Advances in the Visual Analysis of Social Movements

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INTRODUCTION

The news of recent mobilizations in Arab, European, and North-American countries quickly spread across the globe. Well before written reports analyzing the unfolding mobilizations, images of protests circulated widely through television channels, print newspapers, internet websites, and social media platforms. Pictures and videos of squares full of people protesting against their governments became the symbols of a new wave of contention that quickly spread from Tunisia to many other countries. Pictures and videos showing the gathering of people in Tahrir square (Egypt), Puerta del Sol (Spain), and Zuccotti Park (United States) quickly became vivid tools of “countervisuality” (Mirzoeff, 2011) that opposed the roaring grassroots political participation of hundreds of thousands of people to the silent decisions taken in government and corporation buildings by small groups of politicians and managers. The presence, and relevance, of images in mobilizations of social movements is no novelty. Encounters with social movements have always been intrinsically tied to the visual sense. Activists articulate visual messages, their activities are represented in photos and video sequences, and they are ultimately rendered visible, or invisible, in the public sphere. Social movements produce and evoke images, either as a result of a planned, explicit, and strategic effort, or accidentally, in an unintended or undesired manner. At the same time, social movements are perceived by external actors and dispersed audiences via images which are produced both by themselves and others.

Scholars of social movements did not ignore visual aspects. They refer to images to exemplify and illustrate their arguments. Yet systematic analyses of the visual or an integration of visual analyses within broader frameworks
is still rare (but see Philipps, 2012). Like other fields of social science, social movement research is almost exclusively focused on texts: the sources scholars primarily use are interviews and surveys, documents and manifestos, newspaper coverage, laws, and official reports. The neglect of the visual is not an exclusive problem of social movement research. It reflects the more general perplexity of social scientists when confronted with images. It was only in the early 1990s that the “visual turn” in the humanities and cultural studies inspired a theoretical debate about the “power of images” in political conflict (Mitchell, 1994), representing the visual realm as a site of struggle with a life of its own. It is not only a battleground for contentious politics, but also a universe of culturally shared meaning. Visual theorists in media studies and art history agree that images are associated with a complex stock of cultural knowledge and experiences, frames and identifications, and that they are interpreted, framed, and reframed by political actors. The characteristic openness of visual forms requires a particularly careful and hence challenging analysis to impart the profound and complex meanings of images. Dealing with these contents requires methodological skills that differ from those in the well-worn toolbox of social movement analysis. The exploration of the visual by sociologists and political scientists is still nascent. Visual analysis appears in curricula only sporadically. Methods to understand images in political conflict are far from readily available. The exploratory status of a visual analysis of social movements is also reflected in the growing number of studies contributing to the field. They are tentative excursions into the unfamiliar terrain of visuals in social movements.

THREE AREAS IN VISUAL RESEARCH ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

This volume seeks to contribute to the growing body of knowledge on the topic by considering the intertwining of diverse visual materials with the mobilization, framing, diffusion, and resonance of protest and social movements. In particular, we address three neglected areas of research in the visual analysis of social movements: the visual expressions of social movements through images and other visual artifacts; the visual representation of social movements by actors external to social movements; and the more general aspect of social movements’ visibility in larger societal contexts.
The first area of research focuses on the visual expression of social movements. From the mobilization poster to the posed gesture of rebellion made to satisfy press photographers – activists’ visual appearances leave impressions. They send messages which do not require words. In their use of visual language, social movements tap into the shared visual knowledge of the society they are rooted in. They use and reinterpret a preexisting imaginary to voice critique and to form a collective actor. Images can be used as a powerful means of mobilization. Fetal images have been used by the pro-life movement to scandalize abortion (Petchesky, 1987; McLaren in this volume); pictures of tortured animals resulted in moral shocks that recruited concerned citizens into the animal rights movement (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995). In some cases the very subversion of visual imageries lies at the center of protest tactics, as in the case of culture jamming interventions against advertising billboards in the urban landscape (Meikle, 2007).

In the imagineering of dissent, visual symbols play a central role. Symbols are important for social movements because they are markers of rich knowledge and complex frames (Goodnow, 2006). They help protesters to mark their affiliation with a collective and to identify their position in political conflicts (Doerr & Teune, 2012). Tradition and continuity in social movements is not only produced in narratives and in the use of concepts, it is also imagined in elements of graphic design and the use of colors. For instance, a red star used on posters and flyers locates the authors in a communist tradition just as much as the textual frames of “imperialism” or “class struggle.” Visual markers make it easy for fellow activists to identify the orientation of a group and thus to define them as allies, competitors, or enemies. In this sense, therefore, visual materials are repositories of shared – and sometimes contested – activist identities and cultures that are able to link different generations of protesters and different waves of contention.

The visual production of social movements does not only address protest participants and supporters. Actors positioned outside a social movement also read its visuals from their particular viewpoints and will act with regard to movement activists according to what they see. For journalists, bystanders, and police officers who are trying to get a picture of a social movement, its visual expressions are important points of reference. Policing routines, for instance, are tied to protesters’ appearance. Those who match the police’s image of a potential offender are likely to experience different treatment to those who appear to be harmless.
Fashion and gestures, indeed, have the same dual addressees as symbols and images. As a means of self-expression and as a carrier of a message to spectators, the body is the *enjeu* protesters bring into political conflicts. Social movement activists use their bodies to expose and embody a deviant mindset (Hebdidge, 1988; Wilson, 1990). The body is, more emphatically, the medium through which politics is performed (Pabst, 2010). Drag performances, for instance, have been analyzed as a way to challenge hegemonic gender norms (Taylor & Rupp, 2004; Taylor, Rupp, & Gamson, 2004). At street demonstrations, clothing is a way to identify with a particular social movement strand or a tactic. Black hooded sweaters, sunglasses, and balaclavas are central accessories of the Black Bloc (Haunss, forthcoming). Activists wearing such outfits during demonstrations not only mark their affiliation to an antagonist protest milieu, they also signal their preference for confrontational tactics (Juris, 2005) to other demonstrators as well as to the police and journalists.

**Visual Representations of Social Movements**

The second area of research focuses on representations of social movements in different media. Mass media, the main mediating element between movements on one side and their audiences and target groups on the other, are inclined to report movement events when they produce strong images. However, protest groups have a limited influence on the images that are linked to them. A stereotypical visual representation of protest is the rule rather than the exception. Images of protest in the news are usually limited to a few archetypes such as the rioter, the picket, or the performer. This selective portrayal has consequences for the reception of social movements within a broader audience. Protests are not perceived as what they are on the ground but what they look like in press photos and television news images.

Despite the distorting lens of mass media, protest groups are not entirely at the mercy of journalists and media corporations. First, viewers are not passive audiences. They may decode protest images in news coverage in many different ways (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992). They interpret what they see against the backdrop of their own experience and knowledge. Readers who feel close to a protest group have been shown to interpret images of conflict between that group and the police in a spirit of solidarity, while others side with the police (Arpan et al., 2006). Moreover, social movement actors frequently use powerful images to make the news and to mainstream dissident perspectives (Bennett & Lawrence, 1995;
DeLuca, 1999; Delicath & DeLuca, 2003). Media-savvy image creation is part of a larger trend toward professionalization in the organization of protest. The use of catchy imagery does, however, risk the perpetuation of hegemonic gazes and beliefs. The exhibition of immaculate naked female bodies, for instance, is a tactic used by both grassroots protesters and professional organizations (Lunceförd, 2012). But it has been subject to feminist critique insofar as it reproduces the imagery of ideal bodies and an objectifying gaze (Deckha, 2008).

Finally, commercial and public mass media no longer have a monopoly over the visual representation of protest. While alternative media have always been important to imagine dissident movements, online social media coupled with mobile devices like smart phones form the basis for a qualitative leap in the representation of mobilizations. Pictures and videos of demonstrations are uploaded in real time by those who participate in protests, imparting rich visual narratives of protests. They are spread virally to audiences far beyond the social movement scene and thus shape the public image of protests. Activists, but also their sympathetic audiences, easily become visual producers through practices of the remediation and remixing of visual materials about protests.

**Visuals and Visibility for Social Movements**

The third area of research focuses on the analytical question of visibility and/or invisibility of social movements in societies. Staging protest is a way to become visible as a conflict party and to create visibility for social problems (Guidry, 2003). The early protest marches of the labor movement, for instance, did not comprise the central elements we are familiar with today. They did not include banners, nor slogans, nor music. Workers marched in lines, calm and disciplined. These marches were a demonstration in the literal sense. They displayed the working class as a new political actor to bystanders and a wider public. Today, protest performances are still ways to gain visibility both for external viewers and for movement activists themselves (Casquete, 2006). Particularly in the context of repressive regimes, the fact that protests are visible in the street sparks participation and strengthens oppositional groups (Guano, 2002).

However, protesters who try to emit their message do not all have the same chances of being seen by audiences. They act in a public that is structured by dominant viewing habits and gazes which reflect and perpetuate hierarchical power relations (Teune, 2013). While some claims are obvious for large
sections of society, others are filtered out by hegemonic discourse routines. Protesters who articulate their goals without using imagery that is familiar, expected, and compatible with the mainstream experience are likely to be marginalized. Attaining visibility through counter-hegemonic images that recall, but at the same time subvert, hegemonic discourses is a major challenge for social movement actors and, in particular, for discriminated groups who have different experiences to the majority.

The Occupy movement in the United States is a case in point illustrating the impact of a rich visual articulation of dissent on a larger societal discourse. Peter Dreier’s Lexis Nexis database analysis shows how the Occupy movement dramatically changed U.S. mainstream media discourse within a single month. A year before the emergence of the movement, U.S. newspaper articles mentioned the word “inequality” in about 407 stories per month, a number which varied little until October 2011, when “the frequency skyrocketed to 1,269 stories” per month (Dreier, 2011, p. 1). Terms such as “greed” and the “richest one percent” circulated by Occupy activists and supporters rose from near invisibility to over 1,000 percent – the issue became present enough to force Republican leaders to host press conferences on the topic. True, the Occupy movement’s visibility did not last very long. And there is still disagreement among social movement scholars as to what extent the Occupy Wall Street protests were able to actually “change the conversation” in the United States. But the massive production of images in such a short time – especially spread through websites, blogs, and social media platforms – supported the diffusion of a complex counter-narrative on economic and labor issues.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS IN THIS SPECIAL ISSUE:
AN OVERVIEW

All three areas of research – social movement expression, representation, and visibility – help us in understanding the visual as a site of struggle. Mobilization posters of competing currents within a movement can be analyzed to identify framing disputes; if newspapers use different images of a protest event, this can be interpreted as sympathy or antipathy for activists; and finally, if refugees’ protest performances do not make national news while virtually no protest held by a well-established organization skips the editorial desks, this is not only an expression of competition for attention, but also an avenue to hegemony, visual regimes,
and valorization. While the third area of visual analysis raises new questions for social movement scholars who have largely taken the tableau of visible actors for granted, the first two are closely linked to the established canon of social movement analysis. If images and symbols are an important resource for protest actors to express themselves, it makes good sense to consider their impact on collective identities and emotions as well as their role in framing and representing protest and in the mobilization of resources. If images of protest affect audiences and target groups, any analyses of political processes or approaches focusing on the public sphere are well advised to consider the visual aspects of the struggles under study.

The contributions to the special section in this volume primarily address the first area of research described above. Exploring the production and framing of images, the contributions extend the reach of some of the classical approaches to protest and social movements. In drawing on interdisciplinary approaches and methods, all the chapters propose ways to bridge the gap between the research traditions of political contention and culture in movements.

The opening contribution in the special section focuses on the recent uprising in Egypt, taking into consideration the power of visual framing in transnational contexts. In bringing together frame analysis with the sociology of emotion and memory studies, Thomas Olesen explores how activists produce, diffuse, and adapt photographs to generate the broad and universalized emotional resonance of injustice frames. In focusing on the recent case of Khaled Said, a young Egyptian blogger beaten to death by Egyptian police in June 2010, he illustrates how images make for moral shock. The distressing post-mortem photograph of Said became a powerful resource in the struggle against Mubarak’s regime when activists juxtaposed it with a portrait of the young blogger. The representation of Said as a member of the young, urban middle class rendered the pictures of him as an injustice symbol resonant with existing injustice frames in Egyptian society. Olesen’s study thus shows how we may integrate classical text-based approaches and the visual analysis of transnational diffusion: theorizing and analyzing how distinct local visual injustice symbols are transformed in the interaction between different regional, national, and global publics allows movement scholars to understand political change and transnational diffusion by comparing images and discourse in interaction.

Addressing theorists of collective identity and strategy, Priska Daphi, Peter Ullrich, and Anja Lê trace how images used in protests against
surveillance in Germany were contested among liberal and left currents in movements. In studying the political process of visual strategizing, expression, and reception, Daphi et al. demonstrate how images used by different activist groups not only illustrate distinct, competing political ideas but also shape the very ideas of politics which social movements propose: Daphi and her colleagues confirm the significance of both national context and issue-related contexts. The imagery of anti-surveillance protests was marked by a clash of liberal left movement groups framing governmental policies as a “loss” of (Western liberal) democracy and radical left groups, who represented surveillance in general “as an expression of the capitalist (though formally democratic) state.” In a more general context, anti-surveillance protesters tap into the collectively memorized experiences and emotions connected to past political events, and, in turn, shape a collective memory of resistance influenced by previous visual and symbolic representations (Romano & Raiford, 2006). With their interdisciplinary approach combining art history and semiotics, visual analysts such as Daphi et al. demonstrate how movement scholars get at those condensed political and symbolic networks of meanings that are not linguistically expressed by activists in interviews and cannot be easily analyzed through leaflets and other textual material.

In a cross-national comparative perspective, visual analysis brings forth new questions for research regarding debates about convergence, the relevance of national contexts, and transnational mobilization in distinct regional contexts. In her contribution to this volume, Eeva Luhtakallio focuses on the distinct contexts of European protest cultures to understand different yet at times converging frames of local protest in varying consensual or conflicting civic repertoires in Finland and France. Luhtakallio applies Goffman’s concept of visual keying to study the reproduction and change of (dominant) gender framings created by activists in the photo documentation of their protest events. She compares gender representations in the local contexts of progressive protest and global justice activism in Lyon and Helsinki. Combining participant observation of activist events, interviews, and visual analysis, Luhtakallio uncovers a tension between who is actually present at meetings and the visual representation of public events, which feature a gendered role division. By combining visual analysis with ethnographic observation, Luhtakallio is in fact able to trace the predominance of masculine leadership in the Lyonnais events. Counter-intuitively, she finds that in Helsinki too, a place where gender mainstreaming has long been part of the official national political culture, traditional gender roles survive in the visual keying of Finnish local
protesters through “sweet” and “childlike” representations of femininity. At the same time, confrontational action is not limited to male activists as in Lyon. By combining visual analysis with ethnographic observation, Luhtakallio is able to demonstrate how internal tensions about gender and feminist struggles are reflected in different public images – produced by activists about themselves.

Visual analysis also offers a set of new questions to discourse analysts and students of deliberation inside and outside social movements (Doerr, 2012). Social movement theorists identify narratives and symbols as an important resource for activists. They help create visibility for the perspectives and experiences of marginalized groups in mainstream arenas of political deliberation (Polletta, 2006). Recently, media scholars have shown how the selection and framing of images within newspapers influences the emotional resonance of political issues through systematic quantitative methods (Corrigall Brown, 2012, p. 133). For example, Rohlinger and Klein show the dramatization of news coverage of the abortion debate in the United States through front page articles via distinct visuals (Rohlinger & Klein, 2012). Keith demonstrates how visual pictures of authoritarian leaders reduce the memory of complex historic events such as the liberation of Paris to extremely narrow symbols that enter official memory (Keith, 2012). Systematic quantitative studies confirm that visual images become a powerful resource to delegitimate dominant political actors (Lamont, Welburn, & Fleming, 2012). At the same time, activists also risk being stigmatized when portrayed within mainstream media (Wetzel, 2012). For example, Milman (2012) and Wetzel (2012) find that reporters may refer to ethnic, gendered, and cultural stereotypes to delegitimate resistance by already stigmatized populations. The empirical studies presented in this section speak to this discussion. They combine visual and discursive methods to show how images implicitly diffuse political arguments outside a context of cognitive linguistic discourse, often with unnoticed and powerful emotional consequences.

Kirsty McLaren’s chapter considers the value of visual analysis for studying pro-life activism and refers to the fetus in the Australian abortion debate. She extends discourse analysis to “visual discourses” in order to show how pro-life movements mobilize emotion through both images and texts. The interrelation of images and text make powerful arguments in a different style to speech acts. Drawing on a wide-ranging survey of current campaign materials, pro-life websites and publications as well as newspaper articles and archival materials, McLaren finds three
major themes represented in pro-life images: the wonder of life, the human frailty of the foetus, and the barbarity of modern society. In drawing on feminist critiques, McLaren demonstrates why pro-life activists fail to win their strategic goals in political arenas, but still shape popular myths through powerful images that mobilize empathy and fuel controversy. In pictures mobilizing the emotion of care and in grisly images mobilizing empathy, pro-life campaigners display their understanding of the fetus as a person. The images described in the text are meant to evoke shock and horror at the violence of abortion. Because of their powerful combination of scientific authority and emotional force, pro-life images mobilize attention. While affirming an immediate and unmediated sight of images, McLaren’s interdisciplinary analysis reveals the implicit emotional language and powerful double meanings influencing viewers of these images.

The closing contribution of the special section explores visuals in the online environment. Movement scholars have addressed the need to explore the dominant visual dimensions of online spaces through combining multiple qualitative and quantitative methods (Corrigall Brown, 2012). In this vein, Tina Askanius’ chapter makes an innovative exploratory attempt to use semiotic tools to develop an interpretation of YouTube videos. Filling an empirical gap on video analysis, she provides a unique audiovisual investigation of YouTube clips that commemorate three people who died during recent protests. Askanius traces the struggle between dominant media frames of protester violence versus police violence to show how commemoration videos become a political resource. Activist videos challenge media representations of protest movements by highlighting street level accounts of police brutality. Where YouTube becomes “a shrine to remember, to revisit,” Askanius reveals that online sites have become key arenas for the production, distribution, and mobilization of images to support activists’ causes. The three deaths in Genoa, 2001, Athens, 2008, and London, 2009, are interwoven into narratives of martyrdom, turning them into beacons for future mobilizations. By exploring the continuum between offline and online rituals of commemoration and political struggles, Askanius finds that videos interweave the individual death and martyrdom of three local protesters into the collective struggle of an anti-capitalist movement. Yet her analysis shows that the construction of a global visual narrative of resistance is composed of images of local protest events which become de-territorialized symbols, connecting facts and fiction.
CONCLUDING REMARKS: ADVANCING SOCIAL MOVEMENT KNOWLEDGE THROUGH VISUALS

Overall, the five chapters in the special section underline that focusing on visuals makes it possible to intersect cultural and political analysis in a unique and interdisciplinary way. Social movement scholars learn how visual representations, framings, and strategies constitute political resources, how symbols get shaped in political struggles, how they shape outcomes of political processes and political identities as well as memories and emotions associated to movements. The wide array of case studies covering regions as diverse as North Africa, Europe, Australia, and North America, uncover the relevance of visual analysis in studying emerging new forms of movement communication as well as the historical importance of images for social movement studies. More particularly, the five contributions provide important insights on how visuals can function as resources for social movements; how visuals intertwine with processes of diffusion in mobilizations; and, finally, on the methodological challenges and opportunities that social movement scholars face when approaching the visual realm in protest settings.

First, visual analysis allows an understanding of how images provide activists with a symbolic resource to attain resonance in the context of a national political discourse. For example, Daphi et al. show how anti-surveillance protesters invoked the memory of the German authoritarian past to scandalize government plans for data preservation. One poster portrayed the German minister of the interior in the iconography of the Oscar nominated movie Der Untergang (The Downfall), which depicted the last days of Hitler’s life. Activists also combined a portrait of the minister with the caption “Stasi 2.0,” referring to the secret police of the German Democratic Republic. By connecting current events to the imagery of the past, anti-surveillance visuals appealed not only to potential protesters but also to a much broader audience. By delving into the stock of collective memories, images appeal to a collective identity that may help activists to create political opportunities where institutional roads seem blocked (Mattoni, 2008).

Yet beyond the intended meanings that inspired activists’ posters, audiences may have widely varying reactions depending on the discursive context in which such images are diffused. For example, the allusion to Nazi Germany, Daphi et al. note, may be interpreted as a statement about structural similarities between present-day and Nazi Germany or, instead,
as a relativization of Nazi atrocities. Images calling upon powerful memories, such as Nazi symbols or portraits of dictators, are a resource exploited for very different purposes by different movements. In a comparative design especially, a focus on the diffusion careers of such contested images informs scholars about the cultural embeddedness of political process. Moreover, by studying which images make it into the mainstream of public education and national identification, we learn how dominant cultures marginalize some movements while others become hegemonic. An unsolved question in this vein regards the cognitive and emotional resonance of older iconographic traditions and popular images used by protesters. Moreover, we need to understand how images of protest are in turn imitated, altered, or destroyed by counter-movements, mass media, corporations, and other actors.

Second, another field of inquiry addressed by visual analysis includes framing processes and the dynamics of political diffusion inside and outside movements and in increasingly globalized yet culturally diverse societies. Regarding the popularization of new media, it is surprising that few movement scholars have explored visual images as triggers for transnational protest events. While much work has focused on the reception of global icons of protest in mass media, we know little about the place-specific production and strategic mobilization of images by resource-poor, local activist groups (Mattoni, 2008) nor about the reframing of protest images by mass media and the police (Teune, 2012) as well as state actors. Through internet-based diffusion, images are represented globally in real time. Could visual framing strategies be more effective in diffusing new ideas under these circumstances, and empower transnational movements for social change? By combining framing approaches with visual analysis we should be in a better position to understand the pathways of diffusion of slogans, images, and visual objects that spread ongoing revolutionary and pro-democracy movements, as Olesen demonstrates in his contribution. Indeed, while crossing the boundaries of political and cultural traditions in social movement studies, visual analysis also provides innovative ways for studying how widely and when visual symbols diffuse and constrain the outcomes of movements by constructing future memories. For example, in his framing study of the transformation of the photograph of Khaled Said, Olesen proposes to study to what extent distinct universalized victim photographs such as those of Egyptian protesters become integrated in Egyptian political culture as a core injustice symbol or perhaps even an injustice memory. Like Daphi et al., Olesen finds that the extent to which an event becomes ingrained in political culture is influenced by its
(emotional and visual) resonance with similar events, interpreted widely as injustices or not.

Third, all of the exploratory studies open new discussions in social movement methodology by focusing on images, icons, and methods of visual analysis of protest and public discourse. In highlighting the strength of audiovisual analyses of social movements, Askanius interrogates how protest artifacts such as graffiti, street jamming, and vernacular street memorials are (re-)mediated in online videos calling for future mobilizations. Her comparative methods of semiotics and narrative analysis and the comparison of urban geographies of resistance in three countries shows how visual analysis complements the comparative narrative analysis of online sites as solidarity publics uniting different groups and contexts. In an innovative contribution to frame analysis and gender studies, Luhtakallio’s chapter points out the importance of visual analysis in the study of framing and group styles in social movements. By triangulating different data sets and analytical tools such as interviews, close observation, and visual analysis she shows how representations of women become idols for gender performance contrasting the ongoing exclusion of women from internal positions of leadership within groups. From a quantitative perspective, such qualitative interdisciplinary studies can be developed further in a systematic sampling strategy using quantitative measures as well.

Through their engagement with visual empirical materials in the context of social movement theories, these contributions also pave the way to important innovations in the field. An important aspect of methods addressed by visual analysis is the study of political discourse, media, and framing. Social movement scholars have had a hard time seeking to understand audiences’ reception of activists’ public claims. However, by combining discursive and visual methods, including art history, semiotics, and iconography, visual analysts such as Daphi et al. are able to predict audiences’ reactions, while McLaren highlights the continuing emotional and popular impact of pro-life activism over long time periods despite little policy impact. Through their visual analysis drawing on theories of semiotics and art history, Daphi et al. show the polysemiotic or multi-layered communicative potential of images that spread activists’ messages differently than texts. Likewise, discourse analysts learn how implicit images influence whether the arguments made by activists will make sense, to which audiences, and in which contexts. In this perspective, Olesen’s piece explores why some distinct photographs and not others may be successful in symbolically diffusing local/national injustice frames that trigger political regime change. The five chapters presented in the special
section explore the mechanisms of contentious political processes, showing how to combine visual methods with classical methods of movement analysis. Beyond the empirical and methodological, we believe that each of these studies also provides examples on how to see social movements from a new perspective, and thus, break new theoretical ground for future research.

NOTE

1. This is not to say that images and texts are independent or mutually exclusive. They refer to each other, as in metaphors or captions.

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REFERENCES


