “norm cascade” (where other states are convinced to become norm followers). Only in the far end of this life-cycle the norms are internalized by the states and the “completion of the “life-cycle” is not an inevitable process.”¹⁴⁷ Many issues advocated by the transnational campaigns have found a place on the global agenda yet failed to initiate action on the part of the target actors or ensure compliance. For instance, the advocacy campaign succeeded in getting the issue of cluster munitions on the global agenda¹⁴⁸ and led to political commitment (the Convention on the Cluster Munitions) yet it failed to successfully change the target actors’ behavior.¹⁴⁹

Acknowledging the complexity of the stages that a transnational advocacy campaign needs to go through to successfully solve a transnational social problem is

¹⁴⁵ This study refers to the stage where the targets of influence publicly commit to taking action in addressing the problem at hand as the “political commitment stage.” This commitment could range from attending to an international meeting, agreeing to become a part of an international organization, signing a treaty and pledging of funds.

¹⁴⁶ This study calls this stage the “policy implementation stage” and it refers to the period where the targets of influence are expected to follow through with their agreed upon commitments through initiation of domestic mechanisms ranging from the ratification of an international treaty, initiation of domestic laws and regulations and disbursement of pledged funds.

¹⁴⁷ Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998.

¹⁴⁸ Bolton and Nash 2010.

¹⁴⁹ A significant portion of the countries that stockpile cluster bombs (including the USA) have not signed the treaty and among the 116 states that signed the treaty 27 of them have not ratified it yet. (“Treaty Status,” Cluster Munition Coalition, available at < <http://www.stopclustermunitions.org/en-gb/the-treaty/treaty-status.aspx>>, accessed 7 January 2015.)

rather easy. What is difficult to identify is what counts as success. Measuring success is difficult as not every policy instrument is equally effective in shaping behavior; and it is not possible to create a norm where every target actor, without exception, commits to the norm that is being advocated and complies with its requirements without any divergence. Therefore, finding an answer to the question of whose commitment and compliance matters and how we know if they are complying is complicated. For instance, as Busby discusses, “in policy terms, a non-binding agreement such as the 1992 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change is very different from the 1997 binding Kyoto Protocol. Nonetheless, in political terms, the non-participation of the United States in the Kyoto Protocol makes the agreement less of a political success (though one could argue the support of a majority of the world’s countries and major greenhouse emitters still qualifies as a victory).”¹⁵⁰ Thus, in measuring success of a political commitment one needs to weigh both the nature of the agreed commitment and also its reach, which is what this study bases its measure of political success on as I discuss in Chapter 3.

Measuring success is difficult also because even when the target actors initiate domestic policies in line with the advocated norm¹⁵¹ whether these policies will succeed in completely erasing the problem requires a very long time-lag as both the root-causes and the implications of the problems run too deep to tackle in the short-term. Thus, a more tangible measure of policy implementation success is “whether or not countries important for implementation have accepted the policy that advocates are pursuing through some domestic decision making process.”¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Busby 2010, 38.

¹⁵¹ What Checkel (1997) refers to this as “empowerment” where the states take the initial domestic measures in the support of a norm.

¹⁵² Busby 2010, 37.

The role that transnational advocacy campaigns play in shaping global politics and the complex dynamics that determine their influence require us to take a closer look at the strategic environment within which advocates operate and the strategies they develop. This analysis is important in testing whether securitization really provides a “magical formula” for success as argued by the securitization literature or whether securitization operates like any other frame and bounded by the same dynamics.

Strategic Environment

The literature on transnational advocacy campaigns highlights two sets of factors in explaining why some campaigns succeed while the others fail. The first set of factors is regarding the structural and non-structural conditions and mechanisms that shape the context in which advocates operate, whereas the second set of factors is about various strategies and tools employed by the advocates in trying to maximize their influence.

Understanding the factors that affect advocacy campaigns’ success in shaping global agendas and initiating policy responses requires us to first look at the structural and non-structural conditions surrounding the advocacy efforts. Since the advocates do not function within a political or an ideological vacuum, the constraints and the opportunities that these structural and non-structural factors present need to be taken into account.¹⁵³ This subsection focuses on explaining the strategic environment within which advocates operate while the following subsection focuses on exploring advocates’ strategies.

The factor that has been most cited by the literature in explaining advocacy campaign effectiveness is the broader political context within which campaigns operate. As Cooley and Ron argue, “the incentives and constraints produced by the transnational

¹⁵³ McAdam 1996; Valocchi 1996; Benford 1997; McVeigh 2004; Hernandez 2010.

sector's institutional environment"¹⁵⁴ play a role in shaping both the extent to which and also the strategies through which advocates work toward exerting their power.¹⁵⁵ Yet, neither the political context nor the impact it has on advocacy campaigns is static. While certain characteristics of the broader political context (such as the political structure) are more permanent, the others (such as symbolic events) are rather flexible. These factors can either provide a fertile ground for advocacy campaigns or hinder their efforts.

The political structures are first crucial in shaping the playing field within which campaigns operate. The more access points that advocacy campaigns have the better their chances are in exerting their influence onto global politics.¹⁵⁶ In that respect as Tarrow and Smith highlight, operating within issue areas where there are established international organizations and regimes are important in creating policy spaces for advocates to organize and mobilize.¹⁵⁷ For instance, Geddes, among others, illustrates the role of the European Union's (EU) institutional structure and claims it to be conducive to advocacy efforts as it provides additional points of access for advocacy groups.¹⁵⁸

In addition to the political structures, the dynamic components of broader political contexts can also create a fertile ground, "windows of opportunity"¹⁵⁹ for advocates to utilize. For instance, "symbolic events" such as meetings and human-made or natural disasters can provide windows of opportunity for advocates to further their agendas¹⁶⁰ as these events have the potential to "recast or challenge prevailing definitions of the situation, thus changing perceptions of costs and benefits of policies and programs

¹⁵⁴ Cooley and Ron 2002, 6.

¹⁵⁵ Tarrow 1994; McAdam et al. 1996.

¹⁵⁶ Such as Geddes 2000; Price 2003.

¹⁵⁷ Tarrow 2005; Smith 2005.

¹⁵⁸ Geddes 2000. Also see Baumgartner and Jones 1991; Judge 1993; Pollack 1997; Mazey 1998; Sabatier 1998.

¹⁵⁹ See Ferree et al. 2002; Boçse 2011.

¹⁶⁰ Keck and Sikkink 1998.

and the perception of injustice of the status quo.”¹⁶¹ For instance, in analyzing the success of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), Shawki concludes that it was the review process that the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) was undergoing at the time that “allowed the ICBL access to the global public policy process by creating a target and a focal point for activism surrounding landmines to frame the landmine problem as a humanitarian crisis.”¹⁶² Similarly, studies that comparatively analyze the successful campaigns that took place in 1990s suggest that “left-of center governments coming to power throughout Western democracies” created a fertile ground for a number of accomplishments such as International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol to take place.¹⁶³

The broader context within which advocates operate could also function as an obstacle in front of advocates’ efforts; economic constraints can be listed as one of these limitations. As Haas, Andresen and Kanie explain, lack of stable financial resources makes NGOs dependent on outside contributions such as those coming from “foundations and foreign-aid agencies” as well as members’ contributions. Such reliance functions as a limitation as “the NGOs are faced with incentives to differentiate themselves for funders, and to constantly present themselves as offering a new agenda or approach.”¹⁶⁴

Similar to the way political structures function, the changing dynamics within the broader political context can also create obstacles in front of the campaigning efforts. As Humphreys contends, during the United Nations Conference on Environment and

¹⁶¹ Zald 1996, 268.

¹⁶² Shawki 2010, 393.

¹⁶³ Price 2003, 593. Also see Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Florini 1999; Higgot et al. 2000; Khagram et al. 2002.

¹⁶⁴ Haas, Andresen and Kanie 2014, 6.

Development (UNCED) Forest Negotiations the polarization between developed and developing countries limited advocates' ability to shape the agenda as the states were focused on resolving the disagreements among each other. This division in return limited the room for maneuver for the environmental activists.¹⁶⁵

It is important to note that the changes within the political context are not necessarily exogenous to advocacy campaigns. Advocates themselves through their actions expand the opportunities that the political structures present to them. For instance in their study, Clark, Friedman and Hochstetler trace NGO involvement in UN thematic conferences on environment and human rights and observe that there have been “significant advances in both the quantity and the quality of their [NGOs’] participation.”¹⁶⁶ The authors argue this change to be a consequence of the widening in the NGOs’ repertoire of action which provided them with an increased number of access points in their attempts to influence global policy making. Similarly in analyzing the changes in the working of the International Whaling Commission, Skodvin and Andresen argue that the moratorium decision of 1982 that banned whaling for commercial purposes was a product of the environmental and animal rights NGOs’ ability to mobilize support.¹⁶⁷ Such success is not limited to environmental campaigns, either. Similarly

¹⁶⁵ Humphreys 2006.

¹⁶⁶ They state that “[l]ess than 300 NGOs attended the Stockholm Conference on the Environment [in 1972]. In 1992, 1,400 NGOs registered with the Rio conference, and 18,000 NGOs attended the parallel NGO forum. Only 53 NGOs in consultative status sent representatives to the 1968 Tehran International Conference on Human Rights, and four others attended at the invitation of the conference’s Preparatory Committee. For the 1993 Human Rights Conference in Vienna, a UN source lists 248 NGOs in consultative status and 593 as participants. NGO reports estimated that 1,400 to 1,500 NGOs attended. At the 1975 Mexico City Conference for International Women’s Year, 6,000 people attended the NGO forum, and 114 NGOs gained access to the official conference; at the 1985 closing conference of the UN Decade on Women in Nairobi, 13,500 people registered for--and many more attended--the NGO forum, and 163 NGOs were accredited to the official meetings. Ten years later over 300,000 people attended the Beijing NGO forum, doubling previous attendance records. But equally impressive, 3,000 accredited NGOs gained access to the Fourth World Conference on Women.” (Clark et al. 1998, 5)

¹⁶⁷ Skodvin and Andresen 2003.

securing a permanent observer status within the Kimberley Process changed the political context significantly and provided the Conflict Diamonds Campaign an official and permanent access point to exert their influence.¹⁶⁸

In addition to the role that the broader political context plays in shaping the success of advocacy efforts, the literature also highlights that the issues themselves have specific ‘attributes’ (or characteristics) that make it easier or more difficult for advocates to garner support. For instance, issues where there is an identifiable perpetrator and issues where there is a short causal link between the act and the harm it creates are easier for the campaigns to attract global actors’ attention.¹⁶⁹ The same is also true for cases where the damage caused can be quantified and illustrated through widely distributed reports.¹⁷⁰ The advocacy efforts are also argued to have a better chance at succeeding if the harm inflicted on the victims is a physical and therefore an observable one.¹⁷¹ For instance, Keck and Sikkink argue that, “torture and disappearance have been more tractable than some other human rights issues, and protesting torture of political prisoners more effective than protesting torture of common criminals or capital punishment.”¹⁷² That is because in the case of torture the damage is physical and in the case of political prisoners the claim of innocence is easier to make. Following this logic, Stone argues that an advocacy campaign has a better chance at succeeding if the problem is perceived to be amenable to human action rather than unavoidable bad fortune.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ Smillie 2001.

¹⁶⁹ Keck and Sikkink 1998a.

¹⁷⁰ Carpenter 2005; 2010; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Keck and Sikkink 1998; and Stone 2006.

¹⁷¹ Finnemore and Sikkink 1998.

¹⁷² Keck and Sikkink 1998a, 27.

¹⁷³ Stone 2006.

As discussed below, the issue attributes are not set in stone, either. Not only the nature of the issue changes over time but also the advocates engage in various strategies to reframe the perceived attributes of the issue. The following subsection discusses various strategies employed by the advocates to make the most out of the strategic environment within which they operate and change them when necessary and possible.

Advocacy Strategies¹⁷⁴

The literature on transnational advocacy campaigns has paid a significant amount of attention to the strategies that transnational advocacy campaigns utilize in explaining the varying degree of campaigns' successes. These tools are critical in not only defining campaigns' power in global policy making but also distinguishing them from other actors. Reviewing the tools that are available at the transnational advocacy campaigns' disposal is crucial in appreciating the role and importance of framing for advocacy campaigns as well as the complex dynamics surrounding their utilization.

While different networks have different tools at their disposal, the lack of military and (most of the time) economic power distinguishes transnational advocacy campaigns from states and corporations while the lack of violence in their methods separates them from terrorist groups.¹⁷⁵ In the absence of these traditional sources of power, advocates are forced to engage in creative ways to realize their goals. The strategies that advocates utilize in promoting their causes take multiple forms and they range from “framing issues to win the hearts and minds of others to their cause; mobilising reliable information and

¹⁷⁴ This section focuses solely on strategies tailored toward targets of influence. The strategies utilized within the network such as “backdoor moves and blocking” (Hertel 2006), and “agenda vetting” (Carpenter 2011; 2014) are intentionally left out.

¹⁷⁵ Florini 2000; Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002; and Price 2003.

expertise on an issue in ways conducive to influencing policy and norms; or naming and shaming states for unethical practices.”¹⁷⁶

What Keck and Sikkink refer to as “information politics” i.e. “collecting credible information and deploying it strategically at carefully selected sites”¹⁷⁷ is one of the frequently used advocacy strategies. For instance, Ron et al. analyzed the Amnesty International’s (AI) reporting of human rights abuses and concluded that “the group [AI] produce[d] more written work on some countries than others to maximize advocacy opportunities, shape international standards, promote greater awareness, and raise its profile.”¹⁷⁸ Successfully engaging in information politics on the one hand, includes collecting and disseminating credible, verifiable and reliable information and on the other hand, it requires the information to be presented in a timely and dramatic manner.¹⁷⁹ In order to utilize this function to its maximum, advocates not only collect and disseminate testimonies but also support them with statistical and technical information they collect themselves.¹⁸⁰ As a successful example of this, Conflict Diamonds Campaign managed to get the UNSC’s attention by reliably reporting the severity of the conflict diamonds problem in Angola¹⁸¹ and Sierra Leone.¹⁸²

The second strategy that advocacy networks utilize is “symbolic politics,” which refers to advocates’ “ability to call upon symbols, actions or stories that make sense of a situation or claim for an audience that is frequently far away.”¹⁸³ For instance, sending fake diamonds covered with fake blood to newspaper editors was one of the strategies

¹⁷⁶ Davy 2012, 76.

¹⁷⁷ Keck and Sikkink 1998a; 1998b, 226.

¹⁷⁸ Ron, Ramos and Rodger 2005, 557.

¹⁷⁹ Keck and Sikkink 1998b.

¹⁸⁰ Keck and Sikkink 1998a.

¹⁸¹ Global Witness 1998.

¹⁸² Smillie, Gberie and Hazleton 2000.

¹⁸³ Keck and Sikkink 1998; 1999, 95.

employed by the conflict diamonds network in getting the media to pay attention to the issue.¹⁸⁴ International Campaign to Ban Landmines similarly put together shoe piles to represent the lost limbs which turned out to be a very effective strategy in attracting international attention to the issue.¹⁸⁵ The anti-sweatshop campaign was also successful in employing symbolic politics by “successfully linking Nike’s brand with the use of sweatshop labor.”¹⁸⁶

The third strategy is “leverage politics” or “boomerang strategy” which is “the ability to call upon powerful actors to affect a situation where weaker members of a network are unlikely to have influence.”¹⁸⁷ Boçse highlights this strategy by illustrating how Hungarian campaigners pressured the Romanian government to help them convince the Hungarian government to ban the use of cyanide.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, Yanacopulos discusses how some smaller NGOs utilized NGO Working Group on the World Bank to get their voices heard by the World Bank.¹⁸⁹

The fourth strategy is “accountability politics”¹⁹⁰ and refers to the advocates’ ability to monitor target actors’ actions to make sure that they comply with their previously made commitments by “naming and shaming” the violations. Advocates utilize this strategy in various ways. For instance, ICBL puts countries onto lists based on their landmine policies to keep the spotlight on those who perform badly.¹⁹¹ Advocates also play important roles in ensuring compliance by conducting monitoring functions in a number of issue areas ranging from World Bank funded development projects to child

¹⁸⁴ Grant and Taylor 2004.

¹⁸⁵ Price 1998; Clarke 2008.

¹⁸⁶ Knight and Greenberg 2002; Ihlen, Bartlett and May 2011.

¹⁸⁷ Keck and Sikkink 1998a; 1999, 95.

¹⁸⁸ Boçse 2011.

¹⁸⁹ Yanacopulos 2005.

¹⁹⁰ Keck and Sikkink 1998; 1999.

¹⁹¹ Short 1999; Clarke 2008.

labor regulations.¹⁹² Similarly, in analyzing the role of advocates in limiting state-sponsored killings, DeMeritt finds a positive correlation to exist between NGO reporting of violations and state practices.¹⁹³

The frequency at which each of these strategies are utilized by the campaigns change both based on their goals as well as based on the opportunities and constraints that their strategic environment presents. Despite these variations, one very important strategy that advocates employ throughout all stages of global agenda setting and policy making and one that plays an important role in shaping campaigns' capacity to utilize opportunities is framing.

Framing as an Advocacy Strategy

Framing can be defined as “the strategic packaging of new ideas and interpretations.”¹⁹⁴ The idea that frames matter was born in sociology¹⁹⁵ and it was first applied to the social movements literature within political science.¹⁹⁶ Framing is a “processual phenomenon” through which meanings are constructed.¹⁹⁷ This process is “active in the sense that something is being done, and processual in the sense of a dynamic, evolving process.”¹⁹⁸

Frames are “interpretive schemata[s] that simplif[y] and condense the ‘world out there’ by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of action within one’s present or past environment.”¹⁹⁹ Thus, framing is

¹⁹² Pallas and Urpelainen 2012.

¹⁹³ DeMeritt 2012. It is worth to note that some studies are critical of the connection between monitoring and compliance (such as Hafner-Burton 2008; Hendrix and Wong 2013).

¹⁹⁴ Joachim 2007, 19.

¹⁹⁵ Goffman 1974.

¹⁹⁶ Such as Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; and McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996.

¹⁹⁷ Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; and Benford and Snow 2000.

¹⁹⁸ Benford and Snow 2000, 614.

¹⁹⁹ Snow and Benford 1992, 137.

not particular to collective actions, but it is also deemed necessary for individuals to “locate, perceive, identify and label” the events they are experiencing.²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, frames have a special role to play in collective actions, such as transnational advocacy campaigns. Framing is important for advocacy campaigns not only because it gives meaning to issues that have not been previously considered as worthy of attention, but also because it determines which actors would gain power and which ones would be left in the margins.²⁰¹ In other words, framing is crucial not only because “it determines whether and how issues get onto the political agenda” but also because they shape “how issues are given meaning, operationalized, and adopted into the norm-building process even before becoming part of the official agenda.”²⁰²

As framing was identified as one of the key advocacy strategies by the literature very early on, a number of insights have been developed so far in explaining the dynamics of framing, as well as framing’s role in leading to advocacy success. Reviewing this literature is crucial in understanding why advocates use a particular frame and how they choose it, as well as in forming a basis of comparison to use in testing the extent to which security frames resemble to other instances of framing.

The most important insights pertaining to the purpose of this study is two-fold. First, issues are framed not only based on moral concerns but also based on material calculations and second, framing has implications not only for the audience but also for the advocates themselves. The following subsections discuss the insights that the literature provides about advocates’ normative and material motivations in tailoring their framing preferences as well as the complex dynamics that surround these decisions. It is

²⁰⁰ Goffman 1974, 21.

²⁰¹ Bob 2005; 2008; Carpenter 2005; 2007; and Hudson 2010.

²⁰² Hudson 2010, 1; Keck and Sikkink 1998a; and Joachim 2007.

important to review these dynamics as treating securitization as an act of framing will require this study to trace these dynamics within securitization processes.

How do Advocates Choose Their Frames and Why it Matters?

Almost no issue naturally falls into a “frame,” thus framing requires a conscious and strategic act on the part of the actors that are involved in “packaging” of the issue. Through framing, advocacy campaigns have the capacity to “highlight particular aspects of a problem such as the driving causes and/or who has the responsibility to act, thereby establishing the boundaries within which states must formulate their responses.”²⁰³ For that reason, framing has both a normative and an instrumental function and it reflects what advocates believe in, how they think they can get the others to react, and how they can make the most out of their limited resources. To achieve these goals, advocates tailor their frames not only for the targets of influence whose actions they aim to change, but they also tailor the frames for potential allies with the goal of strengthening their efforts. Yet, as the literature illustrates, none of these efforts, even when they succeed, guarantee advocacy success. Nevertheless, rather than aiming to show the limits of framing, the below presented review highlights the complex dynamics that needs to be taken into consideration when analyzing advocates’ framing choices.

First, advocates engage in framing in order to appeal to targets actors’ normative concerns.²⁰⁴ As Keck and Sikkink put it, an issue is more likely to be picked up and used in norm creation if the way it is framed resonates with the already existing norms.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Corell and Betsill 2008, 33. See also Chatterjee and Finger 1994; Jasanoff 1997; Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Williams and Ford 1999; Betsill 2002; Humphreys 2004.

²⁰⁴ Such as Princen and Finger 1994; Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Price 1998; Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999; Arts, Noortman and Reinalda 2001; Betsill and Correll 2008; Josselin and Wallace 2001; Stoddard 2006; Busby 2007.

²⁰⁵ Keck and Sikkink 1998a. Also see Nadelmann 1990.

Such a resemblance increases issue entrepreneurs' chances of grafting their concerns onto the target actors' agendas.²⁰⁶ For instance, in analyzing the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, Price illustrates that the campaign's success was a function of its ability to graft the issue onto the existing norms against the use of weapons of mass destruction. By emphasizing the indiscriminate nature of the harm that landmines cause, the Campaign successfully turned what used to be considered as a conventional weapon with no specific ill-repute into a weapon of mass destruction (WMD) to be eliminated.²⁰⁷ Similarly, by framing human trafficking as "modern day slavery," the advocates worked to trigger states' sensibilities about slavery.²⁰⁸

While appealing to target actors' normative concerns is one of the main goals of framing, the compatibility of the suggested frames with the existing normative perspectives also has the potential to work as an impediment. If the issue is grafted onto an existing norm that has been on the agenda for a long-time, it might create the sense that the issue has already been addressed sufficiently. For instance, the media coverage of the "Amazon issue" peaked in 1980s and this created the perception that the issue was already addressed and that it was "being tackled and resolved by the established legal and governmental authorities."²⁰⁹ This perception in turn worked as an impediment in front of the mahogany campaign, the campaign that targeted to regulate the trade of mahogany – a rare tree with high commercial value from Brazil to Britain, in early 1990s. It was only when the advocates took the issue out of the environmental frame and placed it into the human rights frame (protection of indigenous people) they succeeded in convincing the

²⁰⁶ See Klotz 1995.

²⁰⁷ Price 1998.

²⁰⁸ See Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Brysk 2009.

²⁰⁹ Zhouri 2000, 32.

target actors that the issue was a “*new and real threat to the Amazon*” [emphasis in the original].²¹⁰

In certain occasions, especially when the existing normative stance of the decision-makers is perceived to be counterproductive, the advocates deliberately choose frames that aim to alter the perception of the decision makers rather than attaching their cause onto the existing frames. One of the examples of successfully reframing an issue by cutting its links with existing norms is the campaign to ban female genital mutilation. When the campaign first started in 1970s the advocates used more neutral terms such as “female circumcision, clitoridectomy, or infibulation”²¹¹ which did not trigger any major reaction. This was argued to be mainly a consequence of the existing norms about male circumcision. The campaign succeeded only when it reframed the issue as “female genital mutilation” because “by reframing the practice, the network broke the linkage with male circumcision (seen as a personal medical or cultural decision), implied a linkage with the more feared procedure – castration – and reframed the issue as one of violence against women. It thus resituated the problem as a human rights violation.”²¹²

The strategic function of framing is not limited to its role in appealing to target actors’ normative concerns. Advocates could also strategically adopt a frame to appeal to target actors’ material concerns, as well. In other words, framing could also be a tool in advocates’ hands in encouraging or coercing target actors to take action rather than convincing them of the issue’s normative importance. Such coercion could happen when advocates, by strategically packaging the problem, implicitly or explicitly “link the issue

²¹⁰ Zhouri 2000, 32.

²¹¹ Sikkink 2002, 43.

²¹² Sikkink 2002, 43.

of concern to money, trade, or prestige.”²¹³ Framing the sweatshops problem as a human rights issue and linking it to the industry’s image to get them to react is an example of such calculation.²¹⁴

While most of the studies seek to explain advocates’ framing choices with their pursuit of attracting targets of influence, some studies acknowledge that advocates’ framing choices are not necessarily tailored toward them. Advocates framing choices can also be informed by their desire to attract potential allies to the campaign. As discussed above, even though NGOs are generally categorized as “principled actors,” as a growing literature illustrates, they are not only normative but also instrumental actors.²¹⁵ Thus, they engage in strategic acts to maximize their reach and influence over other actors. An important component of such a strategy is to find a fertile ground that would provide a “receptive ear” for the advocates’ concerns to be heard. Most of the time, advocates’ limited material capacities prevent them from having direct impact on targets of influence. For this reason, they seek to get the attention of potential allies, actors with political capital and material leverage. As a number of scholars pointed out, getting the support of the “gatekeepers” is crucial for campaign success.²¹⁶ Depending on the issue as well as on the advocates’ goals, a number of actors might be pursued as potential allies. These actors include states,²¹⁷ international organizations,²¹⁸ other NGOs as well as the media.²¹⁹

²¹³ Checkel 1999, 88.

²¹⁴ Knight and Greenberg 2002.

²¹⁵ Cooley and Ron 2002; Henderson 2002; Sell and Prakash 2004; Bob 2005; Hertel 2006; Burnstein 2007; Bloodgood 2011.

²¹⁶ Brysk 1993; Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Bob 2005; Busby 2007; Davies 2007; Carpenter 2011; 2014; Carpenter et al. 2014.

²¹⁷ Such as Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Warkentin and Mingst 2000.

²¹⁸ Such as Willetts 1996; Joachim 2003.

²¹⁹ Such as Tarrow 1994; McAdam et al. 1996.

Getting the allies “to take [the advocates’] side”²²⁰ is crucial for two reasons. First, the political capital as well as other material sources that these actors have at their disposal strengthens the material capacity of the advocates. The advocates engage in the above discussed “boomerang strategy,” where they appeal to more powerful actors and get them to put pressure on the targets of influence.²²¹ In doing so the advocates engage in a double-strategy where they “keep pressure on decision-makers at home while simultaneously lobbying intergovernmental organisations’ and other states’ decision-makers to put pressure on the state from the outside.”²²² Second, getting the support of allies is crucial as, in addition to material resources, these allies also possess non-material resources such as institutional prestige which help the advocates legitimize their frames.²²³

Despite the growing recognition of the role that gatekeepers play in shaping the success of advocacy campaigns, a very limited number of studies have looked at advocates’ framing choices from this perspective.²²⁴ Most notably, Clifford Bob looks into how insurgent movements frame their causes to match them to the gatekeeper organizations’ characteristics, and argues that these movements’ ability to “market” themselves to the gatekeepers was crucial in garnering gatekeeper support.²²⁵ Yet, more studies are needed to understand the dynamics of tailoring frames toward potential allies – an area to which this study contributes.

²²⁰ Khagram, Riker and Sikkink 2002, 12.

²²¹ Keck and Sikkink 1998a.

²²² Bloodgood 2011, 104. Also see Brysk 1993; Clark 1995; Keck and Sikkink 1998a; Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999.

²²³ Joachim 2003.

²²⁴ It is important to note the growing literature that analyzes the issue from the gatekeeper’s perspective and aims to understand why they are receptive of some advocates’ efforts and not the others (Such as Hertel 2006; Carpenter 2014; Carpenter et al. 2014).

²²⁵ Bob 2005.

As discussed above, in choosing their frames advocates make strategic calculations about the normative and material concerns to which target actors and potential allies are most likely to be responsive. Yet, the advocates do not make these choices solely based on their evaluation of the strategic environment. Advocates' fields of expertise and the information they have about campaigns that succeeded before them can also factor into advocates' calculations in making their framing choices. For instance, Snyder argues that the advocates who took part in the ICBL learned from their experiences and worked to replicate those frames for International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA).²²⁶

The above presented review illustrated that advocates have normative and material calculations in choosing their frames. The review also further highlighted the delicateness of these choices as it showed that "resonance" guarantees neither framing nor advocacy success. Thus, the review discussed what motivates advocates' framing choices, yet, it did not explain the processes through which advocates choose a particular frame over the others.

Dynamics of Framing

The ways in which issues are framed not only have implications for advocates' ability to reach out to targets of influence and to potential allies but it also has implications for advocates themselves. As Corell and Betsill argue, once an issue makes it to the global agenda, issue frames shape the role that advocates play in the making of the policies as they "creat[e] a demand for a particular type of information, thereby privileging some actors and limiting which proposals delegates consider seriously."²²⁷

²²⁶ Snyder 2001.

²²⁷ Corell and Betsill 2008, 41.

For that reason framing is essentially a contested process among the advocates and it reflects the network dynamics.²²⁸ Yet, resolving this contestation early on is necessary if a campaign wants to succeed. This subsection discusses the process of framing and illustrates both the dynamics of contestation and its implications for the advocacy campaigns.

The frames that advocacy campaigns use are “not a given, but rather a product of the struggle over meaning and ideas that occur among movement actors and between them and their antagonists.”²²⁹ On the one hand, framing is a source of competition among different advocates who agree on the importance of the issue yet disagree either on the reasons for its importance or on the actions that need to be taken in addressing the problem. These divergences lead to different frames to be invoked by different advocates.²³⁰ Resolving this contestation early on is important as not doing so has a potential to damage the advocates’ ability to put together a strong campaign. For instance, Ferrari observes in her comparative analysis of frames used by Catholic and non-Catholic NGOs that the discrepancy in their framing preferences functions as a major impediment in front of potential collaborative efforts and has a negative impact on their effectiveness.²³¹

A similar contestation is also observed between different actors within the anti-human trafficking movement. Building on earlier work on this movement,²³² Hernandez distinguishes between two framing approaches within the anti-human trafficking

²²⁸ Meyer 1995.

²²⁹ Also see Snow and Benford 1992; Benford 1997; Benford and Snow 2000; Hernandez 2010.

²³⁰ Joachim 2003.

²³¹ Ferrari 2011.

²³² Such as Kempadoo and Doezema 1998; Bertone 2003; Crago 2003; Soderlund 2005; Hughes 2005; Miriam 2005; McDonnell 2007.

campaign. While the first frame approaches the issue of human trafficking as a “gendered social problem,” the second approach frames the issue as a “direct result of structural economic conditions that support the exploitation of vulnerable peoples.”²³³ The contradicting approaches are important as they also offer contradicting solutions to the problem. While the former suggests that the trafficking, especially sex trafficking, can be tackled only if the demand is dismantled, the latter argues that the underlying economic consequences that pushes people into the hands of traffickers need to be addressed if a permanent solution to the problem is sought.²³⁴ A similar frame contestation also occurred during the female genital mutilation campaign. In order to tackle the earlier lack of interest to the campaign, some of the advocates wanted to replace “female circumcision” with “female genital mutilation.” Yet such efforts initially faced resistance from those who argued that such reframing would be a reflection of “cultural imperialism” and would result in the imposition of Western norms on local cultures; trying to resolve this disagreement cost the campaign valuable time.²³⁵

While frame contestation can occur between actors who agree on the need to address the issue at hand but disagree on the methods and venues of doing so, such contestation can also occur between those who want to bring the issue onto the global agenda and those who want to keep it out of the spotlight. At this point the existence of counter-frames becomes even more important when each side has contradictory goals. For instance, as Shawki puts forward, one of the factors that limited the success of the IANSA was the National Rifle Association’s (NRA) ability to frame the issue around

²³³ Hernandez 2010, 2.

²³⁴ Chapkis 2003; Soderlund 2005; Weitzer 2007; Hernandez 2010.

²³⁵ Sikkink 2002.

“the right to bear arms” which contradicted the IANSA’s efforts to frame the issue as a threat to human wellbeing.²³⁶

Target actors could also engage in counter-framing efforts to either stop a campaign or to re-channel the campaign to a less damaging trajectory for their interests. For instance, as a response to the “indigenous people’s rights” frame that the “Amazon forests campaign” promoted, the Timber Trade Foundation started a public relations campaign called *Forests Forever: a campaign for wood* where they aimed to reframe the trade and use of timber as an “environmentally friendly” choice.²³⁷

While it is important to resolve frame contestation for the success of advocacy campaigns, multivocalization is a different activity that should not be confused with contestation. Multivocalization can be described as “the effort to speak simultaneously to multiple audiences”²³⁸ and it is a strategic act on the part of the advocates to better their chances of success. What distinguishes multivocalization is that it is a deliberate act on the part of the advocates to be “strategically ambiguous in their framing in an effort to say the same thing with different meaning for different groups.”²³⁹ For instance, Busby suggests that the HIV/AIDS campaign has deliberately framed the issue as a “public health issue, a human rights issue, a justice issue, a moral problem, an issue of intellectual property rights, and a security problem.”²⁴⁰ Similarly, Merry argues that human rights advocates engage in multivocalization when they are working to get states to abide by the established rules and norms. As Merry explains the advocates do so because on the one hand, they feel the need to appeal to the priorities of the international

²³⁶ Shawki 2010.

²³⁷ Zhouri 2000, 45.

²³⁸ Busby 2010, 53; Padgett and Ansell 1993.

²³⁹ Busby 2010, 53.

²⁴⁰ Busby 2010, 53.

community, and on the other hand they feel the need to reframe their arguments to make them acceptable for local communities.²⁴¹

As seen from the above review of the literature, the way in which issues are framed is crucial in determining transnational advocacy campaigns' ability to place them on political agendas, and deciding on a frame is a complex process. Yet, despite the complexities identified by the TANs and framing literatures, those who analyze the securitized examples of transnational advocacy campaigns treat them as unique instances. The following review summarizes their arguments and shows how their insights can be developed further by treating securitization as an instance of framing

Securitization as Framing

Why do transnational advocacy campaigns adopt security frames? Following the arguments developed within the securitization literature, a number of studies analyzed the adoption of security discourses by advocacy campaigns and made claims about their role in attracting states' attention and creating political change. Yet, these studies conducted such analyses based on the assumption that security frames have unique characteristics and implications that distinguish this type of framing from other instances of the activity.

As a result of this approach, while highlighting important insights about successful examples of securitized campaigns, these studies fall short of appreciating the complex motivations behind advocates' use of security frames; the reasons that audience has in accepting such claims; and the various impact that securitization could have on both the direction and the success of a transnational advocacy campaign. This subsection reviews the contributions that these studies provide into the role of securitization in transnational advocacy campaigns; the limitations of these arguments and the insights to

²⁴¹ Merry 2006.

be gained by treating securitization as an instance of framing rather than a unique process.

In analyzing the role of securitization in advocacy campaigns only a few scholars perceive it to be natural development that is based on the factual connections between the issue at hand and its security implications, whereas most of the studies evaluate securitization as a strategic act on the part of the advocates. For instance, in analyzing the securitization of environmental problems, some scholars suggest a causal link between environmental problems and security threats.²⁴² For these researchers the link drawn between environmental problems and security is not a strategic one that was utilized to prioritize environmental issues on the agenda, but rather a factual one. For instance, Homer-Dixon suggests that “environmental change may contribute to conflicts as diverse as war, terrorism, or diplomatic and trade disputes... it may have different causal roles: in some cases, it may be a proximate and powerful cause; in others, it may only be a minor and distant player in a tangled story that involves many political, economic and physical factors.”²⁴³ Similarly the *Acute Conflict Project* that brought together forty researchers from different continents concluded that “although environmental scarcities are often hidden by immediate political, ethnic, or ideological factors, they are already-contributing to violent conflicts in many parts of the developing world.”²⁴⁴

If we were to analyze these studies’ approach from the TANs and framing literatures’ perspective, securitization appears to be a reflection of the strategic environment within which the campaign operates. In other words, the argued security implications are reflections of the “issue attributes” that were discussed above rather than

²⁴² Such as Gleick 1989; Tuchman-Mathews 1989; Brown 1990; Lipschutz and Holdren 1990.

²⁴³ Homer-Dixon 1991, 77.

²⁴⁴ Homer-Dixon 1994; Homer-Dixon 1995, 27.

a strategic act on the part of the advocates. The agency of the actors here is limited to utilizing the issue attributes in support of their efforts rather than strategically packaging the issue.

Yet, most of the scholars believe that securitization of different issues is a result of strategic calculations rather than a reflection of observable and undeniable connections between the issue at hand and the security threats that it is argued to present. These approaches imply agency for the “securitizing actors” (both state and non-state) and acknowledge the strategic reasoning behind these framing choices. One of the issue areas where we see such evaluation is the environmental issues.²⁴⁵ Most notably, the efforts to bring climate change onto the forefront of the global agenda have raised heated debates on the security implications of environmental issues. As a part of the efforts to attract attention to climate change, the issue was first framed as an environmental issue but then got securitized over time. As Scott suggests “the framing of climate change as a threat to security, as opposed to solely an environmental or political challenge, is one example of the recent broadening of the concept of security beyond the traditional realm of external military threats to a State.”²⁴⁶ The perceived link between security and climate change stems from the proposition that climate change creates failed and weak states. These states, in return, are argued to function as “safe havens” for terrorists.²⁴⁷ Such an approach treats securitization as a strategic act on the part of the actors and in that respect replicates the basic logic of framing.

²⁴⁵ Such as Deudney 1990; Kakonen 1994; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Litfin 1999; Nordaas and Gleditsch 2007; Barnett 2007; Trombetta 2011; and Scott 2012.

²⁴⁶ Scott 2012, 220.

²⁴⁷ Podesta and Ogden 2008.

As opposed to the implicit and explicit similarities between the arguments of framing and securitization studies discussed above, the dialogue comes to a halt when the studies go onto explain the reasons behind using security frames and the implications of such uses for the success of advocacy campaigns both in the short and the long-run.

The studies informed by the insights of the securitization literature treat securitization as a strategic act but almost as an inevitable one given the implications it has. The unique role that security concerns are theorized to occupy on actors' agendas is treated to be enough of a reason to explain the advocates' motivations in using security frames and hence this approach distinguishes securitization from other strategic acts of framing. As Hudson quotes from her interview with a UN official "... the political establishment, not just the establishment, but political people who are in politics in general... they respond, their lights go up when they hear security aspects... and so, then what is left to strategizers... [is] to remind them... on the threat of security."²⁴⁸

However, treating the motivations behind securitization as self-explanatory leaves the insights that the framing literature provide (such as the role of the strategic environment, issue attributes, network dynamics) out. Not incorporating this information is an important omission because, as discussed above, not every advocacy campaign resorts to security frames and, as it is discussed in the following chapters, not all securitized campaigns succeed. Thus, expanding the analytical purchase of the claims made about the reasons behind using security frames requires us to look at the broader picture and comparatively analyze securitized cases with non-securitized ones in order to appreciate the strategic motivations behind using them.

²⁴⁸ Hudson 2010, 1.

The “not just another frame” approach implied in the securitization studies’ premises also finds its reflection in the literature’s evaluation of the long-term implications of using security frames. The studies that analyze the implications of securitizing advocacy campaigns illustrate the trade-off between the short-term advantages of using security frames versus the long-term implications of such choices for the content and the reach of the policy outcomes. The arguments about the long-term negative implications of using security frames are explained away with the uniqueness attributed to security frames by this literature. The securitization is argued to inevitably lead to the removal of the issue from the realm of normal politics and legitimization of extraordinary measures which is not a desired outcome from a democratic perspective. Yet, essentializing the consequences of using security frames limits our ability to appreciate varying implications that securitization might have for both the direction and the success of a campaign.

The arguments about the long-term negative implications of securitization that are based on the uniqueness of the security frames find their reflections in the studies ranging from environment, migration and international aid to HIV/AIDS. For instance, Levy suggests in analyzing the potential threats that environmental problems pose for the USA’s security that:

ozone depletion and climate change are the only significant environmental problems that currently pose a direct physical harm to U.S. interests. While both problems can thus properly be considered as security problems, and both warrant serious responses, it is not clear whether engaging in the first task facilitates the second. Although many analysts accept in principle the connection between these environmental risks and security, there is no evidence that this affects in any way the kind of research they undertake or the kind of recommendations they make. The equation does not appear to do any great good, and the ozone example suggests that in some cases better results can be obtained without it.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Levy 1995, 61.

Deudney has a similar approach and claims that securitization of environmental issues are damaging both to national security and also to the environment. Deudney takes a strong stance on the issue and suggests that:

Another motive for speaking of environmental degradation as a threat to natural security is rhetorical: to make people respond to environmental threats with a sense of urgency. But before harnessing the old horse of national security to pull the heavy new environmental wagon, one must examine its temperament... Yet the national security mentality engenders an enviable sense of urgency, and a corresponding willingness to accept great personal sacrifice. Unfortunately, these emotions may be difficult to sustain. Crises call for resolution, and the patience of a mobilized populace is rarely long. A cycle of arousal and somnolence is unlikely to establish permanent patterns of environmentally sound behavior, and “crash” solutions are often bad ones.²⁵⁰

In analyzing the securitization of environmental issues neither of these authors questions either the potential variation in the long-term implications of using security frames nor the potential role of alternative reasons (other than securitization) in leading to these negative outcomes (such as lack of public interest (audience’s priorities), lack of international cooperation (network dynamics), the problems’ own dynamics that makes the issue difficult to solve (issue attributes).

The studies that analyze the securitization of international development aid also adopt a mostly uncritical approach to the implications of securitization. During 1990s, international development aid was framed as a human rights and development concern, yet as the literature contends, a drastic shift towards the adoption of a security frame took place in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks.²⁵¹ The appropriation of the issue within a security frame is argued to have changed the nature of the international aid where the recipients were decided not based on need but based on the security threats that

²⁵⁰ Deudney 1991, 24-5.

²⁵¹ Walby and Monaghan 2011.

countries are believed to present.²⁵² In analyzing the securitization of development aid, the literature criticizes the use of security language by calling it the “dark side” of aid²⁵³ where “prepackaged democratic transitions often results in violence and deterioration of the rule of law.”²⁵⁴ While these studies underscore into the implications of securitization for those who are in need of international aid, treating the use of the security language as self-explanatory in the post-September 11 political context limits the explanatory power of this approach as not every issue has been securitized in this context. Thus, the strategic environment within which campaigns operate inform advocates’ strategies and affect the direction that campaigns take but, as the framing literature explains, these factors by themselves do not dictate the success of an advocacy campaign.

Similar limitations also appear in the studies that analyze the securitization of HIV/AIDS. When we look at the history of the HIV/AIDS campaign, we observe that the campaign succeeded once it started using a combination of human rights and development frames. The campaign resulted in the recognition of the fight against HIV/AIDS as one of the six Millennium Development Goals. The use of security frames came at the later stages of global policy making – after the issue found a place on the global agenda. In 2000, UNSC held a meeting to discuss the threat that HIV/AIDS poses to international security which concluded with a resolution stating that “if unchecked, [HIV/AIDS] may pose a risk to stability and security.”²⁵⁵ Al Gore, in addressing the meeting suggested that “the HIV/AIDS epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa is not just a

²⁵² Such as Woods 2005; Mawdsley 2007; Ayub and Kouvo 2008; Howell and Lind 2009; Walby and Monaghan 2011.

²⁵³ Walby and Monaghan 2011.

²⁵⁴ Davis 2006; and Walby and Monaghan 2011, 274.

²⁵⁵ S/RES/1308, 17 July 2000.

humanitarian crisis. It is a security crisis because it threatens not just individual citizens, but the very institutions that define and defend the character of a society.”²⁵⁶

When approached from the securitization literature’s perspective the reason behind these actors’ adoption of the security language is to justify the use of extraordinary measures in addressing the problem. It is true that, like any other instance of framing, securitization shaped the direction of the campaign by emphasizing one aspect of the issue over the others. This act of packaging the issue then, as also argued by the framing and TANS literatures, informed the policies developed. Yet, as we see in the case of the HIV/AIDS, the policies developed based on a security frame are not necessarily the military ones. Recognizing this does not take away from the criticisms waged against the implications of the policies developed. As Elbe argues, the recent shift from a human rights frame to a security frame moved the issue away from civil society groups (which traditionally stood at the center of the efforts to eradicate HIV/AIDS) to state institutions and replaced the concerns about human rights with that of state security.²⁵⁷ However, we benefit from an analysis of securitization through framing because it highlights the varying policy implications that securitization might lead to.

In the above reviewed studies securitization is argued to be an undesirable process as it is expected to lead to the use of extraordinary measures. Yet, not everybody agrees with this assumption, for instance, Maertens argue that securitization of the environmental issues could lead to a different type of de-politicization where the

²⁵⁶ Koblentz 2010, 96.

²⁵⁷ Elbe 2006.

emphasis on the security implications of these issues open up more room for non-politicized scientific approaches to be heard.²⁵⁸

It is also important to note that not all studies suggest that the use of security frames lead to development of undesired global policies. For instance, in the case of women's rights, Hudson suggests that the securitization of women's rights issues paved the way to the signing of UNSC Resolution 1325 which recognizes "the importance of women in international peace and security, making women and women's needs relevant to negotiating peace agreements, planning refugee camps and peacekeeping operations, reconstructing war torn societies, and ultimately making gender equality relevant to every single Security Council action,"²⁵⁹ and therefore securitization led to a positive outcome.

Approaching the issue from these studies' perspective highlights two factors: (i) security frames provide a unique opportunity to get states' attention to an issue that they would not otherwise be willing to address, and (ii) using security frames come with a price to pay in the long-run. Comparing these insights with the above discussed successful examples of non-securitized and de-securitized campaigns begs the question: if a campaign can succeed without a security frame and if securitizing an issue comes with a price, then why do advocates use such frames? Approaching securitization as an instance of framing and utilizing the lessons gained through framing and TANs literatures would help us explore these questions.

Attempts to Start a Dialogue between Securitization and Framing Literatures

The brief overview presented above illustrates that a number of case studies applied the insights gained from securitization literature in their attempts to explain the

²⁵⁸ Maertens 2013.

²⁵⁹ Hudson 2010, 2. Hudson refers to this discursive move as an attempt to "humanize security." See also Rehn and Sirleaf 2002.

role of security frames in leading to advocacy success. Nevertheless, these studies' contributions remain limited as they conducted their analysis by treating securitization as a unique process to be distinguished from other instances of framing. The studies that analyzed securitization of advocacy campaigns mostly replicated the insights and the premises of securitization literature onto their subject of analysis rather than combining them with those of framing literature. This resulted in the treatment of securitization as a distinct process rather than an instance of framing which in return led to under-analyzed assumptions to be made about the importance and dynamics of securitization.

A small number of scholars started to take an issue with this approach and problematized the limited dialogue between securitization and framing literatures.²⁶⁰ Their main concern is the securitization literature's portrayal of "security as a unique discourse with a distinct logic and political effect."²⁶¹ This attributed uniqueness is a reflection of the assumption that securitizing an issue brings it out of the realm of normal politics and into the "realm of exception."²⁶² Yet, as critics highlight what constitutes normal realm of politics is problematic as it is not a definitive arena.²⁶³ For that reason, security, according to these critics, can be considered as another "master frame" that leads to particular set of actions just like other master frames.²⁶⁴

Those who call for further collaboration between framing and securitization literatures also argue that even though these two fields tend to keep their approaches separate, significant commonalities exist between the two. As Entman puts it, framing is,

²⁶⁰ Watson 2011; 2012; Pinto 2014.

²⁶¹ Watson 2012, 289.

²⁶² Such as Abrahamsen 2005; Stritzel 2007; Hansen and Nissenbaum 2009.

²⁶³ For instance, Watson (2011) problematizes this idea of exceptionalism in analyzing Buzan and Waever's (1998) discussion on "institutionalized securitization" and questions how something can remain to be exceptional and out of the political realm once it is institutionalized.

²⁶⁴ Watson 2012.

“selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.”²⁶⁵ In that respect, as Watson evaluates, securitization is an example of such process with a specific focus on defining a problem as a security threat and it needs to be treated as such.²⁶⁶

This study builds on the lessons of this newly developing approach and conducts its analysis by applying the insights gained from the framing literature to the study of securitization of transnational advocacy campaigns. By adopting such an approach the study aims to test whether the uniqueness attributed to security is a consequence of the myopic focus of the securitization literature and, if that is the case, which factors can better explain advocates’ decisions to use these frames.

Limitations of Using Securitization Theory in Explaining Advocacy Success

The literature has provided important insights into the inner dynamics of transnational advocacy campaigns and the role they play in shaping global politics. However, despite the recent attempts to create a dialogue between framing and securitization literatures, in its current state, the literature suffers from conceptual and methodological limitations in illustrating the role that security frames play in the success of advocacy campaigns.

The limited dialogue between securitization, framing and TANs literatures curtails the securitization literature’s ability to explain the motivations behind adopting a security frame and the conditions that translate such choices into campaign success. In its current state, the answer that the securitization literature provides for such an inquiry is relatively

²⁶⁵ Entman 1993, 52.

²⁶⁶ Watson 2012.

straight forward: actors resort to security frames in appealing to states' agendas and such an attempt brings success (given that the audience is convinced about the security implications of the issue at hand) because states prioritize security concerns over everything else. Yet as explained in detail above, the framing and TANs literatures illustrate that: (i) advocates can have a number of motivations when framing an issue in a particular way; (ii) advocates might have different audiences that they want to influence; and (iii) states might be more receptive of different frames for varying reasons (such as moral, economic, and political factors). Limitedness of studies that employ these insights into the study of securitized transnational advocacy campaigns creates the risk of overlooking these dynamics.

Similarly, these studies also run the risk of overlooking previously failed attempts to securitize an issue. Lack of such insights can create the illusion that securitization of an issue was inevitable or that securitization played a determining role in the success of a campaign, which may not have been the case. For instance, Elbe presents a detailed analysis of how HIV/AIDS has been recently securitized and discusses the implications of such securitization.²⁶⁷ While Elbe's study tells us a great deal about the impact that security frames had at the policy implementation stage, it overlooks the previously failed attempts to securitize HIV/AIDS. Similarly, in her discussion of women's rights, Hudson limits her analysis to what this study refers to as political commitment stage by focusing on how women's rights issues are framed as security threats and found their way to UNSC resolutions.²⁶⁸ While Hudson's study affords a detailed account of how and why the issue was framed as a security threat at that particular stage, its limited focus on one

²⁶⁷ Elbe 2006.

²⁶⁸ Hudson 2010.

stage curtails its ability to fully appreciate the framing efforts leading up to the political commitment stage, as well as the implications of security frames in shaping the policies developed after the UNSC Resolution.

The existing works on securitized examples of transnational advocacy campaigns also suffer from methodological shortcomings. The studies in the literature are generally composed of single-case studies²⁶⁹ or edited volumes.²⁷⁰ While case studies contribute to our understanding of social phenomena,²⁷¹ relying solely on case-study method limits the “opportunities for systematically testing hypotheses.”²⁷² The lack of comparative studies presents a problem as it makes it difficult for us to observe “the dogs that didn’t bark.” In other words, the lack of systematic comparison across cases limits our ability to identify the cases where either attempts to securitize did not hold, or cases where securitized campaigns fell short of claiming a place on the global agenda.

The lack of systematic comparison across cases also means that the campaigns where success reached without resorting to a security frame get overlooked. This, in return, results in the formulation of untested assumptions about both the frequency at which security frames are used and the extent to which securitization positively correlates with the success of transnational advocacy efforts. As discussed above, many campaigns such as Female Genital Mutilation, Maternal Mortality, Child Labor and International Criminal Court (ICC) have reached considerable levels of success in creating global policies without resorting to a security frame. The lack of systematic comparison

²⁶⁹ Such as Sasse 2005; Elbe 2006; Jackson 2006; Williams 2008; Hudson 2010.

²⁷⁰ Such as Balzacq 2011b. While presenting interesting arguments, the contribution these studies make to our understanding of the role of security frames remains limited as these edited volumes concentrate on providing parallel stories rather than engaging in a systematic comparison across cases.

²⁷¹ For more on the merits of case-study method, see Lijphart 1971.

²⁷² Collier 1993.

overlooks cases like these and creates a misleadingly positive perception about the extent to which securitization matters.

It is important to address the shortcomings of the literature and understand whether securitization matters for three main reasons. First, it is critical for our ability to move the theoretical discussion forward. The widening and deepening of the field of security has been both a significant and a risky direction to take. While this approach allows us to appreciate the dynamic nature of the security field, it also runs the risk of categorizing anything and everything as a security threat. This in turn, can potentially eliminate the securitization literature's analytical leverage and turn the concept of security into an empty signifier.

Second, testing the positive assumptions made by the securitization literature about the role that security frames play in bringing success to advocacy campaigns is important in improving our understanding of advocacy campaigns; the advocates' framing choices; and the dynamics that translate these choices into success.

Third, it is important to consider the question of "why securitize" because it has real world implications. As the above presented discussion reveals, framing an issue in a particular way shapes whether the issue gets attention and if it does, in which venues and through which policies. Securitization "often does more than just potentially open the political scene to groups from the extreme right, for example. It entails structural effects by reconfiguring and ordering societies on the model of emergency and exception."²⁷³ Therefore, in dealing with an issue that has a potential to create a lasting impact on how we perceive and conduct politics, it is crucial to discern the nuances that are otherwise disregarded.

²⁷³ CASE 2006, 455. See also Aradau 2004; Huysmans 2004; Behnke 2006.

The Study's Contribution to the Literature

The above review of the literature illustrates that applying the lessons of the securitization literature has been useful for both the study of transnational advocacy campaigns and also for the securitization literature itself. The former benefitted from the detailed analysis of securitized advocacy campaigns, whereas the latter benefitted from the application of the theory at the transnational level. Yet these studies' contribution to our understanding of why advocacy campaigns use security frames remain to be as limited as the premises on which they establish their insights. These limitations prevent the studies from questioning multiple dynamics that shape the decisions to use security frames and varying implications such decisions have on the direction and the success level of a campaign.

The conventional answer to this study's research question is that security frames are uniquely powerful in bringing success to transnational advocacy campaigns. Yet, such an answer begs the question of why security frames are chosen only under certain conditions and why not all securitized campaigns succeed. It is not possible to credibly answer these questions by the existing studies as there are not enough comparative studies to test their validity.

I explore these questions by treating securitization as an instance of framing and by applying the insights and arguments developed in the TANs and framing literatures to test those of securitization literature. The study puts the uniqueness attributed to security frames into question. In doing so, rather than claiming security frames to be epiphenomenal, the study illustrates the importance of developing a more nuanced understanding of securitization by showing the similarities between how security frames

and other frames function. On the one hand, such analysis provides a chance to recalibrate the importance attached to security frames and better situate them within the broader field of advocacy frames. Such an approach is especially important in reevaluating the reasons behind the sustained use of security frames even when the frame is no longer perceived to be desirable. On the other hand, the analysis betters our understanding of securitization by deepening our knowledge about the dynamics and motivations surrounding the decisions to adopt such frames.

The study's contribution to the literature is not limited to the securitization studies. The study also contributes to the framing and TANs literatures by expanding our knowledge of how TANs function as well as by deepening our insights into the dynamics of norm-building. The study presents evidence that highlights the role of complex set of structural and non-structural factors in shaping not only the advocates' framing choices but also determining the level of impact that framing choices have on the success of advocacy campaigns. In addition to these theoretical implications, the study also makes methodological contributions and illustrates the importance of conducting more systematic case comparisons to better explain the claims that single-case studies fall short of adequately testing.

The study conducts its analysis in three stages and each stage helps this dissertation make the above listed arguments from a different angle. The medium-n comparison discussed in the following chapter challenges the claims about the uniqueness of security frames and shows the importance of comparative analysis. The comparative case study that follows further tests the role of security frames and also provides insights into dynamics and mechanisms of framing. The in-depth analysis of the

Conflict Diamonds campaign then presents a closer look at a securitized advocacy campaign and allows us to test whether the insights gained from the literature (that are also evidenced in Chapter Four) can be used in explaining the dynamics of securitized advocacy campaigns.

CHAPTER 3

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS' USE OF SECURITY FRAMES

Introduction

This study addresses the question of “why securitize” in three stages. In the first stage, the study tests the assumption that suggests a correlation between the use of security frames and successfully addressing a transnational problem. The second stage engages in a comparative analysis of nine securitized, non-securitized and de-securitized cases in order to better understand the factors that shape advocates’ framing choices and how such choices translate into advocacy success. Based on the findings of the first two stages, the third stage conducts a detailed analysis of a securitized case (Conflict Diamonds) to reveal how the dynamics identified in the previous chapters play out in a securitized campaign.

This chapter is dedicated to the first stage of the analysis and it engages in a systematic comparison of thirty-eight cases of global advocacy campaigns to disclose whether securitized campaigns are more likely to succeed than non-securitized ones. In doing so, the chapter discusses the case selection, coding and the analysis of the data. The findings challenge the importance and the uniqueness attributed to security frames in three ways: first, the comparative analysis shows that advocacy campaigns do not resort to security frames as frequently as implied by the literature. Second, even when security language is adopted, evidence does not show a clear link between the adoption of a security frame and success at any stage of global agenda setting or policy making. Thus, as the next chapter will further elaborate, adopting a security frame is revealed to be

neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for success. Lastly, the findings also illustrate that the sustained use of frames in transitioning from the political commitment stage to policy implementation stage is not unique to security frames and the impact it has on policy making.

Case Selection

Defining a “case”

In compiling the comparative part of the study, the first order of business was to define which campaigns would be counted as a “case” for the purpose of this study.

There are a countless number of transnational problems and consequently there are a number of efforts – ranging from scattered to coordinated – to address them. However, analyzing all of these issues together is neither practical nor analytically useful. Thus, I have begun by elaborating the criteria on which the universe of cases was compiled.

The first criterion in defining the universe of cases was the time period during which the advocacy efforts took place. The divided nature of the Cold War politics confined the efforts to address transnational problems into limited geographies. For that reason, to be able to talk about ‘global’ agenda setting and policy making, I have decided to focus on agenda setting and policy making efforts that either started or were/are active in the post-Cold War era.

The second criterion was regarding the nature of the efforts in addressing a transnational problem. Since my goal in this study is to understand the effects of adopting a security language for advocacy campaigns, I needed to focus on cases where we observe a coordinated campaign. Transnational advocacy campaigns are not the only actors that initiate global agenda setting and policy making. States themselves do take

initiatives in prioritizing transnational problems on their agendas and they sometimes resort to security frames in doing so. For instance, the recent Ebola outbreak was quick to become a priority on the global agenda and has also undergone a rapid process of securitization, wherein a number of political leaders openly called it a threat to national and international security.²⁷⁴ However, such agenda setting and policy making was not initiated by cross-sectorial global advocacy efforts. Since the goal of the research is to understand the impact that security frames have on global agenda setting and policy making efforts, the Ebola issue is not counted as a case for the purpose of this study.

The third criterion was the level of initial success reached by the advocacy efforts. There are a countless number of attempts to start transnational campaigns in addressing various transnational problems. However, most of these efforts have not garnered enough support to claim a place on the global agenda, and hence remained to be “non-issues.”²⁷⁵ Since the primary purpose of this study is to understand the link between the use of security frames and success, rather than focusing on cases that failed from the start, I chose to focus on cases that reached at least an initial level of success.²⁷⁶

Compiling the universe of cases

Having set the basic criteria for choosing the cases and given the scope and the purposes of this study, Joshua Busby’s dataset was used as a starting point in determining the universe of cases to be analyzed. Busby’s dataset (2010) is titled “Transnational

²⁷⁴ For instance, President Obama in his speech at the UN General Assembly stated that “[t]his [Ebola crisis] is more than a health crisis... This is a growing threat to regional and global security. In Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone, public health systems are near collapse. Economic growth is slowing dramatically. If this epidemic is not stopped, this disease could cause a humanitarian catastrophe across the region.” (“Ebola is a ‘National Security Priority,’ Obama says,” CNN, 8 September 2014, available at <<http://edition.cnn.com/2014/09/07/politics/ebola-national-security-obama/>>, accessed 10 October 2014.)

²⁷⁵ Bob 2005; Carpenter 2007; 2014.

²⁷⁶ Here, the initial level of success is measured by the campaign’s ability to attract “gatekeepers” attention by getting them at least acknowledge the importance of the issue (evaluated based on references made to the issue on the gatekeepers’ websites and publications).

Principled Advocacy Movements in the Post-Cold War Era (1990 -)” and it is composed of information regarding thirty-six transnational advocacy movements with varying degrees of agenda setting and “political success.”²⁷⁷ The list of cases provided by Busby (2010) is an extensive but not an exhaustive one.²⁷⁸ Nonetheless, it is still the most systematic medium-N dataset available at this time.

The original dataset developed by Busby does not aim to identify or compare advocacy frames used by “moral movements.” Rather it aims to present a list of all major global advocacy campaigns conducted in the aftermath of the Cold War. Since frames played no role in the composition of the original dataset, using it as the starting point helps this study to stay away from a potential “selection bias.”

Since I used Busby’s dataset only as a starting point and since it did not provide information on the frames used by the campaigns, I expanded the dataset in a number of ways. As a first step, the dataset was used only as a starting point to compile a list of cases to include in the study and not as the primary source of information on any of the major indicators pertaining to this study’s analysis. Additionally, to ensure validity, the original dataset was cross-checked to highlight any differences of opinion or contradictory evidence that might exist in the literature.²⁷⁹ As the focus of Busby’s dataset was not security frames in particular, or frames in general, I conducted an extensive analysis of the available sources to identify and add any campaigns that (i)

²⁷⁷ The dataset provides information on the targets of the campaigns, their main goals, the leading organizations involved, the time frames of the campaigns, and the campaign outcomes along with an assessment of success or failure of the campaigns (Busby 2010).

²⁷⁸ The campaigns that solely targeted multinational corporations; campaigns that did not attract a certain level of attention, i.e. non-issues, as well as cases where the advocacy efforts came to an end before 1990 were not included in the dataset.

²⁷⁹ In cases where difference of opinion or contradictory evidence was found, the reasons for inconsistency were analyzed and executive decisions were made in choosing which data to include in the study.

were left out of the original dataset as they did not fit the criteria used by Busby, or (ii) gained momentum after the original dataset was compiled.

In an effort to track down the missing cases, I surveyed various academic sources to identify the works written on transnational advocacy campaigns and securitization. I surveyed *Academic Search Premier*, *Social Science Citation Index*, *ProQuest Political Science*, *Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO)*, *Project MUSE*, *Peace Research Abstracts*, *LexisNexis Academic* and *Google Scholar* databases searching for “campaign,” “global,” “transnational advocacy/issue networks,” “framing,” “securitization,” “security,” and “threat” separately as keywords. I then read through the identified scholarly work and the works cited by them to track down understudied cases.

As is discussed in detail below, finding a place on the UN Security Council’s agenda is one of the indicators of securitization used for the purpose of this study. Therefore, to supplement the above explained survey, I have gone through the UN Security Council Resolutions since 1990²⁸⁰ and looked for non-traditional security issues that found a place on the Council’s agenda. When such instances are detected, I have conducted a search on worldwide web to see if any campaign could be associated with the issue at hand.

I have also gone through the websites of the NGOs who played a central role in the campaigns analyzed by this study to ascertain whether there are any new issues where the NGOs use a security language in explaining or advocating and that has not been studied academically.²⁸¹ When security language is identified, a closer reading of the

²⁸⁰ See “Security Council Resolutions,” available at <<http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/>>, accessed 1 August 2014.

²⁸¹ These NGOs are ActionAid; Amnesty International; Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC); CARE International; Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation; Doctors without Borders; Friends of

material was conducted to see (i) whether the context of the security language was national/international security, and (ii) whether the issue has garnered enough support to be counted as a “case” for the purpose of this study. In determining the level of support that such campaigns received, I looked into (i) whether any other non-governmental or governmental organization has picked the issue up or lent support to it or (ii) given that an issue could be brought to global agenda by the efforts of only one NGO, whether the issue has found a place on the UN agenda is used as a measure of agenda setting success, as discussed in detail below. As a last measure, a web search was conducted using the above listed keywords to double-check for any websites, news items, or reports that might have gone unnoticed in conducting the prior searches.

As a result of the data collection process, six new cases that used a security frame at least at one stage of global agenda setting and policy making were identified and added to the universe of cases to be analyzed. These cases are Avian Influenza, Conflict Diamonds, Climate Refugees, Illegal Wildlife Trade, Sexual Violence in Conflict, and Women Peace and Security.

While Busby’s dataset constituted the pool of cases that this study used as a starting point, not all of the cases in the dataset were included in this study. For the cases to contribute to the purpose of this study it was essential that (i) frames that campaigns used, and (ii) the success that the campaigns reached at different stages of global agenda setting and policy making can be traced over time. Four of the cases listed in the original dataset (Civilian Protection, Marine Conservation, Nuclear Non-Proliferation and

the Earth; Global Witness; GreenPeace; Human Rights Watch; International Center for Transitional Justice; International Crisis Group; International Federation for Human Rights; Oxfam International; Partnership Africa Canada; Save the Children International; Transparency International; World Wildlife Fund.

Refugees) were left out after initial analysis as they do not fit into the criteria used by this research.

The issue of Marine Conservation was left out as the initial research indicated that the advocacy efforts surrounding the issue was too disperse to analyze the use of a particular frame over another at any stage of global agenda setting and policy making.²⁸² Civilian Protection,²⁸³ Nuclear Non-Proliferation²⁸⁴ and Refugees²⁸⁵ campaigns were excluded from the analysis as these issues were already on the global agenda before the campaigns under investigation have picked up. As opposed to other cases in the dataset, these campaigns did not aim to bring the issues onto the global agenda but rather aimed to rekindle the global interest in these issues and revitalize the efforts to develop policies in addressing them.

Operationalizing the Variables

Once the universe of cases to be analyzed was determined, the next step was to decide how to define the key concepts of securitization and success to test whether any correlation exists between the two. To that end, I developed the data in two ways. I added securitization as the independent variable and then I took a detailed look at the dependent

²⁸² The efforts to prioritize marine conservation (“preservation and protection of marine ecosystems” from human-caused damages) on the global agenda came in waves and focused on different aspects of the issue at different times. Some important accomplishments of these efforts took place during the Cold-War such as the establishment of the International Whaling Commission in 1949 and Convention on Fishing and Conservation of Living Resources of the High Seas that was signed in 1966 (See such as Andresen and Skodvin 2008; Skodvin and Andresen 2003.)

²⁸³ The issue has already been on the global agenda since 1949 Geneva Convention (“Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Geneva, 12 August 1949,” ICRC, available at <<https://www.icrc.org/ihl/INTRO/380>>, accessed 27 June 2014.)

²⁸⁴ The early stages of the non-proliferation efforts have been initiated by states and NGOs only came into the picture starting with the Third Review Conference (See Muller 1994).

²⁸⁵ The NGO involvement in the issue of refugees has come after the 1951 Refugee Convention – which marked the political commitment stage - and NGOs have been active at –what this study categorizes as – the policy implementation stage and focused primarily on encouraging states to disburse funds in times of crises (“The 1951 Refugee Convention,” UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees], available at <<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49da0e466.html>>, accessed 1 June 2013.)

variable (i.e. success) and analyzed it separately for three stages of global policy making: agenda setting, political commitment, and policy implementation.²⁸⁶

Coding the Independent Variable: Securitization

For the purpose of this study, an issue is identified as securitized when (i) the issue is defined as a security threat/concern; (ii) the issue's worthiness of international attention is explained based on the security threat it presents; (iii) the campaign asks a security organization (i.e. the UNSC) to take action; and/or (iv) military response is the suggested course of action. Various documents such as reports, press releases, letters to the editors, mission statements, and conference proposals were analyzed in coding the securitization variable.

For every stage of global policy making, I analyzed the cases to see if security frame was the dominant frame at that particular stage and if it was, then I identified when and by whom it was introduced.²⁸⁷ As discussed in the previous chapter, securitization literature suggests that understanding a securitizing move requires us to understand at least three factors: who the securitizing actor is,²⁸⁸ the venue in which the securitizing move takes place and the audience²⁸⁹ - the actor(s) whose opinion that the securitizing actor aims to shape. Following this insight, once the security rhetoric was identified, the second step was to look at the "securitizing actor," the actor or the actors who introduced

²⁸⁶ Busby does not provide separate data for political commitment and policy implementation stages in his study. The original dataset provides data on what this study calls "political commitment" stage and does not reflect on the extent to which the target actors followed through with their publicly made commitments in solving the problem at hand. The information regarding "policy implementation" stage was collected by this study and incorporated into the dataset.

²⁸⁷ It is understood that every campaign is composed of a variety of actors and each actor has its own internal discussions and disagreements about how an issue should be defined. Therefore, unanimity among actors' views was not considered as the benchmark in deciding whether a frame is dominant or not. Instead, a frame is considered dominant when the actors that are central to a campaign use the frame in defining the issue.

²⁸⁸ For a detailed discussion on the role and function of securitizing actors see Vaguhn 2009.

²⁸⁹ See Buzan et al. 1998; Bourbeau 2006; Floyd 2007.

and/or championed the security frame. The possibility that there could be more than one set of actors who use different frames was taken into consideration and identified when detected. As the third step the audience and the venue of the securitizing move were identified. Venue refers to the place where the security frame was championed and the audience refers to the actors whose behavior that the advocates aim to change (See Table 1).

When the dominant frame adopted at a particular stage was not a security one, then, the dominant frame at that stage was identified. I acknowledged that (i) at any stage there could be a combination of frames that is dominant (such as the use of human health and environment frames at the political commitment stage of Anti-toxics campaigns),²⁹⁰ and (ii) at any stage we can see shifts between different frames (such as the shift that HIV/AIDS campaign has experienced from health to human rights and then to development frames at the agenda setting stage²⁹¹). Such instances were noted when observed.

It was also acknowledged that security frame might have been introduced at a stage yet might have fallen short of becoming the dominant frame. These cases were also noted with the idea that presence of a security frame, even if it is not the dominant one, is important in understanding the processes through which securitizing moves take place.

²⁹⁰ See Szasz (1994) for a detailed discussion on the “environmental justice movement.”

²⁹¹ Such as Busby 2010.

Table 1: Sample Coding for Securitization

campaign	policy outcome					
	security frame	dominant frame	type of security rhetoric	author/ securitizing actor	venue	audience/ target
AIDS campaign	yes	security ²⁹²	"threat to international security" "threat to national security", ²⁹³	President Bill Clinton and Vice-President Al Gore ²⁹⁴	UNSC ²⁹⁵	states ²⁹⁶

Coding the Dependent Variable: Success of Global Policy Making

Global policy making was divided into three stages for the purpose of this study.

The first stage is titled “agenda setting stage” and refers to the placing of the issue on the

²⁹² For a detailed account of how the issue of HIV/AIDS got securitized see International Crisis Group 2001; Elbe 2003, 2006; Prins 2004; Garrett 2005; McInnes 2006; Barnett and Prins 2006; Harris and Siplon 2007; McInnes and Rushton 2010; Ingram 2013.

²⁹³ For instance Al Gore stated that “No one can doubt the havoc wreaked and the toll exacted by HIV/AIDS do threaten our security. The heart of the security agenda is protecting lives -- and we now know that the number of people who will die of AIDS in the first decade of the 21st Century will rival the number that died in all the wars in all the decades of the 20th Century” (United Nations Security Council Opening Session, 10 January 2000). In his opening remarks at the UNSC meeting Al Gore also claimed that “AIDS is a global aggressor that must be defeated... AIDS is one of the most devastating threats ever to confront the world community.” (“UN Security Council Session on AIDS in Africa Remarks Prepared for Delivery by Vice President Al Gore,” 10 January 2000, available at <http://clinton4.nara.gov/textonly/WH/EOP/OVP/speeches/unaid_health.html>, accessed 12 February 2013.)

²⁹⁴ For instance, Clinton defined HIV/AIDS as “a threat to US national security because of its catastrophic social consequences, particularly in the developing world” (CNN, 30 April 2000, available at <http://archives.cnn.com/2000/US/04/30/aids.threat.02/>), accessed 12 February 2013.)

²⁹⁵ The US has used its turn at the rotating presidency of the UNSC to hold the first ever Security Council meeting on a health issue which marked the beginning of approaching the issue of HIV/AIDS from a security perspective at the global level. (“Security Council Holds Debate on Impact of AIDS on Peace and Security in Africa,” UN Press Release SC/6781, 10 January 2010, available at <<http://www.un.org/press/en/2000/20000110.sc6781.doc.html>>, accessed 12 February 2012.)

²⁹⁶ In his speech at the UNSC’s special session on HIV/AIDS, Al Gore not only detailed out the steps that the US has taken in addressing the issue but also declared the fight against HIV/AIDS a battle to be fought through collaboration among states. “We here in this room – representing the billions of people of the world -- we must become the promise of hope and of change. We must become the promise of life itself. We have the knowledge, the compassion, and the means to make a difference. We must acknowledge our moral duty and accept our great and grave responsibility to succeed.” (“UN Security Council Session on AIDS in Africa Remarks Prepared for Delivery by Vice President Al Gore,” 10 January 2000, available at <http://clinton4.nara.gov/textonly/WH/EOP/OVP/speeches/unaid_health.html>, accessed 12 February 2013.)

global agenda by convincing the allies and the target actors to the significance of the issue. The second stage is the “political commitment” stage. This stage refers to the level of global policy making where target actors go beyond acknowledging the issue’s importance and publicly commit to address it. The third stage is the “policy implementation” stage and refers to the phase where target actors follow through with the commitments they made and take tangible steps in addressing the problem.

Agenda Setting Success

The primary indicator I used for measuring success at the agenda setting stage was UN General Assembly Resolutions. The issues that led to UNGA resolutions were considered as salient on the global agenda as resolutions are “formal expressions of the opinion or will of United Nations organs.”²⁹⁷ Resolutions require either simple majority (for most of the issues) or qualified majority for “important issues” (such as the ones concerning security and peace, and membership issues). For that reason, they are considered to be better indicators of the saliency of an issue on the UN agenda than mere discussions on the issue at the General Assembly (which does not require majority of the states’ agreement). Moreover, since the resolutions are not binding, they make it possible to distinguish between issues that only found a place on the agenda from the issues that has led to political commitment and policy implementation.

After conducting this analysis I realized that this indicator alone was not enough to understand all of the cases at hand as not all cases targeted the UN as its venue. Notably, the cases that are mainly economic had smaller set of states whose behavior they aimed to change and therefore, they pursued their campaigns in different venues

²⁹⁷ United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld Library, “UN Resolution,” available at <<http://research.un.org/en/docs/resolutions>>, accessed 12 February 2013.

(such as the G8). Therefore, I expanded the indicator to include all the resolutions taken by the targeted venue given that the resolutions require the support of at least the majority of the members.

Political Commitment Success

As discussed in the previous chapter, successfully putting an issue on the global agenda does not guarantee that this success will translate into successfully convincing the relevant actors to commit to solve the issue. Many issues promoted by transnational advocacy campaigns find a place on the global agenda yet fail to initiate action on the part of the target actors. International treaties become binding when they are ratified and ratification is neither automatic nor obligatory.²⁹⁸ As Barrett articulates “writing a treaty that tells parties to reduce their emissions is easy. Making countries want to participate in such a treaty, and making participants want to comply with it, is much harder.”²⁹⁹ Therefore, it is important to analyze the connection between security frames and success at political commitment and policy implementation stages separately from the connection they have at the agenda setting stage.

For the purpose of this study, a campaign is considered to have successfully created political commitment when the target actors take an action to declare their commitment to addressing the issue. This commitment can be in various forms, including but not limited to: pledging of funds; attending to the related international meetings and conferences; endorsing a suggested meeting, resolution or treaty; agreeing to become a member of the related international body; or signing an international treaty. Once the level of success at this stage was identified, various documents such as treaties, protocols

²⁹⁸ Simmons 2010.

²⁹⁹ Barrett 2003: xiv. For more on different arguments in the literature on why states commit to international treaties see such as Moravcsik 2000; Hathaway 2007; and Simmons 2009; 2010.

and international institutions’ mission statements’ were analyzed in deciding whether security frames were used or not using the criteria explained above.

Measuring success at political commitment stage proved to be more difficult as different issues require different set of actions to be taken by the target actors. For instance, some cases require mainly financial commitment yet others require the establishment of a new institution, while others necessitates changes to be made to domestic laws and regulations. Therefore, to account for these nuances, I chose to approach “success” at this stage as a “sphere” rather than a single point to be reached (See Table 2).

Table 2: Sample Coding – Success at Political Commitment Stage

campaign	preparing reports	pledging of funds	attending to related international meetings and conferences	endorsing a suggested meeting, resolution or treaty	agreeing to become a member of the related international body	signing an international treaty
Anti-GMOs	no ³⁰⁰	NA ³⁰¹	yes ³⁰²	mixed ³⁰³	NA ³⁰⁴	mixed ³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ No specific report that was prepared by states prior to the political commitment stage can be associated with meetings conducted at this stage.

³⁰¹ The primary goal of the signed Protocol is “international agreement which aims to ensure the safe handling, transport and use of living modified organisms (LMOs) resulting from modern biotechnology that may have adverse effects on biological diversity, taking also into account risks to human health.” (“The Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety,” available at <<http://bch.cbd.int/protocol>>, accessed 18 May 2012.) Pledging of funds by the states in dealing with the issue was not a priority for the campaign; hence, it is indicated as NA (Not Applicable).

³⁰² A series of meetings took place which led to the Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety. (“History of the Convention,” available at <<http://www.cbd.int/history/>>, accessed 18 May 2012.)

³⁰³ While the meetings and the signed Protocol has brought a number of states and non-state actors together, it did not get endorsement from the main producers and traders of genetically modified organisms. (“Parties to the Protocol and Signature and Ratification of the Supplementary Protocol,” <<http://bch.cbd.int/protocol/parties/>>, accessed 18 May 2012.)

³⁰⁴ The signed protocol does not envision the creation of a new international body.

³⁰⁵ The Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety was adopted in 2000, went into effect in 2003 yet not all related parties have ratified the treaty such as the major producers the USA, Canada and Argentina. For a list of signatory countries see “Parties to the Protocol and Signature and Ratification of the Supplementary Protocol,” available at <<http://bch.cbd.int/protocol/parties/>>, accessed 18 May 2012.

In analyzing the degree of success at the political commitment stage I chose to take the actions identified by the advocates as the baseline and I compared it against the actions taken by the target actors. This made it possible to account for the unique characteristics of each issue without essentializing one form of international action as the sole indicator of political commitment to a global problem.

In conducting this study, I acknowledged that even the most successful cases of global policy making will not be able to get all the target actors to completely commit to a cause and/or comply with the commitments they make. However, looking whether majority of the actors in the system committed to the problem is also not a reliable measure since commitment on the part of actors with lesser significance does not prove success. That is to say, for instance, we cannot expect all the countries to sign the Landmines Treaty before we call it a success yet we also cannot measure the International Campaign to Ban on Landmines' (ICBL) success based on the commitment made by states that neither use nor stockpile landmines. Therefore, in measuring the success of the campaigns, I analyzed the primary target actors' commitment and compliance. The cases where we observe an overall commitment or compliance while a few target actors fall short of doing so is indicated as "partial success" in the dataset to account for different levels of success that can be reached by different campaigns.

Policy Implementation Success

Target actors' public commitments to address a transnational problem do not necessarily translate into changes in their policies; therefore, it is essential to distinguish political commitment from successful policy implementation in analyzing advocacy campaigns' success. As Risse and Ropp point out in their analysis of human rights norms,

“... it is one thing to argue that there is a global human rights polity composed of international regimes, organizations, and supportive advocacy coalitions. It is quite another to claim that these global norms have made a real difference in the daily practices of national governments.”³⁰⁶ This is primarily because, “even if a state believes that signing a treaty is in its best interest, the political calculations associated with the subsequent decision to comply with international agreements are distinct and different.”³⁰⁷ Ratification of a treaty is generally considered as an important benchmark of compliance but norms can also be internalized without or prior to ratification.³⁰⁸

For the purpose of this study, a campaign is considered to be successful in leading to policy implementation when the target actors implement the policy that advocates champion through some domestic/internal decision-making processes. This could range from disbursement of pledged funds, ratification of treaties to initiation of domestic legal or policy changes (See Table 3).

Table 3: Sample Coding – Success at Policy Implementation Stage

Campaign	disbursement of pledged funds	initiation of domestic legal or policy changes
Biodiversity	mixed ³⁰⁹	mixed ³¹⁰

³⁰⁶ Risse and Ropp 1999.

³⁰⁷ Haas 2000:45. It is also important to note that there are arguments in the literature which suggest that states’ commitments and compliance are closely connected. The argument is that states “take into account the likely costs and benefits of complying with a treaty when they decide whether to commit to a treaty.” (Hathaway 2007, 590) (See also Downs, Rocke and Barsoom 1996; Von Stein 2005, 611) Therefore, while these two stages are analyzed separately for the purpose of this study, it is noted that there are close connections between the two.

³⁰⁸ Hathaway 2002; Simmons 2009.

³⁰⁹ The targets identified by the Convention on Biological Diversity have been only partially met. For detailed account see “Millennium Ecosystem Assessment,” available at <<http://www.unep.org/maweb/en/index.aspx>>, accessed 24 June 2013.

³¹⁰ For country based analysis of policy change see “Country Profiles,” available at <<http://www.cbd.int/countries/>>, accessed 24 June 2013.

Progress reports, news items, press releases, public statements etc. were taken into consideration in measuring success as well as securitization at the policy implementation stage. While accessing these documents was not difficult, measuring success at the policy implementation stage has proved to be the most difficult part of data collection and coding. The reason for this difficulty is twofold: first, the number of actors whose behavior that each campaign aims to change totals in the hundreds and analyzing policy implementation requires this study to look into changes in each of these actors' behaviors. This is too large of a task to undertake given the scope of the study; therefore, I needed to rely on the existing literature, where available, in understanding whether any changes can be observed in target actors' behavior. To make sure that the information is up to date, the findings of the literature were complemented with issue advocates' accounts on progresses made as well as the news articles on the issue.

The second reason why it is difficult to measure success at the policy implementation stage is due to the time-lag needed for such an analysis. That is to say, most of these campaigns require target actors to undertake significant domestic policy changes as well as to disburse significant amount of funds to comply with their commitments. There is not enough time-lag in every issue for actors to follow through with their commitments. Moreover, even when the target actors initiate the changes on paper, most of the time there is not enough time-lag to compile data to verify these commitments. Therefore, this study brings in an overall estimate of success at the policy implementation stage by looking at disbursement of pledged funds and initiation of domestic and legal changes.³¹¹

³¹¹ This needs to be distinguished from the long-term commitment and behavioral change. Since there is not enough time-lag for each campaign to analyze the latter, this study focuses on the former.

Findings

Overall Findings

The purpose of this initial analysis of the data is to take a snapshot of the bigger picture to understand whether the claims made in the literature regarding the positive impact that using security frames makes on campaigns' success are supported by the evidence. This claim has two components to it. First, it argues that the actors perceive a positive correlation between the use of security frames and successfully addressing a non-priority issue.³¹² This perception in turn creates a tendency among the actors to resort to security frames. Second, the argument suggests that the correlation between using a security frame and reaching success is not just a perceived one but rather an observable one on the ground.³¹³ Thus, the conventional wisdom is that not only security frames are frequently used but also there is a connection between resorting to such use and successfully addressing a transnational problem.

In testing these claims, as a first step, I look at the frequency at which security frames are used in comparison to other frames, as discussed in detail below. Then, I look at each stage of global agenda setting and policy making separately in the following subsections to study whether any correlation can be observed between the use of security frames and reaching success at these three different stages. This descriptive analysis is built to function as a basis for a more detailed comparative analysis conducted in the following chapter.

³¹² This argument is embedded in the literature's perception of security not as a defined arena but as a fluid domain created by speech acts, initiated by securitizing actors on the perception that the audience would be receptive to the claims of "existential threats." (For a detailed discussion see Balzacq 2005)

³¹³ Such as Hudson 2010; Hartmann 2010.

The initial analysis aims to test the frequency at which security frames are used. Even though there are differences in the frequency with which security frames are used at different stages of global agenda setting and policy making, it became clear that security frames are not used as frequently as implied by the literature (See Table 4). The comparative analysis reveals that five of the thirty-eight cases (13.2%) used a security frame as one of their dominant frames at the agenda setting stage, while thirty-three of the cases (86.8%) analyzed at this stage did not resort to a security frame in their attempts to attract allies' and target actors' attention to their causes.

Table 4: Use of Security Frames at Different Stages of Global Policy Making

number of cases	agenda setting stage	political commitment stage	policy implementation stage
security frame used	5 (13.2%)	8 (25%)	8 (28.6%)
no meaningful use of a security frame	33 (86.8%)	24 (75%)	20 (71.4%)
total	38 (100%)	32 (100%)	28 (100%)

The results for the political commitment stage also reveal that even though there is an increase in the frequency at which security frames are used, it is still not a frequently made choice. Of the thirty-two cases that successfully reached to the political commitment stage, eight cases (25%) have used a security frame as one of their dominant frames. The research has not revealed any meaningful use of security frames in the remaining twenty-four cases (75%).

The campaigns' framing choices at the policy implementation stage hints an increase in the frequency at which security frames are used but it is not strong enough to claim a systematic tendency among actors toward adopting such a frame. Of the twenty-

eight cases that have successfully reached to the policy implementation stage, eight cases (28.6%) used a security frame while the remaining twenty cases (71.4%) did not resort to such use.

This comparative data reveals two insights: First, the findings signals that, as opposed to the arguments made in the literature, no clear tendency can be observed among advocates to adopt a security frame in their attempts to get the target actors to prioritize and address an issue. Thus, the argument that global policy making is getting increasingly securitized needs to be approached with caution. This is not to deny the widening and the deepening of what security means and the evidence that shows how different issues can be framed as security threats.³¹⁴ However, I believe, this finding nonetheless shows that adopting a security frame is not an inevitable process into which every issue would eventually fall. As the comparative evidence above illustrates, majority of the campaigns that worked on prioritizing a transnational problem on the global agenda and create global action have done so without using a security frame.

Second, while the above discussed findings do not produce any evidence regarding a systematic inclination to adopt a security frame, it nonetheless illustrates an increased tendency to use a security frame as we advance in the stages of global agenda setting and policy making. This finding makes it necessary to assess each of these stages separately to reveal the potential reasons for and mechanisms of the increased inclination to use security frames and their impact on success.

The following three subsections explore three main questions: (i) is there a correlation between the use of security frames and success; (ii) are there any nuances in

³¹⁴ Such as the rise of concepts like “food security” (Cavalcanti 2005) and “environmental security” (Deudney 1990; Kakonen 1994; and Litfin 1999).

the role that security frames played and the contribution they made to different campaigns; and (iii) could the campaigns have succeeded without using a security frame?

Agenda Setting Stage

In the agenda setting stage, I analyze the framing preferences and success levels of thirty-eight transnational advocacy campaigns. The analysis reveals a lack of evidence to support the claims of correlation between the use of security frames and success reached at this level (See Table 5).

Table 5: Use of Security Frames and Success at Agenda Setting Stage

		Success	Partial success	Failure	Total
Agenda setting	Security frame used	4 (80%)	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	5 (100%)
	No use of security frames	23 (69.6%)	5 (15.2%)	5 (15.2%)	33 (100%)

An overall analysis illustrates that adopting a security frame does not guarantee success at the agenda setting stage and similarly lack of such use does not lead to systematic advocacy failure across cases. Of the five campaigns that used a security frame at the agenda setting stage four of them reached success (80%) while one campaign failed to do so (20%). Among the remaining thirty-three non-securitized cases, five of them failed at succeeding at the agenda setting stage (15.2%) while five of the campaigns reached partial success (15.2%) and the remaining twenty-three cases succeeded (69.6%) at this stage. Thus, statistically no significant difference is observed between the securitized cases and non-securitized cases in avoiding failure at this first stage (see Table 6 for the detailed list of the cases).

Table 6: Success Level of Campaigns Based on Their Use of Security Frames: Agenda Setting Stage

Agenda Setting Stage			
	Success	Partial Success	Failure
Securitized	Conflict Diamonds War Crimes Tribunals Women Peace and Security Transparency		Illegal Wildlife Trade
Non-Securitized	AIDS Campaign Anti-Smoking/Tobacco Anti-Toxics Avian Influenza Biodiversity Child Labor Child Soldiers Climate Change Climate Refugees Cluster Bombs Dams Human Trafficking Humanitarian Intervention IDPs International Criminal Court Jubilee 2000 Landmines Maternal Mortality Sexual Violence in Conflict Small Arms Sweatshops Torture Violence Against Women	Anti-GMOs Anti-War Protests Female Genital Mutilation Privacy Protection Women's Rep. Rights	Anti-IFI Demil. Of Outer Space Make Poverty History Rainforest Preservation Water Conservation

In the absence of clear evidence to support the claims of the conventional wisdom it is necessary to take a closer look at the dynamics of advocates' framing choices and the strategic environments that surround them. As is briefly discussed in this chapter and

further developed in the following, the analysis of the securitized cases highlights two important insights. Most importantly, the findings reveal that advocates tend to use security frames in combination with other frames to expand their chances at reaching out to as many potential allies and target actors as possible. Thus, even when securitization correlates with success, by itself it does not prove that success was related to the securitization of the campaign. The findings also reveal that the content of the security language – how the “security threat” was framed – plays a role in the contribution that security frames make to an advocacy campaign. Thus, as opposed to the conventional wisdom, the use of security language does not necessarily take the form of portrayal of an issue as an existential threat and depending on the particular language it involves, securitization can lead to different policy outcomes.

As discussed in the previous chapter, transnational advocacy networks need to attract a variety of actors’ attention and support to their cause in their attempts to placing their issue on the global agenda. Doing so requires them to use frames strategically to make them appeal to these actors’ interests and priorities.³¹⁵ Since different actors are amenable to different frames, campaigns frequently use a combination of frames in their advocacy efforts. The findings illustrated that such combined use of frame, i.e. multivocalization, is apparent for securitized cases as well (See Table 7).

³¹⁵ Keck and Sikkink 1998.

Table 7: Framing Choices of Securitized Campaigns at the Agenda Setting Stage

Campaign	Agenda Setting Stage						level of success
	security	human rights	humanitarian	environment	development	animal rights	
Conflict Diamonds							Success
War Crimes Tribunals							Success
Women Peace & Sec.							Success
Transparency							Success
Illegal Wildlife Trade							Failure

** Gray shaded cell indicate that the related frame is adopted by the campaign.

The closer analysis of the framing preferences of securitized campaign reveals that, at the agenda setting stage, all of the securitized cases used the security frame in combination with other frames. At the early stages of agenda setting stage, the Transparency Campaign drew a link between corruption and its impact on development. Transparency International, the global coalition against corruption, explained the problem as “corruption has dire global consequences, trapping millions in poverty and misery and breeding social, economic and political unrest... Corruption is both a cause of poverty, and a barrier to overcoming it. It is one of the most serious obstacles to reducing poverty.”³¹⁶ In this context, security was portrayed as one of the consequences of corruption and it was suggested that “corruption threatens domestic and international security and the sustainability of natural resources.”³¹⁷ Thus, while the security language was adopted it was done as a supportive frame where the immediate consequence of lack

³¹⁶ “About Us,” available at <www.transparency.org/about_us>, accessed 8 May 2012.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

of transparency was portrayed as a developmental problem and security risks were portrayed only as a potential by-product of such developmental problems.

Conflict Diamonds campaign also used a combination of human rights and security frames at the early stages of the agenda setting stage. As it is discussed in detail in Chapter 5, at this early stage, a security frame was utilized to attract the attention of the UNSC³¹⁸ and get their support to the issue while human rights frame was utilized to get the industry to react by pinpointing the industry's responsibility in the trade of illicit diamonds and by threatening them with an industry-scale boycott.³¹⁹

Similarly, the campaign for the establishment of War Crimes Tribunals used a combination of human rights, humanitarian and security frames. The security frame functioned as the supportive frame to draw links between existing perceptions and the situation at hand, and in a way "grafted" the issue to the existing norms.³²⁰ The main context in which the security frame was employed was the attempt to draw a link between the consequences of the wars in Yugoslavia and Rwanda and the memory of the World War II and the Holocaust. Nelaeva, for instance talks about the role of war images in bringing the attention of the international community to the need to establish a Tribunal: "Elie Wisel, a Holocaust survivor and Nobel prize winner, addressed Lawrence Eagleburger (US Secretary of State) and Eagleburger in his "naming names speech" at the Geneva Conference (December 16, 1992), mentioned that violations of United Nations Security Council Resolutions and London agreements by the Serb authorities,

³¹⁸ Canada's term as a non-permanent member of the UNSC created a receptive environment for such a campaign to find a place on the Council's agenda (Global Witness, Annual Report 2005.)

³¹⁹ Smillie 2002a.

³²⁰ As discussed in Chapter 2, the norms are believed to have a better chance at gaining acceptance when they "resonate" with the existing norms (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Payne 2001).

“... is not only producing an intolerable and deteriorating situation outside the former Yugoslavia, it is also beginning to threaten the framework of stability in the new Europe.”³²¹

Despite the strategic contribution that the security frame made to the campaign for the establishment of War Crimes Tribunals, the success of the campaign cannot be explained by the emphasis put on the security dimension of the issue. This can be traced by looking at the output of the campaign. The resolution adopted by the UNSC in May 25, 1993 not only served as a basis for the establishment of the Court but also emphasized the humanitarian dimension of the issue. UNSC Resolution 827 stated “grave alarm at continuing reports of widespread and flagrant violation of international humanitarian law occurring within the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and especially in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including reports of mass killings, massive, organized and systematic detention and rape of women and the continuance of the practice of “ethnic cleansing”, including for the acquisition and the holding of territory.”³²² Thus, it can be argued that in this instance, security frame served as a catalyst that helped the campaign to advance their humanitarian and human rights arguments by drawing a link between a well-remembered past security threat and the issue at hand.

The Illegal Wildlife Trade is one of the campaigns that adopted a security frame in combination with an animal rights frame, yet failed to succeed in getting the issue to the global agenda. The security language was adopted by World Wildlife Fund (WWF)

³²¹ Nelavea 2011, 105.

³²² Preamble, S.C.Res.827, U.N. Doc. S/RES./827

and aimed to tap into the states' perceptions about trafficking in general.³²³ According to WWF's report "Besides driving many endangered species towards extinction, illegal wildlife trade strengthens criminal networks, undermines national security, and poses increasing risks to global health."³²⁴ Thus, rather than aiming to convince the states that wildlife trade presents an "existential threat" for them, the campaign adopted such language to use the states' perception about trafficking as a way to convince the states to take action. Yet, such efforts have proved to be insufficient to get the issue onto the global agenda. This illustrates that using a security frame is not a sufficient condition for achieving agenda setting success.

The security frame played a more dominant role in the Women, Peace and Security Campaign as analyzed by a number of scholars who claimed that securitization of women's rights issues contributed to the cause.³²⁵ However, a closer analysis reveals that categorizing this issue as just another example of securitization would overlook the specific dynamics that security language had, and the contribution that using a security language made to this campaign.

The type of security language used in other four campaigns analyzed at this stage was similar in the sense that the issue at hand is perceived to be a threat to international and national security, and hence in need of immediate international attention. However, in the Women, Peace and Security campaign, women are not framed as a threat to

³²³ For an example of such use see Office of the United States Trade Representative's "Fact Sheet: Trade, Illegal Wildlife Trafficking, and National Security," available at <<http://www.ustr.gov/about-us/press-office/fact-sheets/2014/June/Trade-Illegal-Wildlife-Trafficking-and-National-Security>>, accessed 6 September 2014.

³²⁴ "Illegal Wildlife Trade Threatens National Security, Says WWF Report," available at <<http://wwf.panda.org/?207054/Illegal-wildlife-trade-threatens-national-security-says-WWF-report>>, accessed 6 September 2014.

³²⁵ For a detailed analysis of the issue see Cohn 2004; Basu 2009; Tryggestad 2009; Hudson 2009; 2010; Willett 2010; Pratt 2013; Miller et al. 2014.

international security. Rather, women and their active participation in the peacemaking and peacebuilding processes are portrayed as contributors to international peace and security.³²⁶ This is evident in the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security's description of their goal: "The NGOWG on Women, Peace and Security advocates for the equal and full participation of women in all efforts to create and maintain international peace and security... Sustainable peace depends on the full participation of women in all decision-making to prevent violent conflict and to protect all civilians."³²⁷ Thus, the contribution that adopting the security frame made to this campaign was not to invoke an image of "existential threat" but rather to portray the inclusion of women as an opportunity in tackling such threats.

The above analysis illustrates that security frames and the contribution they make to campaigns take a number of forms that cannot be captured by broad and uncritical approaches to securitization. However, in order to better understand the contribution that security frames make to campaigns, we also need to analyze whether campaigns would have succeeded without using security frames. As I discuss in detail in the next chapter by comparing HIV/AIDS versus Maternal Mortality and Landmines versus Small Arms campaigns, the best measure we have in engaging in such analysis is to compare the securitized cases with non-securitized ones.

An analysis of campaigns with similar goals illustrates that there is no overarching tendency among campaigns to adopt security frames at the agenda setting stage. While the War Crimes Tribunals campaign resorted to a security frame, the campaign for the creation of the International Criminal Court has not used a similar approach. As

³²⁶ Hudson 2010.

³²⁷ "About Us," available at <<http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/about/>>, accessed 27 October 2014.

exemplified in the statements of the Coalition for the International Criminal Court (the NGO network that played a central role in the campaign), in explaining their goal and the purpose of the campaign, the campaign used a human rights frame: “the global fight to end genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity through a commitment to the core values of human rights and justice.”³²⁸ Despite the lack of a security frame at the agenda setting stage, the campaign for the International Criminal Court also succeeded which illustrates that even though security language might have contributed to the War Crimes Tribunals campaign, adopting a security frame is not a necessary condition for the success of campaigns with similar goals.

What sheds further doubt on the prominence that the conventional wisdom attaches to the use of security frames is the fact that some campaigns that can be considered as likely candidates for using a security frame did not resort to such use. In analyzing the framing choices of the campaigns at the agenda setting, we observe that some of the cases that by nature are security issues chose not to use a security frame. For instance, Small Arms campaign used a combination of human rights and humanitarian frames in their attempts to attract international attention to their cause. The IANSA, the campaign organization, defines themselves as

the global movement against gun violence, linking civil society organisations working to stop the proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons. IANSA supports efforts to make people safer by reducing demand for such weapons, improving firearm regulation and strengthening controls on arms transfers. Through research, advocacy and campaigning, IANSA members are promoting local, national, regional and global measures to strengthen human security...raising awareness among policymakers, the public and the media about the global threat to human rights and human security caused by small arms.³²⁹

³²⁸ “Coalition for the ICC,” available at <<http://www.wfm-igp.org/content/coalition-icc>>, accessed 22 May 2014.

³²⁹ “About Us,” available at <<http://www.iansa.org/aboutus>>, accessed 7 September 2014.

Yet despite the security nature of the issue, the campaign has chosen to not use a security frame, i.e. de-securitize the issue, and succeeded in bringing the issue on the global agenda. Moreover, as is discussed in detail in the following chapter, the Small Arms campaign was securitized at the political commitment stage, yet securitization brought only a very recent and very limited success. This example also hints that using a security frame is not a necessary condition for the success of a campaign.

The comparative analysis of the thirty-eight cases at the agenda setting stage brought forward three main insights. First, the findings showed that no clear correlation can be observed between the use of security frames and success reached at this level. Second, a closer analysis of securitized cases illustrated that securitization is a complex process which means that securitization might take different forms and might have varying implications for different issues. Third, a closer comparison of securitized and non-securitized cases illustrates that adopting a security language is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for success.

Political Commitment Stage

Analysis of the framing choices of campaigns at the political commitment stage reveal similar insights to those discussed at the agenda setting stage and shows that securitization does not necessarily correlate with success at this stage, either. Despite the increase in the number of cases that used a security frame in comparison to the agenda setting stage, no increased likelihood was observed between the decision to use a security frame and reaching success at the political commitment stage. Moreover, the in-depth analysis of securitized cases provides further evidence that shed light onto the inner

dynamics of adopting security frames, and various ways through which security frames affect campaigns.

Table 8: Success Level of Campaigns Based on Their Use of Security Frames: Political Commitment Stage

		Success	Partial success	Failure	Total
Political commitment	Security frame used	4 (50%)	3 (37.5%)	2 (12.5%)	8 (100%)
	No use of security frames	10 (41.6%)	13 (54.2%)	1 (4.2%)	24 (100%)

Only four of the eight securitized cases (50%) have reached success at the political commitment stage (in comparison to 80% at the agenda setting stage) (See Table 8). HIV/AIDS campaign succeeded in placing the issue among the Millennium Development Goals;³³⁰ and the Conflict Diamonds campaign led to the creation of a certification mechanism, the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme,³³¹ which brought the major diamond producing and trading countries together successfully. Humanitarian Intervention campaign has successfully led to a World Summit where states declared their commitment to develop mechanisms in addressing “genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.”³³² Women, Peace and Security campaign has

³³⁰ “Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases,” available at <<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/aids.shtml>>, accessed 22 December 2012.

³³¹ “Kimberley Process,” available at <<http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/>>, accessed 24 November 2013.

³³² The Outcome Document of the World Summit 2005 stated that: “Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an early warning capability.” (Article 138)
 “The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. In this context, we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be

convinced the UNSC to declare the Resolution 1325 which aimed to mainstream the involvement of women in the peacemaking and conflict resolution processes (See Table 9).³³³

Three of the campaigns that used a security frame (International Criminal Court, Small Arms and Sexual Violence in Conflict) (37.5%) have reached only partial success. The campaign for the International Criminal Court has led to the creation of the court; however, the campaign was not able to convince all of the major actors to take part in the court. The Small Arms campaign has led to the Arms Trade Treaty which has recently entered into force in December 2014. Yet this treaty constitutes only a partial success as of 130 countries that signed the agreement so far only 63 has ratified.³³⁴ The campaign on the Sexual Violence in Conflict has successfully got states to sign the “Declaration of Commitment to End Sexual Violence in Conflict,” but no measurable accomplishment has been observed after that.

inadequate and national authorities manifestly fail to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. We stress the need for the General Assembly to continue consideration of the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and its implications, bearing in mind the principles of the Charter and international law. We also intend to commit ourselves, as necessary and appropriate, to helping States build capacity to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and to assisting those which are under stress before crises and conflicts break out.” (Article 139)

³³³ S.C.Res.1325, U.N. Doc S/RES/1325

³³⁴ “The Arms Trade Treaty,” available at <<http://www.un.org/disarmament/ATT/>>, accessed 12 January 2015.

Table 9: Use of Security Frames and Success at Political Commitment Stage

Political Commitment Stage			
	Success	Partial Success	Failure
Securitized	AIDS Campaign Conflict Diamonds Humanitarian Intervention Women Peace and Security	ICC Sex. Violence in Conflict ³³⁵ Small Arms ³³⁶	Climate Refugees
Non-Securitized	Anti-Smoking/Tobacco Anti-Toxics Avian Influenza Biodiversity Child Labor Climate Change Human Trafficking Landmines Violence Against Women War Crimes Tribunals	Anti-GMOs Anti-War Protests Child Soldiers Cluster Bombs Dams Female Genital Mutilation Jubilee 2000 Maternal Mortality Privacy Protection Sweatshops Torture Transparency Women’s Rep. Rights	IDPs

The one remaining campaign (12.5%) failed at this stage (in comparison to 20% at the agenda setting stage). As further analyzed in the following chapter, the Climate Refugees campaign used a security frame but failed in convincing states to publicly commit to taking action. The issue has made it to the agenda of a number of international

³³⁵ The Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict has taken place very recently in June 2014. Therefore, while this summit is a step toward political commitment success, it is a tentative one (“Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict,” available at < <https://www.gov.uk/government/topical-events/sexual-violence-in-conflict>>, 29 November 2014.)

³³⁶ The coding of the Small Arms campaign at the political commitment stage as “partial success” is also tentative since the Arms Trade Treaty has entered into force only in December 24, 2014 (“The Arms Trade Treaty,” available at <<http://www.un.org/disarmament/ATT/>>, accessed 12 January 2015.) As the limited success that both Sexual Violence in Conflict and Small Arms campaigns have reached are very recent, it is not possible to analyze these cases at the policy implementation stage. Therefore, they are left out of the analysis presented in the following subsection.

organizations but has not initiated political commitment yet.³³⁷ While the importance of the issue has been recognized by the international community, no tangible steps have been successfully taken so far to induce states to commit to take action.

Not only we do not observe systematic success across securitized cases at this stage, we also do not observe an increase in the likelihood of failure among non-securitized or de-securitized campaigns. Ten of the twenty-four non-securitized cases (41.6%) have succeeded in triggering high levels of political commitment, while thirteen of the cases reached partial success (54.2%) and only one campaign (4.2%) has failed in compelling the target actors to publicly commit to the issue.

Except for the Conflict Diamonds campaign which used security frame as its sole dominant frame, the remaining campaigns have used security frames in combination with other frames.³³⁸ As they are further discussed in Chapter 4, Sexual Violence in Conflict and Small Arms campaigns combined humanitarian, human rights and security frames. At this stage, the International Criminal Court, Climate Refugees and Women, Peace and Security campaigns took similar approaches and combined security frame with a human rights frame. The Humanitarian Intervention campaign on the other hand, combined the security frame with a humanitarian frame. Lastly, the HIV/AIDS campaign combined development, human rights and security frames. The way that these campaigns adopted the security language into their frames shaped not only the content of the security

³³⁷ Such as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

³³⁸ As I present in Chapter 5, the detailed analysis of the Conflict Diamonds campaign illustrates that even though security frame became the dominant frame at the political commitment stage, depending on the actor who was using the security language (NGOs, industry or the states), the same language had very different purposes and different implications. Thus, even in this campaign there was neither a single coherent use of the security frame nor the militarization of the policy instruments which is what the conventional wisdom would have expected to see.

language, but also how and to what extent security language contributed to these campaigns.

Table 10: Framing Choices of Securitized Campaigns at the Political Commitment Stage

Campaign	Political Commitment Stage				level of success
	security	human rights	humanitarian	development	
AIDS					Success
Climate Refugees					Failure
Conflict Diamonds					Success
Humanitarian Intervention					Success
International Criminal Court					Partial success
Sexual Violence in Conflict					Partial success
Small Arms					Partial success
Women, Peace and Security					Success

** Gray shaded cell indicate that the related frame is adopted by the campaign.

The close analysis of securitized campaigns illustrate that in most of the campaigns that adopted a security frame at the political commitment stage, the securitized language has not completely sidelined other frames. Rather, the security frame functioned as a secondary frame that was used to support the arguments made through humanitarian, human rights and environmental frames. For instance, the Humanitarian Intervention campaign, while remaining primarily within the humanitarian domain, has experienced a securitizing move. This was accomplished through the involvement of the UNSC in the issue. This involvement is realized through the active

involvement of the UNSC in supporting Responsibility to Protect (R2P).³³⁹ Thus, in this case, the overall framing of the issue has not shifted but the issue got securitized through the widening of the security agenda rather than the issue being redefined as an existential threat.

In a similar manner, the UNSC's involvement in the issue of ICC also indicated the existence of a securitizing move at the political commitment stage of this issue. As Busby suggests, "while the ICC is ostensibly a case in the human rights arena, the potential prosecution of individuals for war crimes touches upon the security sphere, elevating the ICC from low politics to high politics..."³⁴⁰ The UNSC has become actively involved in the issue as a result of what is known as "Singapore Compromise" which "allowed the Security Council to block ICC jurisdiction but not be required to authorize every case."³⁴¹ Thus in this case, security language also functioned as a supportive frame to boost already accumulating support by guaranteeing the support of an important ally rather than as a strategy to change the perceptions of the target actors.

The issue of Sexual Violence in Conflict has also, so far, kept the main focus on the human rights and humanitarian implications of the issue. They nonetheless, have started to emphasize the threat that the issue presents for international security: "Sexual violence in conflict poses a grave threat to international peace and security. It exacerbates tension and violence and undermines stability."³⁴² The securitization of the issue is also

³³⁹ For a detailed account of UNSC Resolutions referencing Responsibility to Protect see Global Centre for Responsibility to Protect, "UN Security Council Resolutions Referencing R2P," 23 April 2013, available at <<http://www.globalr2p.org/resources/335>>, accessed 29 January 2014.

³⁴⁰ Busby 2010, 213.

³⁴¹ Busby 2010, 217.

³⁴² Foreign and Commonwealth Office, "Policy Paper: Chair's Summary – Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict," 13 June 2014, available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/chairs-summary-global-summit-to-end-sexual-violence-in-conflict/chairs-summary-global-summit-to-end-sexual-violence-in-conflict>>, accessed 6 September 2014.

evident in the fact that sexual violence in conflict has been brought to the UNSC agenda³⁴³ which led to the signing of “Declaration of Commitment to End Sexual Violence in Conflict.” Thus, while the process of securitization is evident at the political commitment stage, the success reached in creating political commitment is a partial one as not all related parties have taken part in the Declaration.

Women, Peace and Security is one of the campaigns that have sustained its framing choices throughout all three stages of global agenda setting and policy making. As it was the case at the agenda setting stage, the realization of women’s rights and the further inclusion of women into peacemaking and conflict resolution processes are framed as necessary conditions for reaching international peace and security rather than being portrayed as a threat to security itself.³⁴⁴

As I show in the following chapter, in contrast to other securitized cases analyzed at the political commitment stage, in the case of HIV/AIDS, the securitization was experienced in a more direct way, wherein the issue was reframed as one that would threaten states’ national security if remain unaddressed. The issue was announced to be a “threat to international security” by the US Ambassador Richard Holbrook and Vice President Al Gore³⁴⁵ and brought to the UNSC’s agenda as the first ever health issue to find a place on the Council’s agenda. In this regard, HIV/AIDS is one of the examples

³⁴³ “Statement by SRSZ Zainab Hawa Bangura to the Security Council,” 17 April 2014, available at <<http://www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/statement/statement-by-srsg-zainab-hawa-bangura-to-the-security-council-17-april-2013/>>, accessed 4 October 2014.

³⁴⁴ Resolution 1325 “stresses the importance of women’s equal and full participation as active agents in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace-building and peacekeeping. It calls on member states to ensure women’s equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspective in all areas of peace building.” (S.C.Res.1325, U.N. Doc S/RES/1325)

³⁴⁵ Elbe 2006.

where we see a clear link between the reframing of the issue as a security threat and succeeding in triggering political commitment.³⁴⁶

In order to better understand the contribution that using a security frame makes to an advocacy campaign, it is also useful to look at cases that got de-securitized at the political commitment stage. Transparency campaign used development and security approaches together at the agenda setting stage but it settled on a predominantly development frame at the political commitment stage. This is exemplified in the international organizations' approaches to the issue following the campaign. One of the successful outcomes of the campaign was the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, which defines its goal as: "we share a belief that the prudent use of natural resource wealth should be an important engine for sustainable economic growth that contributes to sustainable development and poverty reduction, but if not managed properly, can create negative economic and social impacts."³⁴⁷ Thus, Transparency campaign illustrates that succeeding even after de-securitizing an issue is possible.

The second campaign that moved away from a security frame was the War Crimes Tribunal campaign. As was discussed earlier, at the agenda setting stage, security language was used to support the human rights frame in getting states to accept the need for such a Court. Once the court was established, the need for such use was no longer apparent and the emphasis remained on the human rights frame from that point onward. This is exemplified in the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia's (ICTY) statement of its mandate "the key objective of the ICTY is to try those

³⁴⁶ As it is discussed in the next chapter, this link becomes a problematic one at the policy implementation stage, where the contribution of the security language to the issue is no longer a clearly positive one.

³⁴⁷ "The EITI [Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative] Principles," available at <<http://eiti.org/eiti/principles>>, accessed 25 October 2014.

individuals most responsible for appalling acts such as murder, torture, rape, enslavement, destruction of property and other crimes listed in the Tribunal's Statute. By bringing perpetrators to trial, the ICTY aims to deter future crimes and render justice to thousands of victims and their families.”³⁴⁸

The framing choices of these two campaigns at the political commitment stage illustrate that once adopted, security frames do not necessarily dictate the rest of the global policy making. This contradicts the conventional wisdom which suggests that once successfully completed, securitization moves the issue outside of the realm of normal politics. However, as the comparative analysis illustrates, as it is the case for other frames, security frames can be adopted and dropped as needed. This is not to argue that campaigns float among different frames freely and such a shift is always feasible. Rather, that the examples shows that security frames function like any other frames, and when the conditions and priorities call for it, a move away from the security frame is possible.

In addition to the insights that de-securitized cases bring forward, similar to the agenda setting stage, the findings of the political commitment stage also illustrate that there was not a cross-cutting inclination among similar issues to adopt security frames. For instance, when the campaigns that focus on problems faced mainly by women are compared, we do not see an overall securitization of the issue area. In fact, among the seven campaigns that fit into this category: Female Genital Mutilation, Human Trafficking, Maternal Mortality, Sexual Violence in Conflict, Violence against Women, Women, Peace and Security, and Women’s Reproductive Rights, only two have adopted security frames at the political commitment stage. Moreover, all of the seven cases listed above have reached at least partial success at the political commitment stage. Thus, not

³⁴⁸ “About the ICTY,” available at <<http://www.icty.org/sections/AbouttheICTY>>, accessed June 2014.

only is there no systematic tendency to adopt a security frame, but also there is no observable correlation between the decision to use a security frame and level of success reached by these campaigns.

The comparative analysis of cases at the political commitment stage not only supported the findings of the agenda setting stage but also revealed two more important insights into the dynamics of securitization. First, the analysis of de-securitized cases illustrate that once adopted, security frames are as likely to be dropped as other frames in transitioning from agenda setting stage to political commitment stage and therefore, security frames do not function any different than other frames. Second, the evidence also showed that once adopted, security frames do not necessarily take over the main arguments and the language of the campaign. Security frames might also be used strategically with the limited purpose of supporting the existing frames.

Policy Implementation Stage

A detailed analysis of the policy implementation stage reveals that an increased percentage of campaigns have experienced securitization at this stage. The securitizing attempts have proved to be more successful in some of these cases in terms of convincing the audience that the issue at hand presents a security threat, while the efforts in other cases remained scattered and less successful in making a case for security implications of the issue.

At the policy implementation stage, all of the cases analyzed in this study have succeeded in achieving at least partial success in making the states follow through with the commitments they have made to address the issue at hand. It is also observed that this

success is almost always a partial one, as expected, given the difficulty of creating perfect norm compliance.

While the percentage of cases that used a security frame increased at the policy implementation stage, neither a systematic success across securitized cases nor a systematic failure across non-securitized cases can be observed. Of the eight cases that used a security frame, seven of them (87.5%) reached partial success while one campaign has reached high level of success (12.5%). The remaining twenty cases did not use a security frame and of these twenty cases one case reached high level of policy implementation success (5%) while the remaining eighteen cases have reached partial success (95%) (See Table 11).

Table 11: Success Level of Campaigns Based on Their Use of Security Frames: Policy Implementation Stage

		Success	Partial success	Total
Policy implementation	Security frame used	1 (12.5%)	7 (87.5%)	8 (100%)
	No use of security frames	1 (5%)	19 (95%)	20 (100%)

Table 12: Framing Choices of Campaigns at the Policy Implementation Stage and Success Levels

Policy Implementation Stage		
	Success	Partial Success
Securitized	Conflict Diamonds	AIDS Campaign Avian Influenza Climate Change Human Trafficking Humanitarian Intervention International Criminal Court Women Peace and Security
Non-Securitized	Landmines	Anti-GMOs Anti-Smoking/Tobacco Anti-Toxics Anti-War Protests Biodiversity Child Labor Child Soldiers Cluster Bombs Dams Female Genital Mutilation Jubilee 2000 Maternal Mortality Privacy Protection Sweatshops Torture Transparency Violence Against Women War Crimes Tribunals Women's Reproductive Rights

A closer analysis of the framing choices of securitized campaigns reveals interesting lessons into the dynamics of framing and global policy making. The first important insight is regarding how persistent the campaigns were in their use of security frames across different stages of global agenda setting and policy making. As discussed in the previous section, Transparency and War Crimes Tribunals campaigns were using security frames at the agenda setting stage but they moved away from such use at the

political commitment stage. However, consistency in framing is observed when the campaigns' use of security frames at the political commitment and policy implementation stages are compared. That is to say, all of the cases that used a security frame at the political commitment stage continued doing so at the policy implementation stage (See Table 12 and Table 13).

Table 13: Framing Choices of Securitized Campaigns at the Policy Implementation Stage

Campaign	Policy Implementation Stage						level of success
	security	human rights	humanitarian	environment	development	Bio security	
AIDS							Partial success
Avian Influenza							Partial success
Climate Change							Partial success
Conflict Diamonds							Success
Human Trafficking							Partial success
Human. Interven.							Partial success
ICC							Partial success
Women Peace, Sec.							Partial success

** Gray shaded cell indicate that the related frame is adopted by the campaign.

The securitization literature argues that the above discussed persistence is specific to security frames. They argue that once an issue gets securitized, it tends to stay securitized as securitizing an issue moves it out of the realm of normal politics and limits the actors and policy options that can be used from that point onward.³⁴⁹ However, when we analyze the use of frames across cases, we observe that the consistency in framing is

³⁴⁹ Waever 1995; Corry 2011.

not particular to the security frame. The data reveals that a drastic change in framing was experienced only in the Avian Influenza case where there was a transition from a health frame at the political commitment stage to the use of a combination of security and biosecurity frames at the policy implementation stage. For the other cases, we observe that all the cases that have succeeded at the political commitment stage have held onto their existing frames and only add in new frames in a few instances.

An explanation that would better account for the above observation would be that frames that are used at the political commitment stage define which international regime the issue will get situated in and which actors shoulders the responsibility in addressing the issue. In other words, the language used at the political commitment stage gets embedded into the institutions and mechanisms developed in addressing the issue. Therefore, given that the campaign succeeds at this stage, the framing choices shapes what type of policies developed and which actors would be involved at the policy implementation stage and these policies and institutions perpetuate the frame, in return. This observation lends support to the arguments in the securitization literature that once an issue is securitized, it tends to stay securitized. However, the findings also illustrate that such persistence is not unique to the security frame. This, in turn, supports the argument of this study that securitization is an instance of framing rather than a unique process.

A close analysis of the securitized cases also illustrates that the implication of adopting a security frame might vary across different stages of global agenda setting and policy making. Thus, even when a campaign consistently uses a security frame, the centrality of the security frame for the issue as well as the contribution that security

frames make to the success of the campaign might vary. For instance, as analyzed in the following chapter, when we look at the HIV/AIDS case we observe that the security language was only complementary at the political commitment stage, supporting the development and human rights frames that mainly shaped the policy efforts. However, when we came to the policy implementation stage we observe that the security frame has decreased the prominence of development and human rights frames and became the core frame through which policy makers approach the issue.³⁵⁰

Similarly, as discussed in Chapter 5, when we assess at the Conflict Diamonds case we also observe that the prominence of the security language has changed over time. While security language was predominant at the political commitment stage, it has later become a source of criticism at the policy implementation stage. The advocates of the issue still use a security frame when dealing with conflict diamonds issue; yet, they do so with an increasing discontent.³⁵¹

Conclusion

The comparative analysis of thirty-eight transnational advocacy campaigns at three different stages of global agenda setting and policy making has revealed four sets of insights into security frames and their contribution to the success of transnational advocacy campaigns.

First, not only that security frames were not used as frequently as suggested by the literature but also no positive correlation between the use of security frames and success at any stage of global agenda setting and policy making was observed. Similarly, there

³⁵⁰ For a detailed analysis of how securitization of HIV/AIDS limited the room for maneuver that the NGOs have in delivering services on the ground see Elbe 2006.

³⁵¹ For an example of such discontent see Rappaport, "Guilt Trip," 7 April 2000, available at <<http://www.diamonds.net/News/NewsItem.aspx?Search=guilt%20trip&ArticleID=3830&ArticleTitle=Guilt+Trip>>, accessed 2 January 2015.

was no systematic failure across cases that did not adopt a security frame or cases that moved away from a security frame. Relatedly, there was no clearly increasing tendency among cases to adopt security frames over time, either. Thus, the arguments in the literature about the positive correlation between using a security frame and success were not supported by the evidence at hand.

Second, brief comparisons of successful and non-successful examples of securitized and non-securitized cases illustrated that security frames are neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for reaching success at any stage of global agenda setting and policy making.

Third, the comparative analysis also revealed that once securitized at the political commitment stage, the campaigns tend to remain securitized at the policy implementation stage. However, a closer analysis also revealed that not only securitized cases but also non-securitized cases tend to stick to their framing choices in transitioning to policy implementation stages. Thus, the findings illustrated that security frames function the same way the other frames do rather than being an exception. This finding in turn stresses the importance of comparative studies in order not to overestimate the role and importance of security frames.

The fourth insight that the comparative analysis provides is that campaigns tend to multivocalize their issues. That is to say, advocates simultaneously invoke multiple frames. Therefore, securitization of an issue does not necessarily mean that the security frame automatically sidelines other frames and lead to the removal of the issue from the normal realm of politics which is what the securitization literature argues would happen. The impact that the security frame has on the direction that a campaign takes in terms of

both success and the types of policies it initiates depends on how securitization interacts with other frames used by the campaign and the exact content of the security language (whether the issue is framed as a threat to international security as it is the case with HIV/AIDS or it is framed as a condition for avoiding conflict and insecurity as it is the case for Women, Peace and Security).

The descriptive information that the medium-n analysis produced has revealed insights that challenged the arguments made in the literature about the connection between security frames and success. However, such an analysis is not sufficient enough to reveal the dynamics behind adopting security frames and the nature and extent of the influence such frames have on campaigns. The following chapter conducts a close comparative analysis of nine cases to further substantiate the arguments made in this chapter, and to reveal the varying implications of adopting security frames and the reasons behind them.

CHAPTER 4
COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY

Introduction

The previous chapter presented a comparison of thirty-eight cases of global agenda setting and policy making to test two assumptions derived from the literature: (i) framing a transnational problem as a security threat increases the chances of getting states to address the problem, and as a function of that, (ii) there is a tendency among campaigners to “securitize” issues that are not traditionally considered to be security threats. The analysis presented in the previous chapter challenged both of these assumptions by revealing that the number of global advocacy campaigns that adopted a security frame is limited, and that no correlation exists between the adoption of security frames and the success reached at any stage of global agenda setting or policy making.

While this type of analysis helps us question the “uniqueness” attributed to the security frames in the literature, understanding the mechanisms that lead to the adoption of these frames – as well as the consequences of such choices – requires further analysis. For this reason, at this second stage of the analysis, I compare nine campaigns to understand both the advocacy campaigns’ decisions to securitize (and de-securitize) issues (in particular) and campaigns’ framing choices (in general), as well as the factors that shape such decisions’ contribution to success.

The cases are selected using a combination of most similar and most different systems designs. The logic of the most similar systems design is to compare cases that are similar in as many aspects as possible and differ on the dependent variable, so that the effect of the independent variable under investigation can be distilled from other possible

factors.³⁵² Most different systems design, on the other hand, compares cases that vary in almost every aspect except for the outcome (the dependent variable).³⁵³ Thus, in this type of approach, “variation on the independent variable is prized, while the variation on the outcome is eschewed.”³⁵⁴

Both of these methods have their strengths and weaknesses. Most similar systems design is useful in supporting the tentative findings achieved through single case studies,³⁵⁵ yet criticized due to the difficulty in discerning the impact of one single factor from the others.³⁵⁶ Most different systems design is helpful in analyzing a variety of cases together, but it is, “prone to the “many variables-too few cases” criticism that has been leveled at small-N studies in general.”³⁵⁷

The cases analyzed in this chapter are categorized based on the similarity in the nature of the problem they are addressing, and then are paired based on the differences they possess – either in their use of frames or in their outcomes. The decision to combine the most similar and most different systems designs was based on Dimitrov et al.’s argument that when we solely focus on “common causes of a common outcome,” we run the risk of “identifying as necessary conditions ones that are also ubiquitous.”³⁵⁸ Thus, focusing solely on cases that adopted a security frame and succeeded limits our capacity to understand the extent to which security frames contributed to this success.³⁵⁹ To remedy this problem, this chapter compares (i) cases that succeeded without using a

³⁵² For more discussion see Preworski and Teune 1970; Gerring 2001; 2007; Landman 2003; 2007.

³⁵³ Preworski and Teune 1970; Gerring 2001; 2007.

³⁵⁴ Gerring 2007, 139.

³⁵⁵ Gerring 2007; Dimitrov et al. 2007.

³⁵⁶ Preworski and Teune 1970.

³⁵⁷ Tarrow 2010.

³⁵⁸ Dimitrov et al. 2007, 233; Dimitrov 2006.

³⁵⁹ For more discussion on the importance of analyzing negative cases in understanding global governance see such as Keohane 1988; Hasenclever et al. 1997; Sprinz 2001; Carpenter 2011.

security frame with those that adopted a security frame and, (ii) cases that failed despite the use of security frames with successful ones as “[i]nvestigating ... “negative cases” can help build more complete explanations of why some problems trigger international policy responses whereas others do not.”³⁶⁰

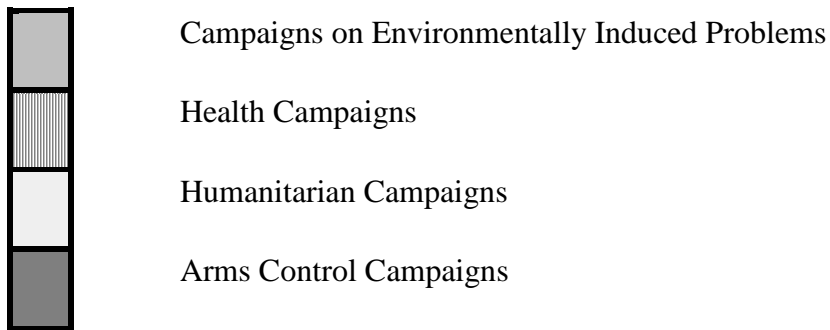
Based on these considerations, nine cases were chosen from four issue areas: health, humanitarian, environment and arms control (See Table 14). HIV/AIDS and Maternal Mortality campaigns are compared to each other as (i) they are both, by nature, health issues and (ii) the policy outcome of both campaigns are similar (placing of both issues on Millennium Development Goals). These campaigns nonetheless, differ in their use of frames. The HIV/AIDS campaign has adopted a security frame while the Maternal Mortality campaign has not resorted to such a use.

The Climate Change and Climate Refugees campaigns both focus on problems induced by an environmental problem, and the comparison of these two campaigns illustrates that adopting a security frame is not a sufficient condition for success; security frames were adopted by both issues yet one succeeded in agenda setting and policy making (climate change) while the other failed at the political commitment stage (climate refugees).

³⁶⁰ Dimitrov et al. 2007, 232.

Table 14: Comparison of Cases on the Securitization – Success Nexus

	More successful	Less successful
Securitized	Climate Change	Climate Refugees
	HIV/AIDS	Small Arms
		Sexual Violence in Conflict
Non-securitized	Landmines	Internally Displaced Persons
	Maternal Mortality	
	Child Soldiers	



The Child Soldiers and Sexual Violence in Conflict campaigns are paired as they both focus on the protection of vulnerable groups in conflicts. Despite the common ground between these two campaigns, they vary in both their framing choices as well as

their success levels: the non-secritized Child Soldiers campaign succeeded while the securitized Sexual Violence in Conflict campaign has so far reached limited success.

Landmines and Small Arms campaigns are compared as examples of arms control campaigns. The analysis illustrates that success might lay with de-secritization of a traditional security concern, as the Landmines campaign succeeded using a humanitarian frame while the Small Arms campaign reached a very limited success even though they adopted a security frame.

The Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) campaign is then analyzed as an example of non-secritized, less successful campaign to trace whether the dynamics that are identified as important in shaping securitized campaigns' level of success also play a role in non-secritized campaigns. While the goal of this study is not to explain non-secritized campaigns, illustrating the similarities contributes to this study's argument that securitized campaigns are bound by the same dynamics as non-secritized ones.

For each of the cases, a historical account of the campaign is presented. This account not only provides an assessment of success for each stage of global agenda setting and policy making, but also discusses the framing choices of the campaigns and factors pertaining to such choices. The chapter also presents an analysis that combines and discusses the findings gained from comparative case study analysis. The IDPs campaign is presented in the end to further illustrate that non-secritized campaigns are bound by the same dynamics as securitized ones.

If the securitization literature were to be correct, this comparison of nine cases should reveal the following findings. First, there should be a tendency among advocates to adopt security frames when such a choice is available. Second, in cases where security

frames are adopted, such a choice should correspond to increasing levels of success.

Third, the decision to adopt a security frame should be guided by advocates' expectations that the frame will help them appeal to the targets of influence.

However, contrary to these expectations, the analysis of these nine campaigns lends further support to the arguments made in the previous chapter, and shows that adopting a security frame is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for achieving success at any stage of global agenda setting and policy making.

In addition to supporting the arguments put forward in the previous chapter, this chapter also provides three insights into the factors that affect advocates' framing choices and implications of such decisions for success. The findings illustrate that campaigns tend to use multiple frames in order to (i) reach out to as many potential allies as possible to widen their network, and (ii) create an opportunity to graft the issue onto as many diverse norms as possible to increase their chances of success. However, in order for multivocalization to contribute to advocates' efforts, it needs to be a coordinated effort rather than a sign of frame contestation within the campaign.

The findings also illustrate that the advocates' decision to adopt a particular frame over the other tends to reflect (i) advocates' fields of expertise and their previous experiences, as well as (ii) the opportunities and constraints that the current political atmosphere presents. Lastly, the findings support the arguments advanced by the TANs and framing literatures that, while strategic framing of issues is essential for the success of transnational advocacy campaigns, success will not be possible if framing (including securitization) does not coincide with a conducive strategic environment (such as the short causal link, clear physical damage, concentrated network).

Health Campaigns

The campaigns on HIV/AIDS and Maternal Mortality share three common characteristics. They are both health issues at their core; both campaigns reached similar levels of success at the agenda setting and political commitment stages; and they both reached partial success in ensuring that the states follow through with their publicly made commitments. The main difference between HIV/AIDS and Maternal Mortality campaigns is the frames they chose to use in promoting their cause. While the HIV/AIDS campaign adopted a security frame starting at the political commitment stage, the Maternal Mortality campaign stayed away from such use.

The similar level of success that both campaigns reached despite differences in their framing choices illustrates that using a security frame is not a necessary condition for a transnational advocacy campaign to succeed. Thus, while the close analysis of HIV/AIDS campaign illustrate that adopting a security language can contribute to the efforts to solve a global problem, the analysis of the Maternal Mortality campaign illustrates that the success cannot solely be attributed to the adoption of such a language.

The comparison demonstrates that the actors' framing choices are shaped by the opportunities and challenges that their strategic environment presents to them. Nevertheless, the analysis also presents that advocates, through multivocalization, can alter their strategic environment by expanding their reach and getting their concerns heard by a diverse set of allies, as well as by increasing their ability to graft their issue onto as many different norms as possible.

HIV/AIDS Campaign

HIV/AIDS campaign is one of the success stories of global agenda setting and policy making. This success was not a natural or inevitable one since not all health issues trigger same level of attention. On the contrary, some health problems that are equally or even more threatening to global health receive less attention.³⁶¹ As Shiffman evaluates “for instance, in the early 2000s HIV/AIDS received more than one-third of all major donor funding for health, despite representing only around 5% of the mortality and morbidity burden in low- and middle- income countries... Meanwhile, other communicable diseases, such as pneumonia and diarrheal diseases, that kill millions of people each year and for which cost-effective interventions exist, attract minimal donor resources.”³⁶²

The success of the HIV/AIDS campaign cannot be explained by the severity or the scope of the problem; therefore, it is important to look at the conditions that paved the way to this success. The case studies conducted on the issue, while noting the long-term moral implications, claim that securitization of the issue contributed to this success.³⁶³ However, as both the below presented historical account and the comparison with the Maternal Mortality campaign illustrate, the HIV/AIDS campaign realized much of its success without using a security frame. The later decision to securitize the issue was not inevitable, but rather a consequence of the strategic environment that the campaign was operating in, and how the advocates chose to react to it.

³⁶¹ See WHO 2010; Rushton 2010; Shiffman 2006; 2009; Shiffman and Smith 2007; Labonte and Gagnon 2010.

³⁶² Shiffman 2006; 2009, 608.

³⁶³ Such as Piot 2000; Singer 2002; Elbe 2006.

HIV/AIDS is an interesting case in terms of issue framing, as the advocates and policy makers have tried a wide range of frames throughout the campaign with varying levels of success. The issue became framed as “a public health problem, a development issue, a humanitarian crisis, a human rights issue and a threat to security”³⁶⁴ at different stages of global agenda setting and policy making. Prins summarizes this shift in his 2004 article by stating that, “HIV/AIDS has been medically visible, both in microbiological research and soon after with treatments, for nearly 30 years; researched epidemiologically for 25; recognized as an issue in domestic political economy for a decade and as a potential security driver and an issue in global political economy (the principal concerns of this article) for only about five years.”³⁶⁵

When it was first discovered, HIV/AIDS was framed as a health issue yet such approach did not bring success to the campaign, as this frame was not able to illustrate the direct harm that the disease inflicted on “innocent” civilians. The belief in 1980s that HIV/AIDS affected mainly homosexuals and drug users stigmatized the disease and resulted in “medicalization” of the issue. Moreover, it resulted in a loss of valuable time that could have been devoted to the development of preventive research.³⁶⁶ While a number of NGOs and support groups had been already at work, their efforts to attract global attention to the issue remained largely unsuccessful.³⁶⁷ This lack of success was apparent in the fact that, “WHO was clearly the natural UN ‘home’ for work on AIDS with its mandate on maintaining global health. Cases had been reported to WHO annually

³⁶⁴ Prins 2004; Harris and Siplon 2007; Shiffman 2009.

³⁶⁵ Prins 2004, 932.

³⁶⁶ Prins 2004; Knight 2008.

³⁶⁷ Knight 2008.

since 1981 but only one person in the organization was working in the area of sexually transmitted infections in the early 1980s.”³⁶⁸

The strategic framing of the issue, however, translated into success only when the political context made both the potential allies and target actors receptive of the arguments advanced by the advocates. International attention turned toward developments in Africa due to the changing dynamics of world politics with the end of the Cold War.³⁶⁹ This in turn helped the advocates’ efforts to attract global attention to the issue by emphasizing the development and human rights implications for Africa.

The actors taking advantage of the newly rising opportunities within the political context focused on multivocalization. The use of multiple frames at this stage was most fruitful in attracting a number of potential allies from different issue areas to start paying attention to the issue. This success became evident in the establishment of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) with the co-sponsorship of eleven gatekeepers from different networks.³⁷⁰

Despite the failed attempts to securitize the issue during 1990s,³⁷¹ the security frame started to be used in transitioning to the political commitment stage, with the purpose of appealing to more donors and potential allies by further emphasizing the urgency of the issue. The security frame was introduced through the involvement of the UNSC into the issue. In 2000, UNSC held a special debate on “the impact of AIDS on

³⁶⁸ Berridge 1996; Knight 2008, 13.

³⁶⁹ Berridge 1996; Knight 2008.

³⁷⁰ UNAIDS is co-sponsored by The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), World Food Programme (WFP), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Health Organization (WHO), World Bank and UN Women.

³⁷¹ Elbe 2006.

peace and Security in Africa” and declared Resolution 1308 where they defined HIV/AIDS as a “threat to international security.”³⁷² In this Resolution, the issue was also framed as having a “growing impact on social instability and emergency situations.”³⁷³ The involvement of the UNSC into the issue was especially crucial, as it was the first time in the Council’s history that a health issue was considered as a security threat.

The involvement of the UNSC is an indication of an attempt to securitize the issue. However, in order to understand whether the adoption of security language has made any difference on the ground, it is important to look at how this new frame was perceived by other actors within the campaign. For instance, in reacting to the Resolution, the former Executive Director of UNAIDS stated that, “When we look at the history of the fight against AIDS, there is no doubt that resolution 1308 (2000) is a milestone in the response to the epidemic. By underscoring the fact that the spread of HIV/AIDS, if unchecked, may pose a risk to stability and security, the Security Council... has transformed how the world views AIDS.”³⁷⁴ This statement illustrates that the attempts to securitize the issue resonated with the audience and thus it was successful.

As a result of a decade long efforts to address the issue of HIV/AIDS, the campaign succeeded in influencing the states to publicly commit to addressing HIV/AIDS. This success is exemplified in the listing of the issue as one of the six Millennium Development Goals. The Millennium Development Declaration pledged by

³⁷² Press Release SC/6781, 10 January 2000.

³⁷³ S.C. Res. 1308, UN Doc. S/RES/1308, 7 July 2000.

³⁷⁴ UNSC, S/PV.5228, 18 July 2005, 5; Rushton 2010.

2015 to have “halted, and begun to reverse, the spread of HIV/AIDS, the scourge of malaria and other major diseases that afflict humanity.”³⁷⁵

Becoming a part of the Millennium Development Goals was not an automatic or an inevitable step on the path of the HIV/AIDS campaign; rather the ongoing buzz around the MDG encouraged the actors to emphasize the development frame at the time. HIV/AIDS was not among the previously negotiated targets but yet found its way into the list through the emphasis put on the issue by the former-Secretary General Kofi Annan who emphasized the development implications of HIV/AIDS in his *We the Peoples* speech that he gave prior to the declaration of Millennium Development Goals.³⁷⁶

The forum at which HIV/AIDS was ensured political commitment illustrates that, while playing a critical role in creating political commitment, the security frame has not completely eclipsed the issue. Rather, the security frame functioned in combination with a development frame. This combination is also exemplified in Annan’s *We the Peoples* speech. Annan defined HIV/AIDS as both an impediment in front of development and a potential source of global crisis. He stated that, “... I wish here to focus on a specific health crisis that threatens to reverse a generation of accomplishment in human development, and which is rapidly becoming a social crisis on a global scale: the spread of HIV/AIDS.”³⁷⁷

After securing a place on MDGs, the next important step of the political commitment stage was the Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in the Special Session held in June 2001. This

³⁷⁵ Rushton 2010; United Nations General Assembly. United Nations Millennium Declaration, 18 September 2000.

³⁷⁶ For a discussion on how HIV/AIDS found a place on the Millennium Development Goals see Hulme 2007.

³⁷⁷ Annan 2000, 26.

Declaration also embodied a combination of security, human rights and development frames and has been serving as the benchmark against which the accomplishments made in realizing the HIV/AIDS related MDGs are measured. The Declaration defined HIV/AIDS as “one of the most formidable challenges to human life and dignity, as well as to the effective enjoyment of human rights.”³⁷⁸ The Declaration also argued that the current state of HIV/AIDS presents a “state of emergency” especially in sub-Saharan Africa and also “recognize[ed] that poverty, underdevelopment and illiteracy are among the principle contributing factors to the spread of HIV/AIDS, and noting with grave concern that HIV/AIDS is compounding poverty and is now reversing or impeding development in many countries.”³⁷⁹

The security language that was initially adopted to get the support of the potential allies later experienced a change in its function and centrality within the campaign. This change was due to the involvement of new security actors in the debate, which changed the intra-network dynamics by bringing in a number of security organizations as well as security scholars into the conversation.³⁸⁰ Eventually, the link between HIV/AIDS and security was normalized such an extent that the Director of Central Intelligence Agency went as far to state that “[t]he national security dimension of the virus is plain... “[i]t can undermine economic growth, exacerbate social tensions, diminish military preparedness, create huge social welfare costs, and further weaken already beleaguered states.”³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ Annan 2001.

³⁷⁹ Annan 2001.

³⁸⁰ For more discussion on the national and international security implications of HIV/AIDS see Price-Smith 1998; 2001; 2002; Harker 2001; Heinecken 2001; Yeager and Kingma 2001; Ostergard 2002; Singer 2002; Sarin 2003; Elbe 2003; 2006; Prins 2004.

³⁸¹ Anderson 2003.

While the development frame is still being used, the security frame started to be the main frame that shaped states' policies in addressing the issue. For instance, Britain considered, "implementing compulsory HIV screening for prospective immigrants amid alleged worries that HIV-positive foreigners are traveling to the United Kingdom to seek treatment."³⁸² Some argue that the emphasis on the security dimension of the issue makes a positive contribution as framing HIV/AIDS as a security threat "strengthens the call for serious action against the menace of AIDS."³⁸³ Others, however, adopt a more critical approach to the implications of securitization and suggest that, "[i]f well-intentioned people seek to rally support among western governments for anti-AIDS efforts in Africa, portraying disease as a security issue may be exactly the wrong strategy to employ."³⁸⁴

Thus, putting the normative implications of using a security frame aside, it can be argued that security frame has gradually claimed a central role in the global agenda setting and policy making surrounding the issue of HIV/AIDS, and has positively contributed to the efforts to address the issue – especially at the political implementation stage. However, the security frame has never been the only dominant frame in addressing the issue, and the increasing importance attached to it was both a function of the strategic environment as well as the dynamics within the network.

Maternal Mortality Campaign

Maternal mortality is a major health problem that affects the entire world yet it has gone unnoticed for a long time even though it claims around 800 lives every day.³⁸⁵ Despite the problem's long history, it was only in mid-1980s that the issue started to

³⁸² Hinsliff 2003, 2.

³⁸³ Singer 2002. Also see Piot 2000 and Elbe 2006.

³⁸⁴ Peterson 2002, 81.

³⁸⁵ "Why Support Us," available at <<http://whiteribbonalliance.org/why-mothers/>>, accessed 1 May 2014.

attract international attention, initially that of health practitioners and advocates, and later of human rights and developments advocates; this attention led to a campaign that resulted in its recognition as one of the Millennium Development Goals. Despite its similarity with the HIV/AIDS campaign in terms of campaign success, as opposed to the HIV/AIDS campaign, the Maternal Mortality campaign did not use a security frame. This choice illustrates that using a security frame is a not necessary condition for success.

Initially the issue was framed as a health concern and it first attracted the international health officials' attention in 1985, as a result of an article published in *Lancet*. The article was titled "Maternal mortality – a neglected tragedy. Where is the M in MCH [Maternal and Child Health]?"³⁸⁶ The increased interest in the topic led to an international meeting in Kenya in 1987 where the Global Safe Motherhood Initiative was launched. The goal of the Initiative was to decrease the global maternal deaths by 50% by 2000 – a goal that they failed to realize.³⁸⁷ Despite the failure of the early initiatives in solving the problem they succeeded in placing the issue on the global agenda. The Inter-Agency Group for Safe Motherhood was formed and led to a series of conferences, sponsored by the UN, throughout 1990s.³⁸⁸

In the earlier stages of global agenda setting, the Maternal Mortality campaign has combined human rights, development and health frames together with the purpose of reaching out to a number of potential allies, and has also inserted the issue onto a number of existing international institutions' agendas. This approach can be traced to how the main actors in the campaign chose to define and portray the issue. For instance, Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE), one of the leading NGOs in

³⁸⁶ Rosenfield and Maine 1985.

³⁸⁷ Shiffman 2007.

³⁸⁸ Tinker and Koblinsky 1993.

the field, argues that “maternal mortality is nothing short of an epidemic” and summarizes their perception of the issue as “CARE believes that access to quality sexual, reproductive and maternal health is both a fundamental human right and a critical development issue. Improving sexual, reproductive and maternal health is therefore central to our commitment to gender equality and to reducing global poverty.”³⁸⁹ Maternal health is also argued to be a part of the “right to the highest attainable standard of health” which is recognized as a human right by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.³⁹⁰ Similar to the CARE’s approach, the White Ribbon Alliance, which was established in 1999 as a coalition of NGOs and donors, also combines health and human rights frames in their advocacy efforts.³⁹¹ While their slogan has a straightforward health frame: “Healthy Mothers, Health World”,³⁹² they nonetheless, define safe birth as a women’s right.³⁹³

The emphasis on the development consequences of the issue has proven to be especially useful in taking advantage of the opportunities presented by the strategic environment at the time; this emphasis also resulted in the placement of the issue on the list of Millennium Development Goals. At the Millennium Summit in 2000, the states committed to reducing maternal mortality by three quarters by the year 2015. While the

³⁸⁹ “The Right to Health,” available at <<http://www.care.org/work/health/maternal-health>>, accessed 1 May 2014.

³⁹⁰ Hunt and Beuno de Mesquita 2007, 3.

³⁹¹ The alliance was founded by Theresa Shaver, a nurse midwife who spent twenty years in war torn countries. The Alliance managed to attract a number of donors and public figures such as Gordon and Sarah Brown – the former prime minister of Britain and his wife - which contributed to the alliance’s visibility (see “The Maternal Mortality Campaign,” available at <http://gordonandsarahbrown.com/2012/03/the-maternal-mortality-campaign/>), accessed 2 May 2014.)

³⁹² “Why Support Us,” available at <<http://whiteribbonalliance.org/why-mothers/>>, accessed 1 May 2014.

³⁹³ Ibid.

target is likely to be missed, significant achievements have been made since the goals were set.³⁹⁴

Once the campaign succeeded in getting states to commit to address the problem of maternal mortality, existing networks were joined by new ones in working towards compelling states to follow through with their commitments, and implement the policies they agreed upon. Of the newly established cross-sectorial networks, Campaign on Accelerated Reduction of Maternal, Newborn and Child Mortality in Africa (CARMMA) has gained a central role in the process. Established by the African Union's initiative, CARMMA brought African states and non-state actors across the globe together³⁹⁵ and focused on creating coordination across African countries to reduce maternal deaths in Africa.

This new effort to compel states to implement the policies they publicly committed to uses a combination of human rights and development frames. The campaign portrays women as an indispensable component of African development³⁹⁶ and defines access to maternal care as a right.³⁹⁷ Despite the fact that maternal mortality has

³⁹⁴ For instance, according to United Nations Population Fund's statistics "Maternal mortality in Africa has dropped by a massive 41 per cent in 20 years, from 920 deaths per 100,000 live births in 1990 to 500 deaths per 100,000 births in 2010." For detailed account of progress, see "Background," available at <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml>, accessed 2 May 2014.

³⁹⁵ Partners of the Campaign include United Nations Population Fund, International Planned Parenthood Federation, The Partnership for Maternal, Newborn and Child Health, USAID, Marie Stopes International, UKAID, UNICEF and Partners in Population Development Africa.

³⁹⁶ In Joyce Banda, the president of Malawi's words: "Women are the backbone of African communities – they are farmers, they are business people, they are care givers"(see "Why CARMMA?," available at <http://www.carmma.org/page/why-carmma>, accessed 3 May 2014.)

³⁹⁷ "We Africans don't just have the technology and know-how. We have the powerful spirit and the will to demand our rights" (see "Why CARMMA?," available at <http://www.carmma.org/page/why-carmma>, accessed 3 May 2014.)

not been reduced to the targeted levels yet, CARMMA has reached notable success in mainstreaming the prevention of maternal mortality into African states' policies.³⁹⁸

The sustained use of human rights and development frames by both existing advocates within the campaign as well as by the newly developed mechanisms was not an inevitable process. Specifically, the growing tendency to draw links between women's rights issues and the security implications of them, as discussed in the previous chapter,³⁹⁹ could have also spread to the maternal mortality issue. Yet such a shift has not been experienced, which further supports the arguments of this study. This also illustrates that not only securitization is not a necessary condition for advocacy success, but that the tendency to utilize it does not exist across campaigns on similar issues.

Campaigns on Environmentally Induced Problems

The comparison of Climate Change and Climate Refugees campaigns furthers our understanding of the role of security frames, and the limits of the contribution they make to the success of advocacy campaigns. Both campaigns analyzed in this subsection focus on addressing climate change induced problems and they both eventually adopted a securitized definition of climate change. Despite these similarities, the Climate Change campaign reached to the policy implementation stage and achieved at least partial success, while Climate Refugees campaign has fallen short of generating political commitment so far. The comparison of these campaigns illustrates that adopting a security frame is not a sufficient condition for success. Moreover, this finding also challenges the uniqueness attributed to the security frames in the literature.

³⁹⁸ For a list of states that launched CARMMA see "Country Scorecards," available at <<http://www.carmma.org/scorecards>>, accessed 3 May 2014.

³⁹⁹ See also Hudson 2010.

As is the case for any frame, while strategic framing of an issue is an important component of success, it needs to coincide with a fertile strategic environment to translate into goal achievement. The issue of climate change was successfully put on the global agenda prior to the securitization of the issue. Even though the securitization of climate change could be regarded as useful in keeping states focused on the issue, there is no clear evidence that the adoption of such language resulted in better policy implementation; moreover, the utilization of this language is not likely to produce such results, since the issue, in its current form, lacks the necessary conditions for framing to translate into success.

Despite the securitization of the climate refugees issue that mimicked the securitization process that the climate change has undergone, the campaign on climate refugees fell short of getting states to publicly commit to addressing the problem. The findings highlighted that the obstacles that exist within the broader political context prevented strategic framing from translating into success. However, a change in framing, although it was toward securitization, did not bring success either, since the issue attributes did not provide a fertile ground for such efforts.

Climate Change Campaign

The issue of climate change has been primarily approached as an environmental issue throughout both the agenda setting and political commitment stages. “Melting glaciers, stranded polar bears and disappearing islands” served as cornerstones of the environmental frame that NGOs and epistemic communities used in “translat[ing]

complex climate change phenomena into event-based, visualisable narratives.”⁴⁰⁰ The problems faced in translating publicly made commitments to policy implementation invoked a security frame at later stages. However, such a shift has not made any significant contribution due to the problems associated with the nature of the issue at hand.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was established by the UNEP and World Meteorological Organization and endorsed by the UNGA in 1988. At the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, the governments agreed on the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change; the framework defined the main purpose of climate change policy as an environmental one and stated the key objective as “stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system.”⁴⁰¹

Upon the realization that the measures set by the Framework Convention were not enough in tackling climate change, the Kyoto Protocol was adopted in 1997 and brought forward legally binding targets for the developed countries to reduce their carbon gas emission levels.⁴⁰² The Protocol defined the problem of climate change primarily as an environmental one with wide range of consequences. “Climate change is a complex problem, which, although environmental in nature, has consequences for all spheres of existence on our planet. It either impacts on-- or is impacted by-- global issues, including poverty, economic development, population growth, sustainable development and

⁴⁰⁰ Doyle 2007; Farbotko and Lazrus 2012. It is worth to note that while environmental frame has been the dominant frame at the early stages, there were also attempts to bring in a human rights perspective. For a discussion on attempts to frame the issue of climate change as a human rights issue, see Aminzadeh 2006.

⁴⁰¹ United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

⁴⁰² “Background on the UNFCCC: The International Response to Climate Change,” available at <http://unfccc.int/essential_background/items/6031.php>, accessed 9 June 2014.

resource management.”⁴⁰³ To date, 192 parties have signed the Kyoto protocol marking a significant level of political commitment success. Thus, it can be argued that climate change reached both agenda setting and political commitment success, and has done so without resorting to a security language.

Over time, security language started to find more and more room in the framing of the issue.⁴⁰⁴ This change was a function of the difficulty that the campaign faced in translating political commitment success to successful policy implementation. The main impediment in front of this transition was the problems faced in answering the question of who should be responsible for shouldering the burden of taking far-reaching action.⁴⁰⁵ The Kyoto Protocol has pointed to the developed countries in answering this question, yet other states – especially the USA – wanted the burden to be shared more equally. Their dissatisfaction has led to their withdrawal from the Protocol.

Within this context security language was adopted not only to attract more attention to the issue; it also targeted to change the perceptions about the responsibilities that each actor should shoulder. This in return would have the potential to bring back the actors who were hesitant due to the unequal burden believed to fall on their shoulders within the existing framework. The security language was introduced by a number of different actors.⁴⁰⁶ For instance:

In 2004 ... British government’s chief scientist, Sir David King, suggested that ‘climate change is a far greater threat to the world’s stability than international terrorism’ ... A group of eleven high-ranking, retired American admirals and generals released a report in April 2007 arguing that climate change will act as a

⁴⁰³ “Background on the UNFCCC: The International Response to Climate Change,” available at <http://unfccc.int/essential_background/items/6031.php>, accessed 9 June 2014.

⁴⁰⁴ Brauch 2009.

⁴⁰⁵ Scott 2012.

⁴⁰⁶ Both state (see Schwartz and Randall 2003; Halden 2007; WBGU 2007; 2008) and non-state actors (see Campbell et al. 2007; Smith and Vivekananda 2007) argued for a link between security and climate change.

‘threat multiplier’ that makes existing concerns, such as water scarcity and food insecurity, more complex and intractable and presents a tangible threat to American national security interests.⁴⁰⁷

In the USA, CNA, a defense think tank, stated in their report titled National Security and the Threat of Climate Change” that “global warming could help trigger widespread political instability in poor regions and large refugee movements to the United States and Europe.”⁴⁰⁸

The security frame became a part of the official discourse in 2007 when UNSC held a debate on “climate, energy and security.”⁴⁰⁹ This language then, after intense debate, found a reflection in the UNGA Resolution 63/281 which invited all the UN organs “to intensify their efforts in considering and addressing climate change, including its possible security implications.”⁴¹⁰

Despite the increasing attempts to draw links between climate change and security threats, the lack of a short causal link between the issue and its negative consequences, combined with lack of data, prevented such an emphasis to make a clear contribution to the development of successful policies. For instance, the United Nations Environment Programme suggested that the conflict in Darfur is partially a result of climate change induced environmental degradation.⁴¹¹ However, these connections were made without any clear scientific evidence to support them: “...securitization of climate change is supported for the most part by anecdotal research into developing regions where conflict

⁴⁰⁷ Brown et al. 2007, 1142.

⁴⁰⁸ CNA, 2007; Hartmann, 2010.

⁴⁰⁹ Trombetta 2008.

⁴¹⁰ UNGA, A/RES/63/281, 3 June 2009.

⁴¹¹ UNEP 2012. Ban Ki-moon made similar comments on Darfur and stated that “Almost invariably, we discuss Darfur in a convenient military and political short-hand—an ethnic conflict pitting Arab militias against black rebels and farmers. Look to its roots, though, and you discover a more complex dynamic. Amid the diverse social and political causes, the Darfur conflict began as an ecological crisis, arising in part from climate change.” (Ki-moon, 16 June 2007).

has been triggered by chronic scarcity caused by environmental change, over-consumption of resources or the combination of both.”⁴¹² Even though this newly developed explanation has become an accepted one, it did not result in changes in the policies developed either in dealing with civil wars or tackling climate change.

As a result of dissatisfaction with Kyoto Protocol, in December 2012 the “Doha Amendment to the Kyoto Protocol” was adopted. The Amendment introduced a new set of commitments for the developed countries in reducing their greenhouse gas emissions.⁴¹³ However, it is still unclear how much success the new set of commitments will bring in addressing the problem. Therefore, despite the gradual securitization of the issue and the seemingly positive contribution that this move has made in attracting more attention to the issue, there is no measurable contribution of such language to the international community’s ability to address this issue.

Climate Refugees Campaign

The issue of climate refugees, first advanced as a human rights issue, has also gone through a phase of securitization, albeit with very different implications. Despite the fact that the securitization of the climate refugees was built on the securitization of climate change – a newly developed but yet widely accepted frame – the adoption of such language has not contributed to the attempts to prioritize the climate refugees issue on the global agenda.

In the initial stages of global agenda setting, the issue of climate refugees was framed as a human rights concern. The concept of “environmental refugees” was first

⁴¹² For an example of such assumed link see Homer-Dixon 1994. For a detailed discussion see Brown et al. 2007, 1147.

⁴¹³ “Kyoto Protocol,” available at < http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php>, accessed 5 November 2014.

introduced by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in 1985 and defined as “those people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (natural and/or triggered by people) that jeopardized their existence and/or seriously affected the quality of their life.”⁴¹⁴ It was as early as 1980s that the United Nations Environmental Programme estimated that 50 million people are at the risk of becoming environmental refugees.⁴¹⁵ While the estimates vary, some researchers argue that “environmental refugees will soon become the largest group of involuntary migrants.”⁴¹⁶ Thus, during this early stage of the agenda setting, the issue was framed as a human rights issue and the emphasis remained on the toll that climate change would take on those who would have to migrate.

The framing choices of the advocates were informed by their desire to graft their concern onto the existing norms on the protection of refugees, yet it took more than a decade after the first published reports for the global agenda setting to reach success due to the obstacles that the broader political context presented. The meeting organized by the government of the Maldives in 2006 brought “the representatives of governments, environmental and humanitarian organizations, and United Nations agencies” together and played a critical role in bringing the issue of protection of climate refugees into the center of the climate change debate.⁴¹⁷ The Conference suggested the 1951 Geneva Convention on the status of refugees to be amended to include climate refugees.⁴¹⁸ Yet the proposal faced resistance from industrialized countries due to the political and

⁴¹⁴ El-Hinnawi 1985, 4.

⁴¹⁵ Bates 2002.

⁴¹⁶ Bates 2002; Myers 1997.

⁴¹⁷ Biermann & Boas, 2008.

⁴¹⁸ Republic of the Maldives Ministry of Environment, Energy and Water 2006.

economic burden it would create on the countries at the receiving end of potential migratory flows.⁴¹⁹

The failure of the campaign was partially a consequence of the obstacles that exist within the broader political context. While there is a relatively well-developed international regime that focuses on the protection of refugees, the regime and institutions are facing significant challenges in responding to the needs of increasing number of refugees, even when climate refugees are kept out of the calculation. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which is at the center of international refugee regime, deals with around 10 million refugees based on its mandate of providing protection for those who face prosecution due to race, religion, political opinion or ethnicity.⁴²⁰ Therefore, the additional burden that the inclusion of a new category of refugees would bring was an unwelcomed one for the key organizations.

In order to remedy this problem, as the campaign evolved, the issue of environmental refugees got reframed and more emphasis started to be put on the security threats that these migratory movements are believed to create (especially for the receiving countries). The security frame got so prevalent that even International Organization for Migration integrated the security frame into its rhetoric: “Migration, climate change and the environment are interrelated. Just as environmental degradation and disasters can cause migration, movement of people can also entail significant effects on surrounding ecosystems. This complex nexus needs to be addressed in a holistic manner, taking into

⁴¹⁹ Biermann & Boas 2008.

⁴²⁰ UNHCR 2007.

account other possible mediating factors including, inter alia, human security, human and economic development, livelihood strategies and conflict.”⁴²¹

The introduction of the security frame into the climate refugees debate has not gone uncontested. The policy implications of adopting such a frame for the well-being of the climate refugees have been at the center of these concerns. As Hartmann points out, “climate refugees narrative can, through mobilising racist fears of a dangerous poor, protect the interests of national security in the west, increasing rather than addressing fundamental issues of social inequality.”⁴²²

Despite the securitization of the climate refugees issue and attempts to initiate policy development by appealing to states’ security concerns, such efforts have not been successful so far due to the difficulties in illustrating a short causal link between climate change and the refugee flows it can create. Since certain types of environmental problems such as volcanic explosions have been happening throughout the history, their existence and the population movements they pave the way to cannot be attributed to climate change. However, other forms of environmental problems such as droughts, floods, and rising sea levels (or at least the frequency at which they happen) are connected to climate change. Nevertheless, given the nature of these issues it is difficult to provide aggregate and case-specific evidence to clearly pinpoint this link, which is critical in convincing policy makers to take actions accordingly. Thus, while securitization might have helped the efforts to prioritize the environmental consequences of climate change on the global agenda, it did not perform a similar function in prioritizing its impact on population movements.

⁴²¹ “Migration and Climate Change: IOM’s Perspective,” available at <<http://www.iom.int/cms/envmig>>, accessed 9 June 2014.

⁴²² Hartmann 2010. Also see Farbotko and Lazrus 2012; Bettini 2013.

Humanitarian Campaigns

There have been a number of campaigns that have focused on tackling the damages that war and conflict inflict on people, especially on vulnerable populations. Despite the mounting efforts, as is the case for all transnational advocacy campaigns, some of these campaigns succeeded in garnering attention while the others failed.⁴²³ In order to understand the factors that led to success and the role of security frames in this process, this subsection compares two relatively successful cases of advocacy campaigns in this issue area: Child Soldiers and Sexual Violence in Conflict.

What guided the decision to compare these campaigns is the fact that, despite the similarity in their primary concerns, these campaigns vary in their use of frames. On the one hand, Child Soldiers campaign primarily used humanitarian and human rights frames throughout all three stages of global agenda setting and policy making and only very recently experienced attempts from the outside of the campaign to invoke a security language. On the other hand, the Sexual Violence in Conflict campaign was quick to adopt security language at the political commitment stage and attributed a more central role to it.

Another factor that makes the framing choices of these campaigns interesting is that even though the child soldiers issue is more amenable to a security frame due to the potential military threat it presents, its campaign activists did not resort to a security frame. The Sexual Violence in Conflict campaign, however, resorted to a security frame even though the damage it inflicts on the bodily integrity of individuals is more apparent (hence the campaign was more amenable to a humanitarian frame). The campaign

⁴²³ For instance, children born of wartime rape have not garnered enough attention to place the issue on the global agenda. (Carpenter 2007)

ultimately resorted to a security frame. This distinction further illustrates the strategic nature of securitization and that adopting it is not an inevitable choice.

The comparison of these two cases also provides insights into the reasons behind advocates' framing decisions, as well as the factors that affect campaigns' success. Both cases illustrate that advocates' past experiences and areas of expertise as well as strategic environment at the time of the campaign shape advocates' framing choices; moreover, they show that multivocalization is utilized strategically to widen the reach of the campaign. Additionally, the analysis illustrates that the degree of compliance with the norms on which the advocates are trying to graft the new issue affects the campaign's ability to reach success.

Child Soldiers Campaign

The issue of child soldiers first started to gain international attention in the 1980s as a result of the momentum clustered around the issue of child's rights. The minimum age for recruiting soldiers was set as 15 by the Additional Protocols I and II to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, and this norm has gone unchallenged for a while.⁴²⁴ However, the Convention on the Rights of the Child signed in 1989 defined a child as "every human being below the age of 18 years unless, the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier." This disparity triggered reaction among activists and led to a call for an Optional Protocol to be signed to increase the minimum recruitment age to 18.

The issue of child soldiers started to garner global attention in mid-1990s as a human rights and humanitarian issue by seizing the opportunities within the political context. The year 1994 was declared as the International Year of the Family, and this provided a space for child's rights to be prioritized on the global agenda. On that same

⁴²⁴ Snyder 2001.

year, Cohn and Goodwin-Gill published a ground-breaking report which allowed the child soldiers issue to find a place within this broader framework. In their report, Cohn and Goodwin-Gill explained the role of child soldiers in international law and illustrated the ways in which the humanitarian law has fallen short of protecting these children.⁴²⁵

The next important step was the report prepared by Graça Machel to be presented to the UNGA in 1996. In this report, the issue of child soldiers was approached from human rights and humanitarian perspectives. The report listed child soldiering among the negative impacts of armed conflict on children and therefore categorized it as something to be prevented in order to promote and protect the rights of children.⁴²⁶ The report was welcomed by the General Assembly and led to a resolution on the issue which marked the success of the global agenda setting stage of the campaign.⁴²⁷ Following the report, the UN Secretary General appointed a new Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict.⁴²⁸

The sporadic efforts that preceded the UNGA Resolution were concentrated afterwards with the realization that while the political atmosphere was conducive for garnering international attention to the issue, it will be a more difficult task to get states to take action to address it. With this understanding, the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers (CSUCS) was launched in 1998.⁴²⁹ The Coalition followed suit and adopted human rights and humanitarian frames from the very beginning. Stuart Maslen, the coordinator of the Coalition at the time, reached out to the international community in

⁴²⁵ Cohn and Goodwin-Gill 1994.

⁴²⁶ Machel 1996.

⁴²⁷ A/RES//51/77, 20 February 1997.

⁴²⁸ Snyder 2001.

⁴²⁹ Amnesty International, Defense for Children International, Human Rights Watch, International Federation Terre des Hommes, International Save the Children Alliance, Jesuit Refugee Service, and the Quaker United Nation Office, Geneva got together in June 1998 and launched the Campaign.

an article published in 1998 by framing the issue from human rights and humanitarian perspectives and stated that:

It is perhaps unsurprising that, when on active service, children fighting in armed forces or armed groups face similar risks to their adult counterparts: death, injury or dismemberment as a result of enemy military action; execution or imprisonment for desertion or upon capture (notwithstanding the demands of international humanitarian law), disease or malnutrition brought on by the rigours of military life. But the direct consequences for children used as soldiers reach deeper into the trough of atrocious misery to encompass an almost systemic physical, sexual and mental abuse by other, older recruits amidst a frequent disintegration of social and cultural norms.⁴³⁰

While the campaign chose to graft the issue onto the existing human rights and humanitarian norms, it is important to note that such a choice was neither automatic nor inevitable. Another alternative could have been to frame the issue as a child labor problem and graft it onto the norms developed by the International Labor Organization⁴³¹ which prohibit the use of children in dangerous occupations,⁴³² yet advocates settled on a human rights and humanitarian frame.⁴³³

A number of factors affected the framing choices of the advocacy campaign. The first factor was related to the advocates' prior experiences. As Snyder contends, "[b]y early 1998, humanitarian and advocacy NGOs who played an active role in the Ottawa Process on landmines were now looking for other issues which had stagnated within the UN system and which might lend themselves to a similar formula. Child soldiers and the

⁴³⁰ Maslen 1998, 445.

⁴³¹ For a detailed list of relevant ILO Conventions see "ILO Conventions and Recommendations on Child Labour," available at < <http://www.ilo.org/ipecc/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang--en/index.htm>>, accessed 30 November 2014.

⁴³² The Convention Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor lists child soldiering as "one of the worst forms of child labor." The Convention treats child soldiering as a form of slavery and lists the worst forms of child labor as "all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict." (ILO, No: 182). For a more detailed discussion see Tiefenbrun 2007.

⁴³³ Achvarina 2006; Carpenter 2007.

Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict seemed like an obvious choice.⁴³⁴ Thus, the previous success of the Landmines campaign encouraged the advocates to adopt a similar framing strategy.

The framing choices of the campaign were also related to the strategic environment as well as the existing norms onto which the issue can be layered. Both the existing humanitarian norms as well as the unfinished discussion on child's rights provided the advocates an opportunity to "graft" the issue onto the humanitarian and human rights frames. As Snyder puts it "especially following the study on the impact of armed conflict on children by Ms Graça Machel in 1996, UN agencies such as UNHCR and UNICEF have sought to develop institutional memory and consistency in their programming."⁴³⁵ These developments provided fertile ground for varying institutions to be receptive of the pressure exerted by the advocates. These efforts, in return, resulted in signing of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict in January 2000.

Even though security language has not been championed by any of the major actors within the campaign (except for some attempts that came from outside of the campaign at the policy implementation stage), there was an early involvement of the UNSC through Resolution 1261.⁴³⁶ While adoption of the issue by a security organization is an indicator of securitization, a closer analysis reveals different insights. When the content of the Resolution is analyzed, it becomes clear that rather than describing child soldiers as a threat to international security, the Resolution, noting the humanitarian

⁴³⁴ Snyder 2001, 135.

⁴³⁵ Maslen 1998, 447.

⁴³⁶ S.C. Res. 1261, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1261 (1999).

law,⁴³⁷ “condemn[ed] the targeting of children in situations of armed conflict.”⁴³⁸ In this instance, the Security Council’s involvement contributed to human rights and humanitarian frames rather than introducing a security frame.

Despite the military and therefore security implications of child soldiering, the only clear attempt to frame the issue as a security threat came at the policy implementation stage. The attempt came from outside the campaign and did not resonate with the campaign to that point. The use of child soldiers by non-state actors was one of the main concerns both at the agenda setting and political commitment stages, yet such emphasis was not formulated as a security threat until the policy implementation stage. These outside attempts to securitize the child soldiers issue can be explained with the political context of the post-9/11 world. Singer summarizes the situation from a “war on terror” perspective and suggests that “[child soldiers] fight in places like Afghanistan, Colombia, Congo, Iraq, Liberia, Myanmar, Sierra Leone, and Sudan and, with the new ‘war on terrorism,’ increasingly face off against the United States and other Western armies. Indeed, at least five underage boys suspected of being Al Qaeda terrorists or Taliban fighters have been imprisoned at the U.S. military prison on Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.”⁴³⁹

⁴³⁷ “Noting recent efforts to bring to an end the use of children as soldiers in violation of international law, in International Labour Organization Convention No. 182 on the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour which prohibits forced or compulsory labour, including the forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict, and in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court in which conscripting or enlisting children under the age of fifteen into national armed forces or using them to participate actively in hostilities is characterized as a war crime,” S.C. Res. 1261, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1261, 30 August 1999.

⁴³⁸ “Strongly condemns the targeting of children in situations of armed conflict, including killing and maiming, sexual violence, abduction and forced displacement, recruitment and use of children in armed conflict in violation of international law, and attacks on objects protected under international law, including places that usually have a significant presence of children such as schools and hospitals, and calls on all parties concerned to put an end to such practices;” S.C. Res. 1261, U.N. Doc. S/RES/1261, 30 August 1999.

⁴³⁹ Singer 2004, 562. Also see Eriksson et al. 2002; Auster and Whitelaw 2003; Faul 2003.

Despite these attempts to approach the issue from a security perspective, the security language has not found its way into the campaign yet. This is evidenced by the lack of security language in the current approach of the advocates. For instance, Child Soldiers International describes the current state of the policy implementation stage by stating that “Today close to two thirds of states recognise that banning under-18s from military ranks is necessary to protect them from the risk of involvement in armed conflict and to ensure their well-being, and that their other rights as children are respected.”⁴⁴⁰

Thus, the analysis of the Child Soldiers campaign illustrates that the campaign reached success at agenda setting and political commitment stages by using human rights and humanitarian frames. Both the political opportunity structure as well as the advocates’ previous experiences shaped their framing choices. There were attempts to reframe the issue within the “war on terror” framework, yet these efforts have neither resonated with the main actors in the issue nor triggered any observable positive increase in states’ compliance.

Sexual Violence in Conflict Campaign

While the use of sexual violence as a military instrument has been documented for a long time,⁴⁴¹ the issue has started to garner international attention only after the atrocities experienced in Rwanda, Yugoslavia and Democratic Republic of Congo.⁴⁴² These atrocities led to the recognition of sexual violence in conflict as a “crime against humanity and war crime in international law” yet in the words of Jody Williams, who

⁴⁴⁰ “Who are Child Soldiers,” available at <http://www.child-soldiers.org/about_the_issues.php>, accessed 23 December 2014.

⁴⁴¹ For a detailed analysis see Saikia 2004; Meger 2010.

⁴⁴² Pratt and Werchick 2004; Erturk 2008; Meger 2010.

assumed a leading role in the creation of the campaign, “laws are lovely on paper. They are irrelevant if they are not implemented and complied with.”⁴⁴³

In order to create change on the ground, and not just on paper, a group of advocates got together and initiated a campaign with the support of like-minded states. The goal of the campaign is to convert the perception about sexual violence in conflict as an unfortunate military tactic to be punished as a crime once the conflict is over, but rather to develop a norm that would eliminate the use of sexual violence as a military instrument, all together.

Similar to the Child Soldiers campaign, the framing choices of the advocates at the global agenda setting stage was partly a function of the previous experiences of the actors involved in the network, and partly a function of advocates’ desire to appeal to as many potential allies possible and to graft the issue onto the existing norms about sexual violence outside conflict zones. The transnational advocacy movement that started the campaign got together in 2011 at the Nobel Women’s Initiative. At this meeting, “130 women activists, security experts, academics, journalists, and corporate leaders from 30 countries gathered with Nobel Peace Laureates Jody Williams, Shirin Ebadi, and Mairead Maguire.”⁴⁴⁴ These women brought in their own expertise and framed the issue primarily from human rights and humanitarian perspectives. As it is explained in the Campaign’s call for action, advocates framed wartime rape as a threat to “individuals and families, entire communities and the fabric of society.”⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ Nobel Women’s Initiative 2011, 5.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ “Campaign Call,” available at < http://www.stopraineinconflict.org/campaign_call>, accessed 12 November 2014.

The efforts proved to be successful and led to the Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict in June 2014, which marked the transition from the agenda setting stage to the political commitment stage. The language used at the Summit combined a number of frames and defined the issue as a “public health and human rights concern, as well as a matter of peace and security.”⁴⁴⁶ In the summary report it was stated that:

Sexual violence in conflict is a uniquely destructive act and method of war. It is an outrage to all morality. Survivors who have gone through the trauma of an attack too often also face rejection by their families and reprisals from their communities. Moreover, sexual violence in conflict often flows from underlying inequalities. Further, a society that believes in human rights for all human beings and opportunities for all its citizens cannot know about the way rape is used as a weapon of war and then simply ignore it. But it is not only our values that are at stake. Sexual violence in conflict poses a grave threat to international peace and security. It exacerbates tension and violence and undermines stability...⁴⁴⁷

Thus, at this stage, in addition to human rights and humanitarian frames, a security frame was also utilized.

The purpose of introducing a security language to the issue was not to militarize the topic by taking it outside the realm of politics, but rather to incorporate the issue onto the peace-making and peace-building efforts. That the security language adopted at the political commitment stage, on the one hand, defines sexual violence in conflict as a threat to security; and on the other hand, lists the prevention of such acts as a precondition for achieving lasting peace. “States have responsibility for breaches of international law committed by their armed forces. Although it is and has been a feature of most conflicts, it has only recently been discussed openly in international conflict-prevention discourse. Yet it can undermine ceasefires, and prevent lasting reconciliation

⁴⁴⁶ Garcia-Moreno 2014.

⁴⁴⁷ “The Issue,” available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/chairs-summary-global-summit-to-end-sexual-violence-in-conflict/chairs-summary-global-summit-to-end-sexual-violence-in-conflict>, accessed 29 November 2014.

long after the last bullets have been fired. It affects not only women and girls, but also men and boys...By undermining reconciliation, deepening grievances and devastating communities, sexual violence feeds a cycle of conflict.”⁴⁴⁸

Despite these efforts and the introduction of a security frame, no significant change has been observed on the ground so far⁴⁴⁹ due to the obstacles within the broader political context as well as the attributes of the issue at hand. When evaluated from this perspective, the issue of sexual violence in conflict constitutes an interesting example because the scope and the severity of the issue have so far worked as an impediment to advocates’ efforts to attract global attention to the issue rather than promoting it. That is to say, because of “its prominence throughout history, sexual violence in warfare is often dismissed as an ‘inevitable’ and unfortunate feature of conflict.”⁴⁵⁰ Thus, in this case, the existing norms on both “code of conduct in warfare” and “sexual violence” have worked against the campaign as the problems faced in compliance with these norms led to a “fatigue,” and made sympathetic allies and target actors question the campaign’s potential to create change.

As suggested by the literature and discussed in the previous chapter, the second reason that limited the success of the efforts to bring the issue onto the forefront of the global agenda is argued to be the lack of data that can be used in illustrating the scope and the severity of the situation. While some estimates exist⁴⁵¹ they vary significantly and

⁴⁴⁸ “The Issue,” available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/chairs-summary-global-summit-to-end-sexual-violence-in-conflict/chairs-summary-global-summit-to-end-sexual-violence-in-conflict>, accessed 29 November 2014.

⁴⁴⁹ It needs to be noted that since the campaign is still very recent, the evaluation of the campaign’s success is a tentative one.

⁴⁵⁰ Heineman 2008; Meger 2010, 120.

⁴⁵¹ Such as Wood 2006; Johnson et al. 2010.

the “scarcity of data from population-based surveys has fuelled certain misconceptions, and limited policy and programmatic investments in conflict-related sexual violence.”⁴⁵²

Thus, Sexual Violence in Conflict is an example of a campaign that has not reached success in creating political commitment and policy implementation despite being framed as a security threat. The lack of compliance with the norms onto which the issue was grafted played an important role in limiting the success. Combined with the above-explained impediments, the analysis further showed that, in the absence of other enabling factors, adopting a security frame is not a sufficient condition for success. This illustrates the strategic nature of securitization and that no issue falls naturally into a security frame, which further supports the study’s argument that securitization functions like any other instance of framing.

Arms Control Campaigns

Above presented analyses looked into the campaigns on non-traditional security issues to reveal whether transnational advocacy networks resorted to security frames and how well such choices resonated with the level of success that campaigns reached. However, in order to provide a fuller analysis, it is important to look into networks’ framing choices when advocating for issues that are traditionally categorized as security concerns. Such an analysis is crucial in illustrating that mechanisms identified above are also valid for the framing processes surrounding traditional security issues.

Campaigns that targeted the banning of landmines and limiting the use of small arms are similar in terms of the nature of the issues at hand, as well as in terms of their goals. Both of the campaigns are examples of transnational advocacy networks’ efforts to find their ways into areas that are considered to be a part of security domain – which are

⁴⁵² Garcia-Moreno 2014, 2023.

traditionally outside of the TANS' reach. Landmines have been mostly considered just another type of conventional weapon with "no particular ill repute"⁴⁵³ and thus, in content, very similar to small arms. Yet, despite these similarities the Landmines campaign reached significant level of success while the Small Arms campaign has so far reached a very limited one.

Comparing these cases presents additional insights into understanding the role and importance of framing, as it illustrates how successful de-securitization might be crucial for achieving success while remaining within a security frame could lead to failure. The ICBL has effectively de-securitized the issue, i.e. moved the issue away from a national security frame into a humanitarian one. IANSA has made a similar attempt at the agenda setting stage but got pulled back into the security frame at the policy commitment stage. As a result, the successfully de-securitized ICBL has become one of the most successful examples of global agenda setting and policy making while the re-securitized IANSA has failed to create any notable change on the ground.

The comparative analysis below illustrates four insights into advocates' decisions to use security frames. First, it demonstrates that, as it is the case for other issue areas, the fact that an issue is traditionally considered within a security frame does not necessarily dictates the framing choices of a transnational advocacy campaign. Second, de-securitizing traditional security issues could contribute to the success of a campaign by providing a space wherein advocates can be credibly heard. Third, the comparison also illustrates that framing choices can be tailored not only to attract the attention of targets of influence but also to extend the reach of the network by appealing to potential allies.

⁴⁵³ Price 1998, 617.

Lastly, the relative success of the ICBL reveals that in order for a campaign to succeed, strategic framing needs to coexist with other enabling factors such as network dynamics. For that reason, lack of fertile network dynamics as well as the existence of counter norms and counter-campaigns prevented the Small Arms campaign from reaching a similar level of success.

International Campaign to Ban Landmines

The ICBL was established in 1992 by the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation and Medico International; later joined by four other human rights organizations, they formed the Campaign's Steering Committee.⁴⁵⁴ The campaign primarily used a humanitarian frame throughout all stages of global agenda setting and policy making and argued that, "antipersonnel mines are indiscriminate and inhumane weapons and therefore violate the basic elements of international humanitarian law"⁴⁵⁵ and hurt civilians.

The advocacy efforts of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines turned out to be one of the most successful examples of global agenda setting and led to the signing of the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and their Destruction in 1997 by 122 countries. The agreement is considered to be "a stunning example of a new form of diplomacy" where NGOs, in cooperation with states, have created a new norm.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵⁴ The members of the Campaign's Steering Committee are the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation, Medico International, Mines Advisory Group, Handicap International, Human Rights Watch and Physicians for Human Rights. The Campaign's membership later increased up to 750-1000 from 44-50 countries. (ICBL 1997)

⁴⁵⁵ "Arguments for the Ban," available at <<http://www.icbl.org/en-gb/problem/arguments-for-the-ban.aspx>>, accessed 16 February 2014.

⁴⁵⁶ Short 1999, 481; Price 1998; Hubert 2000.

Despite the fact that the campaign was primarily dealing with an arms control issue, it did not use a security frame in its efforts to attract transnational attention and initiate global policies addressing the issue. To the contrary, the campaign deliberately stayed away from using a security frame (effectively by de-securitizing it) as it might have weakened the campaign rather than strengthening it. As the following statement illustrates this was a deliberate choice on the part of the campaign:

The ICBL ... maintained its focus on civilian harms to distinguish APMs from other weapon systems or war itself. Opposition to landmines was not to be equated with opposition to warfare in general. The ICBL continually emphasized the indiscriminate nature of APMs, while acknowledging that most other weapons had clear military benefits. By tapping into universal norms about the need to protect civilians and especially children, the ICBL emphasized how the harms of landmines ought to overwhelm any consideration of their military utility.⁴⁵⁷

The strong and unified emphasis placed on the humanitarian frame can be considered as one of the most important factors in the success that ICBL has reached at the agenda setting stage; however, this was possible due to the network dynamics.⁴⁵⁸ Rather than acting as a coalition of NGOs with varying voices and framing priorities, the Campaign acted with a “single, homogenous voice with a unitary position.”⁴⁵⁹ The coordinator of the campaign at the time, Jody Williams was in charge of voicing the position of the Campaign and she insisted on framing the issue as a humanitarian one by emphasizing that landmines are “a humanitarian, not an arms control issue.”⁴⁶⁰

The humanitarian frame contributed to the Campaign’s efforts to get the states to publicly commit to banning landmines in primarily three ways. First, the humanitarian frame helped the campaign by illustrating the severity of the issue and marking the states

⁴⁵⁷ Wexler 2003, 571.

⁴⁵⁸ See Shawki 2011.

⁴⁵⁹ Short 1999, 484.

⁴⁶⁰ Short 1999, 483.

as the source of the problem. As Keck and Sikkink put forward, a campaign is more likely to succeed if it is able to identify a perpetrator and a short causal link between the actions of that perpetrator and the damage it creates for “vulnerable or innocent individuals.”⁴⁶¹ This approach has been evident since the very first report published by Asia Watch and Physicians for Human Rights in 1991 – which preceded the ICBL – “[landmines] are blind weapons that cannot distinguish between the footfall of a soldier or that of an old woman gathering firewood. They recognize no cease-fire, and long after the fighting has stopped, they can maim or kill the children and grandchildren of the soldiers who laid them.”⁴⁶² With this type of a humanitarian frame, the campaign focused on emphasizing the damage that landmines inflict on innocent civilians.

Images and data were used effectively to widen influence of the frame championed by the campaign, and helped the campaign to reach out to a number of potential allies. The primary statistics used by the advocates was that “landmines kill or maim more than twenty-six thousand people per year of whom an estimated 80 percent are civilian.”⁴⁶³ Data was used to illustrate that the problem is here to stay unless appropriate steps were to be taken as there “may be 200 million landmines scattered in at least sixty-four countries”⁴⁶⁴ and the severity of the situation can be “stabilized” only if the world’s mine-clearing capacity has been increased by five-fold.⁴⁶⁵ Despite the later criticisms about the validity of these statistics,⁴⁶⁶ the statistics were picked up and

⁴⁶¹ Stone 1989; Keck and Sikkink 1998, 27.

⁴⁶² Asia Watch and Physicians for Human Rights 1991, 5.

⁴⁶³ Strada 1996; Rutherford 2000; 87.

⁴⁶⁴ Blagden 1993, 117.

⁴⁶⁵ Blagden 1995.

⁴⁶⁶ For a discussion on the source and validity of the landmine statistics see Rutherford 2000.

resulted in the endorsement of the humanitarian frame by major media outlets.⁴⁶⁷ As a result, the Campaign was able not only to convince the international community to the “indiscriminate cost of landmines” but also to pinpoint states as the perpetrators to be held responsible for the damage caused.⁴⁶⁸

The use of the humanitarian frame also allowed the advocacy network to get support from less-likely allies: states. In other words, by de-securitizing the issue, the campaign prevented states from ignoring the issue by hiding behind their security priorities. As Hubert argues, “once the issue was cast in humanitarian terms, it became difficult for states to resist the logic of a ban.”⁴⁶⁹ This shift in states’ approach cannot be attributed to the diminishing utility of landmines as exemplified by the stance that relatively volatile states took on the issue.⁴⁷⁰ This shift rather could be explained by the change in the cost-benefit calculations of the states as a result of the successful de-securitization of the issue by the campaign. As Price notes, “many states have decided not that mines are not at all useful, but that their military utility is outweighed by their humanitarian costs, thus introducing a moral calculus into the definition of national interest.”⁴⁷¹

Framing the issue as a humanitarian problem also enabled the advocates to draw cognitive connections between their goal and the existing norms. As Finnemore and Sikkink suggest, an attempt to create a new norm is evaluated by the actors based on how

⁴⁶⁷ For example, “A Plague of Land Mines” New York Times, 8 May 1996; “The Land Mine Carnage”, Washington Post, 3 January 1997; “An Unacceptable Weapon”, The Economist, 23 March 1996. For more discussion on media support, see Price 1998.

⁴⁶⁸ Hubert 2000; Clarke 2008.

⁴⁶⁹ Hubert 2000, xii.

⁴⁷⁰ Such as Angola, Cambodia and Croatia (see Price 1998).

⁴⁷¹ Price 1998, 614.

well they correspond to the existing norms.⁴⁷² Thus, the issues that can be “grafted” onto the existing norms have a better chance at succeeding in getting attention and creating change.⁴⁷³ On the one hand, the campaign grafted the issue onto the existing norms against the use of chemical and biological weapons. They framed the landmines as “weapons of mass destruction in slow motion” which means that “they should be perceived as being just indiscriminate and inhumane as chemical weapons.”⁴⁷⁴ On the other hand, the issue was grafted onto the existing humanitarian law which forbids the use of a particular type of an attack if it “may cause more harm to noncombatants than necessary to fulfill the military objective.”⁴⁷⁵ As a result of these efforts, the issue has become a part of discussion on protecting civilians rather than being considered as just another tool at militaries’ disposal.

Today, the campaign is in its policy implementation stage and so far has reached a considerable level of success as a result of the signing and ratification of the treaty by 161 countries. However, implementation is not perfect and ICBL believes that there is still room for improvement. Toward this end, the Coalition launched a campaign called “Finish the Job” where they aim to universalize the norm compliance. At this stage, the campaign still frames the issue as a threat to civilian protection and hence shows consistency in their framing choices. The consistent emphasis on the protection of civilians can be observed in their call for action: “Getting more states to join the Mine

⁴⁷² Finnemore and Sikkink 1998.

⁴⁷³ Kjellman 2007; Price 1998.

⁴⁷⁴ The Arms Project 1993. For more discussion on the grafting of the landmines onto the WMD taboo see Price 1998.

⁴⁷⁵ Rutherford 2000, 93.

Ban Treaty is a key way to strengthen the norm of a total ban on antipersonnel mines and contribute to saving more lives from the scourge of mines.”⁴⁷⁶

Thus, the above presented analysis illustrates that an arms control issue can be de-securitized, and such a framing choice might contribute to the success of a campaign. This stands in opposition to what one would have seen if the securitization literature were to be correct about the prominence of security frames.

Small Arms Campaign

The Small Arms campaign started with the efforts of scholars and arms control policy advocates in the first half of 1990s.⁴⁷⁷ The early publications not only raised awareness about the issue but also brought various non-governmental actors that have been working on the issue, in one way or another, together.⁴⁷⁸ In late 1997, twenty-three such NGOs got together in Washington and founded the Preparatory Committee for a Global Campaign on Small Arms and Light Weapons. After series of meetings the International Action Network on Small Arms was officially formed in 1999 by the involvement of more than 100 NGOs.⁴⁷⁹

Human rights and humanitarian frames were adopted early on by the Campaign. The founding document of IANSA stated the Network’s objective as, “contribut[ing] to a more just and violence-free world, sustainable peace, development, human security and respect for human rights” through fighting with the “proliferation and misuse of small

⁴⁷⁶ “Join the Treaty,” available at <<http://www.icbl.org/en-gb/finish-the-job/join-the-treaty.aspx>>, accessed 27 January 2014.

⁴⁷⁷ Such as Karp 1993;1994; Kartha 1993; Dikshit 1994; Goose and Smtyh 1994; Klare 1994; Mills 1994. For a detailed list of early works on small arms see Laurence and Stohl 2002.

⁴⁷⁸ Such as “fact-finding missions, ... weapons collection and destruction programs, ... establishment of best practices and ...codes of contact, ...[and] interstate conventions focusing on illicit trafficking.” (Grillot et al. 2006)

⁴⁷⁹ Krause 2002.

arms and light weapons.”⁴⁸⁰ As exemplified by the approach stated in the founding documents, the Network framed the problem of small arms as a threat to the “human right to live in a secure environment characterized by peace, dignity and humanity”⁴⁸¹ and thus, tried to de-securitize the issue.

The humanitarian and human rights language that the campaign adopted at the agenda setting stage also became embedded in the symbolic politics that the campaign has resorted to in triggering international attention. For instance, “network members often raise[d] the fact that more than 40 Red Cross personnel were killed in the 1990s in Chechnya and Rwanda alone. This is astonishing when you compare that number with the 15 Red Cross volunteers who died in the line of duty between 1945 and 1990.”⁴⁸²

The efforts of the campaign also coincided with number of resolutions by the UN, and which eventually led to the creation of the United Nations Panel of Experts on Small Arms. As a result, the Campaign has succeeded in getting the issue on the UN’s agenda and led to the UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects which was followed by a non-binding Programme of Action. The Arms Trade Treaty has recently gone into effect, yet the level of success this treaty brings is rather limited as only sixty-four out of hundred and thirty signatories have ratified the treaty so far.

As the campaign moved from the agenda setting to political commitment stage, a shift in the framing of the issue was also experienced. While the security frame was not utilized at the agenda setting stage, it rose in prominence at the political commitment stage. This shift in the framing of the issue is exemplified in the United Nations Office

⁴⁸⁰ “About Us,” available at < <http://www.iansa.org/aboutus>>, accessed 26 February 2014.

⁴⁸¹ Grillot et al. 2006.

⁴⁸² Boutwell and Klare 2000; Grillot et al. 2006, 67.

for Disarmament Affairs' approach to the issue: "Illicit small arms have a negative impact on security, contribute to the displacement of civilians, facilitate the violation of human rights and hamper social and economic development."⁴⁸³ However, despite what the securitization literature would have expected to observe, such change did not bring significant political commitment success.

It is important to note that the limited success of the campaign at the political commitment stage cannot be attributed solely to the attempts to securitize the issue. A number of structural and non-structural factors played a role in the relative failure of the campaign. First, whereas the density and the diversity of the campaign network contributed to the success of the Landmines campaign, decentralized structure of the Small Arms campaign limited its strength.⁴⁸⁴ Second, the existence of pro-gun groups was crucial. These counter-campaigning efforts not only were able to graft their arguments on the norms on "right to bear arm" but also had better access to key conference delegations during the negotiations.⁴⁸⁵

Comparative Analysis

The analysis I present in this chapter provides insights into both the role and impact of security frames in particular and advocates' framing choices and the factors shaping these decisions, in general. The first set of insights support the arguments developed in the previous chapter: The successful examples of non-securitized cases (Maternal Mortality, Landmines and Child Soldiers) illustrated that using security frames is not a necessary condition for success of a campaign while the failed examples of

⁴⁸³ "Combating the Illicit Trade in Small Arms," available at <<http://www.un.org/disarmament/content/slideshow/poa/>>, accessed 4 September 2014.

⁴⁸⁴ Shawki 2011.

⁴⁸⁵ Shawki 2010.

securitized cases (Climate Refugees and Sexual Violence in Conflict) illustrated that using security frames is not a sufficient condition for success, either.

As the discussion on de-securitization of the Landmines campaign illustrated, contrary to the arguments in the securitization literature, reframing a traditional security concern as a humanitarian problem can help advocates' efforts to prioritize the issue on states' political agendas. This is because de-securitizing the issue opens up a space for advocates to have their voices heard, which would not have been possible if the issue were to remain as a security concern.

The failed examples of securitized cases (Climate Refugees and Sexual Violence in Conflict) challenged the uniqueness attributed to the security frames by the literature and showed that security frames function like other discursive frames. Therefore, the adoption of security frames is a result of a strategic calculation on the part of the advocates rather than an inevitable process. Thus, like any other frame, security frames contribute to the success of a campaign given that other relevant conditions described by global agenda setting and framing literatures (such as suitable political atmosphere, availability of data, short causal link, physical damage inflicted on innocent victims) exist. As we see in the example of the Climate Refugees campaign, when other conditions are missing, security frame cannot trigger success on its own.

In addition to supporting the arguments made in the previous chapter about the limits of the role and the importance of security frames, this chapter presented three lessons concerning framing processes in general. The findings provided insights into (i) the conditions that are needed for strategic framing to translate into campaign success;

(ii) motivations behind advocates' framing choices, and (iii) conditions shaping such choices.

Conditions for Success

While not disregarding the role and importance of framing in the success of transnational advocacy campaigns, the comparative analysis illustrated that in order for strategic framing of an issue to lead to success, it needs to coexist with a number of factors. The findings showed that despite the uniqueness attributed to security frames, the same is true for securitized campaigns as illustrated by the less successful examples of securitized campaigns (Climate Refugees and Sexual Violence in Conflict).

The findings of the study lend support to the arguments in the literature that emphasize the role of the strategic environment in explaining the success of an advocacy campaign. As the literature points out, target actors' as well as potential allies' receptiveness of a campaign's calls are "context dependent."⁴⁸⁶ While advocates strategically frame issues to capitalize on both structural and non-structural opportunities at hand, lack of such conditions limit the possible positive outcomes of such efforts.

One of the frequently cited determinants of success is how well the proposed norm resonates with the existing ones.⁴⁸⁷ In certain cases, strategic framing of issues help campaigns successfully draws a link between their claims and the existing norms. This can be observed in the case of the Landmines campaign, and the successful link they drew between their call to ban landmines and existing norms on weapons of mass destruction and protection of civilians in warfare. However, strategic framing does not always accomplish this goal. This could be due to the existence of counter norms (as in

⁴⁸⁶ Meyer 2004.

⁴⁸⁷ Keck and Sikkink 1998.

the case of “right to bear arms” norm that the Small Arms campaign had to work against) or due to the lack of adherence to the existing norms (as in the case of constant violation of protection of civilians norms that worked against the efforts of the Sexual Violence in Conflict campaign).

In this sense, the strategic environment within which the advocacy efforts take place plays an important role. While the political context is beyond the control of the campaign, it shapes both the potential allies’ and target actors’ priorities and their receptiveness to the campaigns’ advocacy efforts.⁴⁸⁸ For instance, the momentum around the child’s rights issues in 1980s provided a fertile ground for the campaign on Child Soldiers to get started. Similarly, the changing political dynamics with the end of the Cold War has led to an increased awareness about the problems in Africa and this in turn provided an opportunity for advocates’ to successfully pitch the issue of HIV/AIDS as a development problem.

Yet, the advocates’ hands are not tied in the face of less than optimal strategic environments. Both the arguments in the literature and the evidence that this study brought forward illustrated that not only structural but also non-structural factors play a critical role in determining the level of success that a transnational advocacy campaign reach. These factors “include strategy and agency, which have to do with the active choices and efforts of movements as well as of the opponents and other players in the conflict, and cultural factors that deal with the moral visions, cognitive understandings, and emotions that exist prior to a movement but which are also transformed by it.”⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁸ Such as Cooley and Ron 2002; Tarrow 2005; Joachim 2007; Shawki 2010.

⁴⁸⁹ Goodwin and Jasper 1999, 29.

One set of such characteristics is regarding the advocacy networks' own characteristics, i.e. intra-network dynamics.⁴⁹⁰ These characteristics include “the diversity of a TAN, the number and diversity of its members and its ability to exchange information.”⁴⁹¹ For instance, the ICBL's ability to bring in diverse set of actors together and create a dense (yet diverse) network was important in the success of the Landmines campaign, yet failure to create such dynamic within the network worked to the disadvantage of the IANSA.⁴⁹²

Similarly, gatekeeper preferences were based on their perceptions of the issue; their calculations about the contribution they can make to the issue; as well as the benefits they could potentially draw from becoming a part of the campaign⁴⁹³ play a role in determining a campaign's level of success. For instance, the overwhelmed agenda of gatekeepers within the international refugees regime prevented the gatekeepers from prioritizing the climate refugees issue and lending support to the campaign.

Non-structural conditions also include case specific characteristics, i.e. issue attributes. These attributes include the nature of the harm caused by the problem at hand (whether it is physical and therefore easily identifiable)⁴⁹⁴ as well as the perceived existence of harm inflicted on “innocent” civilians;⁴⁹⁵ existence of a short causal link between the perpetrator and the victim;⁴⁹⁶ and whether the issue is culturally sensitive.⁴⁹⁷ While these issue attributes can be brought to light through strategic framing by the

⁴⁹⁰ Such as Keck and Sikkink 1998; Khagram et al. 2002; Carpenter 2005; 2010; 2014; Hertel 2006; Shawki 2011; Davis and Murdie 2012; Wong 2012; Hadden 2014; Wong and Hendrix 2014; Carpenter et al. 2014.

⁴⁹¹ Shawki 2011, 98. Also see Keck and Sikkink 1998; Smith 2005.

⁴⁹² Shawki 2011.

⁴⁹³ Bob 2005; Carpenter et al. 2014; Carpenter 2011; 2014.

⁴⁹⁴ Such as Finnemore and Sikkink 1998.

⁴⁹⁵ Keck and Sikkink 1998; Carpenter 2005.

⁴⁹⁶ Such as Keck and Sikkink 1998; Stone 2006.

⁴⁹⁷ Such as Carpenter 2007.

advocates, not all issues are equally amenable to such efforts. For instance, the physical damage caused by landmines worked to the advantage of the Landmines Campaign, whereas the fact that the causal link between climate change and migration is a long and an indirect one. For that reason, despite the efforts by the advocates, it was difficult for advocates to convince both gatekeepers and target actors to the urgency of the problem.

Frame multivocalization as networking

The above presented analysis illustrated that campaigns tend to combine multiple frames at the same time for two purposes. They engage in multivocalization in order to reach out to as many potential allies as possible and to widen their network. Using different frames allows campaigns to circulate their arguments within different issue networks and attract potential allies with varying interests. For instance, the initial adoption of a security frame by the HIV/AIDS campaign did not aim to emphasize the security implications of the issue, but rather attempted to get the UNSC's as well as donors' support in prioritizing the issue as a development and human rights issue. Similarly, combining human rights and health frames helped the Maternal Mortality campaign to bring in a wide array of NGOs together in attempts to prioritize the issue. The combined use of humanitarian and human rights frames by the Child Soldiers campaign also allowed advocates to reach out to both the UNHCR, which operates within the humanitarian network, and the UNICEF, which operates within the human rights network, at the same time and guarantee their support.

The findings also illustrated that adoption of multiple frames could be aimed at increasing the campaigns' chances of grafting their issue onto as many norms as possible. For instance, the Child Soldiers campaign has framed the issue both as a human rights

and humanitarian issue in order to tap the issue onto both norms on child's rights and humanitarian norms developed with Geneva Conventions. Similarly, the use of development and human rights frame together was crucial in bringing success to the HIV/AIDS campaign as it put responsibility on the shoulders of actors within different regimes after the failure of the initial campaign based on a health frame that only managed to stimulate action on the part of WHO. The contribution that multivocalization make to the HIV/AIDS campaign found its reflection in the structure of the UNAIDS which was sponsored by a number of organizations from different issue networks.

These findings lend support to the arguments developed in the recent literature regarding the role of intra-network dynamics in shaping decisions and actions of advocacy networks.⁴⁹⁸ Thus, bringing in crucial allies and forming a strong coalition is considered to be as important as the expectations about the target actors' behaviors in explaining advocacy networks' decisions. As a part of this broader literature, it is argued that "constructing" an issue for target actors is not enough in successfully addressing it, advocacy networks also need to get support from "gatekeepers" – central organizations within the networks.⁴⁹⁹ Therefore, appealing to these gatekeepers require campaigns to strategically choose their frame accordingly as advocates' ability to match their issue to the potential allies' mandate as well as their calculations regarding the consequences of taking part in the campaign is crucial.⁵⁰⁰ This is crucial because the scope and severity of the issue at hand fall short of explaining why advocates pick certain issues while sidelining the others. Multivocalization can be an important tool in appealing to diverse

⁴⁹⁸ Such as Bob 2005; Carpenter 2005; 2010; Hertel 2006; Davis and Murdie 2012; Wong 2012; Hadden 2014; Wong and Hendrix 2014

⁴⁹⁹ Such as Bob 2005; 2010; Joachim 2007; Mertus 2009; Lord 2009; Carpenter 2011; 2014; Wong 2012; Carpenter et al. 2014.

⁵⁰⁰ Bob 2005, Carpenter et al. 2014; Carpenter 2014.

set of gatekeepers and international regimes built on different norms. However, it is important to distinguish multivocalization from frame contestation” within the network⁵⁰¹ or disagreement over tactics⁵⁰² as it was seen in the example of the Small Arms Campaign such dynamics are counterproductive.⁵⁰³

The existing studies on securitized cases of transnational advocacy campaigns attributed such framing choices to advocates’ desire to appeal to states’ primary concerns. While the uniqueness attributed to security frames in this approach helped these studies provide an explanation for the success of these particular campaigns, it fell short of explaining campaigns that succeeded through de-securitization of the issue at hand. In other words, while these studies were able to shed, albeit limited, light on the reasons for “securitization” of human rights, humanitarian and health issues, they failed to account for other framing processes such as “humanitarization” of security issues. As the discussion on de-securitization of the Landmines campaign illustrated, contrary to the arguments in the securitization literature, reframing a traditional security concern as a humanitarian problem can help advocates’ efforts to prioritize the issue on states’ political agendas. As discussed above, de-securitization of the landmines issue contributed to the campaign by opening up a space for advocates to have their voices heard which would not have been possible if the issue were to remain as a security concern.

Dynamics of Framing Choices

The literature on transnational advocacy networks suggests that “a mix of normative and material interests influence how activists choose their normative reference

⁵⁰¹ Hertel 2005; 2006.

⁵⁰² Hadden 2014.

⁵⁰³ Shawki 2011.

points.”⁵⁰⁴ The analysis presented above supports this argument and highlights two structural and non-structural such factors in explaining the dynamics that shape advocates’ framing choices. These factors are the expertise and the experiences of the advocates and the political context in which they operate.

First, the advocates’ personal experiences and fields of expertise inform their framing decisions. This finding corresponds to the arguments in the literature about “transnational social movement spillovers.”⁵⁰⁵ This argument suggests that “the ideas, tactics, style, participants, and organizations of one movement often spill over its boundaries to affect other social movements.”⁵⁰⁶ This is primarily because humans are “cognitive misers” who resort to shortcuts in making decisions by relying on their former experiences.⁵⁰⁷ Advocates’ fields of expertise lead to selective perception, and the memory of previous successful and failed campaigns provide cognitive maps for the advocates and inform their framing choices.

The analysis of the Child Soldiers campaign presented clear evidence for this argument. As discussed above, the main organizations that played a central role in the Landmines campaign later shifted their focus to the child soldiers issue and employed not only the same advocacy tactics, but also the same discursive frames with the goal of replicating the footsteps of the previous success. Similarly, some of the actors that took part in the Landmines campaign later played a central role at the early stages of the Campaign to End Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones. These actors not only brought in

⁵⁰⁴ Hertel 2006, 17.

⁵⁰⁵ Meyer and Whittier 1994; Hadden 2014.

⁵⁰⁶ Hadden 2014, 9.

⁵⁰⁷ Such as Lau & Sears 1986; Fiske and Taylor 1991.

their own expertise but also their experiences with former campaigns which in return informed their framing choices.

The strategic environment also affects advocates' framing choices. Political context is "the broader institutional context that provides opportunities for or imposes constraints on NGOs engaged in framing processes."⁵⁰⁸ Broader political contexts inform advocates framing choices since these are actors "are not atomistic but social actors, whose actions, perceptions, interests, identities and ideas are constituted by the institutional context."⁵⁰⁹ This impact becomes especially evident when significant changes occur in the broader political context. As it was discussed in the case of Child Soldiers and as it will be further elaborated in the next chapter in analyzing Conflict Diamonds campaign, September 11 attacks and the "War on Terror" dynamics that followed influenced the advocates' framing choices.

At the same time, the shift in the conjecture could also be used strategically to graft the issue onto newly rising awareness on the part of both potential allies and targets of influence. For instance, the attempts to put Millennium Development Goals together have encouraged the actors to emphasize the development consequences of both HIV/AIDS and maternal mortality by respective campaigns. Thus, while the strategic environment informs the strategic choices available to advocates, through their actions, advocates can cultivate the strategic environment to their benefit.

Internally Displaced Persons

Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in

⁵⁰⁸ Joachim 2007, 23. Also see Eisinger 1972; Tilly 1978; McAdam 1982; Tarrow 1983; McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1996.

⁵⁰⁹ Joachim 2007, 23.

particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border.”⁵¹⁰ As Ban Ki-moon himself acknowledges, “displacement remains arguably the most significant humanitarian challenge that we face.”⁵¹¹ Yet, while there is a well-developed international regime addressing the needs and vulnerabilities of the refugees⁵¹² no such mechanism has been developed for IDPs, despite the scope and the severity of the problem and the advocates’ efforts to gain attention.⁵¹³

Although it is not the purpose of this dissertation to explain the variation in the success of non-securitized cases, the case of the IDPs campaign further illustrates the points identified above. When assessing the very limited success that the campaign for IDPs has achieved, it becomes clear that a change in the strategic environment contributed to the advocates’ efforts to place the issue on the global agenda. Yet, the problems associated with the nature and the scope of the issue limited the advocates’ ability to turn this success into a significant level of political commitment. The complexity of the issue also limited the advocates’ ability to strategically engage in multivocalization, i.e. to strategically utilize human rights and humanitarian frames together in order to strengthen their efforts.

⁵¹⁰ “Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement,” OCHA 1999.

⁵¹¹ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre Annual Report, 2007.

⁵¹² Cohen 2006.

⁵¹³ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) estimates that as of January 2014 over 33.3 million people have been displaced by conflicts and only in 2013, 22 million people were displaced by disasters. ⁵¹³ “Global Figures,” available at < <http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures>>, accessed 10 March 2015.

The 1990s witnessed both an increase in the number and scope of humanitarian crises⁵¹⁴ and also a “shift in how states understand sovereignty and the state’s relationship with its own citizens.”⁵¹⁵ Similar to the opportunity that the emphasis put on children’s rights presented for the Child Soldiers Campaign, the increasing number of IDPs as well as the increasing awareness of such instances constituted a breaking point for the strategic environment in which advocates operate; this change allowed them to utilize this perception of crisis as an opportunity to successfully push the issue onto the global agenda.

Friends World Committee for Consultation, the World Council of Churches, and the Refugee Policy Group made use of this fertile political environment and approached the UNHCR and International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), using a UN sponsored conference as an opportunity to draft a resolution to ask the Secretary-General to prepare a report to analyze the scope of the problem.⁵¹⁶ As a response to these efforts, the UN Secretary-General appointed Francis Deng as the Representative of the Secretary-General for Internally Displaced Persons. Yet, despite this long overdue success in putting the issue onto the global agenda, the success remained limited to the “recognition of the problem”⁵¹⁷ and did not pave the way to the development of an effective international mechanism in addressing the issue.

The opportunity that the strategic environment presented for the advocates altered when it came to the political commitment stage. That is because as is acknowledged by the literature⁵¹⁸ and discussed in the previous chapters, getting states to recognize the

⁵¹⁴ “When first counted in 1982, the internally displaced were only 1.2 million in 11 countries. By the 1990s, 20–25 million were to be found in more than 40 countries on most continents.” (Cohen and Deng 1998, 3; Cohen 2006).

⁵¹⁵ Orchard 2010. Also see Finnemore and Sikkink 1998.

⁵¹⁶ Bagshaw 2005; Weiss and Korn 2006.

⁵¹⁷ Orchard 2010, 284.

⁵¹⁸ Such as Risse and Ropp 1999; Barrett 2003.

problem is one thing, but garnering the political will to address it is another; as Ferris contends, “The international humanitarian community struggled to find appropriate ways of responding to a growing number of internally displaced individuals in the absence of clear institutional mechanisms.”⁵¹⁹ However, the lack of support from the states to establish a new UN agency has curtailed the efforts to develop institutional mechanisms for relief. As a result of this reluctance, a system of coordination was established wherein Emergency Relief Coordinator (ERC) was given the task of coordinating inter-agency efforts and the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) was given the responsibility to support ERC in these efforts.⁵²⁰ The most productive output of such effort at the global scale is the non-binding Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. The Guiding Principles encourage the NGOs, UN agencies and states to promote the principles and encourage states to apply them. Yet, the application of the principle is voluntary⁵²¹ and the implementation has remained “largely ad hoc and driven more by personalities and convictions of individuals on ground than by an institutional, system-wide agenda.”⁵²²

This limited success triggered an attempt to reform the system in 2004, called the “humanitarian reform,” wherein a “cluster approach” that aimed to better identify the responsibilities of different organizations to “ensure a more predictable, consistent, and accountable response across crises.”⁵²³ These reform attempts have placed the issue into the humanitarian regime but in doing so it left the environmentally or development

⁵¹⁹ Ferris 2014, 8.

⁵²⁰ “Internal Displacement,” available at < <http://www.unocha.org/what-we-do/advocacy/thematic-campaigns/internal-displacement/overview>>, accessed 26 February 2015.

⁵²¹ “Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement,” OCHA 1999.

⁵²² Kalin and McNamara 2004.

⁵²³ Ferris 2014, 10.

induced displacement out of the equation, as they are considered to fall into the human rights regime. Thus, an attempt to strengthen the framing of the issue as a humanitarian concern proved to be counterproductive for the efforts to address the needs of particular types of IDPs. As is discussed below, the reform also fell short of leading to the development of a proper mechanism in addressing conflict induced displacement.

The fact that IDPs remain within the borders of their own country is sometimes considered to be the reason behind the limited success that the advocates have so far reached in getting states to take responsibility in addressing the population's needs. Yet, such reasoning is not enough to explain the very limited success that the campaign has reached so far. As the examples analyzed in the previous chapter illustrate, transnational advocacy campaigns can contribute to shaping states' responsibilities toward their own citizens, as well as to the international human rights regime, as observed in the successful cases of Child Labor, Child Soldiers and Women's Reproductive Rights campaigns.

The fact that the issue has implications for both human rights and humanitarian regimes can also not explain the limited success of the campaign. As seen in the War Crimes Tribunals example, a campaign can successfully engage in human rights and humanitarian frames simultaneously, and successfully use the combination to attract as many potential allies as possible (and to put as much pressure on the target actors as possible).

Rather the IDPs case suggests that the complexity of the issue presents the greatest challenge to the advocacy efforts. The fact that a wide array of causes can lead to displacement limits the campaign's ability to adopt a focused framing strategy that would get their message across. The reasons for displacement range from "conflict, generalised

violence, human rights violations and natural hazard-induced disasters”⁵²⁴ as well as development projects.⁵²⁵ The international community’s approach and sensitivity to the issue varies depending on the source of the displacement: “The media is generally good at reporting displacement due to conflict, but natural disasters displaced three times as many people as war in 2013... The natural disasters that displace people can be huge, such as the tsunami that hit Indonesia, India, Sri Lanka and other countries in 2004, and typhoon Haiyan that hit the Philippines in 2013. However, many are smaller and more localised, never reaching the newspapers. As a result, the damage caused to lives goes unrecorded.”⁵²⁶ This complexity limits the coordination among those who focus on environmentally induced IDPs and those who focus on conflict induced IDPs, as the former is more amenable to the human rights regime and the latter falls into the humanitarian regime.

The issue of conflict induced internal displacement is at the cross-roads of many humanitarian problems, which means that the issue is touched upon through various instruments developed for other humanitarian concerns. Such complexity not only led to a false sense that the issue has “already been taken care of”⁵²⁷ but it also created a fertile ground for the states to defend their reluctance in establishing a new organization dedicated solely to this issue. In other words, the perception that the “existing international humanitarian and human rights law and analogous refugee law did provide

⁵²⁴ “Global Figures,” available at < <http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures>>, accessed 10 March 2015.

⁵²⁵ Muggah 2003.

⁵²⁶ “Displacement and Natural Disasters,” available at <<http://www.soroptimistinternational.org/16-days-of-activism-2014/post/745-16-days---day-six-displacement>>, accessed 12 March 2015.

⁵²⁷ As discussed in Chapter 2 in the context of the “Amazon issue” if an issue considered to resonate to closely to an existing norm then it runs the risk of creating a misleading sense that the issue has already been addressed by the existing mechanisms (Zhouri 2000).

substantial coverage for the internally displaced”⁵²⁸ contributed to reluctance of the states in creating a new institutional mechanism to address the vulnerabilities specific to IDPs. Yet this perception does not reflect the reality on the ground: as Cohen notes, “For example, although there is a general norm prohibiting cruel and inhuman treatment, there is no explicit prohibition against the forcible return of IDPs to places of danger. Or a general norm may cover essential medical care, but the special needs of internally displaced women in the areas of reproductive and psychological health care needed to be spelled out. Moreover, the law was silent when it came to restitution of property lost as a consequence of displacement during conflict or on the need of IDPs for personal identification and documentation.”⁵²⁹

The so-called humanitarian reform was not successful in addressing this problem. As Ferris discusses, the reform rather led to the mainstreaming of the IDPs into humanitarian concerns where “[i]ncreasingly, international humanitarians talk about the protection of civilians, vulnerable groups, and affected populations rather than about internally displaced persons. Instead of developing programs to meet the particular needs of those uprooted from their communities, many are “mainstreaming” them into general protection and assistance programs.”⁵³⁰ As we observed in the case of the Sexual Violence in Conflict campaign, the fatigue that the international community has due to the inability of the existing norms to properly address similar problems had a negative impact on the advocates’ efforts to trigger political commitment.

⁵²⁸ Orchard 2010, 293.

⁵²⁹ Cohen 1998.

⁵³⁰ “Guest blogger Elizabeth Ferris describes “the dangers of mainstreaming IDPs into oblivion,” available at < <http://www.internal-displacement.org/blog/2015/guest-blogger-elizabeth-ferris-describes-the-dangers-of-mainstreaming-idps-into-oblivion>>, accessed 3 March 2015.

While the framing of the issue in humanitarian terms has not brought the desired results, framing the issue as a human rights problem, as done especially by those who focus on environmentally induced displacement,⁵³¹ also has its own strategic shortcomings.⁵³² The efforts to prioritize the issue of climate change induced displacement, very similar to the securitized Climate Refugees Campaign, suffer from the difficulty of illustrating a short causal link between the cause (climate change) and the harm (displacement).⁵³³ Those who focus on advocating for the needs of persons displaced by natural disasters suffer from illustrating that the issue is amenable to human action,⁵³⁴ a problem that the Sexual Violence in Conflict campaign also suffered in their fight against the perception that sexual violence is an inevitable part of conflict.

The strategic environment becomes even more problematic for the advocates due to the legal status of the IDPs. IDPs are still, technically, entitled to same rights as other citizens of the same country. Yet, “in reality, the fact of displacement can increase their vulnerability to human rights violations, including rape, exploitation and forced recruitment, and also their needs, including for shelter, replacement documentation and restitution of property.”⁵³⁵ Moreover, IDPs’ vulnerability increases as they “may also face administrative, institutional and procedural obstacles to achieving their rights. IDPs who have lost their documentation, for example, may not be able to take part in elections, they may be turned away from hospitals and/or schools.” Despite these realities, the

⁵³¹ For instance, displacement resulted from Katrina and Rita hurricanes triggered advocacy efforts that asked the USA to recognize and develop policies accordingly in addressing the “human rights violations and their seemingly explicit racial underpinnings in the aftermath of [these] hurricanes” (“Hold the U.S. Accountable: IDP Human Rights Campaign,” available at < <http://www.ushrnetwork.org/our-work/campaign/hold-us-accountable-idp-human-rights-campaign>>, accessed 20 December 2014.)

⁵³² See Mooney 2001 for a detailed discussion on the benefits of framing the IDPs as a human rights issue.

⁵³³ Keck and Sikkink 1998a.

⁵³⁴ Stone 2006.

⁵³⁵ “Global Database: Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement,” available at

<<http://www.idpguidingprinciples.org/>>, accessed 18 December 2014. Also See Mooney 2005.

difficulty in illustrating the direct impact that displacement has on individuals' capacity to enjoy their rights limits the usefulness of the human rights frame in successfully leading to political commitment.

The historical accounts of the successful examples of advocacy campaigns demonstrated the advocates' ability to shape global politics through strategically framing their issues. The stories also illustrated that the success of such efforts depends on the strategic environment within which campaign has to operate. In cases where the advocates are able to use the strategic environment to their advantage, as in the cases of Landmines, Child Soldiers, HIV/AIDS and Maternal Mortality, campaigns succeed. Yet, in cases where the campaign cannot overcome the limitations that the strategic environment present to them, such as the counterproductive network dynamics in the case of the Small Arms campaign and the nature of the issue in the case of the IDPs, the campaigns are bound to fail. As this comparative analysis illustrates, this variance is true for securitized campaigns, as well.

Rather than underestimating the agency that the advocates have in shaping global agenda setting and policy making, these results highlight the importance of analyzing the bigger picture in understanding the motivations behind advocates' framing choices, and the conditions that are needed for such choices to translate into advocacy success. The in-depth analysis of the Conflict Diamonds Campaign I present in the following chapter takes a closer look at the interaction between the campaigns' strategic environments and their framing preferences in the context of a securitized campaign. With this analysis I aim to develop a better understanding of the dynamics of securitization, and further illustrate the lessons that treating securitization as an instance of framing offers.

CHAPTER 5

IS THAT BLOOD ON YOUR DIAMOND?: POLITICS OF FRAMING CONFLICT DIAMONDS

Introduction

In 1999, model Naomi Campbell made headlines for wearing a 190.27 carat diamond necklace promoting Graff Diamonds' Millennium Collection.⁵³⁶ On August 5, 2010 she was featured in newspapers once again with diamonds, but this time the headlines were about her testimony at the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague; where, Charles Taylor, the former president of Liberia, was on trial for receiving "diamonds from Sierra Leone rebels in exchange for weapons during that country's 1992-2002 civil war."⁵³⁷ While stating that she had no former information on Liberia or Charles Taylor, she admitted receiving "dirty looking diamonds" after meeting him at a dinner party organized by Nelson Mandela.⁵³⁸

Why did the problem of trade in illicit diamonds turn into "conflict diamonds" and become reframed as a security threat? Until the end of 1990s, diamonds were framed as symbols of eternal love and devotion, and enjoyed a carefully crafted image of being "a girl's best friend". Within a few years' time diamonds got reframed as a security threat and their image was replaced by one that portrays diamonds as "a rebel's best friend."⁵³⁹ A multi-stakeholder campaign that targeted both the industry and the states was the main

⁵³⁶ "Naomi Campbell: Diamond Celebrity of the Week," available at <<http://www.israelidiamond.co.il/english/celebrity-jewelry/naomi-campbell-parker-celebrity-of-the-week>>, accessed 20 December 2014.

⁵³⁷ "Naomi Campbell Admits She was Given Blood Diamonds," available at <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/liberia/7927869/Naomi-Campbell-admits-she-was-given-blood-diamonds.html?mobile=basic>>, accessed 20 December 2014.

⁵³⁸ "Naomi Campbell's 'Blood Diamond' Testimony at War Crimes Trial: Live Updates," 5 August 2010, available at <<http://www.theguardian.com/law/blog/2010/aug/05/naomi-campbell-blood-diamonds>>, accessed 20 December 2014.

⁵³⁹ "Diamonds: A Rebel's Best Friend," 15 May 2000, available at <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/745194.stm>>, accessed 20 December 2014.

force behind the rapid change both in the perception of the consumers and in the structure and functioning of diamond extraction and trade. Yet this success neither came overnight nor without controversy. The most controversial aspect of the campaign was to reach a consensus on which diamonds to categorize as “dirty.” Limiting the definition of “dirty diamonds” to those that finance rebel groups against legitimate governments (and therefore tying the problem to the security of states) was not an inevitable result but a consequence of a complex set of dynamics within the campaign.

In the beginning of the campaign the advocates simultaneously used a human rights frame that they tailored to attract the attention of the industry and a security frame to appeal to the Security Council as an ally. Eventually the human rights frame was sidelined when the security frame was taken over by the industry who wanted to strip itself of any direct responsibility, and the states who wanted to keep their own practices outside the scope of the campaign. Thus, contrary to what the conventional wisdom would suggest, (i) both the author and the target of the security frame were states and non-state actors, and (ii) the appeal that security frames had for the target actors and the allies was related to these actors’ non-security concerns. Analyzing the processes behind these framing choices provides an opportunity to get a better understanding of not only the dynamics of securitization but also the mechanisms surrounding the framing processes. With this purpose, this chapter provides an illustrative historical analysis of Conflict Diamonds campaign to test the extent to which the mechanisms identified in the previous chapters find a reflection in this securitized campaign.

The reason for choosing conflict diamonds as the focus of this illustrative case study is three-fold. First, one of the main goals of conducting this case study is to shed

light onto the dynamics of adopting a particular frame over another as well as to reveal the varying consequences of such decisions. A security frame was used by the Conflict Diamonds campaign throughout all stages of global agenda setting and policy making. Such sustained use presents an opportunity to trace different motivations that the advocates had in making their framing choices at different stages and the varying impact that such choices had on the campaign.

Second, the Conflict Diamonds campaign has been a multi-stakeholder effort. Not only NGOs but also the diamond industry, states and international organizations have gotten involved in the issue both as allies and as targets of influence; as a result the authorship of the security frame has changed hands throughout the campaign. Therefore, the conflict diamonds campaign provides an opportunity to test the impact of changing network dynamics in analyzing the varying motivations behind different actors' framing choices, as well as consequences of such changes.

Third, the Conflict Diamonds case is an issue that has been widely analyzed and hence, it is an issue where a lot of historical data is available.⁵⁴⁰ However, despite the number of studies written on the Conflict Diamonds issue, almost none of these studies analyzed the issue from a securitization perspective. In the existing studies, the link between diamonds and the presence of conflicts in diamond-extracting countries is perceived as enough of a reason for the issue to be framed as a security concern.

However, as discussed above, the framing of an issue by a campaign in a particular way

⁵⁴⁰ Both the prolific reporting by a number of actors involved in the issue (such as Global Witness 1998; 2000; 2006; PAC 2000; 2006; 2009.) and numerous scholarly works written on conflict diamonds provide a very detailed account of both the nature of the issue as well as the historical development and outcomes of the campaign. (Such as Sanders 2000; Bourne 2001; Samset 2002; Levy 2003; Price 2003; Orogun 2004; Wright 2004; Gilmore et al. 2005; Olsson 2007; Le Billion 2006; 2008;2009; Bieri 2013.)

is neither an automatic nor an inevitable process.⁵⁴¹ Therefore, a close analysis of the Conflict Diamonds case provides an opportunity to enhance our case-specific knowledge by elaborating on an understudied aspect of the issue, in particular, as well as our understanding of dynamics of framing, in general.

The illustrative case study is conducted with the understanding that the generalizability of the insights gained would be limited without conducting a more detailed comparative case study. Nevertheless, this study provides insights into the reasons for and the consequences of adopting security frames, in particular and mechanisms surrounding advocates' framing choices, in general.

The findings illustrate that the reasons behind adopting a security frame are more complex than acknowledged by the literature. The literature argues that states are more likely to respond to issues if they were to perceive them as threats to national security.⁵⁴² Thus, adopting a security frame is assumed to be tailoring the appeal toward states.⁵⁴³ Yet the analysis of the conflict diamonds case illustrates that the initial adoption of the security language as the main frame did not target the states, but rather non-state actors, i.e. the industry. This was a function of the fact that the industry was not willing to shoulder the potential financial burden of a large-scale boycott that the human rights implications embedded in "blood diamonds" frame might create. For that reason, while it was the human rights implications of the issue that forced the industry to react, the industry strategically worked to securitize the problem in order to neutralize the issue. The industry's strategy to promote a security frame also resonated with states as they

⁵⁴¹ Such as Chatterjee and Finger 1994; Jasanoff 1997; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Williams and Ford 1999; Benford and Snow 2000; Betsill 2002; Humphreys 2004; Joachim 2007; Corell and Betsill 2008.

⁵⁴² Such as Shultz et al. 1993; Balzacq 2011a; 2011b; Sjostedt 201; Trombetta 2011.

⁵⁴³ Such as Podesta and Ogden 2008; Hudson 2010; Karyotis and Patrikios 2010.

were not willing to put their human rights practices under spotlight, either. Thus, the findings illustrate that different actors' receptiveness to a security frame does not have to be a function of what that frame prioritizes on the agenda (security threats). It could also be a function of what that frame keeps out of the agenda (human rights violations).

The findings also support the arguments made in the previous chapters about multivocalization. The analysis of framing choices at the agenda setting stage reveals that the campaign utilized human rights and security frames simultaneously. The former was used to reach out to other NGOs to strengthen the coalition, to appeal to the broader public, and to attract the attention of the main targets of influence of this stage, i.e. the industry. The latter was, on the other hand, used to reach out to the UNSC as a potential ally. Thus, not only did the campaign utilize multiple frames at once, but they did so to strengthen their coalition as well as to attract target actors' attention.

Tracing the changing trends in using the concepts of "blood diamonds" and "conflict diamonds" over time reveals that the campaign's tendency to use one concept over the other was primarily shaped (i) by the network dynamics, i.e. actors' relative power within the network at that particular stage of the campaign, and (ii) by the broader political context. In early stages of the campaign, NGOs had the upper-hand within the campaign and they utilized human rights and security frames almost interchangeably to reach out to as many potential allies and targets of influence as possible. Their motivation was to create a sense of urgency in addressing the human rights consequences of the problem at hand. The political context also played an enabling role as the ongoing civil wars in Africa (and the sanctions developed in addressing them) created a background on

which the arguments could be built; additionally, the Canadian presence in the UNSC at the time provided a receptive ear for the campaign to reach out to UNSC as an ally.

The early success of the core NGOs in attracting global attention to the issue on the one hand, brought both governmental and private actors on board, but it on the other hand, gradually decreased the relative power and influence that these NGOs had in framing the issue in the later stages of the campaign. When it came to the political commitment stage, the diamond industry and states started to have more power in framing the debate. Both of these actors opted for the concept of “conflict diamonds” for varying reasons: industry preferred such a use in order to prevent a large-scale boycott of the diamond sector while states preferred this concept in order to make sure that the policies developed will only target rebels’ handling of diamonds and not theirs. This limited definition was crucial for them as the states were not willing to sign onto an agreement that would put their human rights practices into question. The September 11 terrorist attacks that took place during the negotiations also contributed to the securitization of the issue, by emphasizing the link between terrorism and illicit diamond trade. At this stage, the NGOs followed suit and settled on a security frame to guarantee targets actors’ commitment, but they occasionally used the concept of “blood diamonds” as a “stick” to ensure the continued cooperation of the states and the industry.

The relative power of the states and the industry within the network continued at the policy implementation stage, as did their insistence on the strict use of “conflict diamonds” concept (which at this point became embedded in the institutional structure of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme). Despite the almost solidified use of “conflict diamonds,” changes within the political context encouraged NGOs to use the

concept of “blood diamonds” more frequently. First, the fact that most of the diamond-fueled civil wars in Africa came to an end made states’ wrongdoings in handling diamond extraction and trade more visible. Second, this realization was coupled with growing dissatisfaction with KPCS’s inability to react to violations of the rules by member states. This in turn encouraged NGOs to resort back to the “blood diamonds” concept to change the conversation to one where more emphasis is put on human rights consequences of the issue.

The findings also lend support to some of the existing arguments in the literature about the implications of adopting a security frame, while challenging contrary findings. As extant literature suggests, while adopting a security frame might be useful in the success of an advocacy campaign in the short-run, it tends to result in the sidelining of human rights concerns in the long-run.⁵⁴⁴ This effect is evidenced by the rising criticisms about the KP as well as the advocates’ attempts to de-securitize the issue. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that the continued use of the security frame is neither a function of the unique place that security concerns occupy on states’ agendas, nor the removal of the issue from the realm of normal politics that is argued to come with securitization. The network dynamics partially explain why a strict definition of conflict diamonds is still network’s preferred frame on which to operate, despite increasing criticisms. The role of institutionalization of the security frame at the political commitment stage is also proved to be essential in understanding such continued use. Thus, the persistence in using a security frame does not have to be based on advocates’ perceptions about the benefits that this particular frame provides or the unique role that such frame has in the eyes of the states; it could also be a function of institutional constraints.

⁵⁴⁴ Such as CASE 2006; Elbe 2006; Corry 2011.

Multiple sources were utilized in analyzing the reasons behind advocates' framing choices as well as how and why the content of the frame and its implications have changed over time. The historical account of the campaign was traced using both primary and secondary sources. As a first step, secondary sources - academic publications, working papers, conference papers and newspaper articles - were surveyed by applying the database research methods described in Chapter 3.⁵⁴⁵ This information was used in identifying the main actors within the campaign and compiling a map of actors whose framing preferences need to be analyzed for the purpose of this study.

Once the historical account and the core campaign network were identified, primary sources were utilized in getting insights into advocates' framing choices throughout the campaign. Most of the key issue entrepreneurs have been engaging in prolific reporting since the early stages of the campaign. Additionally, the industry (through their own publications and advertisement campaigns) and the states (through politicians' and diplomats' speeches, press releases, government documents) have been vocal about their stance on the diamond trade. A survey of these documents was crucial not only in compiling a historical account of the issue but also in tracing the framing choices of different actors and how these preferences have evolved over time.

The research was then supplemented with six interviews conducted with individuals who participated in the campaign at various stages and on behalf of different actors.⁵⁴⁶ The interviews were conducted with the understanding that the insights gained through them can only be limited to the perceptions and recollections of the actors

⁵⁴⁵ Afore mentioned databases as well as the web were surveyed using the following keywords separately: "conflict diamonds", "blood diamonds", "diamond and campaign", "diamond and civil war", "human rights and diamonds", "security and diamonds", "development and diamonds".

⁵⁴⁶ A detailed account of the interview process is presented in the Appendix.

interviewed. Nevertheless, these interviews were crucial in gaining better insights into the motivations behind advocates' framing choices.

This chapter consists of five sections. The first section provides an historical account of the Conflict Diamonds campaign, identifies the main actors involved, and highlights the main events that took place throughout the campaign. The following three sections traces how the framing of the issue has evolved over time by taking a particular look at how the concepts of “blood diamonds” and “conflict diamonds” were used differently at three stages global agenda setting and policy making. Both the actors' motivations in making their framing preferences as well as the factors that shaped and constrained these choices are discussed. The fifth section summarizes and discusses the findings of this chapter.

The History of Conflict Diamonds Campaign and the Kimberley Process (KP)

History of Diamonds

The “resource curse” theory, which suggests that the abundance of a natural resource could hinder political stability and economic development, is frequently used in explaining civil wars, especially in Africa.⁵⁴⁷ In that respect, diamonds are theorized to play a role in civil wars in Sierra Leone, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo “in fueling the conflict as various parties funded their war efforts through mining activities.”⁵⁴⁸ What made the situation worse was the fact that the diamond industry has been traditionally in the hands of a “closely-knit family enterprises” that “operated

⁵⁴⁷ Such as Auty 1993; Sachs and Warner 1995; Ross 1999; Collier and Hoeffler 1998; 2002; 2005; Elbadawi and Sambanis 2002; Fearon 2004; Glaeser et al. 2004.

⁵⁴⁸ Smillie, Gberie and Hazleton 2000; Le Billion 2001; Keen 2005.

largely on a cash basis, without formal contracts or auditable paper trails” which made the efforts to regulate the industry futile.⁵⁴⁹

However, diamonds do not necessarily or inevitably lead to conflict. Despite the contribution that diamonds are believed to make in fueling civil wars, they are not the main reasons behind the civil wars. Instead, “poor governance and the creation of a socially excluded underclass” can be listed as the underlying conditions for Africa’s civil wars.⁵⁵⁰ Moreover, diamonds do not always fuel conflicts, either. For instance, in Sierra Leone, “for a long period of time, until the beginning of the civil war in 1991, diamonds played an important role in the country’s national development agenda and were a significant feature of the local economies and societies where they were mined.”⁵⁵¹ Similarly, in Botswana, sixty percent of the government’s total tax revenue comes from the diamond mines and “diamonds have resulted in Botswana having higher economic growth rates *than any other African country in the over the past thirty years.*” [emphasis in the original].⁵⁵²

Rebels’ adoption of diamond trade as a revenue generator in a number of African countries changed the implications of diamonds for both diamond extracting and trading countries. The trade in “conflict diamonds” was first benefited by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).⁵⁵³ The civil war in Angola that started in 1992 claimed the lives of more than 500,000 people and UNITA fueled its efforts to overthrow the government by controlling the major diamond mining areas of Angola

⁵⁴⁹ PAC 2006, 2.

⁵⁵⁰ Maconachie 2009.

⁵⁵¹ Maconachie 2009, 72. For a detailed discussion on the history of diamond production and its role in economic development in Sierra Leone, see Network Movement for Justice and Development (NMJD) 2007.

⁵⁵² Hazleton 2002, 4-5.

⁵⁵³ PAC 2006.

through which they managed to generate about \$3.7 billion in the course of seven years.⁵⁵⁴ The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in Sierra Leone was quick to follow and they adopted a similar strategy with notable help from the “Liberia’s warlord president, Charles Taylor.” The practice then spread to Democratic Republic of Congo, Guinea, Liberia and Côte d’Ivoire.⁵⁵⁵

The diamond trade’s fall into the hands of rebels in a number of countries throughout the 1990s led to dire humanitarian consequences. As Partnership Africa Canada (PAC) – one of the leading NGOs in the conflict diamonds issue – pointed out “[a]s much as 15% of the world’s \$10 billion annual rough diamond production fell into the category of conflict diamonds in the late 1990s. Hundreds of thousands of people died as a direct result of these wars, and many more died of indirect causes. Millions of people were displaced for half a generation, health and educational infrastructures were destroyed, development was reversed.”⁵⁵⁶

Despite the ongoing civil wars in Africa and the fuzzy nature of the diamonds industry, neither diamonds nor the connection they had with the conflicts in Africa found a place on the international community’s agenda for a long time. As Christian Dietrich puts it clearly in his paper written as a part of the Diamonds and Human Security Project: “The governments of industrialized countries paid no attention to readily available and startling information: that the volume of diamonds reaching international markets from countries such as Angola, the DRC and the CAR was significantly higher than what these countries officially exported; that hundreds of millions of dollars’ worth of diamonds were appearing on international markets every year, and nobody could say where on earth

⁵⁵⁴ Smillie 2002a, 13.

⁵⁵⁵ PAC 2006, 2.

⁵⁵⁶ PAC 2006, 2.

they came from. Angola officially exported US\$740 million in diamonds in 2000, the DRC US\$240 million and the CAR [Central African Republic] US\$60 million, but their combined output was closer to US\$2 billion.”⁵⁵⁷

History of the Campaign

It was only at the end of the 1990s that the issue started to get international attention as a result of numerous efforts by a handful of actors (See Figure 1). While it was the UNSC that first discussed the idea of regulating diamond trade as a way of tackling civil wars, it was a group of NGOs that framed the issue and brought the idea of regulating the entire diamond industry onto the global agenda. The UNSC was quick to lend support as an ally and the industry, the primary target in the early stages of the campaign, quickly, albeit unwillingly, reacted to the campaign.

In 1998, in the face of civil war in Angola, the UNSC put in force an international embargo on Angolan diamonds that were not certified by the Angolan government.⁵⁵⁸ However, UNSC was not primarily interested in the connection between diamonds and conflicts in general or developing a norm in tackling them. The UNSC was instead focused on engaging in “smart sanctions” to cut off the financial sources of UNITA and diamonds happened to be one of the main financial sources.⁵⁵⁹ Regardless of its intentions, and while this was an important first step in questioning the role of diamonds in conflicts, “the issue sparked little public interest, and the embargo created little more than a ripple in the diamond industry.”⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁷ Dietrich 2002, 3.

⁵⁵⁸ UN Security Council, S/RES/1173, 12 June 1998; S/RES/1176, 24 June 1998.

⁵⁵⁹ Bieri 2010.

⁵⁶⁰ Smillie 2002a, 16.

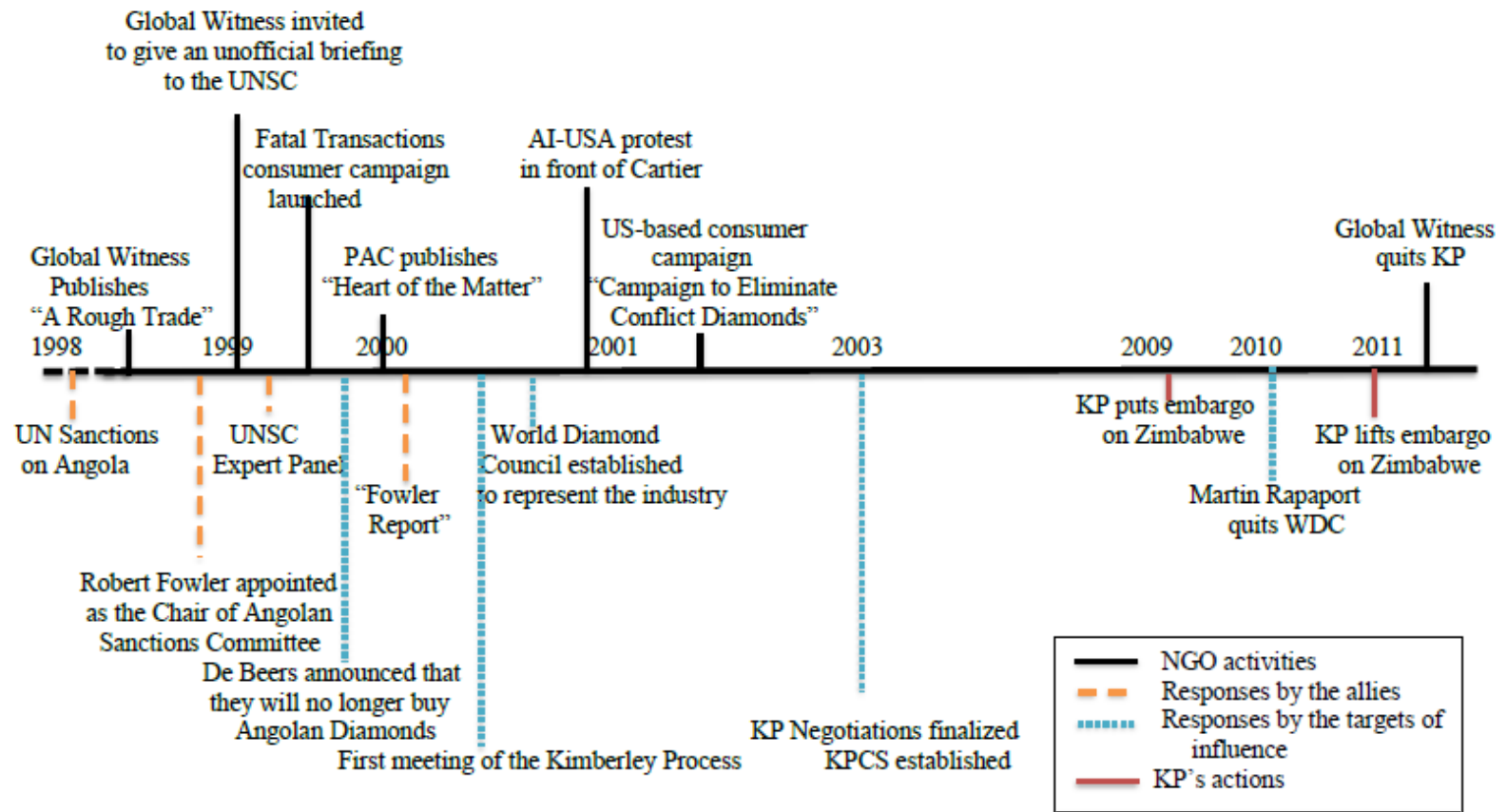


Figure 1: Chronological Account of the Conflict Diamonds Campaign

Around the same time the issue entrepreneurs, a number of human rights, development and environmental NGOs, started to engage in simultaneous (yet to be coordinated at the time) efforts to bring the issue to global attention (See Figure 1). One of the very first and crucial steps taken in the placing of the conflict diamonds issue on the global agenda was a report titled *A Rough Trade* prepared by Global Witness. Global Witness was a London-based environmental and human rights NGO that works on highlighting the “link between natural resources, conflict and corruption and ... systematically document[s] and expose[s] how this sustains poverty, fuels instability and destroys the environment.”⁵⁶¹

The report was primarily focused on Angola, and how the revenues made by smuggling of diamonds were being used by the rebels. The report targeted the diamond industry and specifically De Beers as it was the firm that was marketing about 80% of world’s rough diamonds at the time.⁵⁶² The report also highlighted the ineffectiveness of the UN sanctions on Angola and suggested that “the UN embargo was being systematically sidestepped by the industry and by an almost complete lack of compliance on the part of countries as widely diverse as Belgium and Zambia.”⁵⁶³ While the *A Rough Trade Report* did not use the term “conflict diamonds” it repeatedly emphasized the causal connection between diamond and civil war.

⁵⁶¹ “20 Years of Impact,” available at <<http://new.globalwitness.org/20yearsimpact.php>>, accessed 8 January 2015.

⁵⁶² “Betting on De Beers: Can Anglo American Revive the World’s Leading Diamond Miner?,” *The Economist*, November 12, 2011, available at <<http://www.economist.com/node/21538145>>, accessed 25 January 2013; Global Witness 1998. Since the beginning of the “diamond mining rush”, De Beers has been informally in control of the industry through keeping supply and demand in control, and making sure that diamond is desirable for the consumer and profitable for the industry. For more discussion on the role and dominance of De Beers in the diamond industry see such as Global Witness 1998; Saunders 2000; Hazleton 2002; PAC 2009.

⁵⁶³ Smillie 2002a, 16.

Table 15: The Actors Involved in the Campaign and Their Roles

	1998	1999	2000
Issue Entrepreneurs	Global Witness (HR/ENV)	Fatal Transactions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global Witness (HR/ENV) • Medico International (HR) • Netherlands Institute for South Africa (NIZA (HR/DEV)) • Oxfam Netherlands (NOVIB) (HR/DEV) • Partnership Africa Canada (PAC) (ENV/HR) 	
Issue Adopters			Amnesty International-USA (HR) Campaign to Eliminate Conflict Diamonds <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physicians for Human Rights (HR) • Amnesty International USA (HR) • World Vision (HR) • Oxfam (HR)
Allies		UNSC (SEC)	
Targets of Influence		De Beers	World Diamond Council South Africa (extracting) Botswana (extracting) Namibia (extracting) The UK (trading) The USA (trading) Belgium (trading)

Information in parenthesis indicates the actor's main field of expertise (HR: Human Rights; ENV: environmental issues; DEV: development; SEC: Security; extracting: diamond extracting country; trading: diamond trading country)

The most important contribution of the Global Witness's report to the campaign was to attract the UNSC's attention to the issue by providing detailed information on the situation in Angola. Shortly after the release of the report, in January 1999 Global Witness was invited to the UNSC to give an informal briefing on their report.⁵⁶⁴ Following the briefing, Robert Fowler, Canadian Ambassador to the UN who was recently appointed as the Chair of the Angolan Sanctions Committee, put together an expert panel to "assess the effectiveness of the Angola sanctions and the link between diamonds and conflict."⁵⁶⁵

While the UNSC Expert Panel was working on investigating the functioning of the diamond industry, Global Witness, shifted gear and joined forces with Medico International (a human rights NGO), the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA) (a human rights and development NGO) and Nederlandse Organisatie Voor Internationale Bijstand – Dutch Organization for International Aid (NOVIB) (a human rights and development NGO) and launched a public awareness campaign in October 1999 which was called "Fatal Transactions." The campaign approached the issue from human rights perspective and threatened to "convince consumers that diamonds were the "physical embodiment of human rights abuses."⁵⁶⁶ The consumer campaign's primary goal was to reframe "De Beers' carefully constructed marketing frame of love and eternity" with a frame of "war, destruction, and gruesome images of children with chopped-off limbs."⁵⁶⁷ However, the campaign did not aim to stop diamond consumption

⁵⁶⁴ Global Witness, Annual Report 2005.

⁵⁶⁵ Bieri 2010, 22; "The Kimberley Process," Global Witness, available at <<http://www.globalwitness.org/campaigns/conflict/conflict-diamonds/kimberley-process>>, accessed 15 March 2013.

⁵⁶⁶ Wexler 2010.

⁵⁶⁷ Grant and Taylor 2004; Bieri 2010, 7; Smillie 2010; 2011.

but rather to raise awareness among consumers about the need to know the origins of the diamonds they purchase.⁵⁶⁸ The industry was quick to respond to the consumer campaign and shortly after De Beers announced that they would no longer be purchasing Angolan diamonds – including the ones sanctioned by the government.⁵⁶⁹

Around the same time a second influential report, *Heart of the Matter*, was being prepared by PAC which was then released in 2000. The PAC's report was focused on the role of diamond trade in fueling Sierra Leone's civil war. The report approached the issue from a human rights perspective and highlighted the brutal methods used by the RUF such as mutilation of hands, feet and breasts.⁵⁷⁰ The main contribution the PAC's report made was to challenge the general perception in the literature and among the policy makers that saw Sierra Leone as yet another failed state dragged into civil war. The report stated that:

The point of the war may not actually have been to win it, but to engage in profitable crime under the cover of warfare... Over the years, the informal diamond mining sector, long dominated by what might be called 'disorganized crime', became increasingly influenced by *organized* crime and by the transcontinental smuggling not just of diamonds, but of guns and drugs, and by vast sums of money in search of a laundry. Violence became central to the advancement of those with vested interests [emphasis in the original].⁵⁷¹

While the industry was quick to reply to the consumer campaign they were not equally responsive to the reports. The initial reaction to both of these reports by the industry was not a welcoming one. In fact, Smillie, Gberie and Hazleton suggest that “[i]nitial

⁵⁶⁸ Bieri 2009, 14; Bieri and Boli 2011.

⁵⁶⁹ Bone 2004.

⁵⁷⁰ Smillie 2002a, 17.

⁵⁷¹ Smillie, Gberie and Hazleton 2000, 2.

reactions to The Heart of the Matter from the industry and some governments were extremely hostile, and there was no rush to accept any of the recommendations.”⁵⁷²

Although the reports and the public awareness campaigns have contributed to the efforts to put the issue on the global agenda, the incidents happened around the same time also provided an opportunity for the advocates to garner further support from both allies and targets of influence. For instance, around the same time period, the peace settlement in Sierra Leone collapsed and 500 UN peacekeepers got kidnapped by the RUF and this gave an additional incentive to the governments and the UNSC to pay more attention to the issue.⁵⁷³

These events encouraged not only the industry but also a number of states to take action. In May of 2000, diamond extracting and trading countries along with NGOs and the representatives of the industry came together in Kimberley, South Africa to create a mechanism to “clean” the industry from “conflict/blood diamonds.” The meeting was initiated by South Africa, Namibia and Botswana (three major diamond extracting countries) who invited Britain, the United States and Belgium (three major trading countries) to join.

These developments put more pressure on the industry to take further action. With the rising awareness on the part of the diamond industry, especially on the part of De Beers, that “the campaign was here to stay”, The World Diamond Council (WDC), an “industry NGO”, was established in 2000. The primary purpose behind the establishment of WDC was to represent the industry on the issues related to conflict diamonds and prevent an overall boycott from happening. WDC held its first meeting in Tel Aviv in

⁵⁷² Smillie and Gberie 2001, 3.

⁵⁷³ See “Threat to Sierra Leone Hostages Splits UN,” The Guardian, 17 May 2000, <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/may/17/sierraleone1>>, accessed 15 March 2013.

September 2000 with the participation of other NGOs⁵⁷⁴ and WDC represented the industry in the Kimberley Process negotiations from that point onward.

The launch of the Kimberley Process negotiations did not bring an end to the campaigning efforts but rather brought in more allies and strengthened the coalition. In October 2000, a new public awareness campaign was staged by Amnesty International USA. The first action of the campaign was to hold a protest in New York in front of Cartier's. The protest was staged to support a bill drafted by the Congressman Tony Hall (the Consumer Access to a Responsible Accounting of Trade Act, CARAT) that proposed to require diamonds entering the USA to have a certificates of origin.⁵⁷⁵ Even though the bill did not pass, the protest succeeded in attracting a number of human rights NGOs' attention to the issue.

In the light of the success of the previous efforts 200 NGOs got together in the USA to lend support to ongoing Kimberley Process negotiations and launched a campaign called "Campaign to Eliminate Conflict Diamonds." The campaign was led by a number of human rights NGOs such as Physicians for Human Rights, Amnesty International USA, World Vision and Oxfam. Their first action was to organize a protest at Tiffany's on Valentine's Day in 2001.⁵⁷⁶ This campaign was useful in keeping the issue on the public's agenda and making sure that the industry and the states followed through with the negotiations.

UNSC showed its support to the ongoing KP negotiations by listing diamonds as one of the five key minerals (along with coltan, copper, cobalt and gold) that fueled the

⁵⁷⁴ Bieri 2009, 15; Smillie 2010.

⁵⁷⁵ Bone 2004.

⁵⁷⁶ Grant and Taylor 2004; Bieri 2010.

war in Democratic Republic of Congo.⁵⁷⁷ UN General Assembly joined through a Resolution and mandated the Kimberley Process to develop “international certification scheme for rough diamonds.”⁵⁷⁸

As the Kimberley Process negotiations were proceeding one round after another, NGOs focused on keeping the pressure on both the industry and governments on the one hand, and keeping public interest alive, on the other. To that end, NGOs focused on fact finding and reporting efforts in addition to public awareness campaigns. As a part of these efforts, for instance PAC started to publish its periodic newsletter titled *Other Facets* “on the international effort to end diamond-related conflict, human rights abuses and corruption around the world.”⁵⁷⁹ Similarly, Fatal Transactions released its study on the diamond trade in the European Union (EU), titled *Conflict Diamonds: Crossing European Borders?* in August 2001. One month later, 180 NGOs got together and signed a petition to urge “greater speed and accountability in the Kimberley Process.”⁵⁸⁰

After three years of negotiations, Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (KPCS) was established in 2003 and endorsed by the UN General Assembly and the UNSC. Although it became a major source of controversy later on, KP defined the conflict diamonds as “rough diamonds used by rebel movements to finance wars against legitimate governments.”⁵⁸¹ Based on this definition, KPCS requires the trading countries to certify the origin of rough diamonds and implement strict control over the supply chain to prevent conflict diamonds from getting into the system. Participating states also

⁵⁷⁷ UN Security Council, S/2001/357, 12 April 2001.

⁵⁷⁸ “About,” Kimberley Process, available at <<http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/en/about>>, accessed 30 January 2013.

⁵⁷⁹ “Publications,” PAC, available at <<http://www.pacweb.org/en/publications/conflict-diamonds-publications>>, accessed 17 September 2014.

⁵⁸⁰ PAC October 2001.

⁵⁸¹ “Kimberley Process,” Kimberley Process, available at <<http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/>>, 30 January 2013.

Kimberley Process

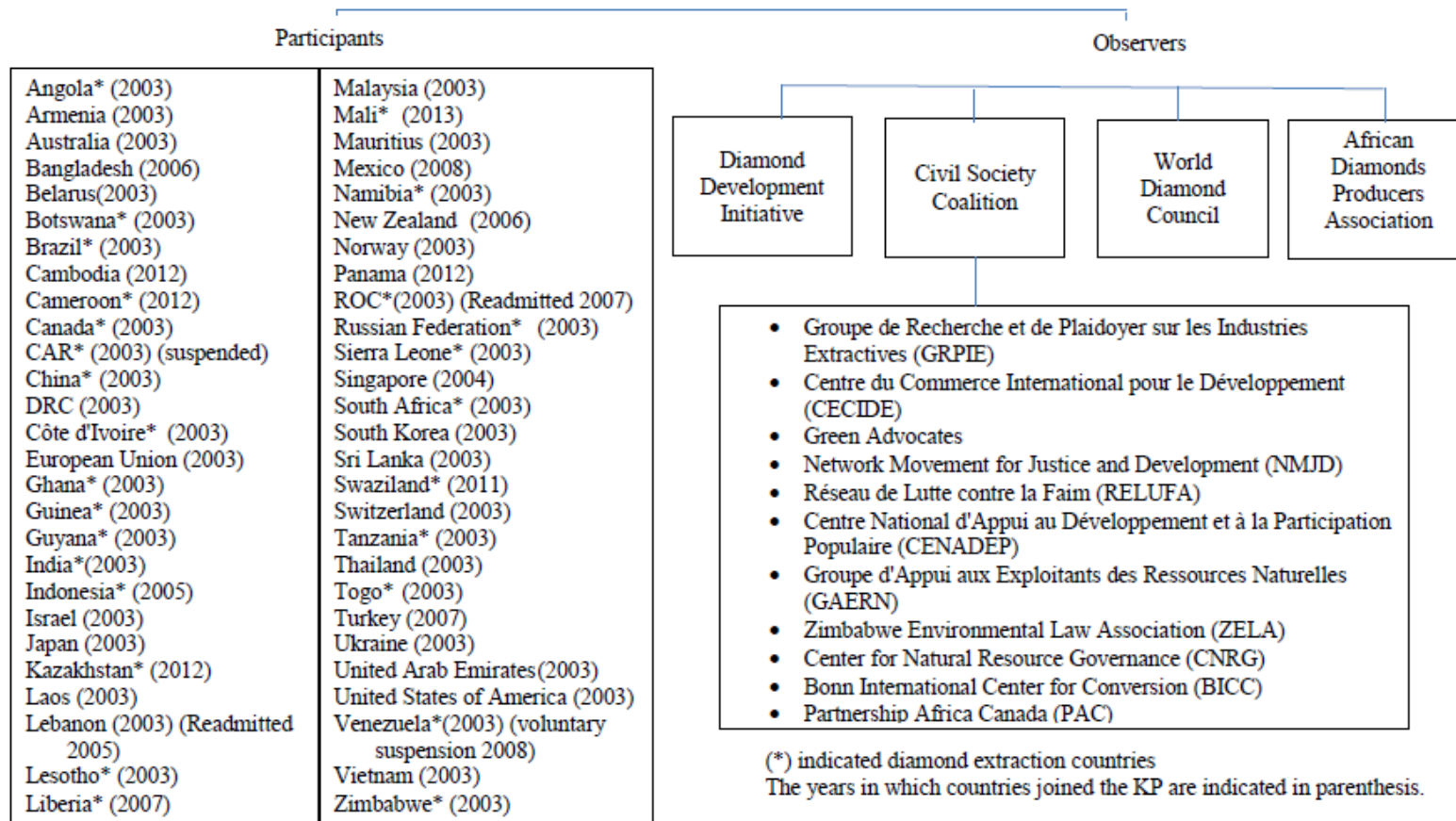


Figure 2: Structure of the Kimberley Process

committed to trade diamonds only with those who also take part in the KP.⁵⁸² The KP currently has fifty-four participants representing eighty-one countries⁵⁸³ (See Figure 2).

While it is the member states' responsibility to implement KP measures, the system is established in such a way that NGOs and industry representatives hold official observer status, and take part in both day-to-day working and decision making processes of the KP. The PAC is the only issue entrepreneur that is currently represented in the KP Civil Society Coalition since Global Witness quit the KP in 2011 and Fatal Transactions shifted their focus to other extractive industries in 2012.⁵⁸⁴ The PAC performs this function in collaboration with a number of development and environmental NGOs who joined the issue in later stages. Industry, on the other hand is represented by the World Diamond Council. African Diamonds Producers Association (ADPA) and Diamond Development Initiative International (DDII) also hold observer status. ADPA aims to ensure better representation of African producers in the process⁵⁸⁵ whereas DDII focuses on bettering the developmental implications of diamond trade.⁵⁸⁶

Studies estimated that the share of conflict diamonds in the world diamond trade rose as high as 15% when it peaked in 1990s.⁵⁸⁷ While it is hard to provide accurate estimates for the current situation, the share of conflict diamonds is believed to be around

⁵⁸² "The Kimberley Process," Global Witness, available at <<http://www.globalwitness.org/campaigns/conflict/conflict-diamonds/kimberley-process>>, accessed 15 March 2013.

⁵⁸³ European Union (EU) participates on behalf of all EU member states.

⁵⁸⁴ "Fatal Transactions Newsletter," February 2012, available at <<https://www.bicc.de/fataltransactions/pdf/FT%20Newsletter%20February%202012.pdf>>, accessed 6 January 2015. Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) that joined Fatal Transactions in 2007 continues its focus on conflict diamonds and still takes part in the KP Civil Society Coalition.

⁵⁸⁵ "African Diamond Producers Association," available at <<http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/en/african-diamonds-producers-association-adpa>>, accessed 2 January 2015.

⁵⁸⁶ "Diamond Development Initiative," available at <<http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/en/diamond-development-initiative>>, accessed 2 January 2015.

⁵⁸⁷ "Conflict Diamonds Today," Partnership Africa Canada, available at <<http://www.pacweb.org/en/conflict-diamonds-today>>, accessed 14 February 2013.

1% in today's diamond industry.⁵⁸⁸ While there are a number of concerns regarding the long-term effectiveness of the KP, as well as regarding its ability to impose sanctions when necessary,⁵⁸⁹ it can be argued that KP is one of the fairly successful examples of international efforts to address a transnational problem.

To Securitize or Not to Securitize: Building Networks and Engaging Targets at the Agenda Setting Stage

During the agenda setting stage of the campaign, which took place between the publication of the very first reports on the potential connection between diamonds and deadly conflicts in Africa and the first meeting of the Kimberley Process, was mainly dominated by a core group of NGOs and therefore, shaped by their framing preferences. As the campaign evolved, the states and the industry have gained a more central role in the process. Such change in the network dynamic resulted in a transition from a simultaneous use of human rights and security frames to a strict use of a security frame. The analysis conducted on written sources as well as the interviews held with actors involved in the campaign reveals four main insights into actors' framing preferences at this stage of the advocacy campaign.

⁵⁸⁸ "Conflict Diamonds," available at <http://diamondfacts.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=128&Itemid=134&lang=en>, accessed 28 March 2013. While most of the available sources agree on this number, some NGOs are highly critical of it and they argue that the number is still much higher than suggested. The critics claim that the low figure is a product of the narrow definition of "conflict diamond" itself and does not reflect the scope of the problem in today's world, as it will be discussed in the following sections. ("The Kimberley Process," Global Witness, available at <<http://www.globalwitness.org/campaigns/conflict/conflict-diamonds/kimberley-process>>, accessed 15 March 2013.)

⁵⁸⁹ Global Witness summarized KPCS's perceived ineffectiveness and stated that "The scheme has failed three tests: it failed to deal with the trade in conflict diamonds from Côte d'Ivoire, was unwilling to take serious action in the face of blatant breaches of the rules over a number of years by Venezuela and has proved unwilling to stop diamonds fuelling corruption and violence in Zimbabwe. It has become an accomplice to diamond laundering – whereby dirty diamonds are mixed in with clean gems." Following this statement, Global Witness announced its withdrawal from the KP. Charmian Gooch, "Global Witness Leaves Kimberley Process, Calls for Diamond Trade to be Held Accountable," Global Witness, 5 December 2011, available at <<http://www.globalwitness.org/library/global-witness-leaves-kimberley-process-calls-diamond-trade-be-held-accountable>>, accessed 7 February 2013.

During this stage, NGOs engaged in multivocalization by utilizing a number of frames at the same time not only to attract the attention of targets of influence but also to reach out to allies to strengthen their coalition. While human rights frame was mainly used to attract other NGOs, the industry's and the public attention to the issue, security frame was used initially to get the support of the UNSC. The security frame was then taken over by the industry who wanted to avoid the human rights frame. Thus, during this stage, security frame was adopted by NGOs as a strategic tool to attract attention to human rights problems associated with the trade of illicit diamonds rather than to highlight the security implications that the issue has for the states.

The findings also illustrate that the motivations behind adopting security frames are more complex than acknowledged by the existing literature. The extant scholarship explains the motivation behind adopting security frames with one of two dynamics. Security frames are either utilized by non-state actors to incentivize states to prioritize an issue on their agenda⁵⁹⁰ or they are utilized by states themselves to take an issue outside of the realm of politics.⁵⁹¹ However, the Conflict Diamonds case illustrates that a security frame can also be utilized in prioritizing an issue on a non-security related private actor's agenda. The analysis of the agenda setting stage illustrate that the security frame was adopted and then enforced by the industry that was afraid of the implications that a human rights frame could have for the industry.

The analysis of the agenda setting stage also illustrates that as the composition of the campaign network changed, the power dynamics within the network evolved so did the actors' capacity to frame the issue. This was exemplified in the shift away from a

⁵⁹⁰ Such as Elbe 2006; Hudson 2010.

⁵⁹¹ Such as Watson 2009.

human rights frame toward a strict use of the security frame, as the power of the states and industry gradually increased at the expense of NGOs within the campaign.

The evidence also shows that the political context within which the campaign was launched is also important in shaping the framing choices. At the agenda setting stage, the ongoing civil wars in Africa as well Canada's willingness to bring the issue onto the UNSC agenda provided a fertile ground for security language to be utilized in communicating the issue to the broader audience.

Cultivating Allies – Framing the Issue for the UNSC

At the agenda setting stage, the most important ally that the Conflict Diamonds Campaign managed to cultivate was the UNSC. The UNSC supported the issue by not only attracting states' attention to it but also by helping NGOs pressure the diamond industry. Ensuring UNSC's support was a result of three dynamics: (i) existing concerns that UNSC had about ongoing civil wars in Africa, (ii) Canada's desire to prioritize humanitarian concerns on the UNSC agenda, and (iii) the NGOs' success in framing the issue in a way that appealed to the concerns and the priorities of the Security Council.

The UNSC's concern about the civil war in Angola preceded the campaign as evidenced by the sanctions imposed on Angola in 1998.⁵⁹² Requiring diamonds imported from Angola to be certified by the government of Angola was part of the sanctions imposed by the UNSC. However, at that point, the UNSC did not identify diamonds as the main source of the problem or proposed an industry-wide certification mechanism.

⁵⁹² UN Security Council, S/RES/1173, 12 June 1998; S/RES/1176, 24 June 1998.

The sanctions instead approached certification of Angolan diamonds as a component of the multifaceted attempts to limit the financial sources of UNITA.⁵⁹³

The ad hoc nature of the UNSC's approach to the connection between diamonds and conflict was evident in the wording of the sanctions as well. Diamonds were mentioned only once in the Resolutions and they were not framed as an "issue" to be systematically addressed. It was stated in the resolution that "[UNSC] decides also that all States shall take the necessary measures... to prohibit the direct or indirect import from Angola to their territory of all diamonds that are not controlled through the Certificate of Origin regime of the GURN [Government of Unity and National Reconciliation]."⁵⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the concern that the UNSC had about the civil wars in Africa created a fertile ground for the campaign to get their arguments resonate with the Council within a short period of time.

While the UNSC was concerned about the potential connection between the diamonds and conflicts, they were not the ones who initiated the campaign or coined the term conflict diamonds. Their involvement in the campaign was realized as a result of two developments. The first important development was the beginning of Canada's term as a non-permanent member of the UNSC. With the beginning of Canada's term, Robert Fowler, Canadian Ambassador to the UN became the chair of the Angolan Sanctions Committee which created a receptive ear for the issue of conflict diamonds to be heard by the UN.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹³ Along with the freezing of assets and demilitarization of UNITA forces. UN Security Council, S/RES/1173, 12 June 1998.

⁵⁹⁴ UN Security Council, S/RES/1173, Article 12(b), 12 June 1998.

⁵⁹⁵ Bieri 2010, 22.

Canada's receptive ear within the UNSC provided a significant point of access for the issue entrepreneurs. Shortly after the release of the *A Rough Trade* report, which did not use the term "conflict diamonds" itself, Global Witness was invited to the UNSC to give an unofficial briefing on their findings.⁵⁹⁶ This briefing not only presented Global Witness an opportunity to promote their cause but also paved the way to the creation of an Expert Panel by Fowler to investigate the connection between diamonds and civil wars in Africa.⁵⁹⁷ After that point onward the UNSC became an ally and showed its support to the efforts to create an international mechanism in regulating the diamonds industry.

Getting the UNSC as an ally played a significant role not only in shaping the framing preferences of the advocates but also in determining the campaign's success. As discussed in Chapter 2, a campaign's success is highly dependent on the influential actors' (gatekeepers) willingness to adopt and promote the issue.⁵⁹⁸ The support that these allies show is crucial in "signal[ing] the worthiness of certain issues"⁵⁹⁹ to both other potential allies as well as to the targets of influence.

Not just "NGO superpowers,"⁶⁰⁰ but also international organizations perform the function of "collective legitimization" where they are perceived as "the dispenser of politically significant approval of the claims, policies, and actions of states."⁶⁰¹ The UNSC plays especially a significant role due the structural power it has within the UN System. UNSC uses this gatekeeping role mostly in issues that pertains to international

⁵⁹⁶ Global Witness, Annual Report 2005.

⁵⁹⁷ Bone 2004.

⁵⁹⁸ Such as Bob 2005; Hertel 2006; Carpenter 2014; Carpenter et al. 2014.

⁵⁹⁹ Bob 2009, 6.

⁶⁰⁰ Bob 2005.

⁶⁰¹ Claude 1966.

security such as the role it plays in legitimizing the use of force.⁶⁰² Yet, as True-Frost analyzes, the UNSC has also been illustrating an increasing willingness to be as a consumer of human rights and humanitarian norms.⁶⁰³ This willingness opened up a room for the advocacy campaigns to get their voices heard through UNSC.

The receptive environment that the UNSC's approach and the Canada's initiative created did not automatically lead to the securitization of the issue. Issue entrepreneurs strategically highlighted the connection between ongoing conflicts in Africa and diamonds in order to engage UNSC's sensitivities and their current interest in African civil wars. One strategy was to highlight the ineffectiveness of the existing sanctions imposed by the Security Council to convince them that there is a need for a more systematic approach. For instance, *A Rough Trade* argued that "the impact of the embargo has been minimal and resulted in changes of export logistics rather than major alterations in volume. Diamond traders and analysts confirm that the embargo has not had a major impact on trade. The traders have simply altered the routes and obtained deceptive paperwork from obliging countries."⁶⁰⁴ In the reports that followed Global Witness repeatedly emphasized the role of diamonds in supporting UNITA's war efforts as well as the inadequacy of the existing sanctions in solving the problem. For instance, in a press release published in December 1998, it was similarly stated that "the UN has failed to ensure that member states are rigorously implementing the embargo on unofficial diamond exports from Angola."⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰² Voeten 2005.

⁶⁰³ True-Frost 2007.

⁶⁰⁴ Global Witness 1998, 9.

⁶⁰⁵ "Is the Price of Diamonds too High? How Angola's Return to War Has Been Funded by the International Diamond Trade," 14 December 1998, available at <<http://www.globalwitness.org/library/price-diamonds-too-high-how-angola%E2%80%99s-return-war-has-been-funded-international-diamond-trade>>, accessed 7 January 2015.

Once the issue entrepreneurs managed to get the UNSC to start listening to them, they strengthened their security approach by starting to use the term “conflict diamonds” in their statements when referring to the problem. Their goal was to convince the UNSC that their efforts in ending conflicts would be futile unless the issue of diamonds was addressed. In a press release published in January 2000, Global Witness used the term “conflict diamonds” for the first time in pointing out the “loopholes” in the existing “Certification of Origin” system put in place by the UNSC. Global Witness argued that these loopholes “undermined international efforts to implement the UN embargo.”⁶⁰⁶

As the campaign was getting closer to the end of the agenda setting stage, the use of “conflict diamonds” became more visible. This change became evident in the consistent and repeated use of the term in a briefing document prepared by Global Witness titled *Conflict Diamonds: Possibilities for the Identification, Certification and Control of Diamonds* where they presented their visions for establishing a diamond certification and verification mechanism. The document defined the conflict diamonds as “[d]iamonds that originate from areas under the control of forces that are in opposition to elected and internationally recognised governments, or are in any way connected to those groups.”⁶⁰⁷ Adoption of such definition indicated that the use of multiple frames by the issue entrepreneurs was getting replaced by a strict use of a security frame.

The strategy to emphasize the security implications of illicit diamond trade proved to be useful both in the short run and in the long run. In the short run, a similar set of sanctions were issued against Sierra Leone following PAC’s report. The primary goal

⁶⁰⁶ “Why There Should Not Be An Embargo on All Angolan Diamonds,” 25 January 2000, available at <<http://www.globalwitness.org/library/why-there-should-not-be-embargo-all-angolan-diamonds>>, accessed 3 January 2015.

⁶⁰⁷ Global Witness June 2000.

of the sanctions was to prevent the trade of rough diamonds originated from Sierra Leone in the international diamond market.⁶⁰⁸

In the long run, the framing efforts of the campaign succeeded in turning the UNSC's case by case approach in dealing with illicit diamond trade into a systematic one under the "conflict diamonds" frame and paved the way to their support to the initiation of the Kimberley Process. This effect became evident in the language used in UN resolutions. While a number of resolutions that were published since 1998 emphasized the link between diamond trade and conflicts,⁶⁰⁹ it was not until 2001 that the concept of "conflict diamonds" started to be used in UN resolutions.

The UN General Assembly was first to use the term "conflict diamonds" within the UN system in its Resolution 55/56 and stated that

The General Assembly, [e]xpressing its concern over the problem of conflict diamonds fuelling conflicts in a number of countries and the devastating impact of these conflicts on peace, safety and security for people in affected countries,... Acknowledging that the problem of conflict diamonds is of serious international concern, and that measures to address the problem should involve all concerned parties, including producing, processing, exporting and importing countries, as well as the diamond industry."⁶¹⁰

The UNSC followed suit and used the concept of conflict diamonds for the first time in their Resolution 1343 in welcoming the UNGA's take on the issue.⁶¹¹

Therefore, tailoring the issue as a security problem at the agenda setting stage was a strategic move on the part of the advocates to reach out to a powerful potential ally.

This finding supports the arguments developed in the previous chapters that campaigns' framing choices are also motivated by their desire to strengthen their coalitions.

⁶⁰⁸ PAC 2000.

⁶⁰⁹ UN Security Council, S/RES/1173, 12 June 1998; S/RES/1176, 24 June 1998; S/RES/1306, 5 July 2000.

⁶¹⁰ UN General Assembly, A/RES/55/56, 29 January 2001.

⁶¹¹ UN Security Council, S/RES/1343, 7 March 2001.

Engaging Targets – Getting the Industry to React

The initial attempts to frame the issue as a problem that is worthy of global attention had diamond trading companies rather than states as their primary targets. To that end, advocates initially used the human rights frame to both galvanize public support and convince the industry that their actions need to be changed. Diamond industry reacted to these initial frames fairly quickly as they were worried about the financial implications of a campaign that focuses on human rights consequences of the issue. For that reason, the industry counteracted by emphasizing the security frame at the expense of the human rights frame with the hopes that the issue would not taint the entire industry and lead to a financial catastrophe.

The industry has been in the spotlight since the very first stages of the campaign. One of the very first reports that triggered the campaign, *A Rough Trade*, defined the industry's practices as the main source of the problem and suggested that "lack of understanding and government scrutiny of the functioning of the diamond trade has resulted in the absence of any serious examination of corporate culpability, allowing many diamond companies to continue to operate without fear that their actions may be called into question by consumers."⁶¹² Not only the report portrayed the industry as the main source of the problem but also the suggested course of action the report came up with was a change in the way the industry functions: "It is time that a business which operates in an arcane way, like a family business, re-assess its operation and accepts that corporate accountability is now an important factor in international business."⁶¹³

⁶¹² Global Witness 1998, 2.

⁶¹³ Global Witness 1998, 2.

While the report held the diamond industry responsible for the damages created by illegal diamond extraction and trade, the described “damage” was framed in human rights terms. “*A Rough Trade* approached the issue of Angolan conflict diamonds squarely in terms of unethical and unacceptable corporate conduct rather than as an international or Angolan peace issue” [emphasis in the original].⁶¹⁴ The report highlighted the implications that such trade had on human rights and stated that:

[...]leading companies should accept that the rationales used to justify the buying of ‘outside goods’ (unofficial diamonds) in countries such as Angola and Sierra Leone must be weighed in the balance with the possible and severe implications that such a purchase can have, including the destruction wreaked by conflict, the suffering of millions of people, the deaths of hundreds of thousands, the billions of dollars of lost development and the high cost of conflict resolution.⁶¹⁵

The consumer awareness campaign that was launched shortly after also had the industry as its target. The goal of the *Fatal Transactions* campaign was detailed out as “calling on the public and other interested organisations to ask governments and companies involved in extractive industries to implement effective controls to ensure that the trade in natural resources does not finance or otherwise support conflict and economic injustice in Africa. The campaign wants to raise awareness and increase understanding of how western companies are involved in conflicts in Africa through buying natural resources from combatants.”⁶¹⁶ Thus, the campaign primarily targeted the diamond trading companies and focused on convincing them that keeping diamond trade a profitable business depended on addressing the issue of illicit diamonds.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁴ Bieri 2010, 21.

⁶¹⁵ Global Witness 1998, 2.

⁶¹⁶ Medico International, available at

<<http://www.medico.de/en/themes/campaigns/documents/international-campaign-fatal-transactions/1133/>>, accessed 18 December 2012.

⁶¹⁷ “The report of Global Witness and the consumer campaign in Europe led to an understanding in the diamond, among the diamond traders that in order to be able to continue making a profit having a good

The second report that played a critical role in getting the campaign started, *The Heart of the Matter*, also targeted the industry and used a similar combination of frames in trying to get the industry to react. This report was prepared by PAC and concentrated on the role of diamonds in Sierra Leone's civil war: "Diamonds, in fact, have fueled Sierra Leone's conflict, destabilizing the country for the better part of three decades, stealing its patrimony and robbing an entire generation of children, putting the country dead last on the UNDP Human Development Index."⁶¹⁸ Thus, similar to the report prepared by Global Witness, this report also focused on the responsibility of the industry in fueling the armed conflict and held them responsible for the consequences that this conflict had on people's wellbeing.

One of the first people within the industry who reacted to the campaign was Martin Rapaport, a prominent figure in the diamond industry who later became an ally and one of the biggest critics of the diamond industry's practices. After paying a visit to Sierra Leone, Rapaport wrote an op-ed titled *Guilt Trip* in which he asked the industry to take responsibility and work to clean the industry from "conflict diamonds." He suggested that

De Beers decision to certify the non-conflict nature of the diamonds they sell on every invoice opens the way for other mining companies to provide similar certification on their invoices. It also opens the way for subsequent buyers to state — 'The diamonds sold under this invoice have been certified by the seller as being non-conflict diamonds.' Such disclosure based on an affirmative statement by the seller could be passed on through the entire diamond distribution system.⁶¹⁹

business in order to take care of the image of diamonds in therefore tackle the issue of blood diamonds." (Interviewee 2)

⁶¹⁸ Smillie, Gberie and Hazleton 2000, 1.

⁶¹⁹ "Guilt Trip," 7 April 2000, available at

<<http://www.diamonds.net/News/NewsItem.aspx?Search=guilt%20trip&ArticleID=3830&ArticleTitle=Guilt+Trip>>, accessed 2 January 2015.

Martin Rapaport's approach to the issue not only helped campaign put further pressure on the industry but also paved the way for the industry to rally around the concept of "conflict diamonds." The industry never used the concept of "blood diamonds" and never acknowledged their responsibility in leading to human rights violations.⁶²⁰ Yet, promoting the "conflict diamonds" concept allowed them to replace their generic use of "illicit diamond trade" with a new concept that would neutralize the issue by packaging the problem as an isolated event.

For the industry, conflict diamonds were primarily a "public relations problem" that had the potential to significantly damage both their reputation and also their financial interests.⁶²¹ Thus, the primary goal of the industry was to prevent a large scale boycott that would stop the diamond trade all together. For that reason, it was in industry's interest to frame the issue as an "anomaly" that only affects a small portion of the traded diamonds rather than a problem that stains all of the diamonds traded in the market. Moreover, by using the term "conflict," which is more abstract than the term "blood," the industry also meant to impersonalize the issue and strip the industry away from any responsibility in the staining of these diamonds.⁶²²

As a function of the industry's perception of the issue, testimonies also revealed that the industry was receptive to the connection between diamonds and conflict advocated by the campaign and promoted by Martin Rapaport. This acceptance was mainly because the use of this particular language confined the issue to only a small

⁶²⁰ The websites and publications of major actors within the industry (De Beers, World Federation of Diamond Bourses, International Diamond Manufacturers Association and World Diamond Council) were surveyed and no use of the term "blood diamonds" was identified except in cases where they referring to titles of movies, books, documentaries and reports.

⁶²¹ Smillie 2002a, 8.

⁶²² Some say that we [the industry]prefer using the term "conflict diamonds" because it is more clinical and less likely to stir the public's emotions" (Interviewee 6). "The industry hated the term blood diamonds. Conflict diamonds seems ... less emotive, I guess" (Interviewee 1).

portion of the traded diamonds and as a consequence it limited the potential financial burden that the campaign was likely to create for them:

... industry worried that if something wasn't done soon, their product which is only good for decoration, a luxury product would soon be in trouble in the market place. (Interviewee 1)

I think this forced the diamond industry particularly De Beers which at the time had a larger control of the industry to do something. They recognized that the idea of people throwing blooded Tiffany's and you know in New York that wasn't going to be very good for optics. They really had to do something. So that was in part forced them to sit down and start talking about something. (Interviewee 3)

The diamond industry was also a soft target, because [the industry] deal in non-essential luxury products which are very much dependent upon their reputation among the consuming public. This meant that, where other industries may often ignore reputational challenges, [the diamond industry] have no choice but to react. (Interviewee 6)

For the industry, the emotional connotations of the term "blood" appeared to be the primary reason behind the industry's insistence on using the term "conflict diamonds."

As a part of the industry's initial efforts to limit the financial implications of the campaign by framing illicit diamonds as an "anomaly" they also unsuccessfully attempted to frame the Campaign itself as a security threat. For instance, in an article published in *Professional Jeweler* in January 2001, the author argued that the conflict diamonds campaign itself had the potential to "destabilize Southern African nations where diamond revenue is used to improve the standard of living."⁶²³ The industry also tried (and failed) to shift the emphasis from "conflict diamonds" to "prosperity diamonds" where they "proudly spoke of" legal diamond mining and trading practices in Botswana, South Africa and Namibia and the contribution that diamonds make to these countries' economies.⁶²⁴ PAC reacted by publishing a number of reports in showing the

⁶²³ Weldon 2001; Hazleton 2002, 1.

⁶²⁴ Smillie 2002b.

limited impact that diamonds so far had on economic development of African countries.⁶²⁵

Even though allies and targets of influence had varying reasons for being receptive to different frames, toward the end of the agenda setting stage the security language gained dominance with the coining of the term “conflict diamonds.” This in turn resulted in the sidelining of human rights frame in the process. As is discussed in the following section, when it came to the political commitment stage, the dynamics within the network changed - leading to a change in the reasons behind and implications of using a security frame.

States In, Blood Out: Changing the Power Dynamics, Institutionalizing the Security Frame at the Political Commitment Stage

In a relatively short period of time, the advocates’ efforts have paid out and states and industry representatives decided to come together to create a concrete mechanism to clean the diamond industry from illicit diamonds. In May 2000, South Africa, Namibia and Botswana spearheaded a meeting which turned into the first KP meeting. Representatives of the industry, NGOs and the UK, the USA and Belgium (the major trading countries) were called to attend the meeting and discuss how to “clean” the market from conflict diamonds.⁶²⁶

When the framing of the issue is analyzed, four important dynamics are observed in transitioning from the agenda setting stage to the political commitment stage. First, in this process, the campaign adopted a narrow definition of “conflict diamonds” and sidelined alternative frames. This change was mainly a consequence of the changing dynamics within the network that brought states into the center of the network while

⁶²⁵ Such as PAC March 2002; June 2002.

⁶²⁶ Grant and Taylor 2004; Paes 2005; Bieri 2010; Le Billion 2008; 2010.

decreasing the relative power of the NGOs. The industry was already a proponent of using a term that would define the issue as an anomaly and states' preferences to use the term "conflict diamonds" was guided by their desire to make sure that the institutional mechanisms developed in regulating the diamond industry would not put states' practices into question. While the decreasing power of NGOs within the network limited their capacity to frame the issue, it did not completely strip them of their framing capacity, either. Instead, NGOs used their limited framing capacity as a bargaining tool that they utilize occasionally to ensure states' and the industry's commitment to the process.

Second, and related to the increased role of the states within the network, while it was not the first time that the security frame was introduced, the nature and the implications of the security frame changed significantly. At the agenda setting stage, security language was a function of NGOs' desire to get the UNSC on their side and the industry's motivation to prevent a large-scale boycott. Thus, the use of the security language at the agenda setting stage was mostly instrumental in addressing the human rights consequences of these conflicts without destroying the diamond industry altogether. However, when it came to the political commitment stage, the security language in the sense of "protecting national security" got embedded in the very definition of the "conflict diamonds" upon which the KP was established. This in return resulted in the shunning of the human rights frame from the debate. This supports the arguments in the literature about the long-term negative consequences of adopting security frames.⁶²⁷

While the second finding supports the arguments in the securitization literature, the third one challenges them. The securitization literature suggests that the motivation

⁶²⁷ Such as CASE 2006; Elbe 2006; Corry 2011.

behind adopting a security frame is what this frame implies for the actors. In other words, security frames are useful in attracting states' attention to an issue because of the receptiveness of the states to the imminent danger that the issue is argued to present.⁶²⁸ However, the states' and the industry's motivations in adopting a security frame illustrate that the reason behind opting for a security frame can also be a function of what this frame leaves out (human rights practices) rather than what it entails (a threat to national security).

Lastly, while the broader political context within which the campaign was operating was gradually changing, rather than initiating a change in the framing of the issue, the newly rising dynamics in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks reinforced the prioritization of national security concerns in the framing of the conflict diamonds issue.

Institutionalizing the Security Frame

One of the very important steps in strategically reframing the issue of conflict diamonds as a threat to national security took place in the early stages of the political commitment phase, and resulted in the institutionalization of the "conflict diamonds" concept into the KP. This subsection traces the changes in framing preferences and then discusses the reasons behind them.

Once the KP negotiations began, issue entrepreneurs that focused on highlighting the human rights consequences of the issue at the agenda setting stage started to make "conflict diamonds" the only frame through which they discuss and promote the issue. For instance, within the period between the years 2000 and 2003 PAC published twelve

⁶²⁸ Such as Shultz et al. 1993; Balzacq 2011a; 2011b; Sjostedt 201; Trombetta 2011. Podesta and Ogden 2008; Hudson 2010; Karyotis and Patrikios 2010.

issues of *Other Facets*. These newsletters are important as they have been the primary publications through which PAC communicates its perceptions and assessments of the developments pertaining to Kimberley Process. In these newsletters the term “blood diamonds” was used nine times in total whereas the term “conflict diamonds” was used hundred and twenty-six times. In instances where “blood diamonds” was used, it was to indicate that they were using this concept in replacing the term “blood diamonds.” Similarly, PAC published a total of eleven reports within the same period. In these reports, that are more formal expressions of PAC’s approach to the issue, PAC used the concept of “conflict diamonds” hundred and forty-four times whereas they did not use the term “blood diamonds” once (See Table 16).

Table 15: The Use Blood Diamonds and Conflict Diamonds in PAC publications (2000-2003)⁶²⁹

	number of publications	Blood Diamonds	Conflict Diamonds
<i>Other Facets</i>	12	9	126
Reports	11	0	144
Total	23	9	270

The securitization trend was also apparent in the reports published by non-governmental actors who got involved in the issue at the political commitment stage. For instance, in their 2002 report World Peace Foundation used “blood diamonds” concept once while the concept of “conflict diamonds” was used in seventy-four occasions.⁶³⁰

Similarly, in CRS Report for Congress prepared in 2003, the concept of “blood

⁶²⁹ In compiling the following tables and figures used in the rest of the chapter each document was searched for the relevant keywords. Once the number of appearances was counted then each appearance was looked into individually to disregard the references to movie, documentary, and book titles (such the movie “Blood Diamond”) as well as to disregard references to names of the organizations (such as Diamonds and Human Security Initiative and Diamond Development Initiative).

⁶³⁰ Tamm 2002.

diamonds” was mentioned once⁶³¹ whereas the concept of “conflict diamonds” was used seventy-five times in this thirty-six page long report.⁶³²

The changes in the advocates’ framing choices did neither happen in a vacuum nor without a reason. Instead, they were built on the industry’s insistence on using a limited definition and the interest that states saw in doing so. The disproportionate power that the negotiation process vested in the states resulted in the institutionalization of the security frame. The same trend surfaced during the Kimberley Process negotiations as a part of the efforts concentrated on coming up with a definition of conflict diamonds that would keep both the industry and the large number of states with varying interests at the table. As Interviewee 3 notes:

I don’t think that the people who were negotiating the Kimberley Process all had very homogeneous intentions; I think everybody had different motivations in doing it. I think from African government point of view I think a lot of it would have been very much about this idea of controlling their national boundaries better and securing more revenues perhaps from these diamonds. Essentially toppling civil, rebel groups, you know undermining their legitimacy in some ways.

In this respect, efforts to develop a limited definition of conflict diamonds that focuses on national security were a function of the changing dynamics within the network and a reflection of the priorities of those who had the upper hand in the network. In other words, the increasing role of states and the industry and the need to incorporate large number of actors with diverse interests and priorities can argued to be the primary reason for adopting a limited definition of conflict diamonds. Thus, the campaign adopted a security frame mainly because, as Nichols puts it, “without limiting “conflict diamonds” to a small percentage of all diamonds, De Beers would have backed out; without focusing

⁶³¹ “... diamonds used in this manner have been labeled “conflict diamonds” or “blood diamonds”.” (Cook 2003, 6)

⁶³² Cook 2003.

on rebel movements' use of diamonds, the governments would not have agreed.”⁶³³ This reasoning was echoed by the interviewees, as well:

This was a negotiation between states and every new meeting a new state would join because it started with a small group of states, mainly sub-Saharan diamond producers, the US and Belgium, the UK, Israel but more and more countries understood that “wait a second we trade diamonds, we need to be a part of it or we want to trade diamonds in future or we think we have diamonds in our soil and we want to exploit these diamonds in the future, we need to be a part of it”. Then you have got your typical problem, all the time with countries that are not accepted to exist like Taiwan is not accepted by China, your issue with European Commission not being a country but trade issues are a European competence and not the competence of individual member states so they have a role. Diamond traders among themselves, De Beers being the biggest player, the World Diamond Council in Antwerp wanting to have a say so everybody had different fuse... (Interviewee 2)

While the reasons behind the industry’s insistence on using a securitized notion of illicit diamonds were discussed in the previous section, the motivation that states had in adopting a similar approach requires some explanation. The literature argues that states’ receptiveness to security frames was a function of the indisputable place that security concerns occupy on their agendas. As a result of that, securitized issues are argued to have a better chance at attracting states’ attention as they appeal to these priorities.⁶³⁴ In other words security frames work because it tells states what they want to hear. However, the analysis of the Conflict Diamonds campaign illustrates that the security frame worked because it left out what states did not want to hear: the human rights consequences of their diamond handling.

You would never have an agreement with a country like Russia or China if you would have dealt with human right abuses by governments. Governments are not signing up to an agreement that puts them on the spot. I mean we tried and it shows now with the issue in Zimbabwe for the last couple of years that it actually harms the Kimberley Process that it limits itself to rebel movements but at that

⁶³³ Nichols 2012, 660.

⁶³⁴ Such as Shultz et al. 1993; Balzacq 2011a; 2011b; Sjostedt 201; Trombetta 2011. Podesta and Ogden 2008; Hudson 2010; Karyotis and Patrikios 2010.

point it was still quite a gain that we managed to have such a broad coalition to sign up. (Interviewee 2)

In the end of three-year long negotiations and as a result of these dynamics, KP defined conflict diamonds as: “rough diamonds used by rebel movements or their allies to finance conflict aimed at undermining legitimate governments, as described in relevant United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolutions insofar as they remain in effect, or in other similar UNSC resolutions which may be adopted in the future, and as understood and recognised in United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) Resolution 55/56, or in other similar UNGA resolutions which may be adopted in future.”⁶³⁵ The formal adoption of this definition finalized the institutionalization of the security frame within the KP structure.

As also suggested by the securitization literature, institutionalization of the security frame resulted in the sidelining of human rights concerns. Human rights violations were indeed mentioned in the KPCS,⁶³⁶ but by limiting the very definition of conflict diamonds to diamonds that are used in financing rebel actions against legitimate governments, KP sidelined the human rights consequences of governments’ handling of diamonds. In other words, by limiting the definition of conflict diamonds to diamonds that pose a threat to “legitimate governments,” the political commitment stage essentialized the national security dimension of the issue as a condition for being considered as “conflict diamond.” As a result, the language that was initially adopted by the advocates strategically with the assumption that it would also encompass human

⁶³⁵ Kimberley Process Certification Scheme 2003, 3.

⁶³⁶ The KPCS’s core document briefly mentions the human rights implications of conflict diamonds by “further recognizing the devastating impact of conflicts fuelled by the trade in conflict diamonds on the peace, safety and security of people in affected countries and the systematic and gross human rights violations that have been perpetrated in such conflicts”. (“KPCS Core Document,” available at <<http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/en/kpcs-core-document>>, accessed 27 March 2013.)

rights concerns became the very reason why human rights violations as well as other concerns got sidelined at the expense of national security.

I think that the human rights aspect, I think it has been very implicit in the KP. I think if you look back at why the KP was created; it wasn't created because a bunch of governments wanted to exchange certificates about in extraction figures and trade figures. It was created because it was a human rights problem that had to be resolved. And I think this is one of the oversights of the founding fathers - with the exception of one woman I think pretty much was a bunch of men - I think that this perhaps was what they overlooked, they just thought that it was so self-evident that you didn't have to put that explicit language in there. (Interviewee 3)

While the changing dynamics within the network was the most important factor in altering the framing of the issue at the political commitment stage, it is important to note that the changes within the broader political context also contributed to this process. In understanding how the actual content of the security frame has evolved to a one that strictly focuses on the protection of legitimate governments, the impact of September 11 attacks that took place during the KP negotiations also need to be taken into consideration. While the securitization of the conflict diamonds issue cannot be attributed to these attacks or the political atmosphere that developed afterwards, it nonetheless had an impact on the negotiation process. For instance, one interviewee recalling the negotiation process stated that:

When 9/11 took place the whole Kimberley process was in session in London. So we were there, we all stayed, all diplomats all NGOs and we watched the flights going to the tower. So you could say that it had a little bit of a change atmosphere afterwards and I have heard some people arguing that diamonds are also very useful to trade for Al Qaeda kind of groups. (Interviewee 2)

Some NGOs also incorporated this new security language into their approach. For instance Global Witness's report *For a Few Dollars More: How Al Qaeda Moved into the Diamond Trade*, published in April 2003, was crucial in solidifying the security

threats that conflict diamonds issue was argued to present. The report stated that “Global Witness presents evidence that confirms that al Qaeda has been involved in the rough diamond trade since the 1990s. First in Kenya and Tanzania and then in Sierra Leone and Liberia, where they began to show an interest in diamond trading in 1998, following the crackdown on their financial activities in the wake of the US embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania.”⁶³⁷ Thus, the institutionalization of the security frame was not only a function of the states’ and the industry’s framing preferences but it was also enforced by the developments in the broader political context.

Holding onto “Blood Diamonds” for a Rainy Day

The decline in the relative power of the NGOs within the network limited their ability to frame the debate and pursue alternative approaches. Nevertheless, despite the central role that states assumed at the political commitment stage, NGOs did not completely lose their ability to frame the discussion, either. Once the combined use of human rights and security frames accomplished its primary goal of reaching out to potential allies and targets of influence, NGOs’ priorities have changed and keeping the related parties at the negotiation table became the number one priority. With that purpose, NGOs have complied with states’ and the industry’s framing preferences evidenced by above discussed examples.

Despite the overall compliance with the security frame, NGOs occasionally used the term “blood diamonds” as a bargaining tool, as well. While the NGOs agreed to use the term conflict diamonds to keep the industry, as well as the states, committed to the process, they resorted to “blood diamonds” whenever they feel the need to strong-arm the industry and states into keeping their commitment to the negotiation process.

⁶³⁷ Global Witness 2003, 6.

The use of “blood diamonds” term as a bargaining tool became apparent in the press releases distributed by the issue entrepreneurs during the KP negotiations. For instance, in a joint press release by PAC, Global Witness and Fatal Transactions, which was published as a reaction to the stalemate that the negotiations were in, stated that “[t]he Kimberley Process must succeed. To do so, it must produce a strong and effective plan at its forthcoming meeting in Botswana, for presentation to the United Nations General Assembly in December. Less would be a mockery of blood diamonds’ innocent victims and a travesty of the current international resolve on terrorism.”⁶³⁸

The term “blood diamonds” was similarly used in pressuring the industry, as well. For instance, in reacting to the resolution reached at the World Diamond Congress in October 2002, Amnesty International called the industry to take more tangible steps in developing solutions by stating that, “There are no credible guarantees that this system will serve to break the link between diamonds and human rights abuses. For example, it is likely to do nothing to stop blood from being spilled on a daily basis in the diamond fields of the Democratic Republic of Congo.”⁶³⁹

Advocates’ testimonies revealed similar insights:

The business and governments wanted to talk about conflict diamonds and if we want to make them very angry we would talk about blood diamonds. (Interviewee 2)

... In the Kimberley process we pretty soon settled without much debate on the term conflict diamonds. And occasionally, an NGO or somebody in one of the meetings would use the term blood diamonds and you would pretty soon, if it persisted, you would see somebody from the industry’s hand shooting up and

⁶³⁸ “NGOs Fear Conflict Diamond Process May Fail, Industrialized Countries Pick and Choose on Terrorism,” 30 November 2001, available at < <http://www.globalwitness.org/library/ngos-fear-conflict-diamond-process-may-fail-industrialized-countries-pick-and-choose>>, accessed 6 January 2015.

⁶³⁹ “Time is Running Out: 61 Days for Governments and the Diamond Industry to Take Action to Eliminate Trade in Conflict Diamonds,” 1 November 2002, available at < <http://www.globalwitness.org/library/time-running-out-61-days-governments-and-diamond-industry-take-action-eliminate-trade>>, accessed 6 January 2015.

saying “listen I thought we agreed we were going to use the term conflict diamonds.” (Interviewee 1)

Thus, while the advocates’ decreasing power within the network as well as their interest in keeping the industry and the states at the negotiation table encouraged them to settle on a security frame, they nevertheless, strategically invoked human rights frames embedded in the term “blood diamonds” whenever they felt the need to strong-arm the targets of influence.

The analysis of the political commitment stage illustrated that changes in the composition of the actors involved in the campaign altered the power dynamics and the actors’ capacity to frame the issue. The shift of power from the NGOs to the industry and the states turned a strategically-used security frame to attract attention to human rights consequences of the issue into a discursive structure that aims to limit the meaning and the purpose of the campaign to focus on the protection of national governments against the rebels. NGOs, nonetheless, resumed some of their framing power and used the concept of “blood diamonds” as a bargaining tool to keep the negotiations going. This shift shaped the content and the nature of the policy implementation process, as well.

Once Securitized, Always Securitized (?): Criticizing the Institution, De-securitizing the Issue – Policy Implementation Stage

The three-year long negotiations resulted in the establishment of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme which also marked the beginning of the policy implementation stage. KPCS can be considered as an example of policy implementation success as the certification scheme is being implemented by almost all of the diamond extracting and trading countries and the system regulates about 99% of the international

rough diamond trade.⁶⁴⁰ The KP is, in its structure, a voluntary agreement but nevertheless, it has been functioning as a compulsory one as the established system requires the states to abide by the KPCS standards if they want to trade diamonds with KP countries.⁶⁴¹ The last ten years' records illustrate that the KP has accomplished an important level of success "in curtailing the trade in illegal and illegitimate diamonds." It has been also acknowledged to play a role in nearly complete elimination of conflict diamond trade originating from Central and West Africa (with the notable exceptions of some regions in Côte d'Ivoire and the DRC).⁶⁴²

The analysis of the policy implementation stage reveals that the changes in the political context made various actors aware of the states' wrongdoings in handling diamonds. This in return paved the way to numerous attempts to de-securitize the KP's approach to diamonds. Despite these efforts no significant change has been observed so far due to the power dynamics as well as the institutional structure of the KP.

Unchanging Power Dynamics within a Changing Political Context – Early Attempts to De-securitize

Despite the KP's relative success, this stage has also been witnessing an increasing tension between those who insist on adhering to the limited conceptualization of conflict diamonds and those who work to expand the frame in order to bring human rights and development implications of the problem into the debate.

This tension was a result of two dynamics. On the one hand, institutionalization of the "conflict diamonds" concept into the structure of KPCS as well as member states'

⁶⁴⁰ Ebertz and Müller 2013; "Conflict Diamonds," available at <http://diamondfacts.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=128&Itemid=134&lang=en>, accessed 28 March 2013.

⁶⁴¹ "KPCS Core Document," available at <<http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/en/kpcs-core-document>>, accessed 27 March 2013.

⁶⁴² Bieri 2010; PAC 2006.

framing preferences have perpetuated the use of a strict national security frame despite increasing criticisms. On the other hand, the fact that the major diamond fueled civil wars have come to an end altered the broader political context within which the campaign operates and led to two sets of trends: one for those who want to keep the momentum behind the KP and one for those who want to reform it.

Those who want to keep the KP's momentum have turned their attention to the ongoing and potential security threats that conflict diamonds pose in order to show the continued need for the KP. For instance, in a report published by Global Witness in 2006 it was stated that “[d]iamonds are still fuelling conflict... The number of conflict diamonds has significantly reduced because peace agreements have been signed in countries in Western and Southern Africa. But more diamond-fuelled wars could happen in the future unless the Kimberley Process strengthens government controls and the diamond industry cleans up its act.”⁶⁴³

The end of the civil wars also created an opportunity for the critics who wanted to highlight the problems with governments' handling of diamonds. Despite the early success and the efforts to keep the momentum up, KP's slowness in suspending members that violate the terms of the agreement created an important challenge for the proponents of the existing frame. The narrowness of the conflict diamonds definition itself started to be highlighted as the core reason behind the KP's limited capacity to address violations. The main concern was that the current emphasis on security has been giving leeway for states to use diamond trade to violate human rights, damage the environment, and hinder

⁶⁴³ Global Witness 2006, 1.

economic development.⁶⁴⁴ This criticism, in return, has found its reflection in the calls for reform that ask to replace conflict diamonds frame with “blood diamonds” to accommodate non-security related concerns.

The advocates who became critical of the KP started to focus on de-securitizing the issue by reintroducing the use of the term “blood diamonds” much more frequently than they were used at the political commitment stage. This trend becomes clear when the number of times that the concept of “blood diamonds” and “conflict diamonds” were used by the advocates in their publications is analyzed. The combined use of the term “blood diamonds” in the reports published by Global Witness and reports and newsletters published by PAC adds up to ten instances between the years 2000 and 2003. During same time period, the same publications used the term “conflict diamonds” two hundred and eighty-three times. When the process transitioned to the policy implementation stage, we observe that the concept of “blood diamonds” started to be used more frequently. The same actor’ publications have resorted to the concept of “blood diamonds” hundred and fourteen times since the establishment of the KPCS whereas the concept of “conflict diamonds” appeared four hundred and sixty-one times in the same publications (see Figure 3).

⁶⁴⁴ Bello (2013) suggests that “at the top of campaigners' demands is the need for the KP to agree on a broader definition of conflict or blood diamonds. This stems from the widely recognized failure of the framework to hold its state parties to account for human, environmental and other rights abuses in diamond-producing areas, whilst clamping down on rebels' atrocities.”

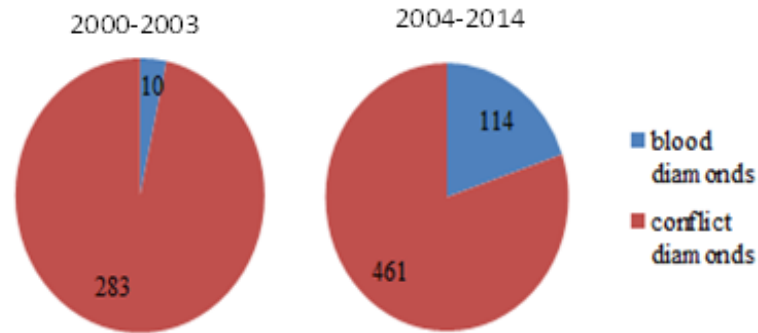


Figure 3: The Number of Times the Concepts Appeared in Publications (2000-2003 and 2004-2015)

The attempts to de-securitize the issue have not only been apparent in the sheer frequency at which the concept of “blood diamonds” was used. These attempts have also been apparent in the contexts in which the term “blood diamonds” was used. While the reports kept using the term “conflict diamonds” when referring to the official functioning of the KP, the term “blood diamonds” was invoked when the system was being criticized. For instance, in their report titled *The Truth about Diamonds*, Global Witness used “conflict diamonds” in defining the issue and emphasizing the role of diamonds in fueling conflicts, but they switched to “blood diamonds” when they were highlighting the limitations of the existing system:

Although the Kimberley Process makes it more difficult for diamonds from rebel-held areas to reach international markets, there are still significant weaknesses that undermine its effectiveness and allow the trade in blood diamonds to continue... Kimberley Process meeting held in Botswana in early November [2006] made welcome commitments to strengthen the scheme but governments must accompany this with action if they are serious about stopping blood diamonds.⁶⁴⁵

Similarly, in their joint report with Global Witness, Amnesty International stated that “poor government controls and enforcement are allowing blood diamonds to be certified

⁶⁴⁵ Global Witness November 2006, 2.

as conflict-free. Unscrupulous diamond traders are knowingly violating the Kimberley Process and national laws.”⁶⁴⁶

Marange Incident – A Turning Point for the Credibility of the Security Frame

The increasing criticism peaked with reports revealing that the Mugabe regime in Zimbabwe killed around 200 miners in the Marange region in a military operation.⁶⁴⁷ The report detailing the killings initiated a reaction in the KP and resulted in an embargo against Zimbabwe in 2009. The embargo was lifted in 2011 which triggered even more reaction from the NGOs. The reactions intensified as it became apparent that the revenues that Mugabe regime made from their partnership with Anjin Investments (Chinese led diamond producing venture) were used to oppress the opposition prior to the elections.⁶⁴⁸ The support the Mugabe regime received was in many forms and the reports suggested that “the feared Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), Mugabe's secret police, is flushed with cash, and has bought hundreds of vehicles and weapons from China in recent months. Salaries have been increased and thousands of new officers are being trained, raising concerns that they will be used to intimidate voters in next year's elections.”⁶⁴⁹

Both the tendency to use the term “blood diamonds” and the emphasis put on the need to address human rights violations increased as a result of the developments in Zimbabwe. Not only the newspaper articles written on Marange region⁶⁵⁰ but also the

⁶⁴⁶ Amnesty International and Global Witness May 2007, 3.

⁶⁴⁷ PAC 2009; Human Rights Watch 2009.

⁶⁴⁸ McVeigh, 17 December 2011, available at <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/dec/17/blood-diamonds-robert-mugabe-zimbabwe>>, accessed 28 April 2014.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid

⁶⁵⁰ Such as Nicolson, “Blood Diamond Trail Leads to Loopholes in Kimberley Process,” The Guardian, 5 June 2013, available at <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/05/blood-diamonds-kimberley-process>>, accessed 21 January 2014; Andersson, “Marange Diamond Field: Zimbabwe Torture Camp Discovered,” BBC, 8 August 2011, available at <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14377215>>.

NGOs that have been deliberately using the security frame started to pay more attention to non-security related consequences of illicit diamond trade. For instance, while the human rights implications of conflict diamonds were mentioned in a total of twenty-four times in thirty-six publications produced by Global Witness and PAC between the years 2004 and 2008, the same implications were mentioned hundred and forty-eight times in nineteen reports published since 2009 (See Figure 4).

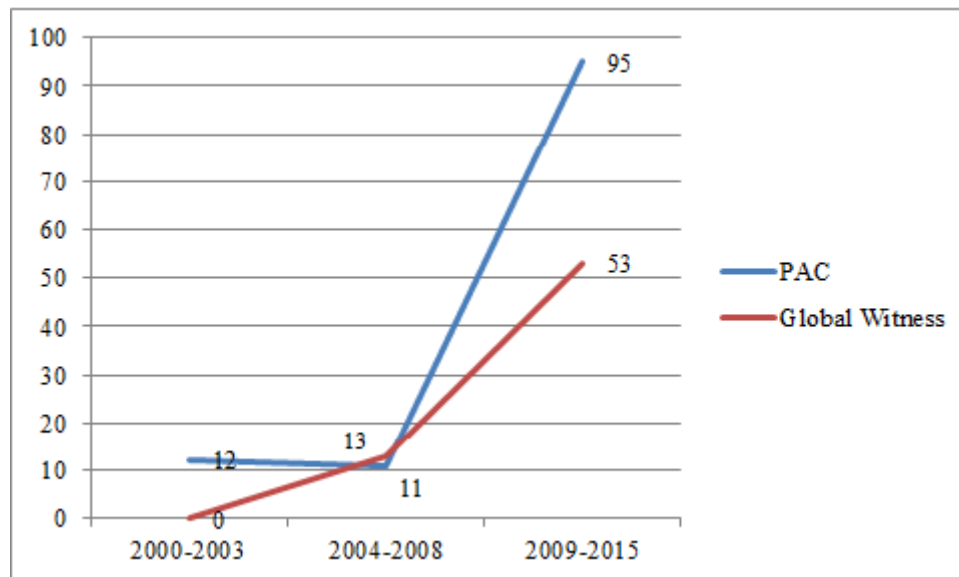


Figure 4: The Number of Times PAC and Global Witness Publications Refer to Human Rights Implications of the Issue in Their Publications

Martin Rapaport, the leading figure in the diamond industry who has been working to clean the industry from conflict diamonds, was one of the critics who resorted to such a use. Following the developments in Zimbabwe he directly criticized the conflict diamonds definition of the KP by stating that “The KP definition of conflict diamonds does not address human rights violations and does not include blood diamonds. It is a legal definition established by governments to limit the scope and authority of the KP.

accessed 21 January 2014; Evans-Pritchard, “Zimbabwe’s ‘Blood Diamonds’ exposed by Wikileaks Cable,” The Telegraph, 10 December 2010, available at <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/industry/mining/8192700/Zimbabwes-Blood-Diamonds-exposed-by-Wikileaks-cable.html>>, accessed 21 January 2014.

The KP is a highly politicized process controlled by governments for governments. Its primary function is to protect governments and their revenue - legitimate or not - from rebel forces and consumer boycotts. The KP is essentially agnostic when it comes to human rights.”⁶⁵¹ In order to remedy this problem, Rapaport suggested replacing the term conflict diamonds with blood diamonds which he defined as “diamonds involved in murder, mutilation, rape and forced servitude.”⁶⁵²

Following Rapaport’s suggestion to replace “conflict diamonds” with “blood diamonds,” other key NGOs also started to use the concept of “blood diamonds” more freely with the purpose of reforming the international regime. For instance, in their report on Zimbabwe published in 2010 PAC adopted such a use and suggested that “Zimbabwe’s diamonds are ‘blood diamonds’” and cited the very definition of conflict diamonds within the KP as the basis for Zimbabwe’s denial of their wrong-doings.⁶⁵³ Similarly, Global Witness published a report in 2010 titled *Return of the Blood Diamond* criticizing the KP’s reaction to the developments in Zimbabwe.⁶⁵⁴

The criticism surrounding the KP’s inability to properly react to the developments in Zimbabwe emphasized the non-security consequences of these developments and strengthened the calls to reframe “conflict diamonds”. For instance, PAC explained the situation in Zimbabwe in its report:

the story of Zimbabwe’s contested diamond fields is about many things: smuggling and frontier hucksterism; a scramble fuelled by raw economic desperation and unfathomable greed; and, of course, heart-wrenching cases of government-sponsored repression and human rights violations... Zimbabwe is not the only country failing to meet some or all of the basic requirements asked of diamond producing nations by the Kimberley Process...But Zimbabwe sets itself

⁶⁵¹ Rapaport 2010, 8.

⁶⁵² Rapaport 2010, 8.

⁶⁵³ PAC 2010, 2.

⁶⁵⁴ Global Witness 2010.

apart from the others because of the government's brazen defiance of universally agreed principles of humanity and good governance expected of adherents to the Kimberley Process.⁶⁵⁵

These developments brought the discussion on the need to address the "human rights violations conducted by state and non-state actors" to the forefront of the KP's agenda, as well. KP's Civil Society Coalition started to raise its voice and demanded the definition of conflict diamonds to be revisited. They argued that "implicit in the KP's response to Marange was the acceptance that rights violations by those other than rebel movements not only matter to the KP, but that the KP has the moral authority to investigate and take remedial action."⁶⁵⁶ Yet, their call did not trigger any tangible action within the KP.

The debate over the need to move away from a security frame became so heated that Global Witness, one of the issue entrepreneurs and a member of the KP Civil Society Coalition left the KP in 2011 arguing that KP will remain in a stalemate unless such move is made – which they evaluated as something that is not likely to take place.⁶⁵⁷ Nevertheless, despite these criticisms, the unchanging preferences and priorities of the states and the industry prevented any meaningful change from taking place.

Interestingly, the security frame embedded in the KP has not only been perceived as a source of KP's inability to address human rights concerns but also as a source of

⁶⁵⁵ PAC 2010, 2.

⁶⁵⁶ KPCS 2012, 2.

⁶⁵⁷ It is stated in Global Witness's related press release that "The Kimberley Process's refusal to evolve and address the clear links between diamonds, violence and tyranny has rendered it increasingly outdated, said the group. Despite intensive efforts over many years by a coalition of NGOs, the scheme's main flaws and loopholes have not been fixed and most of the governments that run the scheme continue to show no interest in reform. Nearly nine years after the Kimberley Process was launched, the sad truth is that most consumers still cannot be sure where their diamonds come from, nor whether they are financing armed violence or abusive regimes" Gooch, "Global Witness Leaves Kimberley Process, Calls for Diamond Trade to be Held Accountable," Global Witness, 5 December 2011, available at <<http://www.globalwitness.org/library/global-witness-leaves-kimberley-process-calls-diamond-trade-be-held-accountable>>, accessed 7 February 2013.

KP's limited ability to address variety of security concerns, as well. In other words, the problems with KP's effectiveness have also been partially attributed to its inability to adapt to changing security needs. Thus, it has been argued that by building the system on a very limited definition of conflict diamonds, the KP's ability to foresee and react to different sources of violence got curtailed. Alan Martin of PAC explained this by saying that "[t]he violence in the diamond sector has changed since the creation of the Kimberley Process... Today, it is not only the rebel groups sanctioned by the Kimberley Process that stand accused of abuses, but state bodies and private security firms. There is also growing concern that diamond revenue is not ending up in the pockets of the people who need it most."⁶⁵⁸

One example of such failure on the part of the KP was regarding the rebel movement in Central African Republic (CAR). While there were reports suggesting that *Seleka*, the coalition of rebel groups in CAR was funding their efforts through exploitation of diamond extraction,⁶⁵⁹ the KP only took steps after the rebels gained the control of the government.⁶⁶⁰ The official reason provided by the KP in explaining their lateness in reacting to the situation in CAR was that the "restrictive definition of conflict diamonds only allows for intervention should rebel groups attempt to overthrow a government", which was not the case when the initial reports were published.⁶⁶¹ This

⁶⁵⁸ McDonald-Gibson, "The Flawed Diamond Sale: Sanctions Lifted on Gemstones from Zimbabwe," *The Independent*, 15 December 2013, available at <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/the-flawed-diamond-sale-sanctions-lifted-on-gemstones-from-zimbabwe-9006352.html>>, accessed 3 July 2014.

⁶⁵⁹ International Crisis Group 2010.

⁶⁶⁰ When KP finally acted on the issue, it was in the form of temporary suspension from the KP. See Ebertz and Müller 2013.

⁶⁶¹ Ebertz and Müller 2013, 3.

event has led even the state representatives to question the restrictive definition of conflict diamonds.⁶⁶²

What Prevents De-securitization from Succeeding?

The limited capacity that the KP so far had in not only acknowledging the non-security consequences of the illicit diamond trade but also in addressing the changing security concerns supports the arguments of the securitization literature regarding the long-term negative implications of adopting a security frame. Nevertheless, a close analysis also reveals that the reasons behind the negative implications of using security frames as well as the difficulty in de-securitizing an issue are not necessarily a function of the “unique” position that security threats occupy on states’ agendas.

In the case of the conflict diamonds, two factors have so far hindered the attempts to de-securitize the issue. First, the relative power of states within the network has been critical in their ability to insist on using a security frame as evidenced by the problems experienced with Angola. Angola played an active role in the establishment of KPCS in 2003. Angola’s approach, and therefore their framing preferences at the time, was a function of their experience with a decade long civil war.⁶⁶³ After the establishment of the KP, the civil war in Angola came to an end and the president José Eduardo dos Santos, who became triumphant at the end of the civil war, is still in power. Civil war induced violence in the diamond industry was replaced with important roles that generals of the Angolan army play in the industry. Angolan government has been accused of

⁶⁶² Larson 2013.

⁶⁶³ Ebertz and Müller 2013.

various human rights violations⁶⁶⁴ but they rejected these allegations⁶⁶⁵ and they strongly opposed any sanctions to be imposed on Zimbabwe, as well.⁶⁶⁶

Thus, the difficulty in reframing conflict diamonds has been partially a function of states' reluctance to open themselves to any allegations of human rights violations. Since states are holding their central role within the network, their priorities are still playing a significant role in the framing of the issue. As stated earlier, "conflict diamonds", by definition, refers to extraction and trade of diamonds by rebels. In joining the KP, the states were diligent in making sure that the definition of conflict diamonds was kept narrow and that it made no reference to government actions or human rights consequences of such actions.

The second reason why the calls for reframing the issue of conflict diamonds have not found reflection on the ground was due to the institutional structure of the KP. The KP's decision making structure requires consensus for a decision to be made. While non-governmental organizations and representatives of the industry are official participants of the KP, member states are the only ones who get to vote when decisions are being made. Therefore, a reform that would expand the definition of conflict diamonds would require unanimity, which is proved to be extremely difficult given states' positions on the issue.⁶⁶⁷ Interviewees also raised similar concerns in their testimonies.

I think certainly the architecture that was created was very, it was created hastily without thinking through how the landscape would change over time. I think if you look at some of the new multi stake-holder initiatives particularly EITI [Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative], I think there is a more of

⁶⁶⁴ Human Rights Watch 2012.

⁶⁶⁵ Nichols 2012; Ebertz and Müller 2013.

⁶⁶⁶ Ebertz and Müller 2013.

⁶⁶⁷ Bello, "Africa: Kimberley Process after South Africa – Into Uncharted Territory," All Africa, 25 November 2013, available at <<http://allafrica.com/stories/201311271432.html>>, accessed 20 January 2014.

acceptance and an inclusion in language in core documents that accepts that the world would change. I think even particularly on the kind of voting, decision making mechanisms, making sure that you can actually not get bogged down in people who you know where one country just says “I want to say no because I am somehow compromised therefore there will be no forward movement”. And I think this is where I think the Kimberley Process is falling down in its inability to be adaptive, ability to recognize that the world will constantly change and the scene in our landscape will constantly change and expectations of governments and industry will always change. (Interviewee 3)

We couldn't get agreement inside the Kimberley Process to deal with anything except what was on the initial agenda. So, expanding the mandate, going into human rights, going into development, going into the environment, a lot of countries understood the need for that, many would have agreed to that in the Kimberley Process but a lot said “no, that's too much, we are not interested” and the way decision making works in the Kimberley Process, if you don't have pretty much everybody on board, you couldn't go ahead (Interviewee 1)

Thus, it can be argued that the sustained use of a particular frame does not have to be a function of the perceived benefits of using that frame. The utilization could also be a function of the institutional structure that makes it difficult to alter the frame even when there is demand for it.

In this respect, the findings supported the arguments in the literature that adopting a security frame results in the sidelining of other concerns associated with the issue, which in return has a potential to lead to unintended negative consequences in the long-run.⁶⁶⁸ The analysis of the Conflict Diamonds campaign supports this argument as securitization of the issue resulted in decreased attention being paid to the human rights implications of diamonds. Yet, the findings also illustrated that this sidelining was not due to the unique role that security concerns play on states' agendas, but rather a consequence of the institutionalization of the frame which makes it difficult to initiate a change even when security frame is no longer perceived to be desirable.

⁶⁶⁸ Such as Waever 1995; CASE 2006; Elbe 2006; Corry 2011.

Any Hope Left for De-Securitization?

Nevertheless, the difficulty in reframing conflict diamonds within the KP system has not brought an end to the attempts to do so. For instance, the KP's inability to address development concerns has given rise to development of alternative efforts one of which is Diamond Development Initiative International (DDII). DDII was later followed by Peace Diamond Alliance, Community and Small Scale Mining Initiative and The Campaign for Just Mining among other multi-stakeholder efforts.⁶⁶⁹ While security frame that became embedded into the system has been limiting KP's ability to address various concerns, it does not mean that the actors' hands have been completely tied.

Similarly, actors who are not satisfied with KP's ability to address human rights consequences of conflict diamonds have been pursuing alternative venues. For instance, Survival International (SI), a British-based NGO, worked to bring the relocation of the "Bushmen" in Botswana, which was done in order to clear the potential diamond mines from natives, onto the international agenda. As a part of their efforts SI and their partners tried to threaten the Botswana's economy by targeting its goal to become a tourist destination. The efforts paid out and as a result, the Botswana's high court decided to recognize the "Bushmen's" right to return to their land.⁶⁷⁰

Overall, when the developments in the policy implementation stage were analyzed it can be concluded that once a security frame that is strictly limited to the protection of national security got embedded into the system, the frame itself became an obstacle in front of addressing the main problems associated with the issue. While the relative power of the actors within the network as well as the institutional structure contributed to the

⁶⁶⁹ Spar 2006; Maconachie and Binns 2007; Bieri 2009.

⁶⁷⁰ Solway 2009.

perpetuated use of a narrow definition of conflict diamonds, the changing political context encouraged NGOs to question this definition and provided opportunities to work toward reframing the issue to address non-security implications.

Conclusion

The close analysis of the Conflict Diamonds issue, on the one hand, provided a number of insights into the dynamics and implications of securitization and supported some of the arguments in the literature while challenging the others. On the other hand, the analysis also provided evidence that supported the arguments developed in the previous chapters regarding the dynamics of framing.

The analysis of the agenda setting stage illustrated that campaigns engage in multivocalization where they use multiple frames simultaneously to reach out to not only the targets of influence but also to potential allies. The advocates simultaneously used security and human rights frames together at the early stages of the campaign where they utilized the former to appeal to the UNSC as a potential ally and the latter to invoke a reaction from the industry. This finding further supported the arguments of the previous chapters and illustrated that the strategic motivations' behind advocates' framing choices are not necessarily about convincing target actors, they are also tailored as an instrument of coalition-building.

The campaign's attempts to multivocalize the issue has not come to end when the security frame got institutionalized into the KP's structure. During the political commitment stage the advocates selectively used a human rights frame as a "stick" to ensure the compliance of the targets of influence. The advocates started to use the human rights frame more frequently at the policy implementation stage and this time with the

goal of pressuring the targets of influence to change their approach and embrace the human rights frame.

The findings also illustrated that the actors' motivations in adopting security frames are more complex than appreciated by the literature. The literature suggests that security frames are used to attract states' attention to an issue based on the assumption that framing an issue as a security threat automatically prioritizes that item on states' agenda. However, the analysis illustrated that adopting a security frame does not have to target states; it could be tailored to get non-state actors to commit to an issue as exemplified by the use of the security language to convince the diamond industry to take action. The analysis also showed that states' and other actors' receptiveness of a security frame does not have to be a function of what that frame implies (a security threat) but it could also be a function of what it leaves out (human rights violations).

The discussion on how the content and implications of using a security frame have changed over time illustrated the importance of network dynamics. Once the states and the industry became involved in the issue and became the main actors that have the capacity to frame the discussion, they shifted the security frame to a one that only focuses on the threats to national governments. This presented a significant shift away from the agenda setting stage where framing was primarily in the hands of the NGOs. During this period, rather than focusing on the protection of national governments, the NGOs utilized the security frame as an opportunity to attract attention to human rights consequences of conflict diamonds. While the NGOs' framing capacity decreased over time, they nevertheless, engaged in alternative methods to use their limited power to reshape the discussion on the issue.

The analysis additionally revealed that the strategic environment within which a campaign takes place has an important bearing on the framing of the issue, as well. The political context can both function as an enabling factor and also as a limitation in shaping the frames used. While the ongoing civil wars in Africa as well as the Canadian presence in the UNSC provided the necessary initial momentum for NGOs to successfully start the campaign, the September 11 attacks functioned as an impediment when the NGOs wanted to move the frame away from the protection of national security to the protection of individuals. Similarly, when it came to the policy implementation stage, the changing political dynamics in Africa encouraged NGOs to bring states' handling of diamond extraction and trade into the spotlight.

Finally, the fact that the security frame has not been replaced with an alternative frame, despite mounting criticism at the policy implementation stage, illustrated the role of institutional structures in sustaining advocacy frames. While the analysis supported the arguments in the literature and exemplified the long-term negative implications of adopting security frames, it also supported the arguments made in the previous chapters in challenging the uniqueness attributed to security frames by the literature. The close analysis illustrated that rather than being a consequence of the unique importance attached to security concerns, it is the institutionalization of the frame that sustains securitization over time. The KP's mechanisms that were built on a very strict version of a security frame empowered the actors who benefit from sticking to this narrow definition and made it almost impossible for alternative frames to find themselves a place within this structure. While the institutional structure made it difficult to de-securitize the issue, it did not stop the critics from pursuing alternative venues that would be responsive

to their concerns. Therefore, no matter how difficult the securitization process has made the issue for the advocates, it has not brought an end to them.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study explores why transnational advocacy campaigns use security frames as a part of their attempts to get the international community to address transnational social problems. The puzzle that triggered this question was the discrepancies observed between the arguments developed in the literature and the evidence observed on the ground.

Securitization literature, which focuses on the articulation of security issues through language, argues that framing issues as security threats is useful in getting issues onto the agenda and persuading the audience to the need of extraordinary measures in dealing with them.⁶⁷¹ The literature grounds its argument on the assumption that security is the actors' primary concern and appealing to these concerns increases the chances of getting attention to an issue.⁶⁷² The literature uses this premise to explain the widening and the deepening of the security field which led to the securitization of number of issue areas ranging from food security⁶⁷³ to environmental security.⁶⁷⁴ Yet, while attracting our attention to the evolving nature of what counts as security, the literature does this with a normative concern; these scholars suggest that securitization leads to the removal of the issue from the realm of normal politics and that it justifies the initiation of extraordinary measures which are damaging to democratic structures and practices.⁶⁷⁵

The scholars who analyzed the reflections of the widening and the deepening of the security field on the global politics took a closer look at how transnational advocacy campaigns themselves appropriate the security language into their efforts to address

⁶⁷¹ Buzan et al. 1998.

⁶⁷² Waever 1995.

⁶⁷³ Cavalcanti 2005.

⁶⁷⁴ Deudney 1990; Kakonen 1994; and Litfin 1999.

⁶⁷⁵ As Waever (1995, 56) says "Less security, more politics!"

transnational social problems. A number of case studies were conducted in analyzing the securitization of advocacy campaigns ranging from HIV/AIDS⁶⁷⁶ and climate change⁶⁷⁷ to women's rights.⁶⁷⁸ The studies that focus on the short-term success of these campaigns appreciated the contribution that securitization made while the ones that focus on the long-term implications directed our attention to the negative influences such framing choices had on solving the root-causes of the problem. Despite these differences the assumption that cross-cut these studies is that "securitization" has unique characteristics, dynamics and implications which distinguish the use of this particular discourse from other alternatives.⁶⁷⁹

Despite the uniqueness that these studies attribute to security frames, the TANs literature shows us how campaigns can succeed without using security frames. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, most of the successful advocacy campaigns such as ICBL,⁶⁸⁰ Maternal Mortality,⁶⁸¹ Female Genital Mutilation,⁶⁸² and Anti-sweatshops⁶⁸³ succeeded either without using a security frame or after they moved away from a security approach (de-securitized). These studies challenge the explanatory power of the "uniqueness" claim in explaining the reasons for using them.

⁶⁷⁶ Such as Price-Smith 2002; Chen et al. 2003; Prins 2004; Elbe 2006; Sjostedt 2011.

⁶⁷⁷ Such as Hartmann 2010; Scott 2012.

⁶⁷⁸ Hudson 2010.

⁶⁷⁹ Waever 1995.

⁶⁸⁰ ICBL succeeded using a humanitarian frame and in fact owes its success to its ability to de-securitize the issue (Price 1998).

⁶⁸¹ Maternal Mortality Campaign used a combination of human rights, development and health frames and found a place on the Millennium Development Goals alongside with securitized HIV/AIDS ("The Right to Health," available at <<http://www.care.org/work/health/maternal-health>>, accessed 1 May 2014.)

⁶⁸² Female Genital Mutilation campaign succeeded when it replaced the health frame, which did not hold against the counter arguments that highlighted the cultural role of the practice, with a human rights frame that described the issue as a violation of bodily integrity rights. (Zhou 2000; Sikkink 2002).

⁶⁸³ Similarly Anti-sweatshops Campaign succeeded by using a human rights frame (DeWinter 2001; Knight and Greenberg 2002).

While contributing to our understand of the security field, the myopic focus of these studies prevented them from taking a closer look at the dynamics that lead to securitization and the lack of comparative studies limited these studies' capacity to adequately test the uniqueness attributed to security frames.⁶⁸⁴ There is very limited dialogue between these two lines of research and almost no studies comparatively test the extent to which security frames correlate with transnational advocacy success and the conditions that shape advocates' decisions to use them.⁶⁸⁵

In analyzing the use of security frames by transnational advocacy campaigns, this study addresses the shortcomings of the literature through pursuing two goals. The first goal was to engage in a systematic comparison across transnational advocacy campaigns to test whether the arguments about the assumed positive correlation between security frames and advocacy success would hold when securitized campaigns are weighed against the non-securitized ones.

When the comparative analysis illustrated that adopting a security frame is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for advocacy success, the second goal became to take a closer look at the advocates' motivations in using security frames and the dynamics surrounding these decisions. In doing so, I treated securitization as an instance of framing and utilized the insights gained from the framing and TANs literatures to test the extent to which these insights can be used in explaining securitization of advocacy campaigns.

⁶⁸⁴ As discussed in Chapter 2, the literature is composed mostly of single case studies on securitized examples of advocacy campaigns such as Elbe's work on HIV/AIDS (Elbe 2003; 2006); Hudson's studies on women's rights (Hudson 2009; 2010) and they do not take up the task of comparing securitized cases with non-securitized ones.

⁶⁸⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 2, the dialogue is limited to a small number of studies that highlight the insights that securitization literature could gain from the framing literature's theoretical insights. (Vultee 2011; Watson 2012; Pinto 2014)

In conducting this research I neither argued nor proved security frames to be epiphenomenal. Rather, I illustrated that security frames function like any other frame which means that (i) security frames do not necessarily correlate with advocacy success; (ii) advocates' motivations in using security frames are more complicated than appreciated by the securitization literature, and (iii) the impact that security frames have both on the direction and the success of a campaign depends on the strategic environment within which campaigns operate.

This chapter serves as a conclusion and is composed of four sections. The first section presents a summary of the empirical findings of the study. The second section discusses the theoretical, methodological and policy implications of these findings. The chapter then acknowledges the limitations of the study and highlights the ways through which the study worked to overcome them. The chapter concludes by providing suggestions for future research.

Empirical Findings

The discrepancies observed between the findings of the securitization and TANs literatures raises doubts about the securitization studies' ability to account for the reasons behind using security frames and the implications that such choices have for the success of advocacy campaigns. The findings of the medium-n comparison proved these concerns valid by testing the under-analyzed assumptions and showing their limitations in explaining securitization. The closer comparative analysis and the illustrative case study conducted on the Conflict Diamonds campaign then took a closer look at successful and unsuccessful examples of securitized, de-securitized and non-securitized campaigns and

shed light onto the dynamics surrounding the decisions to use security frames as well as the conditions under which such choices translate into advocacy success.

Fundamentally, the medium-n comparison of thirty-eight cases proved the rationale behind the research question that triggered this study valid by illustrating that the prominence attached to security frames is not supported by the evidence when tested comparatively. As the comparative analysis I detailed in Chapter 3 illustrates, of the thirty-eight cases analyzed at the agenda setting stage only five of them used a security frame. The percentage of campaigns that used security frames has increased slightly when we looked at the political commitment (eight campaigns out of thirty-two) and the policy implementation stages (eight out of twenty-eight campaigns) yet, the shift was not prominent enough to claim a tendency among transnational advocacy campaigns to use security frames.

The findings of the comparative analysis also illustrated that the myopic focus of the conventional wisdom overestimated the role that security frames play in leading to campaign success. Thus, as the evidence revealed, securitized campaigns are not necessarily more likely to succeed at any stage of global agenda setting or policy making. At the agenda setting stage 80% of the securitized campaigns reached at least partial success while the success rate for non-securitized cases was 84.8%. The analysis of the political commitment stage also revealed similar insights: the percentage of securitized campaigns that succeeded at the political commitment stage added up to 75% while the ratio was 95.8% for non-securitized campaigns. All of the securitized and non-securitized campaigns that have made it to the policy implementation stage secured at least partial success, hence, no significant difference was observed at that stage, either.

The comparative analysis of Small Arms and Landmines campaigns presented in Chapter 4 further supported the above reiterated argument by illustrating that not only using security frames does not guarantee success but also strategic de-securitization of an issue can contribute to the success of a campaign. As my analysis illustrated, successfully de-securitizing the issue of landmines allowed the ICBL to graft their issue onto the existing norms about the protection of civilians in times of war⁶⁸⁶ whereas the lack of such de-securitization has so far curtailed the attempts to regulate the trade and the use of small arms.⁶⁸⁷

On the one hand, these findings illustrated that adopting a security frame is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for advocacy success. On the other hand, they also highlighted the importance of taking a closer look at the motivations and dynamics behind advocates' framing choices as the increased likelihood of success is proved to be not enough of a reason in explaining the advocates' decisions to use a frame with potential negative implications.

Comparing the framing choices of advocacy campaigns allowed me to identify the patterns that cut across campaigns and helped me pinpoint the dynamics that illustrate the parallels between securitized, non-securitized and de-securitized campaigns. The comparative analysis illustrated that advocates tend to engage in multivocalization, i.e. the use of multiple frames simultaneously to reach out to as many targets of influence and potential allies as possible. As I showed in Chapter 3, even when advocates resort to security frames, security very rarely is the only dominant frame utilized by the campaign.

⁶⁸⁶ Hubert 2000; Wexler 2003.

⁶⁸⁷ Shawki 2010.

Except for the Conflict Diamonds case,⁶⁸⁸ all of the campaigns that utilized security frames at one stage of global agenda setting and policy making or the other did so by combining these frames with the others.⁶⁸⁹

The closer analysis presented in Chapter 4 provided insights into the reasons behind such simultaneous use of frames and illustrated that campaigns combine frames in order to reach out to allies from as many advocacy and policy circles as possible and pressure targets of influence from as many angles as possible. For instance, the Child Soldiers campaign combined humanitarian and human rights frames together in order to appeal to both the UNHCR, which is responsive to the former frame, and the UNICEF, which is responsive to the latter, simultaneously.⁶⁹⁰ Similarly moving the issue of HIV/AIDS from the realm of health into the realms of human rights and development helped the campaign to surpass its initial failure and allowed them to lead to the creation of UNAIDS, co-sponsored by eleven organizations from different networks.⁶⁹¹ Identifying the tendency to engage in multivocalization both provided insights into the framing processes and also helped me illustrate the parallels between securitized, non-securitized and de-securitized campaigns.

⁶⁸⁸ As analyzed in Chapter 5 and further discussed below, even in the case of the Conflict Diamonds campaign, the same security language was invoked to emphasize different aspects of the issue (for instance, the advocates used the security language in reaching out to the UNSC (a potential ally) with the goal of emphasizing the humanitarian consequences of the problem and the advocates use the same language to get the industry (a target actor) to worry about an industry-scale boycott) and therefore, also exemplified the complex use of frames in reaching out to various actors.

⁶⁸⁹ These cases were: Avian Influenza(biosecurity/security/health), Climate Change (environment/security), Climate Refugees (human rights/security), HIV/AIDS (human rights/development/security), Human Trafficking (human rights/security), Humanitarian Intervention (humanitarian/security), Illegal Wildlife Trade (animal rights/security), International Criminal Court (human rights/security), Sexual Violence in Conflict (human rights/humanitarian/security), Small Arms (humanitarian/ human rights/security), Transparency (development/security), War Crimes Tribunals (human rights/security), and Women, Peace and Security (human rights/security).

⁶⁹⁰ Cohn and Goodwin-Gill 1994.

⁶⁹¹ Prins 2004.

The insights gained through treating securitization as an instance of framing is not limited to those gained into advocates' tendency to use multiple frames together, the empirical results I presented in Chapter 4 also illustrated that the dynamics surrounding the decisions to adopt security frames are similar to those surrounding the decisions to use any other frame. Moreover, I suggest that they are shaped by the structural and non-structural factors embedded in the strategic environment within which the campaigns operate.

Structurally, the broader political context within which the campaigns operate plays a significant role in shaping advocates' framing choices. As I discussed in Chapter 4, the efforts to draft the Millennium Development Goals encouraged both the HIV/AIDS and Maternal Mortality campaigns to emphasize the developmental implications of these health issues.⁶⁹² Similarly, the analysis also illustrated that the security implications of a number of issues ranging from development aid to conflict diamonds started to be emphasized as a reaction to the change that September 11 attacks made to the priorities on the global agenda.⁶⁹³

Non-structurally, the advocates' fields of expertise as well as their previous experiences are also revealed to play a role in determining advocates' framing choices. The clearest link was observed between the Landmines campaign, on the one hand and Child Soldiers and Sexual Violence in Conflict campaigns, on the other. Once the ICBL succeeded at the political commitment stage, the advocates moved to other issue areas and either tried to replicate their strategies (as in the case of Child Soldiers)⁶⁹⁴ or utilized

⁶⁹² Annan 2000.

⁶⁹³ Walby and Monaghan 2011.

⁶⁹⁴ Snyder 2001.

their existing networks (as in the case of the Campaign to End Sexual Violence in Conflict Zones) as a part of their strategies to succeed.⁶⁹⁵

In addition to providing insights into the parallels between securitization and other framing processes, the findings also shed a closer light onto the inner dynamics of securitization and provided answers for questions that the conventional wisdom falls short of adequately addressing. As the illustrative case study I presented in Chapter 5 discussed, security frames can be utilized by advocates not necessarily to prioritize an issue on states' agendas (as argued by the literature) but also to attract the attention of non-state actors, such as the industry. Relatedly, the appeal of the security frame to an audience does not have to be a consequence of the threat that the security frame voices (as proposed by the literature) but it could also be about which other concerns the frame silences. In the case of the Conflict Diamonds Campaign what the security frame silenced was the questioning of states' human rights practices and a potential industry-scale boycott which made both the states and the industry receptive of the security frame. As I showed in Chapter 4, not only security frames but also other frames can also be tailored to various actors and they can also resonate with the audience not because of what they represent but because of what they leave out as it is observed in de-securitization of landmines⁶⁹⁶ and de-healthization of HIV/AIDS.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁵ Nobel Women's Initiative 2011.

⁶⁹⁶ By emphasizing the indiscriminate nature of the damage that landmines create, as discussed in Chapter 4, the campaign effectively silenced the potential contrary arguments that could have been developed based on the military utility of the landmines (Wexler 2003).

⁶⁹⁷ As I discussed in Chapter 4, approaching HIV/AIDS as a health issue was not productive as such an approach forced people to talk about a stigmatized disease that was believed to affect only a particular group within the society (Prins 2004). Changing the course of the discussion and focusing on the developmental consequences of the issue on the entire society made the discussion more accessible to a wider audience (Knight 2008).

As opposed to the extant literature which claims that the outcome of a successful securitization to be the initiation of extraordinary measures in dealing with the problem at hand, the closer analysis of the Conflict Diamonds campaign illustrated that using security frames can lead to different types of policies depending on the author of the frame and the strategic context within which the frame was adopted. The change in the power dynamics within the Conflict Diamonds campaign, as I discussed in Chapter 5, had significant implications for the impact that the security frame had for the campaign. The security language that was initially adopted by the NGOs to attract attention to the humanitarian implications of the trade in illicit diamonds then became re-appropriated by the industry and the states. These actors then utilized the frame to make sure to guide the process in such a way that the established regulations neither created an industry scale boycott nor led to the questioning of the diamond producing and trading countries' human rights practices.

Similarly, the illustrative case study conducted on the Conflict Diamonds Campaign also revealed that the “stickiness” of security frames (i.e. that the security frames tend to be sustained even when they are no longer desirable for the advocates) is not a function of the fact that securitization brings issues out of the realm of normal politics as claimed by the securitization literature.⁶⁹⁸ Contrary to the arguments in the securitization literature, the analysis showed that the persistent use of security frames is a function of the institutionalization of the rules and network dynamics rather than the uniqueness of security frames. As I showed in Chapter 5, security frame got embedded into the very definition of conflict diamonds which then laid the foundation of the Kimberley Process. The decision-making structure of the Kimberley Process was

⁶⁹⁸ Buzan et al. 1998.

established in such a way that decisions are made based on unanimity which in return has been functioning as an impediment in front of the efforts to reform the formal agenda. Thus, it is this structure that keeps security frames at the core of the global policy making pertaining to conflict diamonds even though the security language is no longer perceived to be desirable by the advocates and by important number of policy makers.

The argument that the frames tend to “stick” once they become institutionalized at the political commitment stage was also supported by the findings of the comparative analysis presented in Chapter 3. Except for the case of Avian Influenza that experienced a drastic change in its framing (from health to security and biosecurity) all other cases that have succeeded at the political commitment stage sustained their dominant frames when they moved to the policy implementation stage. Thus, the sustained use of frames proved to be neither unique to the security frames nor a function of security frames’ ability to move an issue to the outside of the realm of normal politics.

The insights gained through combining a systematic treatment of thirty-eight cases with a closer analysis of a smaller set of campaigns not only illustrated the parallels between securitization and other instances of framing, they also shed light onto the dynamics and motivations that lead to securitization and the factors that shape the consequences of such choices. These findings have helped this study explore the research question at hand and also showed the contribution that treating securitization as an instance of framing can make to the literature.

Broader Implications of the Findings

The empirical findings of the study have theoretical and methodological implications for the literature as well as policy implications for the advocates. By

approaching securitization as an instance of framing, this study highlights the benefits that can be gained by increasing the dialogue between framing, TANs and securitization literatures; helps the securitization literature ask the questions it was overlooking and better answer the ones that it identified but fell short of adequately answering. Deepening our understanding of the dynamics behind advocates' framing choices and their connection to success also has potential to inform advocates' framing choices.

While this study problematized the under-analyzed assumptions made about the uniqueness of security frames, it neither claimed nor proved that security frames are not used or that they do not lead to success. Securitization literature itself does not claim that every attempt to securitize will translate into successfully creating a perception of a security threat.⁶⁹⁹ Thus, the literature already accepts that certain conditions should exist for this transition to happen.⁷⁰⁰ However, what the existing studies in the securitization literature do not do is to provide a detailed account of the factors that make this transition possible. By treating securitization as an instance of framing, this study provided an alternative perspective on the factors that could better explain what distinguishes successful securitization from securitizing moves.

The findings that illustrated that the motivations behind adopting security frames are similar to those behind using other frames contributed to the insights we have into what the literature identifies as "securitizing actors." Securitization literature argues that security language is invoked by those who are in power with the purpose of legitimizing the use of extraordinary measures in addressing a problem.⁷⁰¹ Studies that utilized the

⁶⁹⁹ Floyd 2007.

⁷⁰⁰ Balzacq 2010; 2011.

⁷⁰¹ As Taureck (2006) puts it securitizing actor is someone that "claims a right to extraordinary measures to ensure the referent object's survival."

insights of the securitization literature in explaining advocacy campaigns' framing choices expanded on the securitization literature's argument and suggested that any actor (state and non-state) can be a "securitizing actor" and use security frames to appeal to states' (or security organizations') security concerns in an attempt to get them to prioritize a particular issue on their agendas.⁷⁰²

Yet, as my discussion on the comparative analysis of nine transnational advocacy campaigns illustrated, advocates' framing choices are not only motivated by their desire to appeal to targets of influence but also by their goal of reaching out to potential allies. The closer analysis of the Conflict Diamonds campaign, then, illustrated how unlikely actors might become "securitizing actors" themselves (such as the diamond industry) and how these actors might engage in such an attempt not only to appeal to the security concerns of state actors but also to appeal to non-security concerns of non-state actors (the use of security language by the advocates to get the industry to worry about their financial gains). Thus, the findings expanded our understanding of who can be a "securitizing actor" and with what purposes.

The insights that this study provided into the dynamics of securitization by treating it as an instance of framing also enhanced our understanding of why a particular audience accepts the claims of security threats raised by a securitizing actor. Securitization literature is criticized for not properly explaining the role of the audience in securitization processes, yet, the attempts to address this shortcoming only focus on the conditions under which the audience is convinced about the security implications of the

⁷⁰² As discussed in Chapter 4, for instance Hudson (2009) illustrates how the security language was adopted by not only the international organizations but also by the advocates who wanted to prioritize the women's rights issues on the UN agenda.

problem at hand.⁷⁰³ These studies do not account for alternative reasons that may lie beneath the audience's acceptance of such security claims.

As the illustrative case study revealed an audience might be receptive of a security frame not necessarily because they are convinced about the security implications of the issue but because of what focusing on this frame means for their non-security concerns, such as the questioning of human rights practices of the states and the financial structure of the industry in the case of the Conflict Diamonds campaign. This approach contributed to the securitization literature's ability to better explain the conditions under which security frames resonate with an audience.

Approaching securitization from a framing perspective helped us appreciate alternative policy implications to which securitization can lead. Securitization literature claims that when done successfully securitization brings the issue out of the realm of normal politics and justifies the use of extraordinary measures.⁷⁰⁴ Yet an increasing number of studies questioned this approach and argued that securitization could also lead to alternative types policy implications.⁷⁰⁵ The international policy measures (the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme) developed as a result of the securitization of conflict diamonds provided evidence to support that insight. Rather than overlooking the potential long-term implications of building policies on security frames, such an appreciation contributed to the way we measure securitization.

The study also makes a methodological contribution to the literature by engaging in a comparative analysis of successful and unsuccessful examples of securitized, de-

⁷⁰³ Balzacq 2005; 2011.

⁷⁰⁴ Waever 1995.

⁷⁰⁵ As discussed in Chapter 2, for instance as Maertens (2013, 1) argues that securitization of environmental issues can lead to a different type of de-politicization where securitization leads to the portrayal of the issue as one that requires a non-politicized scientific approach.

securitized and non-securitized transnational advocacy campaigns. As stated in the beginning of the study, one of the important gaps in the securitization literature is the lack of comparative studies that would provide an opportunity to test the claims made across different campaigns with varying framing choices. Comparing securitized advocacy campaigns with the “dogs that did not bark” illustrated the validity of the research question and is proved to be useful in better judging the role and importance attached to security frames by the literature.

The findings of the study also contributed to the broader inquiries within the field of international relations by deepening our knowledge of norm-building and of the factors that shape transnational advocacy campaigns’ role in it. Illustrating the similarities between the dynamics that surround securitized and non-securitized campaigns provided opportunities for the TANs and framing literatures’ arguments (such as the role of the strategic environment and advocates’ fields of expertise) to be tested across wider range of issues and hence, contributed to their validity. Additionally, the new insights gained into the dynamics of framing through this study (especially multivocalization) provided a new perspective to be further tested by the literature.

The contribution of the study is not limited to the literature. The findings also provided insights for the advocates, who are in position to make strategic choices in framing their campaigns. Taking the potential negative long-term implications of adopting security frames into consideration, first, the advocates could benefit from the insights of the comparative analysis by observing that adopting a security frame is not a necessary or a sufficient condition for achieving success. Second, the findings regarding the “stickiness” of frames (that frames tend to stay once adopted) could be taken into

consideration in making framing choices as frames adopted strategically for their short-term implications have the potential to become impediments in the long-run.

In making these theoretical and practical contributions, the study on the one hand answered the calls of a newly developing approach that highlights the need to increase the dialogue between securitization and framing literatures.⁷⁰⁶ On the other hand, the study set a new research agenda that utilizes transnational advocacy campaigns as a testing ground to better understand the dynamics of global agenda setting and policy making.

Limitations of the Study

This study faced two limitations: the first one pertained to the number of case studies conducted by the study and the second was regarding the generalizability of the insights gained into the advocates' "motivations" in choosing frames. The study addressed these limitations by paying specific attention to clearly defining the scope of the research in dealing with the former, and by rigorously analyzing the available resources to triangulate the answer in addressing the latter.

First, I explored the actors' motivations in using security frames through a single case study. Analyzing the securitization of the Conflict Diamonds case from the framing perspective both deepened our understanding of this particular case and also shed light onto various dynamics surrounding advocates' decisions to use such frames. However, as the findings illustrated, advocates' framing choices are shaped by both cross-cutting tendencies (such as multivocalization) and by dynamics peculiar to each campaign (such as network dynamics and advocates' field of expertise). Therefore, the insights we have

⁷⁰⁶ Watson 2011; 2012; Pinto 2014.

gained into the dynamics of securitization should be further tested through replication of illustrative case studies in order to deepen our understanding.

Even though expanding the scope would have lent further support to the arguments of this study, the lack of in-depth cross-case comparison did not take away from the main arguments. That is because the purpose of this study was not to put together an exhaustive list of dynamics that shape advocates' decisions to use security frames that would be valid for every instance of securitization. The goal was rather to question the mostly unidimensional explanations that the existing studies provide in explaining why advocates adopt security frames and what implications such choices have for the advocacy efforts which this study succeeded in showing. Testing and expanding the list of factors identified in this study would be the next step to take in furthering the research agenda.

Second, due to the nature of the question at hand the insights gained into the advocates' motivations in securitizing an issue were inevitably limited to the perceptions and recollections of the advocates. This constituted a limitation as a small number of advocates who took part in the Conflict Diamonds campaign were willing to participate in the research. The combination of these factors raised two questions: did the interviewed individuals constitute a representative sample of the actors involved in the campaign, and how closely their recollections corresponded to actual events. The study took two measures to tackle with these limitations.

To address the first question, the interviewees were strategically selected from organizations that were at the center of the campaign at various stages of global agenda setting and policy making and have worked in a decision-making capacity. The goal was

to gain insights into the perceptions of the main actors and also to make sure to hear about the perceptions of those who had the capacity and the interest in framing the issue, which the interviews reasonably provided.

Yet, by itself, such interview selection process would not have answered the concerns identified above. For that reason a rigorous analysis of available academic and non-academic sources on the issue was conducted to trace the history of the campaign and to triangulate the factors that shape the advocates' framing choices. As indicated in the previous chapter, a number of organizations and individuals have been very prolific in their writings and forthcoming about their stance on the issue.⁷⁰⁷ These numerous reports, briefings, scholarly papers, and interviews conducted by other scholars provided additional access points into the advocates' perceptions and concerns.

These insights were then compared with other scholarly works written on the issue as well as with official documents to test any discrepancies that might result from errors in actors' recollections. The measures taken by this study to tackle the shortcomings helped the study's claim to function as an initial step for a fertile research agenda.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study opened the doors for a research agenda that would better our understanding of the dynamics behind and the consequences of using security frames, in particular and dynamics surrounding framing strategies of advocacy campaigns, in general. The research agenda can be further developed mainly in three directions, both in terms of the questions to ask and also in terms of methods to utilize.

⁷⁰⁷ Such as Smillie and Gberie 2001; Smillie 2002; 2010; 2011. Also see Global Witness 1998; 2000; 2006; PAC 2000; 2006; 2009.

First, as indicated above, the insights gained into security frames and their role in advocacy campaigns can be further tested by conducting more in-depth case comparisons across securitized campaigns. The securitization of Women, Peace and Security campaign is one of the issue areas that have been attracting increasing scholarly attention. A number of studies have analyzed how the issue got placed on the UNSC agenda; what role security frames played in that process and how it affected the policies developed in addressing the issue.⁷⁰⁸ Analyzing this case comparatively has great potential to provide further insights into the dynamics of securitization as the security language adopted by this campaign is particularly interesting. In this campaign securitization did not take the form of redefining of the issue as an existential threat to security but rather in the form of redefining women's rights as a necessary condition for the establishment of lasting peace.⁷⁰⁹ Such comparative analysis would not only give an opportunity to further test the arguments developed in this study, but it would also allow us to further our knowledge on the various forms that security language can take and the varying implications such different uses can have for advocacy campaigns.

Similarly, the scholarly work on HIV/AIDS campaign could also be expanded by conducting such comparative assessment. The existing works that study the securitization of HIV/AIDS are mostly interested in critically analyzing the long-term implications of securitization of this particular health issue.⁷¹⁰ While these studies provide important insights into how the issue got securitized, they fall short of answering why they got

⁷⁰⁸ Such as see Cohn et al. 2004; Basu 2009; Tryggestad 2009; Hudson 2009; 2010; Willett 2010; Pratt 2013; Miller et al. 2014.

⁷⁰⁹ Hudson 2010.

⁷¹⁰ Such as Piot 2000; Singer 2002; Peterson 2002; Elbe 2003; 2006.

securitized as they do not look into varying reasons that different actors had for advocating or adopting the security frame.

Second, one of the important arguments developed in this study was that security frames operate the same way that other frames do and in that respect they do not play a unique role in shaping advocacy campaigns or leading to success. That is to say, as it is the case for other frames, the adoption of security frames should coincide with a strategic environment that is conducive for advocacy success. To further illustrate this argument, in-depth comparison of issues that use alternative frames should be conducted. Such comparative studies would give us an opportunity to further understand the strategic nature of the framing processes and compare securitization with other framing trends such as environmentalization, developmentalization and human-rightsization.

The case studies within the TANs and framing literatures explain how a number of issues get strategically reframed as environment, development and human rights issues. For instance, studies that look at the earlier stages of HIV/AIDS campaign highlight the contribution that human-rightsization and developmentalization of this health issue made for the campaign in the early stages.⁷¹¹ A similar set of insights are also advanced concerning how indigenous rights movements succeeded by environmentalizing their campaign.⁷¹² Yet, systematic studies that would test (i) the tendencies to engage in such reframing efforts over time; (ii) how well these choices resonate with advocacy success; and (iii) the advocates' motivations in choosing these frames are needed. Such comparative analysis would not only contribute to the framing

⁷¹¹ Such as Elbe 2003; 2006; Rushton 2010.

⁷¹² Such as Bob 2005.

literature but would also help us better situate securitization within the broader picture by testing tendencies to securitize against other framing tendencies.

Third, the arguments of this study can be further supported by employing additional methods of research such as focus groups and surveys in order to deepen our understanding of the cases analyzed by this study. Conducting surveys would improve our understanding of framing tendencies and advocates' perceptions about their framing preferences as well as dynamics surrounding these choices. Such analysis would also widen the reach of the studies by testing the arguments more rigorously across different campaigns, organization types, and network dynamics.

Focus group analysis would afford us a better sense of advocates' motivations in an interactive setting.⁷¹³ Ongoing or recent campaigns would especially be amenable to such analysis for three reasons. First, advocates move across organizations and issue areas which makes it difficult to track them down for a focus group study. Second, advocates' recollections of events and dynamics surrounding them are more likely to be vivid for recent campaigns in comparison to events that took place a long time ago. Third, as the interview process conducted for the Conflict Diamonds Campaign illustrated, as the time passes, some organizations get frustrated with the process and end up distancing themselves from the campaign which in return decreases their willingness to take part in such studies.⁷¹⁴

Among the cases that this study assessed, campaigns on Avian Influenza and the Campaign to End Sexual Violence in Conflict are likely candidates for such an analysis

⁷¹³ Berg 2012.

⁷¹⁴ As it was seen in the hesitation that Global Witness showed in commenting on the Conflict Diamonds campaign.

as the former has recently reached to the policy implementation stage⁷¹⁵ and the latter is still at the political commitment stage⁷¹⁶ which give us opportunities to trace the developments as they happen. A recently developing campaign on climate refugees, the Nansen Initiative,⁷¹⁷ which is at the early stages of global agenda setting, could also provide a fertile ground to conduct such an analysis.

Enhancing the dialogue between framing, TANs and securitization literatures has a significant potential as each has important insights to gain from the others' arguments, methodologies and shortcomings. This study functions as a step toward that end by pinpointing the problems arising from the limited dialogue between these literatures, and by hinting the benefits to be gained through collaboration.

⁷¹⁵ "Communication Campaigns," Avian Influenza and the Pandemic Threat, available at <http://www.un-influenza.org/?q=content/communication-campaigns>, accessed 4 May 2014.

⁷¹⁶ Foreign and Commonwealth Office, "Policy Paper: Chair's Summary – Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict," 13 June 2014, available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/chairs-summary-global-summit-to-end-sexual-violence-in-conflict/chairs-summary-global-summit-to-end-sexual-violence-in-conflict>, accessed 6 September 2014.

⁷¹⁷ The initiative describes its goal as "[t]owards a protection agenda for people placed across borders in the context of disasters and the effects of climate change." ("About Us," The Nansen Initiative, available at <http://www.nanseninitiative.org/>, accessed 1 December 2014.)

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW PROCESS

Identifying the main actors

Identifying the nature and the extent of each actor's involvement in the campaign was crucial in understanding the actor's role in framing the issue. Different combinations of actors played a central role in the campaign at different stages of global agenda setting and policy making: the agenda setting stage of the issue was dominated by NGOs – with the sporadic involvement of various UN agencies. When it came to the policy making stage, private sector actors started to play a more dominant role in the process and claimed a central role alongside with states.

In order to identify the main actors, the literature⁷¹⁸ as well as the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme – the international certification scheme that was developed as a result of the advocacy efforts – websites were surveyed.⁷¹⁹ For each actor, a web search as well as a survey of the literature was conducted to understand (i) when and why the organization has become involved in the issue; (ii) how the organization framed the issue and whether their framing choices have changed; (iii) the nature of their involvement (writing reports, lobbying etc.).

The first question was answered based on the information provided on the organizations' websites, while the organizations' own publications and statements were surveyed in answering the second question. The answer to the third question was assembled using multiple indicators: first, the organizations' own assessments of their

⁷¹⁸ For that purpose, Academic Search Premier, Social Science Citation Index, ProQuest Political Science, Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO), Project MUSE, Peace Research Abstracts, LexisNexis Academic and Google Scholar databases were surveyed using the following keywords separately: “Kimberley Process”, “Conflict Diamonds,” and “Blood Diamonds”.

⁷¹⁹ “The Kimberley Process,” available at <<http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/>>, accessed 12 January 2013.

role were identified through a survey of press releases, yearly reports, and other materials that are available on organizational websites. Second, the role of organizations within the issue network was traced through a close analysis of interactions within the network to see whether an organization's actions were cited and/or adopted by the others. At this point the key dynamic to analyze was how influential a particular actor was/is in the issue. Building a sense of the level of influence that each actor had was crucial as the framing choices of each actor do not weigh equally in the outcome of the framing efforts, and dissecting the choices that matter in understanding the overall framing of the issue is crucial. These organizations and their contribution to the issue are discussed in detail in the following section.

Once the critical organizations and actors were identified, a number of methods were used in identifying the persons to contact for in-depth interviews. The first step toward this end was to analyze the organizations' websites to identify the key actors in each organization. Most of the organizations involved in the issue disclose their staff information on their website along with information about when and in what capacity they took part in the campaign. The second step was to survey the literature on the conflict diamonds issue and pinpoint the names that these studies identified as key players of the campaign. After this initial research, the identified individuals were contacted. The contact information was gathered through internet search. Both advocates and practitioners tend to move across different organizations and even across issue areas, which meant that a good portion of individuals I attempted to contact were currently affiliated with different organizations or now following different career paths. In these

cases, these individuals were contacted regardless of a change in their organizational affiliations.

When the name of the practitioner who took part in the issue on behalf of the organization is not available, the highest ranking staff at the organization was contacted. The initial contact letter, approved by the Internal Review Board at the University of Massachusetts Amherst (IRB 2012-1437), included brief information on the scope and the content of the study along with a request for an interview. When the individual was unable or unwilling to participate in the study, they were asked to forward the request to others who they thought might be interested in taking part in the study. A similar request was also directed at the end of each interview to expand the reach of the study. Once an interviewee agreed to take part in the study, they were provided with an Informed Consent Form – also approved by the Internal Review Board – which included more detailed information on the study, as well as a declaration that their names would not be revealed in any product that would come out of this study without their prior permission.

The potential interviewees were contacted starting with those who are from more influential organizations to less influential ones – determined based on the initial research done on the organizations involved in the issue as described above. The order in which the interviewees were contacted also reflected the historical development of the issue. That is to say, actors who were active in the agenda setting stage of the issue were contacted first, followed by those who took part in the political commitment and policy implementation stages of the issue.

Conducting the interviews

With one exception, interviews were conducted on the phone, and recorded and transcribed afterwards.⁷²⁰ The questions were semi-structured and modified according to the circumstances of the interviewee's involvement in the issue. The interview questions were tailored to address three main points. First, the interviewees were asked about the reasons for and the processes through which they became involved in the conflict diamonds issue. Second, the actors were asked about their perceptions on framing of the issue as well as their opinion on the effects that security frame had on the success of the campaign. Third, participants were asked about their perceptions on the possibility of using alternative frames in addressing the issue and potential consequences of such a tactic. The interviewees also received specific questions depending on the stage at which the individual or the organization they represented became involved in the issue. These questions were tailored to understand the actors' individual assessments of the perceived influence of framing choices that came before them.

The criteria I followed in choosing the practitioners to interview were threefold. First, I created the interview schema to reflect all three sectors that played a part in the Conflict Diamonds campaign. With that purpose, I interviewed individuals who participated in the issue on behalf of NGOs, the diamond industry, and the diamond extracting and trading states. Capturing the organizational diversity was crucial as different actors had varying reasons for their involvement in the campaign, and also had varying desired outcomes. This factor had an important bearing on the type of frames they advocated and how they put these frames into use.

⁷²⁰ One interview was conducted in a written format per interviewee's request. The questions were emailed to the interviewee and the answers were received in writing.

Second, geographical diversity was another important factor in interview selection. Capturing the differences generated by variance in locale was important to reflect the differences in perspective among (i) Northern – Southern NGOs (ii) diamond extracting and trading states and (iii) different segments of diamond industry. Talking to representatives of both Northern and Southern NGOs was useful as their priorities and the networks to which they pitched the issue varied (as did the reasons for adopting a security frame over others). The priorities of diamond extracting and trading states were also different as the former focused on the protection of national governments from combatant rebels, whereas the primary focus of the latter was a combination of minimizing responsibility and protecting economic interests. Nonetheless, they have both settled on a security language despite their varying reasons.

Lastly, getting the perspective of different actors within the diamond industry was crucial as all elements within the industry were not equally vulnerable to the damage that a potential boycott would create. For instance, the industry within Europe and the USA was more vulnerable, as its members had direct contact with the customers. Those industry members in India and Israel are less vulnerable, as they lack such contact with consumers. This difference has in turn shaped industry members' perceptions of the issue. In order to capture the above mentioned nuances, I interviewed participants from Africa, North America, Europe and the Middle East. Third, the interviews were conducted to gain insights into all three stages of global agenda setting and policy making analyzed in this dissertation; thus, participants were sought to capture the main set of actors for each stage of global agenda setting and policy making.

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