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## **THE RED CROSS' MEDIATED ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS: Outreach and the civil imagination**

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## ABSTRACT

Robert DeChaine's *Global Community* seeks to understand how NGOs create and participate in global community. I aspire to join DeChaine's conversation by examining digital platforms in use for outreach. I use Kingston and Stam's categorizations of Supersize and Theory 2.0 as guides for understanding how NGOs communicate with constituents via the Internet. Additionally, Ariella Azoulay's conception of civil positioning provides a framework with which to illustrate how the Internet affords identification with the unfamiliar. I present three case studies: a historical review of the American Red Cross' outreach efforts, a online flash-game provided by the ICRC called *Prisoners of War*, and the American Red Cross' online International Humanitarian Law curriculum. My method of comparative analysis traces rhetorical and design forms the Red Cross utilizes for outreach.

THE RED CROSS' MEDIATED ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS:  
Outreach and the Civil Imagination

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THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Rhetorical Studies  
in the Graduate School of Syracuse University

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## Chapter 1: Introduction and Overview

### 1.1 Introduction

On January 12<sup>th</sup> of 2010, a devastating 7.0 earthquake struck Haiti. The disaster threatened essential services, demolished general infrastructure, and cost a hundred thousand lives. The tragedy prompted an immediate international response, as nonprofit organizations and governments raced to donate money for recovery. The American Red Cross launched a text messaging campaign, which enabled donations by texting an amount to a phone number. The campaign raised \$3 million dollars within the first 48 hours. After gaining popularity via Twitter and Facebook, the campaign had more than doubled that amount to \$8 million, just three days after the earthquake<sup>1</sup>. The Red Cross had garnered enormous support via this online platform, and henceforth set an example of the caliber nonprofit fundraising could achieve via new technology.

The Internet is increasingly lauded for its potential for interactivity and engagement. An inescapable aspect of daily life, it provides previously unimaginable global interconnectivity. For non-governmental organizations, the Internet allows closer and deeper connections with their volunteer and donation bases. Online awareness campaigns are increasingly being developed to compel user engagement, which can often facilitate monetary giving and moral support of the organization goal. This thesis examines the rhetorical dynamics of two online outreach approaches used by International Committee of the Red Cross that are representative of dominant trends in NGO advocacy efforts. Robert

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<sup>1</sup> Gross, Doug. "Digital fundraising still pushing Haiti relief." <http://www.cnn.com/2010/TECH/01/15/online.donations.haiti/> Accessed 10 Nov. 2014.

DeChaine's 2005 *Global Humanitarianism: NGO's and the Crafting of Community* serves as an entry-point for my project. DeChaine argues that the rise of the NGO occurs in the midst of global transformation as the world uses technology to redefine community. He argues that there is an international crisis, "embodied in the form of an intensifying hegemonic struggle over the meaning of 'community' in a globalized world," and that furthermore, this struggle is "significantly rhetorical in nature: it's a struggle over symbols, meanings, and representation, with profound social and cultural implications" (DeChaine, 2005: p. 3). This is a pivotal time for NGOs, state actors, and international relations, and it hinges on the rhetorical: how we define community will, in turn, create it. At the time of DeChaine's writing, however, the Internet was not yet a pivotal platform for NGOs. My project focuses on different modes of digital outreach and seeks to assess if and how DeChaine's rhetorical approach to studying NGOs evolves after NGOs take the digital turn.

To do this, I first explore current scholarship regarding online advocacy used by NGOs. Recently, this topic has become an emerging focus for diverse disciplines. My project attempts to contribute to this emerging literature. For example, Kingston and Stam's "Online Advocacy" study (2013), distinguishes between "Supersize" and "Theory 2.0" approaches to online advocacy. The Supersize model contends that an NGO uses the Web to increase the size and reach of the activism, but that the Web has not significantly altered the means underlying this strategy. Theory 2.0, however, argues that the use of the Web has actually changed the method of activism (Kingston and Stam, 2013: p. 77-78). This distinction, while fruitful for measuring technological developments and their effects, neglects the affordances of community and rhetoric of civil obligation normalized by different digital approaches. Studying the rhetorical dynamics of the campaigns and the



affordances can help elucidate these connections. My thesis compares how the rhetorical dynamics of global community explored by DeChaine are leveraged in outreach projects that adopt a Theory 2.0 and Supersize approach.

While *Global Humanitarianism* looks at the rhetoric of NGO campaigns that are not Internet based, I aim to broaden the line of inquiry DeChaine began by exploring the emerging role of digital outreach for NGOs. I will argue that online advocacy campaigns, either Theory 2.0 or Supersized, should be evaluated by analyzing the symbols, meanings, and representations they denote. Additionally, I will explore two secondary concepts that allow us to understand the rhetorical dynamics of outreach. Firstly, “sentimental education” (Peterson, 2009) is a valuable resource for discussing the connection between campaign and viewer, as it describes how NGOs can guide users to emote “properly,” therein “buying in” to the organization’s cause. Then, I present Azoulay’s (2011) “civil positioning” as an essential consideration of institutional forces inherent in visuality, and therefore a productive means of examining tropes present in advocacy campaigns. Civil positioning helpfully demonstrates the power structures at work within sentimental education, and it indicates how NGOs call upon these consumers to act their global citizenship.

I study the digital outreach of NGOs through a case study of the International Committee of the Red Cross by focusing on their language, modes of visualizing, and storytelling world enacted in digital games and a curriculum about International Humanitarian Law. A multimodal study of their rhetorical choices made helps deconstruct the NGO and understand how it works within a greater human rights paradigm. My project goes beyond a consideration of the online platform to take account of existing scholarship

regarding NGOs and their international functionality. NGOs are essentially catering to users- attempting to get someone to “buy in” to their perspectives and solutions. Thus, advocacy campaigns must persuade their viewers to participate in the cause, whether it be by monetary donation, information spreading and sharing, or a “boots on the ground” approach- advocacy campaigns need to convince participation. Therefore, advocacy campaigns are selling citizenship to their consumers, encouraging them to enact their global citizenship by taking part in the cause that they promote. As such, I use “consumer” to describe how an NGO affects the viewer during the campaign- how the advocacy campaigns educates and persuades the viewer. This definition does not necessarily involve the exchange of currency, but it could. I use “citizen” to refer to how the viewer proceeds to enact (or not) their newly-formed knowledge within the “real-world.” “Citizen,” as I use it, is a viewer applying the campaign’s lessons to promote change for the cause, and in doing so, reinforcing the hegemonic institutions that she exists in.

Within this work, I rely on Gramsci’s conception of the hegemonic, which refers to the “combination of force and consent” where control appears to be “based on the consent of the majority, expressed by the so-called organs of public opinion- newspapers and association- which, therefore, in certain situations, are artificially multiplied” (Gramsci in Storey, 2006: p. 85). The hegemonic opinion is one that appears popular, but only because it was proliferated by a dominant class. Thomas (2010) defines hegemony as “the form of political power exercised over those classes in close proximity to the leading group, while domination is exerted over those opposing it” (Thomas, 2010: p. 163). Hegemony is the idea that dominant states or groups shape the social order. McSweeney (2014) notes the complexity of “hegemony as a concept, which expresses a dynamic process of clashes

between different social forces operating within a particular immanent and historical moment called capitalism” (McSweeney, 2014: p. 276). In this project, therefore, the hegemonic is defined as Western and capitalist. The hegemonic is synonymous, for the purposes of this project, with what Ariella Azoulay terms “the regime.” Azoulay’s conception of dominant institutions propels my argument.

The study of NGOs selling global citizenship has yet to be discussed in existing NGO scholarship. As the following research overview on the NGO scholarship will show, scholarship is bifurcated— one lens analyzes how NGOs utilize technology to prompt awareness, financial contributions, or hands-on volunteer support, whereas the other considers the mobilization of community or government support. Both methods rely on the resultant outcome of NGO involvement in a given situation. While this structure is vastly beneficial for understanding how NGOs operate on a larger scale, little research has been done regarding the campaign rhetoric and its relationship to the audience. Few studies address how NGOs mobilize audiences’ emotional response to motivate action. Research directly linking NGOs and rhetorical studies is also limited, with the exception of DeChaine, who delineates the rhetorical interplays between international actors. Citing the recent rise of globalization, rhetorician DeChaine posits his argument regarding the crafting of global community. DeChaine’s book applies basic rhetorical principles to the modern NGO, helpfully illuminating how state and nonstate actors, citizens, media, and NGOs interact with one another on a global level through signs, symbols, and meaning constructions.

Unfortunately, there remain some gaps in the rhetorical studies literature regarding NGOs. *Global Humanitarianism*, while largely useful, does not cover all aspects of the

rhetorical relevance of NGOs. DeChaine's work does not speak to the potentiality of digital platforms that NGOs use to gain their volunteer and donation base. As noted earlier, these are two areas which existing scholarship has yet to thoroughly discuss. DeChaine laments that "to date, few analyses have explicitly explored linkages between rhetorical studies and cultural studies," and that these two approaches could prove complementary (DeChaine, 2005, pg. 27). The interplay of platform and symbolic representations of power have been discussed separately, but there is a need for synthesis. Each component alone does not create nor define an NGO. To truly understand their effect, these organizations need to be viewed comprehensively. Using the International Committee of the Red Cross as a case study, this project draws on rhetorical methods to illuminate how advocacy campaigns guide and instruct viewers' emotional responses to material.

### **1.2 The International Committee of the Red Cross**

The NGO is now a popular intergovernmental international body and their formation has had a great impact in local, national, and international politics. While their popularity and proliferation is relatively recent, the concept of NGOs goes back a little further. The International Committee of the Red Cross is a constructive case study for examining the development of NGO campaigns, as the organization can be traced over 150 years. According to Ahmed and Potter, and agreed upon by many, "The modern NGO got its start with the creation of the Red Cross in 1860" (Ahmed and Potter, 2006: p. 38). What started as the "Red Cross" evolved into the ICRC, which has since inspired the larger International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. Internationally, the movement has several organizations that are independent from one another, but are united by basic principles and objectives. The ICRC was founded by Henry Dunant after he passed through

a fresh battlefield of the Franco-Austrian War and was sickened at the excessive amount of damaged human life receiving no medical attention. He formed a committee to create a voluntary relief organization for wounded soldiers in 1863.

Today, the ICRC is a private humanitarian organization consisting of a 25-member committee, charged with the keeping of international humanitarian laws (IHL) and the Geneva Conventions. The International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) was founded in 1919, and works on an international level to respond to large-scale emergencies. The IFRC coordinates the movements of National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, of which almost every country has. National Societies, like the American Red Cross, can provide additional services which are not immediately provoked by IHL, like blood drives, CPR certification courses, and military-family support services. In the case of the Haiti relief fund, the American Red Cross launched the donation campaign, but their funds benefited the IFRC as a whole. Overall, the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement has grown out of Dunant's passion for compassion. Inspired by IHL and the Geneva conventions, ICRC, IFRC, and National Societies accordingly play their specific roles within the movement. These distinctions are important for the purpose of this project, as it is important not to conflate IFRC and National Societies' actions with the actualities of the ICRC.

The ICRC is considered the "founding body" of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, and its neutrality encourages humanitarian protection for all people, regardless of any potential discriminative. The organization is based in Geneva, Switzerland, and operates in more than 80 countries and employs 12,000 staff (Torres, 2009). The ICRC is identified by the four 1949 Geneva Conventions as an impartial

humanitarian body, given formal authority to investigate treatment of civilians in war zones, as well as prisoners of war. It is the only organization formally allowed to interpret and make recommendations about the Geneva Conventions. The ICRC protects hospitals and medical workers in the midst of battle, and helps “advance into law, and, to a degree, also into actual practice, respect for just war ideals of mercy for all wounded and the key distinction between combatant and civilian” (Greenwood encyclopedia, 2002). Torres also notes how the ICRC was originally founded to focus on the welfare of wounded soldiers in international war, but “has extended its remit to include ‘civilian and military victims of armed conflicts and internal disturbances,’ as well as ‘human rights issues that transcend conflict situations,’ such as ‘disaster response, disaster preparedness, health and care in the community’” (Torres, 2009). Today, the ICRC is prevalent throughout the international realm, despite not always being readily recognized.

For its contributions to the Geneva Conventions, and its work for World War I and II, the ICRC received three Nobel Peace Prizes in 1917, 1944, and 1963, respectively. The ICRC is a highly respected institution whose values and motivations have significant effects on international policy and relations, especially in the context of war and conflict. Its popularity and global significance make the ICRC a valuable entry point for studying the rhetoric of NGOs.

### **1.3 NGOs: Growing Prevalence and Rhetorical Dynamics**

NGOs are a decidedly growing industry. Their vastly varied objectives, however, may make their definition complicated or confusing. An NGO, according to the UN, is any international organization that is not established by intergovernmental agreement, and are

therefore self-governed. For DeChaine (2005), NGOs have widely varying objectives of great importance<sup>2</sup>. An NGO

engage[s] in various types of research and policy analysis; they work to shape, implement, and sometimes enforce commitments at both the national and international level; they act as monitors or ‘watchdogs’ and as investigative and warning systems; and they act as advocates and mobilizers of public support. (DeChaine, 2005: p.7)

The vast array of assignments NGOs may take on, as defined by DeChaine, reflects the singularity and intra-dependence of their formation<sup>3</sup>. In short, an NGO is an independent organization that usually aims to interfere or mediate conflicts between people, governments, or natural disaster.

NGOs have recently blossomed in popularity, seeing massive growths in the past 35 years (Ahmed and Potter, 2006). Ahmed and Potter attribute this growth to three factors: the growth of global communication technologies; the “retreat of the state,” or the increasing occurrence of governments giving up power to other actors in society; and a newly common attitude that social equity and quality of life are important concerns (2006, p. 24-25). The growth of the NGO-NPO sector is well reflected in changing international relations, as well as citizens’ everyday lives. Consider recent flourishes on social media to become “active” and involved in a faraway cause, such as the “ALS bucket challenge,” or KONY 2012. The “share” link on Facebook and “retweet” function on Twitter provide users the opportunity to contribute to a cause that is otherwise distant or detached.

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<sup>2</sup> According to Shamima Ahmed and David Potter, political science scholars, NGOs are a “subset of the domestic nonprofit sector, which makes them a concern of public administration, a sub-field removed from international relations” (2006, p. 9).

<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of this project, I consider NGO as synonymous with non-profit organization, or NPO. The ICRC is both an NGO and NPO, answering only to its committee members while considering feedback from an international audience.

NGOs appear to be increasing in number and volume for good reason. While NGOs reflect changing societal factors such as the ones established by Ahmed and Potter, they also provoke reaction from state actors as they pressure governments to act. Robert Putnam, in *Making Democracy Work*, discovered that regions with several civic associations have governments more responsive to citizen demands and policymaking issues. On the other hand, regions without these associations have less-trustful political cultures where the government seems generally unresponsive to citizen demands (Putnam, 1993). NGOs were founded “to meet community needs, defend or advocate interests, ensure justice, or promote new policies” (Ahmed and Potter, 2006, p. 38). In a constantly advancing globalized world, NGOs are leading the way in social reformation by providing a platform for citizen involvement. DeChaine (2005) argues, “NGOs have transformed the face of contemporary world politics and represent formidable vehicles for social change” (Dechaine, 2005, pg. 50). NGOs have indeed become considerably influential, comparable perhaps to the UN itself (Stanley, 1994).

Socially and politically, NGOs function in diverse ways. Regarding global politics, NGOs have had an important and far-reaching effect, and as such, have been previously studied by diverse scholars in political communication and media studies. This research falls largely into two thematic categories: one which analyzes how NGOs utilize technology to prompt awareness, financial contributions, or hands-on volunteer support, or one that analyzes the effectiveness of an NGO to mobilize community or government support. In the first bracket, Meg McLagan (2006) analyzes the persuasive images and videos that NGOs such as WITNESS use to have an international effect, colloquially known as “going viral.” McLagan positions video advocacy as a prime method by which NGOs “name and shame.”



The naming-and-shaming approach functions by publicizing an organization or government for wrongdoing (such as environmental crimes or human rights abuses) and the bad press then discourages the group from continuing the shamed behavior. This method can occur on any level, from local to international organizations. Naming-and-shaming campaigns can be aided by video advocacy, which presents images to consumers in a new, innovative way, capturing attention in a way which is useful to the organization's cause (McLagan, 2006, pp. 192).

NGOs utilize many different media tools in their efforts, and the Internet is an increasingly powerful one. Similarly to McLagan, Kingston and Stam (2013) perform an overarching study of how human rights NGOs use Websites in attempts to reach their volunteer or donation base. Recounting that the Web intertwines the roles of producer and consumer, Kingston and Stam argue that NGOs must develop or re-develop their campaigns so that individuals "are given more of a role in advocacy efforts, or at least given a platform to express their opinions" (2013, pp. 86). Technology and image production, for McLagan and Kingston and Stam, are necessary for NGOs to reach their consumers. Orgad (2013) takes participation in a different direction, suggesting that inter-organizational politics, such as those with governments or media outlets, affect how images are displayed by NGOs. Orgad notes that competing motivations are the forces behind humanitarian communications. These underlying stakeholders are important to examine when considering how an organization is motivating viewers to act on behalf of their cause. Each of these scholars uses an NGO to study how media is harnessed and manipulated. Their work, while potentially useful for NGOs, does not address the rhetorical dynamics between state and nonstate actors, NGOs, citizens, and the ever-elusive volunteer participant.

Also relevant to the first category of NGO research is the study of how media are used to enact political change. Beyond merely reaching an audience, social media have been a catalyst for active change in political contexts (Joseph, 2012). Social media, a subset of the Internet, are a powerful tool that NGOs can wield for their cause. Using this platform, NGOs can motivate social and political change by demonstrating what victims of human rights abuses are up against. By presenting a government or other group who is inflicting trauma, and then dishonoring and discrediting their authority by illuminating human rights infringements, NGOs can effectively force the group to change. Social media provides a useful platform to disseminate this information quickly. These “naming and shaming” campaigns’ efforts are largely successful, as governments who do not cooperate may face trade or aid embargos. Bogert (2011) agrees that “bad publicity can help spark government action,” and notes the international pressure violators face. The media presented in these campaigns are of great importance, as Gregory (2006) notes, stating that an NGO’s produced media is used “primarily as a tool for generating media coverage and for garnering direct donor and activist support” (Gregory, 2006: p.197). Media and media coverage are both vital tools, as they have the power to persuade their audience to support them physically, politically, or financially.

The NGO offers the functionality of an intergovernmental organization, backed by the social power of its volunteer and donation base. The effect of an NGO’s work is another bracket of NGO research. This is measured in many ways, including: the over-arching effect that an NGO has on its surrounding society, the group it is working to assist, the government it attempts to elucidate, or on the international community as a whole. An NGO’s political function is often used to determine its usefulness. DeMars (2005) studies

the structure of NGOs in a transnational context and the relations it produces cross-culturally. He speaks to how NGOs often construct their missions in a utopian sense- or one that assumes goodness and greatness, noting that scholars must take careful note of the politics inherent in these visions. His work is structuralist, attempting to dissect the varied ways NGOs operate in world politics. Ahmed and Potter (2006) also discuss these aspects of NGOs as they examine how NGOs interplay with international politics, states, human rights, and global environmental actions. Theoretically based, Ahmed and Potter present a study of NGOs in context of their fellow global players. Lewis and Kanji (2009) provide a wider overview of an NGO, touching on history, theory, and current debates alike. Like DeMars, Lewis and Kanji also focus on the structure of an NGO, yet they focus primarily on development. *NGOs as Advocates for Development in a Globalising World*, edited by Rugendyke (2007), is an edited volume featuring several chapters from separate scholars. Most chapters focus on particular NGOs to discuss how the organization combats their “other-“ the government, corporation, or environmental disaster that they aim to alleviate. This work is particularly focused on outcome or change produced directly because of an NGO’s involvement.

As demonstrated by Rugendyke, DeMars, and Ahmed and Potter, globalization has put NGOs and government or state actors into conversation with one another. Rhetorically, the tools NGOs possess are more than physical or fiscal means, but the social platforms they leverage. Herein DeChaine enters the conversation, as he argues that globalization forged a shift in relationships between nation-states and civil societies, creating a gap into which NGOs enter. Recent developments in technology have enabled NGOs to advance their causes in an interactive space, allowing participation and interaction among state,

non-state, and citizen actors. Understanding the international connectedness that technology and globalization have forged, DeChaine argues that the subsequent rhetorical culture of a global community is a discursive formation that NGOs must navigate (DeChaine, 2005, p.19). Relying on McGee's notion of the ideograph, DeChaine argues that <brotherhood>, <democracy>, and <human rights> are just some of the ideographs which NGOs must develop their approaches to counter and shape public opinion. An ideograph is "a culturally biased abstract word or phrase, drawn from ordinary language, which serves as a constitutional value for a historically situated collectivity [...] Ideographs represent in condensed form the normative, collective commitments of the members of a public" (Condit and Lucaites, 1993, pg. xii). DeChaine's argument harnesses the ideograph "to identify the symbolic resources used to 'conjure' a global humanitarian community into existence as a collective or 'people' united in the furthering of humanitarian goals" (DeChaine, 2005, 20). This global humanitarian community exists within discourses of state sovereignty, nationalism, and economic globalization, which DeChaine argues pose a problem to NGOs. Because these discourses are familiar, NGOs must use or manipulate the values they pose to reach their desired audience. These discourses operate as rhetorical tools for the NGO.

DeChaine analyzes Medecins Sans Frontieres (Doctors Without Borders, MSF) and the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) to show how NGOs mobilize discursive practices to give them legitimacy through ethos building and to mobilize volunteers, state agents, and international actors to create change. DeChaine commends ICBL, in particular, for their savvy use of technology, which has "aided humanitarian NGOs in mobilizing their constituencies, disseminat[ed] information, and connect[ed] with state

governments and international institutions” (DeChaine, 2005: p. 121). *Global Humanitarianism* highlights the relationship between NGOs and rhetoric, and provides a preliminary framework for understanding the two in tandem. NGOs, for DeChaine, must be the “legitimate voice of ‘the people’ rather than state-centered institutions [...] They have to work diligently to cultivate and maintain their ethos as credible and legitimate representatives of global civil society” (DeChaine, 2005, pg. 56). DeChaine’s work discusses inherent morality, transnational civil society, deterritorialization, and how NGOs can best develop their practices within these means.

Developmental Communication, as a field, synthesizes well with my work, as it analyzes NGOs and technological methodologies. Development Communication is a term pioneered by Nora Quebral in 1971, which has since been refined by policy scholars. Development Communication, as a subfield of policy, deals with the convergence processes between communication for social change, accountability, transparency and citizen’s rights. Orecomm, a center for Development Communication, provides a useful introduction to the field and contemporary research issues.<sup>4</sup> They note that institutions, like the Red Cross, which focus on good governance and improving infrastructure, “are grappling with how to incorporate the media as well as communication ... into good governance projects – beyond the traditional support of freedom of expression and free and independent media as has been seen for decades.”<sup>5</sup> In other words, Orecomm and Development Communication represent the intersections between institutions and developing technologies, and they work to understand how the two unite for social improvement. The Red Cross must evolve with technological developments to best make a difference in the communities they serve.

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<sup>4</sup> <http://orecomm.net/about/>

<sup>5</sup> Admin post. 03/03/2008 <http://orecomm.net/research/>

In this way, Development Communication perspectives are important to keep in mind for this project.

Quebral's most recently revised definition of Development Communication is widely accepted: "The art and science of human communication linked to a society's planned transformation, from a state of poverty to one of dynamic socio-economic growth, that makes for greater equity and the larger unfolding of individual potential" (Quebral: 2002, p. 16). This definition, according to Manyozo (2012), suggests three important characteristics of Developmental Communication. The first is that "human beings and media technologies are just instruments for advancing this communication agenda" (Manyozo: 2012, p.9). Additionally, the definition presents that participation from all stakeholders should be encouraged, as all voices and interests need be heard and incorporated into the design and implementation of development policy. Finally, Quebral's definition emphasizes the necessity of clear methodology and theory to strengthen external validity. This particular point emphasizes my distinction between Supersize and Theory 2.0, as I am working to clarify the methodology of studying online outreach methods.

The study of Development Communication illuminates how communication and media are employed "to influence and transform the political economy of development in ways that allow individuals, communities and societies to determine the direction and benefit of development interventions (Manyozo: 2012, p.9). This motivation necessitates conversation regarding the dominance of epistemologies that are taken from Western frameworks and placed upon non-Western receivers. Manyozo notes, "indigenous knowledge is homogenised and oftentimes orientalist" (Manyozo: 2012, p.95). Furthermore, conversations about indigenous knowledge "refer to very traditional, rural,

uncivilised and underdeveloped societies and communities” (Manyozo: 2012, p.96).

Manyozo claims that there is a tendency for many modern NGOs and NPOs to swoop into an underdeveloped country with disregard for their cultural norms, and implicate a Westernized framework upon them in the name of change. Manyozo laments that many conversations about Development Communication rely on essentialized notions of an “other.” Many academics are working to illuminate the problems within this; Manyozo (2012), Finnegan (1970), Pottier (2003), and others.

Overall, the field has a generalized focus on how the Western World understands and communicates with its “third world” counterparts from a non-profit, non-government organizational perspective. Development communication can provide many helpful resources for understanding how technologies are used for outreach and advocacy efforts in an unfamiliar culture. However, as the Red Cross/Red Crescent movement is individually hosted by most countries, an application of Development Communication would be difficult to place. Each Red Cross/Red Crescent society must adhere to the Geneva Conventions and other regulations placed upon them by the ICRC; however, the mode of adherence and application of ideas is individualized to that country’s particularities. Few of the ICRC projects would be subject to the criticisms above, as the local branch of the organization is almost always hosted from within, and thus, is contextualized for that particular sociocultural group. An example that will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter is that of Clara Barton, who brought the Red Cross to America after seeing its humanizing health initiatives in Europe. Since America was not involved in a war at this time, Barton developed the American Red Cross to other objectives, such as natural disaster response. In sum, Development Communication is

greatly useful for understanding how indigenous knowledge systems are affected by outside technologies. The critiques of this discipline will inform my analysis, though not structure it.

#### **1.4 Methodology**

Within this project, I use the International Committee of the Red Cross to contrast the various rhetorical appeals to civic engagement available through different digital platforms. To do this, I draw on the distinction introduced by Kingston and Stam to explore how the rhetorical dynamics of advocacy changes with the Supersize/Theory 2.0 approach. As awareness campaigns are increasingly being developed to compel user engagement, the Internet proves a useful tool for reaching audiences. Additionally, I use Jennifer Peterson and Ariella Azoulay to provide a framework for understanding the civic responsibility inherent in visuality, and therefore online platforms, subsequently unearthing the power dynamics between the producer and consumer of images. These scholars help elucidate how NGO advocacy campaigns create consumers of information, and thereafter ask them to enact their global citizenship by demonstrating their support for the organization.

Kingston and Stam provide a comprehensive analysis of 100 Human Rights NGO Websites--identifying how organizations, from Amnesty International to the Southern Poverty Law Center, use the Web for outreach, fundraising, and advocacy, as well as information on current events, issuing newsletters and blogs, or emphasizing use of social media to keep the public informed (Kingston and Stam, 2013: p. 84). The authors briefly cover other issues regarding mediated advocacy, such as "slacktivism" and message framing; however, their distinction between two models of online advocacy most directly informs my thesis by motivating my comparative approach. Kingston and Stam study an



NGO's ability to leverage "affordances," or "the actions and uses that a technology makes qualitatively easier or possible when compared to prior like technologies" (Kingston and Stam, 2013: p. 78). Specifically, Kingston and Stam distinguish the "Supersize model" from the "Theory 2.0 model" of online advocacy. NGOs who adopt the Supersize model use the Web to increase the size and reach of the activism; however, the use of the Web does not significantly alter the means underlying this strategy. The Supersize model leverages affordances of speed and reach for NGOs. Theory 2.0, however, leverages these same affordances, but also takes advantage of the greater implications of the Internet to make otherwise impossible connections between user and interface. Theory 2.0 argues that the use of the Web has actually changed the method of activism (Kingston and Stam, 2013: p. 77-78).

Kingston and Stam find that many organizations use the Internet simply to expand their existing programs, supersizing their audience or their content, but not altering their overall outreach model. Indeed, their analysis seems restrictive as it limits online campaigns to either one or the other. Within this project, I attempt to identify how the International Committee of the Red Cross uses both the Supersize and Theory 2.0 methods within their online advocacy approach. The ICRC is a highly respected NGO, which has been conducting humanitarian and human rights work long before the Internet became a daily part of our lives. The Web has provided the ICRC with a new, inventive platform for completing the mission they shouldered over 150 years ago, and they are accordingly adjusting.

This project will classify the ICRC's online advocacy methods as either Supersized or Theory 2.0, accounting for both the affordances and rhetorical dynamics of the approach.

Methods that are “extensions of earlier campaigns that relied on different methods of information exchange, but maintain the same overall message and goals” will be labeled as Supersize (Kingston and Stam, 2013: p. 79). On the other hand, methods that use “technology to conduct campaigns without the pre-technology constraints of rigidity, delays, resources, and scale,” will be labeled Theory 2.0 (Kingston and Stam, 2013: p. 82-83). Much of human rights advocacy assumes the centrality of visuality to potential advocacy efforts, and my project seeks to explore this connection. Mediated images are accompanied by a prerequisite civic response, as images inherently call for a response from their viewer. The response will be given in accordance with the institutional expectations of the society in which the viewer exists. Therefore, visuality is key to advocacy, as it allows the viewer the opportunity to reaffirm their hegemonic identity. Understandably, the Internet, as a visual medium, is heavily relied upon by NGOs for their advocacy efforts.

A common Supersize approach is to make outreach material available for download. These materials help reinforce the film or book’s message, while also extending the cause of the organization which creates them. The content of these materials often asks students to reflect on their citizenship and act accordingly. For example, Jennifer Peterson (2009) studies how TV movies *The Laramie Project* and *Two Towns of Jasper*, which tell the story of two hate crimes, were distributed for classroom use as educational texts, complete with K-12 teaching guides and lesson plans. Peterson found that the materials accompanying the films “position their lessons on citizenship as empowering and as cultivating active, liberal-democratic citizenship” (Peterson, 2009: 256). The lesson plans ask students to reflect after viewing the film, with questions that force them to identify and emulate with characters in the films. The questions and their presumed responses form binaries, such as

who is “tolerant” and who is “intolerant” (Peterson, 2009: 257). Peterson argues that these materials exemplify how sentimental education is equaled to civic education, or how evoking emotive response to the “bad” is equated with teaching kids to be “good.” These materials “promise to transform students, to work on their political subjectivity and build good (active) citizens” (Peterson, 2009: 257). As Peterson suggests, this sort of education of how to feel, and when to feel that way, these “proper emotions,” are essential to civic education, as they feed hierarchical power. “Compassion,” as an emotion, “works to shore up relations of hierarchical power, between the bestower of compassion and the recipient, who must meet cultural designations of worthy suffering” (Peterson, 259).

I explore how the ICRC employs what Peterson describes as sentimental education and the evocation of compassion to “sell” a cause or a product to their audience. NGOs do this through “civil positioning,” or by evoking hegemonic discourses of duty or compassion, which encourage consumers to act, therein enacting their global citizenship. To exemplify this, I use Ariella Azoulay’s notion of the “civic imagination” to discuss how citizenship is enacted within visuality. Since images are understood in context with the viewer’s cultural vantage point, one must consider the influence of the institution on the viewer, as it will affect her sight. (Mitchell, 1987). Azoulay presents that citizenship is enacted through seeing by discussing photographs of Israel and Pakistan. I extend her notions surrounding the photographic to the visuality of the Internet and its affordances.

Ariella Azoulay, in *Civil Imagination*, argues that photography is a way for viewers to reify their civil identities. Photographs are performances of social relationships, and the viewer responds morally to the sight. Azoulay contributes the notion of “civil positioning” to discuss how viewers redefine or redesign their relation to objects in photographs

through civil acts. Civil positioning is used to describe how a viewer understands and reacts to an image seen before her- how she is positioned to view the subject. Azoulay's theory is a product of what she calls the civic imagination, which seeks to reimagine the way we think about photography and images through our own political standpoint. Denoting how images reinforce, and perhaps, desist, the subjugation of beings by civilization and its inherent regimes, Azoulay proffers the "civil gaze," which "seeks to encompass a citizenry, a plurality of humans who are partners in concrete communities" (Azoulay, 2011: p. 73). The civil gaze helps reimagine how beings engage with photographs from their respective political dispositions. Azoulay notes that the civil gaze is a way of looking which preferences hegemonic duty to society, and subsequently, encourages viewers to identify with the object shown in a way that extends the political space between the object and the viewer. Azoulay contributes that photographs are products of the public space, and therein are representations of their commitment to the sovereign. For Azoulay, "the practical and civil gaze [insist] that the photograph is the source of heterogeneous knowledge that may enable us to reconstruct the lineaments of the regime as it exists in practice" (Azoulay, 2011: p. 117).

Azoulay's work demonstrates how the photograph and the viewer exist within larger frameworks- they are connected beyond the moment of sight. For NGOs, this means that they must take these larger frameworks into account when targeting consumers for support. Azoulay argues that all viewers, regardless of conscientiousness, are active participants in their regimes, and NGOs must speak the language of the regime if they want to be heard and understood by its inhabitants, their consumers. Robert Asen has similarly argued that citizenship is not an attribute, but an action. Citizenship is "acted through

[one's] own agency" (Asen, 2004: p. 204). Asen's presentation of citizenship as action is aligned with Azoulay's call for the spectator to recognize her performance in a hegemonic society. For NGOs, this may mean that their campaign efforts are contributing to the strength of the regime, which their organization aims to alter or change in some way.

Through civil positioning, photographs, in their provocation of moral responses, force viewers to identify with the object shown. In identification, viewers are participating in the structures surrounding them, and ultimately acting as global citizens. Photographs, therefore, as images, have the means to justify action. This study extends this analysis beyond photographs, to various mediums which each encompass a culturally normative response. Theory 2.0 will be represented by Chapter Three, which discusses identification and civil positioning via computer-based video games available through the ICRC's Website. As an example of a Supersize advocacy model, Chapter Four will discuss identification, ideographs, and civil positioning through the ICRC's International Humanitarian Law curriculum, available for free online and accredited for high school social studies courses. Both the curriculum and the game are examples of mediated methods of nonprofit advocacy.

### **1.5 Chapter Overview**

To demonstrate how the ICRC uses online platforms to extend their advocacy efforts, this thesis offers a comparative analysis of two modes of online outreach used by the ICRC. After establishing my argument and methodology in the introduction, I conduct an overview of the ICRC's past advocacy methods in Chapter Two. This section contextualizes my argument by demonstrating how the organization has developed in conjunction with world events over the past 152 years.

Then, in Chapter Three, I analyze the ICRC's Theory 2.0 online approach by examining an online flash videogame using Ian Bogost's procedural rhetoric, as well as conceptions of identification from rhetorician Kenneth Burke and communication scholars Peng, Lee, and Heeter. *Prisoners of War* was developed in conjunction with the ICRC and American Red Cross. The game immerses players into the realm of the Geneva Conventions as they enact the role of the ICRC as an international player. This chapter will examine how the online game utilizes its platform to present players with a sense of responsibility and accountability, therein conducting a realization of agency. I examine the rhetorical strategies afforded by the gaming platform to discuss civil positioning.

The second case study, in Chapter Four, examines the ICRC's *Exploring Humanitarian Law* curriculum as an example of Supersized advocacy. This chapter emphasizes the ideograph as it looks to the greater rhetorical discourses, which the ICRC participates in. Available in 19 languages, the curriculum presents educators with complete lesson plans for instructing students age 13-18 on International Humanitarian Law. While this project centers on the English version, all 19 curricula are available via PDF for download and implementation. The EHL curriculum exemplifies how sentimental education is incorporated to induce moral support for the ICRC's efforts. The EHL curriculum, like the video games, assigns responsibility and accountability to students. Both cases use civil positioning to create consumers enacting their citizenship. By directing affective responses to the provided situational contexts, the curriculum encourages students to "do something." The conclusion summarizes key differences in the outreach approaches examined in the case studies; discuss the benefits and drawbacks of online outreach, and, offers future implications for other NGOs.

## Chapter 2: A Contextual Overview: The American Red Cross and Mediated Advocacy in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

### 2.1 Henry Dunant and the Red Cross

This chapter provides a historical review of the American Red Cross (ARC). Beginning with a description of the ARC and its significance nationally and internationally for America and globally, I describe the ARC's founding and organizational evolution as a basis for the subsequent analysis of the organization's recent digital advocacy efforts. The examples addressed in this chapter can neither be classified as Theory 2.0 or Supersized, as their original format was not web-based. Their impact and effect should be considered in comparison with the Internet-based advocacy methods analyzed in subsequent chapters.

The Red Cross movement began with one man: Henry Dunant, a Swiss businessman. Passing through Italy in 1859 for work, he witnessed the aftermath of the Battle of Solferino. What he saw shocked him, and he wrote a book about the experience.

*There is no more grieving at the multiple scenes of this fearful and solemn tragedy. There is indifference as one passes even before the most frightfully disfigured corpses. There is something akin to cold calculation, in the face of horrors yet more ghastly than those here described, and which the pen absolutely declines to set down. But then you feel sometimes that your heart is suddenly breaking—it is as if you were stricken all at once with a sense of bitter and irresistible sadness, because of some simple incident, some isolated happening, some small unexpected detail which strikes closer to the soul, seizing on our sympathies and shaking all the most sensitive fibres of our being.*

- Henry Dunant; *A Memory of Solferino* 1862

Recognizing that battlefield deaths were often the result of infection, thirst, or hunger, Dunant shifted his focus from his business exploits to creating a charitable organization that could fill this unaddressed need. What began as a small five-person committee grew to become the Red Cross Red Crescent Movement. His book, *Memory of Solferino*, garnered

support for the organization through his graphic descriptions of the Battle of Solferino. The majority of the work is nauseating description of the sensory experience of that battlefield, overlaid with Dunant's remembered emotional reaction. For his efforts, Dunant was awarded the first Nobel Peace Prize in 1901.

The Red Cross Red Crescent Movement has developed into an internationally recognized and venerated NGO. How, though, was Dunant able to mobilize the masses to his cause? This is the question I seek to address in this chapter by contextualizing the ICRC's approach to mediated advocacy since its conception in 1863. This chapter focuses on the ARC's efforts to raise awareness about the Red Cross movement, gain international recognition, and provide both peacetime and wartime support for the country. I trace the ARC's advertising campaigns during World Wars I and II. I argue that the ARC used "the pornography of pain" and sentimental education to raise funds for foreign conflicts, and worked to inspire audiences' civil imaginations for sympathy with American soldiers. I discuss graphic narrative evidence as a fundraising technique at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Then, I use WWI posters to discuss the Red Cross' appeal to the global citizen, as they ask Americans to help those less fortunate than themselves. Finally, I compare these texts to posters from WWII to study how the rhetoric shifted to ask persons to fulfill their civic duty and serve their own country. While not a comprehensive history, this chapter will provide a thorough contextual framework for understanding how the Red Cross' marketing campaigns have shifted, therein offering a solid foundation for the upcoming chapters.



## 2.2 Transnational Network Creation

Robert DeChaine's 2005 *Global Humanitarianism* discusses the creation of a global community through the use of signs, symbols, and meaning constructions. His analysis relies on the ability to communicate globally, which is predicated on the technologies that grant this possibility. The Red Cross Red Crescent Movement commenced during a time of global transformation, when these communication technologies were just being developed. The American Red Cross was born into this time of changing global relationships. Its marketing campaigns reflected a shift in international attitudes regarding NGOs and foreign relations. The globalism discussed in the introduction was made possible by technological advances that increased the ease and frequency of communication with countries and people geographically distant. The nineteenth century was a time of transnational networking and community building: when globalism was recognized. Additionally, the developments of the nineteenth century created a space and a language for the ARC to reach their audience.

Jürgen Osterhammel's *The Transformation of the World* addresses how the nineteenth century produced universal norms and conceptions of globalism. There was a growing international peace movement that offered itself a "counterweight to pernicious tendencies of the age" (Osterhammel, 2014: p. 506). As socialist and anarchist revolutions took place across the world, the pacifist movement arose. This international peace movement, which was primarily active in 1880-1914, was well known, though it lacked such a strong following. Osterhammel notes, "at the height of its significance, this international peace movement was sustained by approximately three thousand people" (Osterhammel, 2014: p. 509). The pacifists did not achieve an end to war, but they had a

significant effect on the international community nonetheless. “They had no great hopes in a reign of universal peace, but they realistically contented themselves with proposals for basic mechanisms of consultation” (Osterhammel, 2014: p. 509). The pacifists created space for a conversation regarding standardization.

Indeed, governments in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century began to consider international relationships beyond military power games, deliberating on “the mechanics of internationalism.” International law transitioned from “coexistence law to cooperation law” as countries began to see one another as extended allies, enhancing relationships for and beyond military and trade purposes (Osterhammel, 2014: p. 510). Additionally, at this time, the world was expanding quickly due to emerging technological developments. Unification of world time with the assignment of time zones, an international mail system, unified weights and measurements, and the telegraph created an interconnected world. Osterhammel argues that these developments, combined with binding treaties between nations and international conferences among experts, resulted in “a historically unparalleled norm setting in countless areas of technology, communications, and cross-border trade” (Osterhammel, 2014: p. 510). Furthermore, he states that the people of the nineteenth century, seeing the need for these standardizations, were the first to take steps to bring them about. These were the pacesetters for creating a globalized world.

The creation of this international framework, combined with easing migration limits and trade restrictions, cultivated a burgeoning global political order. Osterhammel is careful to note that this order had not yet come into place by the end of the nineteenth century but the groundwork for it had been laid. It was into this newly developing international realm that Henry Dunant and the Red Cross entered. International

nongovernmental organizations were “few and far between until about 1890, subsequently multiplied to reach a peak in 1910 (not exceeded until 1945)” (Osterhammel, 2014: p. 505). The nongovernmental organizations saw a need for a global standard of health and livelihood, and entered the scene. Osterhammel hails the Red Cross, claiming, “Henri Dunant’s Red Cross was the most successful of these organizations,” and calling it “a broad and highly diversified organization” (Osterhammel, 2014: p. 505). The Red Cross and other nongovernmental organizations of the time helped institute global standards. “Regulation made strides in the pre-political sphere, emanative from private, or sometimes technical-administrative, initiatives aimed at international unity, solidarity, and harmony” (Osterhammel, 2014: p. 513). In other words, the introduction of the nongovernment organization and conceptions of global community were vital precursors to the governmental structures of the centuries to come.

The ARC is exemplary of this transition to globalized standardization. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the organization demonstrated this international outlook through the programs it implemented. Founder Clara Barton’s name may be more familiar than Dunant’s, as her story is taught in many elementary history classes throughout the country. While volunteering during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, Barton saw the Red Cross movement in action. Impressed by its organization and the good work it was doing overseas, she decided to bring its concept home to America. The ARC was officially formed in 1881 after receiving support from President Rutherford B. Hayes. At this time, America was not involved in a war, so Barton convinced the President the organization was nonetheless necessary by noting its emergency response capacities for disasters like earthquakes and hurricanes. These faculties remain in place today. Indeed, over the last

130 years, the ARC has shifted slightly to accommodate national needs, but its basic stance regarding human dignity in times of peace and war remains.

As the world communicated more quickly and efficiently than ever before, a sense of global community began to develop. The relative or merchant on the opposite side of the ocean no longer took months to contact. Likewise, the news of war or natural disaster in another region no longer seemed far-off. The nineteenth century decreased separation between individuals with new technologies. The ARC entered the international scene at this time, and they took advantage of this new global community as they marketed services and morality to the American people.

### **2.3 The early ARC' humanitarian efforts**

As the first modern NGO, the Red Cross' history exemplifies this decreased distance between countries. The ARC was created during this new era of globalization, and their history demonstrates a desire for global unity. Julie Irwin's *Making the World Safe* is an extensive historical account of the ARC and international relationships. She discusses the participation and involvement of citizen volunteers, the role of the American government, and the programs implemented by the ARC. Her thorough analysis of the organization is the backbone to my interpretation of the ARC's mediated advocacy efforts since its conception. Irwin argues that Americans began participating in the ARC at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as they felt more compelled to engage in world affairs. "In these formative years of American global power, providing material relief and assistance overseas became a principal war for Americans to interact with the wider world and to provide a living demonstration of the country's new international identity" (Irwin: 2013, loc. 159). Global connectivity allowed for people to feel closer with their international neighbors than ever

before. During the First World War, many Americans believed their country to be a great world power. By offering humanitarian assistance and aid, the country would be living up to these assumed expectations and fulfilling the role of a world power.

President Taft was a leader in this early humanitarian movement, as he designated the ARC with the title of “official relief agency” for the U.S. in 1900 (Irwin, 2013: loc. 674). During this time, the ARC provided humanitarian assistance in Italy, China, and Nicaragua, among others. For the U.S. government, this was invaluable effort. Irwin argues that the American government saw an opportunity to reinforce the country’s values: “Foreign aid and assistance, Taft and his cabinet realized, could do much to bolster their vision of U.S. internationalism and to advance the global peace and stability they coveted” (Irwin, 2013: loc. 930). American politicians and citizens saw international aid as a crucial element of U.S. global relations. Not only was the ARC improving the country’s reputation, but it was budget-friendly for the government, as well: “By relying on a privately administered organization to carry out overseas assistance on its behalf, the Taft administration accrued the benefits of assistance without making official commitments” (Irwin, 2013: loc. 924). If natural disasters arose, Presidents would make a national appeal to American citizens to donate to the ARC. Thus, it was a mutually beneficial relationship. The ARC was serving the country’s need for international recognition and their official status provided the organization with the legitimacy and funding necessary to carry out their privatized mission work.

Furthermore, support of the ARC reflected the popular opinion that Americans were strong candidates for making world change. Irwin states that American humanitarians “possessed both the responsibility and unique capability to make the world a better, more

civilized place [...] these humanitarians sought to convince aid recipients to accept not only their relief supplies, but also their ideas about health, welfare, and reform” (Irwin, loc. 4584). Irwin uses the ARC as a microcosm for studying how American international relations were justified. Importantly, Irwin outlines how participation and donations rose and fell throughout the years as consistent with and respective of American involvement in a war, and general opinions on best international relations. Whether it was the Spanish-American war, WWI or WWII, Americans were likely to donate large sums and volunteer their efforts when their own soldiers were involved in the conflict.

#### **2.4 Narratives of Pain as Fundraisers during World War I**

As WWI began, the US was hesitant to get involved. The ARC could not ask for donations to help “our” soldiers, since the Americans were not yet involved. Thus, the ARC aimed to humanize the American public with European allies, hoping to attain donations by making emotional connections with the people across the sea. As Irwin demonstrates, the ARC positioned themselves and America as “saviors,” benevolent and gracious, thus aiding the U.S.’s image abroad. The ARC advertised their services to the American public in order to reinforce their role in U.S. foreign relations. Advertisement was necessary to garner monetary support and volunteer’s efforts. One method of advertising in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> was written narratives of the witnessed experience of others. The ARC wrote stories for newspapers and magazines that functioned as advertisements for the organization’s services. Additionally, they produced narratives in magazines that horrified their audiences. A popular trend of the time, these narratives evoked emotions of guilt or shame, and readers would donate to alleviate this guilt. This section will analyze how the

ARC magazine's written narratives use sentimental education to guide their reader's response.

A concept introduced by Peterson (2009), sentimental education is the instruction of proper emotional response to materials. Peterson found materials, such as discussion questions, that accompany emotionally charged films could direct the viewer's response to the film itself. The materials ask the viewer to identify and emulate with characters shown. Peterson argues that evoking an emotive response to "bad" events and characters is, in fact, teaching how to be "good." Similarly, responding to a narrative or image with repulsion is equated with being a "good" person. Similarly, Meg McLagan (2003) discusses how documentary films create a connection with their audience. She uses the term "political mimesis" "to describe the process whereby a sensuous link is formed between bodies represented on screen and bodies of the audience" (McLagan, 2003: pp. 608). The process of watching a film can create a link between the viewer and the character shown. She argues that what we see creates an involuntary mimicry of emotion or sensation of the body on screen. "For example, 'horror films make us scream, melodrama makes us cry, and porn films make us come'" (McLagan, 2003: p. 608). Her analysis, though focused on a 21<sup>st</sup> century text, can be applied to the narratives written in the ARC magazine. Like film, there are horror stories, romantic novels, and harlequin paperbacks that can create political mimesis. In this chapter, Peterson and McLagan's conclusions are extrapolated and applied to the ARC magazine. My analysis will demonstrate how the ARC magazine used sentimental education in guiding responses to grotesque descriptions of bodies or suffering. These renditions create political mimesis between the readers and the

characters. Reading these narratives requires the response; “this is disgusting;” implying that it is correct and noble to be disgusted.

I apply sentimental education and political mimesis to the written word, as I study the nationally distributed magazine of the ARC. *The Red Cross Magazine* was a primary method of garnering donations which registered volunteers received free. The magazine had rather graphic and gory accounts of the Red Cross’ efforts. From 1914 to 1918, in preparation for the Great War, the ARC magazine directors implemented measures to increase their readership. They “enlarged both its page counts and its page sizes several times,” as well as including “progressively more images, as well as color illustrations beginning in September 1917” (Irwin, 2013: loc. 1899). The ARC magazine was the organization’s primary method for promoting involvement in international affairs and the subsequent support of the ARC. *The Red Cross Magazine* was an opportunity for wartime leaders to spark a “unique and vital movement of international humanitarianism” by making the magazine a “informative and inspirational journal capable of uniting the American reading public in support of civilian aid” (Irwin, 2013: loc. 1923). To do this, the magazine relied on exotic images and narratives to attract subscribers. By 1918, the ARC magazine had millions of subscribers (Irwin, 2013: loc. 1934).

Kevin Rozario (2003) argues that these millions of readers received the magazine not only to make a socially conscious contribution but also for the guilty enjoyment of its grotesque stories. His work provides key points for my analysis with his study of the ARC magazine, as he puts conceptions of pain, cruelty, and humanity directly in conversation with one another. A history scholar, Rozario gives a chronological account of this phenomenon. He begins by analyzing popular films and pulp fictions that showed



increasing horrors and atrocities. He argues that non-profit organizations needed to shift their approaches accordingly to align with this mass mediation of “delicious horrors.” According to Rozario, “it was only when philanthropy became a marketing venture and when donors began to be treated and courted as consumers who had to be entertained that philanthropy could become a mass phenomenon” (Rozario, 2003, pg. 419). Using the *ARC Magazine* as an example, Rozario demonstrates how even humanitarian organizations had to pander to their audience’s thirst for blood. Once the articles started becoming graphic, memberships and readerships began to rise.

The *ARC Magazine* indulged readers’ emotions, evoking sympathetic and guilty responses (Rozario, 2003, pg. 234). The magazine quotes first-hand experiences of nurses and volunteers that are graphic, descriptive, exaggerated atrocities. Below is a description of the Mexican Revolution from a 1914 issue of the *ARC Magazine*.

*One special agent of the ARC, for example told of coming upon hundreds of bodies stacked like cordwood along the sidewalk of a Mexican village. The semi-tropical sun blazed down upon these squares of human flesh relentlessly, and from the stacks of bodies blood ran in rivulets to the gutter. In passing these gruesome heaps, which were soon to be burned, he heard moans coming from them. He overturned certain of the piles and rescued living but badly wounded men [...] Conditions like that, and worse, are encountered by the relief workers of the Red Cross.*

(“Horrors of the War”)

This passage is full of colorful descriptors, rich and disturbing. It is an appeal to the “thirst for blood” for which Rozario argues that readers of the time were searching. As McLagan would say, the *ARC* magazine “produce[d] emotion in the spectator in and through conventionalized imagery of struggle” (McLagan, 2003: p. 608). Though the image isn’t shown, the reader imagines it. McLagan establishes how “shared cultural and historical context, not the indexical image alone, are what lead to viewers’ sympathetic action” (McLagan, 2003: p. 608). Therefore, a narrative can lead sympathetic reaction if it relies on

a shared context with the reader. The ARC magazine does just this: it relies on the cultural assumption that “bodies stacked like cordwood” is a terrible circumstance, one that the reader should react sympathetically to.

The accounts in the magazine catered to the voyeur in the bourgeois who would not see it fitting to read pulp fiction, but craved it nonetheless. The magazine, as a publication of a well-respected and admired social organization, provided an opportunity otherwise inappropriate for bourgeois members of society. This approach to advocacy provided the ARC with a valuable funding opportunity, as readers would donate to feel as if they had done something useful. Rozario quotes a male reader of the ARC magazine who reinforces this: “The delight we have in such things hinders us from shunning scenes of misery; and the pain we feel, prompts us to relieve ourselves in relieving those who suffer” (Rozario, 2003, pg. 440). In other words, readers of the *Red Cross Magazine* would feel compelled to react to the “horrors” they had read out of guilt. The delight gleamed from the reading shifted quickly to shame. In order to relieve the conscience, a donation would be made to the ARC, which served as a sort of monetary penance. Rozario claims that the thrill of the *Red Cross Magazine* laid in the way it “enabled readers to take an ambivalent pleasure in spectacles of death and destruction while simultaneously feeling virtuous and compassionate” (Rozario, 2003, pg. 441). Spectacle, therein, is a precursor for sympathy. Examples given by Rozario are either films, or written descriptions of scenes that paint a picture in the readers’ heads. Atrocity is necessarily visual, though often imagined. Images must be framed by language, as context is vital to interpretation.

Therefore, the author guides the reader’s imagination. Framed by language, the picture is painted in the reader’s imagination through the perspective of the humanitarian,

since the author is the ARC. Therein, the proper response to the narrative is that of a humanitarian worker: to provide aid and alleviate suffering. This clearly aligns with McLagan's argument that characters and stories have the ability to create an emotional bond with the audience. The ability of "horror films to make us scream," and of "porn films to make us come," links well with Halttunen's (1995) argument that reading about another's suffering in graphic detail is a form of pornography. According to Hattunen, getting sexual pleasure from pain is commonly deemed shameful, though it has an ancient lineage. She argues that in using graphic descriptions of pain, pieces of popular culture like the ARC magazine are effectively shaming their consumers into donations.

Halttunen's work reinforces the political mimesis of McLagan and the guilt discussed by Rozario. She discusses humanitarianism and pain in *Anglo-American Culture* in reference to the abolition movement. Attributing the abolition of pain to "the eighteenth-century cult of sensibility," Halttunen argues that pain became "barbaric," and "savage," and therefore undesirable to the bourgeois classes. She writes at length about the visual culture that accompanied reformist literature, as the viewer sees the sufferings of the other and then use her imagination to enter herself into those sufferings (Halttunen, 1995: p. 307). Additional to the images, she notes that sympathetic literature was commonly used to allow people to "feel" for another. While some have understood sympathetic literature to bond rich and poor, Halttunen argues that the abolition literature "actually rested on social distance," and at a distance, these scenes can actually be "delightful" (Halttunen, 1995: p. 309). Indeed, she continues by noting that the "delight" felt by many was sexual arousal, as the infliction of pain is often cited as pleasurable. Before

labeling it “savage” and “barbaric,” consensual infliction of pain was a relatively common, though still private, part of many couples’ bedroom lives.

Many reformists condemned flagellation, yet they littered tracts and newsletters with lithograph pictures denoting just that. As Halttunen notes, “the pornography of pain was highly voyeuristic in nature, dependent not only on the implied spectatorship of the reader/viewer but also on the express spectatorship of internal witnesses to the sexual infliction of pain” (Halttunen, 1995: p. 317). The pornography of pain was defined by its taboo nature. Like Foucault’s famed description of breaking on the wheel and other forms of torture in *Discipline and Punish*, Halttunen notes the “spectacle of suffering” swiftly replaced by the “humane” penitentiary system. It was argued by some reformers that “spectators are thus trained to contemplate misery without emotion or sympathy,” and that upon several sights of torture and execution, “the hearts of the people were made callous” (Halttunen, 1995: p. 323). This gave way to a “positive taste for cruelty,” which is used to understand why reform literature eroticized pain, making it illicit and condemnable. According to cultural norms at the time, this pain should have “the power to evoke revulsion and disgust” in audiences (Halttunen, 1995: p. 325). Herein, we understand that abolitionists were faced with a moral dilemma, to show, or not to show? According to Halttunen, the reformers often showed, but additionally gave their readers a guide on how to properly emotional respond to the suffering.

As it guided emotional response, the *ARC Magazine* and other reformist literatures of the time are exemplary of sentimental education. As Peterson discovered, materials that include a fixed response to a scene cultivate a perception of “good” and “bad.” Rozario mentions sentimental education, for “I was appalled,” or “I was deeply distressed to see

this” craft an appropriate response for the audience to adhere to. The magazine also demonstrates political mimesis, as described by McLagan, as it poses the reader to mimic proper emotional response. In establishing how the author reacts to hearing or seeing the “horrors” of war, Dunant, Barton, and the *ARC Magazine*, are likewise recommending the reader react in the same respect. Notably, this compassionate response “works to shore up relations of hierarchical power, between the bestower of compassion and the recipient, who must meet cultural designations of worthy suffering” (Peterson, 2009: p. 259). In other words, the reader, in responding compassionately, is obtaining power over the sufferer. Sentimental education, then, reinforces power dynamics between the giver and the receiver. While the pornographic nature of the accounts of war led many to donate to the ARC and its relief efforts, its manner of doing so promoted American exceptionalism through guided emotionalism.

## **2.5 Visuality and World War I**

As narratives evoked grotesque images of suffering to induce guilt and subsequent donations, the ARC also used posters and visual advertisements to make emotional connections between the shown subject and viewer. During the Great War, the American Red Cross produced many large posters to advertise their services. According to Irwin, these visual strategies were used to:

“delineate a novel set of responsibilities for all U.S. citizens, casting active support for the ARC’s civilian aid as nothing less than a new patriotic obligation. Good Americans had a responsibility to support U.S. troops... [and now they] had a civic duty to commit their money and voluntary labor to Allied civilian relief as well.” (Irwin, 2013: loc. 1591)

The posters and other images, such as those shown in this chapter, demonstrate the ARC’s marketing through patriotism. Irwin remarks that posters were part of American

government's "publicity machine to define the ARC as a national movement for international humanity" (Irwin, 2013: loc. 1850). Additionally, she points out how posters such as these were widely circulated, that they "saturated" the U.S. landscape. The choices I featured were digitized and recorded by the Library of Congress, and featured in Irwin's historical account of the American Red Cross.

The images I use throughout this chapter exemplify how visuality sparks civic duty. Mediated images are accompanied by a prerequisite civic response, as images inherently call for a response from their viewer (Hariman and Lucaites: 2011). The response will be given in accordance with the institutional expectations of the society in which the viewer exists. In other words, when one sees an ARC poster toting claims of patriotism and humanity, the viewer is reminded of their own patriotism and humanism. In order to fulfill their social contract- to feel patriotic and humanist- the viewer behaves as requested by the image. The image, therefore, required a civic response. Visuality is key to advocacy, as it calls allows the viewer the opportunity to reaffirm their identity. In the upcoming sections, I examine how civic response to visuality is an example of Azoulay's civil positioning.

To do this, we must begin with a reference point. The poster “Are You One of Us?” (Image 2a) shows bedraggled women and children alongside injured soldiers. Irwin states that this is a “particularly poignant poster” which poses the US as a “beacon of hope” (Irwin, 2013: loc. 1993). The poster is looking over the shoulders of the unkempt group, reaching out to American government imagery- Capitol Hill and the Statue of Liberty. The viewer is told: “They are looking to us for help. Are you one of us? Add your bit to the Red Cross War Fund.” The Red Cross logo looms large beyond the cityscape, as if a large moon. The poster is clearly intended to evoke sympathy, as wounded soldiers and poor children necessitate a moral response. The poster implies the world needs “our” help- it is suffering without “us.” This poster goes beyond asking for spare change, it makes “saving suffering Europe a requirement for U.S. loyalty” (Irwin, 2013: loc. 2022). The U.S. is seen as the world’s savior, for they are they only ones who can help. In this analogy, the ARC is the savior’s right-hand angel, for they hold the purse strings to the War Fund. They are the



Image 2a: Are You One of Us?

helpers needed so that money can be collected and purposed to the saving of the poor individuals shown in the poster.

As this image would have been displayed on city streets, to be seen while walking to work or shopping downtown, its audience is middle-class American citizens. The poster appeals to persons who were not able to participate on the front-lines of the war, but still want to contribute to the war efforts through time and monetary donations. The pitiful image of needy neighbors evokes sympathy. By having those neighbors no longer across the sea, but right on Capitol Hill, the poster is eliminating geographical distance, placing the “other” right onto American soil. This interpretation requires a bit of imagination, and our discussion of such can be aided by Ariella Azoulay, who argues that images are a way for viewers to reify their civil identities. Because this poster is a performance of international relationships, the viewer responds morally to the sight.

This moral response is an answer inspired by the civil imagination, in reply to the civil gaze. These concepts are developed by Ariella Azoulay in her 2011 *Civil Imagination*, and pivot around the idea of civil positioning. Civil positioning is the base for understanding how these narratives and posters are used as outreach methods. It is the placement of a viewer or thinker to a perspective that illuminates sociocultural values at play. Azoulay claims that photographs position their viewers in a way that allows for recognition with an unfamiliar “other.” My analysis extends this, as I associate Azoulay’s theories with visibility, as opposed to photographs alone. I consider narratives that are rich in descriptive to be likewise visual, as they “paint a picture,” so to say, in their thinker’s imagination. In the vocabulary of this civil positioning, the civil gaze is how the viewer looks/views/thinks about the subject. Finally, the civil imagination is a form of reasoning



which aligns the thinker with a visualized “other” outside of traditional cultural or social boundaries.

Azoulay frames her argument beginning with a conception of a regime: “an organized, regulated and motivated system of power that is nourished by the institutions of the democratic state” (Azoulay, 2011: p. 2). She argues that regimes control our perceptions of our surroundings; they shape the framing of a story, photograph, video, or other discourse. These regimes are motivated by claims of democracy, which further reinforce their hold over the citizenry. Azoulay argues that the way to combat a regime is through suspending the point of view of governmental power and nationalist characteristics and to look instead at situations through the lens of a civil discourse. This action of this is civil positioning. A civil discourse is one that seeks to induce partnership between people and groups, rather than emphasizing the sovereign’s power. “To do this” states Azoulay, “requires an act of imagination” (Azoulay, 2011: p. 3). We must imagine ourselves as equal citizens, transcending the individual mind or matter, and looking toward a collective group mind. Civil imagination allows us to break free arbitrary boundaries placed upon us by governments, religion, or class. Through civil positioning, we are given the opportunity to imagine a new way to relate to the “other.” Azoulay states that the civil imagination “seeks a certain dislocation from these [sovereign] frameworks and from the control they desire to exert over the areas of knowledge associated with them” (Azoulay, 2011: p.73). The imagination then, is a way of experiencing which allows this dislocation.

Azoulay employs the notion of “civil gaze” to discuss how viewers redefine or redesign their relation to objects in photographs through civil acts. She first denotes how images often reinforce the subjugation of beings by civilization and its inherent regimes by

privileging their sociocultural values. Looking at images, according to Azoulay, underpins these sociocultural values, as the viewer thinks about the image in their personal sociocultural context. As a retort to this way of looking, Azoulay proffers the “civil gaze,” which “seeks to encompass a citizenry, a plurality of humans who are partners in concrete communities” (Azoulay, 2011: p. 73). The civil gaze helps reimagine how beings can engage with visuality from their respective political dispositions. It a type of looking that encourages viewers to identify with the object shown in a way that extends the political space between the object and the viewer. The civil gaze effectively deletes political separation between viewer and subject. Importantly, Azoulay notes:

The civil gaze cannot exist within the paradigm of ‘the suffering of *others*’ as if the citizenship of the spectators were insulated from the suffering inflicted on others [...] or as if their suffering were merely to be observed from an external point of reference. (Azoulay, 2011: p. 122)

The civil gaze repositions the viewer within the photograph: it destroys sociocultural boundaries, creating an internal connection between viewer and subject. The posters analyzed in this chapter do just this, as they attempt to restructure the viewer’s perception of the subject shown.

As the poster, “Are you one of us?” is a product created for the public space, it is a representation of hegemonic ideals. For Azoulay, “the practical and civil gaze [insist] that the photograph is the source of heterogeneous knowledge that may enable us to reconstruct the lineaments of the regime as it exists in practice” (Azoulay, 2011: p. 117). Azoulay’s work demonstrates how an image and the viewer exist within larger frameworks- they are connected beyond the moment of sight. “Are You One of Us?” illustrates this connection, as the poster requires the viewer to imagine a “what-if” wherein the allies of WWI were physically neighboring America and imploring for help. The poster

forgets the ocean that separates the countries. By symbolically enjoining them, the poster repositions the viewer civilly, and allows a space for the civil gaze. If one looks via the civil gaze, regime-placed frames are removed, allowing the civil imagination to be sparked, and the perspective of the citizen-sans-sovereign illuminated. The poster makes the far-off “other” much closer to the viewer, so she can reimagine the potentiality of their relationship. The civil gaze sees that “other” as a part of a “we” or “us” instead.

This next image (Image 2b) demonstrates the civil gaze as it civilly positions the

*The Ladies' Home Journal for May, 1918* 67



**The GREATEST MOTHER in the WORLD**

<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>Stretching forth her hands to all in need; to Jew or Gentile, black or white; knowing no favorite, yet favoring all.</p> <p>Ready and eager to comfort at a time when comfort is most needed. Helping the little home that's crushed beneath an iron hand by showing mercy in a healthy, human way; rebuilding it, in fact, with stone on stone; replenishing empty bins and empty cupboards; bringing warmth to hearts and hearths too long neglected.</p> <p>Seeing all things with a mother's sixth sense that's blind to jealousy and meanness; seeing men in their true light, as naughty</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">+</p> <p>children—snatching, biting, bitter—but with a hidden side that's quickest touched by mercy.</p> <p>Reaching out her hands across the sea to No Man's Land; to cheer with warmer comforts thousands who must stand and wait in stench and crawling holes and water-soaked entrenchments where cold and wet bite deeper, so they write, than Boche steel or lead.</p> <p>She's warming thousands, feeding thousands, healing thousands from her store; the Greatest Mother in the World—the RED CROSS.</p>
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*Every Dollar of a Red Cross War Fund goes to War Relief*

*This page contributed to the Winning of the War by the*  
**EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY**      **ROCHESTER, N. Y.**



E. S. Hart Committee on Public Information, Division of Advertising

“Stretching forth her hands to all in need; to Jew or Gentile, black or white; knowing no favorite, yet favoring all. Ready and eager to comfort at a time when comfort is most needed. Helping the little home that’s crushed beneath an iron hand by showing mercy in a healthy, human war; rebuilding it, in fact, with stone on stone; replenishing empty bins and empty cupboards; bringing warmth to hearts and hearths too long neglected. Seeing all things with a mother’s sixth sense that’s blind to jealousy and meanness, seeing men in their true light, as naughty children- snatching, biting, bitter- but with a hidden side that’s quickest touched by mercy. Reaching out her hands across the sea to No Man’s Land; to cheer with warmer comforts thousands who must stand and wait in stench and crawling holes and water-soaked entrenchments where cold and wet bite deeper, so they write, than Boche steal or lead. She’s warming thousands, feeding thousands, healing thousands from her store; the Greatest Mother in the World—the RED CROSS. “

**Image 1b: The Greatest Mother in the World**

viewer as a mother to men she does not know. The image is an advertisement that was published in *Ladies' Home Journal*, and is boldly titled: "Greatest Mother in the World," showing a Red Cross nurse, cradling an injured soldier in her arms. The Red Cross, according to Irwin, often used this phrase to describe their organization. She states that the ARC attempted to describe itself as "at once caring, loving, nurturing, as well as a rational, masculine, and powerful force" (Irwin, 2013: loc 1932). The advertisement is representative of the ARC's mission to appear as all of these adjectives. Irwin uses a wartime poster titled "Our Greatest Mother," showing a young nurse dressed in white stretching out her hand to the audience. The advertisement in *Ladies Home Journal* demonstrates this same trope, but is accompanied by written narrative.

The readers of this magazine were solely women, and they were of-age housewives. In 1918, the *Ladies Home Journal* was the leading American magazine of its type, with a circulation of more than one million copies by 1900 (Santana, 2014). In "Greatest Mother in the World" positions the viewer to look with the civil gaze, to reimagine her relationship to the soldiers on the front lines fighting the war. The mother shown is large and graceful, and her robes fold in waves around her. The soldier fits into her arms like a small child, and she holds him like one. Her face looks concerned, even mournful, as her chin tilts toward the sky. Below the text, a large eagle spreads its wings. The words, bookended by the Red Cross logo, encompass the mission of the Red Cross, and target their readers-ladies- directly. The Red Cross Mother is said to "know no favorite, yet favor all." She is "merciful," as she helps rebuild homes and restock cupboards. She speaks to women as she calls men "naughty children," yet laments for the conditions that men must suffer in for

war. The text is sorrowful and sympathetic, yet you can almost hear the Mother “tsk tsk” reproachfully. Still, it is filled with mercy and kindness.

This advertisement is quite clearly targeted toward women, which is clear through both the language used and the magazine in which it is present. The advertisement demonstrates a likeness to the images verbally painted by the *Red Cross Magazine* in the previous section. It describes a sorrowful, miserable home, devoid of nutritional or emotional healthy, and speaks to the wretched, lamentable physical conditions soldiers are enduring for the sake of war. Yet, the description of the Greatest Mother, the Red Cross, is selfless and gentle as she “replenishes” cupboards and “comforts” the man in the trench. The advertisement is directing the “correct” response from the magazine readers: a good, kind woman replenishes and comforts. She gives altruistically and generously, and therein, the posters serve as a form of moral pedagogy. The reader may feel a sense of obligation to uphold these values and behave similarly. This advertisement is aligned with the *Red Cross Magazine* and Peterson’s work, as the description of suffering and sadness is paired with a moral or emotional response from the author. This loving but reproachful advertisement exemplifies sentimental education, as it implies that the readers should feel motherly kindness toward the country’s soldiers.

Furthermore, the advertisement evokes the civil imagination through the civil gaze as it asks the reader to imagine the outcome if she were to volunteer with the Red Cross to replenish cupboards and send comfort to military members. Reading the attached narrative, the woman has an opportunity to imagine playing an important role in WWI. The narrative laments the atrocity of war, but assures that there is an opportunity to help.

The text extends the political space between the war and the user, allowing her to rethink her current opinion of the war and her involvement in war efforts.

In sum, this section has demonstrated how the ARC advertisements during WWI worked to evoke sympathy for an “other.” Contemporary globalization shortened the distance between global citizens, and the ARC took advantage of these new connections to encourage donations of time and money to help persons suffering from a distance. Using the pornography of pain within the *Red Cross Magazine*, and sorrowful images in advertisements, the ARC utilized sentimental education and the civil imagination to garner support.

## **2.6 The ARC and World War II**

During World War I, the ARC positioned an atrocity as an “other-“ an unknown person in a different country and culture- that worked for the situation since the primary participants were unfamiliar. The ARC was not attempting to recruit military members, but to strengthen relationships with European allies and provide support to American military members already there. Descriptions like that of Dunant’s *Memory of Solferino* and the Mexican Revolution were successful because they did not describe American soldiers, but rather the atrocity of war itself. Imagine the public outcry against the ARC and the American government if American soldiers were “stacked like cordwood” as their “blood ran in rivulets.” The ARC needed to shift its rhetoric to gain followers for the wars its constituents may be directly involved in. While conjuring compassion worked exceptionally well for conflicts of the “other,” the ARC provoked viewers’ sense of civic duty when it came time to raise funds for WWII. Additionally, the rhetoric from WWI and prior was internationalistic. Internationalism is the ideal of countries working together,

politically, economically, and socially, toward a common goal. WWII saw the beginning of a new term- globalism. Globalization is a movement toward the removal of restrictions between nations and an increase in economic integration. WWII began when the globalism movement first started to gain traction.

When America became involved in WWII, the ARC sprung into action to get citizens to donate money or join civilian corps. The U.S. entered the conflict in December of 1941. By its end in August 1945, the ARC had a membership of 36 million and hundreds of millions of dollars raised for aid (Irwin, 2013: loc. 4466). The growing size of the U.S. government benefitted the organization, as Congress passed four relief appropriation acts totaling \$85 million from 1941-1943 (Irwin, 2013: loc. 4478). Americans were prepared to fight for their country as civilians, which for many meant donating to the Red Cross. The ARC took advantage of this situation in their advertising campaigns. Since President Taft's initial designation in June of 1900, the organization held tightly to its title of official relief organization of the U.S. At the time, there was little more "American" than recycling your cans and bottles, cutting back on meat consumption, or purchasing war bonds. It was likewise equally American to donate time or money to the Red Cross. The organization marketed itself as such a wholesome, upstanding organization that worked for the good of the country, and the greater good of the world.

To do this, they used images to pull on the American sense of brotherhood and civic duty. For example, a small



Figure 2c: Join American Red Cross

advertisement in the corner of a 1941 *The Billboard* magazine proclaims: “Join ARC” (Image 2c). This image was typical of ARC strategies, as it is part of their efforts to “saturate the landscape,” as Irwin would say. In the image, a Red Cross nurse links arms with members of American forces as the group walks smilingly down the street. The image implies that the Red Cross nurse plays an equally important role in the war as her military counterparts. Furthermore, the ARC began taking advantage of technologies newly available. A 1942 *Broadcasting magazine* speaks to a 15-part series titled *This is My Story*, which would “dramatize an actual case in which the Red Cross has given aid” (“Red Cross Dramas”). Additionally, A 1943 edition of *Broadcasting magazine* describes a 13-week campaign that uses a half-hour program called *That They Might Live* on NBC. The objective of this program is to recruit “36,000 graduate nurses, 100,000 nurses’ aides, and a million students in home nursing campaigns” (“Recruits for Red Cross”). Many other campaigns were short films presented alongside feature films in theatres.

As a final example, the “Volunteer for Victory” (Image 2d) poster also calls upon viewers to fulfill their civic duty, while imagining herself a valiant worker. The poster has a low angle shot of a female Red Cross worker in a blue dress suit and hat, white gloves, and black high heels. She wears a cape- black with red interior- blowing in the wind behind her. In the background, two Red Cross flags- a red cross on white background- have the wind flowing through them as well. It’s a blue-sky day, with the white bold words “Volunteer for Victory” written across the sky. A large Red Cross sits on the top right hand corner of the poster. At the bottom, the viewer is implored to “Offer *your* services to *your* Red Cross.”



The woman looks proud and formidable looking down upon the viewer. She stands for her country, and is dignified by her sacrifice. The woman in the poster is noble, powerful. Looking upon the poster, a viewer may be inspired to look so grand. If she was to also volunteer with the Red Cross, the image shown assures her she would be idolized and her services appreciated. This poster, like “Join ARC,” demonstrates the civic duty visualized.



Image 4d: Volunteer for Victory

Each of these advertising methods is inherently visual, though markedly different from the methods of WWI. Scholars Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites aid my analysis, as their work *No Caption Needed* underlines how images interact with viewers. Their research studies how photographs call viewers to reify their civil identities. The effectual experience of viewing compels viewers to define and design their relationship to the object in the photograph through civic acts. I extrapolate Hariman and Lucaites’ work to apply to these Red Cross posters. The scholars argue that photographs are performances of expected social relationships, and the viewer must situate herself to this performance. For much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, photographs were very expensive and their creation process extensive. Painters and illustrators were hired instead to add visuals to

articles, advertisements, and more. Though these posters are not photographs, they are visualized images of expected sociocultural relationships. The ARC advertisements, in their visuality, invite viewers to respond accordingly to their civil identity. In the newspaper advertisement, a viewer may associate herself with the nurse, thinking, "I could do that." Or, the viewer may associate herself with the military men, thinking of a family member who is gone during the war. She then may act wanting to help that person close to her. In both responses, the viewer is aligning herself with one of the characters pictured.

Importantly, both subjects of "Join ARC" and "Volunteer for Victory" are women. As the draft was still in use at this time, young men were shipped off to fight for the country. Women, on the other hand, were unable to do so. Wanting to support their country and "the boys," the ARC provided an outlet for civil participation in WWII. Women, then, were often the target demographic for ARC campaigns. Children, on the other hand, had the opportunity to join the Junior Red Cross, conducting bottle and can drives or other fundraising activities.

The alignment of the viewer to the image speaks to Ariella Azoulay's notion of the civil gaze. For Azoulay, visuality reifies civic identity in that one views them via a "civil gaze," or a way of looking which preferences hegemonic duty to society, and subsequently, encourages viewers to identify with the object shown in a way which extends the political space between the object and the viewer. Azoulay contributes that photographs are products of the public space, and therein are representations of their commitment to the sovereign. Azoulay takes this a step further, as she presents the photograph as requiring "the trained spectator [to] activate her civil intention to assist her in deciphering the defective conditions in which the photographed woman finds herself" (Azoulay, 2011: p.

124). In this way, Azoulay argues that all viewers, regardless of conscientiousness, are active participants in their regimes. Therefore, viewing is active citizenship. The images presented by the ARC to encourage monetary donation are determining the definition of “American citizen,” and viewers subsequently act this citizenship in response.

If sight can inspire action, then images themselves can lead to political involvement. As the ARC encouraged donations in the decades earlier based on compassionate response to atrocity, WWII campaigns were based on performing one’s American citizenship. A “good” American is one that would participate in the programs demonstrated, one that would respond to the dramas unfolding on their television screen.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

This chapter studied the history of the ARC’ print advocacy efforts. I demonstrated how the ARC’ early outreach developed in accordance with a globalizing world. From the “pornography of pain” in written descriptions and imagined images during WWI campaigns, to calls to civic duty promoted during WWII, the ARC has shifted their discourse in accordance with global relationships and technology. The ARC’s mediated outreach efforts showcase changes in the way global community has been shaped over the last century. The ARC exemplifies how global community has shifted and strengthened through the advent of communication technologies. DeChaine (2005) argued that the subsequent rhetorical culture of a global community born out of increased global connectivity is a discursive formation that NGOs must navigate (DeChaine, 2005, p.19). Perhaps no NGO is better equipped to navigate these shifts than the one which has developed alongside global community formation: the American Red Cross and Red Cross Red Crescent Movement.

My larger project aims to go beyond a consideration of the online platform, beyond the realm of Theory 2.0 and Supersize, to take account of how the ARC has shifted its mediated outreach since its inception. This chapter provided an analysis of the ARC's functionality during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, an exploration of WWI&II advocacy campaigns demonstrated the Red Cross' methods of outreach. They accomplished this by selling citizenship: encouraging Americans to enact their global duty to allies. The ARC encouraged its viewers to take an imaginative leap and connect with the "other" shown in the image or described in the narrative. This chapter demonstrated how the ARC's mediated advocacy campaigns of the 20<sup>th</sup> century encouraged this leap explicitly. In the chapters that follow, regarding a game hosted online and a high school curriculum, I will show how this imaginative leap is implicitly stated.

The ARC was developed at a time when global standards were being defined, and it was born out of a need for international standardization. In its early days, images or detailed literary accounts of graphic suffering induced voyeuristic interest among Americans searching for a thrill similar to that of the pulp fictions of the time. Ultimately, these Americans donated time or money out of the guilt from finding pleasure in the atrocity, after being emotionally guided by the story via the author's voice. In WWII, the ARC no longer needed to shame citizens into donating by using the language of horror, but by evoking a sense of civic responsibility and American duty. In both cases, the organization's method of raising donations relies on preexisting social ideals, and a careful manipulation of messages to evoke a sense of responsibility in the viewer. Next, I demonstrate how this same method is used contemporarily in online formats.

## Chapter 3: The Red Cross and Video Games: A Theory 2.0 Approach to Mediated Advocacy

### 3.1 Introduction

Video games have enjoyed increasing popularity since the 1970's. From the arcade to the gaming system for personal use at home, to the handheld console and the personal computer, video games are a principal aspect of popular culture. Over the last forty years, these video games have developed tremendously in level of difficulty, intricacy, aesthetic, and user interface. Countless games are now available online, and this fanbase is also steadily growing. The developer of *2048*, a popular puzzle game, was seeing about 5 million visitors to his site weekly in Spring 2014.<sup>6</sup>

As they have become more prevalent, they have become increasingly available. Considering the enormous marketing capacity these platforms hold, nonprofit organizations are attempting to infiltrate the market with eye-catching games of their own. This shift reflects the expansion of games from play to the "serious gaming" movement, which rose to popularity in the late 1990's, as described by distinguished scholar of video games and communication, Ian Bogost (Bogost, 2007: p. 55). The word "serious" may mean solemn, weighty, grave, or highbrow, but overall, serious games are created to "support the existing and established interests of political, corporate, and social institutions" (Bogost, 2007: p. 57). Serious games are created to serve the institution that is releasing the game. Bogost asserts that the cultural importance of video games need not be questioned, for they are "a pervasive medium, one as interwoven with culture as writing

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<sup>6</sup> Graham, Jefferson. "2048: The new app everyone is talking about." <http://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/columnist/talkingtech/2014/03/28/talking-tech-2048/6951781/>

and images. Videogames are not a subcultural form meant for adolescents but just another medium woven into everyday life” (Bogost, 2011: p. 7). The popularity and prominence of videogames makes them a good medium for nonprofit and for-profit groups alike to engage patrons. Browser-based video games not only take advantage of the popularity of the medium but also are readily accessible to anyone with Internet access. Thus, the serious game promotes the values of the organization and the platform makes those values widely accessible. NGOs, then, increasingly use serious games as part of their outreach.

Serious video games, when used by NGOs, have the potential to actually change how the organization is reaching their audience. Browser-based video games leverage the most unique technological capacities of the web: that of interactivity, guided decision making, and identification with characters otherwise unfamiliar to users. The ability of video games to connect players with the game’s objectives cannot be accomplished with a story or a photograph. Rather, video games immerse the player into realm otherwise unattainable without the technology. Video games can take a player into another world, one she could not experience without the platform itself. Combined, these definitive characteristics place serious video games into Kingston and Stam’s Theory 2.0 categorization. This chapter explores a serious game representative of Theory 2.0 to compare with the Supersize efforts examined in the proceeding chapter.

The International Committee of the Red Cross and the American Red Cross developed the browser-based *Prisoners of War* to teach players about the Third Geneva Convention and international rules of war. The ICRC leverages new affordances in accordance with the Theory 2.0 approach via the online browser-based flash game. *Prisoners of War* is hosted on NobelPrize.org, developed in conjunction with the ICRC and

American Red Cross. I contacted Karin Svanholm, Digital Media Project Manager for NobelPrize.org, who stated that she was unable to give exact numbers on how many people have played the game, “but the games in the ‘educational’ section of the web site Nobelprize.org is among the most popular section of the whole web site.” Though functionally and aesthetically rudimentary in comparison to many gaming options now available, this game is useful in its ability to call upon the players’ moral decision-making calculus to immerse players into the realm of the Geneva Conventions. With this perspective in mind, I examine the rhetorical strategies afforded by the gaming platform. Through conceptions of procedural rhetoric, identification, and role taking, I explore how *Prisoners of War* opens a space for Azoulay’s civil imagination to take hold.

In *Prisoners of War*, the player assumes the role of an ICRC official volunteer, and is asked to make decisions based on limited educational lessons given beforehand. This chapter will examine how the platform of the online game presents players with a sense of responsibility and accountability, therein realizing the agency of the player. To do this, I use Ian Bogost’s theory of procedural rhetoric, which asserts that since computer software is developed in binaries, games rely on the user’s decision-making calculus to proceed. Thus, videogames convey messages by manipulating the user-game platform to induce involvement. Then, I use Peng, Lee, and Heeter’s 2010 article regarding player identification via video games and role-taking to discuss how video games persuade their players to a certain end. Finally, I argue that video games, a Theory 2.0 approach, are a useful method for non-profit organizations because they allow the civil imagination, a concept of Azoulay’s, to take hold. Via civil imagining, video games call on players to identify with the situation shown. The civil imagination is a form of reasoning that aligns

the thinker with a visualized “other” outside of traditional cultural or social boundaries, allowing her to identify with that “other.” This is done through civil positioning- or the placement of the thinker that illuminates sociocultural values at play.

As a video game, *Prisoners of War* allows for interaction in a setting that the player might otherwise never experience. Via this interactivity, the game introduces the player to contexts and characters that she is unfamiliar with. Azoulay’s concept of the civil imagination induces exploration for how this interactivity creates space for identification with an unfamiliar “other.” She argues that we are limited from seeing one another as humans because our perceptions are framed by our sociocultural situation. In her words, it is the regime that prevents us from compassionate identification. She defines a regime as “an organized, regulated and motivated system of power that is nourished by the institutions of the democratic state” (Azoulay, 2011: p. 2). She argues that regimes shape the framing of a story, photograph, video, or other discourse. Our looking, therefore, is limited by what the regime wants us to see.

Azoulay argues that the way to combat a regime is through suspending the point of view of governmental power and nationalist characteristics and to look instead at situations through the lens of a civil discourse. This action of this is civil positioning. A civil discourse is one that seeks to induce partnership between people and groups, rather than emphasizing the sovereign’s power. “To do this” states Azoulay, “requires an act of imagination” (Azoulay, 2011: p. 3). We must imagine ourselves as equal citizens, transcending the individual mind or matter, and looking toward a collective group mind. Civil imagination allows us to break free arbitrary boundaries placed upon us by governments, religion, or class. Through civil positioning, we are given the opportunity to



imagine a new way to relate to the “other.” Azoulay states that the civil imagination “seeks a certain dislocation from these [sovereign] frameworks and from the control they desire to exert over the areas of knowledge associated with them” (Azoulay, 2011: p.73). The imagination then, is a way of experiencing which allows this dislocation.

The video game platform, as a sort of suspended reality, provides an opportunity for players to experience an “other” without the framing of the regime. *Prisoners of War* positions players into a setting without religion, class warfare, or economic motivation. The player’s only given context for action is the Geneva Convention III. Thus, the game creates a space to position the player civilly- to allow her to identify with an unknown “other” with the perspective of a citizen-sans-regime. *Prisoners of War*, in placing the player in the role of the camp commander, allows a connection with an unfamiliar “other,” making it a “we” instead.

The online gaming platform is a space free for exploration. Video games allow players to interact with new characters and ideas beyond the typical social boundaries. Games place the player in situations that they would otherwise be unfamiliar with, allowing her to explore outside the social boundaries. The Red Cross’ *Prisoners of War* is an example of this, as players act as POW camp commanders and interact with nurses, soldiers, and Red Cross personnel alike. Presented in the game sphere, this situation requires the player to *imagine* herself as the camp commander. The game platform, therefore, lends opportunity to the civil imagination to take root. This chapter examines how *Prisoners of War* opens up this imaginative space through conceptions of procedural rhetoric, identification, and role taking.

As a form of digital advocacy, the video game persuades through identification and role taking. *Prisoners of War*, by creating this interactive, imaginative space, is an example of a Theory 2.0 outreach effort. In comparison to the Red Cross' International Humanitarian Law Curriculum, the video game demonstrates the unique affordances of the Internet for NGO outreach efforts. The video game examined here displays how NGOs can use the Internet and its affordances to foster global community making, which DeChaine (2005) discusses.

### **3.2 Procedural Rhetoric, Identification, and Role-Taking**

*Prisoners of War* is a computer-based video game that encourages player identification with an alternate identity and distant "other": The game calls upon players to be responsible to a task assigned to them by the game framework. In taking on the persona given to them by the game, the player is encouraged to develop empathy for the "other." These games create affective connections between the player, the context, and the character. Additionally, the preset layout and limited decision calculus of *Prisoners of War* disallows autonomous travel throughout the game, as players are guided by a limited range of options. This channeled interactivity is designed for civic education, as players are directed through the game as if being led by an instructor, and directives and feedback are given in response to each decision made by the player. By identifying players with their presumed character, the game can create an empathetic environment ripe for player response. Two linked concepts provide the conceptual lens for my game analysis of *Prisoners of War*: Ian Bogost's concept of procedural rhetoric and Peng et. al.'s description of player identification via role-taking. Both procedural rhetoric and identification

demonstrate how the interactivity of video games encourages enactments of civil imagination, as they denote how the gaming platform creates a space for exploration.

Often, this exploration is guided by the game designer and the game's intentions. *Prisoners of War* is a video game designed for a NGO, assumedly to induce positive curiosity about the Third Geneva Convention, POW's, and the legality of war. Karin Svanholm stated that the biggest users of *Prisoners of War* are teachers, who assign the game in history and social studies courses. The game functions as an introduction to these courses. Because video games are designed for a purpose, they are persuasive. Bogost informs my reading of gaming as persuasive via his theory of procedural rhetoric. Bogost (2010) defines procedural rhetoric as "the art of persuasion through rule-based representations and interactions rather than spoken word, writing, images, or moving pictures" (p. ix). Game experiences are a composite of text, visuality, and audio. They create an interactive space in which players make decisions that shape the outcome of the game, and therein shape their experience. This is afforded by computational procedure. When developers use these processes persuasively, it is procedural rhetoric (Bogost, 2010, p. 3). Proceduralist games, therein, are "process intensive;" for "they rely primarily on computational rules to produce their artistic meaning. In these games, expression arises primarily from the player's interaction with the game's mechanics and dynamics" (Bogost, 2011: p. 13). *Prisoners of War* is thus a proceduralist game, as gamers learn about the social and cultural implications of the Geneva Conventions through interaction with the game interface.

As Bogost notes, the potential impact of a game outside the play-sphere relies on the procedure occurring within it. In playing, the game applies artistic and aesthetic methods to denote the greater cultural processes existing outside the gaming world. Bogost's theory

is useful for discussing how videogames and players interact. His analysis can be extended to consider the rhetorical aspects of the game-creators' intentions. A game needs to create a connection with the player in order to be effective. Once the player assumes the persona of their game character, she is encouraged to reimagine their "real life" relationship. Games are not successful unless the player feels a connection with the game-sphere and has motivation to continue to participate in the game-world. To do this, game-creators must induce identification. Identification between player and character can inspire sympathy, anger, and joy; these emotions can inspire a sense of action, a want for change. This desire is the first step to a civil reimagination.

Video games have been shown to be more effective in garnering donations than traditional outreach methods, according to Peng. et. al.'s 2010 study. The video game platform is also unique in its advocacy affordances and it's ability to induce empathy and identification in players is incomparable with traditional advocacy campaigns. Peng et. al. conducted an ethnographic study testing how games induce role-taking behavior and subsequent empathy. They discovered that participants who played *Dying for Darfur* "expressed greater willingness to help than those who read a text with comparable information about the crisis in Darfur" (Peng et. al. 2010: 730). Researchers found that those who played the game were significantly more likely to donate money, sign a petition, and talk to their friends about the crisis in Darfur than those who read a text. If these results were to be extrapolated and applied to this project, it follows that the interactive game would be more effective than Supersize approaches which rely on text and narratives. Thus, as *Prisoners of War* uses a visual and interactive platform for outreach that is unattainable without the technology, it exemplifies a Theory 2.0 approach.

The conceptual centerpiece of my critical lens is role-playing and the underlying identification process. Identification with an “other” can help inspire the civil imagination to rethink social relationships. Peng et. al. ground their findings in emerging literature regarding role-taking and identification. Conceptually, role-taking “refers to a cognitive process by which an individual temporarily imagines or pretends that he or she is another person so as to gain insight into the other person’s thoughts, attitudes, intentions, and behaviors” (Peng et. al. 2010: 724). This method encourages an affective cognitive response, where the role-taker can imagine the emotional reaction presumably experienced by the other. This response can be understood as a kind of identification, which Cohen (2001) defines as “an imaginary process invoked as a response to characters represented within a mediated text” (Cohen, 2001: p. 250). Identification, according to Cohen, is perceptual, cognitive, emotional, and motivational, and therefore is conducive for an affective connection between the role-taker and the civilly imagined other.

As identification creates an emotional connection between characters, it can evoke sympathy between the player and the game characters. An affinity with the characters presumably opens a space for the civil imagination to take hold. Additionally, identification is persuasive, as argued by rhetorician Kenneth Burke. Burke revolutionized the field, and his theory of identification is thought to be his “major addition” (Foss et. al., 2002: p. 174). Burke argues that the self and self-identity are formed via properties such as physical objects, beliefs, values, and relationships. The self is created by allying with these properties, as they help determine what is, and is not, “me.” Burke argues “You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, *identifying* your ways with his” (Burke, 1972: p. 28). Identification is an

essential skill to develop productive relationships with your world. As summarized by Foss et. al., Burke's identification functions in three ways: firstly, as a means to an end, such as a political candidate claiming to agree with the viewpoints of their constituents. Secondly, "the operation of antithesis," or when identification is created entities on the basis of a common enemy. Finally, and arguably the most powerful, is persuasion at an "unconscious level," such as when "the person who buys Marlboro cigarettes may be identifying unconsciously with the image of the 'Marlboro man' in the advertisements" (Foss et. al., 2002: p. 175). Burke's definition enriches Cohen's as it demonstrates how connections are made between individuals. Burke's work also provides a starting point for discussing how organizations, like the Red Cross, attempt to identify with their constituents.

Videogames have the ability to foster this identification, therein eliminating nonphysical space between the player and the character. An understanding of identification is reliant on Burke's assertion of "division" or alienation. Burke notes how human beings are inevitably isolated from one another as a result of their distinct physical bodies, as well as separate connections. This physical separation ultimately separates us in every other way, as well- emotionally, morally, viscerally. Communication, then, is an effort to eliminate division (Foss et. al., 2002: p. 175). Identification is the necessary component to feeling closeness. The audience, or the receiver of the message, must be able to connect the message to an experience she is familiar with. Identification is allowing audiences to interpret the content of messages by calculating how its form fits the knowledge they already have. Therefore, in communicating needs and wants, the speaker or message-sender is attempting to induce identification by persuading the support of the receiver. Identification is essential for creating connection and eliminating division.

Because identification is persuasive, it can be utilized for educational purposes via games. Identification can be used to describe role-playing of mediated characters, like those in browser-based video games. “Role-playing in an interactive gameplay context requires people to pretend that they are someone else and try to ‘take actions’ to fulfill the social expectations of this other person in a make-believe situation” (Peng et. al. 2010: 725). Role-playing encourages a participant to play a particular function in a mediated environment, therein adjusting her behavior to the expectations of the role. Interactive digital environments, like the browser-based game *Dying for Darfur* and the ICRC’s *Prisoners of War*, provide a platform for this behavioral enactment. In short, Peng et. al. find that “the interactive game environment essentially provides affordance for role-taking to occur more easily than in other media environments” (Peng et. al. 2010: 727). This chapter connects Peng et. al.’s conceptions of role-playing and Burke’s notions of identification to understand how players experience “others.”

Because video games create a space for identification and help eliminate division, they are an invaluable method for NGOs to reach their audiences. Video games can create a connection between player and the distant other central to the NGOs message. NGOs need to make that connection with their players if they want to gain support for their cause. Kingston and Stam urge NGOs to use the internet to both spread the organization’s message “and make people ‘feel extraordinary’ in the process; donors may be loyal to NGOs that make them feel emotionally connected, fulfilled, and tied to a cause greater than themselves” (Kingston and Stam: 2009, p. 78). Video games have the potential to do just that, as they place players into a role they would be otherwise incapable of filling. Players are given the opportunity to be a hero, a good camp commander. This “feeling

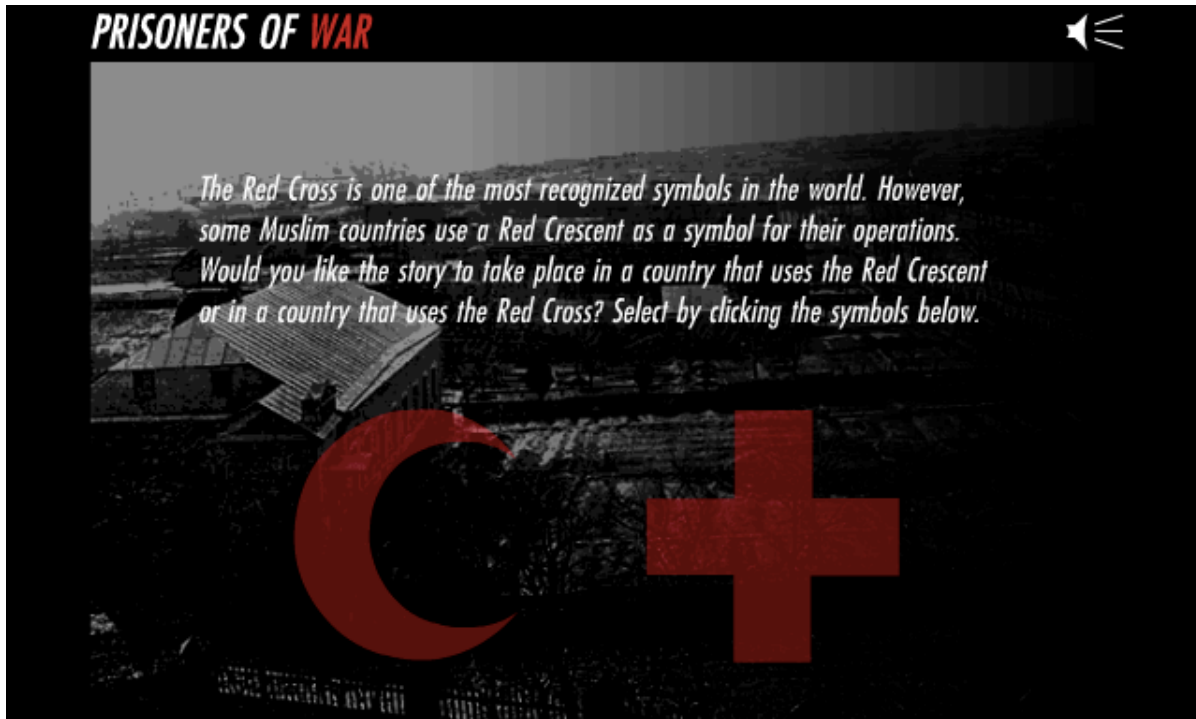
extraordinary” can be induced by evoking the players’ civil imagination; by allowing her to explore new territory in a safe, fun environment.

Identification via role-playing is useful in conjunction with Bogost’s assertions of procedural rhetoric. As the computer interface itself is rhetorical, so too is the interaction between developer and gamer. In short, *Prisoners of War*, as a proceduralist game, is rhetorical in its efforts to gain support for the ICRC and educate players about the implications of the Geneva Conventions. In these efforts, the game is challenging the players’ conceptions of war. *Prisoners of War* minimizes political ties, moral motivations, and economical status: it is a game about the humanity of prisoners in a difficult situation. The game is a chance for the civil imagination to blossom, to imagine solutions to war-induced issues that aren’t retribution or revenge against the offending party. The proceduralist structure of the game allows the ICRC’s mission to maintain dominancy, but the interactive game space requires imaginative participation from the player.

### **3.3 *Prisoners of War* Gameplay Description**

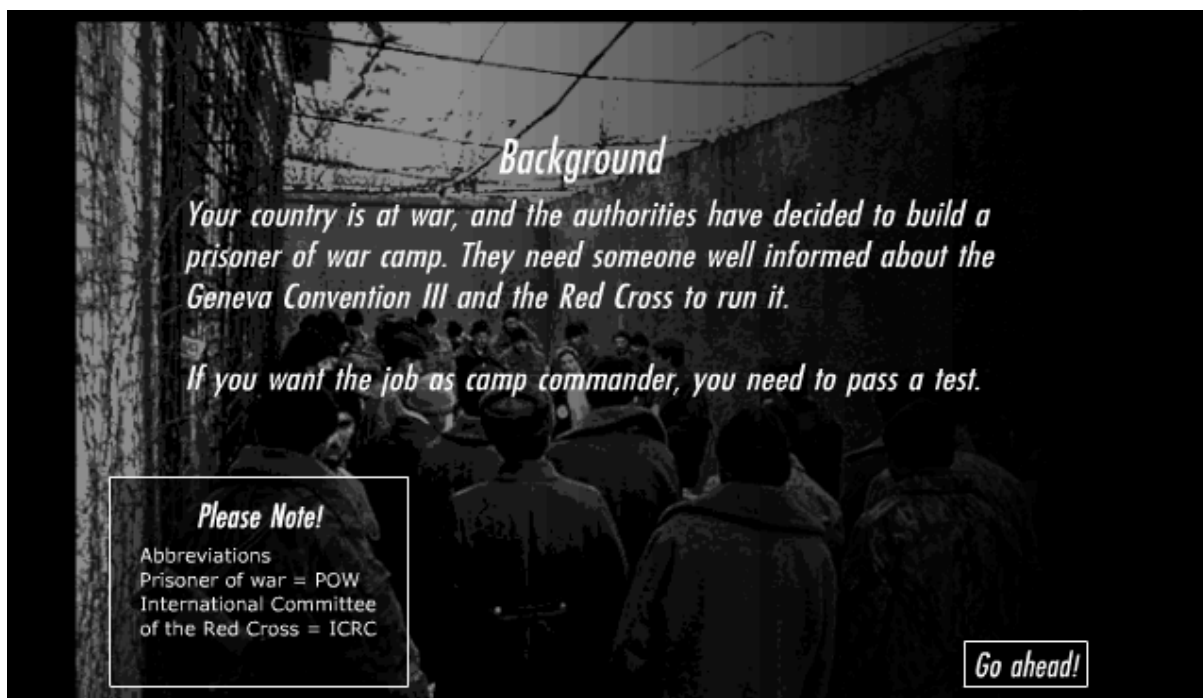
*Prisoners of War* is an opportunity for the player to suspend disbelief and to perhaps exercise her civil imagination. Given the heavy responsibility of camp commander, she feels responsible for the safety of her prisoners, and for the camp’s adherence to the Third Geneva convention. She is asked to role-take, role play, and identify as a POW camp commander. The game is short- it takes little more than half of an hour to complete. *Prisoners of War* lacks an embodied avatar for the player to identify with. Instead, the player is talked through their role via introductory text, which is shown on screen (Image 4b). The game is mostly text-based, as the player makes decisions based on what she





(Above) **Image 4a:** Choose a Flag (p. 68)

(Below) **Image 4b:** "Background" (p. 66, 68)



reads. The player proceeds through the game by clicking preset options, like a multiple-choice test.

In the game, the player is immersed into a personal narrative, as she is given responsibility for either developing a POW camp at risk of losing her position as camp director. Upon beginning the game, the player is asked

The Red Cross is one of the most recognized symbols in the world. However, some Muslim countries use a Red Crescent as a symbol for their operations. Would you like the story to take place in a country that uses the Red Crescent or in a country that uses the Red Cross? Select by clicking the symbols below. (see Image 4a)

After the player chooses a symbol, she is brought to a screen titled "Background," and stating:

Your country is at war, and the authorities have decided to build a prisoner of war camp. They need someone well informed about the Geneva Convention III and the Red Crescent to run it. If you want the job as camp commander, you need to pass a test. (see Image 4b)

This narrative fits into a meta-narrative of contemporary world events. The game attempts to keep its setting neutral, and therefore no specifics are given, but the situations are familiar nonetheless to anyone who follows the world news cycle.

Background noise of helicopters, a lone crow, the random beating of a tin pan or bucket, and marching boots sound throughout the game. At times, this sound lulls, as if the player is sitting in a tent at a POW camp, listening to their surroundings. After choosing one of the two logos, the player is presented with some background information, as noted above. The potential camp commander is then led to a "Knowledge Test," which poses four multiple choice questions regarding the history of the Red Cross. If questions are answered correctly, the player is congratulated. If they are not, the narrative says:

Your knowledge of the Red Cross and the Geneva Conventions seems to be somewhat limited. But since you're able to start right away, we're willing to give you a chance. You're hired!

The player then hits "Start!" and is asked if she would like to read the Geneva Convention. A link at the top right of the screen, present throughout the game, opens another window in the player's browser to review the Geneva Conventions hosted on [nobelprize.org](http://nobelprize.org). After electing to read the conventions, or to proceed without, the player is taken to the next section of the game, where she is asked to finish constructing the camp. In accordance with the Geneva Convention III, the player must select seven items that should be present in a prisoner of war camp. A link to a copy of the Geneva Convention III is available at the top right corner for reference. Options include leisure, hygiene, and religious constructions, as well as guard towers, torture chambers, and a gun factory (Image 4c). The graphic interface of *Prisoners of War* is not the streamlined and CGI'ed characters many gamers are used to from games like *Halo*, *Call of Duty*, or *FIFA*. Characters and buildings are sharply outlined cartoons, placed over a vignette, out of focus, landscape photograph from what is presumed to be a POW camp. There is a short supply of color; the setting is grayscale with the exception of the Red Cross/Red Crescent logo.

After completing her POW camp construction, the player is told which items she included correctly or incorrectly, and why according to the Geneva Convention III, and then is brought to the next section. The player is told, "You need to teach your guards which people should be classified as prisoners of war according to the Geneva Convention III," and is asked to selected the first six prisoners to set an example for the guards. Prisoners include journalists, medical personnel, a civilian captured on unoccupied territory, or guerilla group members. These characters are crudely drawn; they are harsh, black-lined

**PRISONERS OF WAR** The Geneva Convention III



Select seven things deemed necessary in a POW camp by the Geneva Convention III.

- Separate hygiene facilities and sleeping quarters for men and women
- Luxurious office for the camp commander
- Room for religious services
- Canteen
- Infirmary
- Extra secure isolation cells
- Guard towers
- Gallows
- Basket court
- Library
- Torture chamber
- Extra barbed wire
- Gun factory
- The Geneva Convention


**Build camp!**

(Above) Image 4c: “Build the Camp” (p. 69)

(Below) Image 4d: Prisoner Classification Results (p. 71)

**PRISONERS OF WAR** The Geneva Convention III

*Evaluation*

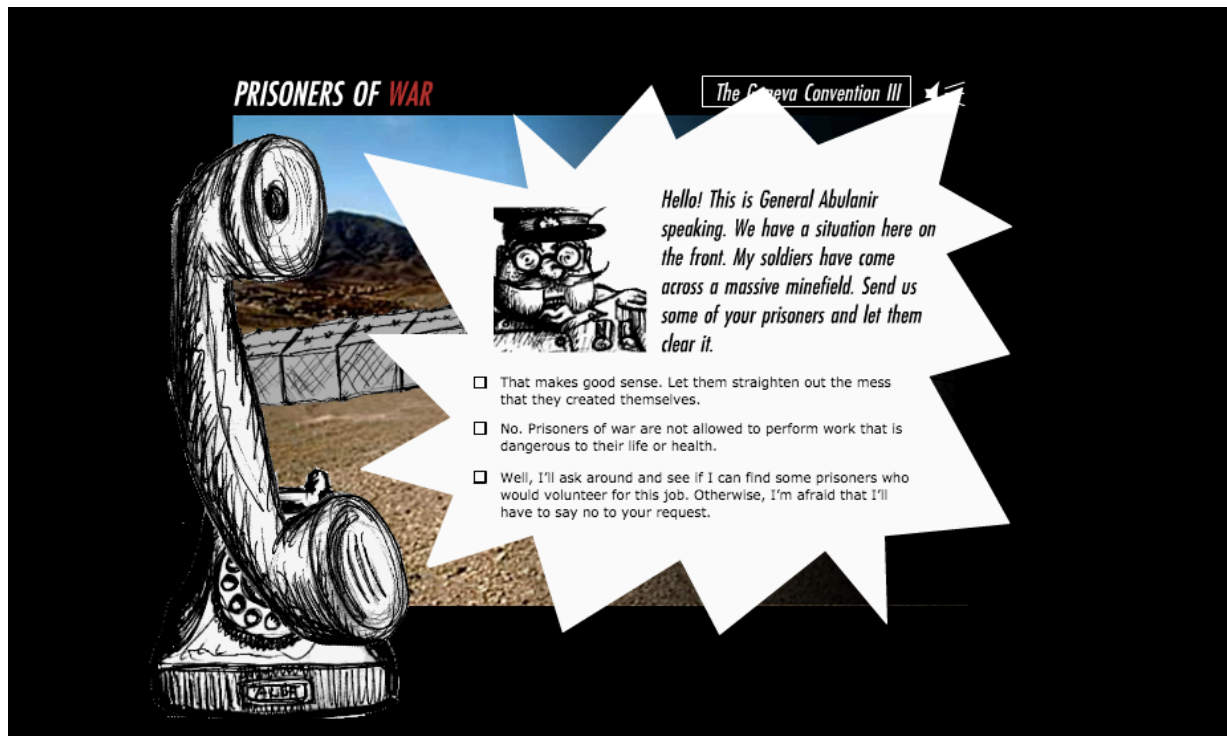
 <p><b>Wrong!</b> Your Choice: not treat as POW</p> <p>If there is any uncertainty about the status of a person, POW status should be granted until the matter is solved by a competent court. <b>Article 5.</b></p>	 <p><b>Right!</b> Your Choice: treat as POW</p> <p>Medical personnel don't receive POW status but should be given the same treatment anyway. <b>Article 33.</b></p>	 <p><b>Right!</b> Your Choice: treat as POW</p> <p>Members of guerilla groups receive POW status when operating under a participant to the conflict, have a clear chain of command, carry a distinctive sign, carry their arms openly, and follow the rules of war. <b>Article 4.</b></p>
 <p><b>Right!</b> Your Choice: treat as POW</p> <p>All enemy soldiers are always given POW status. <b>Article 4.</b></p>	 <p><b>Right!</b> Your Choice: treat as POW</p> <p>Civilians who are authorized by and provide services to an army should be treated as POWs. <b>Article 4.</b></p>	 <p><b>Wrong!</b> Your Choice: not treat as POW</p> <p>Civilians on unoccupied territory who aren't members of an army but spontaneously take up arms against the approaching enemy are to be treated as POWs. <b>Article 4.</b></p>

**Continue**

sketches; their shapes look cut-out from 2D white paper. After the player makes her decision regarding who is to be treated as a POW, the character suddenly disappears from the screen, and the next potential prisoner approaches the player. Their movements are choppy, as their bodies do not move when walking or speaking. The player labels them as either a POW or not a POW, and after their six selections are made, the answers are listed as before, along with a description of rationale as quoted from the Geneva Convention III (Image 4d).

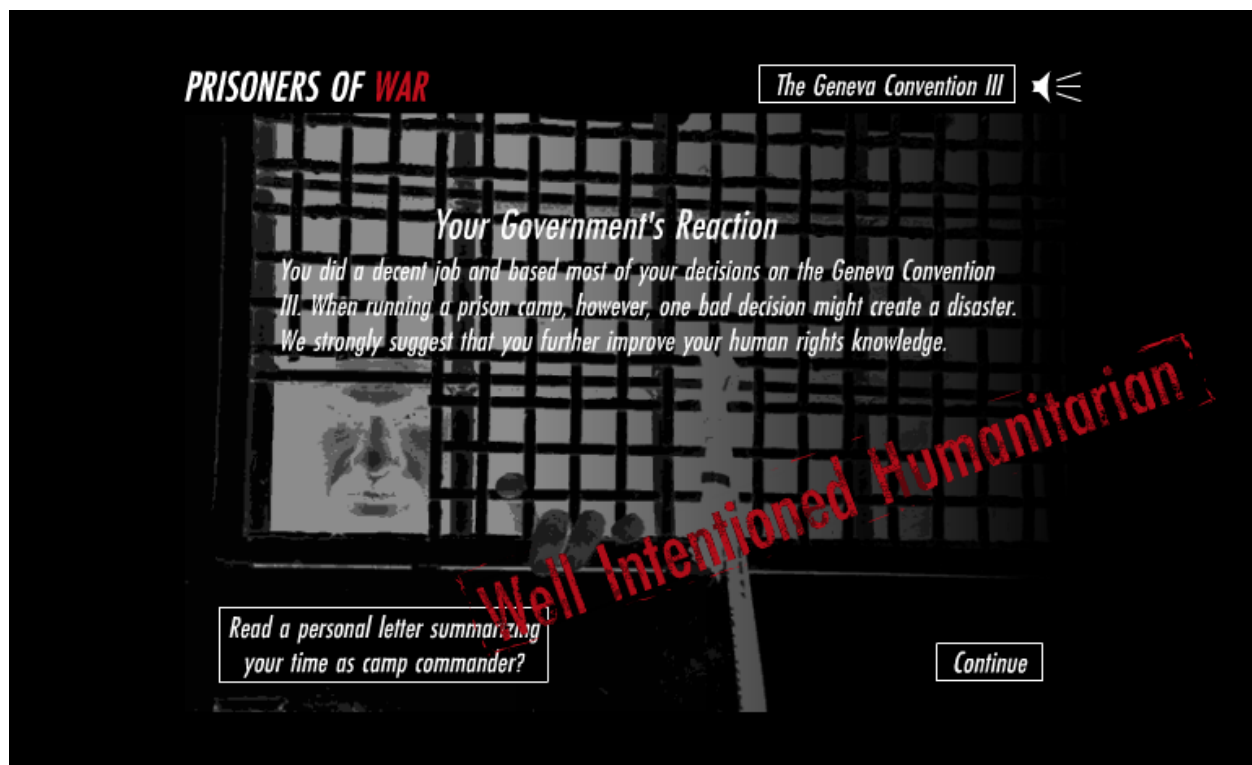
The player is then brought to the “Run the Camp,” phase. As commander of the POW camp, she must answer a ringing telephone and handle the situation in accordance with the Geneva Convention III. When the phone rings, a nonsense sentence is vocalized as if murmuring or babbling, and the “speaker’s” face is animated on the screen. The mouths move open and shut, but this motion is not fluid. A written prompt is given, and the player must make a selection for their reaction from a multiple-choice list (Image 4e). Upon making her choice, the speaker smiles or nods, and disappears from the screen. As with the last two sections, upon completion, the screen then lists whether the player’s responses were right or wrong. Additionally, the game cites the exact location in the Geneva Convention where the provision was relayed, and provides a link directly to the corresponding paragraph.

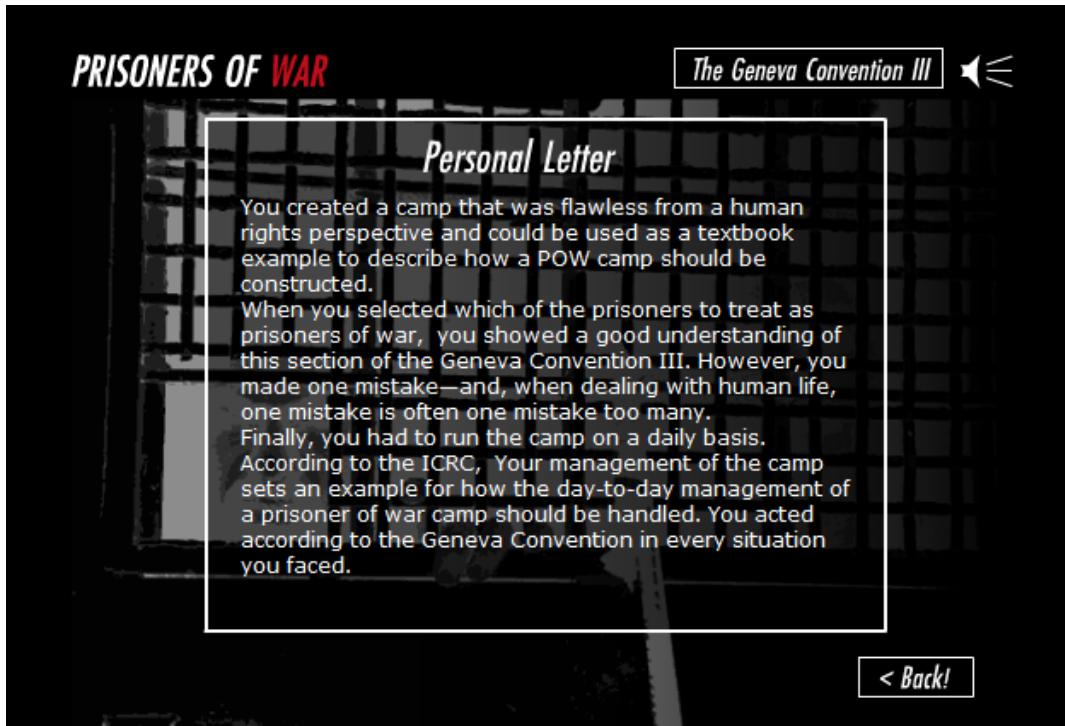
Clicking “Next” brings the player to the game conclusion. The screen states “Your Government’s Reaction,” and has a simple description of your performance. Even making one mistake throughout the game results in a strict lecturing from the game (see Image 4f). Perfect performance is expected from players, as if to mimic the grave consequences of missteps in a real POW camp. Players can either hit “Read a personal letter summarizing



(Above) Image 4e. "Run the Camp" (p. 71)

(Below) Image 4f. "Your Government's Reaction" (p. 71)





(Above) Image 4g. “Personal Letter” (p. 74)

(Below) Image 4h. “Further Reading” (p. 74)



your time as camp commander?” or “Continue.” The “Personal Letter” describes the player’s game play, either commending them or condemning them from the ICRC and human right’s perspective (Image 4g). Hitting “Continue” brings the player to a picture of a landscape. Birds begin singing, and the noises of the helicopter, present loudly through the game, are now distant. Sketched black-and-white flowers begin to grow, and a sketched sun twitches as if shining. Players are given three options under a “Further Reading” heading: to click “Illustrated Presentation of the Red Cross and the Geneva Convention;” “Article about the History of the Red Cross;” and “international Committee of the Red Cross [www.icrc.org](http://www.icrc.org).” If the player desires, a “Try again?” button implores them to re-embark on the journey (Image 4h).

The completion of the game could be critiqued as anticlimactic due to lack of aesthetic action or excessive congratulations to the player. Instead of a typical “You Win!” screen, the player is evaluated by the standards of the ICRC and the Geneva conventions. In doing this, the game effectively removes the player from the game-sphere, and places them into the larger context of the political realm in which these sanctions operate. The game, while not as aesthetically or technically developed as many of its similar NGO counterparts, works to educate its players on the practical implications of the Geneva Conventions. The nature of the questions asked, as they rely on the knowledge of the Geneva Convention, seems to mark the intended audience of the game as over 13 years of age. Therefore, a critique could be lodged against the game for not incorporating practical responses to human rights violations. For example, when completing a task incorrectly, the player is told just that- that they are “wrong.” There is no points lost (as there is no point system in place), the player does not receive reprimanding from a Red Cross worker, she is not



removed from their position or forced to begin the game again, and she is not threatened with trial as a war criminal for her mistakes. The consequence for being “wrong” is merely the knowledge that she fell on the bad side of the binary. Additionally, the game does not illuminate how prisoners of war process their situation, as it focuses solely on the perspective of the camp director. While the game may not be educational in these areas, it does provoke thought. By providing links for further reading at its conclusion, the game facilitates the research process.

Additionally, the game provokes identification as addressed by Cohen and Burke. Identification is perceptual, cognitive, emotional, and motivational, and the player could likely take on any of these responses. Most plausible, however, is that the game provokes perceptual and cognitive identification with the camp director. Realizing there is a legality associated with war provides an alternative to the romanticism of war as seen in popular films, books, and television shows. Certainly, the game could benefit from a point system (motivational) or quotes from the prisoners who describe how the player’s decisions made them feel or affected their lives (emotional). Despite these limitations, the game may incite the player to click on “Further Reading” at the end of the game, or to Google search Prisoners of War, the Red Cross, and the Geneva Conventions, thus raising awareness and support of the Red Cross/Red Crescent movement.

### **3.4 *Prisoners of War* as Procedural Rhetoric**

*Prisoners of War* is a game intended to make a claim about the greater world that players participate in. It is a video game which “[makes an argument] about the way systems work in the material world. [This game] strives to alter or affect player opinion outside of the game, not merely to cause him to continue playing” (Bogost, 2010: p. 47).

The function of *Prisoners of War* is not to make money from microtransactions or advertising from extended playtime, but to educate its players regarding the Geneva Conventions. Importantly, the meaning in this game is “constructed not through a re-creation of the world, but through selectively modeling appropriate elements of that world” (Bogost, 2010: p. 46). Certainly, the real-life commanders in charge of POW camps do not concern themselves with building libraries or basketball courts for prisoners. Anecdotes of POW abuse and torture are well-known, yet *Prisoners of War* makes no judgment on these offenders. Instead, it offers players the information necessary to make Geneva Convention-adhering decisions about the POW camp in the game sphere only. The game is a simplified ideal of war and POW camps, and the game does not capture the complexity of real-life wartime situations.

*Prisoners of War* relies on the player’s decision making as it guides her through the game. This decision-making calculus creates a possibility space, or “the myriad configurations the player might construct to see the ways the processes inscribed in the system work” (Bogost, 2008: p. 121). In other words, the construction of video games, in allowing gamers to decide their fate, elucidates the real-life processes at work within existing systems and institutions. In this way, video games are indeed educational.

Video games are not just stages that facilitate cultural, social, or political practices; they are also media where cultural values themselves can be represented- for critique, satire, education, or commentary. When understood this way, we can learn to read games as deliberate expressions of particular perspectives. In other words, video games make claims about the world, which players can understand, evaluate, and deliberate. (Bogost, 2008: p. 119)

*Prisoners of War*, in representing the values of the Geneva Conventions, makes claims regarding the treatment of real-life POWs. Without directly condemning countries or

armies which do not abide by the Geneva Conventions, *Prisoners of War* manages to assert that there is a standard to which countries must be held. In this way, players are given the tools and information necessary by which to assess current POW treatment. What makes the video game different from other outreach methods, though, is the fact that a video game is a participatory platform. Players learn without reading a lengthy article, or coerced into sympathy via a graphic or terribly sad photograph. Video games provide an interactive space for learning which involves the student directly. The player makes decisions and sees their outcomes, and she understands the role of a POW camp commander through this learning process.

Bogosts' contributions explicate how video games as a medium are persuasive and educational. Videogames mirror real-life processes, but they limit the number and type of outcomes. *Prisoners of War* leads the player through the game based on the decisions she makes and the meaning of the game arises from this interaction. The player learns about the greater social and cultural processes that have informed the game through playing. However, the game must be identifiable and relatable, lest the player abandon it from boredom or perhaps anger from boundaries pushed too far. Therefore, the content of the game matters equally to its construction.

### **3.5 POW and Identification**

*Prisoners of War* relies on identification to educate its players. The format of the game allows the player to insert herself into the political realm of the Geneva Conventions and embody the implications of POW camp directors' decisions. The educational capacities of *Prisoners of War* do not stop there, however, since the player must identify with the POW camp directors and the prisoners of war inside these types of camps in order to hit the

“Further Reading” links available once finishing the game. *Prisoners of War* encourages this identification by placing responsibility on the player through text prompts, such as “Being the commander of a POW camp means making a lot of decisions. Try to handle each situation in the way you think is best.” As the camp director, the player must make decisions in accordance with the Geneva Convention III. Her conclusions are met with either a “Right!” or “Wrong!” and a short description of why from the Geneva Convention III, and thus, she is taught how to be a proper camp commander.

The game attempts to put the player in a morally difficult situation and foster responses that decrease division and alienation with this unfamiliar territory by embodying the role of the camp commander and, importantly, reinforcing the legal requirements of a POW camp. Entry into the game space hinges on proving knowledge of the Red Cross, its founder, and its founding documents. Instructions only indicate that players are acting on behalf of their own country, and no further details are provided, which extends the range of possibility for players of different nationalities or loyalties. The player must bring perceptions of “her country” to the game; she is not told what the war is being fought for or why these POWs must be detained. *Prisoners of War*, therefore, allows the player to imagine the country and cause that she is fighting for based on her own context. This way, the player does not need to take a political side in order to play the game; she can bring her own political perceptions to the play sphere and they will not be challenged. The game places all emphasis on the Red Cross/Red Crescent movement and the Geneva Conventions, not on the specifics of war. This construction of the game is inherently pliable for identification purposes. The choice to leave the context of the conflict open for interpretation means that anyone can identify with the POW camp commander

and the Red Cross/Red Crescent movement. This type of identification falls into Foss et. al.'s first distinction: the type of identification that is used as a means to an end.

Furthermore, by allowing the player to bring her own experiences and opinions to the game, *Prisoners of War* neither congratulates nor condemns her on the political basis of her choices. Instead, the game gives her the opportunity to engage in unfamiliar territory, and explore a new way of thinking about war while removed from her reality of interstate and international politics. However, this type of identification demonstrates that there are ethical limits to the procedural nature of the game. Because procedural games rely on binaries, the moral implications of the game are limited to "right" or "wrong," with no recognition for morally grey areas.

Additionally, *Prisoners of War* incorporates the second distinction of identification: creating a common enemy. *Prisoners of War* does this in a few ways. Firstly, the common enemy of the "bad" camp director, one with no regard for human rights abuses or the personhood of her prisoners. A player can choose to be this character, as options in sections such as "Build the Camp" reflect: the player can choose to build "torture chambers" for example. Certainly few players would willingly choose this addition to the camp, as the connotation of the word "torture" is decidedly negative. Those who may would be reprimanded by the game with a sharp "Wrong!" and a lesson from the Geneva Convention III. Another enemy remains unspoken, but is nonetheless detested: the common enemy of the non-Geneva Convention follower. The game inadvertently condemns the political leader or army commander who inspired the game, and the commanders who are still enacting the very practices that the Geneva Convention outlaws.

A re-imagination of the civil contract requires identification with persons different than oneself; it requires a sense of camaraderie and collective citizenship with the “other.” *Prisoners of War* attempts to do this by helping the player identify with the camp commander. The content of the game creates a level of consciousness within the player, so that she might be more aware of the decisions POW camp directors must make. Perhaps next time a news story or history course addresses POW camps, the player will be better-equipped to engage in productive conversation regarding the actions legally necessary in a POW situation. The game gives players information about what legal standards are required of military commanders during armed conflicts. As such, the player is more likely to discredit arguments that support ill treatment of prisoners of war based on nationalistic arguments or military strategy.

*Prisoners of War*, through identification and role-play, aims to teach players about POW camps and the Geneva Conventions. However, video games are meant to be played, and play is meant to be fun. Thus, there is a potential limitation for *Prisoners of War*, as it must remain pleasurable lest the player quit. The potential for role-playing is likewise limited.

In all, *Prisoners of War* demonstrates Burke’s identification as it creates a connection between the player, the POW game scene, and the implications of the Geneva Conventions, thus designating a space for the civil imagination. This identification is an affordance of the videogame platform. The game is player-driven, as her decisions create the outcome. Because *Prisoners of War* places the player in the position of camp commander and asks her to fulfill this role accordingly, the game evokes role-playing as a strategy for identification. Role-playing “requires people to pretend that they are someone else and try

to ‘take actions’ to fulfill the social expectations of this other person in a make-believe situation” (Peng et. al. 2010: 725). By assigning the player a position, and evaluating her performance based on the parameters of this position, *Prisoners of War* gives the player a particular function in a mediated environment, and she adjusts her behavior to the expectations of the role. *Prisoners of War* gives the player an opportunity to perform in an otherwise unlikely career, giving her a taste of the moral dilemmas army commanders may face when running a POW camp.

*Prisoners of War* is a persuasive game, both by its computer interface and accompanying role-playing affordances. For the ICRC, the game is a way to communicate with and educate young persons about a serious matter in a way that resonates with their existing knowledge frameworks. The ICRC hopes to harness the greater implications of this game by inspiring young people to act on their new knowledge. Eric Sigmund, advisor for the International Humanitarian Law program with Red Cross posted on the ICRC blog November of 2014: “The American Red Cross believes that video games offer a unique opportunity to educate a wide audience about this body of law in an engaging manner. The educational potential of the \$93 billion video games industry is immense.”<sup>7</sup> The IHL site headlines “Learn more about IHL through the use of interactive games,” providing a link to *Prisoners of War* and stating “Sometimes the best way to reach students is through interactive experiences like games that call out for student participation. These games [...] will introduce you to the Red Cross global network [and] the protections for prisoners of

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<sup>7</sup> <http://intercrossblog.icrc.org/blog/learning-rules-war-video-games>

war.<sup>8</sup> *Prisoners of War* functions as a hopeful introductory text to international politics, and as such, it lends itself well to a discussion of performed citizenship.

### 3.6 Discussion: *POW* and Civic Responsibility

*Prisoners of War*, as a persuasive video game, educates players on the right and wrong of humanitarian and civil efforts according to the Third Geneva Convention, and as such, is demonstrative of Azoulay's civil positioning. As the player identifies with characters via role-playing, the game allows for decisive action based on the educational framework given.

The video-game, as it leads the player through, offers responses of either "Right!" or "Wrong!," therein placing POW camp commanders' decision making capacities into moral binaries. While less subtle than Peterson's study of *The Laramie Project* and *Two Towns of Jasper*, *Prisoners of War* aims to teach its players a moral lesson. Peterson's work demonstrates how compassion, as a "proper emotion," inherently evokes hierarchical power relations. In *Prisoners of War*, the player is given a position of power: that of the camp commander. She then must make decisions on what amenities to include for her prisoners, who to treat as a prisoner, and what sort of work they will be forced to complete. In each instance, she has the opportunity to include things that would make prisoners' lives more difficult, like barbed wire, extra isolation cells, and forced labor. If she was to choose these options, however, she would be met with a simple "Wrong!" and quote from the Geneva Convention III. In this way, behavior that hurts prisoners is discouraged, and the player must act kindly toward the prisoners if she'd like to finish the game with congratulations.

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.redcross.org/rulesofwar/games>



In removing political alliances and economic motivations, *Prisoners of War* emphasizes humanitarianism over patriotism. Importantly, the game relies on the conception of “human” and “humanity” from the ICRC and the Geneva Conventions, which may need analysis in a future paper. “Humanity” is an ideograph: <humanity>, the definition of which is influenced by sociocultural contexts. For the functions of this project, however, I assume that the ICRC’s definition of humanity is ethical and befitting. It therefore, provides the perspective of the citizen-sans-regime; allowing identification to enact, and the civil imagination to take root. Seeing *Prisoners of War* and real POW camps with the civil gaze is seeing those “others” as a part of “we” and “us.”

The online gaming platform itself is inherently interactive, and thus evokes the “we” of the civil gaze. The game is also naturally interactive, as it encourages players to step out of the “real” world and into the game sphere, where the rules of the sovereign need not apply. Video games allow interactions with new characters and ideas beyond the typical social boundaries that may constrain them by placing them in situations with which they would otherwise be unfamiliar. The game platform lends opportunity to the civil imagination to take root. Therefore, as a form of digital advocacy, the video game persuades through identification and role taking, while encouraging the player to embrace global community. The video game’s interactive nature helps us explore how global community is formed. DeChaine (2005) argues that this community exists within discourses of state sovereignty, nationalism, and economic globalization. The video game platform, by inducing identification and evoking the civil imagination, is a tool NGOs can use to combat these discourses.

The ICRC can influence the player outside of the game-sphere as well by encouraging her to extend her research on POWs, the Third Geneva Convention, and armed conflicts. By coaching the player in the game sphere, the game provides a model for outside interactions as well. Therefore, educational video games exemplify how interactivity calls viewers to reify their civil identities as they look for ways to process their relation to the object shown via civic acts. In the video game, this is played out through choice: the player selects a response or action from a multiple-choice list. In the player's greater social-political sphere, these responses are not nearly as structured. In "Further Reading," however, the player has the opportunity to act "in the real world" and continue to learn and develop her understanding of the ICRC and the Geneva Conventions. Thus, *Prisoners of War* and other educational videogames call for viewer participation.

Video games exemplify Azoulay's claims that viewers engage visuality from their respective political dispositions. I extend Azoulay's work because I have accounted for the role of interactivity in civil positioning. She notes that the civil gaze is a way of looking which preferences hegemonic duty to society, and subsequently, encourages viewers to identify with the object shown in a way that extends the political space between the object and the viewer. For *Prisoners of War*, this means that players identify with their position as a POW camp commander, the prisoners of war, and their fellow comrades in a way that eliminates the regime-placed frames. Similar to how Burke's identification evokes personal properties, so too, argues Azoulay, does the visual evoke the properties of the regime. In following the prompts presented to the player in the videogame, the player is acting her participation in a larger social regime, and therein, acting her citizenship. In totality, *Prisoners of War* induces political action outside the game sphere. The participation within

this game and subsequent encounters with the ICRC, the Geneva Conventions, or discussions about prisoners of war, and so on, demonstrate how a player learns about her political environment. The ICRC, in creating this game, is attempting to influence the way she'll interact with this political environment in the future.

The game allows the civil imagination to take reign and guide the exploration of new ideas or content. *Prisoners of War* seems to exemplify this, as it does not directly place restrictions on the player regarding political alliances. Instead, the prompts of the game focus on a conceived notion of right and wrong, and the Geneva Conventions' directions for legal decision-making. However, the game also places many decisions into similar binaries as the ones Azoulay condemned: should you build a library or a gun factory? Is this priest to be treated as a POW or not? Thus, though the game removes political alliance suppositions, it imposes a standard of behavior that does not encourage the players' civil imagination, but contains it within a predetermined list of choices.

This chapter illustrated how interactivity in the game sphere can inspire action outside it. Video games, a manipulation of visuality and incorporation of role-playing action, are an even more powerful method of persuading audiences. The ICRC, in using video games as a method to connect with their potential constituents, is creating a space for performative political involvement and enactment. This is a clear demonstration of a Theory 2.0 approach, as the interactive nature of the video game is more powerful than an anecdote or an image. The game combines both narrated prompts and aesthetic visuality, while involving players in decision making through role-play. *Prisoners of War*, therein, exemplifies how non-profit organizations can connect with their audience by educating her

to emote in alliance with the NGO's goals, further encouraging her to feel connected to her larger global community.

## Chapter 4: Outreach Supersized? The American Red Cross' International Humanitarian Law Curriculum

### 4.1 Introduction

Amid controversy regarding U.S. foreign relations, many opinions have been voiced regarding the use of torture, unmanned warfare, or other modern technological war technologies. This has led to uncertainty regarding what is legal action in war. The Geneva Conventions, and International Humanitarian Law, place limits on what constitutes legality in war; however, many people are unfamiliar with these statutes. A 2011 article appearing in *Education Letter*, an education trade journal, proclaimed that “80% of youth ages 12-17 think there should be more education about [International Humanitarian Law and the Geneva Conventions] before they are old enough to vote and enlist in the military” (*Education Letter*: 2011). The journal contrasted this statistic with a survey from the American Red Cross, which revealed, “only 1 in 5 American youth is familiar with the Geneva Conventions” (*Education Letter*: 2011). Furthermore, the study showed that less than half of American youth had even heard of the Geneva Conventions or International Humanitarian Law. This article is marketed toward educators, and demonstrates a need for International Humanitarian Law education in schools. As it proceeds, it advertises a curriculum devised by the American Red Cross, called “Exploring Humanitarian Law: Humanity in the Midst of War,” which can help instructors educate their students about these issues. The article proclaims that the curriculum can be “incorporated into social studies and history classes. More than 1200 schools in all 50 states already use these resources” (*Education Letter*: 2011). This article sets up a compelling case for the implementation of an IHL curriculum in the classroom. The American Red Cross poses a

solution to this issue with their IHL curriculum, which is available for free download on the web.

The ARC's curriculum is a response to the need for international social studies education. Education about the Geneva Conventions and International Humanitarian Law is a topic that has garnered significant attention in recent years. A 2009 article from *Politics and Government Week* quotes President Barack Obama: "there are responsibilities that all nationals have, even in war." The article claims, "Nearly every country in the world has agreed to observe these laws [...] however, while many foreign policy decisions rely on an understanding of these rules, many people are not taught basic international humanitarian law" (Politics and Government Week: 2009). Indeed, the importance of an understanding of humanitarian law is clear. As voters, students, journalists, and citizens, it is imperative to have an understanding of the responsibilities we hold to our fellow humans. These laws transcend geographical boundaries and racial or religious constraints, but they are easily forgotten or ignored in times of war.

The ARC's IHL curriculum gives high school instructors the opportunity to capitalize on this increased interest in teaching students the rules of war. Lucy Brown, Senior Advisor of International Humanitarian Law with the American Red Cross, wrote a piece in 2006 for the academic journal *International Law Studies*. She remarks that since 9/11, there has been a "marked increase in organizations speaking to the American public about IHL." Furthermore, she states:

It is wonderful that Americans are much more interested in a subject that not many found relevant only a few years ago. What is unfortunate is the reason they find it relevant- that armed conflict now affects many more people in this country. (Brown: 2006, p. 115)

As the sources above have made clear, there have been recent calls for more education regarding international humanitarian law. Brown's statements claim that this recent vested interest is a result of the conflicts in Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan. While it may be preferable that Americans were interested prior to conflicts abroad, it is nonetheless important that their interest be maintained. As the official disseminators of the Geneva Conventions and International Humanitarian law, it is imperative that the Red Cross seizes this opportunity for instruction.

The American Red Cross has responded to this need, creating an IHL curriculum called *Exploring Humanitarian Law (EHL)*. *EHL* is a thorough and well-developed program for instructing students about the rules of war. In this chapter, I will analyze the curriculum as an additional component of the ARC's mediated outreach efforts. The curriculum is available online for download via PDF, and an instructor could write to the Red Cross to have it mailed to them at no extra cost as well. However, the Internet has not fundamentally changed the way the *EHL* curriculum advocates. I will discuss the curriculum in context of Kingston and Stam's conceptions of Theory 2.0 and Supersize activism to demonstrate how the curriculum uses the Internet. In section 4.5 I will analyze *EHL* using Kingston and Stam's contributions; though this analysis fundamentally necessitates a thorough discussion of the curriculum's critical reception, the webpage-user interface, and a description of the curriculum's content. My subsequent analysis complicates Kingston and Stam's binary, as I propose a third option for classifying mediated outreach.

This chapter analyzes how the Red Cross uses its *Exploring Humanitarian Law* curriculum for advocacy efforts. The curriculum is targeted toward high school students

and teachers. It aims to educate students about International Humanitarian Law, while also raising consciousness about the social and cultural effects of armed conflicts. The curriculum, as a whole, is trying to teach students social responsibility and to consider the humans involved in war. After a discussion of the curriculum's accessibility and effectiveness via its online platform, I will demonstrate how the content of the curriculum positions students civilly toward an unfamiliar "other." Examining the *EHL*'s content via Azoulay's notion of civil positioning and the civil imagination, I will determine how the curriculum forms global community.

This curriculum, *Exploring Humanitarian Law*, was the inspiration for this entire thesis project, as it was the one aspect of this project that I was familiar with before beginning research. In 2012, I completed a term as an AmeriCorps with the American Red Cross of Central New York. During my time with the organization, I worked with IHL program leaders to develop *EHL* in local high schools. I recruited university students from Cornell University and Ithaca College to teach *EHL* in two local Ithaca high schools in exchange for independent study credits. The Ithaca high school students, in turn, received social studies credits for the semester's work- though the program was technically considered "extra curricular," as it met after sanctioned school hours.

Beyond initially developing the relationships with area schools and implementing the program, I participated in training the *EHL* university educators. When my term ended, the program was passed on to the next set of AmeriCorps. As of November 2014, it was still going strong within the Ithaca community. The ARC Central New York branch executive stated that there was significant interest in making *EHL* a permanent aspect of



one of the high school's curriculum, and that they were hoping to begin training the school educators in the program within the next year.

This experience is present in a faint regard throughout this chapter. Though my time with the ARC prompted this project, research was completed independently and thoroughly. In the interest of objectivity, I did not reach out to my *EHL* ARC contacts for comment. This chapter is the result of nonaligned research.

#### **4.2 Curriculum Reception and Significance**

The curriculum has gained national attention since its first pilot attempt in 2003. In 2007, the Pearson Foundation, the charitable organization of the nationally recognized education and information company, Pearson, announced a partnership with the American Red Cross. They aimed to advance the technological aspects of the curriculum and its reach. The organizations teamed up to provide teachers hands-on training with digital resources such as computers, cameras, and movie-making software. The linkage aimed to extend the reach and impact of *Exploring Humanitarian Law*, as the partnership provided teachers and students the opportunities to use the curriculum in an online environment (*PR Newswire*: 2007). A 2013 article in *El Chicano Weekly* announced that several teachers from Southern California participated in a workshop about the curriculum so that they might implement it into their classrooms (Tomboc: 2013). The curriculum has garnered academic recognition as well, as it was the focus of a Global Studies conference at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The Wisconsin International Outreach Consortium, Universities of Illinois, North Carolina, and Washington, joined with the American Red

Cross to discuss the curriculum in a 3-day workshop titled “*Exploring Humanitarian Law: Preserving Human Rights and Dignity in Conflict*.”<sup>9</sup>

In all, *Exploring Humanitarian Law* is a growing focus of the American Red Cross’ mission. The International Committee of the Red Cross maintains the Geneva Conventions of 1949, though the American Red Cross’ primary focus has often been on disaster relief, blood services, and other material support for soldiers. Brown, the Senior Advisor of International Humanitarian Law with the American Red Cross, claims that the American Red Cross began to disseminate the objectives of IHL “with a 1988 grant from the US Institute of Peace that enabled us to develop our educational materials for the general public” (Brown: 2006, p. 117). In 1991, the American Red Cross received an internal grant from the International Services Department to develop an instructor-training curriculum. Instructor training courses began in 1993. The *Exploring Humanitarian Law* program is almost a quarter-century old, and has grown into a full curriculum and supporting training modules, complete with films, books, online games, movies, and more.

Brown defines the Red Cross’ mission, and thus the mission of the *EHL* program, by describing what it is not. Brown denies that the Red Cross is a human rights organization, though “much of the work it does benefits people’s human rights” (Brown: 2006, p. 116). She also denies that the Red Cross is a peace promotion agency, but that peace is also a byproduct of their mission. Finally, she states that the Red Cross is not responsible for the punishment of IHL violators, for this would defeat their principle of impartiality and neutrality. Brown notes that these principles can be seen through their subtitle: “Humanity in the Midst of War.”

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<sup>9</sup> <http://global.wisc.edu/ehl/>

That phrase comes much closer to expressing the message we want to convey- that respect for IHL helps ensure that the principle of humanity, and humanitarian actions themselves, will continue to exist, even in the midst of war. (Brown, 2006: p. 117).

As Brown's writing demonstrates, the American Red Cross and the *Exploring Humanitarian Law* program are intended to do more than educate students about international humanitarian law. The program's intent is to promote a universal regard for the value of human life; regardless of the "side" one is on during a conflict.

Brown notes that the ARC uses *EHL* as part of a greater education strategy that aims toward educating a "general public" about the principles of IHL but isolates some "priority audiences:" 1) American Red Cross internal audiences, 2) youth and educators, and 3) "opinion leaders," such as members of the media, academia, and in community leadership positions (Brown: 2006, p. 118). The *EHL* curriculum and its surrounding materials constitute priority audience #2. *EHL* as a curriculum is developed for classroom educators; not only does it contain lesson plans and all the materials needed for a productive course, but all of the advertisements (brochures, videos, course descriptions) for the curriculum online are targeted toward teachers. The following two sections will discuss the *EHL* interface thoroughly.

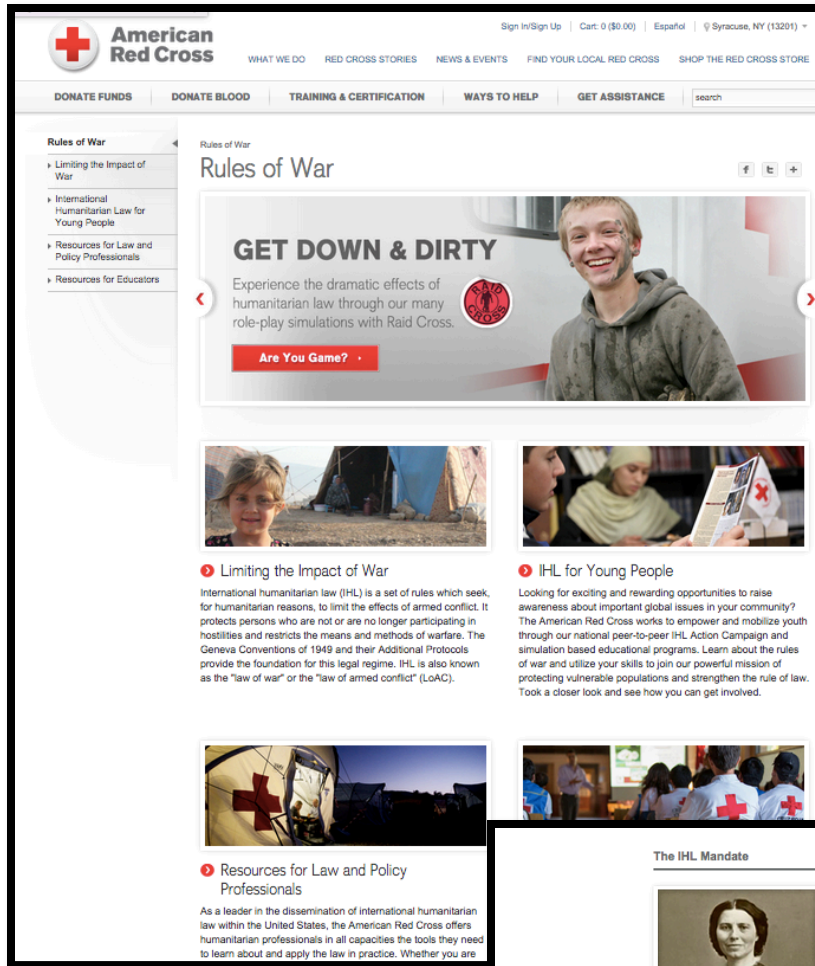
The principles named by Brown- humanity, impartiality, neutrality- ring clear throughout *EHL*. These concepts are an essential part of the ARC's efforts to form global community and global citizenry. This chapter seeks to understand the rhetorical choices made by the American Red Cross in their *Exploring Humanitarian Law* curriculum and associated materials to determine their contributions to these formations. As with any online source, *EHL*'s accessibility is vital for proper adaptation of these principles. In this

next section, I will discuss how the online platform is utilized to target educators and streamline usage.

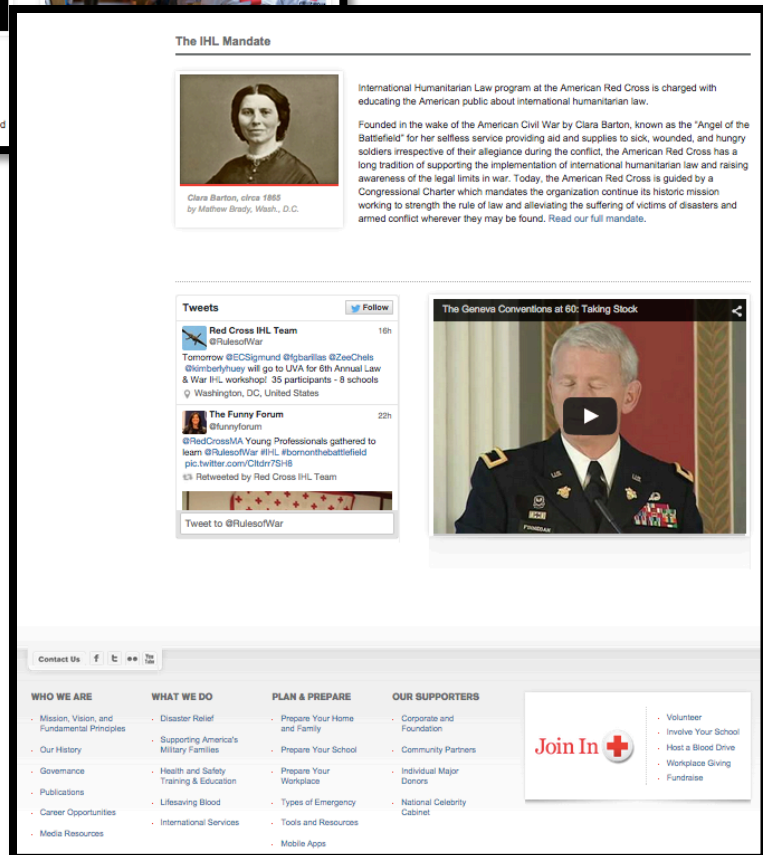
#### **4.3 Description of Webpage-User Interface**

The American Red Cross's Rules of War subpage seeks out high school youth and educators. The page offers resources for learning about the Third Geneva Convention, international humanitarian law, and human rights. The Rules of War Webpage is laid out so that visitors click on the links provided to learn more about these cases. It has a scrolling banner advertising an interactive map of humanitarian crises, human dignity, and the *EHL* campaign. Under the banner, four links are available: "Limiting the Impact of War," "IHL for Young People," "Resources for Law and Policy Professionals," and "Resources for Educators." The links are framed with a photograph and a short description (image 4a). Scrolling down, the Website offers a description of "The IHL Mandate" next to a photograph of Clara Barton. There is a place where you can tweet to @rulesofwar, displaying the two most recent tweets, and a video about The Geneva Conventions (image 4b). The page has small buttons to connect with the organization via Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, and YouTube. A plus sign at the top of the screen allows the user to add contacts from their email address to share the site with ease.

The American Red Cross' Website has a white background, with dark grey sans serif fonts, and periwinkle blue links. The page is designed with simple graphics, though it is rich in content. The NGO's logo and Webpage headings (Donate Funds, Donate Blood, Training and Certification, Ways to Help, Get Assistance) are at the top of each page. From the primary Rules of War page, the visitor can click the "Resources for Educators" link, which is one of the four listed under the header. This takes the user to a list of resources,



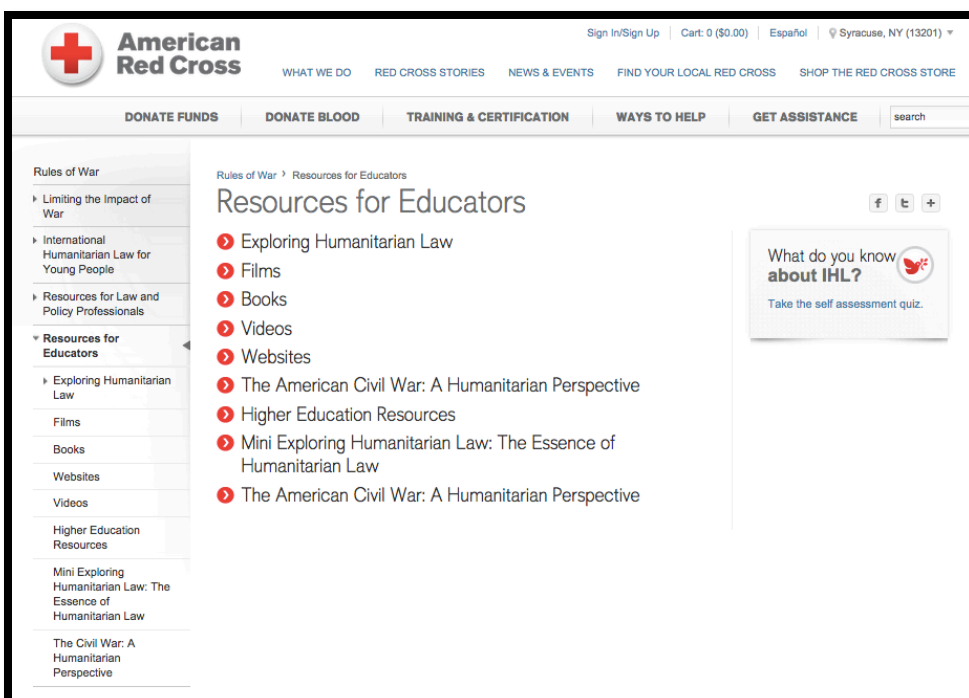
(Left) Image 4a: “Rules of War” subpage of Redcross.org (p. 94)



(Right) Image 4b: The bottom of “Rules of War” subpage (p. 94)

including: Exploring Humanitarian Law, Films, Books, Videos, Websites, and Higher Education Resources (image 4c). There are many resources available through these links; for example, clicking “films” brings the user to a list of 30 documentaries and 14 feature films which show human rights conflicts. Selecting “books” brings the user to a page with over a hundred titles in 26 categories from “Child Soldiers” to “The former Yugoslavia.” The films, books, Websites, and others are designed to provide instructors or interested youth with resources about human rights and humanitarian law in an accessible way.

From this list of resources, if the visitor were to click “Exploring Humanitarian Law,” she would be taken to a page advertising the *EHL* curriculum. In bold, grey typeface, this headline greets the visitor: “War is a lot more complicated than a video game. Students need the skills to understand when conflict intersects with the rights and protections of people- at home and abroad.” The site is assumedly not referencing the video game it sponsors itself, *Prisoners of War*, which was analyzed in detail in the previous chapter.



(Left) Image 4c:  
“Resources for  
Educators”

Instead, the site references more popular war-based video game comparisons that come to mind such as *Call of Duty* and *Halo*. The site attempts to relay the importance of the learning the law behind war, and thus, introduces the American Red Cross' humanitarian law program of study. Under, this short paragraph describes the curriculum:

*Exploring Humanitarian Law (EHL)* is an adaptable toolkit that gives educators easy-to-use materials to expose students to issues of international humanitarian law, the rules that ensure respect for life and human dignity in war. The toolkit offers educators primary source materials and strategies that reinforce and enrich existing curricula and educational programs.<sup>10</sup>

This description is emphasized with a statement from the Dean of United States Military Academy at West Point that reiterating the significance of the curriculum:

It is essential to understand and respect the rule of law because that defines what we are about as a nation and the leader of the free world. When others do not respect or follow the law, it is even more important that we remember who we are and what we stand for as a country. The American Red Cross EHL program helps young people understand not only what is legal, but also what is right.<sup>11</sup>  
 - Brigadier General Patrick Finnegan

Beneath the statement from General Finnegan, a four-minute video, hosted by YouTube and embedded in the Webpage, has instructors and students speaking about their experiences with the *EHL* curriculum. Scrolling further, the user sees four short paragraphs under the heading "Why Bring *Exploring Humanitarian Law* into the Classroom?"

The website is structured for ease of access. The cookie trail atop the heading shows "Rules of war > Resources for Educators > *Exploring Humanitarian Law*," and it is clear from the language and setup of this page that it is indeed targeted toward educators. A click in the toolbar to the left could bring you to "Curriculum," "Testimonials," or any of

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<sup>10</sup> <http://www.redcross.org/rulesofwar/exploring-humanitarian-law>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.redcross.org/rulesofwar/exploring-humanitarian-law>

the seven chapters of the curriculum, which are available for download. The site advertises that “The *EHL* curriculum meets the National Social Studies Standards for high school and it is integrated as part of basic education in secondary school curricula across the world.<sup>12</sup>” *EHL* is framed as a humanitarian-focused social studies course, to be implemented in a classroom. The “Testimonials” link provides seven videos of teachers, journalists, Red Cross workers, and international diplomat Betty Bigombe. Each video speaks to the effectiveness, necessity, and importance of *EHL*. The Red Cross proclaims the relevancy of their program, noting that it is important for political science, pre-law, history, global studies, human rights, anthropology, psychology, criminal justice studies, and more<sup>13</sup>.

Additionally, the American Red Cross advertises its teacher training services. If an instructor would like to implement *EHL* into her classroom, the American Red Cross provides a free workshop to familiarize the educator with the materials. The instructor need not take the workshop classes to teach *EHL*. Along with all materials, videos, and other resources available online, the Website also provides suggestions for student assessment. All material costs are provided for by the American Red Cross, and instructors are encouraged to request a Red Cross recommended *EHL* speaker to come lecture the students as well. In all, the American Red Cross’ *Exploring Humanitarian Law* curriculum is used in a semester-long format, or just taken in sections for units in History or Social Studies classes.

In my experience as an AmeriCorps with the American Red Cross of Central New York, a representative from ARC headquarters in Washington D.C., Dr. Rachele Tardi, came to the Central New York region for one week to help my *EHL* coworkers and me train the

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.redcross.org/rulesofwar/curriculum>

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.redcross.org/rulesofwar/higher-education-resources>



university instructors. She first spent three days familiarizing us with the intricacies of *EHL*, training us to answer any questions that may come up during our supervision of the project we created within the Ithaca community. Then, the ARC headquarters paid for transportation, food, and accommodations for the university instructors to come stay in Syracuse, New York, for a 3-day development workshop with Dr. Tardi.

Though I am subsequently very well acquainted with *EHL*, it can be difficult to navigate nonetheless. In comparison with *Prisoners of War*, the online flash game discussed in Chapter 3, the *EHL* curriculum is intensive. While the game takes no more than 30 minutes to complete, the *EHL* curriculum could be explored for days. There are many links to resources that can be used in the classroom, brochures to advertise with, an *EHL* newsletter to subscribe to, and so many more options and opportunities. In some ways, all of this information is overwhelming. If an instructor or student were not directly looking for this curriculum, it may be difficult to find, as there are several other options available to select as the user browses the site. Once the instructor does find the *EHL* Webpage, she may struggle again to stay on task and know what to look for, as there is an excess of links and no clear objective. In this chapter, I chose to examine what I understand to be the “basics” of the *EHL* curriculum: the most necessary aspects of the program, as well as the most obvious aspects- those which the site visitor may stumble upon first arrival.

Despite my intense familiarity with the Webpage and the *EHL* objectives, even I got lost in the maze of links at times. In other ways, however, the superabundance of information could be intriguing and freeing for instructors or students looking into the curriculum. One is certainly struck by the great variety and quality of options to learn from. Furthermore, the mass of options indubitably provides instructors with adequate

materials for teaching the *EHL* course. Considering contemporary webpages now have the capability for users to comment on videos and review downloads, it may be beneficial to the ARC to make some updates to their webpage. There is technology that could make the curriculum much more user interactive, allowing an instructor-created, instructor-participatory community to be sustained along with the content available. This could provide ease of use- allowing teachers to share bookmarked content and key activities their classrooms enjoyed.


To give an idea of what the curriculum looks like, I will provide a short synopsis of Module 1A: “The Humanitarian Perspective.” In future sections, I will pull more specific materials to talk about civil positioning and the spectacle. This section intends to provide a quick overview of the curriculum’s design and layout as a backdrop for what follows. The opening page of “The Humanitarian perspective” is accessed in the side toolbar under the “Exploring Humanitarian Law” button (see image 4d). A 35 second video hosted by YouTube Introduces the module, describing the primary objectives of the section. A summary of the module is listed below the video, with a paragraph description of each main point. To the right, a scrolling table advertises the “Skills Practiced,” denotes the “Guiding Questions,” and names the key “Concepts” the module will discuss. Underneath, a link to download the entire Module 1 in PDF form is available.

I clicked “Exploration 1: What Can Bystanders Do?” which brought me to the first session of Module 1 (see image 4e). Four short paragraphs describe the section’s intentions, and the instructor is told: “This course is two 45-minute sessions,” which would allow her to prepare time for the sessions in class. To the side, “Notable Quotations” from the chapter by Elie Wiesel, Egil Aavik, and an Amnesty Action High Judge scroll through a

Rules of War > Resources for Educators > Exploring Humanitarian Law > Exploration 1: The Humanitarian Perspective

## Exploration 1: The Humanitarian Perspective

EHL: Module 1A - Introduction



**Skills Practiced**

- Perspective taking
- Role-playing
- Story analysis
- Story-telling
- Dilemma analysis
- Identifying consequences

Module 1 (PDF, 1MB)

**1A. What can bystanders do? (two sessions)**

Exploration 1A focuses on stories about ordinary people who, on their own, in times of war or in other situations of violence, acted to protect the life or human dignity of people whom they may not know or whom they would not ordinarily be inclined to help or protect. They acted despite personal risk or loss.

**1B. Looking at humanitarian acts (one session)**

In Exploration 1A, students read, enacted, and analysed a number of stories about bystanders. Exploration 1B helps students to define what the concept of a humanitarian act – the behaviour at the heart of all the stories – is.

**1C. A bystander's dilemma (one session)**

Exploration 1A: What can Bystanders Do?

Exploration 1B: Looking at Humanitarian Acts

Exploration 1C: A Bystander's Dilemma

Exploration 1: For Teachers

Exploration 2: Limits in Armed Conflict

Exploration 3: Law in Action

Exploration 4: Dealing with Violations

Exploration 5: Responding to the Consequences of Armed Conflict

Closing: Exploration

Rules of War

Limiting the Impact of War

International Humanitarian Law for Young People

Resources for Law and Policy Professionals

Resources for Educators

Exploring Humanitarian Law

Curriculum

Testimonials

Introduction: Images and Perceptions

Exploration 1: The Humanitarian Perspective

Exploration 1A: What can Bystanders Do?

Exploration 1B: Looking at Humanitarian Acts

Exploration 1C: A Bystander's Dilemma

Exploration 1: For Teachers

(Right) Image 4d:  
"Exploration 1: The Humanitarian Perspective" (p. 100)

(Below) Image 4e:  
"Exploration 1A: What Can Bystanders Do?" (p. 100)

Rules of War > Resources for Educators > Exploring Humanitarian Law > Exploration 1: The Humanitarian Perspective > Exploration 1A: What Can Bystanders Do?

## Exploration 1A: What Can Bystanders Do?

INTRO OBJECTIVES KEY IDEAS PREPARATION EXPLORATION

Exploration 1A focuses on stories about ordinary people who, on their own, in times of war or in other violent situations, acted to protect the life or the human dignity of people whom they may not know – even despite personal risk or loss.

These stories are drawn from real life and have no pattern in common. Each story has its particular characteristics: the time and the place, the type of violence (armed conflict, racial violence, youth gangs), the nationality of the protector, and so on.

The stories are accompanied by notes drawing attention to their special points. Useful questions, pertinent to all the stories, are presented in step 3 "Explore several stories."

Select several stories for your group. Plan to devote at least two sessions for exploring the stories. This will give you time to employ a number of pedagogical approaches (role-playing, small-group discussion, analysis and presentation) to illustrate how the courage to act develops. And that, in turn, will enable your students to receive the full impact of the experiences and actions of a variety of by-standers.

Module 1 (PDF, 1MB)

**Related Links**

- Stories
- Extension Activities
- For Teachers
- Resources

**Notable Quotes**

"There is always a moment when the moral choice is made. Often because of one story or one book or one person, we are able to make a different choice, a choice for humanity, for life."

- Elie Wiesel, from Carol

**This course is two 45-minute sessions.**

Rules of War

Limiting the Impact of War

International Humanitarian Law for Young People

Resources for Law and Policy Professionals

Resources for Educators

Exploring Humanitarian Law

Curriculum

Testimonials

Introduction: Images and Perceptions

Exploration 1: The Humanitarian Perspective

Exploration 1A: What can Bystanders Do?

Exploration 1B: Looking at Humanitarian Acts

Exploration 1C: A Bystander's Dilemma

Exploration 1: For Teachers

box. Above, a list of “Related Links,” the PDF download link for the module, and Facebook, Twitter and e-mail share links.

The descriptive text is under a header button for “Intro.” The instructor can click on “Objectives,” “Key Ideas,” “Preparation,” and “Exploration” as well. The “Exploration” link leads to the actual lesson plan, shown in step-by-step format. The activity begins by brainstorming answers to the question: “What does it take to do something dangerous or unpopular to help someone whose life or human dignity is at risk?” Then, the students must define “bystander.” The *EHL* definition of bystander is “someone aware of an incident, without being involved, where the life or human dignity of others is in danger.<sup>14</sup>” The third portion of the session asks students to read stories given by the curriculum about people placed in difficult situations. The stories are based on true narratives, and are available via the PDF module. Image 4f shows a table from the print/PDF *EHL* module describing the stories and their features. Students are asked to give their reactions to these stories, and many discussion questions are listed to assist in this task. Finally, section four asks the instructor to: “Remind students that such acts take place throughout the world, even though they are not always reported. Ask students to summarize [the stories], and review [the bystanders’ actions]. A “possible question” and quote about bystanders is given, presumably to leave the students with as the class ends.

Notably, the course cannot be taught without the printed manual. The instructor must download the PDF file or request a printed copy from the American Red Cross if she wishes to have access to the bystanders’ stories, as well as other informative materials such as the table shown in Image 4f that describes the stories and their intentions. The online

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<sup>14</sup> <http://www.redcross.org/rulesofwar/module-1a-what-can-bystanders-do>

## About the stories

### THE STORIES

A selection of real-life stories, from different parts of the world, is included (see pages 18-23). In all of them someone's life or human dignity is under threat, as a consequence of armed conflict or other situations of violence.

#### The bystander in each story


- is an ordinary person;
- who may have put his or her life or well-being in danger;
- to protect the life or human dignity of someone he or she may not know or would not ordinarily be inclined to help or protect.

Use some of these stories. Feel free to substitute similar stories of your own.

Each story contributes something different to the exploration of the humanitarian perspective. The chart below indicates some of the special features of the stories and their uses. It is followed by suggestions for the sequence in which the stories might best be explored, and activities to help students experience and analyse the stories.

Story features:	Story titles:	Suggested uses:
Youth in danger from threatening demonstrators	"Alone on the bench"	Good starting point for some students because they might find it easy to identify with the victim, who is in a school-related environment
Youth violence	"Brave shopkeeper"	Humanitarian response outweighing self-interest
Remarkable impact of a single bystander	"Aftermath of a battle"	Good for tracing chain of consequences stemming from the immediate and long-term impact of just one bystander
	"A witness comes forward"	
Growth of humanitarian behaviour	"Step by step"	Opportunity to analyse an example of the incremental change in the humanitarian behaviour of the rescuers – good story for role-playing, with four clearly defined participants
Ethnic division	"Villagers ease pain in camps"	Shows people crossing the ethnic barriers that define this armed conflict to help those at risk

#### NOTE

Background material is provided for the setting of each story. In some stories, suggested 'decision points' are indicated by the following symbol: 

(Above) **Image 4f:** Table of Story Descriptions from PDF/print module (p. 102, 107)

format appears to ease the use of these PDF sources, as it looks to streamline the sessions by breaking them down into four easy steps. The combination of print material and online interactivity pose an issue for a Supersize classification in accordance with Kingston and Stam's definition. While the curriculum itself, as described next, is a clear demonstration of Supersize, the webpage seems to resonate with some Theory 2.0 concepts. To completely inspect the *EHL* program, one must combine of the PDF curriculum and the webpage. This complicates Kingston and Stam's binary.

#### **4.4 *EHL* Curriculum Description**

In order to understand the implications of the curriculum, a description of its content is necessary. I will use the first module, which I introduced briefly above, as an example. "Exploration 1A: What can bystanders do?" is a part of the curriculum's first module. I downloaded the module in PDF form. The font is shades of black and dark grey on a white background. The layout is simple, easy to read and follow. It is designed for the teacher, as it has many annotations, recommended time allotments, preparation tips, and suggested discussion questions. The teacher must photocopy portions of the module, such as stories, pictures, and worksheets, to hand out to students. E1A begins with a description of what the section will do:

Exploration 1A focuses on stories about ordinary people who, on their own, in times of war or in other situations of violence, acted to protect the life or human dignity of people whom they may not know or whom they would not ordinarily be inclined to help or protect. [...] These stories are drawn from real life. (*EHL* Module 1, p. 4).

These descriptive paragraphs give the teacher an idea of the objectives of the section. The structure of the first lesson is then listed on page 5. This lesson plan revolves around stories about people in heartbreaking situations, which I will recount after first describing

the layout of the accompanying lesson plan. The curriculum is structured with all teacher materials first, and then gives the stories, pictures, or worksheets that the students will use at the end.

The lesson plans begins by having students brainstorm for 5 minutes in response to the question: “What does it take to do something dangerous or unpopular to help someone whose life or human dignity is at risk?” Then, for 10 minutes, students must define the term “bystander.” Next, for a recommended 60 minutes or more, the students will explore stories. This “Exploration” requires the teacher to photocopy short, 1-page stories about persons in difficult situations to hand out to students. There are three suggested pedagogical approaches: the teacher divides the students into small groups, assigns them a story, and has them read and discuss it before telling the other groups about it. Or, the students may be assigned roles in a dramatic performance of the stories. Finally, the groups can read the stories aloud, stopping at “marked ‘decision points’ (<->) in the narrative, so that the group can discuss what they think the people involved should do next.” (See Image 4g) After the students familiarize themselves with the stories, discussion questions such as “What pressures and risks were involved?” and “What were the immediate results of the bystanders’ actions? And later?” Finally, 15 minutes are recommended for the concluding discussion, in which the teacher is instructed to ask students to summarize the stories, and “review the obstacles the bystanders had to overcome, the risks they took, and the impact they had in attempting to protect others.”

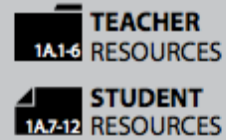
After the lesson plan is reviewed, the module lists key ideas that are present in the stories, such as “ordinary people everywhere have confronted inhumane behavior to

### 3. EXPLORE SEVERAL STORIES (60 minutes, additional time may be needed, depending on the stories chosen and the pedagogical approaches used)

#### Possible approaches:

- Students are divided into small groups. Each group reads and discusses a different story, then tells the others about it.
- Students dramatize a story; each person in the story is assigned to several different students, so that they might examine his or her motivation.
- Read a story aloud to the group, and stop at marked 'decision points' (↔) in the narrative so that the group can discuss what they think the people involved should do next.

[Suggestions for sequencing story activities begin on p. 7]



(Above) **Image 4g:** Pedagogical approaches to the six stories (p. 105)

(Below) **Image 4h:** Story #6; Villagers ease pain in camps (p. 107)

**EHL**  
Exploring Humanitarian Law  
EXPLORATION 1A: WHAT CAN BYSTANDERS DO?

## Villagers ease pain in camps

**Batkovic, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 24 January 1993**

All last summer, buses and trucks packed with Muslim and Croat prisoners trundled down the narrow farm road past Ilija Gajic's vegetable farm. The army never consulted the villagers when it set up the camp in the state grain-storage sheds. Gajic feared that the worst of Balkan history was repeating itself.

"Concentration camps never bring anything for anyone," said the 62-year-old Serb who presides over the village assembly in this village of 4,000. "I felt bad watching this happening."

As reports emerged of beatings and deaths, he and other leaders of the village decided to protest. His is one of the untold stories in this war of unremitting cruelty – the story of Serbs who took a risk to improve conditions for their fellow citizens.

"We wanted to make a goodwill gesture. We wanted them to be treated as we would wish the other side to treat our prisoners," he said.

Early in September, Gajic led a delegation to the nearby army

headquarters in Bijelina and demanded that guards who had been beating prisoners be replaced. "They were not from around here. They had had victims in their families and wanted to exact revenge," Gajic said. "So we asked the authorities to put in local people."

The military command at first refused even to say who was in charge of the camp, he recalled. The tone of the discussion sharpened. One of the delegation told the military commanders "We don't want a Jasenovac," a reference to the concentration camp set up by Croat fascists during World War II, where tens of thousands of Serbs, Jews and gypsies were put to death.

"Any good man would say that," said Gajic. "We didn't want to let the village be blamed for whatever happened. We wanted to save the reputation of the village."

In the presence of guards, prisoners were still reluctant to talk about the cruelty of the earlier period. But they confirmed the stories told by released detainees of beatings with two-by-fours,\* rampant dysentery fed by terrible sanitary conditions and elaborate ruses devised to fool visiting

delegations into thinking there was no one under 18 or over 60 in the camp.

According to detainees, at least 20 had died of beatings or maltreatment up to September, but conditions improved significantly after the intervention of the villagers.

The conditions remain primitive, but several hundred detainees now go to work six days a week in a nearby factory, where they have better meals, although no pay. The detainees compliment the guards, and the guards welcome the praise. "We feel we don't have to beat the prisoners," said Dragolic, one of the new local guards. "We talk to them." There is now even a television set in each of the sheds, and over the New Year, the guards brought the detainees bottles of *slivovitz*, a plum brandy. "I think Serbs are not so bad as everyone wants to make them out to be," Gajic said. "There are probably other examples of that, not only in Batkovic."

\* A "two-by-four" is a thick piece of lumber.

Source: Roy Gutman, *A Witness to Genocide: The 1993 Pulitzer-Prize Winning Dispatches on the 'Ethnic Cleansing' of Bosnia*, Macmillan, New York, 1993.

**STUDENT RESOURCE**

**The story**

**Question: What choices and social pressure did bystanders have?**

23

Module 1: The humanitarian perspective

S.I.A



protect others who are at risk” (*EHL* Module 1, p. 6). Page 7 has an “About the Stories” section with a table (Image 4f) listing the stories, their descriptions, and their potential uses. The teacher is told that the bystander in each story: “is an ordinary person; who may have put his or her life or well-being in danger; to protect the life or human dignity of someone he or she may not know or would not ordinarily be inclined to help or protect. A continuation of “About the Stories,” pages 8-11 offer even more suggested activities for discussing the stories, such as helping students learn how to “trace a chain of consequences,” perform role-play, and further research more stories of bystanders who stood up for human dignity.

Then, there are six pages of background information, one for each story, with maps and historical and cultural context. Finally, we are given the stories. They are landscape oriented to take up an entire page, with one black-and-white photo, and 1-2 discussion questions each. The first, “Aftermath of a battle,” is a description of Henry Dunant’s experience with the Battle of Solferino, as described in Chapter 2. Another speaks of Grace Lorch, the white woman who helped Elizabeth Eckford of the Arkansas Little Rock Nine escape an angry group of anti-segregationists on her first day of segregated classes. The last story, on page 23, “Villagers ease pain in camps,” is set in the civil war between Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Croatia in the early 1990’s (see Image 4h). In this story, a local villager, Illija Gajic, hears that a concentration camp was set up in their town. He is saddened by this, stating, “Concentration camps never bring anything for anyone.” He brings a delegation to the army, asking that they fire the current guards, since ““They were not from around here. They had had victims in their families and wanted to exact revenge.”” Instead, Gajic recommends the army hire local guards to run the camp. He is thinking of the pride of

their people, saying, “We didn’t want to let the village be blamed for whatever happened. We wanted to save the reputation of the village.” In the end, the story claims that conditions are certainly still primitive, but the beatings have ended since the hire of locals.

Each of the six stories pose a situation wherein the protagonist goes against what everyone else is doing to save someone in danger. The protagonist risks their life, or perhaps their reputation and social standing, to make someone else’s better. Overall, E1A attempts to give students a definition of “human dignity” and what it means to be a bystander. In doing this, the Red Cross is reframing social constructs; shaping what it means to be a friend or neighbor. Each of the stories involves a protagonist helping someone physically close to their home, though they are vastly different racially, religiously, or otherwise. These stories intend to show students that persons different from yourself are no less worthy of the treatment given to someone similar.

Module 1 focuses on situations imaginable between the student and a neighbor. Module 2, however, increases the physical distance between the student and the imagined “other,” as it places the students imaginatively in a space unfamiliar: that of a wartime situation. The students are taught wartime strategies and limitations of International Humanitarian Law, framed by discussions of child soldiers and suffering villagers. Module 3 focuses on the technicalities of IHL and who is responsible for violations. Next, Module 4 teaches students about the judicial process for violations. Lastly, Module 5 concentrates on the consequences of armed conflicts; speaking about building displacement camps, protecting prisoners of war, and restoring family links. Module 5 also emphasizes the ICRC’s guiding principles- impartiality, neutrality, and independence- in the context of armed conflicts.

#### 4.5 Curriculum as Transmedia

As shown, the modules teach through several methods, most of which are discussion based, or involve a discussion after the activity. Some sections have videos for the teacher to play, and others have audio narratives. All of the modules have photographs. Students fill out tables and worksheets, and answer discussion questions in small groups or as a class. The students conduct case studies and are encouraged to think critically. In sum, the curriculum has many approaches to student learning. Almost every one of them, however, requires an act of imagination from the student. In analyzing the stories, the students are encouraged to imagine themselves or their neighbor in the position of the protagonist. In role-playing, the students act-out their identification with the characters. Additionally, through discussion questions, students are encouraged to voice their personal opinions, and offer an anecdote from a relevant personal experience. The curriculum has students participating physically, mentally, and emotionally with the material.

While *Prisoners of War*, the online flash video game discussed in Chapter 3, clearly demonstrated a Theory 2.0 outreach method, the American Red Cross' *EHL* curriculum complicates the converse model, Supersize. Supersized is defined when an NGO uses the Web to increase the size and reach of the activism, but that the Web has not significantly altered the means underlying this strategy. Kingston and Stam's 2013 study determined that most non-profit and non-governmental organizations are using the Internet in a Supersize way. When initially embarking on this project, I understood the *Exploring Humanitarian Law* curriculum as an example of the Supersized method. The Internet has eased the use and understandability of the curriculum, and certainly has made it more available to instructors and students alike. However, *EHL* did not seem fundamentally

changed by the use of the Web. The basic methodologies could be accomplished with a paper copy of the curriculum alone. Even the movies accompanying the curriculum online could have been attached in VHS or DVD form (as opposed to hosted on YouTube or another online source) to the curriculum package for instructors. Thus, I thought the curriculum illustrated the Supersize method: the Internet has expanded its reach and made its usage easy, but it has not fundamentally changed the way the curriculum interacts with its user.

However, upon close examination, the *EHL* curriculum allowed the American Red Cross the opportunity to share books, movies, and other materials that a paper copy of the curriculum alone would not be able to. In this way, *EHL* incorporates some Theory 2.0 practices. However, since the curriculum offline is exceptionally similar to the curriculum online, I am reluctant to state it is an example of Theory 2.0 outreach either. *EHL* and its accompanying webpage clearly exemplify the concepts of supersize and “drillability,” which Kingston and Stam state are necessary components of mediated outreach. However, it doesn’t rely on “spreadability” or interactivity, necessary components for a Theory 2.0 classification. Therefore, I propose an addendum to Kingston and Stam’s work; a third category that allows aspects of both Supersize and Theory 2.0 categorizations: transmedia.

An inclusion of transmedia into classifications of online outreach methods allows for consideration of mediums that do not wholly fit into either bifurcate class. The *EHL* curriculum, unlike a Supersized outreach method, uses more than the PDF/Print copy available for download. The books, videos, movies, and other functions are exemplary of its transmedia nature. Transmedia programs blend multiple mediums in attempt to construct provocative visualities as an available means of persuasion. Jay Prosser (2012) defines

transmedia campaigns as “no longer a single medium- images fused with words, sound, motion on the Internet, cameras, on phones” (p. 7). For this project, I synthesize Prosser’s definition to include DeLuca et. al’s presentation of panmediation. While panmediation includes the same components as a transmedia campaign, DeLuca extends the array of mediums to include “an ever-changing combination of myriad media, from writing and print and photography to television and radio and cinema to the Internet and laptops and smartphones” (DeLuca et. al., 2012, p. 487). These scholars intend to exemplify how mediums from various social frames are selectively combined to produce a modality that reflects standard cultural understandings.

*Exploring Humanitarian Law* exemplifies a transmedia campaign, because its publicity deploys a blend of different mediums, such as YouTube videos, the Website, “discussion guides,” recommended books, the narrative stories and other aspects of the campaign, and countless social media outlets to communicate with a broad audience. By using this various platforms, which are both digital and print, the campaign is multimodal and encouraging interactive participation. O’Flynn (2014) notes how this has become a standard marketing ploy:

Designing for participation has become an almost required component in the discussions of transmedia documentaries, particularly in the context of social concerns, as documentary makers seek to leverage social media platforms to invite audiences to contribute content and to connect with each other. (O’Flynn, 2014: p. 143)

In other words, O’Flynn asserts that transmedia documentaries are designed specifically for audience interaction. This is seen particularly with the *EHL* curriculum, as it constantly implores viewers to “get involved.” This is done with small buttons to connect with the

organization via Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, and YouTube. A plus sign at the top of the screen allows the user to add contacts from their email address to share the site with ease.

An important staple of transmedia campaigns, the *EHL* curriculum is built upon audience interaction. Encouraging students to the site to do more than just watch, the curriculum recruits the learners, who then need to recruit their friends and family, to create a community of change-makers. The campaign gives “you,” the student, the agency to make a difference in your community, and in the world. The focus on student participation is assumedly fueled by the affective response of the viewer to the stories or films, which describe sad or otherwise uncomfortable situations, such as that of Grace Lorch and Illija Gajic.

For example, Module 3 has a video and surrounding discussion questions titled “What we did at My Lai,” which has former American soldiers speaking about their time in Vietnam- in particular, one occasion in which they slaughtered 500 unarmed villagers in search of a Viet Cong troop. One participant, Varnado, talks about how he was trained to kill in order to protect himself and his comrades. He narrates his experience in My Lai, when he saw a woman running near their brigade, holding something tightly to her chest. Thinking it was a bomb, he shot her four times. When he rolled her over, he saw a dead baby; it’s face half gone from the bullets (a transcript of the video is available on p. 49 of Module 3). Varnado is clearly anguished and full of regret, but he blames it on his training from the army. After discussing the definition of a war crime and how to report, students are asked, “As a soldier,” and “As a diplomat at a neutral embassy, what would you do?”

While the stories, videos, and photographs shown can be terribly sad, the *EHL* curriculum maintains that the ICRC and “you,” can always do something about it. A “note”

attached to Module 5E states the maxim: “Doing nothing is as much a choice as taking any specific action.<sup>15</sup>” Throughout the entire curriculum, students are asked to make difficult, “no-win” decisions, and discuss the implications of their choices. This type of critical thinking places the student into an imaginary realm; as she must assume and guess about the real-life consequences of her choices, though she are not physically present in the situation itself. Nor, is that situation likely to occur in her lifetime. Thus, a study of the curriculum necessitates a proper discussion of its relation to Azoulay’s civil imagination.

#### **4.6 Discussion: *EHL* and Civil Positioning**

The curriculum positions the student as having the agency to change perceptions of humanity in the midst of war. Module 1, for example, urges the student that she is more than a bystander, and she need not act as one. Lucy Brown, the Senior Advisor for IHL at the Red Cross, stated that students realizing their responsibility to make a difference are the key to the *EHL* curriculum.

We let people in our classes know that they, as individuals, have an important role to play in making [humanity in the midst of war] happen. Many people feel a profound sense of helplessness when faced with the brutality and suffering of war. They would like nothing more than to turn away. We tell them IHL makes a difference and that they themselves can make a difference- for humanity. (Brown: 2006: p. 117)

The curriculum is telling the students they can make this difference by encouraging them to “do something.” Civil positioning, a concept from Ariella Azoulay, illuminates this interaction. Azoulay conceives civil positioning as a way of discussing how a person views an “other,” or a human removed and unfamiliar from one’s typical worldview. When we attempt to view this “other,” our ability to connect with them on a human level can be obfuscated by our sociocultural perceptions. She argues that society controls our vision of

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.redcross.org/rulesofwar/module-5e-ethics-of-humanitarian-action>

our surroundings; they shape the framing of a story, photograph, video, or other discourse. Therefore, when we look, we see what the society we are a part of sees.

As I discussed in the previous chapter, the civil imagination is a different way of thinking about a pictured “other.” Instead of looking with the lens muddled by our sociocultural limitations, we see situations through the lens of a civil discourse. A civil discourse is one that seeks to induce partnership between people and groups, rather than emphasizing the sovereign’s power. “To do this” states Azoulay, “requires an act of imagination” (Azoulay, 2011: p. 3). We must imagine ourselves as equal citizens, transcending the individual mind or matter, and looking toward a collective group mind. This imagination is possible because we have been positioned properly, the situation unframed beyond the regime structure. Thus, civil positioning is the precursor to the civil imagination. The civil imagination sparks the perspective of the citizen-sans-sovereign: seeing the “other” as part of a “we” or “us” instead.

Thus, the *EHL* curriculum first positions students civilly: the sad stories, graphic details, and sorrowful pictures eliminate racial, religious, and classist boundaries. They are affectively effective, evoking a reaction of compassion for the person whose unfortunate story is being described. The characters, who are the focus of the stories and videos, are not military men, Muslim women, or Jewish children; they are human people whose emotions are carefully described. Thus, the student can feel a connection with distant individuals, forgoing the social and cultural contexts that may separate them. Then, the curriculum evokes the students’ civil imagination, as it asks them, “What would YOU do?” The student has a description of the characters, the IHL mandates, and a brief notation of



the historical and cultural context. They are essentially acting on the powerfully affective experience encountered with the “other” through the curriculum’s civil positioning.

The curriculum is exceptionally emotionally charged. Stories are told in explicit detail, communicating the misery present in the subject’s situation. Implicitly, however, is how the student is supposed to respond emotionally to the explicit description. In Module 5, for example, the students are asked questions such as, “How were [the characters] affected by the armed conflict?” after they see a video of two young boys fleeing unaccompanied to a refugee camp. The question does not directly state an emotional reaction to the video, proclaiming it “sad” or “heartbreaking.” However, the tales told by the boys are emotionally charged. They do not say, “We now lack economic stability.” They spoke about being hungry and sleeping under tents, and the reactions from their schoolmates which shamed them: “I think the worst thing is when the other children start teasing you and call you ‘refugee’” (*EHL* Module 5A, p. 13). The story implicitly communicates that the students should react with compassion to the circumstances recounted in the scenario. *EHL* encourages students to identify and emulate with the characters in films or narratives by asking them to “reflect” after viewing or reading.

The ICRC claims neutrality and impartiality, but there is little doubt when reading their stories, looking at photos, and viewing films, what the “right” way to feel is. They are inherently charged with fear, sadness, disgust, and despair, and the subsequent discussion questions rely on the assumption that the student will sympathize with the perceived victim. Sympathy and compassion are two emotions used by *EHL* in attempts to foster identification with an unfamiliar “other.” The stories communicated within the curriculum about people in heartbreaking situations attempt to show shared humanity. They do not

mention race, religion, class, political ideology- anything that could limit a student from forming an emotional connection with the character. Instead, they rest on basic needs- hunger, thirst, family, love, and the fear faced when an uncontrollable, external force threatens these basics.

The student can identify with the human described in these stories. This is enabled by Azoulay's civil imagination, as the curriculum positions her without sociocultural perceptions, but just human-to-human emotional association. The emotionality of *EHL* presents an opportunity for a student to imagine a connection with an "other," which allows her to reimagine their relationship without sociocultural boundaries. Therefore, in creating space for identification via the civil imagination, the curriculum creates a space for the human connection essential to the ARC's principle of humanity to take hold. This shared fraternity exemplifies DeChaine's argument that NGOs have the ability to redefine global community. Azoulay's civil imagination, demonstrated via the ARC's *EHL* program, illustrates how NGOs can use "symbols, meanings, and representation" to make "profound social and cultural implications" (DeChaine, 2005: p. 3). *Exploring Humanitarian Law* has the power to shape cultural understandings by reinforcing the notion of a shared global community among students.

In this chapter, I exhibited how the ARC uses *Exploring Humanitarian Law* for advocacy efforts. The curriculum aims to educate students about International Humanitarian Law, while also raising consciousness about the social and cultural effects of armed conflicts. I demonstrated the curriculum's attempts to create internationally socially conscious young adults through discussion questions, video and audio segments, worksheets, and stories. My analysis contributed a new categorization- transmedia- to

Kingston and Stam's suppositions on mediated outreach methods. This chapter showed how the civil imagination can induce identification with an "other," creating a stronger global community.

## Chapter 5: Conclusions

### 5.1 Summary

Through comparative analysis, this project sought to provide an extension of Kingston and Stam's online advocacy analysis methodology and to explore how the ICRC relies on the civil imagination to achieve its goal. My introduction provided an organizational history of the American Red Cross and established the organization's current strategies for global community making. My second chapter contextualized outreach approaches used by the American Red Cross during WWI and WWI. These campaigns encouraged support for Red Cross activities through print appeals that evoked notions of civic duty to your country, and sympathy for others. My first contemporary case study analyzed how *Prisoners of War*, the ICRC's online flash game, uses role-play as an unfamiliar "other" to create space for identification. I found that the game illuminated Kingston and Stam's categorization of Theory 2.0. The video game's interactive nature accomplished a level of identification with the player that would be otherwise unattainable without the platform. My second contemporary case study focused on *Exploring Humanitarian Law*, a curriculum developed by the American Red Cross. Although I approached the curriculum as an example of a Supersize approach to mediated advocacy, I found the category insufficient. As a result, I introduced a third category, transmediation, and argued that it provided a fuller account of the ARC's *EHL* methodology.

### 5.2 Implications

This thesis focused on one NGO to discuss the continuing formation of global community. Rhetorical scholar Robert DeChaine argues that NGOs are charged with the development and maintenance of this global community- they are "advocates and

mobilizers” (DeChaine, 2005: p.7). DeChaine’s work is now a decade old, and its age shows through lack of consideration for the Internet. Providing previously unimaginable global interconnectivity, the Internet allows NGOs deeper connections with their volunteer and donation bases. In order to be relevant, NGOs must have a strong online presence. The making of global community relies on the ability to communicate with constituents, and to create human connections between individuals from different cultures and various corners of the world. Both *Prisoners of War* and *Exploring Humanitarian Law* illustrate how the Red Cross made human connections by encouraging users to identify with characters and subjects shown. The web provides a platform for interactivity that can introduce and familiarize one with the otherwise unfamiliar. My project therefore updates DeChaine’s work by providing an analysis of NGO’s community meaning making through virtual and digitally connected worlds.

I have illustrated how the ICRC and the ARC form global community through their mediated outreach efforts. Using Kingston and Stam’s language of “Theory 2.0” and “Supersize,” I evaluated the symbols, meanings, and representations that the Red Cross’ utilized for online outreach. Each chapter and case study demonstrated that the Red Cross relies on identification with an unfamiliar other. From the *Red Cross Magazine* and wartime posters, to *Prisoners of War* and *Exploring Humanitarian Law*, the Red Cross’ outreach rests on creating connections between participant and subject matter.

I found that the *EHL* program was neither Theory 2.0, nor Supersize. This project contributes a third categorization- transmedia- to be considered in conjunction with Kingston and Stam’s work. A transmedia approach is multimodal, unlike Supersize. It is also less interactive than a video game, and does not necessitate the Internet to be effective,

and is therefore not Theory 2.0, either. I therefore extend Kingston and Stam's work to include mediated advocacy efforts that do not fall on either side of their binary.

Additionally, my project explored two secondary concepts in order to understand the rhetorical dynamics of outreach. My analyses relied on Peterson's 2009 conception of sentimental education: the crux of the connection between campaign and viewer.

Peterson's work helped describe how the ICRC and ARC guided a participant's emotional responses, asking her to emote properly. Through sentimental education, the organization asks participants to reevaluate their relationship with the subject shown. This provides an opening for Azoulay's 2011 assertion of civil positioning. When political and sociocultural influences are removed, the participant can reevaluate their relationship with the subject based on compassion and shared humanity.

As civil positioning makes clear the potential for human connection when institutional forces are removed, it likewise illuminates how these forces are at work. Therefore, civil positioning provides a productive means of examining how advocacy campaigns address institutions. Civil positioning helpfully demonstrates power structures at work within "looking." Its cousin, the civil imagination, can be deployed by NGOs to eradicate the effects of the institution by helping the participant evaluate their relationship with the subject through civil community. Within my historical review, I found that the civil imagination was employed to emphasize global community and create international connections. The ability of *Prisoners of War* to make a tangible difference in players' understanding of the Geneva Conventions and military strategies was reliant on the game's ability to spark the player's civil imagination. Likewise, study of *Exploring Humanitarian Law* indicated how the ARC used narratives to open students' civil imaginations.

Each case study shows how the ARC lessened the distance- geographically, politically, emotionally- between the viewer/player/student and the subject matter shown. Each evoked the civil imagination, extending the political space between participant and content. Furthermore, in applying the civil imagination, each created a compassionate and understanding space that focuses on the humanity of the “other.”

Importantly, this project extends Azoulay’s concepts. Her work focuses on photography whereas my thesis encompasses a variety of mediums. In my first case study, I discussed written narratives of war that “paint a picture” in the viewers mind, as well as illustrated war posters. I demonstrated how *Prisoners of War*, as a video game, is necessarily interactive, and my analysis of *EHL* explored the potential of transmedia outreach. As my thesis demonstrates, addressing the intersection between visibility and interactivity enriches Azoulay’s concepts. The concept of the civil imagination should not rest solely on the photograph: the concept of an imagination is limitless and resourceful.

Therefore, I have provided an extension of both Kingston and Stam’s distinctions to include transmedia methodologies, and an expansion of Azoulay’s work to include interactivity and all forms of visibility. I have demonstrated the necessity of these additions, and illustrated their implementation. Theory 2.0, Supersize, and Transmedia are approaches to studying NGO online presence that consider all types of digital outreach methods. Furthermore, the civil imagination elucidates the affordances of community and rhetoric of civil obligation.

### **5.3 Suggestions for future research**

My work analyzed the mediated outreach efforts of the ICRC and the ARC. Future research can expand this in-depth analysis to consider several NGOs to form a

comprehensive review. Additionally, the concepts I consider, while useful for any NGO, can also be applied to human rights journalists. Each is a productive channel for human rights work.

I suspect that there are more categorizations necessary to fully understand the affordances of the Internet for NGOs, beyond Theory 2.0, Supersize, and transmedia. For instance, Jane Wakefield, technology reporter for the BBC, wrote about her experience with a beta Syrian refugee camp virtual reality. Virtual reality is more than Theory 2.0, and more than transmedia: it is a completely immersive experience that Wakefield says gives one “the embodied feeling of being ‘on scene.’ This can give the audience a deep and more visceral understanding of a story” (Wakefield, 2015). Virtual reality is an example of the move toward more responsive and encompassing technologies to induce empathy.

While virtual reality technologies are still in the process of mass development, organizations can take to their basic principle- interactivity- to effectively communicate with their constituents. Theory 2.0 and transmedia campaigns are attempts at creating identification through the use of the Internet. For most, the Internet is a staple of daily life. It’s confluence and our reliance on it will predictably only deepen over the course of the next decade. Constant reevaluation of our interaction with the web is necessary. It is imperative to continually analyze how the Internet has shifted our community creation.

While many NGOs and other organizations have already committed their work to Supersize-type websites, Kingston and Stam’s work demonstrates that a Theory 2.0 approach can be vastly more effective. Theory 2.0 and transmedia campaigns are often interactive, allowing for user participation in a way Supersize does not. Jason Goldman, Chief Digital Officer for The White House, in a blog entry for Medium.com, remarked that



there has been a key shift away from page views, which used to be the primary measure of a webpage's success. Instead, Goldman notes that media is being used in a way that allows persons to work together. He states, "Broadcasting isn't the same as connecting.

Broadcasting can create awareness. But connecting people can create engagement and change" (Goldman, 2015). Goldman's words echo my findings: that interactivity can make identification with the unfamiliar subject easier than ever. Not only can people learn about one another at astonishing rates, but they can also donate money, supplies, and skills, and see the results of their contribution in real time. Interactivity has the ability to make you "become more passionate and empathetic and ultimately more human" (Wakefield, 2015). Interactivity has the ability to foster deeper engagements with distant others, broaden our collective civil imaginations, and encourage recognition of our obligations to global community.

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## Curriculum Vitae

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### Education

#### **Communication and Rhetorical Studies, MA: May 2015 (expected)**

Syracuse University, Syracuse NY

Advisor: Dr. Anne Demo

Current GPA: 3.89

#### Research Experience:

Independent Study: (2014) Dr. Armando Rodriguez: An in-depth look at the rhetorical arousal of the Rockefeller Drug Laws of 1973

Digital Outreach Efforts of the Red Cross: (2015) Thesis project with Dr. Anne Demo: an analysis of online platforms used for human rights advocacy

#### **Culture and Communication, BA: May 2013**

Ithaca College, Ithaca NY

Advisor: Dr. Donathan Brown

Concentration in: Intercultural and International Studies

Minor in: Anthropology

GPA: 3.5 - Cum Laude

#### Exceptional Coursework:

Race and racism: CRCR 324: *Critical Race Theories*; ANTH 241: *Modern Africa*; SOCI 207: *Race and Ethnicity*; SPCM 347: *Intercultural Communication*; ANTH 205: *Human Variation*; SOCI 217: *Mental Health in Context*

Socioeconomic Inequalities: SOCI 207: *Race and Ethnicity*; SPCM 347: *Intercultural Communication*; CLTC 100: *Intro to Culture and Communication*; ANTH 370: *Applied Anthropology*; POLT 142: *Ideas and Ideologies*; EDU 340: *Social and Cultural Foundations of Education*; TVR 220: *Global Flow of Information*; ANTH 225: *South Asia: India & Neighbors*

### Emergency Management Institution

(2012-2013) FEMA Independent Study Courses completed:

Course IS-00909: "Community Preparedness: Implementing Simple Activities for Everyone"

Course IS-00910: "Emergency Management Preparedness Fundamentals"

Course IS-00021.12: "Civil Rights and FEMA Disaster Assistance"

Course IS-00042: "Social Media in Emergency Management"

Course IS-00111.a: "Livestock in Disasters"

Course IS-00244.a: "Developing and Managing Volunteers"

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## Academic Activities and Achievements

- (2015) Earned **Certificate in University Teaching**
- (2015) **White Denison Speaking Competition:** event coordinator and guest judge
- (2015) **Leaders for Democracy Fellowship:** graduate team leader
- (2015) **Phi Beta Delta:** Honors international and intercultural scholars
- (2014-2015) **Rhetorical Society of America:** SU Chapter Event Coordinator
- (2014) **Creative Opportunity Grant:** to complete research in London, U.K. and Paris, France- Summer '14
- (2014) **Camp Rhetoric '14:** Hosted by Penn State University; State College, PA
- (2013-2014) **Rhetorical Society of America:** Syracuse University Chapter
- (2013-2015) **Future Professoriate Program**
- (2013-2015) **Teaching Assistantship Award,** Syracuse University
- (2013) **Society of Wine and Jurisprudence,** Cornell University
- (2010-2015) **Lambda Pi Eta:** National Communication Association  
-Executive Committee Member: 2012-2013
- (2009-2013) **Anthropology Club**
- (2009-2013) **ALANA Scholar:** (Asian, Latino/a, African, Native American Student) Ithaca College annual merit-based scholarship for exceptional academic performance.
- (2009-2013) **John B. Harcourt Scholar:** Ithaca College annual merit-based scholarship for exceptional academic performance.

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## Professional Experience

### **Syracuse University: Teaching Assistant** *full-time contract*

Spring 2014 & Spring 2015: CRS 325- Presentational Speaking:

Independently developed and taught course designed to teach students the basic tenants of public speaking in a variety of genres and settings. The course focuses on constructing arguments, audience analysis, and delivery. Lecture planning and performance, lesson planning, activity coordination, grading, discussion facilitation.  
44 students per semester.

Fall 2013: CRS 225- Public Advocacy:

Independently developed and taught course designed to teach students media literacy skills and improve students' presentational speaking abilities. Activity coordination, discussion facilitation, grading.  
66 students per semester

Fall 2014: CRS 183- Introduction to Communication Methods:

A basic introduction to communication methodologies. Performed duties as a grader, assessing work in essay and experimental design formats.



**Wegmans: Front End Coordinator**

(2011-2013) *Ithaca, NY*

During scholarly semesters: 16-24 hrs/week

Responsibilities:

- Oversee the front end (check-out) operations
- Coordinate and manage the activity of up to 30 cashiers and other employees at one time
- Promote store sales by offering incredible customer service
- Handle customer questions and concerns by offering the best possible solution available
- Collaborate with team leaders to write cashier reviews; make recommendations as necessary

**AmeriCorps Community Outreach Associate**

The American Red Cross: *Central New York Region*

June - December 2012 (900 hr. contract)

35 hrs/week (full time during Fall semester 2012)

**Disaster Preparedness Education**

- Lead classes in the community
- Offer instruction on how to best mitigate natural and man-made disaster situations
- Communication link between local chapter and community organizations

**Youth and Young Adult Services**

- Provide support to local school district Red Cross Clubs
  - Instruct Red Cross Clubs and other young adult organizations in International Humanitarian Law
  - Developed a pilot program for National
    - A peer-educator program that would provide a conversational learning environment for local teenagers to learn about International Humanitarian Law
    - Recruited interns from local organizations
    - Organized target groups in schools to host program
-

