Image management in nonviolent civil society struggle: Movement identity

Tom H. Hastings
Steps to consider

- Understand the power of image
- Different manifestations of image
- Examining effects of violence on image
- How image is created and managed
- Media and image
Image importance

- Engage widest sympathy
- Avoid rationalization for violent repression
- Recruit masses
Historical examples

- Gandhi as nonthreatening
- Rosa Parks as dignified
- Filipina nuns as spiritual
Moral leadership

- Archbishop Desmond Tutu
- Aung San Suu Kyi
- Dalai Lama
- Sr. Anne Montgomery
- Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Berrigan brothers
- Filipina nuns
Power of vulnerability

- No predator prey evocation
- Prompt protective response
Celebrity: + & -

- Association with celebrity can raise profile of campaign
- Care to avoid celebrity spokes-role
Rebranding with disarming gentleness

- Child-friendly
- Parent-friendly
- Family-friendly
- Warrior culture image transformed

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Unprotected become protected

- Mothers of the Disappeared
- Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo
- Women in Black
Effects of violence

- Repressive violence backfires
- Civil society violence backfires
Repressive violence backfires

- Innocent image elicits sympathy
- Sympathy produces response
- Widespread outrage
Repressive violence backfires 2

- Apathy overcome: unites opposition
- Pressure on policymakers
Civil society violence backfires

- Alienating
- Frightening
- Lowers participation
- Refocuses from issue
Stop the movement cold

- Faceless nihilist imagery
- Unknown origins
- “More radical than thou” repels
Image destruction

- Recruitment diminishes
- Issue redirection
- Policymakers can safely ignore
Attacking image

- Agents provocateurs
- Radical flank
How image is created and managed

- Construct image of power
- Superhuman nonviolence
- Enabling image enhancement
- Legacy sensitivity
- Don’t give peace a chants
- Proactive semiotics
- Credibility
Construct image of power

- Letter from Birmingham Jail
- South African boycott leaders
- Danish Freedom Councils
Superhuman nonviolence

- Imagery of courage
- Rising above the norm
- Shocking forgiveness
Enabling image enhancement

- WOZA
- Aung San Suu Kyi
- Desmond Tutu
- Martin Luther King, Jr.
Legacy sensitivity

- Capitalize on movement identity
- Avoid negative triggers
- Transform negative legacy components
- Combine best elements of legacies to form new movement identity
Legacy sensitivity 2

- Expropriate positives
- Feature negative legacy of oppressor
- Do not overplay
Don’t give peace a chants

- Silent or singing invites more
- Wall of angry sound alienates
- Willingness to dialog
Proactive semiotics

- Logo
- Body language
- Slogans
Credibility

- Consistency
- Validity
- Persistent
- Seeking dialog
- Evidence-based
Contrasting images

- Big armed agents of repression
- Vulnerable civil society
- Deepen contrast
Defending image

- Liaisons to police and armed forces
- Liaisons to all media
- Consensed upon code of conduct
- Peace monitors
Defending image 2

- Context (press packets, outreach)
- Education (introduce and buttress alternatives)
- Informational sessions
## Media and image

- Understanding war and peace journalism
- Strategies
- Numbers and access
- Social media
- Mainstream media
- Advocacy media

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vows Taken by Marchers With Gandhi, 1921</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A civil resister will harbor no anger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. He will suffer the anger of the opponent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. In so doing, he will put up with assaults from the opponent, never retaliate; but he will not submit, out of fear of punishment, to any order given in anger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. He will voluntarily submit to the arrest and he will not resist the attachment or removal of his own property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. If a civil resister has any property in his possession as a trustee, he will refuse to surrender it, even though in defending it he might lose his life. He will never retaliate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. He will never insult his opponent, nor take part in the newly coined cries contrary to the spirit of nonviolence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. A civil resister will not salute the Union Jack, nor will he insult it or its officials, English or Indian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. If any one insults an official or commits an assault upon him, a civil resister will protect such official or officials from the insult or assault at the risk of his own life.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A man who does not read a newspaper is uninformed. A man who does is misinformed.
—Mark Twain
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>War journalism</th>
<th>Peace Journalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dichotomizing (moral judgment toward one side)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dichotomizing solutions (a or b)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assigning blame (who started it)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here and now (devoid of historical context)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite orientation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotive language</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiparty orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonpartisanship</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoidance of emotive language</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical contextual balance</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploration of range of options</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Media strategies

- Social media
- Mainstream media
- Alternative media
Table 2: Media typologies. Select media, availability or access, and the general size of the consuming public for each type of media.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Media type</th>
<th>access</th>
<th>Size of consuming public</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mainstream newspapers</td>
<td>moderate</td>
<td>variable small to large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative newspapers</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainstream magazines</td>
<td>low to moderate</td>
<td>variable moderate to large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative magazines</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainstream radio</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>moderate to large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative radio</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network television</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cable television</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
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<td>large</td>
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</table>
Social media

• “I took a day off of Facebook and missed the revolution!”
• Repressive regimes made sick by texting and there is no Tweetment!
Mainstream media

- Gentle personalism
- Transparency
- Accountability
- Interest and educate
Advocacy media

- Educate those with value affinity
- Activate the interested
No guarantees

- Nonviolence and violence both succeed and both fail
- Place your bets and make your commitments
Further research

- Inoculants against spoilers/agents provocateurs
- External civil society response to violence
- Image importance
- Image creation
- Image defense
- Image repair

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