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„Communicating Global Social Justice Issues with
Documentary Storytelling“

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'The scale of climate change engulfs even the most fortunate. There is now no weather we haven't touched, no wilderness immune from our encroaching pressure. The world we once knew is never coming back.

I have no hope that these changes can be reversed. We are inevitably sending our children to live on an unfamiliar planet. But the opposite of hope is not despair. It is grief. Even while resolving to limit the damage, we can mourn. And here, the sheer scale of the problem provides a perverse comfort: we are in this together. The swiftness of the change, its scale and inevitability, binds us into one, broken hearts trapped together under a warming atmosphere.

We need courage, not hope. Grief, after all, is the cost of being alive. We are all fated to live lives shot through with sadness, and are not worth less for it. Courage is the resolve to do well without the assurance of a happy ending. Little molecules, random in their movement, add together to a coherent whole. Little lives do not. But here we are, together on a planet radiating ever more into space where there is no darkness, only light we cannot see.'

(Kate Marvel, 2018)

Abbreviations

BCC	Behaviour change communication
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
BCC	Behaviour change communication
NODAPL	No Dakota Access Pipeline
ICC	International Criminal Court
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo

1 Problem area and research question

"Stories are the best antidote to the dehumanisation caused by numbers. They restore our empathy [...] I see myself, the people I would give my life for, in every tale that I am told."

(Khaled Hosseini, 2018)

Heavy economic disparities, civil wars and climate change are the face of a global crisis, that requires a collective response across the world to take on the shared responsibility of sustaining our future. Yet convincing people of their involvement in these issues has been a major challenge for all kinds of actors, that work to counter the injustices and inequalities in the current world system – from cosmopolitan theory, political science to development studies and the philanthropic sector. The field of cosmopolitan theory in particular has been concerned with how to communicate responsibilities and obligations on the global level for many decades and yet in the face of increasing global challenges like climate change or humanitarian crisis has seen a revival, particularly in the last decades. The result is a variety of different models, that try to conceptualize the global responsibilities we have towards each other and the planet. Among them, the call for a *methodological cosmopolitanism*, that the German sociologist Ulrich Beck (2016) proposes in his paper *Varieties of second modernity and the cosmopolitan vision*. He describes it as a lens through which to perceive the world, that highlights the outward look as opposed to the isolating inward look, that is prevalent in a world system dominated by nation-states. Beck argues that whether we are able to see the interconnections and relate ourselves to the distant others elsewhere on the planet or not, does not change the fact, that we are intertwined, and that the 'global Other is in our midst already' (Beck, 2016, p.260). Yet the humanitarian and ecological challenges of our time require an awareness of the complex interconnections and binding ties to solve them. Given this understanding, the cosmopolitan project is thus not about whether there are ties, that bind us together, but rather about what the nature of these ties is, and above all, what their implications are for our individual behaviour. Emphasizing these ties and encouraging a sense of belonging among distant strangers to motivate them to act on behalf of each other's well-being, is thus at the core of the cosmopolitan project as I will understand it in this thesis.

The goal of the cosmopolitan project, as I understand it, is to provide people with access to information and stories that educate them about their connections to distant strangers and thereby empower them to find out about the implications for their daily lives.

And while it is a challenge to adjust the mind to such a large framework as a global community and to grasp the complexity of global social injustices, through my research I found that storytelling is a powerful tool to establish influential narratives of 'the global' and to underpin the often abstract seeming term with concrete images to strengthen a sense of global relatedness and responsibility. In a world that is largely dominated by audiovisual media¹ and where experiences are mediated through electronic technologies, the documentary genre is a particularly promising tool to communicate cosmopolitan issues. My research question stems from that observation: **how does communicating global social justice issues with documentary storytelling help to create a cosmopolitan mentality and enable the audience to become active agents in these issues?**

In a first step I will discuss the theory of cosmopolitanism more in-depth. I will understand cosmopolitanism as an inclusive mentality, aware of the elitist, Western bias that the concept carries with it. However I will outline David Jefferess and Jan Nederveen Pieterse's concepts of cosmopolitanism, who understand it as a universal ethos and skill that can be practiced by anyone regardless of their origin, faith, race or gender. Furthermore I will discuss different approaches to explain what binds us all together, focusing on thin cosmopolitanism, that emphasizes our common humanity and thick cosmopolitanism, which focuses on causal relationships. This will lead me to discuss the cosmopolitan obligations deriving from these binding ties. Given that we live in a world system shaped by injustices, I will thus first explore the notion of justice in the global context with a focus on increasing social injustices, that intersect with issues of environmental justice, as one reason for the recent revival of cosmopolitanism and the circumstance, that makes cosmopolitan behaviour a necessity. I will not focus on global justice as the enforcement of international law, but rather on those social justice issues with a global dimension, that are not (sufficiently) addressed nor recognized within the existing justice regimes of the international political community.

I will specifically discuss James Tully's (2011) five local-global injustices and the idea of co-operative citizenship. Considering that a large number of people does not recognize their role in the global social injustices specifically, the next chapter will thus be an investigation on the reasons for the lack of motivation to become active agents. I will particularly focus on socio-psychological research on the issue of empathy and distance, cognitive dissonance, the

¹ I am aware that the access to the internet is different depending on the world region and specific location. The connection to and accessibility of electronic technologies and the internet is thus another matter of injustice and inequality that needs to be discussed elsewhere.

confirmation bias and the lack of cosmopolitan frames that hinder people from thinking globally.

In the second part of my theoretical inquiry, I will present global social justice documentary storytelling, meaning such documentaries that represent local struggles with global relevance, as a tool to make cosmopolitanism more tangible. Documentaries have been used as tools for political and social activism throughout film history. They can tell stories from elsewhere in the world to any spectator, that has access to it². I will argue that by providing narratives about distant strangers, the audience can identify with the 'mediated other', both on a cognitive and emotional level, which enables them to learn and exercise empathy. I will refer to psychological research that explains the effects of imagined contact and will analyze that in relation to 'global imaginaries' (Bondebjerg, 2014a, p. 1) and cosmopolitan behaviour. Furthermore the public health sector has been using narration-based interventions for a long time. I will draw on their research to discuss global social justice documentaries as behaviour change tools (BCC's) that facilitate social change processes. I will further explore the importance of network building between the filmmakers and other social change actors to enable action beyond the films.

The last chapter of my thesis will be the analysis of two recent global social justice documentaries: the environmental justice documentary *Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock* (2017) by Myron Dewey, Josh Fox and James Spione about the water protector movement in North Dakota (USA) and *The Congo Tribunal* (2017) by Swiss director Milo Rau, dealing with the civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its global entanglements. The scope of my thesis however does not allow me to assess their success from a reception studies point of view, analyzing the effects the documentaries have on their audiences. This would require extensive qualitative and quantitative empirical research. I will thus look at their global imaginary in relation to their cosmopolitan narrative. I will further analyze the infrastructure around the film that aims to turn the spectators into active agents in the issues. This will lead me to a conclusion and brief outlook on how this thesis can inform those social change actors working to restore global social justice.

2 When I talk about the audience I am thus aware that the access to documentaries is limited for some, often particularly those affected most by the issues the documentaries present. While I will not be able to discuss this issue in length in this thesis, I am aware that this has significant consequences for the impact of a documentary.

2 Defining fundamental terms – cosmopolitanism and global social justice

Humans have been concerned with the question of how we are all linked together in our common humanity for thousands of years, thus the theory and practices of cosmopolitanism are versatile and diverse, ranging from spiritual traditions, philosophical inquiries, political projects to academic research. Cosmopolitan theory originates 'in the fourth century BCE [and] it posits that our political and moral existence should be played out on a world stage and that each of us belongs to a community of human beings that transcends the particularities of local affiliations' (Kymlicka & Walker, 2012, p. 1). In the beginning of this century the sociologist and anthropologist Ananta Kumar Giri further describes a revival of cosmopolitanism, which he interprets as 'a response to the challenges of living in an interdependent world' that 'reflects an urge to go beyond the postmodern and multi-cultural imprisonment in difference and realize our common humanity' (cf. Giri, 2006, p. 1278). Twelve years later, people are still concerned with that question, not only in academic research, but also on a grass-roots level (growing philanthropic sector). Looking at cosmopolitan theories and finding new ways of practicing cosmopolitanism is thus crucial at this point in history. Particularly since the term *cosmopolitanism* carries the weight of a deeply Western outlook on what it means to be a citizen of the world. As for the past the cosmopolitan was often associated with philosophers of the enlightenment, such as Kant and Rousseau, and thus linked to Western philosophy with the well educated, widely travelled male European as the embodiment of cosmopolitanism. Moreover the term has been associated with an urban environment and was attributed to those people living in the metropolitan city, where they are able to form relations with people from other countries and to identify with different parts of the world, suggesting that a sense of belonging to the world would be dependent on these privileges. Cosmopolitan theory has been criticized for that bias, yet particularly in the realm of post colonialism and discourses of globalization has seen a re-interpretation in the past decades.

In this part of my thesis I consequently will discuss those cosmopolitan concepts basing their ideas on the understanding, that acting in a cosmopolitan way or being a cosmopolitan is neither a privilege nor a skill reserved for those in power, but rather a way to be in relation with others and the world that is inherently part of being a human and can thus be learned and practiced by anyone, regardless of their origin, faith, race or gender. This part of my thesis will thus serve as an introduction to contemporary perspectives on how a belonging to the

world is conceptualized. Due to a lack of diverse representations of cosmopolitan theory in the academic research, I will mainly discuss theories with a Western bias³, yet will focus on such concepts, that offer a more inclusive lens through which to analyze and understand the various global social injustices in the current world system. I will then introduce the concept of *methodological cosmopolitanism* to counter nationalist outlooks on the world and will explore the different notions of cosmopolitanism, with a focus on *thin* and *thick cosmopolitanism* as two sets of relations that form the basis on which cosmopolitan obligations can be justified. These obligations are particularly important with regards to the global web of social injustices. In the next step I will thus discuss James Tully's (2011) approach to the global-local injustices of our time and will introduce his concept of co-operative citizenship as a way to be responsive to them. Considering that a belonging to the world depends on the earth existing in a state to be uninhabitable for human beings, the ecological crisis seems to be a significant caesura for the cosmopolitan project. In a last step I will thus discuss the ecological crisis as the focal point for any cosmopolitan analysis in the current global condition.

2.1 Perspectives on cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitan theory is not a designated field of research, it rather is a container for various concepts of how we relate to each other on a global level as members of the same species. Terminologies such as global citizenship, cosmopolitanism or cosmopolitization are used in different fields of study, ranging from political theory, philosophy to development studies. While there are as many definitions of the terms as there are scholars, one issue that has been a key subject of debate in cosmopolitan theory seems to be helpful in order to distinguish a Western concept of cosmopolitanism from a more universal understanding of it: the distinction between global citizenship and cosmopolitanism. David Jefferess from the *Faculty of Creative and Critical Studies* at the *University of British Columbia* in his article 'Global citizenship and the cultural politics of benevolence' (2008) for instance argues that cosmopolitanism describes a general sense of belonging to a world community while global citizenship in contrast is more closely connected to Western concepts of political organization (p. 28). Jefferess argues, that being a citizen requires a framework (such as the nation-state) in which certain rights and obligations can be carried out.

3 Being a white, female Western European raised and educated in Europe, my research too, is subject to a Western bias.

Yet on a global level, he remarks, there are limited possibilities to do so. He goes on that the very concept of being a *global citizen* is linked to the idea of the privileged and rich citizens helping the poor, less privileged others, which makes it a matter of power. Jefferess further criticizes that the concept of the global citizen identifies some actors as having the ability to make a difference or 'to make a better world *for* rather than *with* others' while others do not, which makes it a privilege to be a global citizen that can only be carried out by a certain group of people (Jefferess, 2008, p. 28). Such a mind-set sounds all too familiar when looking into the colonial past, where the others were either the 'savages to be civilized' or the 'poor souls' that needed to be saved by the Western Self. Given that the post-colonial world order is still shaped greatly by ongoing paternalism, it is crucial to read the concepts of cosmopolitanism with these considerations in mind and to ask who is included in these concepts in which way. Even though many works in cosmopolitan theory seem to monopolize the idea of the global community as a Eurocentric, elitist concept based in Western philosophy, the understanding of humanity as a whole is deeply rooted in many cultures and not at all a special feature of Western thought. From the Indian Vedic philosophy - that even incorporates the whole universe saying that everything is one - to Japanese buddhist traditions (the spiritual movement of Soka Gokkai under the Japanese author Tsunesaburo Makiguchi) that understand citizens not only as citizens of their local region but the whole world (cf. Henderson and Ikeda as quoted in Giri, 2006, p. 1279). This cosmopolitan understanding is also reflected in the Indigenous struggle for environmental justice to protect the planet, which I will discuss by looking at the documentary *Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock* (2017) in the second part of this paper. A holistic and truly universal and global cosmopolitan project thus needs to include all these diverse concepts, otherwise it is a Eurocentric endeavour. I do not intend to discuss the many concepts of relating to and being in the world here, yet point at the need for re-thinking cosmopolitan theory so that it reflects the multiple imaginaries of belonging to the world from different cultures and backgrounds and not only the Western understanding.

Multiple cosmopolitanism-s

I will proceed to use the term cosmopolitanism in Jefferess' sense, describing a belonging to a world community. Yet this belonging is the consequence of different political, economic, cultural and social processes. Consequently there is indeed not one cosmopolitanism but many levels on which we all belong together.

To me Jan Nederveen Pieterse's conceptualization of the cosmopolitan processes is helpful to understand its different manifestations. In his paper 'Emancipatory Cosmopolitanism: Towards an Agenda' the Dutch social scientist distinguishes between five forms of cosmopolitanism. There is *corporate* or *capitalist cosmopolitanism*, which describes the economic ties, that bind us together, such as the formation of free trade zones, the practice of liberal border politics or other measures to ensure the constant growth of the neoliberal capitalist world system (cf. Pieterse, 2006, p. 1250). He further subsumes all global actions with a social agenda, working towards global solidarity bringing people close in their pursuit of justice and well-being (such as social movements, NGOs and other organizations originating in the global civil society) under the term *social cosmopolitanism*. He further calls those activities, that are carried out by governments to influence global processes on the level of nation-states, *political cosmopolitanism*.

The fourth category he proposes is particularly interesting with regards to documentary storytelling (cf. Pieterse, 2006, *ibid.*). He introduces the category of *cultural cosmopolitanism*, under which he subsumes all transnational landscapes of communication technologies and aesthetics and thus acknowledges the significance of cultural practices – from world music, to architecture, tourism and art – to influence global processes (cf. Pieterse, 2006, p. 1251). This highlights the role of documentary storytelling as an artistic and cultural practice for the cosmopolitan project. The last category of cosmopolitanism is what he describes as *critical* and *emancipatory cosmopolitanism* and takes up on the notion of cosmopolitanism being an ideology of the privileged (cf. Pieterse, 2006, p. 1254). Pieterse argues that cosmopolitanism is empty, when it merely comes from above and lacks the actual experience of world citizenship from below (Pieterse, 2006, p. 1235). He firmly criticizes the elitist notion of cosmopolitanism and emphasizes the importance of experiencing and living world citizenship as have 'migrants, traders, itinerant artisans, pilgrims' been doing for ages (cf. Pieterse, 2006, p. 1255). In order to behave in a cosmopolitan way or identify as a world citizen one does not need to fit in a certain framework or be born at a particular place. Pieterse argues that 'Rwandan refugees in camps in Tanzania also write letters to the secretary general of the United Nations in the name of humanity' and thus live cosmopolitanism (Malkii as quoted in Pieterse, 2006, p.1255). Here once again the notion of a theoretical centre of cosmopolitanism is firmly criticized and the vast pool of cosmopolitan experiences – often found at the margins - is emphasized and the level of grassroots action highlighted. Focusing on the actual experiences of people and not favouring Western thought and research not only counters the

Eurocentrism of cosmopolitan theory, but also makes them less abstract on a micro-level, approaching the concept with a set of question: how do people position themselves in and express their belonging to a global community and how do they shape and react to globalizing processes? Consequently the different forms of cosmopolitanism are best understood when narrowed down to the individual, describing a mentality of responding to and actively shaping global economic, political, social and cultural processes. In that sense cosmopolitanism is a mind-set and learnable practice, which Pieterse sums up by saying: 'nowadays globalization is the circumstance and cosmopolitanism is the ethos' (Pieterse, 2006, *ibid.*). Consequently I argue that global social justice documentaries are a valuable tool for cultural, political, social as well as critical cosmopolitanism from below.

2.2 Methodological cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitization

Yet how can cosmopolitanism become an embedded mind-set through which people perceive the world and that motivates them to act accordingly? Beck (2016) proposes the concept of *methodological cosmopolitanism* as one solution. He notices that in the face of 'dramatic epochal transformations' such as climate change (p. 260ff) and a social reality that is in fact already highly cosmopolitanized – whether we acknowledge it or not – there is a need for a *cosmopolitan turn*. According to Beck, we live in a second modernity with an undeniable interdependency and accelerated interconnectedness across the globe as the most important characteristic of our time. Beck even concludes that 'the entire span of human experiences and practices is in one way or another' influenced by the 'overwhelming interconnectivity of the world' (Beck, 2016, p. 260). He argues that humanity is at a point in history where 'the global Other' might still be a theoretical category used in academic research, yet in reality this binary of the Self and the Other is already dissolved and the dichotomy only still exists in our minds (cf. Beck, 2016, *ibid.*). The social reality of one person, wherever located on the globe is thus closely intertwined with the life of distant others, facilitated by electronic technologies through which the sharing of experiences over large distances has become common cultural practice. The Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells (1996) calls that phenomenon 'the network society', in which social activities can be organized simultaneously across the world through new technologies, which changes the human experience of the world as a whole (cf. p. 477). Although not every corner of the world is wired yet and not all people have the same access to these technologies, be it because of structural issues or political restrictions - which is a

significant limitation to the communication of cosmopolitan issues - the global Other is in our midst more than it has ever been before. Beck (2016) describes this process as *cosmopolitization* that unfolds unwanted, unseen yet very powerful, because its effects are visible 'beneath the surface of national spaces, jurisdictions and labels' (cf. p. 260). He gives a long list of contemporary processes and practices, that illustrate the many ways human experiences are fundamentally transformed in that regard, from '*global free trade, corporate deterritorialization, trans-nationalized production, globalized labor force, globalized policy consulting, cyber space, global risks such as pandemics [and] terrorism*' to '*the ecological crisis or the cosmopolitanized arts and entertainment industry*' (Beck, 2016, p. 261). He further explains that such a system requires a re-mapping of the social inequalities, both on a macro as well as on a micro level. While it needs to be considered that people are affected differently by these global processes, the issues are every nations' and every person's concern because they are structurally enmeshed (cf. Beck, 2016, *ibid.*). Despite national and regional efforts for isolation such as 'trade protectionism, religious and national fundamentalism or media and internet control' he argues that the social reality is beyond the choices of accepting or refusing it. In consequence, Beck (2016) concludes, individuals and entire societies remain with two choices: to either cooperate and adapt to these changes in the world order or to fail (cf. p. 261). The major challenge however is the absence of a globally operating organization able and authorized to regulate the global processes of cooperation. Not only is there an absence of such an entity, but there is also a tendency in the opposite direction. Beck (2016) for instance observes an over-emphasis on the nation-state, which would block the view for global social injustices and inequalities. As long as there is a predominantly national outlook on inequality, looking inwards and emphasizing the social tensions within a nation itself, the social inequalities on a global level will remain off sight at the margins (cf. *ibid.*). In consequence the inequalities within one nation are enormously magnified in perception while those on the global scale are faded out. Concerning global social justice particularly along the lines of the global North and global South, this is a major challenge, since 'looking the other way' (Beck, 2016, p. 263) leads to a hierarchy in inequalities. The global social inequalities thus have less weight than the local and national ones. Beck's (2016) argumentation illustrates that the current global condition requires a radical *methodological cosmopolitanism* which 'not only includes the other's experiences [...]' (cf. Beck, p. 267) but also redefines the self-understanding by looking outwards and inwards equally. He further emphasizes the role of the media as an accelerator in these processes. The media thus has a responsibility to counter the inward-looking tendencies by shining light on the inequalities and injustices at the margins to

widen the vision. Before I will introduce the documentary as a tool for that in the following chapter, I will first discuss conceptualizations of how looking outward (the Other) and looking inward (the Self) relate to each other, in order to find frameworks for the cosmopolitan obligations we have towards each other. This is crucial when it comes to understand the reasoning of global social justice documentaries for a cosmopolitan outlook on the world. I will apply the following conceptualization of thin and thick cosmopolitanism to two global social justice documentaries in the second part of this thesis, to deconstruct their logic of cosmopolitanism and how they make global social justice issues tangible. These chapters present the basis on which to gain an understanding of global social justice communication through documentary storytelling.

2.3 Cosmopolitan obligations in the context of thin and thick cosmopolitanism

Given that we are all intertwined and are already living in a highly connected world, which obligations result from that? The Canadian political philosopher Patti Tamara Lenard concludes that 'cosmopolitan principles of justice tell us that it is the responsibility of the wealthy to ensure the immediate transfer of resources to the poor' (Tamara Lenard, 2012, p. 613). The scope of cosmopolitan obligations however not only covers the economic ties, but all relations between all human beings and is thus essentially universal (cf. Dobson, 2006, p. 167). However, the obligations are not universally applicable rules defined in an official paper everyone agrees on equally and everyone can be held accountable to, but rather are constantly negotiated issues, that are different depending on the community and culture they are debated in. The political scientist Andrew Dobson proposes a set of questions to better understand the nature of these obligations and what they entail. According to him it is crucial to ask the following questions: who is obliged and to whom? What are we obliged to do? What triggers it? How do political obligations 'trade' against other obligations and against rights that might 'trump' some obligations? (cf. Dobson, 2006, p. 166). These are complex questions that need to be answered differently, depending on the context, and that involve debates on crucial issues, such as civil and human rights. However regarding the justification of cosmopolitan obligations, there are two interesting trains of thought in cosmopolitanism: thin and thick cosmopolitanism. Thin cosmopolitanism argues that because we are all part of a global community, with our shared humanity binding us all together, we need to be compassionate with all human beings, and especially with those, that are vulnerable or less privileged.

This approach has been criticized since it would help sustain asymmetries in power and wealth by not focusing on the structural injustices and the causal relationships, that bind us together in a globalized world (cf. Dobson, 2006, *ibid.*). Thick cosmopolitanism incorporates these issues and 'involv[es] economic and social support for the victims of uneven economic development and de-industrialisation', which gives the cosmopolitan project the dimension of being an effort to establish a more just world order (Linklater, 1998, p. 203). Furthermore emphasizing the causal relationships makes it easier to establish an argument for global responsibility since '[w]e are more likely to feel obliged to assist others in their plight if we are responsible for their situation – if there is some identifiable causal relationship between what we do, or what we have done, and how they are.' (Dobson, 2006, p. 171). Although basing cosmopolitan behaviour merely on the notion of causal relationships is a rather limited approach in my understanding.

Building on a feeling of guilt, which derives from the realization, that we are in fact accomplices in other people's pain and suffering is not an effective motivator for cosmopolitan behaviour. Nicholas Faulkner (2016), from the Monash University in Australia, who focuses his research on political psychology, behavioural public policy and intergroup relations, conducted an experimental study, that investigated on cosmopolitan helping. His findings suggest a substantial limitation to thick cosmopolitanism. He found that even though reminders of in-group responsibility for causing harm increased the acceptance of responsibility and collective guilt, the harmed out-group was also dehumanized in the process, which in consequence had an inhibitory effect to cosmopolitan helping (cf. Faulkner, 2016, p. 1). Although the test subjects thus admitted to feelings of guilt, their commitment to taking responsibility was minimized, because the others were not perceived as worth the effort. Faulkner's (2016) results thus show that reminding individuals of their causal relationships to distant others had no significant effect with regards to their actual behaviour and willingness to 'cosmopolitan helping' (*ibid.*). To me this illustrates that thick cosmopolitanism alone is not an effective way to communicate global social justice issues. Hence thin cosmopolitanism, as the abstract overarching concept – that is engrained in many cultures – needs to go hand in hand with thick cosmopolitan argumentations to have relevant effects in impacting people's behaviour. Regarding the cosmopolitan obligations, thin cosmopolitanism thus tries to convince people of their ties to distant others on the basis of the philosophical notion, that we all belong to a global family of humans, while thick cosmopolitanism uses the logic of causal

relationships, primarily focusing on economic ties as proof of the connection to distant others as depicted in Figure 1.

thin cosmopolitanism	thick cosmopolitanism
abstract philosophical notion	concrete lived experience
common humanity is binding tie	causal (economic) relationships are binding ties
distant others are family	causal ties proof of connection to distant others

Figure 1

Moreover both approaches face the same challenge as Faulkner's (2016) research shows. Since without a common ground and perceived equality as human beings, it is a challenge to convince individuals of their cosmopolitan obligations. The lack of motivation seems to be at issue and Tarama Lenard for instance concludes that ' [...] it cannot be denied that most countries, and most individual citizens, seem unwilling to act as these principles demand' (Tamara Lenard, 2012, p. 613). Before I will discuss the specific reasons for the lack of motivation, in the following I will explore the notion of justice in the global context more in depth.

2.4 Justice in the global context

'In the current global condition, social justice must include an understanding of the interactions within and between a multitude of peoples. This is indeed a complex and inclusive pursuit. It is also an exciting and worthy pursuit. It requires the consideration of and sensitivity to all voices and all concerns.'
(Loretta Capeheart & Dragan Milovanovic, 2007, p. 2)

The Oxford Dictionary describes justice as 'the quality of being fair and reasonable' and 'the administration of the law or authority in maintaining it' (Oxford Dictionary, 2018). Accordingly justice describes a form of reasonable behaviour and the ability of an authority to hold individuals accountable for unreasonable behaviour in order to maintain a just state in a community.

While I do not aim to examine the range of philosophical notions of justice throughout history in detail, there is one particular train of thought I consider as helpful to understand notions of global social justice today: the idea of the social contract as the premise for mutual obligations in a community and the implications of a non-existent social contract on the global level for global justice. I am thus specifically focusing on global *social* justice, addressing social justice issues with a global dimension, that are not addressed adequately due to a lack of a global moral framework based on which people could be held accountable to actions, that affect distant others. In their book *Social Justice – Theories, Issues, and Movements* (2007) the philosophers and law scholars Loretta Capeheart and Dragan Milovanovic offer a comprehensive introduction to the versatile notions of justice. Their focus on contemporary issues of globalization and the environment make their inquiries particularly interesting for this thesis. Many of the philosophers, to which Capeheart and Milovanovic refer to, have been concerned with the notion of the social contract as the source for justice. The French philosopher Jean-Jaques Rousseau explains, that with the introduction of private property and extensive cooperative relations between people, inequalities emerged and conflicts were fuelled. This in turn made a social contract necessary to moderate and solve them. What Rousseau explains further, regarding the implications for moral behaviour, is particularly interesting with regards to social justice today. He concludes: *'Whereas in society prior to the contract, people were moral because of compassion, in contractual forms of society, it is reason, the will, that determines morality'* (Rousseau as cited in Capeheart & Milovanovic, 2007, p. 17). Considering this aspect with regards to global inequality and cosmopolitan obligations today, Rousseau's argumentation suggests that societies, which are based on rational thought and a social and political system, in which the social contract is the basis for law and order, compassion and empathy are less significant factors to determine moral behaviour. Linked to cosmopolitanism this would suggest that societies that are used to basing their moral guidance system on a social contract might have difficulties to base their moral behaviour on compassion. Based on the model: as long as there is no global sovereign, that is able to enforce the law, there are no binding cosmopolitan obligations. Rousseau's argument illustrates once more the dilemma of cosmopolitanism: on the one hand the absence of a global social contract might explain that argumentations of thick cosmopolitanism do not have the desired impact, yet the notion of being compassionate with other human beings just because they are human too in a thin argumentation, is not convincing enough either, because the Western Self in particular might need a binding social contract to take action. However there have been attempts to form a social contract on the global level.

In the aftermath of the Second World War the United Nations came together to formulate the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948. Reflecting on the significance of the document the United Nations state the following on their website:

'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a milestone document in the history of human rights. [...] Drafted by representatives with different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world, the Declaration was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris on December 10, 1948 (General Assembly resolution 217 A) as a common standard of achievements for all peoples and all nations. It sets out, for the first time, fundamental human rights to be universally protected and it has been translated into over 500 languages.'

(Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 2018, para. 1)

To this date the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* presents the only institutionalized framework to define justice on the global, universal level for all human beings. With the foundation of the *International Criminal Court* (ICC), the international community (120 states agreed to the Rome Statute) also established an authorized institution to hold the members of the community accountable to the standards. In the Rome Statute the states declared in a cosmopolitan spirit that they are 'conscious that all peoples are united by common bonds, their cultures pieced together in a shared heritage, and concerned that this delicate mosaic may be shattered at any time [...]' (ICC 1998, p. 1). Global justice in that regard refers to the official international legal framework of justice, that is enforced in a top-down effort by particular state communities, that do not involve all countries across the globe. With global social justice however I argue on the premise, that all humans, as living on planet earth are equal in a global community with responsibilities towards each other, regardless of whether they are defined in a legal framework or not. Consequently claiming and restoring justice in that sense implies a bottom-up effort in which these responsibilities are exercised. In the following I will thus use the term global social justice as referring to those issues of social justice that need to be understood in a global context, which are not adequately addressed by the official international institutions and that are of relevance to all people, even though they might be manifested only locally. Considering the multiple social injustices in the international arena and that the legal frameworks of the international community of nation-states often fail, it increasingly is the responsibility of the civil society to take action on them.

In the following I will thus discuss the main global social justice issues the civil society needs to address and the structural limitations to do so by introducing the four global-local injustices as defined by James Tully and his notion of the 'democratic deficit' (Tully, 2011, p. 5).

The four global-local injustices and the democratic deficit

In a speech at *The Conference on Challenging Citizenship* (2011) at the University of Coimbra the Canadian political scientist James Tully elaborated on global injustices and 'the struggles over justice and recognition' people across the world face each day. I consider his argumentation a sharp analysis of the complex global web of injustices and will have his framework in mind throughout this thesis whenever I mention global social injustices. Tully identifies four local-global injustices: '[...] (1) the horrendous inequalities, poverty and exploitation of the Global South, and, increasingly in the Global North; (2) climate change and the destruction of the environment; and (3) global wars, the militarization of conflicts and their collateral and blowback effects; and (4) unjust forms of recognition and non-recognition.' (Tully, 2011, p. 4). These injustices manifest locally however are the product of global dynamics. He remarks further that these injustices thus cannot be understood separate from another but rather are all interconnected. He perceives the injustices, and particularly the inequalities between the Global North and South, as the product of long-term and complex historical processes of 'modernisation, industrialisation, western expansion, exploitation of the world's resources and economic globalisation' (Tully, 2011, *ibid.*). Furthermore, even if one recognizes these injustices, the channels and possibilities to act on them through official institutions are greatly limited. Tully (2011) explains that 'when citizens try to exercise their civic response-abilities [...] by addressing the four injustices locally-and-globally, they find that the effective exercise of their democratic capabilities is limited' (*ibid.*). He explains this limitation with the inadequate possibilities to react to global injustices in legal and official ways citizens have within the frameworks of their countries. This applies for instance to the case of mal practice of Western multinational companies causing harm in the Global South but not being held accountable to their actions (the issues presented in *The Congo Tribunal* I will discuss in Chapter 6 are concrete examples of this). While the Western citizen might be aware of these injustices and willing to act on them, the national legal frameworks do not offer adequate ways to hold such actors accountable in an international arena, as I have touched on earlier in this chapter. This incapacitation is called *democratic deficit* and according to Tully marks the fifth injustice of our time (cf. Tully, 2011, p. 5).

Tully (2011) proposes three different ways to act on these five injustices. The first option is to *overthrow* the existing institutions and establish new enabling ones that would allow for citizens to work towards restoring justice on the global level. Another response is to *reform* the institutional structures (both on a national and international level) for a deep 'democratic participation in the public spheres and to make governments, policy communities, electorates, and institutions of global governance more responsive to the public deliberation and opinion-formation of concerned citizens.' (Tully, 2011, p. 7). Instead of reforming the institutions from within, Tully however favours a third option: to find self-governing forms of working together directly and around the existing institutions. He calls for citizens to 'exercise their capacities of self-government cooperatively in their struggles in response to the four global injustices' (Tully, 2011, *ibid.*). He calls this model *co-operative citizenship*. Tully describes *co-operative citizenship* as an empowering practice of local civil society grass-root actors that operate across borders in a manner that encourages *power-with* as opposed to *power-over* relationships. He further argues that for '[...] cooperative citizens, it is also necessary and primary to practice what they preach, or walk the talk, in their ethical conduct – to perform the duties or responsibilities that bring about the just result they advocate' (Tully, 2011, p. 31). His approach describes a non-violent democratic way of co-creating and co-authoring collective action and requires people to embody the change they wish to see (cf. Tully, 2011, p. 6). Considering the growing philanthropic sector, co-operative citizenship is not only widely practiced already, but also an opportunity to form networks of actors that enable each other to respond to the injustices humanity and all forms of life on the planet are facing at this moment in time. The cooperations and networks between the documentary film industry and the philanthropic sector are an excellent example of co-operative citizenship.

2.4.1 Environmental justice – is cosmopolitanism no longer a choice?

'Just five countries hold 70% of the world's remaining untouched wilderness areas and urgent international action is needed to protect them, according to new research.'

(Lisa Cox, 2018)

In his speech Tully not only relates all injustices to each other but also explains that they are also the reasons for a global ecological crisis. He remarks further that:

'[m]any of the social and ecological scientists argue that the apparent trend [...] is the gradual destruction of life on earth; through starvation, hunger and poverty; ever more destructive wars, war-preparation and their collateral effects; the destruction of biodiversity and the environment; and greenhouse gases, global warming and massive climate change.'

(Tully, 2011, p. 7)

Scholars call this *medea hypothesis*, which says that humanities' current way of life will ultimately lead to its destruction (Tully, 2011, p. 29). Referring to Karl Polanyi Tully introduces another dimension of the issue: the privatization of land and natural resources as if they are commodities (Polanyi as cited in Tully, 2011, p. 28). Which means that the eco system and all living beings are incorporated into a web of relations in an abstract and competitive global market. We as humans however depend on the interdependent ecological relationships of all beings, that make the planet uninhabitable for us. **While the *medea hypothesis* paints a rather negative and dystopian picture of the present and future, I understand the ecological crisis as a chance for cosmopolitanism.** Even though the consequences of ongoing global warming effect people differently across the globe and not everyone is yet negatively impacted by it, which poses a challenge to the communication of the urgency of the issue, the dimension of the global threat is real to all people. The official institutions of the international community also acknowledge climate change as a major threat and the issue is discussed widely in the national and international public spheres. As the Paris Agreement entering into force on the 4th of November in 2016, in which it says: '[...] The Paris Agreement[']s central aim is to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change by keeping a global temperature rise this century well below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase even further to 1.5 degrees Celsius.' (UNFCCC Sites and Platforms, 2018) illustrates, there is little doubt that the global community is in the midst of an ecological crisis. Hence to me the ecological crisis is one of the main reasons for the revival of cosmopolitanism. The common threat could be an opportunity for people to come together to find creative and effective solutions to this challenge. The co-operative and community-based ecology movement is one example of how this is put into practice. The common threat brings people of different backgrounds and from different countries together – ranging from Indigenous peoples, that have lived in a reciprocal relationship with the earth for millennia, Earth Democracy in India, where people work for water, land and food sovereignty (cf. Tully, 2011, *ibid.*) to countless local initiatives, e.g. on

the carbon dioxide footprint or land conservation. With the consequences of the ecological crisis a debate about what we owe each other in an unequal global economic system is particularly relevant considering that the industrialized countries are a major contributor to climate change. Hence what are the consequences for restoring justice if they are complicit in floods, storms and other natural disaster as a consequence of global warming. Calling the Western support for affected countries development aid for instance would be misleading. In that argumentation the support is rather part of exercising their duties and restoring justice by giving back what they owe. These reflections shall emphasize that the ecological crisis can be a turning point for cosmopolitanism, inspiring research and being a source and motivation for putting cosmopolitan theory into practice. The scope of the crisis might offer possibilities to find a form of collective action across borders – in terms of territory, culture, belief, religion and different ethical traditions. On that note, the professor for International Politics at Aberystwyth University in Wales Andrew Linklater also remarks, that 'the need for cosmopolitan thinking has never been greater, and it may yet come to shape political theory and practice to an unprecedented extent' (Linklater, 2007, p. 19). The need for cosmopolitan thinking might be evident for scholars in cosmopolitan theory or political science, yet for a large number of the general public this idea remains not tangible or is not as embedded in their consciousness. Even for people that are aware of the global injustices and ecological threats, in the face of the individual personal daily struggles and obligations, the cosmopolitan obligations do not play a similarly significant role. In the following I will thus discuss further challenges to communicate global social injustices by illustrating the psychological limitations, hindering people from cosmopolitan thinking and translating that thinking into action (e.g. grass-roots activities explained as co-operative citizenship by Tully).

3 Challenges to communicate global social injustices

Even in the face of a global ecological crisis it still remains a major challenge to communicate cosmopolitanism in a way that motivates people to become active agents for the common global good. The reasons for that are multifold and complex and I do not attempt to give a complete overview on the topic. However the research in cosmopolitan theory suggests that the way human emotions are intertwined with our behaviour poses a major challenge to the communication of global social justice issues. When and why do people care about distant strangers? And what is the role of empathy and compassion in it? In the following I will focus on the link between emotions and cosmopolitan behaviour. I choose to focus on the psychological aspects since the research on cosmopolitan theory suggests that questions of empathy, compassion and how we construct social reality as human beings are a significant limitation to cosmopolitanism. The psychological research thus can inform the research on cosmopolitanism in so far as to lead to a deeper understanding of the mechanisms that influence cosmopolitan behaviour and their implications for the communication of cosmopolitan issues. I am aware that this is a vast field of research with a number of heterogenous and contradictory studies from different disciplines and that the scope of this paper does not allow me to explain their effects in depth. I will thus particularly refer to a specific body of research mostly from social psychology. After a brief introduction to the role of emotions, the research of the social psychologists Rohmann et al. (2009) and Prati and Loughnan (2018) on intergroup bias and the impact of imagined contact on how people relate themselves to distant others will be my point of departure. This will lead me to the discussion on how distance and empathy relate to each other. I will draw on research that suggests a limited capacity to be compassionate with others and consider the consequences for cosmopolitanism. In a last step I will analyze the phenomenon of cognitive dissonance, particularly discussing the human tendency to seek for consistency in beliefs and world views and the role the lack of cosmopolitan frames in the public consciousness plays in that regard. This chapter shall thus serve as a brief overview on significant inhibitory factors to cosmopolitan behaviour and is the basis on which I will discuss documentary storytelling as one solutions to address these issues.

3.1 The role of emotions

One feature of human emotions presents a significant limitation to cosmopolitan behaviour: they can either be pleasant or unpleasant and they come at a certain intensity leading to a specific reaction. This is called the qualitative and quantitative dimension of emotions and they determine the motivational consequences for human behaviour. It seems logical, that a person in an unpleasant emotional state will be motivated to both escape the situation, that triggered the emotion and to avoid to feel that way in the future again. On the other hand, positive emotional states will motivate a person to reproduce and search for situations and circumstances that trigger these pleasant emotions. This illustrates the tendency of humans to strive for pleasant and positive emotional states ,such as love, happiness, joy, lust, and at the same time to avoid the unpleasant and negative emotions, such as fear and anger (cf. Bourne & Ekstrand, 2001, p. 292). Emotion and motivation are thus closely connected. On top of the qualitative, quantitative and motivational dimension, emotions also have a biological and cognitive dimension. They are embedded in a specific context and the emotional experience with the action this experience triggers are highly dependent on the individual cognitive interpretation of the particular context. The individual experience of an emotion thus motivates a person to translate this experience into a particular behaviour (cf. Bourne & Ekstrand, 2001, p. 293). Emotions thus have an experiential and a behavioural aspect. With regards to storytelling these findings suggests that an audience is more likely to respond positively to a story if it evokes pleasant emotions as opposed to a story that triggers unpleasant emotions. Considering that communicating global injustices includes topics that are associated with rather negative emotions, such as human suffering and pain, human rights violations, civil wars or the destruction of the environment, the way humans are hardwired to avoid negative emotional states is a challenge to communicating global social injustices.

Intergroup-bias and imagined contact

'It is preferable to rest the case for cosmopolitanism on socio-psychological commitments to empathy and sympathy, which are among the universal pre-requisites of social life.'

(Andrew Linklater, 2007, p. 21)

Looking at the psychological findings of Rohmann, Niedenthal, Brauer, Castano and Leyens on *'The Attribution of Primary and Secondary Emotions to the In-group and to the Out-group: The Case of Equal Status Countries'* (2009) and the related topics of sympathy and empathy offers another interesting insight into how emotions influence the communication of

cosmopolitan issues. In their article Rohmann et al. argue that humans tend to disproportionately attribute secondary emotions – such as empathy – to members of their own group while out-group members are overtly attributed with primary and basic human emotions. One experiment in their study focuses on the non-conflictual relationship between the Germans and the French, as what they call 'equal status countries'. They found that in the 'intergroup context individuals tend to ascribe an essential humanness to their own group and deny the same essence to out-group members (cf. Leyens et al. as cited in Rohmann et al., 2009, p. 3). Considering that both countries are quite similar in their position (Western European countries) it is even more interesting that they still hold a related kind of bias, that denies the other group the same humanness (cf. Leyens et al. as cited in Rohmann et al, 2009, ibid.). Hence merely speaking to the primary emotions supports superiority which contributes to feelings of inter-group bias and thus reduces empathy, while attributions of secondary emotions leads to increased empathy. Regarding this mechanism the study on *Imagined intergroup contact promotes support for human rights through increased humanization* (2018) conducted by the social psychologists Prati and Loughnan and from the University of Edinburgh and Bologna emphasizes the impact of imagined intergroup contact. They found that it helps to generate empathy and to reduce the mentioned biases. Loughnan et al. conducted the study with school children and undergraduate students to find out whether imagined intergroup contact would increase the support for human rights issues. They were told to imagine a pleasant and positive encounter with a strange person they identify as being very different from themselves. They found that imagined intergroup contact promoted the support for human rights in their test subjects. As a result of the imagination exercise they perceived the Other as more human, the researchers conclude. The authors explain that the imagined contact had similar effects like the direct intergroup contact and led to favourable attitudes towards out-group members. These findings suggest that even imagining positive experiences with others leads to 'the Self' attributing more human uniqueness to the Other even if they are not identified as their fellow group members (cf. Prati & Loughnan, 2018, p. 1ff). For the communication of cosmopolitanism and specifically social justice issues, these findings are helpful to find suitable communication strategies. The tendency to seek for positive emotions (and the low threshold for negative emotions), the intergroup bias and the possibilities imagined intergroup contact offers are to consider for any actor in the field of cosmopolitanism.

'In a felicitous phrase, what we are seeking to do is to overcome [...] the distance that separates us one from another and that makes obligations seem supererogatory rather than strict.'

(Andrew Dobson, 2006, p. 170)

The question why people are reluctant about other people's suffering in one case and care about it in another is complex. There is a huge body of research on emotions in the field of psychology, that has been of interest for various actors working to motivate people to behave compassionately towards distant strangers. The role of empathy in that and how it links to human behaviour has been discussed widely, especially in neoliberal settings, where the research on emotions is often used for marketing purposes to increase sales and profits. While this aspect is critically discussed elsewhere, I want to focus on how the diverse actors in the field of development and global social justice communication (e.g. NGOs, political and social activist, engaged individuals etc.) can profit from the research on emotions and empathy.

Strategies to reach people emotionally are inherently based on the assumption that humans are able to embody and feel the emotions of others, often described as empathy⁴. However it seems that this process is much harder the farther away the other is. Considering the fact that the global condition and current phase of globalization is characterized by a unique interconnectedness, this aspect is even more relevant (see chapter 2.3). Individuals can connect with each other across borders, facilitated by new technologies. Following the chain of goods from production, distribution to consumption further shows that individual decisions are embedded in a web of complex global ties that are mutually dependent. Despite the ever growing connections though, the ability to be compassionate with others seems to be lower when the others live elsewhere on the globe. There seems to be a remarkable disconnect on the interpersonal level between *the Self* and *the Other*, particularly over large distances. This privileging of the own group, and immediate family and friends, means that there is less capacity to worry about distant others and be empathetic with their suffering (Weber as cited in Cameron, 2017, p. 12).

⁴ Due to the scope of this paper I cannot refer to the discourse on empathy. However I want to point out the difference between empathy and sympathy. While empathy means that 'I can feel your pain', sympathy means 'I feel pity for your pain' (cf. Keen, 2006, p. 209). This distinction is particularly important for the discussion around inter-group bias, the issue of guilt-messaging, as well as *visual imperialism* I will discuss in the following chapter.

With regards to that the Canadian scholar John Cameron remarks that if human decision-making is based on the emotions we have towards our own group and the out-group this might lead us to 'immoral choices' (cf. Cameron, 2017, *ibid.*). Consequently this presents one of the key limitations to the cosmopolitan project. Social change actors have been addressing this issue for many decades. Particularly NGOs however have been facing massive and legitimate critique for their emotional-messaging bias. In order to motivate empathy in their target audiences they focus on the suffering of the distant other and offer charity and donations as the solution. However, relying on the victim-saviour dichotomy reproduces the superiority biases I referred to previously. Furthermore research has shown that these strategies seem not to be effective leading to what is called a 'compassion fatigue' and the dulled public sensitivity towards crisis (Moeller, 2002, p. 2). Accordingly, the more frequently people are confronted with other people's suffering (e.g. in the form of images from starving children or the devastation after natural disasters) the less sensitive they get, a phenomenon called desensitization. With the affected others being far away, in consequence to look the other way and to ignore the distant suffering becomes easier.

3.2 Cognitive dissonance – seeking consistency

As I have mentioned earlier, emotions are embedded in a social context. The social environment of a person however is constantly changing with not two situations being entirely the same. Even though no situation exactly matches another, people tend to relate them to each other and strive to find similarities in order to simplify and structure their social reality. The objective input from the environment is thus processed in a very subjective way. It is the individual's perception of this input which leads to the construction of their unique and individual social reality. The construction of reality forms the basis for everyone of us to behave in a complex social world and in order to interact successfully with one another, we need to 'understand each and every situation' (Greifeneder, Bless & Fiedler, 2017, p. 1). The social psychologists Susan Fiske and Shelley Taylor thus describe humans as 'consistency seekers' that constantly aim to match their prior beliefs to a new situation, even if this situation is entirely different (Fiske & Taylor as cited in Greifeneder et al., 2017, p. 3). The social psychologist Festinger further explains that potential inconsistencies in social thinking can create negative and aversive feelings, he calls this 'cognitive dissonance' (Festinger as cited in Greifeneder et al., 2017, p.4).

Considering the striving for positive emotions, this is a challenge when it comes to integrating negative or contradictory information into our social reality because that leads to a state of inconsistency (cf. Griefeneder et al., 2017, p. 3). One example of such an inconsistency in a globalized world is the following dilemma: on the one hand we like to think of ourselves as good people yet on the other hand buy products, that are produced under precarious conditions where people are harmed or even killed during the production process. Once we become aware of the issue for instance through a news article showing images of the destruction of the rainforest in Indonesia for the production of palm oil, making the devastation and despair of the people on the ground visible, we need to integrate this information into our construction of social reality. Assuming that this produces a negative feeling this 'aversive state in turn motivates individuals to reduce the inconsistency for example by changing one element of [the situation]' (cf. Griefeneder et al., 2017, *ibid.*). A possible reaction thus could likely be: 'my shampoo probably is not made with this particular palm oil' or 'I am already saving water and electricity, I cannot save the whole world'. This illustrates the way the individual strives to reduce the discrepancy between the input from the environment and the prior beliefs about themselves to find their place in the social world. This mechanism is often described as the *confirmation bias*, which says that people look for information, that match what they 'already think, want or feel' to avoid any discomfort or inconsistency in their thinking and behaviour. In consequence people 'avoid, dismiss, or forget information that will require them to change their minds and, quite possibly, their behavior' (cf. Center for Research on Environmental Decisions, 2009, p. 4). Consequently people dismiss information that make them feel uncomfortable, which in turn helps to avoid unpleasant emotions and thus fits well to the findings of Rohmann et al. and Prati and Loughnan and (see chapter 3.1). This combination of selecting information according to one's beliefs and avoiding negative emotions poses a major challenge to the communication of global social justice issues. Thus these findings need to be considered when it comes to how a documentary can effectively communicate global social justice issues to the public.

3.3 The lack of cosmopolitan frames

In the following I will discuss the absence of cosmopolitan frames that allow for other world views and beliefs to evolve, as another limiting factor to the communication of global social justice issues. Humans make sense of the world and their environment by creating categories.

We relate each and every experience of the world to something we have learned or experienced before to navigate our social world. Depending on the cultural background and socialization, humans form their individual pool of frames, that helps them to understand and move around in the world around them. The Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman describes frames as 'schemata of interpretation that help actors reduce socio-cultural complexity in order to perceive, interpret and act in ways that are socially efficacious' (Goffman as cited in Brulle, 2010, p. 85). On a biological level frames are a complex of neural pathways, that are activated in specific social contexts. We define every word and concept through the frames it neurally activates. Frames come in systems, a single word typically activates not only its defining frame, but also much of the system its defining frame is in. Language, either in the form of verbal expression or in the form of images, is what evokes frames in the brain. They are often misunderstood as primarily cognitive neural pathways and the consequence of rational reasoning. The US-American cognitive sociologist and professor for linguistics George Lakoff in his paper *Why it Matters How We Frame The Environment* (2010) criticizes what lies at the ground of the biased assumptions about the nature of frames: the enlightenment trap. According to Lakoff (2010) ever since ratio has been declared king, reason has been understood as 'conscious, unemotional, logical [and] abstract' while in his understanding real reason is 'mostly unconscious (98%), requires emotions; uses the 'logic' of frames; metaphors, and narratives, is physical (in brain circuitry) and varies considerably, as frames vary' (p. 72). This emphasizes the interplay of emotions and reason for human thinking and behaviour. The word hospital for instance immediately evokes associations such as doctor or nurse, maybe it even activates related frames such as health or death. Depending on the individual experiences and knowledge of a person, the composition and structure of the frame differs. However a similar cultural background and socialization increase the possibility to develop similar frames. The more experiences, knowledge and emotions people have in common, the more likely it is that a particular word evokes a similar frame. Another factor that contributes to the formation of an in-group and out-group as I have outlined in chapter 3.1. In that regard, frames can become both a uniting and separating factor. Moreover, it does not matter whether a frame is reaffirmed or not, in fact negating a frame does activate it as well. To strengthen the effect of activating a particular frame, repetition is key. The neural pathways in the brain connected to a certain frame will get stronger with repeated activation. These mechanism are important regarding the communication of global social justice issues for three reasons. For once frames can be the source of similarities and shared identity, yet a lack of common frames – as it can be the case for distant strangers with a different social

reality – can be another limiting factor. Secondly, the frames need to be considered by documentary filmmakers since the frames a story evokes will determine the reception and interpretation of the film. A documentary filmmaker thus needs to understand where an issue is located in the public consciousness to predict which frames resonate with an audience. Screening an environmental justice documentary in an area where people are not yet affected by the consequences of global warming for instance, might require different strategies to mobilize the audience, than targeting an audience that has to deal with the effects on a regular basis. Thirdly, we collectively lack adequate frames for the cosmopolitan and global responsibility. This is similar to the problems environmental activists have with communicating issues about the environment. The term 'the environment' intersects with economics, energy, food, health, trade or security evoking many different frames, that the reality of the situation cannot be captured by the '[...] citizens as well as our leaders, policymakers, and journalists'. This phenomenon is called *hypocognition*, which stems from cognitive linguistics and anthropology and describes the lack of cognitive and linguistic representations of concepts 'to describe ideas or explicate experiences' (Wu & Dunning, 2017, p. 1). The anthropologist Robert Levy introduced the notion of *hypocognition* into behavioural science after he had conducted research at the Society Islands in Tahiti, where he found that Tahitians did not express long-term grief after a significant loss and were describing their situation as 'sickness' or 'feeling strange' (Wu & Dunning, 2017, *ibid.*) because they were simply lacking a concept of grief. People are thus limited in the scope of which understandings of the world are possible and consequently inhibited in their expression of thoughts and feelings. Regarding the communication of cosmopolitan issues, *hypocognition* becomes even more challenging, since the global interconnections, accompanying feelings and emotions are very complex and adequate frames are needed to articulate and address them. As I have outlined in the beginning, many scholars have tried to establish global frames, that include concepts of a global community and global citizenship. Yet the increasingly more nation-based public discourses favour local frames and reinforce national identities, as I have explained with reference to Ulrich Beck which in turn blocks the development of cosmopolitan frames that would enable people across the world to understand their position in the global whole (see chapter 2.3). In the following chapter I will introduce social justice documentary storytelling both, a means to provide the public with frames, that enable the audience to understand their position in the global arena and as a tool to make the distant others and their social reality as well as emotions relatable.

4 Addressing these challenges with documentary storytelling

The American political scientist Benedict Anderson (1983) explored the power of storytelling, and what he calls myth-building, to create a sense of belonging among an otherwise heterogeneous group of people in his book *The emergence of the nation state*. The fact that a highly heterogeneous group committed to a larger entity, such as the nation-state, illustrates that humans are capable to imagine themselves as part of a bigger community, beyond their circle of family, close friends, their villages or the cities they live in. If people are provided with common stories to which they can relate to, they are thus more likely to identify themselves as part of a community. Telling stories of a common origin, history and language as well as shared struggles or successes, is thus a key component for people to feel connected to one another and to attribute feeling of empathy to out-group members. Anderson calls that the *imagined community* (cf. Anderson, 1983, p. 6ff). Judging from Anderson's argumentation, stories are thus an essential part of community building and for a global community to emerge, global stories as reference points are necessary. Consequently if the mechanisms of myth-building and storytelling led people to commit to large political entities such as nation-states, I am convinced that this mechanism is suitable to form a global community too. Consequently I read the emergence of the nation-state as proof that it is possible to create imaginaries beyond the nuclear family and personal circles of friends. Anderson's argumentation thus gives hope that other *imagined communities* beyond the nation-state are possible, which illustrates the central role of storytelling as a catalyst for cosmopolitan thinking and to build cooperative networks. Considering further that humans are visual first and verbal second, which is described as the so called pictorial superiority effect, visual storytelling seems to be particularly effective to persuade audiences. Furthermore effectively pairing words with pictures and videos thus enhances attention, recall, believability as well as memory and thus makes visual storytelling an effective tool to communicate sensitive issues (cf. Banse, 2013, p. 3). Another factor, that illustrates the potential of documentaries for the cosmopolitan project is that in what is called 'the golden age of documentary storytelling' (Koury as cited in Kennedy, 2018, para. 5), with smart phones, affordable cameras and numerous distribution channels on the internet, any person can make a documentary and distribute it more easily than it has ever been the case before. Moreover free and subscription-based film platforms such as Vimeo, Netflix, Hulu or Amazon have opened up a large space for documentaries to be distributed across national

borders on a global scale⁵. Since the possibilities of international distribution and accessibility via the internet allows for these narratives to enter a global public sphere, the documentary genre is thus an excellent medium for the communication of global social justice issues. Yet the documentary is a sensitive medium and responsible filmmaking is essential to not produce, reproduce or reinforce social injustices.

In the following I will thus discuss issues of responsible filmmaking, particularly in a context of sensitive global injustice issues. I will further outline different modes of documentary storytelling that allow the filmmaker to communicate different aspects of global social justice. In the second part I will look at documentary storytelling as a tool for political and social activism and will point at the role of deep storytelling to depict the complexity of global social justice issues.

4.1 Responsible filmmaking

A documentary unlike a fiction film is based in reality and represents a particular aspect of it communicated in the form of an audiovisual story. Bill Nichols describes the documentary 'as representing the world in the same way a lawyer represents a client, by putting a case for a particular view of interpretation of evidence for the audience' (Nichols, 2001, p. 4). The interpretation is provided through the subjective lens of the filmmaker, who is 'setting out to take a position regarding an aspect of the historical world and to convince [the audience] of its merits' (Nichols, 2001, *ibid.*). Even though the documentary as a non-fiction genre does not necessarily mean its more truthful or real per se. It is rather '[...] the labeling [that] leads us to expect that the persons, places, and events shown to us exist and that the information presented about them will be trustworthy', as Nichols puts it. This raises the expectation in audiences that the information and stories presented in the film are trustworthy and real. Yet every documentary follows its own agenda and the ways to present factual information are just as varied as for fiction films. Consequently *who* makes a film with *which* intention is a crucial questions with regards to the film's agenda and its impact on the audience and the world:

⁵ Here again the accessibility of these services and who provides as well as controls them is a crucial question, particularly in terms of social justice. Yet the scope of this thesis does not allow for a detailed discussion of these aspects.

' [...] because documentaries address the world in which we live rather than a world imagined by the filmmaker, they differ from the various genres of fiction [...] in significant ways. They are made with different assumptions about purpose, they involve a different quality of relationship between filmmaker and subject, and they prompt different sorts of expectations from audiences.'

(Bill Nichols, 2001, *ibid.*)

Nichols mentions the three key relationships in documentary filmmaking. The relationship between the filmmaker and the subjects, the filmmaker and the audience and the audience and (mediated) subjects. Since a story is 'co-constructed by teller and audience' (Wilkins, Obregon & Tufte, 2014 p. 193) and thus 'inherently dialogical' (Wilkins et al., 2014, p. 202), looking at how a filmmaker communicates with the audience through the film is crucial to understand its effect and impact. Moreover the circumstances under which a documentary is made and received have strong implication on justice. Not only the issues presented in the film are relevant to social justice, but also how the filmmaker incorporates *just* techniques of filmmaking by involving the protagonists and the audience in a responsible way. Making a documentary in a sensitive context, with vulnerable or underprivileged protagonists for instance, involves the danger of patronizing or exploiting them (I will discuss *visual imperialism* as a negative example of how the distant others are depicted as one-dimensional human beings and illustrate the need for deeper stories in chapter 4.4). Working with this awareness in mind from a position of self-reflexivity, is thus one aspect of responsible filmmaking. Furthermore on the side of film reception the question of who has access to a particular film in which context is an issue of social justice too. In terms of storytelling, notions of truth and honesty are central issues. Considering for instance that the filmmaker is an intruder in the life of others and takes on the responsibility to open up a space where their story can be told, this raises moral questions about the nature of this relationship and behaviour of the filmmaker. A deeper philosophical inquiry on the issue of truth, honesty and morality in filmmaking though is beyond the scope of this paper, acknowledging that documentary filmmaking comes with certain obligations for the people involved though is crucial to mention with regards to global social justice. Concerning global social justice documentaries, that are often made in sensitive social, political, cultural or ecological contexts, it is important to investigate on whether a documentary is made, distributed and received in a responsible way. Hence responsible filmmaking means to have the triangle of relationships between the filmmaker, protagonists and audience in mind and to consider that

the decisions during the film process should be based on the well-being of the people depicted that their the experiences of the subjects should be treated with respect and sensitivity. These moral considerations are also reflected in the film form. Different techniques in storytelling allow for filmmakers to communicate their issues in various ways, emphasizing different aspects to persuade their audience. In the following I will thus give a brief overview of the various modes of documentary storytelling and how they relate to the communication of global social justice issues.

4.2 Modes of documentary storytelling

A story can be told in many different ways, this is true both for fiction and documentary film. As opposed to short narrative formations such as videos or image films, the different modes of documentary storytelling allow for the creation of narratives that incorporate the complexity of global interconnections, causal relations and injustices. The classic modes of documentary storytelling however vary greatly in their approaches to mediate reality and real life experiences to an audience. Furthermore there is a great number of conceptualizations of the different modes of documentaries by different film scholars. For the purpose of this thesis however a brief overview of the two main approaches to documentary storytelling, the authoritative and observational mode, will be sufficient to illustrate the implications for the communication of global social justice issues. In his paper *Cosmopolitan Narratives – Documentary and the Global 'Other'* the Danish communications scholar Ib Bondebjerg (2014a) presents a helpful categorization of documentary storytelling (p. 57). He describes the *authoritative documentary* where the focus lies on explaining the presented issue to an audience with the help of interviews, witnesses and experts. A voice-over commentary often guides the spectator through the film experience, giving a tight framework through which the spectator is supposed to understand the story. The reading of the story is thus rather limited and the spectator pushed in a certain direction. This mode of documentary storytelling is often used for informational purposes, critique and propaganda and is characterized by an 'epistemic authority' (Bondebjerg, 2014a, p. 57). Authoritative documentaries, such as *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006) by David Guggenheim about the effects of global warming, are an excellent way to inform the public with regards to facts and causal relations in the sense of thick cosmopolitanism. Furthermore with an authoritative argumentation it is easier to convey a very specific message.

These documentaries however often focus rather on the interpretation of the filmmaker and the experts rather than the people effected by the issues talked about in the film. On the other side of the spectrum the *observational documentary* offers the spectator the possibility to experience the lived reality of the protagonists less filtered. The observational mode speaks 'with a much more open voice, giving us a kind of ethnographic, anthropological position from which we can observe reality. This form of documentary is actor-driven and characterized by an 'epistemic openness' that allows the audience to find their very own interpretations of the story and the protagonist's reality (cf. Bondebjerg, 2014a, *ibid.*). It does not contextualize the story immediately and allows many different ways of interpretations and receptions. This form of educating the audience about a certain issue requires them to find causalities and conclusions on their own. Bondebjerg (2014a) explains the difference between authoritative and observational documentaries with two exemplary films about the war in Afghanistan. He juxtaposes Alex Gibney's *Taxi to the Dark Side* (2008), an investigative documentary that tries to dismantle the political dimension of the Afghan war using the classical elements of an authoritative documentary – film footage, expert interviews, witnesses – with Janus Metz' documentary *Armadillo* (2010), an observational documentary that follows Danish soldiers during the war documenting their lives in Camp Armadillo in Afghanistan (cf. *ibid.*). In *Armadillo* the spectator has the opportunity to identify themselves with the protagonists and they become relatable, since they are shown in their daily lives with a wide spectrum of emotions which allows the audience to relate to them as human beings with similar emotions. Bondebjerg (2014a) further concludes that Metz' film is 'clearly about creating a cosmopolitan, narrative film that reflects on the relation between the others and us' (p. 6). Nevertheless the observational documentary is not necessarily closer to reality than the authoritative documentary. This mode too is the reflection of a subjective view. Even ethnographic documentaries are made from a particular angle, with a particular gaze from the filmmaker and are thus influenced by the very subjective interpretation of that particular aspect of reality. Documentary storytelling can intersect with fictional storytelling, when the filmmaker for instance reconstructs or reenacts parts of a story or stages and scripts certain situations in order to complement a story or to visualize feelings, emotions, dreams or memories. This mode of storytelling is called the *dramatized mode*, particularly suitable to explore the borders between reality and fiction. Mockumentaries⁶ or drama-documentaries are examples for this way of storytelling.

6 The mockumentary is a fictional yet not staged documentary, in which actual documentary footage is dramatized or embedded in a fictional story to parody the genre or a specific documentary. The term mockumentary is a fusion of the two words 'to mock' and 'documentary'.

Another even more artistic mode of storytelling that challenges the existing conventions for documentary film is the *poetic reflexive mode*. Bondebjerg (2014)a describes this form as 'reality seen through aesthetic form' (cf. *ibid.*). Symbolic montage or the exploration of meta-levels beyond the actual story line and plot are characteristics for this kind of storytelling. Hence the poetic-reflexive mode offers the filmmaker countless, creative ways to explore their subjective view on the issue and to mediate the experience of the protagonists. This mode of storytelling focuses rather on form and the framing of reality than trying to accurately depict it. These basic modes of documentary storytelling often intersect and 'position the spectator differently in relation to the reality presented in the cinematic form of the film' (Bondebjerg, 2014a, *ibid.*). Modes can even change within the same documentary allowing the filmmaker to find the suitable format for the story she or he aims to tell. The communication of global social justice issues in particular requires filmmakers to be creative in the technical and aesthetic realization of a documentary to be able to tell complex stories within the framework of a traditional 60-120 minutes long feature-length film.

4.3 Documentary and social and political activism

'Documentary not only activates our aesthetic awareness (unlike a strictly informational or training film), it also activates our social consciousness. This is a disappointment to some, who yearn for the pleasure of escaping into the imaginary worlds of fiction, but is a source of stimulation for others, who hunger for imaginative, passionate engagement with the pressing issues and concerns of the day'

(Bill Nichols, 2001, p. 69)

Documentary storytelling has been used as a tool for political and social activism by many filmmakers throughout the history of documentary film. Particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, as Daniel Marcus (2015) argues in his book *Contemporary Documentary*, the documentary film genre saw a 'rise of politically committed video and film collectives, that sought to intervene in the political controversies of the era' (p. 188). Documentary storytelling thus historically has always been a tool for resistance. It has been a means for political and social activism to address political, economic, cultural and social crisis and to make all kinds of injustices visible in the public sphere. Referring to the political impact of film and video in general, David Whiteman (2004) - associate professor in the Department of Government and

International Studies at the University of South Carolina - further emphasizes the 'potentially important role of activist groups', both as participants in the production process and 'more importantly as catalysts in the distribution process, when documentary films become tools available to activist groups as they seek political impact' (p. 51). Especially the past decade saw an unprecedented growth and professionalization in the strategic use of documentary storytelling to motivate social change.

Nash and Corner describe this phenomenon as the development of a *strategic impact documentary sector* (Nash & Corner, 2016, p. 228). The sector includes different kinds of organizations such as ' [...] foundations, not-for-profits; corporations and brands, as well as documentary producers, makers and distributors' (Nash & Corner, 2016, *ibid.*). The majority of actors in the field however originates in civil society groups and what is called the *Third Sector* (philanthropic sector). According to Nash's and Corner's (2016) analysis, the scope of the sectors suggests a parallel industry that intersects with established structures but which has 'its own sources of funding, its own methods of production and distribution and its own organizational ecology' (*ibid.*). Moreover the sector is increasingly connected in a network of cooperating actors. One example is *The Fledging Fund*⁷, a private non-profit organization, that has been supporting documentary filmmakers under the slogan 'helping stories take flight' to trigger change with their stories. Another initiative is the *docsociety*⁸ (the former BRITDOC association founded in 2005), who works to connect documentary filmmakers with relevant partners to reach global audiences. These are only two examples from an expanding field of social change actors building networks with documentary filmmakers. This illustrates that processes of co-operative citizenship, as James Tully describes them (chapter 2.5), are already put into practice and used to communicate global social justice issues. Further research on the networks between social change actors (e.g. NGOs/non-profits, private organizations etc.) and the documentary film industry would be a promising effort to understand the synergies and dynamics between the two and thus find out about effective ways of triggering and supporting social change processes.

4.4 Deep storytelling and the communication of global social injustices

7 Further information can be accessed here: <http://www.thefledgingfund.org/> (The Fledging Fund, 2018).

8 Further information on the organization can be found here: <https://docsociety.org/> (Docsociety, 2018).

Documentary storytelling is both an expression of existing power relations in a specific context and a way to use and address privilege, influence a public discourse or even create counter-narratives that challenge the hegemonic discourses on a particular topic - this is often called 'screening truth to power'. Documentary storytelling offers creative possibilities to address social issues and to tell stories that are underrepresented in the respective local, national and global public discourses. In collaborating with marginalized, silenced and otherwise oppressed people, whose stories are not heard and seen in the wider general public, the filmmaker has the power to challenge dominant narratives. Jane Chapman (2009) calls that *committed documentaries*, that aim 'to empower the hitherto disempowered by making visible the hitherto invisible' (p. 41). The social justice documentary consequently is a tool for the filmmaking crew to create a platform for people to make their voices heard and their bodies seen. This aspect is particularly relevant when it comes to the discourse on *visual imperialism*. Scholars established the term to describe practices of using 'selective imagery that acts as representation of a dominant ideology' (Crawford, 1992, p. 184). Especially non-profits have been criticized for a stereotypical and one-dimensional representation of people from the Global South. In that case the dominant ideology is the dichotomy of the poor and malnourished 'Southern Other' and the rich, privileged Western Self. The strategic use of images of the poor, malnourished Other is a common practice to raise funds and to mobilize in the international development aid sector. The debate around the issue was particularly prevalent in the public discourse during the famine in Ethiopia in 1994 and 1995, when Ethiopia was depicted merely as a country of hunger, drought, suffering and death. Considering the effects of such media representation Kristoffer Kinge - vice president of the Norwegian Students and Academics Assistance Fund – in an interview with Aimee Meade for *The Guardian* – explains that 'stereotyping of this nature in the media and in fundraising creates an 'us and them' feeling and serves to 'divorce people from feeling connected' (Kinge in *The Guardian*, 2014). While it is not the goal of this paper to dismantle unethical NGO practices and there are NGOs that shifted their focus towards less exploitative strategies *visual imperialism* is not a practice of the past. I will illustrate this with an example from the major non-governmental organization OXFAM. In OXFAM's video library (Oxfam, 2017) it becomes evident that guilt-messaging and a focus on poverty are still common practice. Most of the videos are as short as three minutes, mainly explaining the success of their campaigns through the lens of a local narrator. While employing locals shows progress in working together with the communities on the ground, there is still a lack of depth in storytelling. Videos about Ethiopia can be found in great numbers (e.g. about recent droughts) in which the

Ethiopian population is portrayed in a similar way to the 1990s. People are filmed as they are going to get water from the water system OXFAM provides in cooperation with the local community. The local people are mostly presented as evidence for the success of OXFAM's work. This puts the organization in focus and gives little space for the affected people to raise their voices even though they should be at the centre of attention. Even if the audiovisual material in the video section of OXFAM's website emphasizes the agency of the local people, with local lead characters that are shown as empowered individuals, a narrative of the powerful, self-sufficient others, who are more than just the template of the suffering is still missing (OXFAM, 2017). This is one aspect of a greater debate about NGO practices in the development sector and I am well aware that my argumentation does not cover the complexity of the issue. To me *visual imperialism* however illustrates that the philanthropic sector in general – I refer to the diverse range of actors that aim to address all sorts of social injustices in the global context – is in need of multi-dimensional stories that portray the others as complex, diverse human beings so that the spectator can relate to them in a meaningful way (cf. Cameron, 2017, p.8). Issue-focused feature-length documentary storytelling can be a tool to address this lack of in-depth, multi-dimensional stories to help create new frames.

4.5 Global imaginary – overcoming distance with mediated realities

“[...] we can define our social and cultural others in categories that are based on distance, both cognitively and geographically, but also on our actual contact and experience with others. [...] today both social media and other forms of media have expanded our images and knowledge about others, at least in mediated forms.”

(Ib Bondebjerg, 2014a, p.3)

As I have discussed earlier in this thesis, when it comes to the idea of a global conversation with distant others, geographical and emotional distance are a major challenge (see chapter 3.1). Institutionalized global conversations about issues of international relevance however do take place regularly, from U.N. to climate conferences such as the Paris Agreement to the G20 summits. However, they do not include the civil society and are structured by asymmetrical power relations among the actors involved. With regards to that I introduced James Tully's (2011) concept of the 'democratic deficit' (p. 5) as an essential challenge for citizens across the globe to become active for the good of humanity and the planet.

According to Tully (2011), the existing national and international institutions fail to offer their citizens adequate tools to respond to global injustices in a responsible and meaningful way. With regards to the cosmopolitan project, a conversation across national borders outside of the framework of institutions is thus necessary. Cees J. Hamelink (2014) even considers the conversation with 'the Other' as the essential task for any cosmopolitan communication (cf. p. 253). The global imaginary of the Other though, particularly along the division of the global North and global South - is mainly mediated through the news, social media and other digital channels and dominantly features 'authoritative informational stories' with a lack in diversity and broader narratives (cf. Bondebjerg, 2014a, p. 57). Documentary storytelling can be a facilitator to spark dialogue and exchange on the level of civil societies from different countries across distance. Bondebjerg (2014a) argues that a *global conversation* can only be of a mediated nature, since it is impossible for all people across the globe to have real life encounters and thus real life conversations. He conceptualizes the different levels of intimacy and the relation between the parties of such a conversation as follows: the Other can either be *the imagined close other*, *the close other*, *the imagined distant other* or *the distant other* in relation to the Self. He further argues that through documentary storytelling *the distant other* can become an *imagined close other* (cf. p. 56). Meaning that despite being a distant stranger, the story about the reality and experience of the Other, can form an imagined bond between the Self and the Other, which in consequence brings them both closer together. Yet because the conversation with the Other is only mediated and not a real life conversation, Bondebjerg (2014) calls it *the mediated other* (cf. p. 4). Although the mediated conversation with the Other lacks the quality of the real experience of encounter and conversation, the research on imagined contact illustrates that the effects on a person's feelings and convictions can be similar to the real life experience. Given that there is no other option of shared real life experiences, a mediated conversation with the Other is especially valuable. Apart from the narrative based approach of the documentary, the infrastructure around a film (partnerships, advocacy etc.) is a significant catalyst for an ongoing global civil conversation. The mediated conversation is facilitated by media which 'offers new dynamic methods of cultural exchange and images of what previously were 'distant others' (Bondebjerg, 2014a, p. 2). He further explains that '[...] even though global media industries are dominated by concentration of power in the hands of the multinationals, and even though globalization is also very much about exploitation of resources and humans - globalization is also about a growing need for a cosmopolitan mentality and imaginary' (Bondebjerg, 2014a, *ibid.*). Consequently in line with what the findings on imagined contact (chapter 3.1) suggest, Bondebjerg's research

emphasizes the crucial role of imagination for the communication of global social justice issues and shows the potential of documentary storytelling as a means to create such global imaginaries. The imagination of the global however is merely the first step of raising awareness about the injustices. In the following I will thus discuss how documentary storytelling is used to motivate behaviour change and thereby facilitate social change.

5 Motivating social change – global social justice documentaries as BCC tools

'We define impact as change that happens to individuals, groups, organizations, systems, and social or physical conditions. Typically long-term and affected by many variables, impact represents the ultimate purpose of community-focused media efforts – it's how the world is different as a result of our work.'

(Learning for Action, 2013, p.1)

Considering that documentary storytelling is an excellent medium to communicate global social justice issue, the strategic use of it as a behaviour change tool to encourage and catalyze a broader social change, seems only logical. Narratives and stories change people's minds. Cognitive film theory even found that *'our minds and bodies are strongly pre-disposed for narrative structures and for certain emotional structures that are triggered when we are confronted with stories, images and human interaction'* (Bondebjerg, 2014b, p. 15). Documentary storytelling is thus a valuable tool to mobilize audiences for change. There are different approaches, channels and engagement strategies to motivate an audience to 'high level social actions' (Chattoo & Feldman, 2017, p. 687). These are actions such as 'fundraising, volunteering nationally or internationally, organizing and helping to start/be engaged in an online or offline community or to organize or help to set up an organization, to contact an elected official in person or by phone, to contact an elected official through an online petition or social media' and to participate 'in a march, rally, or other type of larger event.' (Chattoo & Feldman, 2017, *ibid.*). This emphasizes the central role of the civil society and grass-roots level for societal change in Tully's sense of co-operative citizenship. The US-American environmental sociologist Robert J. Brulle (2010) even suggests that the 'civil society – namely social movements and social organizations' are 'the key site for the origination of large-scale social change.' (p. 84). Brulle (2010) describes the civil society as a space that 'exists outside of the direct control of both the market and the state' and is made up of voluntary institutions (*ibid.*). These civil society institutions are *communicative links* between the citizens and the governments with the potential to facilitate a process of transformation that can potentially also affect the official social institutions (cf. Brulle, 2010, *ibid.*). While Brulle thus refers to the civil society networks within national borders, James Tully (2011) proposes the cooperation of civil society networks beyond the nation-state.

As a medium that can easily be circulated the documentary can be a communicative link between the different civil society actors from different countries. Furthermore an open public sphere where alternative world views can circulate and be discussed is a necessary precondition so that documentary storytelling can be effective. With reference to Jürgen Habermas, Brulle explains that the open public sphere is where problems can be identified, possible solutions be discussed and 'sufficient political pressure' can be created (cf. Habermas as cited in Brulle, 2010, p. 84). Consequently a social justice documentary is both a tool for members of the civil society to express concerns, problems and disagreements, a practice of resistance and a means to create dialogue with other members of the civil society. Concerning the issue that there is not yet a *global* open public sphere, global social justice documentary storytelling is even more dependent on the local public spheres to be open, so that the issues can be discussed on that level. The effects documentary films or other narrativized media products have on individuals, systems and institutions or even on decision-making and legislative processes, are subsumed under the umbrella term *social impact*. In the audiovisual industry the term is often used to describe some form of social change, that is the direct consequence of a particular film (and often the accompanying strategic outreach campaigns) or a wider social change in society to which a documentary contributes (cf. Chattoo & Feldman, 2017, p. 7). Provided that a wider public is interested in an 'improvement of a state of affairs around a social issue', social justice documentaries can serve as a catalyst for debate for the public (cf. Clark & Abrash, 2011, p. 4). For Clark and Abrash this is even a unique and necessary public service with the primary goal to 'engage and motivate publics' and to provide them with relevant and trusted quality content so that in consequence the individuals are empowered in their capacity to further engage with that content and to become active agents in the social issues presented (Clark & Abrash, 2011, *ibid.*). In the *Learning for Action Report* (2013) I found the following clear-cut, broad and simple definition of social impact to be convincing: 'it's how the world is different as a result of our work' (p. 1). While this definition implies any change from changing the mind of the spectator, to changing a larger public discourse or a even to influence cultural, social and political decision-making processes. Concerning the role of global social justice documentaries with regards to social change, there are three main levels of impact and effects that are particularly relevant: to raise awareness about a social issue, to inform and educate the general public about it in a responsible way from different perspectives and, ultimately and ideally, to have a positive impact on the behaviour of the audience. For that to happen, the narrative needs to be linked to the social reality of the public and the filmmaker has to consider where a particular issue is located in

the public consciousness. Apart from the individual level a documentary can assist larger social movements and thus serve as a tool for grass-roots organizing to communicate clear take action steps and to motivate coalition building (cf. Barrett & Leddy, 2008, p. 11).

5.1 Indicators for social change

The broad implications of what social change entails points at the central challenge when it comes to understanding how global social justice documentaries affect an audience: change is difficult to measure. In the *Learning from Documentary Audiences: A Market Research Study*⁹ however a survey among the audience concerning the perceived impact of documentaries found that 90 % of respondents were convinced that 'documentaries can change people and with that information people can change the world' (De Rosa & Burgess, 2014, p. 25). So even without empirical data on hand people know about the power of documentaries to trigger change in people. There is however an increasing interest in the field and a number of both quantitative and qualitative research on documentary impact assessment, mostly from the social sciences and the field of communication and media studies. Considering that behaviour change and the social impact of a documentary requires a multi-disciplinary effort the research tools range from classical social science methods, such as surveys, focus groups, experiments or content analysis (cf. Chattoo & Feldman, 2017, p. 5) to more qualitative approaches such as interviews and field studies. With regards to that Clark & Abrash's extensive list of qualitative and quantitative measures in their paper *Social Justice Documentary – Designing for Impact* is helpful to get an idea of the various indicators to understand the bigger picture of how a documentary catalyzes social change. Quantitative measures are for instance numbers and diversity of viewers across platforms, mentions of the film across traditional and online media, sales and paid screenings, investment by foundations and individual donors, numbers of users engaged, both on social media platforms and in offline settings (cf. Clark & Abrash, 2011, p.9). Qualitative measures on the other hand are less clear-cut and require a more complex research design to study. Clark and Abrash (2011) name the following ways of how the impact of documentary storytelling can be analyzed: the amplification and reframing of an issue in media coverage and public discourse, reported activities after viewing (voting, partnerships, events, training, and behavioural changes), the

9 HotDocs is a Canadian documentary film festival held annually in Toronto, Ontario CA.

entry of the film or campaign into policy-and decision-making circles, legislative or policy impact, the nature and durability of partnerships around the issue and creative initiatives that contribute to community-building relationships formed across boundaries of ethnic, class, generational, racial or religious difference (cf. p. 10). Hence to understand the relationship between documentary filmmaking and social change a multi-disciplinary effort is necessary. However the environmental studies have long been aware of the potential of documentary storytelling to educate the general public about ecological issues and have been conducting studies in that field for many years. This is the reason why much of the existing, insightful research on the social impact of documentary film comes from the field of environmental communication. The documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006) about Al Gore's educational program on global warming is often used as a prime example of documentary impact. According to a study by Sue Jen-Lin, the film 'motivated political decision makers and the public to address the urgency of global warming' and was a key factor for Al Gore to be winning the Nobel Peace Prize (Ryan as cited in Lin, 2013, p. 709). The film also raised global attention to environmental protection issues. Lin remarks that for instance from institutional and political side the British government urged the public to watch the film and educate themselves about global warming (Lin, 2013, *ibid.*). Jessica M. Nolan further conducted a study examining the effectiveness of the documentary to increase knowledge and concern as well as changing environmentally related behaviours. She found that the documentary increased knowledge about the causes of global warming and concern about the consequences in the audience. It further motivated behavioural intentions to fight against global warming. Although a month after the screening the motivation to take action dissipated (cf. Nolan as cited in Lin, 2013, p. 713). This illustrates both the potential of documentary storytelling to motivate people to behavioural changes in the short-term and the difficulty to engage people in the long-term. It also needs to be taken into account, that there are other intersecting factors influencing the behaviour of people and thus it remains a challenge to measure the share of a single documentary. However there are concepts to find out 'the degree to which a film contributes to a healthy participatory civic life' (Clark & Abrash, 2011, p. 10) focusing on quantitative research to get a sense of how documentary storytelling affects an audience on the level of thoughts and behaviour. Knowing the number of people that attended a screening for instance does not necessarily say anything about how their thinking and behaviour have changed motivated by storytelling. Regarding the communication of cosmopolitanism, this dimension of impact assessment is particularly relevant, since social justice documentaries with a cosmopolitan narrative address issues that require an audience to

open up their minds to new narratives and frames and thus engage with the content in creative ways. According to Clark and Abrash (2011) a documentary even has the creative capacity to generate 'identification, connection, and controversy' (p. 10). This quality of documentary storytelling is particularly relevant to the communication of cosmopolitanism since identification and connection are key to create a global imaginary.

5.2 Narrative as a behaviour change tool – learning from public health communication

A growing number of social justice actors as well as the documentary film industry is interested in the relationship between the storytelling, the infrastructure around a film and the actual behavioural change in people that is triggered with it. Since documentary film has always been a tool for political and social activism to contribute to societal change, one would expect a large body of research on the issue. The research on the topic however is fragmented and hardly conceptualized to form a deeper understanding. While there is research on how narrativized formats in general can be used to trigger behaviour change, there is near to none specific research on the strategic use of documentary storytelling as a behaviour change tool to communicate global social justice issues. Although interestingly researchers from the field of public health have been very concerned with the effects of documentary storytelling on behaviour change regarding public health issues. The term 'behaviour change communication tool' itself stems from the public health sector, where it is not only used to describe the effects of documental narratives, but also other strategies to motivate the public to change their behaviour. I will illustrate this with a study from the body of research on public health examining the role of narration and storytelling on the behaviour of their test subjects. Baezconde-Garbanati et al. from the University of Southern California and San Diego State University conducted a study on *The Transformative Power of Narrative as a Behavioral Change Communication Tool to Reduce Health Disparities in Cervical Cancer among Latinas [and its] Global Implications* (2014). The study is an interdisciplinary initiative with researchers from the field of Global Health and Preventive Medicine and Communication studies, Journalism and Cinematic Arts. The study's aim was to investigate on whether narrative-based communication of health issues was more effective in influencing people's behaviour than non-narrative technical education. The authors explain, that the

communication of critical health information in Western medicine traditionally is done in a very sober, technical way focusing on facts and an accurate presentation of risks and prevention factors, symptoms and treatments. The research was motivated by the assumption that this way of presenting and communicating knowledge often leads to resistance to the information presented and that a narrative-based communication might reduce this resistance and 'facilitate processes of conveying new or difficult information and thus consequently produce cognitive and emotional effects that lead to stronger attitudes and interventions' (cf. Baezconde-Garabanati et al., 2014, p. 6). Referring to Kreuter et al. the authors define narrative in this context as follows: 'a representation of connected events and characters that has an identifiable structure, is bounded in space and time, and contains implicit or explicit messages about the topic being addressed' (Kreuter (2007) et al. as cited in Baezconde-Garabanati et al, 2014, *ibid.*) The audience is absorbed and transported into a narrative, the characters serve as a source for identification and projection and the events in the film evoke emotions. The story would also allow the audience to see and co-experience desired behaviours which in turn impact the intentions and actual behaviour of the spectators (cf. Kreuter et al, 2007, p.222). The team of researchers produced two different forms of audiovisual material, both 11-minutes long – one being a fictional, narrative-based short film and one non-fiction, non-narrative short film. Both films communicate the same facts and content about cervical cancer, its detection and the possibilities for prevention. The scope of the study included 1000 randomly selected women of different origin, mainly focusing on vulnerable parts of the population and minority groups since they are disproportionately affected by cervical cancer. All women randomly received either one of the versions of the films. After two subsequent surveys, the researchers found that the narrative-based short film 'was [more] effective in increasing the cancer-related knowledge, attitudes and behavioral intentions' (Baezconde-Garabanati et al., 2014, p. 8). The researchers call this approach a *narrative intervention* and found it to be effective in the field of health communication, particularly with regards to global health interventions helping to reduce health disparities worldwide (cf. Baezconde-Garabanati et al., 2012, p. 4). Although this study focused on fictional short films and does not talk about documentary feature-length storytelling, the proof that narrative communication is an effective tool to transfer knowledge, influence people's attitudes and to even trigger behaviour change, suggests that other narrative communication formats, such as documentary storytelling, might have similar effects. The authors further remark that the narrative-based approach is particularly effective and relevant when it comes to communicating new and difficult information about health issues (cf. Baezconde-

Garabanati et al., 2014, p. 7). Considering that the communication of global social justice issues also involves rather new and complex information, this research suggests that a narrative-based communication in the form of documentary storytelling is a promising approach to communicate global social justice issues.

5.3 Stages of behaviour change and the strategic use of documentary storytelling

The goal of behaviour change communication is to motivate people to a particular behaviour to reach a desired change regarding a specific issue. The process of behaviour change, as the earlier discussed research on emotions already suggested (see chapter 3.1), is complex. It is thus crucial to conceptualize the different steps and stages of behaviour change in order to gain a deeper understanding of the process and to use documentary storytelling in an effective way. *The Learning Resource Package Facilitator's Guide for Behavior Change Communication (2010) (BCC)* facilitator's guide, published by the U.S. Agency for International Development, provides a helpful overview of the different stages of behaviour change. According to their concept any behaviour change communication needs to consider a state of *precontemplation* in the targeted group of people. Regarding documentary filmmaking this means that the filmmaker needs to assume a state of unawareness about a the communicated social issue in the audience. Consequently the first step is to raise awareness among the spectators. This will lead to the second stage of behaviour change: *contemplation* (cf. Grimley & Prochaska as cited in U.S. Agency for International Development, 2010, p. 1). The audience is now aware of the social issue and ideally also of the desired behaviour change necessary to solve it. For documentary storytelling this aspect however is more complex than for public health communication, where the primary goal of the respective communication strategy is to implement desired behaviour changes that have been developed before hand. While documentary storytelling – if not specifically designed for a particular outreach campaign – is characterized by an epistemic openness and focuses on the narrative rather than outlining a desired behaviour to the audience. Nevertheless if documentary storytelling is to be used for the communication of global social justice issues to reach a particular goal in that regard, setting an agenda for the intended behaviour change can be helpful to maximize the impact and is particularly relevant for the third stage of the behaviour change process: the *preparation* for action (U.S. Agency for International Development, 2010, *ibid.*). This stage follows when the spectator is convinced of the relevance of the social

issue presented, considers the information to be valid and understands that a reaction is necessary to solve it. Regarding the strategic use of documentary storytelling to communicate global social justice issues this stage is particularly relevant. As I have mentioned earlier, in the philanthropic sector with development NGOs as the key actors, the options for audiences to take action are rather limited and often merely focused on the donations motivated by guilt-messaging (see chapter 4.4). Combined with the consequences of 'the compassion fatigue', the behaviour change process is often blocked at that point. In consequence the awareness and intention to take action are not translated into real life action or require a great deal of self-motivation and dedication in the audience to search for solutions proactively. Given however the translation from intention to action is successful, the last stage of behaviour change is to *maintain* it (U.S. Agency for International Development, 2010, *ibid.*). Apart from self-motivated work to maintain a particular behaviour change this stage requires a project design that enables the audience to maintain their behaviour, for instance with further engagement options and community building to sustain the change, motivate others to do the same and to hold each other accountable to it. The facilitator's guide names the following key aspects and challenges to create behaviour change: a persons awareness of the need to change, a person's understanding of the benefits of such a change, a person's belief in their ability to change and a person having the confidence in their ability to maintain a behaviour change (cf. U.S. Agency for International Development, 2010, p. 22). They further emphasize that 'BCC must go beyond just providing information' and needs to develop 'an approach that provides both information and appeals to individuals emotions.' (U.S. Agency for International Development, 2010, *ibid.*). The combination of appealing both to the rational and the emotional highlights the potential of documentary storytelling for the communication of cosmopolitan issues – since a narrative-based approach, as the previously discussed study has shown, leads to an emotional response in the audience, which is important for behaviour change. Having these challenges in mind, the authors of the facilitator's guide further identify elements, that are crucial for BCC. Apart from the rational and emotional element, providing the audience with the necessary facts to understand the problem and to create an emotional response that leads to a greater commitment to possible solutions, the authors introduce the practical element, interpersonal element and structural element as key aspects. Given that a BCC strategy is specifically designed to motivate a certain behaviour, the practical element describes the competency of people to practice the suggested behaviour and the confidence in their ability to do so. The interpersonal element further emphasizes the social aspect of behaviour change. People need social networks and the support of their close others to put

behaviour change in practice and maintain it. Lastly the structural element describes the social, economic and legal context in which a particular behaviour takes place (cf. U.S. Agency for International Development, 2010, *ibid.*). Consequently even if the narrative of a documentary raises awareness about a particular social justice issue and proposes certain behaviour changes, if the audience is embedded in a social context in which the necessary services and possibilities to put a particular behaviour into practice are not available to them (I discussed this aspect with James Tully's theory of the 'democratic deficit' in chapter 2.5) the behaviour change process is aggravated or even blocked entirely. The research on behaviour change communication to me has thus three main takeaways for the development of a BCC strategy for global social justice issues with documentary storytelling: the narrative ideally provides facts and information and engages the audience emotionally. Moreover to be an effective BCC tool the film needs to be embedded in an infrastructure that enables dialogue, discussion and further action off the screen. Furthermore the social and political context of the audience needs to be considered so that the change can be maintained and ideally multiplied to trigger a wider social change beyond the individual level.

5.4 The ecosystem of change

'However more attention is now being paid to the ecosystem in which films operate – and how different support organizations and allies can help films reinforce or connect with larger movements, or invent new capacities within the field of documentary production.'

(Jessica Clark & Barbara Abrash, 2011, p. 12)

For a documentary to catalyze processes of social change, it needs to provide the audience with an infrastructure around the film that offers opportunities and inspiration for action. David Whitman describes an impact-model that conceptualizes documentaries 'as part of a larger process, that incorporates both production and distribution, must consider the full range of potential impacts on producers, participants, activist organizations and decision makers' as well as 'the role of films in the efforts of social movements to create and sustain alternative spheres of public discourse' (Whitman, 2004, p. 51). This includes both collaborators and partners (filmmakers, civil society organizations, policy makers) and an infrastructure of activities and possibilities for engagement beyond the film product itself.

The *Active Voice Lab*¹⁰, an U.S.-American non-profit network working to employ storytelling to advance social change, introduces a helpful term for the different actors working together to generate impact of social justice documentaries: the *ecosystem of change* (cf. Active Voice Lab, 2018). They argue that '[...] today's social movements need powerful stories as much as they need leadership, policy research, grassroots organizing, funding, and other fuels [...]' further emphasize the potential of documentary storytelling as a tool for change yet also acknowledge that this is not enough. According to them '[...] real change comes only when interested sectors work together, each bringing to the table what they do best', which means that '[...] some have cutting-edge information, some have trusted relationships with grassroots networks, some have access to policy arenas [...] and the storytellers [...] have the ability to engage people with compelling narratives' (cf. Active Voice Lab, 2018). Consequently the different social change actors employ their specific expertise and tools to amplify the effects of social justice documentaries. For the project design of a documentary this can specifically mean the set up of accompanying panel discussions, outreach campaigns or educating and creatively engaging the audience beyond the film with cross-media platforms, such as video games, DVDs, books, graphic novels or larger trans-media projects including interactive online platforms, exhibitions or even VR-installations. Considering that a single feature length documentary of 90-120 minutes is highly limited in its creative capacity to tell a story from many perspectives and to include all relevant information in order for the audience to understand the issue, spreading the knowledge across different platforms and dividing the work of telling complex, cosmopolitan stories between different actors is a logical and necessary response to represent an ever more complex global reality on and off screen. Given that it is the goal of the filmmaker to catalyze real life social change, cooperations and partnerships are thus crucial. The film process of production, post-production and distribution is a labor-intensive endeavour that requires the expertise of various people and always a team effort. It requires an even more diverse team when the film tells a story of global social justice issues from politically, socially and culturally sensitive contexts. Consequently partnerships with NGOs and other actors from the Third sector are crucial for a film to reach its full potential to facilitate dialogue and help to bring about social change. The social impact of a film depends on the accessibility of the film for the right audience, the space to enable dialogue and the ability of the actors involved to inspire and motivate the audience to be

¹⁰ Due to the scope of this thesis I will not elaborate on the organization in detail. For further information on their work and background, see: <https://www.activevoice.net/about-us/> (Active Voice, 2018)

part of the solution, so that people '*[...] come in as participants in a media project and leave recognizing themselves as members of a public—a group of people commonly affected by an issue. They have found each other and exchanged information on an issue in which they all see themselves as having a stake. In some cases, they take action based on this transformative act of communication*' (Clark & Aufderheide as cited in Chattoo & Das, 2014, p. 11). In other words, while publics are distinct and defined strategically for each storytelling project and campaign, motivating their intentions and actions is the key. Consequently the documentary and its compelling story combined with a network of skilled facilitators form the *ecosystem of change* in which a documentary can unfold its potential as a behaviour change communication tool to catalyze social change.

6 Case studies – a closer look at two global social justice documentaries

'These films are global documentaries in the sense that they deal with global themes, but also in the sense that they want to create a cosmopolitan dialogue.'

(Ib Bondebjerg, 2014a, p. 61)

In this second part of my thesis I will look at two feature length global social justice documentaries that deal with global themes of conflict and inequality. I will analyze the environmental justice documentary on environmental justice *Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock* (2017) by Myron Dewey, Doug Good Feather, James Spione and Josh Fox and the theatre and documentary film project *The Congo Tribunal* (2017) by Swiss director Milo Rau. I chose these films because they depict different intersecting aspects of global social injustices. The two narratives are not about separate issues, but rather represent different manifestations of global inequality and how they intersect with the destruction of the environment. The social issues presented in both stories are closely connected to the long-term effects of colonialism and the impact of a neoliberal capitalist world system. The history of oppression of the Native people in North America and the reasons for the civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo – a country that has been colonized in the early 20th century – are of course complex issues, that are part of a wider academic and public discourse. The following analysis is thus neither the attempt to discuss the conflicts themselves and place them in the respective discourses of post-colonialism or imperialism, nor to explain the reasons for the current state of affairs, as they are represented in the films' narratives. In my analysis I will remain on the level of how the films depict the social justice issues and the global imaginary they create. The scope of this thesis will not allow me to critically discuss and place the narratives in the relevant academic discourses. Hence with the following analysis I aim to show how the documentaries communicate complex global issues and how they are designed to motivate further engagement. While I will not be able to evaluate whether the films have been successful in changing minds and behaviours in audiences or in triggering social change, without conducting large-scale quantitative and qualitative research, within the framework of this thesis I can look at two stages of the change process: the cosmopolitan storytelling of the documentaries to educate the audience and raise awareness, and the infrastructure around the film intended to facilitate social change. My analysis is inspired by the theory on cosmopolitanism and documentary storytelling I discussed in the first part of my thesis (chapter 1-5) as well as Active Voice Labs' concept of

the *ecosystem of change* (see chapter 5.4). I will first introduce the documentaries briefly and discuss the cosmopolitan narrative to show their global imaginary of interconnections. This includes looking at the cosmopolitan frames the documentaries evoke and establish. I will further analyze whether they use thin or thick argumentations of cosmopolitanism and will look at how they address the issue of empathy, distance and cognitive dissonance (as discussed in chapter 3) to illustrate the possibilities documentary storytelling offers to address the challenges of communicating cosmopolitan issues. I will further look at the infrastructure (network building, partnerships, call for actions) around the documentaries, with which the filmmakers aim to translate the change in thinking to a change in acting. This is supposed to be a brief overview of how documentary social justice storytelling is used as a communication tool for the cosmopolitan project to facilitate behaviour change. This chapter should thus be read with the notion in mind, that this is neither an in-depth analysis of the global social justice issues presented, nor a comparative study on whether one or the other strategy is more successful in changing minds and behaviours. This shall serve as a first overview on how documentaries communicate global social justice issues in practice. The sequence listing¹¹ of both documentaries can be found in Appendix c and d.

6.1 Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock – a case of environmental justice

'The opposition to the Dakota Access Pipeline was and continues to be about human rights, water rights, and the rights of nature. It is about the right for our children to drink clean water. This film, as well as any other films or reporting that have come out of Standing Rock, serves as documentation. It acts as a way to preserve the moment in time, but also to uphold and promote the freedom of the press and the integrity of journalism. It allows us to tell our own story – to create our own narrative.'

(Floris White Bull, 2018, para. 2)

The feature-length documentary *Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock* (hereafter called *Awake*) is about the peaceful protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) at the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe reservation¹² in 2016.

11 In the sequence listing I focus primarily on the content since this is not an aesthetic and textual film analysis. This is also the reason why I do not analyze the film frame by frame but subsume frames together, if they do not contain relevant information for this analysis.

12 'The Standing Rock Nation covers 2.3 million acres and is the fifth largest land base reservation in the United States. It receives its name from a natural rock formation that resembles a woman with a child on her back which currently stands on a monument outside of Tribal Headquarters. The physical geography of the

The protest became a symbol for the global climate justice movement across the world. The film had its' premiere at the *International Tribeca Film Festival* in New York City on Earth Day 22nd of April in 2017 and made its round on the global festival circuit afterwards. The company *Energy Transfer Partners L.P.* (one of the biggest transfer companies in the U.S. founded in 1955 in Dallas, Texas) presented their pipeline project and construction plan to the U.S.-American government in 2014, which sparked the protests against the pipeline and led to the emergence of a resistance movement: No Dakota Access Pipeline (NODAPL). The DAPL had been planned to transport fracked oil underground from Bakken in North Dakota to Patoka in Illinois over a distance of 1886 km. Despite the ongoing peaceful resistance to this day, the pipeline has been commercially operating since June 1st in 2017. It is built on land, that holds a number of essential water sources for the area and thus ensures the drinking water for millions of people. Yet since 2010 there have been more than 3,300 oil spills (Floris White Bull, 2018, para. 2) which shows that the risk of oil leaks contaminating the resource sites is high and thus the water supply for a large number of people is endangered by the pipeline. Furthermore the pipeline is built on treaty land of the Sioux Tribe and the U.S. Government is accused of not having consulted with the rightful titleholders of the land, the Indigenous people, adequately before allowing the oil company to construct the pipeline. The conflict is thus not merely a conflict of interest about a construction of a pipeline between equal parties, but a human rights issue where environmental and social justice intersect. The *United States Environmental Protection Agency* defines environmental justice as follows:

'Environmental justice is the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies. EPA has this goal for all communities and persons across this Nation. It will be achieved when everyone enjoys the same degree of protection from environmental and health hazards and equal access to the decision-making process to have a healthy environment in which to live, learn, and work.'

(United States Environmental Protection Agency, 2018, para. 1)

reservation itself is one that stretches over expansive tall grass plains, rolling hills, and buttes that border the Missouri River. Other bodies of water inside reservation boundaries are: Lake Oahe in Eastern Standing Rock, the Cannon Ball River in the Northern part of the nation, and the Grand River in the Southern part. Standing Rock is the second reservation to cross dual state borders, these states are North and South Dakota.' (Sacred Stone, 2018, para. 1)

James Tully remarks that climate change and the destruction of the environment are not locally bound issues yet rather global-local injustices (see chapter 2.5.1), which illustrates that the fight for clean water in North America is equally a global issue. *Awake* is thus of relevance to a global audience dealing with social and environmental justice issues that, considering the effects of climate change on the whole planet, are the responsibility of all people.

Furthermore the documentary is evidence of the oil company *Energy Transfer Partners L.P.* as well as the U.S. government not doing justice to the EPA's officially declared goal '*to provide an environment where all people enjoy the same degree of protection from environmental and health hazards and equal access to the decision-making process to maintain a healthy environment in which to live, learn, and work.*' (United States Environmental Protection Agency, *ibid.*). *Awake* tells the story of the water protector movement in three parts, with a triangle of the following major actors at the core: the U.S. government representing the sovereign Nation and state power, the *Energy Transfer Partners L.P.* as the profit-seeking multinational corporation and the Indigenous water protectors, with their national and international allies, representing a network of civil society actors, that come together in solidarity in a form of 'cooperative citizenship' (see James Tully chapter 2.5) with the goal to restore justice. In telling the story of a local protest against a national pipeline project, that endangers the water supply of millions and thus threatens the environment, the documentary opens up a conversation about larger cosmopolitan issues: the questions of how to protect the environment as the basis of human life on earth and the of who in a society has the power to address these issues in which way. The film was produced in collaboration between the Indigenous filmmakers Myron Dewey and Doug Good Feather and the Oscar nominated environmentally active filmmakers Josh Fox and James Spione (*Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock*, 2018, para. 4). Josh Fox had previously produced the issue-focused documentary *Gasland* (2010), in which he discusses fracking and its damaging effects on the environment. *Awake* was shot in 2016 during the pro-water and anti-pipeline construction protests at the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe reservation and covers almost the entire duration of the resistance. The film's website describes the project as 'a labor of love to support the peaceful movement of the water protectors' (*Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock*, 2018, *ibid.*). The focal point of the film and centre of the protest is the designated protest camp, which was given the traditional name *Oceti Sakowin* by the Indigenous community.

The name means 'Seven Council Fires' and is a reference to the Sioux Nation, originally made up of seven councils. The protest camp was the first of its kind historic gathering of Indigenous Nations (cf. Stand with Standing Rock, 2018, para. 1). The only resembling gathering of this kind and dimension was in 1876, before the battle at the Little Big Horn, where the Indigenous Nations successfully fought against the U.S. Army (cf. Sacred Stone, 2018, para. 2). This illustrates both the historic importance of the protest and the urgency of the environmental crisis, that has become an issue of human rights, water rights and thus of environmental and social justice, motivating an Indigenous resistance that has not been seen in over 140 years. The documentary *Awake* is thus both a historical document and evidence of this resistance, showing that specific moment in time and documenting it for a global audience and future generations.

The documentary captures the protest from the unique perspective of three different filmmakers in three parts. Hence *Awake* does neither tell a single story of a single character nor focuses on a specific aspect of the protest, it rather is an observational documentary told from individual personal perspectives on the protest. Floris White Bull (Indigenous name: Floris Ptesáŋ Huŋká), who is also one of the co-authors of the film, takes on the role of the narrator in a non-authoritative way. Telling her deeply personal experiences as a witness and active agent in the protest allows for an epistemic openness without explaining the images or contextualizing them for the audience. Additionally to the footage of the protest and the surrounding actions, the film opens up a spiritual dimension, that is particularly interesting with regards to the cosmopolitan ideas communicated in the film. I will analyze these aspects in the following chapter.

6.1.1 Global imaginary

'[...] whats going on here is not just about standing Rock, it's not just about stopping a pipeline, it's not just about the Missouri river, although there is 18 million people that get their water from the Missouri river, this is about the entire planet, the planet as a whole, this is about the survival of humanity, we are all here for the same reason and I will protect them with my life'

(Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:11:50 – 00:11:54)

The narrative of the film is not only addressing the conflict and protest around the DAPL, but places the issue in a larger global context of an ecological crisis. This is reflected in the statement of a water protector at Standing Rock as quoted above, when he says: 'this is about the entire planet as a whole, this is about the survival of humanity' (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, *ibid.*). Consequently, since we all depend on our natural surroundings and live on planet earth, we are all equally responsible. This is also the film's reasoning for a cosmopolitan responsibility. Yet how does the documentary explain these connections, what are the relations between the local and the global in the film's story, how does the film explain these to its audience, how do the social justice issue presented in the documentary relate to the global and are thus of relevance to the audience? In my reading the film does that in two different ways: the documentary dismantles the injustices against the Indigenous people, which become a lens through which questions of power, corporate threats and neocolonial projects can be understood. Furthermore, the documentary tells a story of connection between all humans and planet earth through the spiritual lens of the Indigenous people. Their cosmology and understanding of life on earth has always been one of belonging. This is also reflected in the relationship to the water, which becomes the symbol of life and opens up the opportunity to stand together in solidarity to protect the source of human life. In the following I will discuss these aspects of the narrative more in detail and will relate them back to the issue of thick and thin cosmopolitanism.

A history of injustices

'This is just one of many corporate attacks currently occurring in every Indigenous community globally.'

(Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:53:29 – 00:53:32)

The Indigenous Nations in North America have been struggling with the long-term consequences of colonialism since the settlers occupied their lands. And they are still facing colonial oppression. In the film, Floris White Bull calls Washington DC 'the head quarters of the colonial system' (Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:09:04) and thus makes clear that unjust colonial practices are not a thing of the past but rather the reality Indigenous people in the United States face on a daily basis. Considering that the film is distributed globally and that there is a large number of audiences, who are not educated about the North American Indigenous history, it is an essential task of the documentary to place the

protest within the narrative of colonial oppression. The third part of the film, directed by Myron Dewey, deals explicitly with the colonial history and explains how the Indigenous rights have been systematically ignored by the authorities and that the DAPL has been the most recent violation of their rights. Three text boards on black screen at the beginning of Part Three say the following: *'Indigenous people's authority over their lands has been interpreted by the United States Supreme Court to be the same as the wildlife – the right to the landscape for 'occupancy and use' and '[...] the Court has created the colonial-imposed Plenary Power Doctrine to allow the perpetual and continuous theft of natural resources protected by treaties which are binding by the U.S. Constitution.'* (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:53:14). I do not intend to analyze the North American colonial experience and treaties in detail, nor do I aim to tap into the post-colonial discourse, yet I cannot talk about the social justice issues the film discusses without identifying the structural injustices intersecting with the protest's cause and aims. As I have mentioned earlier, the film introduces a triangle of three main actors: the Indigenous Nations and their allies, the U.S. government and the oil corporation. Early on in the film, co-author and narrator Floris White Bull introduces the audience to the two sides of the conflict in a good and evil juxtaposition. According to the film's argument, on one side there are the corporations and the government, that are being associated with 'greed, fear, money, violence, hate and oil' and on the other side are the water protectors and their allies with 'generosity, faith, freedom, peace and water' (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:07:18). While Bull describes these sides of the story in a voice-over. On screen are images of armed police officers with gas masks, injured people and water protectors raising their hands to show that they are unarmed and peaceful. White Bull describes this scene as the 'ancient battle' (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:13:49) the Indigenous Nations have been fighting against their colonial oppressors for centuries. Her words are accompanied by an historical painting of the settlers holding Indigenous men at gun point, showing the audience the similarity between the past injustices the Indigenous tribe has suffered and the latest events. The disrespect for their culture, traditions and most importantly sovereignty the Indigenous Sioux tribe has been facing for centuries, becomes even more evident during the first part of the film, when the confrontation between the water protectors and the police comes to a peak at Turtle Island. Turtle Island is described as the ancient sacred site of the Sioux Tribe where they buried their ancestors: '[...] they came to our sacred burial ground they call Turtle Island, it is illegal for them to be there, this is treaty land [...] these are our synagogues, these are our churches, these are our pyramids [...]' (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:13:51). In

referring to the sacred temples of other cultures and religions, the Indigenous struggle becomes relatable to people of different origin and faith and as the research on emotions and social reality suggests, humans tend to search for similarities in order to form a coherent reality. Perceiving the protagonists as similar thus opens up a space to find common ground and equality.

The cosmopolitan narrative - water as the symbol for common humanity

Water is the leitmotif throughout the entire film. The lead slogan of the movement 'water is life' is translated into the language of the film with images of the river and the sea as a symbol of life on earth and makes up an essential part of how the film creates a cosmopolitan narrative. The first shots of the film are images of water in different shapes. Close-ups of water flowing in the river and powerful images of water falls and the ocean (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC: 00:00:10-00:01:24). Underlined with classical violin music, this points at the significance and central role of the element even before any word is spoken. The alarming sound of the music moreover hints at the fact that the water is threatened. There is no voice-over commenting on the images, which allows the audience to let the moving images sink in and reflect on them. Starting off with essayistic images in a poetic-reflexive montage encourages the audience to think for themselves and focus their attention on the essential message both of the social movement behind the film and the film itself: water is life and the protection of the water, the water sources and thus the living land and environment is the main focus and challenge. In the voice-over commentary White Bull further describes a dream that embodies a vision of the future holding, both the potential for catastrophe and salvation. She paints a picture of the 'rising oceans, collapsing cities' and 'millions fleeing their homes, starvation [and] death' and further explains that in her dream her 'loved one's were send to the last place on earth that had clean air [and was] unpolluted and uncontaminated'. She further concludes that ' [...] we needed to protect the waters at all costs [...] ' (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:07:05). The ultimate goal to protect the water as the source of life becomes even more clear in the second part of the documentary, when a woman speaks to the other water protectors during a ceremony saying:

'[...] remember we are standing for something that is greater than our pride, it is greater than our ego, it concerns the world, the planet. The earth is our mother, and the way we treat her is very important, because lets be realistic, she's gonna continue

on, we will not outlive her [...] if we come together in unity and start changing our behaviour and the way we think and the way we treat her, we become coherent, we become one with her again [...]'

(Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:37:08)

Water in the film is therefore both, symbolic for the division among people over the conflict about the water and the motivation to solve the conflict in a unifying effort at the same time. The parallel montage of images of the Missouri River in juxtaposition with pictures of pipelines, oil fields and bursting oil leaks further illustrates the core conflict. Since the documentary was produced by the Indigenous and environmental activists of the social movement, who fought against the pipeline on the front lines, the film is not a balanced examination providing a pro and con list for or against the pipeline though. It does not establish a causal relationship in a sense of thick cosmopolitanism either, the film rather presents water as the universal source of life for all human beings and as the link to one another over distance. The focus on water in the film consequently is a means to create a narrative around this unifying moment, that comes with realizing, that we are all dependent on water and that our economic ways of exploiting resources is a threat to our very source of living. In cosmopolitan theory, as I have outlined earlier in this paper (see chapter 2.4), this kind of cosmopolitan argumentation is subsumed under the term thin cosmopolitanism. I have Andrew Dobson's definition in mind, where he describes this thin dimension as appealing to the 'common humanity' of all people as the thin 'tie that binds' (Dobson, 2007, p. 168) us all together. Here thin means that the ties between friends and family are much thicker and that in comparison the reference to a common humanity is rather abstract. As I have outlined in the first part of this thesis such argumentations turned out not to be an efficient motivator in cosmopolitan communication (see chapter 2.5). While a focus on our common humanity holds the potential to overcome boundaries and form a global community, the research on emotions and the finite pool of worry and capacity for empathy shows the difficulty to convince people of their equality based on such argumentations of thin cosmopolitanism. However *Awake's* narrative - in using an essential resource as the binding tie - to me is both a thick and thin argumentation at the same time, since it allows to tell stories of causal relationships as well as it makes the abstract notion of our shared humanity tangible. Even though it needs to be considered, that the access to water is different depending on where audiences are located and that in consequence the resource is not yet threatened for some, while others are already affected. Water and its importance to life yet is simple to relate to for

any spectator of the documentary. Furthermore, cases of oil leaks and water pollution can be found elsewhere in the world and the issues presented in the film's narrative are thus one local manifestation of a larger global issue. The film further maps out other environmental justice movements, that were inspired by the Standing Rock protest across the U.S. and the world (Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock, 2017, TC:01:19:43- 01:20:08). Consequently the film's narrative becomes relatable for a large number of people from different places. The focus on water in the storytelling of the documentary forms a bridge between thin and thick cosmopolitanism. On the one hand the water emphasizes our common humanity by showing that as members of the human race we are all dependent on the planet's natural resources. Through the symbol of water the narrative becomes personally relevant to the audience which increases the chance to evoke feelings of empathy for the distant others and their struggle in the spectator. On the other hand, the water is linked to the oil industry, that is represented as part of a global neoliberal economy, which illustrates the thick ties that bind the spectator to the issues presented in the film. The water thus embodies the conflicts over the land, the resources and the money. This opens up a space for the audience to reflect their own role in the issues, as consumers and users of fossil fuels. However, the film does not focus on authoritative explanations blaming the consumers, but rather follows the strategy of empowering messages, emphasizing the opportunity to come together in unity to collectively rethink how we treat the earth (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:37:08). In the light of Nicolas Faulkner's (2016) findings of the ineffectiveness of guilt-messaging, this focus seems to be promising to engage the audience (see chapter 4.4). The following Figure 2 presents a summary both of the thin and thick cosmopolitan argumentations of *Awake* to get a better understanding of the different approaches.

thin cosmopolitanism	thick cosmopolitanism
water as symbol for common humanity, spiriual dimension	water as embodiment of the conflicts over land, resources and money
focuses on abstract sense of belonging to the world	divestment campaign is example of economic ties (see chapter 6.1.2)
distant others share a common global struggle to protect the water and environment	no argumentation of specific economic ties binding the distant other to the spectator

Figure 2

Framing the movement

The film's agenda is to persuade the audience to stand in solidarity with the protagonists against corporate threats. As I have outlined in the first part of this thesis (see chapter 3.3), in order for people to change their belief systems there needs to be a certain frame established to make alternatives 'thinkable' and addressable in the first place. While this sounds quite abstract, when looking at how the filmmakers framed the social justice issue, it becomes more tangible. *Awake* does evoke various frames from colonialism, social activism to environmentalism, however to me a specific use of words introduces a new frame: the activists in the social movement on the ground call themselves *water protectors*. In the public discourse, within the news for instance, the term protest was widely used. Protest however evokes very different frames than protection does. Protestors are mostly associated with *fighting against* something, the term *protection* on the other hand is connoted more positive and less violent. It frames the social movement in a peaceful way and emphasizes the activists protecting the water and the environment *from* the corporate threats, which carries a different weight than protesting *against* the corporations and the construction of the pipeline. The film uses the terms *protection*, *protectors* and *protecting* repeatedly, which according to Lakoff is important to establish a new frame (see chapter 3.3). At the level of images this emphasis becomes evident as well. The protagonists at the camp are shown during peaceful prayer and are filmed while they are singing. Particularly the confrontation with the police at Turtle Island on Thanksgiving day is an excellent example of their peaceful actions to protect the water and their land. In the third part of the film, drone footage of Turtle Island shows a sign that says: 'Indigenous sovereignty protects water' which further illustrates their message (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:01:14:20). James Spione (2018) also emphasizes the significant role of the Indigenous communities in responding to the environmental and humanitarian crisis. He remarks the following on the film's website:

'Standing Rock was - and is - so much more than a protest. What began in North Dakota has become a worldwide rallying cry of resistance to corporate power and its relentless drive for profit at the expense of human needs, rights and dignity. If we are to survive this century, it is the indigenous people who will lead the way forward.'

(Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2018)

The self-identification as water protectors implies another dimension of protection, as an Indigenous woman in the film explains: '[...] *we stay in that prayer in unity, that is what this all is about, in protecting the water, we are protecting each other and our future generations [...]*' (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:00:38:01). The narrative thus frames the protest as a collective effort to protect each other, the planet and to sustain the earth as human habitat for generations to come.

Global resistance

The protest in North Dakota has not been a singular event. According to the film's narrative, people raise up to fight the destruction of the environment by oil companies or other multinational corporations all over the world. The film's narrative frames the global resistance movement thus as a unified fight for clean water and as an opposition to the profit-seeking corporations, whose practices are one of the core reasons for the ecological catastrophes and natural disasters. At the end of the film the filmmakers map out various resistance movements across the globe. The world map gives the audience another visual stimulus to imagine the scope of the issue and to contextualize the images from the different local contexts, ranging from Australia, to Brazil and Germany. This is particularly reflected at the end of the Third Part of the documentary, when White Bull speaks to the spectator in voice-over commentary and remarks the following:

'[...] What started in Standing Rock is now all over the world [...] the battle wages on, protest camps are being built, to fight pipelines and fracking across the globe.[...] Louisiana, Florida, Australia locking the gates to gas drilling. [...] In the Amazon, UK, Spain, Germany, Africa, in the South Pacific, Asia – all over the world water protectors and land defenders are raising up, we are global protectors now, we are planet protectors now. Will you wake up?'

(Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2017, TC:1:20:45)

White Bull repeatedly links the various local struggles and protests to each other as one global resistance. The film however does not treat the local protests in their complexity nor does it explain the local circumstances and issues in detail, explaining the individual contexts. Yet the images from various protests across the globe are similar to each other: Indigenous people on the front lines, banners with anti-oil, anti-fracking statements and messages that address

climate change or the protection of the environment (*Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock*, 2017, *ibid.*). In the images it becomes evident that the issues and the struggles are similar to each other. On the basis of that, White Bull tells the story of a global community, consisting of what she calls 'global protectors' and 'planet protectors' (*Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock*, 2017, *ibid.*). Her use of words is not only an expression of the cosmopolitan vision that is deeply rooted in the Indigenous tradition she is coming from, but also an attempt to create a global community through a story of shared struggle and shared power in resistance, despite differences in culture, race, faith or location. This draws on Anderson's (1983) emphasis on the importance of storytelling and myth-building (cf. p. 29) and illustrates, that a narrative of shared struggle contributes to a global imaginary of environmental protection. Considering the media coverage on the protest in 2016 (e.g. Amy Goodman on *Democracy Now!*¹³) the narrative is not only an attempt to convince an audience of the significance of the protest but also the reflection of a national and international solidarity movement, that has been recognized all over the world. It is further an example of co-operative citizenship in James Tully's sense and opens up the cosmopolitan dimension of the protest, providing the spectator with a frame of global resistance, which places the DAPL movement in the larger global context.

6.1.2 Catalyzing social change

The first step to encourage measurable social change is to raise awareness in the public to create a consciousness, that ideally leads audiences to change their behaviour accordingly. Therefore the infrastructure around a documentary, the partnerships, collaborations and networks that offer possibilities for diverse audiences to become active agents in the social issues presented, are crucial if a documentary is to trigger real life social change in a sustainable way. *Awake* focuses on community and network building. According to James Tully community and network building is the most promising reaction to a global humanitarian and ecological crisis and *Awake* shows that it is an essential factor for the *ecosystem of change*. The filmmakers established a network of different social change actors, that are supported through the film.

13 According to their website *Democracy Now!* 'produces a daily, global, independent news hour hosted by award-winning journalists Amy Goodman and Juan González. Our reporting includes breaking daily news headlines and in-depth interviews with people on the front lines of the world's most pressing issues. On Democracy Now!, you'll hear a diversity of voices speaking for themselves, providing a unique and sometimes provocative perspective on global events.' (Democracy Now!, 2018)

The filmmakers aim to mobilize people to support the existing network of Indigenous support systems and their allies. Moreover the film targets a global audience and motivates global solidarity by providing the distant spectator with specific *Calls to Action* (2017) to support the social change actors on the ground. The film thus aims at the grass-roots level, motivating behaviour change in the individual and links the Self and the Other together in a global support system. The film addresses the audience in a direct way, asking them to become allies and to join the movement. At the end of the documentary the filmmakers offer specific information and propose ways for further engagement in the films issues. On the films website one finds specific possibilities to become active agents in the cause and to transfer the film experience into real life action. In the following I will thus describe the network of social change actors around the documentary and will discuss the *Calls to Action* (2017) to support the local social change actors as a simple and effective way to establish a relationship between distant strangers that fosters a sense of belonging together.

Network of social change actors

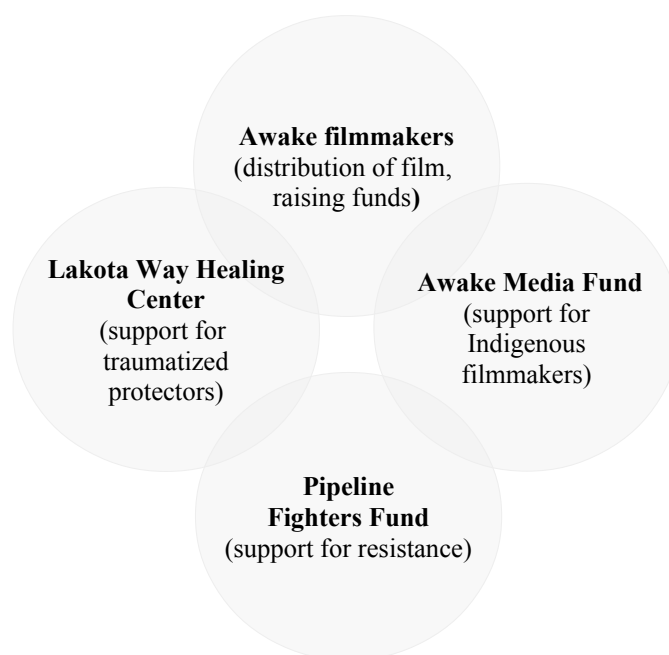


Figure 3

After the cinematic release the documentary is now distributed on the internet and available on Netflix. On the films' website one can either directly support the *Awake Media Fund* financially or purchase the film for 15 US-Dollars.

According to their website '100 % of proceeds will be donated to further the film's mission' (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2018). Figure 3 shows the film's *ecosystem of change* consisting of a network of four actors. The cooperation between them ensures the sustainability of the film project and enables further action. The pool of funding consists of two funds that supports three project goals. Firstly the support for young Native American creatives and journalists to produce more media content to deepen the narrative of the environmental and Indigenous resistance with the *Awake Media Fund*, to which 50 % of the proceeds are allocated (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2018). The *Awake Media Fund* was founded by the directors of the film to keep the spirit of the movement alive with assisting young Native American journalists and filmmakers in realizing short films, feature films and articles. This way the filmmakers aim to increase the coverage on environmental issues in mainstream media from an Indigenous point of view. The specific goal, as it says on the film's website, is to '*assist Indigenous journalists and filmmakers in launching their careers so that Native American stories can reach more homes and inspire more social media sites, touch more hearts and inspire Native and non-Native alike to stand for and seek out justice, equality, while maintaining their stories traditions and culture.*' (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2018). Another part of the proceeds goes towards the *Pipeline Fighters Fund*, set up to support further pipeline battles and resistance actions. In the aftermath of the Standing Rock protest, other camps were formed, among them the 'Keystone XL pipeline in Nebraska, the SABAL Trail pipeline in Florida, the Bayou Bridge Pipeline in Louisiana, the Pilgrim and AIM pipelines in New York [and] the Penn East pipeline in Pennsylvania' (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2018). Yet again the fund is not only established to financially support the resistance movement but also to report on them and to tell those stories of the protests that are only rarely covered in mainstream media. And lastly the funding of the *Lakota Way Healing Center* founded by the executive producer Doug Good Feather. He offers a healing program for traumatized water protectors and other resistance activists. Many of which suffer from PTSD as a consequence of the 'abuse by the police, the jail systems and other authorities' (Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock, 2018) during the front line campaigns. Both funds are supervised by the film's creators and a council of Indigenous leaders to support direct actions, Indigenous filmmakers and journalists.' (Calls to Action, 2017, p. 4). Consequently the documentary is used by different social change actors for different purposes, which is an example of how an *ecosystem of change* looks like in practice.

The questions '*Will you wake up? Will you join us? Will you join our dream?*' (Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock, 2017, TC:01:23:13) are the recurring theme in the film, making the spectator not only a witness of the social issues presented, the fight for clean water and against the pipeline, but also asking the audience to become allies and to stand in solidarity with them as part of a global community that is unified in the fight for clean water and the conservation of the environment. A detailed *Calls to Action* document can be downloaded for free on the film's website and proposes five different ways to support the movement ranging from the classical non-profit strategy of donation-based support, to collaborating with other non-profits and to a behaviour change oriented strategy, that proposes the divestment from banks, which are financing the pipeline project. Even though the pipeline was built in 2017, the fight for many water protectors continues as they are facing legal charges for 'exercising their 1st Amendment rights and standing up to the slow-genocide of Indigenous people' (Calls to Action, 2017, p. 1). To address this issue, the filmmakers cooperate with the *Freshet Collective*¹⁴, who run the *Legal Defense Fund for Water Protectors*. Particularly during the protest and the immediate aftermath up until late 2017 the fund supported water protectors with bailing them out of jail, educating jury members about the cases and providing them with skilled lawyers that 'understand and believe in their cause' (Calls to Action, 2017, *ibid.*) and to otherwise help them in legal matters. They further call for solidarity and encourage people to 'Resist, Defy and Rise-up' in the face of climate change. Particularly aiming at their co-nationals they call for them to become active on an institutional level, reclaiming their constitutional rights, that are being undermined particularly by the Trump administration¹⁵. In a third call to action the filmmakers further encourage the audience to support the water protectors that have been victims of the violence as shown in the film.

14 The grass-roots activists Freshet Collective describe themselves as: We have been supporting the encampments at Standing Rock since the founding of the Sacred Stone Camp on April 1, 2016. As the first water protectors were arrested in August 2016, our team built the online crowdfunding page for the Sacred Stone Legal Defense Fund. We immediately began to coordinate efforts to bail water protectors out of North Dakota jails who otherwise did not have the resources to do so. We lived in the encampments, working with the main legal team at camp, the Water Protector Legal Collective, until December 2016, when we moved our operations to Mandan in order to better serve arrestees. We remain a small team working on the ground in close collaboration with attorneys. As of late January 2017, we have raised over \$2.7 million and successfully bonded over 600 water protectors out of jail.' (Freshet Collective, 2018)

15 In the Calls to Action document the filmmakers state the following: 'We are all witnessing an all-out assault of myriad civil liberties as Donald Trump seems intent on holding a flame to the Bill of Rights. The Civil Rights Act is being bled dry as Jeff Sessions' Department of Justice is suspending review of racist police departments, enforcing more laws that make it harder for marginalized populations to exercise their right to vote [...].' (Calls to Action, 2017, p. 2)

Police officers for instance shot rubber bullets at the water protectors or used tear gas against them while they stood in peaceful prayer. In consequence, many water protectors struggle with mental health issues (e.g. trauma and post traumatic stress disorder as shown at TC:00:13:23 in the film). Doug Good Feather and the *Lakota Way Healing Center* help them on their road to recovery with professional support using Indigenous spiritual healing methods¹⁶. The 4th possibility to take action the filmmakers propose is to support the *Indigenous Media and Pipeline Fighters Fund*. The fifth option to be active is very different from the classical model of donation-based support. The filmmakers call for people to divest their money from banks, that are investing in pipeline projects such as the North Dakota Access Pipeline. According to the document numerous institutions, ' [...] from faith-based organizations, to educational institutions, and even financial institutions have divested roughly \$5.46 trillion to date [...]', among them also the Rockefeller Foundation (Calls to Action, 2017, p. 5). They employ divestment as a strategy to address climate change and the fossil fuel industry. The filmmakers state that there has been an 'amazing response' to the call for divestment from the *Energy Transfer Partners L.P.* with approximately \$40 Million in individual accounts, that have been divested from banks being involved in the construction of the pipeline. While there is no evidence whether the response is related to the documentary, raising awareness with the film helps the mission of divestment. In a voice-over the call for divestment is part of the films' narration, White Bull addresses the audience by saying ' [...] will you join the millions of people that are taking their money out of banks that fund these pipelines?' (Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock, 2017, TC:01:21:18). Moreover activists from the water protector movement have established a website (#DefundDAPL, 2017) providing a list of banks, that are invested in the pipeline, among them also European banks such as Deutsche Bank. Under the hashtag #DefundDAPL people across the globe can show their solidarity with the water protectors and are empowered to be active agents in the causes. With that initiative the connections between people across the globe (with banks ranging from Europe to Asia) and their involvement in the DAPL case become tangible and visible. This is an example of thick cosmopolitanism, showing the audience that they are in fact supporting the pipeline by having a bank account at a certain bank, probably without even knowing about it. Consequently, despite geographical distance with these specific guidelines on how to become active agents in the causes presented in the documentary, the spectator gets to be part

16 The organization describes itself as follows: 'We are a 501(c) 3 [under which 28 types of non-profit organizations are subsumed] non-profit organization dedicated to helping people with trauma, addictions, homelessness, illness and PTSD to rebalance themselves through indigenous Native American spirituality.' (The Lakota Way Mission, 2018)

of the movement. The documentary thus not merely points at the issues but offers solutions that are available to individuals across borders. This is cosmopolitanism in practice and illustrates the importance of grass-roots level action for larger social change. Further research on the quantity and quality of the audience engagement would be necessary to understand whether the behaviour change options did lead to actual behaviour change.

6.2 The Congo Tribunal – mapping out global injustices and responsibilities

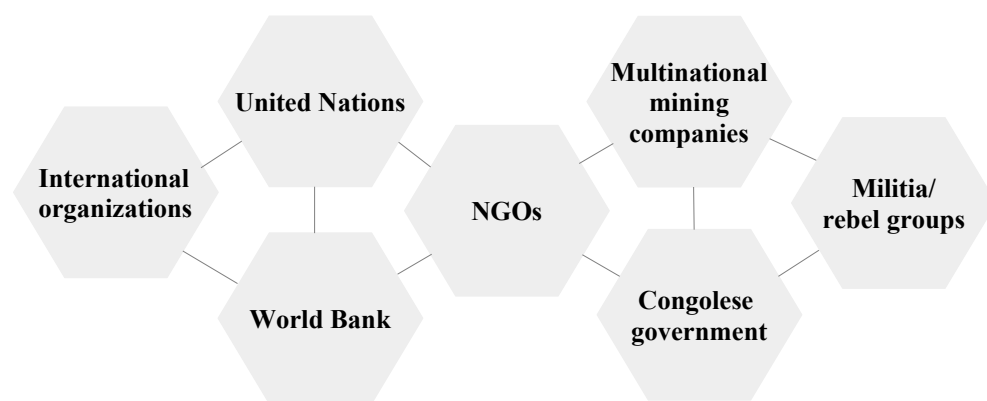


Figure 4

The Congo Tribunal is a feature length-documentary about the ongoing civil war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) realized in a Swiss-German co-production. It is the documentation of a civil tribunal, that was organized as a theatre project by the Swiss director Milo Rau to search for truth and justice in the Congo conflict. The tribunal was held in Bukavu (Eastern Congo) and in Berlin (Germany) in 2015. The DRC has seen a horrible civil war, that has been going on for over 20 years and 'is turning a territory as big as western Europe into hell on earth' (The Congo Tribunal, 2018a). The Congo War is often even described as the Third World War and has claimed six million lives since the Rwandan genocide triggered the conflict in 1994 (cf. The Congo Tribunal, 2018c). On the project's website the authors embed the war as 'not only [...] a fight about political predominance in Central Africa, but also one of the most decisive economic battles for the share in the era of globalization' in the larger global context (The Congo Tribunal , 2018c). Inspired by Bertrand Russel's Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal¹⁷ (1954), *The Congo Tribunal* aimed to disentangle

¹⁷ In 1967, philosopher Bertrand Russell, together with Jean-Paul Sartre, set up an unofficial war crimes

the involvement of the international organizations, multinational corporations, the World Bank, the UN, NGOs as well as the Congolese government and local militia and rebel groups to map out the responsibilities in the conflict (see Figure 4). This shall serve as the basis to find civil society as well as institutional possibilities of restoring justice in the DRC. The tribunal investigated on three cases: the displacement of people from the village Luwhindja in Eastern Congo after the Canadian mining company Banro¹⁸ bought the land and opened a mine in 2003, the conflict between local miners and the Congolese government, rebel groups and the multinational mining company MPC¹⁹ over the cassiterite mines in Walikale²⁰ as well as the massacre of Mutarule in June 2014, where 35 people died despite many attempts to call the local authorities for help (among them the UN-mission MONUSCO²¹). Although the tribunal was held under the umbrella of a theatre play with merely symbolic value and thus had no legal authority, all witnesses and cases were real. The tribunal's goal was to depict an analytic tableau of the complex conflict in the DRC and to disentangle the responsibilities of the various local and global actors involved in it. Milo Rau describes the intention of the theatre and film project as follows: 'With the 'Congo Tribunal', we are trying to look behind the facade of this massive 'factory' of world trade: a factory that includes the massacre in Mutarule and the shafts of the Coltan mines as well as the UN-headquarters or the European Parliament' (cf. Rau, 2018). The film is a document of the investigations during May 29th and May 31st in Bukavu and of the hearings in Berlin between June 26th and 28th in 2015. Local witnesses and experts offered different perspectives on the cases and members of the international community discussed the cosmopolitan obligations of the same. The documentary is thus both a historical document and evidence of the war crimes and impunity

tribunal to investigate the actions of the US in Vietnam. The French philosopher Jaques Derrida remarks the following about such symbolic tribunals: ' [...] I believe that, in its principle, it is a good thing for the world, even if only in that it feeds the geopolitical reflection of all citizens of the world. I am even more convinced of this necessity in light of the fact that, for a number of years now, we have witnessed an increased interest in the working, in the constitution of international institutions.' (Derrida in an Interview with De Cauter, 2004, para.2)

18 BANRO is a Canadian multi-national corporations with its headquarter in Toronto, Ontario. While their company website is unavailable, in a brief company overview by the US-American media company Bloomberg it says: 'The company holds interest in 4 gold properties, including Twangiza, Namoya, Lugushwa, and Kamituga comprising 13 exploitation permits that cover an area of approximately 2,616 square kilometres in the South Kivu and Maniema provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It also owns 14 exploration permits covering an area of approximately 2,638 square kilometres located between the Twangiza and Lugushwa properties.' (Company Overview of Banro corporation, 2018)

19 MPC is the Canadian mining corporation MagMinerals Potasses Congo. The company was acquired by the Chinese company Evergreen in 2010. (The Mining Law Review, 2016) However MPC is also used as an abbreviation for Mining Processing Congo. Judging from the film and the film's website, in this context they are however referring to the Canadian mining company.

20 A village in the province of North Kivu in the eastern DRC.

21 MONUSCO is the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DR Congo. For further information on the mission, see: <https://monusco.unmissions.org/en> (MONUSCO, 2018)

in Eastern Congo. It opened up a space for different actors to speak, ranging from victims, perpetrators and witnesses to analysts of the Congo War. Jean-Louis Gilissen from Belgium, who is a judge at the ICC in The Hague oversaw the tribunal as the presiding judge and the Congolese lawyer Sylvestre Bisimwa took on the role of the chief investigator. In Bukavu different actors, from victims, witnesses, government officials to NGO employees, testified in front of the judge and jury on the three cases.

In Berlin analysts of the conflict from the West, ranging from human rights lawyers, journalists, sociologists to experts from the NGO sector, came together to discuss the involvement of the international community in the conflict, investigating whether the West fuels the conflict or not. After almost two years of post- production and a screening tour through Eastern Congo, *The Congo Tribunal* had its film festival world premiere during the Semaine de la Critique at the Locarno Film Festival in Italy in 2017 and made its round through the film festival circuit in Europe with screenings at the International Film Festival *Berlinale* in Berlin and the *International Documentary and Animation Film Festival DOK Leipzig* afterwards. Organized and designed by European actors²² in cooperation with the Congolese partners, the project represents an international civil society effort that aims to analyze the interrelations of the national conflict and the global involvement in a manner of what Ulrich Beck (2016) describes as *methodological cosmopolitanism* (see chapter 2.3). In the following I will discuss the project as a tool to address the democratic deficit and will analyze the film's cosmopolitan narrative. In the second step I will analyze the trans-media project around the film aiming to facilitate further action on the issues represented in the film's narrative. Since I used the original version of the documentary in German with German subtitles I will cite quotes longer than two lines in German. The English translations can be found in Appendix b1-b8.

Addressing the democratic deficit

'Wo Politik versagt, hilft nur die Kunst: Der Regisseur Milo Rau bringt den unfassbar grausamen Krieg, der im Kongo tobt, auf die Bühne. Insgeheim hofft er sogar, er könne den Horror beenden'.

²² An analysis of the tribunal and the film from a post-colonial perspective would be particularly interesting with regards to questions of responsible filmmaking and responsibility for the conflict in general. However, analyzing the film from that perspective is beyond the scope of this paper.

[Translation by the author: *'Where politics fail only art can help: The director Milo Rau brings the incredibly cruel raging war in the Congo on stage. He even secretly hopes he could put an end to this horror.'*]

(Peter Kümme, 2015, para. 1)

James Tully calls it the fifth injustice of our time: even if citizens realize their cosmopolitan obligations, exercising their response abilities within the frameworks of the existing institutions that are accessible to them is a challenge (see chapter 2.5). Although the conflict in the Congo is not a blind spot in the global public consciousness and the UN has been active in the area for many years, there is no significant improvement of the situation yet. The ICC has been investigating on the conflict in the DRC since the country referred the situation in its territory to the ICC in 2004. Yet since then there have been only two convictions: the former president of the *Union des Patriotes Congolais*²³ Thomas Lubanga has been 'found guilty of the war crimes of enlisting and conscripting children under the age of 15 years and using them to participate actively in hostilities' (ICC, 2018c) and was sentenced to a total of 14 years of imprisonment on 10 July 2012. The second case is Germain Katanga, alleged commander of the *Force of de résistance patriotique*²⁴ who was found guilty of murder as a crime against humanity and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on 25th of June in 2014 (ICC, 2018c). According to the ICC's website there are 6 cases under investigation - all accusing Congolese individuals yet no international actors (e.g. individuals from multinational mining companies). The ICC has been authorized by 120 states – among them the DRC – to complement the national courts in bringing international criminal justice. Their declared goal is to 'participat[e] in a global fight to end impunity' to hold 'those responsible accountable for their crimes and to help prevent these crimes from happening again.' (ICC, 2018a). Hence the ICC would be the only legitimized globally operating institution that could bring justice in the Congo. There are no ongoing investigations targeting individuals from the multinational companies nor any other non-Congolese actor involved in the conflict, which illustrates that the global dimension of the conflict is not recognized and responded to adequately. The tribunal and the film illustrate the shortcomings and insufficiency of the available institutions to restore justice, showing the state of impunity in the DRC with massacres and war crimes happening on a daily basis.

23 The *Union des Patriotes Congolais* is an armed militia group and political party active in the province of Ituri in Eastern Congo.

24 The *Force of de résistance patriotique* (Front for Patriotic Resistance) is a militia group and political party active in the South of the north-eastern DRC.

On the note of holding actors accountable, the Congolese human rights lawyer and land rights expert Prince Kihangi and one of the witnesses in the film even says [translated by the author]: *'who should sue the Congolese government for omission of assistance? Who and where? Who would have the idea to sue the Congolese government?'* (The Congo Tribunal, 2017, TC:1:25:06). The documentary thus points at the absence of global governance and jurisdiction and shows that there is a vacuum where global responsibility should be. The film thus is a reaction to the inaction and passivity of the global community and the missing legal and official institutional opportunities for citizens across the globe to address the issues in the DRC adequately. This is a practical example of what James Tully (2011) describes as the 'democratic deficit' (see chapter 2.5). While the tribunal itself was a one-time event, with an immediate impact only on spectators and participants of the symbolic tribunal on the ground, the documentary as evidence of the injustices and as a record of the testimonies, can circulate and be used as a tool to educate the global public about the interconnections of the conflict. This makes the tribunal, and the documentary in particular, valuable to the cosmopolitan project. It is an example of the civil society reclaiming space to be responsive to the injustices in the DRC and the film a means to communicate this to distant strangers. In the following I will specifically look at how the film communicates the global social justice issues by analyzing its cosmopolitan narrative.

6.2.1 Global imaginary

'Wenn sie sich mal den großen Reichtum des Kongo anschauen. Betrachtet man nur die Bodenschätze, beläuft sich das Potenzial auf 24.000 Milliarden USD. Selbst wenn Sie das BIP der USA und von Europa addieren, kommen Sie nicht auf diese Summe.'

[Translated by the author: *'If you look at the great wealth of the Congo. If you only look at the natural resources, the potential amounts to 24.000 billion USD. Even if you add together the*

GDP of the USA and Europe, you would not reach that sum.'

(Fidel Bafilemba, 2017, TC:00:27:55)

While *Awake – A Dream From Standing Rock* builds on a sense of belonging and the notion of a common human struggle in the tradition of thin cosmopolitan argumentations, *The Congo Tribunal* rather develops a more specific argumentation of thick cosmopolitanism.

Thin cosmopolitanism has been under critique for ignoring the uneven economic development of the world regions. Thick cosmopolitanism thus calls for the social support of the people, that are affected by the global economic inequalities, which according to thick cosmopolitanism should be the focus of the cosmopolitan project. *The Congo Tribunal* contributes to that with deconstructing the reasons for the deep inequalities and injustices in the global world order. The film introduces a wide range of different actors and tells various complex stories about different forms of injustices. Discussing them in detail and outlining the issues in a comprehensive way, however, requires further research and a deeper analysis. In the following I will thus select those parts of the narrative I consider as particularly relevant to the communication of injustices.

Disentangling systemic global and local injustices

'In light of the continuing and increasing needs for natural resources in the western industrial countries, corrective measures of the EU appear to be just an act of securing further consumption. Massive resettlements accompany the "clean" energy policy of the industrial nations, which relies on a neocolonial outsourcing of all "dirty" primary industries.'

(The Congo Tribunal, 2018b)

The film creates a narrative of complex intersecting injustices and causal relationships between the Western Self and the distant Congolese other in three chapters: *The Wealth of the Planet*, *The Path to Civil War* and *The Masters of the World*²⁵. In a juxtaposition of testimonies and interview footage with images from the mines, the lush Congolese landscape and the villages, the film tells the story of a country rich in resources that has been exploited for many decades. The DRC still not profits from its own wealth, but is caught in 'the bloodiest economic war in human history' (Doctivism, 2018a) instead. The film is evidence of the complex reasons for the conflict, the many different stakeholders and the conflicting and intersecting interests of the local and global actors. Due to the scope of this paper I will mainly focus on the role of the multinational corporations and the UN-mission as those global players, that are particularly interesting with regards to the question of the cosmopolitan obligations of the international community.

25 Translated from the original German version by the author.

The Congolese lawyer for land rights and expert of the mining industry Prince Kihangi's assessment of the global dimension of the situation is the following: *'[...] Dies ist ein Kampf auf internationalem Niveau. Die großen Unternehmen, da ist jeder gegen jeden, Amerikaner gegen Asiaten gegen Europäer. Es stellt sich die Frage: Wer wird was abschöpfen? Wer kriegt das Gold aus dem Ostkongo? Wer das Coltan aus Masisi?'* (The Congo Tribunal, 2018, TC:01:10:03, translation Appendix b2). On the basis of the case of the Canadian mining company BANRO the film further tells the story of the irresponsible profit-seeking practices of the multinational companies in the DRC. Particularly the area of North-Kivu is very rich in resources, ranging from rare earths like tantalum, cassiterite and wolfram to copper and gold. These natural resources are of high value at the international trade markets and are widely used by large multinational corporations such as Nokia, Motorola or Philips, to build electronic hardware (e.g. laptops, smartphones). In the film Robert Zeninga, a merchant from North-Kivu explains the chain of goods, where resources are shipped from Mombasa to Malaysia and will then be sent to Motorola Philips, Nokia or CMS to build phones (cf. The Congo Tribunal, 2017, TC:00:31:48). In North and South-Kivu, at the centre of the conflict, the soil is particularly rich and thus the area is very attractive for multinationals to start mining activities. The consequences are a high unemployment rate among the local artisanal miners, a great number of displacements and the destruction of the environment through the industrial waste, which contaminates the water and the soil in these areas. With regards to that a local farmer in the film says the following: *'Das ist der Ort an dem das Unternehmen den Abfall entsorgt. Das Wasser ist giftig. Die Vögel, die davon trinken, sterben.'* [Translated by the author: *'This is the place where the company dumps the waste. The water is toxic/poisonous. The birds drinking from it die.'*] (The Congo Tribunal, 2017, TC: 00:38:01). This points at the environmental justice dimension of the conflict. Moreover the Congolese priest, Théophile Gakunzi, emphasizes the contradiction that a country so rich in raw material is dependent on foreign goods from the world market. In his opinion this prevents the DRC from having a flourishing economy. He remarks the following:

'[...] Wir haben hier alle vier Jahreszeiten. Wir haben hier viel Platz. Wir haben eine große Fruchtbarkeit. Dennoch essen wir kanadischen Reis. Wir essen importierte Bohnen. Auch die Bananen, das Gemüse, sogar der Zucker. Sogar die Seife, alles. Wie kann man eine blühende Wirtschaft haben, wenn alles, was wir konsumieren, von anderswo kommt?' (The Congo Tribunal, 2017, TC:00:29:43, translation see Appendix b4)

Regarding the wealth of the country Prince Kihangi remarks the following: *'[...] Dieser Reichtum hat sich für die Menschen nie ausgezahlt. Stattdessen schafft und verschärft er die Konflikte. [...] Wenn die großen Unternehmen in ihre Länder zurückkehren, hinterlassen sie uns ein Land und Erdreich ohne Ressourcen.'* (The Congo Tribunal, 2017, TC:01:30:00, translation see Appendix b5). The Swiss sociologist and politician Jean Ziegler and the German human rights lawyer Miriam Saage-Maaß further agree on the fact, that the activity of the multinational companies in Eastern Congo fuels the conflict and that the mining companies profit from the political instability in the country. The situation makes it easier for them to acquire licenses for mining under favourable conditions from the Congolese government. Ziegler proves that connection with pointing at a map, that shows the areas of mining activity largely matching those areas of conflict. According to him, the strategy is to push back any governmental control over these areas in order to be able to control the extraction of resources (cf. The Congo Tribunal, 2018, TC: 01:08:00). Saage-Maaß further points at another issue: the multinational companies know that there is no national or international jurisdiction that will hold them accountable (see chapter 2.5). Just as the aforementioned quote from the film's website suggests: the West needs the raw materials from the Congo and the greenwashing of the mining and electronics industry only work on the ground of exploiting the earth and the people elsewhere in a non-transparent system. On that note the German social psychologist Harald Welzer remarks that truly making the value chain transparent would increase the price of a mobile phone up to 2000 Euros, which would endanger the profits of the electronic industry (cf. Welzer as cited at The Congo Tribunal, 2018b). The film's narrative thus follows the logic of thick cosmopolitanism emphasizing the systematic global economic inequality and its consequences for social justice. While the film argues with thick cosmopolitan ties of the economic value chain of electronic products, that tie the distant stranger in the Congo to the Western Self, it does not explicitly address the spectator with a monocausal argumentation. The documentary does not rely on guilt-messaging, accusing the spectator of being accomplices in the conflict by buying electronic devices that were built with Congolese conflict minerals. Yet rather emphasizes the complexity of the issues and the many ties between a wide range of responsible actors. This might on the one hand prevent the negative effects of guilt-messaging and encourage the spectator to understand the intersecting causes yet on the other hand could overwhelm the spectator with the large amount of information. With regards to the role of the Western consumer, Zacharie Bulakali, a project leader from the NGO IPIS²⁶ even explains that not

26 'The International Peace Information Service (IPIS) is an independent research institute providing tailored

buying these products is not a solution either, as the effects of the Dodd-Frank Act²⁷ have shown: *'Das Gesetz besagt, dass kein Kauf mehr von Mineralien, die aus dem Ostkongo kommen erlaubt ist, weil diese Mineralien den Konflikt schüren. Wegen diesen Mineralien entstehen die bewaffneten Gruppen. Alle Käufer, auch in Europa, sollen dort nichts mehr kaufen. Der Wert steigt, aber niemand darf mehr damit handeln. Der Schwarzhandel beginnt. Anstatt dass sich unsere Geschäfte durch das Gesetz verbessern, führt es uns noch tiefer in den Schwarzhandel. Und all unsere Mineralien landen in den Nachbarländern.'* (The Congo Tribunal, TC:01:08:33, translation see Appendix b6). Hence the documentary does not provide a clear-cut solution nor does it guide the spectator in an authoritative manner to a predetermined conclusion but rather maps out the contradictions of the globalized conflict and argues that this is the global reality we as the global community need to acknowledge and deal with.

In another frame the film shows the UN flag in a close-up as it is blowing in the wind at the entrance gate of the MONUSCO headquarters in Bukavu (The Congo Tribunal, 2017, TC:01:17:20) introducing yet another stakeholder in the conflict. After the independence the former colony could not cultivate a stable government or functioning civil society due to the damaged traditional civil society structures and an absent state. This led to the emergence of western financed parallel structures: the NGOs and the UN peace missions. Several witnesses during the tribunal testified that the UN peacekeeping mission did not intervene when the Mutarule village was attacked. An anonymized witness (Witness J), who is a survivor of the massacre, says: *'[...] ich bin zur UNO-Mission in Mutarule gegangen und bat sie einzugreifen, weil in Mutarule Menschen umgebracht wurden. Aber sie sind nicht hingefahren'.*

information, analysis and capacity enhancement to support those actors who want to realize a vision of durable peace, sustainable development and the fulfillment of human rights.' (International Peace Information Service, 2018)

- 27 The Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act is a US-American federal law, that was signed by former US President Barack Obama on the 21st of July in 2010. It was a response to the global financial crisis of 2008 and apart from financial regulations contains a section about conflict minerals from the DRC. In section 1503 of the public law the US government acknowledges the following: 'It is the sense of Congress that the exploitation and trade of conflict minerals originating in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is helping to finance conflict characterized by extreme levels of violence in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly sexual-and gender-based violence, and contributing to emergency humanitarian situation [...]'. The Dodd-Frank Act further binds traders to be transparent about and report the origin of the traded minerals, as it says in the following paragraph of the law: '[...] whether conflict minerals [...] in the year for which such reporting is required, did originate in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or an adjoining country, and, in cases in which such conflict minerals did originate in any such country, submit to the Commission a report [...]'. (Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, 2010, Section 1503).

Being asked about the role of the UN-mission he goes on: *'Im Hinblick auf ihr Schutz-Mandat, werden sie ihrer Rolle nicht gerecht.'* (The Congo Tribunal, 2017, TC:01:16:42, translation see Appendix b7). Although in the final judgement of the tribunal the UN was found not to be guilty of being co-responsible for the continuing conflict, the investigations illustrate that the UN peacekeeping mission is a powerful actor in the conflict. The film creates a narrative along the lines of the interplay of different global actors and their interests and stakes in the conflict. It frames the conflict in the context of large global (social) justice issues, from the effects of neocolonial economic structures, the exploitation of the global South and a the passive international community. Yet it provides the audience also with a framework and lens through which to understand the conflict by mapping out the relevant actors and discussing the binding ties.

Privilege, guilt and cosmopolitan responsibility

As I have outlined earlier, people tend to ignore the information that do not fit their social reality and which are disturbing to their world view (see chapter 3.2, p. 23). Yet does that mean, that a documentary in consequence needs to gloss over the story and to leave out the harsh parts of reality? *The Congo Tribunal* for instance is not subtle in showing the terror of war and the ugly reality to show the Western spectator the terrifying reality. Considering that people are able to embody the feelings of others, this mediated experience potentially evokes empathy in the spectator. There are scenes for instance, where the camera focuses on dead bodies, among them even the corpse of a baby. The spectator also witnesses the aftermath of the Mutarule massacre, where Amini Kabaka Shemu, a young student from the region, explains that a woman was giving birth when the massacre started and that the baby died when she was shot. In the frame one can see the blood stains on the ground and the destroyed hospital room (The Congo Tribunal, 2017, TC: 01:12:36). There is no voice-over guiding the spectator through the images. The camera is rather like the observer, making the spectator a witness of what has happened. Even though this particular scene is characterized by an epistemic openness, that allows for the individual to find its own position towards the issue and the absence of an authoritative voice-over also suggests a rather observational documentary, there are specific parts that target the Western Self in the audience with a very direct message. In one scene Jean-Louis Gilissen, who as a male Belgian judge working at the ICC in The Hague, embodies Western white privilege, for instance says the following about his motivation to join the tribunal:

*'es gibt Dinge im Leben, die man nicht ablehnen kann. [...] Man muss sich für etwas einsetzen. Sonst dreht sich alles um das eigene kleine Leben, Heiraten, Kinder kriegen, Geld verdienen. Und man sagt sich, alles ist in Ordnung. [...] Man weiß, es ist nicht genug. Bei allem, was in der Welt passiert, ist das nicht ausreichend. Für wen halte ich mich, das zu akzeptieren? **Für wen halten wir uns, das zu akzeptieren**²⁸?'*

(The Congo Tribunal, 2017, TC:00:17:30, translation see Appendix b8)

On the ground of the privilege to be able to live a safe and stable life, the film argues for the cosmopolitan obligation to take action against the injustices we are co-responsible for. The direct messaging and the images of the aftermath as mediated experiences, make it difficult to just push these information away and force the audience to integrate this awareness into their thinking, at least for the duration of the film. The film's logic can be read as a form of guilt-messaging, making the Western spectator uncomfortable in its position of privilege. The very goal of the tribunal was to create a space to show possibilities of how justice can be restored in the Congo by identifying the responsible actors and by showing and naming specific war crimes to make the injustices in the Congo tangible and addressable. Restoring justice implies to find those, that are responsible for the crimes and to hold them accountable. Among them the Western Selves, the global community, that is an accomplice in the war crimes as far as they are consumers of specific electronic products. Even though guilt, as I have explained with reference to Nicolas Faulkner (2016), does not motivate people sufficiently to take action, it is the responsibility of the documentary filmmaker to represent the reality and truth of global social injustices. This involves telling the stories of who is guilty. Hence even though I agree when Faulkner (2016) says that guilt is not an effective motivator for behaviour change, *The Congo Tribunal* is an excellent example of the ambivalence of social justice storytelling in the global context and what it entails for responsible filmmaking. With regards to the original critique that aims at strategic guilt-messaging to raise funds, *The Congo Tribunal* represents a very different approach from that. It is rather the attempt to provide a balanced analysis of the various actors and to deconstruct the conflict from multiple perspectives in a manner of thick cosmopolitanism. For an audience to be able to transfer the knowledge about the issue and the economic ties into further dialogue or even action, the documentary however needs to be embedded in an infrastructure that facilitates change processes in thinking and acting, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

28 Highlighting done by the author.

Before I will discuss these aspects in detail, Figure 5 summarizes *The Congo Tribunal's* approach to the communication of cosmopolitan issues of global social justice, presenting an overview of thin and thick cosmopolitan argumentation of the documentary. These are also important as the basis for the strategies for social change:

thin cosmopolitanism	thick cosmopolitanism
addressing universal moral questions of global responsibilities	addressing questions of global responsibility in the concrete sense of jurisdiction
justice as universal good	systematic disentangling of the global economic interconnections and unjust practices
	relating the local cases to the global causes
	focusing on different global players and their relations to each other (local actors, government, United Nations, NGOs etc.)
	outlining economic ties as proof for the connections to distant others

Figure 5

6.2.2 Catalyzing social change

The film tells the story through the subjective lens of various local actors. Some of them were displaced, lost their family members, are struggling to make a living or have been traumatized many times. These people are shown as individuals, their full names are mentioned (unless they are unknown) and they can speak for themselves in front of an audience and the jury. The protagonists are men and women from different parts of the society, ranging from farmers to miners, government officials, journalists to artists. They are given the time to tell their stories in the witness stand and are portrayed as multi-dimensional human beings, which is empowering particularly for the local audiences to find themselves represented as active agents and consequently identify themselves as such. Even though the storytelling does not focus on extensive side stories portraying the protagonists and their stories in detail, the distant victims as well as distant perpetrators are visible in the story and the reality is less filtered showing the extent of misery and injustice. This makes the distant reality relatable for the Western audience. From a behaviour change perspective, *The Congo Tribunal's* approach however does not seem to be a very promising strategy to motivate Western audiences.

However reducing reality to an extent so that it is comfortable for a potential audience in the West to watch, is not a morally appropriate approach either, since the motivational problem in cosmopolitanism cannot be solved with a further reduction of the complexity of global social justice issues. Responsible documentary storytelling as I have explained in the first part of this thesis (see chapter 4.1) needs to enable the public to cognitively and emotionally understand the global social injustices it represents, so that the audience can form a comprehensive global imaginary (Bondebjerg, 2014) (see chapter 4.5). Provided with frames (see Lakoff (2010) in chapter 3.3) of the global interconnections the spectator can realize her or his own role in this web of interconnections and get a sense of the cosmopolitan obligations that derive from this realization. Hence it is the filmmaker's and their cooperating partner's responsibility to design a film project in a way, that makes the issues accessible, transparent and comprehensive for the audience. For that to happen a documentary like *The Congo Tribunal*, which covers a vast amount of information and social justice issues, needs to be embedded in an *ecosystem of change* (see chapter 5.4) to reach its full potential. In the following I will thus discuss the documentaries' design for social change. Due to the scope of this thesis I will only focus on two pillars of the project: the use of the film as a facilitator for local social change on the ground and its strategy to raise awareness among Western audience.

A role model for more civil tribunals – local impact

'There is no peace without justice.'

(Daniel Ruiz, 2018)

The documentary had its world premiere in the DRC. A film screening tour through Eastern Congo in July 2017 organized in a cooperation between the German and Swiss filmmakers and Sylvestre Bisimwa allowed for the protagonists of the documentary and affected by the issues to see the film before any other audience. They organized five film screenings in Bukavu and in three other Eastern Congolese villages (Bukavu, Mulunga, Walungu), that are affected by the human rights violation and war crimes depicted in the film. The tribunal had a profound impact on the civil society in the Congolese provinces of North-and South Kivu since for *'the first time in two decades, a protected public space was created in which the victims of displacement, expropriation, rape and murder were able to raise their concerns and accusations and have been heard by regional and national governments as well as by a*

local and international audiences' (Doctivism, 2018a). Consequently the local communities were keen to watch the film, according to the filmmaker's own statistics, approximately 4500 people (The Congo Tribunal, 2017a) attended the screenings with the accompanying symposia. The screenings were followed by long and intense discussions on the issues, that '[...] seemed to be an outlet for the audience to express their problems, worries and sacrifices during the last years' (The Congo Tribunal, 2017a). The audience further expressed their hopes that 'the artistic project [...] will have a judicial follow up in form of "real" tribunals in the country' (The Congo Tribunal, 2017a). In consequence the victims of the mass crimes in Eastern Congo keep demanding justice and an impartial tribunal. The dialogue the film sparked among the local population motivated the filmmaker's and their partners to plan further screenings of the film. They understood that the film started a conversation among the local population about how they can use the model of a civil tribunal for their own causes to make their stories and concerns heard in a public space. The film thus serves as an example, role model and even a manual for the tools that the civil society can use to demand justice on a grass-roots level, that works around the official institutions in a cooperative manner (see Tully (2011) in chapter 2.5). Sylvestre Bisimwa in cooperation with Jean-Louis Gilissen furthermore started a project to establish 'continuous civil society legal investigations on human rights violations at local level to plea against impunity on a national and international level' (cf. Doctivism, 2018a) to realize the goal of a permanent civil war crimes tribunal in Eastern Congo. Furthermore the theatre and film project developed into an institution: Arne Birkenstock, one of the producers, together with other members of the film crew, founded *Doctivism e.V.*, a non-profit organization. Their goal is to support and finance further civil society based, grass-roots tribunals under the direction of Sylvestre Bisimwa. According to the organization's website currently there are five tribunals in preparation at 'various locations of past mass an economic crimes in Eastern Congo'. The tribunals shall serve to collect 'credible evidence of the crimes and to call for prosecution of the perpetrators' (cf. Doctivism, 2018a). Bisimwa aims to establish the civil tribunals as models for further tribunals in other parts of the Congo or even beyond the countries borders, for countries that have to deal with conflict, war and human rights violations similar to those in the DRC. Prince Kihangi, however, has doubt about the actual effects of the tribunals on policy-and decision making processes. In a video on the organization's website he explains that although he is convinced of the tribunals being a useful model, he is not convinced that the Congolese politicians will use them. Nevertheless he emphasizes their cathartic effect for the victims and the Congolese people in general, illustrating the local impact of the project (cf. Doctivism, 2018c).

If one is subject to terrible injustices yet has no opportunity address these injustices in a public setting and to be heard with their stories, this leads to further suffering. Prince Kihangi thus sees the value in the civil tribunals primarily in their ability to bring a sense of relief to the Congolese people. Daniel Ruiz, the head of the United Nations Office in Goma, further remarks that although civil tribunals have no legal authority they address both the level of formal justice by the Congolese state as well as the formal justice by the international community and are thus a valuable possibility to explore the responsibilities of these actors (Ruiz, 2018). The NGO's strategy is to raise funds in order to realize a specific step-by-step engagement and impact plan with a focus on the local Congolese communities that are affected by the social justice issues represented in the film. On their website, *Doctivism e.V.* has a detailed outline of their measures to inform potential donors of the steps they will undertake²⁹. The project's main focus will be on 10 screenings of the documentary, that will be accompanied by workshops aiming to raise awareness among the local population about the possibility of civil jurisprudence and to find and motivate more local actors to cooperate. The local population will further be provided with 500 manuals, that contain information about civil tribunals and prepare possible witnesses for their testimony (Doctivism, 2018a). Furthermore the film will be used as a multiplier, that serves both as a role model for a civil tribunal and a conversation starter. In order to unfold its full potential in that regard, it needs to be accessible for a large number of people, which is why the organization plans to translate the film into the local languages (in a first step into Swahili and Mashi) and will produce DVDs for distribution in the area. The fifth pillar of the project will be five local hearings. The goal is to 'enable victims of the civil war to speak publicly in order to give testimony of their experiences, to supplement the documentation and evidence of the crimes committed and to provide information on responsibility' (Doctivism, 2018a). They will be led by two to three Congolese (or other African) lawyers and supported by 4-5 legal experts from Europe and North America. Furthermore a jury of 20 independent participants and observers will accompany the tribunal. To execute the hearings there needs to be an infrastructure of translators, psychological and medical support as well as security staff in place to ensure a safe environment that is accessible for any person wishing to attend. The hearings are planned to be documented on film and the material will be accessible online in five different languages.

29 Analyzing the organization's website shows that there is a North-South cooperation with a focus on the agency of the local population. The project nevertheless depends on Western funding and administration. This is another interesting aspect to analyze further: what is the relationship between the Western actors and the Congolese actors? How do the power structures unfold in the relationship? Does the project reproduce the existing asymmetries in power?

A manager on site will be available throughout the entire process to build the communicative link between the project implementation in the Congo and the European staff in Germany (cf. Doctivism, 2018a). Concluding on the role of the documentary in this project design, it is evident that the communication of the social issues is facilitated by the documentary storytelling. The film is both a tool to communicate the social justice issues and provides the Congolese audience with a model (the symbolic tribunal), that empowers them to create social change. Assuming that the Congolese population as being directly affected by the injustices is already in a state of *contemplation* willing to take action, the documentary provides them with ideas about specific take-action steps both as individuals (e.g. testifying) or as a community effort (help to organize screenings, set up the tribunals). As for this thesis I can conclude that the documentary motivates further grass-roots action on the globally and locally relevant social justice matters in the Congo. However, in order to assess whether the project will facilitate social change in terms of changing the situation of the affected people in a positive, sustainable and responsible way further monitoring of the project process will be necessary. This is to be read as an overview on the project's intentions and possible effects on the ground and is thus not an evaluation of the actual impact of the project.

Raising awareness among Western audiences

With regards to the Western audience the documentary primarily functions as a tool to raise awareness about the global entanglements and provides an analytical lens to understand the web of injustices and to motivate partnerships and cooperations around the issues. The film thus aims to guide the spectator from a state of *precontemplation* to *contemplation* (see chapter 5.3). However, *The Congo Tribunal* is not embedded in a specific outreach campaign of a non-profit organization or wider social movement as it is the case with *Awake*. The film is neither available on streaming platforms nor is there a designated fund directly related to the documentary. This illustrates that the film is not used to assist a specific social movement. The project's design for social change rather focuses on 'the creative capacity of a film to generate identification, connection and controversy' (see Clark & Abrash in chapter 5.1). By providing the Western audiences with further material on the global social justice issues presented in the films' narrative the documentary aims to change the minds of the Western audiences. Considering that I only have access to a few measurable indicators, any conclusion about the audience engagement or reported activities after the screening would require further quantitative and qualitative research.

Since there was no monitoring of the film project under these premises, there are few numbers or qualitative data on which I can base an analysis on whether the film triggered behaviour change or not. However, I understand the film screenings and discussions as well as the trans-media project around the film as measures intended to trigger social change. The film for instance travelled the European festival circuit with a number of screenings and panel discussion for instance in Germany, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland. Furthermore the filmmakers generated additional funding for an extensive trans-media project from the *Kulturstiftung des Bundes* in Germany, which supports artistic cooperations between Germany and African countries³⁰. The project was realized in cooperation between the German production company *Fruitmarket Kultur und Medien GmbH* in Cologne and the *NGO LEMAFRIKA Culture et Développement*³¹ from Bukavu (DRC). This illustrates the networking aspect James Tully (2011) touched upon with his concept of co-operative citizenship. The project is an ongoing artistic investigation of the issues with the help of an interactive web-TV format, a graphic novel, book, a VR-installation and various symposia (cf. The Congo Tribunal, 2018c). The trans-media project is designed to enable further engagement with the film material.

In the following I will give a brief overview of the project design to illustrate the different levels on which the project creates an immersive experience for the audience. The trans-media project as an extension of the storytelling is particularly relevant regarding the challenge of cognitive dissonance (see chapter 3.2). It provides the audience with a wide range of information and images in different settings creating a holistic experience of the global social justice issues. This in turn makes it more difficult for an audience to dismiss the represented reality.

Trans-media project

The storytelling of the film continues on an interactive film website providing the audience with a web archive and an online game³² (The Congo Tribunal, 2018d).

30 The trans-media project was financially supported by the TURN fund: 'In 2012, the Federal Cultural Foundation established the TURN – Fund for Artistic Cooperation between Germany and African Countries in order to encourage a wide range of German institutions to shift their focus on the artistic production and cultural debates in African countries.' (Kulturstiftung des Bundes, 2018)

31 The NGO's website www.lemafrika.org is not accessible. Hence I do not have any specific information on the organization's background.

32 The web archive can be found under the following link: <http://www.the-congo-tribunal.com/hearings.html>.

In the web archive the filmmakers offer access to further film footage and more in-depth information on the issues. There are 20 full hearings of the testimonies from the Bukavu and Berlin tribunal hearings available, including the opening statement, six videos on the Banro case, another six on the Mutarule case, eight videos about the Bisie mine, the closing speeches, seven expert analysis videos and the final judgement. They are available in English, German and French. The website also contains more textual information on the different cases, which presents an essential addition to the film's storytelling that deepens the narrative and allows for the audience to explore the film footage and material on the issues pro-actively and at their own pace. While the website address is visible in the credits of the film, there is neither a cross-reference referring the spectator to the online game nor information on the online archive. This is an inhibitory factor when it comes to motivating further engagement with the issues, since it requires the spectator to search for follow-up information proactively. If the spectator finds her or his way to the online platform, the interactive archive offers the unedited full-length material of the project, without authoritative commentary in the videos yet with textual explanatory content on the website. On the one hand this helps to contextualize the different perspectives on the global and local interconnections and issues and on the other leaves an epistemic openness (see chapter 4.3) encouraging the audience to process the information for themselves and to form their individual (global) imaginary of the issues (see Bondebjerg (2014) in chapter 4.5). Moreover, the online game *Witness J*, accessible at the interactive website of the film, allows the user to have a virtual experience of the war through the eyes of the anonymous witness (The Congo Tribunal, 2018d). The game³³. is an interactive narration, based on true events and testimonies and leads offers a mediated experience (Bondebjerg, 2014) of war crimes, human rights violations and other social injustices. It was created by the Congolese artist and political illustrator *Kayene* in collaboration with the Game Development Studio *Monokel*³⁴ (cf. The Congo Tribunal, 2018c). Particularly with the psychological research on *imagined contact* (see chapter 3) in mind, this approach seems to be promising with regards to motivating empathetic feelings in the audience and thus to make the spectator care about the issues. In the absence of the real life experience of the situation in the Congo, the online game offers a mediated experience in which the spectator takes on the role of the affected. According to Prati & Loughnan (see chapter 3) this might lead to reduce bias and increase empathy.

33 The game can be accessed under the following link: <http://www.the-congo-tribunal.com/interactive.html> (The Congo Tribunal, 2018d)

34 On their website they describe themselves as an 'an independent development studio for interactive narratives' (Monokel, 2018).

In August 2017 the *Vebrecher Verlag* (Berlin) published an accompanying book to the project, which contains selected testimonies and statements by the international jury as well as a summary of the tribunal and its findings and research reports by Jean-Louis Gilissen and Milo Rau (The Congo Tribunal, 2018a). Moreover an interactive art exhibition³⁵ in Leuven in Belgium from (February – March 2018) provided the audience with an opportunity to experience the story in a holistic way. The exhibition gives an idea of those aspects of the narration that could not be part of the documentary. It consists of a virtual reality installation, a video projection of the 26 hour hearings from Bukavu and Berlin, a documentary game, a room with archival material of the tribunal and the investigations, photographs and a documentation of the Congo screening tour as a video projection. The filmmakers describe the goal of the exhibition to be an 'intercontinental art project, reference point for further critical analysis and inquiry with this 3rd world war' (The Congo Tribunal, 2018a). The aim was to offer the visitor a multi-sensual experience of the issues designed to raise awareness and provoke an 'active critical inquiry with the topic and the subjects' (The Congo Tribunal, 2018a). This is at the core of the trans-media project: engaging the audience beyond the film and offering different formats covering a wide spectrum of viewer interests. While the project guides the audience from a state of *precontemplation* to *contemplation* (see chapter 5.3) it does not have a specific agenda to motivate particular kinds of actions. While the documentary and trans-media project thus address the challenges in communicating global social justice issues as I have outlined them in chapter 3, there is no agenda to motivate a specific behaviour change in the audience but the project is rather an endeavour to raise awareness and trigger dialogue.

35 'The spatial installation THE CONGO TRIBUNAL, created in co-production with STUK Leuven and STROOM Den Haag, had it's own major space in this expo and involves the full-length 26 h screenings of the tribunal in Bukavu and Berlin, the web game and VR installation "Witness J", a research space including the web archive and a variety of reading materials, and a short documentary about the impact of the project in Congo, hinting at the importance of the long-tail of this grand work.' (The Congo Tribunal, 2018a)

7 Conclusion

This thesis argues that a world shaped by global inequalities and injustices requires a collective global response. It discusses cosmopolitanism as a mentality and 'ethos' (Pieterse, 2006), that is a response to globalization as 'the circumstance' (Pieterse, 2006). Considering the interconnections in the global arena, this thesis proposes a *methodological cosmopolitanism*. A paradigmatic shift, that puts the outward-look first to acknowledge the interconnections and inequalities at the global scale. Looking through the cosmopolitan lens can lead to different conclusions. This thesis presents thin and thick cosmopolitanism as two ways to make sense of the global ties binding people together over distance. *Thin cosmopolitanism* bases its argumentation on the notion of a common humanity, that binds us, while *thick cosmopolitanism* focuses on causal relationships to justify the cosmopolitan obligations we have towards each other. Considering the critique on *thin cosmopolitanism* as being too abstract and Nicolas Faulkner's (2016) findings, that thick ties had no significant effect with regards to people's willingness to 'cosmopolitan helping', I conclude that both approaches need to go hand in hand to be successful in motivating cosmopolitan behaviour.

With the discussion on notions of justice in the global context, I illustrate the importance of a cosmopolitan mentality and practice as 'a response to the challenges of living in an interdependent world' (Giri, 2006) further. I introduce five global-local injustices (Tully, 2011), focusing on two of them, that I consider as particularly pressing issues: the inequalities between the Global North and Global South and the ecological crisis. I argue that the consequences of the ecological crisis are an opportunity for cosmopolitanism, since co-operating on the global level becomes essential in the face of a potentially life-threatening crisis. The absence of adequate official ways to respond to the injustices requires civil society action. In this thesis I propose *co-operative citizenship* (Tully, 2011), a non-violent democratic way of collective action originating in the civil society, as a practical solution.

Drawing on research from cosmopolitan theory and practice, this thesis however finds that many people lack a cosmopolitan mentality. The research on emotions suggests the issue of distance to other people's suffering as well as a finite pool of empathy as significant reasons for that and limiting factors to cosmopolitan behaviour (see p. 20-23). People further tend to 'avoid, dismiss, or forget information that will require them to change their minds and, quite possibly, their behavior' (cf. Center for Research on Environmental Decisions, 2009, p.4) and

seek out positive emotions and information reaffirming their existing beliefs. The absence of adequate cosmopolitan frames to 'think the global' is another inhibitory factor to a cosmopolitan mentality. Considering that communicating global social injustices includes topics, that are associated with negative emotions, the way humans are hard wired poses a challenge to the cosmopolitan project.

This thesis further presents documentary storytelling as a tool to address these challenges. I argue that Benedict Anderson's (1983) theory (see p. 26) about the significance of storytelling for the emergence of the nation-state is an inspiration for an 'imagined global community'. The role of imagination is thus a key factor. Documentaries enable an 'imagined contact' between the Self (the spectator) and the Other (the protagonist) and research found that this decreases out-group bias and thus increases empathy for distant strangers. The different modes in feature-length documentary storytelling further allow to frame global social justice from different perspectives and to create multi-faceted 'global imaginaries' (Beck, 2016). Issue-focused documentaries furthermore are a tool for social and political activism and are used to facilitate social change processes. The public health sector for instance uses narration-based intervention to trigger behaviour change. This shows the potential of documentary storytelling to be a behaviour change communication tool (BCC). An *ecosystem of change*, with cooperating actors is essential though to enable sustainable actions beyond the film.

The analysis of two issue-focused documentaries *Awake* (2017) and *The Congo Tribunal* (2017) is a brief exploration of how global social injustice is communicated and behaviour change motivated with documentary storytelling. *Awake* communicates environmental justice issues with a focus on water as a symbol for our common humanity, source of life and the motivation to form global networks of resistance. The cosmopolitan narrative follows an argumentation of thin cosmopolitanism. The documentary is embedded in a civic resistance movement, the proceeds go to two different support funds and specific *Calls to Action* (2017) provide the audience with opportunities to become active agents in a global support system. *The Congo Tribunal* (2017) on the other hand focuses on an argumentation of thick cosmopolitanism by deconstructing the global entanglements in the Congo war with a symbolic theatrical tribunal. A trans-media project with a VR-installation, interactive website, book, graphic novel, online game and a multi-media exhibition spreads the storytelling across different platforms and enables the audience to experience the social justice issues from

different perspectives. Film screenings in Eastern Congo (North-and South Kivu) with symposia and community discussions further had the goal to engage the local audiences. In cooperation with a local NGO and funded by the Western partners more tribunals in the area are planned to demand justice.

This analysis is a first exploration of the intersection between cosmopolitanism, global social justice and documentary storytelling and gives a brief outlook on how the documentaries communicate global social justice and are employed as BCC-tools. Further research however is necessary to analyze the effects and social impact the documentaries had on the audience. Particularly the question of responsible documentary filmmaking in the sensitive social, political, cultural or ecological contexts of injustice is crucial to further examine. Furthermore this thesis can only touch upon the intersections between psychological research on emotions and human behaviour. Further research thus would be promising to find more effective and impactful ways to communicate global social injustices with documentary storytelling.

With this thesis I aim to emphasize that in the face of an ecological crisis and numerous other global injustices there is a growing need for a cosmopolitan mentality, that encourages solidarity with those affected by the injustices and that motivates social change. A cosmopolitan mentality does not just develop by itself, we need to learn to imagine ourselves as part of the global whole and understand our position in the complex global interconnections. The documentary, as a medium that tells stories of the others and educates us about the interconnections in the world, is a valuable tool to contribute to this process. With this thesis I hope to inspire anyone, who is active in motivating and facilitating social change processes, to further explore the many ways documentary storytelling can be useful - so that we can collectively move towards a more just and equal global society.

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Appendix

a Abstracts

The global social injustices together with a global humanitarian and ecological crisis require a collective global response. However despite ever-growing interconnections many people do not perceive themselves as active agents in these issues. This thesis discusses the reasons for this phenomenon, the inhibitory factors to global compassion and argues for a cosmopolitan mentality, that motivates people to cooperate in civil society networks across borders for the common global good. In a world in which human experiences are mediated through electronic technologies, documentary storytelling is a promising tool to on the one hand communicate the injustices and on the other to bring the social reality of distant others closer. This will be discussed by exploring the potential of documentary storytelling to mobilize audiences as a *behaviour change tool* (BCC). This thesis analyzes two recent documentaries in particular, *Awake: A Dream from Standing Rock* (2017) and *The Congo Tribunal* (2017), with regards to their imaginary of the global interconnection, their communication of global social justice and their use of the documentaries to facilitate social change processes.

Die globale humanitäre und ökologischen Krise sowie die damit verbundenen globalen sozialen Ungerechtigkeiten erfordern eine kollektive, globale Reaktion. Trotz wachsender globaler Vernetzung verstehen sich viele Menschen jedoch nicht als aktive Akteure in diesem Kontext. Diese Arbeit diskutiert zum einen die Gründe für dieses Phänomen, beschäftigt sich mit jenen Faktoren, die dem Mitgefühl auf globaler Ebene im Weg stehen und plädiert zum anderen für eine kosmopolitische Mentalität. Diese findet Ausdruck in zivilgesellschaftlichen Netzwerken über Ländergrenzen hinweg, in denen Menschen für das globale Wohl aller aktiv werden. In einer Welt in der menschliche Erfahrungen durch elektronische Technologien übermittelt werden können, ist das dokumentarische Erzählen ein vielversprechendes Mittel, um die globalen sozialen Ungerechtigkeiten zu kommunizieren und die soziale Realität der weit entfernten 'Anderen' so erfahr- und nahbar zu machen. Diese Arbeit wird den Dokumentarfilm entsprechend als *behaviour change tool* verstehen, analysieren welches Narrativ des Globalen entworfen wird und untersuchen wie das Medium globale soziale Ungerechtigkeiten kommuniziert und so soziale Veränderungsprozesse anstößt und ermöglicht. Dabei wird der Fokus auf den zwei Dokumentarfilmen *Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock* (2017) und *Das Kongo Tribunal* (2017) liegen

b Translations

1 Translation TC:00:27:55: 'If you look at the great wealth of the Congo. If you only look at the natural resources, the potential amounts to 24.000 billion USD. Even if you add together the GDP of the USA and Europe, you would not reach that sum.'

2 Translation TC:01:10:03: '[...] this is a fight at the international level. The big companies are against each other, Americans against Asians against Europeans. The question arises: Who will skim what? Who will get the money from Eastern Congo? Who will get the coltan from Masisi?'

4 Translation TC:00:29:43: '[...] We have four seasons here. We have a lot of space. We have great fertility. Yet we eat Canadian rice. We eat imported beans. The bananas and the vegetables too, even the sugar and the soap. How can we have a thriving economy, if everything we consume comes from elsewhere?'

5 Translation TC:01:30:00: '[....] The wealth has never paid off for the people here. On the contrary, it creates and intensifies conflicts. [...] When the big companies return to their countries they leave us land and soil without resources.'

6 Translation TC:01:08:33: 'The law says, that the buying of minerals from Eastern Congo is forbidden, because they fuel conflict. These minerals are the reasons for the formation of armed groups. All buyers/costumers, those in Europe too, shall not buy anything there anymore. The value increases, yet nobody is allowed to trade them. The black market starts. Instead of improving our business, the law leads us even deeper into the black economy. And all our minerals end up in our neighbouring countries.'

7 Translation TC:01:16:42: '[...] I did go to the UN-mission in Mutarule and asked them to intervene, because people were killed in Mutarule. But they did not go there.' 'Considering their protection mandate, they do not fulfill their role.'

8 Translation TC:00:17:30: '[...] there are things in live you cannot refuse. [...] You have to stand up for something. Otherwise everything revolves only around one's own small life, getting married, having children, earning money. And you tell yourself everything is fine. [...]

Yet you know it is not enough. With everything that is going on in the world, this is not enough. Who do I think I am to accept that? **Who do we think we are to accept that?**

c Sequence listing Awake: A Dream From Standing Rock

c Awake – A Dream from Standing Rock Duration: 1h 28min			
Timecode in h	Place	In the frame	Content
		Part One	
00:00:10-00:01:24	The first shots of the film are images of water in different shapes. Close-ups of water flowing in the river and powerful images of water falls and the ocean	Film starts with classical violin music and pictures of water, rivers, flowing water, majestic and powerful water pictures, the music is alarming (Title: Fratres For Violin, String Orchestrand Percussion, Gil Shaham & Roger Carlsson & Göteborgs)	
	Oceti Sakowin, The Protest Camp	starts with 'digital smoke signals' and the camp in the background (establishing shot) – reference to the Indigenous heritage.	
00:02:48			voice-over Floris White Bull: 'a had a horrible dream', she explains the day in her dream, that she was doing 'the things of the season', in the frame are close-ups of plants and flowers, she talks about her five children 'they asked me to tell them the story of the stars' (1:25:52), a picture of the milky way is in the frame 'the beginning of life' – then here dream was disturbed and she says 'thats where the dream began' – first pictures of the protest are seen: explosions, people with gas masks, burning fires and huge trucks – then with fast cross-cuttings pictures of a oil raffinery, a flooded trailer park, a plane while take off, smoke leaving a factory, a flood taking with it cars – cut to a birds-eye shot that shows a road, oil spills and forest
			she says: 'rivers are being scared of being poisoned', in the frame oil burning at the water surface of a river, cut to burning oil raffineries, music continues to be gloomy classical music, giving the voice pathos
			it was the fear that has contaminated the world – in the frame police officers with water guns now the fast-pace, threatening music continues, her children are shown, a newborn and she raises the question of 'what would they do if their water was ruined, how would they live?
		loud drum music with vocals starts , Indigenous men are in the picture playing the drums and singing in ceremony, it is the situation where the police and the Indigenous owners of the land oppose each other seperated by the river, the police is at the holy island where they buried their ancestors and won't let the Indigenous people pass to visit their sacred land	
		Turtle Island	we are unarmed', 'you don't have jurisdiction in this water', shots of water again
00:07:05			Floris White Bull with a feather in her hair, saying: 'rising oceans, collapsing cities' millions fleeing their homes, starvation, death and in my dream my loved one's were send to the last place on earth that still had clean air, clean air, unpolluted and uncontaminated.. we needed to protect the waters at all costs.. was this the vision of the future, present, the past, I don't know'
00:07:18			on one side: greed, fear, money, violence, hate and oil' – in the frame pictures of the camp, close ups of police officers, a person with a gas mask, 'on the other: generosity, faith, freedom, peace and water' – in the frame pictures of the protesters with raised hand, pictures of injured people
		pictures of the land with the pipeline construction, pictures of the Indigenous youth activism	The Black snake has been prophsied for generation. It would bring death, it would be the youth that would rise up, and behind them the mothers would rise and behind them our warriors would rise'

			We the 7th generation were given the task of defe
		pictures of oil spills, a map of where oil spills have	It has to run under the Missouri River, the water source for 17 million Americans and the only source of water for my home, the Standing Rock nation', 'pipelines like these have burst in the permanently destroying water sheds'
00:09:04		off music bass drums, in the frame: the blockade, people facing the camera with their backs, straw as a all to protect them from the officers on the other side	
			Ocheti akoi (the seven council fires), thousands from all over the country and the world came to stay and pray with us, 'they faced t'they ran all the way to the head quarters of the colonial system: Washington DC'
00:10:46			stop the black snake and start the healing of this continent'he fear with love', 'we call ourselves water protectors' – in the frame: sunset and Teepees, 'and the people who answered these calls were the strong hearts of their nations' – cut, in the frame: close-up of an Indigenous man singing a prayer
			voice-over of a man speaking about him serving in the army in Iraq and Afghanistan: 'we realized this war is not about terrorism, this war is about oil', 'my vow today is to fight for clean water, to fight for a beautiful environment'
00:11:50			an Indigenous woman in the frame, telling her story: attorney in DC, came here to support: 'it wasn't a choice, a had to be here'
			a man in the corn field, red sweater: 'whats going on here is not just about standing Rock, it's not just about stopping a pipeline, it's not just about the Missouri river, although there is 18 million people that get their water from the Missouri river, this is about the entire planet, the planet as a whole, this is about the survival of humanity, we are all here for the same reason and I wil protect them with my life'
00:11:54		in the frame the police and protesters in confrontation with loud screaming, chaos, hand-held camera, you can see the police opening up a trailer with guns pointing at them, they look like soldiers, Music gets more threatening and louder, there is a woman who gets her eyes cleaned with water from the tear gas	
00:13:34			Floris White Bull on screen: I never understood when they talked about people with PTSD and what they experience, and I understand now and I wouldn't wish that on anybody.
00:13:51			Voice over Floris White Bull: 'thats where I learned at the base of the system is a person in a cage, as we got arrested, they put numbers on our arms, we were put in cages', in the frame now. 'the images are burned into my mind right now', 'we are just regular people that want a better life for their children', 'it was as if this ancient battle would play itself off right before my eyes', in the frame: drawings of colonial settlers holding an Indidenous man on gun point, hey came to our sacred burial ground they call turtle island' in the frame: footage of the police occupying turtle island, 'it illegal for them to be there, this is treaty land 'these are our synagoges, these are our churches, these are our pyramids'
		in the frame: the camp life, 'we chop wood, we create art, we cook for ourselves, there is not money,there is no electricity, there is no hate, there is no fear..'	
		in the frame: Floris White Bull and the sunset behind the trees	a man singing voice-over about the sacred water and their resistance, pictures of the camp, pictures of the land in sunlight, singing: 'standing rock we stand with you tonight'
			song: 'Water is life', voice-over Floris: 'we will not be violent', 'we are here on the front lines 'we are something new on the planet, but we are not, we are something very old, we are warriors of peace, we won't surrender'

		bird-eye view of a blockade on the road leading to the camp	we're gonna kill them with candy and love' – a young activist woman, 'connect back to my roots' they honestly believe that the pipeline is not gonna burst, they made it okay for them to think... "I just want them to feel'
		footage of how a bridge was build to turtle island	to show that we are still here', 'it is an act of aggression to come over to this side'(police), 'the people we'rent afraid, they were doing what their heart told them to do', 'we rewrite thanksgiving as a peaceful, powerful action that shows life'
			the man in the red sweater again: 'these police officers drink water from the Missouri river, and I say to them: what are you gonna do when your son or your daughter wake up tonight ans says: can have a drink of water? Are you gonna tell them that you were there to protect that source of life for them, or you gonna tell them you were there holding a gun at me for protecting that water for your children?
		pictures of the water, of the land, of the sky, of the stars' - 'and its not the other way around'	the day after survivors day the police put razor fences around out burial ground, turtle island' – pictures of it in different close-ups, cut: footage of water.'we belong to the land, we belong to the water, we belong to the air, we belong to all of creation'
		picture of women holding up a mirror to the police! (powerful image)	
			voice-over: 'I am not dreaming, I am awake' I have been woken by the spirit, that dem'I was born here, but I know that I am a guest here and we are all guests on mother earth , we are all guests in this dream' and the Dakota access pipeline isn't the only snake there is' – in the frame: maps of planned pipelines, pictures of raffineriesanded I open my eyes and see the world around me' – still in the frame: police man
			to see that I was honored to be among those that are awake, to be alive at this point in timeo see the rising of the Ocheti Chakoi, to see the gathering of the nations and beyond that the gathering of all races, all faiths, will you wake up and dream with us? Will you join our dream? Will you join
		New chapter: Part Two	
		corn field cose-up with ice/frost on it, cars following a road; cut: same day, same road, people from the camp are having a ceremony where the blockade is, police is waiting on the other side, a plane is showed that is observing the area, no voice-over, no music, observing shots of the	
		people while they are having their prayer	at the end a woman speaks through the megaphone:'thank you for giving us the time to pray here' directed at the police
		the camp establishing shot, people chopping wood, people sorting out clothing	
00:37:08			a woman speaks during a ceremony, to the camp, close-up of her: 'remember we are standing for something that is greater than our pride, it is greater than our ego, it concerns the world, the planet , the earth is our mother, and the way we treat her is very important, because lets be realistic , she's gonna continue on, we will not outlive her' 'if we come together in unity and start changing our behavior and the way we think and the way we treat her, we become coherent, we become one with her again and we stay in that prayer in unity, that is what this all is about, in protecting the water, we are protecting each other and our futures generations'
		the camp at sunset, horses walking through, black screen cut: night time protest, confrontation with the police, tear gas, people couching, screaming, the police attacking with water guns, fences, you see people holding up shields of paper and singing and praying	
		close uo of men putting up their fits in the air and singing while being watered 'at all the people in America, goldman Sachs, shame on you' – people shouting	

			different activists in the frame, talking about their motivations, interview with an elder saying: ' we are up against a corrupt system, because all my life we prayed for the health an well-being of our people but we have never gotten it... our reservations were concentration camps ... and we are trying to heal as a nation' cut, another man talking, looking into the camera: 'the protest you see here matters, to the communities here, to the people .. and to protect our future generation from destructive climate change, when we talk about this pipeine we have to talk about where the oil is coming from and we talk about where the oil is coming from.. we need to talk about the men camps that threaten our women... thats the thing, climate change isnt just about the earth, it isnt just about the environment .. it is about how we treat each other, it is about justice, this is what this is about'
			Dewey: 'most officers had no clue why they are there', they have no Indigenous knowledge' - footage with phone camera asking officers if the knew what was going on, 'we have been here for more than 500 years', ' what makes the road for you sacred here?' - 'where I pray right now is sacred, it does not have to be designated to be sacred by people like you'
			they are creating a narrative that they want, allowing some actions they want and others not ' - drone flight was not allowed, while graffiti was, the rapper Prolific was talking – after this video footage was uploaded on Facebook Prolific received an arrest warrant for the drone incident one 1 ½ months later – in the picture footage of the day, text informing about the happenings, Prolific talking head: 'this is gonna be the precedent for more movements like this, because we all know with Trump in office there are gonna be more movements like this', 'we're not gonna stop standing up' – Dewey: 'know your rights!' - footage from people being searched by the police without a warrant, police would not show them the warrant but would searh them anyway, split screen: Dewey and the officer saying: 'you are free to leave' , 'can I see the warrant' – in the frame: footage of the investigation at the police station, asking for county and badge name, police would not help
			I know who you are' , police patrol is following them, Dewey asking them why, they would not tell them why, the police officer know the name, hand-held camera footage from inside the car, documenting the incident: Dewey is going life on his phone – camera films that
			interview with another man, he is saying: 'they treat the movement as if it was a domestic terrorism case', cut:
			November 20th, 2016) voice over: police call, a woman calling the police telling them about the police violence, 'the police is attacking innocent, unarmed people, so what do we do.. we have elders here... who protects the people from the police?' - chain of command: 'next person to talk to would be the governments office'
		turning point in the film: high-end pictures of the protests, Prolific rapping: stylistic change: he sings 'if the earth is not your mother are you from mars?', music video style, fast pace editing, you can feel the energy, the hectic, the intensity, he sings: 'we are peaceful people, we walk with prayer'	
01:14:20		Indigenous sovereignty protects water' – drone footage from turtle island,protester holding up that sign while Dewey voice-over	
		New Chapter: Coda	

			oice-over Floris white bull again, picture of the sky with birds flying, footage of her with her kids, she is talking about the situation: 'everything is in limbo', President Obama stopped the pipeline for a full environmental impact study, the moment didnt last long, second day in office Trump drilling began again, we couldnt seem to stop it
		Chase Iron Eyes text plate	in frame a man talking from camp: 'we don't know what we are facing with trump, we could be facing facism orwellian like, we need to be prepared for that'
			Voice Over Floris White Bull: the military, voice-over reporting simultaneously about what happens, federal and state troops came to clear out the main camp, they came in with military force, pictures of guns, cutting teepees / footage voice-over of reporters, video footage from camp, a man filming, falling down when the police runs at them, officers tackle them, the police brutalizes the water protectors, but we remained non-violent with tears in our eyes, the people remained strong until the last minute – pictures of the burning camp: 'the structures were burned in ceremony'
01:20:45			what started in standning rock is now all over the world' in the frame: footage in fast-pace editing from other countries and protests, voice-over: 'the battle wages on, protest camps are being built, to fight pipelines and fracking across the globe' – Louisiana, florida, Australia locking the gates to gas drilling, in the Amazon, UK, Spain, Germany, Africa, in the South Pacific, Asia – all over the world water protectors and land defenders are raising up, we are global protectors now, we are planet protectors now: 'will you wake up?' - 'will you join the defunding?'
01:21:41		map of all resistance groups	Will you join the water protectors raising up'
			Takota Iron Eyes – girl talking: 'it was just a small group of kids who started this...the fight is not over, and it doesnt intend to be soon'
		footage from protests, video footage, a picture from a women in a bank	Voice-over: Although our camp has burned it has sprung up thousands of places across the globe, 'the spirit of our people can not be conquered'
01:23:13		running water	Voice-Over: I ask you once again ' will you join us, will you join our dream'
			people shouting 'water is life' – getting louder
		Text plate	Take Action! – again pictures/photos, Support water protectors: website
		CREDITS	photos from the protest, music by an Indigenous musician

d Sequence listing The Congo Tribunal

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Duration: 1h 40min			
Timecode in h	Place	In the frame	Content
00:00:01	Berlin	empty hearing room in Berlin, Germany, you see the logo of the project, showing a map of the Congo all in red and saying 'The Congo Tribunal'	
	Bukavu	next preparation for the trial, you can see many different people, Milo Rau is not introduced yet, Gilissen opens the trial, the hearing room in Berlin is the central/focal point where everything comes together, through watching the videos of the different cases the audience is transported to the crimes, however the connection to Berlin as the symbol for the international/global community and their responsibilities is always at the core in that way – stylistic device to show the interconnection on a visual level	
	Congo	the screen showing the film footage from the Congo and the people watching it in the hearing room – has a voyeuristic effect for the audience and reveals the mechanisms of the audience, the spectator is watching the protagonists while watching film footage, this illustrates also the distance between what is happening in the Congo and the European spectators who are merely watching	
00:03:20	Mutarule	a local resident is going through the village with Milo Rau (at this point the audience does not know that is Milo Rau), there is no music, there are no cuts, the camera shows dead bodies, a body of an infant/ a baby, local people tell the story of the massacre, women who have lost their kids and families,	one woman says: 'Immer wieder passieren solche Gräueltaten. Warum haben wir kein internationales Gericht hier? Es kümmert niemanden.'
	Congo	Das Kongo Tribunal, cut: birds-eye shots, establishing shot, flying over the land of Congo, clouds, disturbing classical music	
	Bukavu		Milo explains the project
00:08:55	Twangiza	gold exploitation site	
			Zihaliwa Chakirwa, resident of Twangiza explains: 'Unsere Leute haben nur Nachteile. Das Unternehmen hat die Versprechen nicht gehalten. Kein Trinkwasser, keine Schulen, keine Strassen. Hier gibt es nichts. Nur das Unternehmen hat Vorteile. Wir nicht.'
			Espoir Mweda Rukwabuka – displaced mining worker says: 'Bevor sie uns hierher gebracht haben hatten wir genug Gold, seitdem wir hier oben sind sind wir verarmt. Wir haben nichts mehr.'
			Laheri Kafabul, displaced farmer says: 'Ich habe meine Ziegen zum Wasser geführt. Jetzt sind sie tot. Das Wasser ist vergiftet.'
	Twangiza	wide angle shot of the site	
	Bukavu, South-Kivu, Ministry for Mining		Milo Rau with Lieta Tuta Wa Tuta, head of the mining department: 'Diese Karte zeigt den Konzessionsbereich des Banro Unternehmens. Banro expandiert weiter und wird in all diesen Gebieten ausbeuten. Sechs Abbaukonzessionen hat Banro in Süd-Kivu'
	Bukavu	many people on the streets supporting Kamerhe, wide angle shot of Vital Kamerhe, leader of the opposition	Kamerhe says: Wir sagen ganz deutlich, dass alle Bodenschätze des Kongo von den Milizen ausgebeutet werden. Über die Nachbarländer kommen die Mineralien nach Europa. Seht ihr den Weissen da? Könnt ihr ihn sehen? Wo ist er? Ach da ist er ja. Er ist hier, um ein Tribunal abzuhalten. Um zu zeigen, wie ihr drangsaliert werdet, dass die Rohstoffe die Ursache der Konflikte sind und was man dagegen tun kann.' Applause
	Bukavu	Marcellin Cishambo, Governor of South-Kivu, pictures of him and George W. Bush in the living room	

	Collège Alfajiri	Bukavu, birds-eye shot and wide angle shots, low key music, no off-commentary	
	Palais de Justice de Bukavu		image of 'Palais de Justice de Bukavu', Sylvestre Bisimwa, Lawyer for human rights, chief/head of investigation of tribunal, says 'Ein grosse Zahl von Verbrechen wurde begangen und sind ungestraft geblieben. Die Opfer leben mit dem Schmerz und sie tragen ihn in sich. Dieses Gericht könnte also die Last all dieser ungesühnten Verbrechen verringern. Auf der anderen Seite könnte das Vertrauen in eine Gerichtsbarkeit durch ein solches Tribunal wiederhergestellt werden. Es könnte eine Basis sein für den Kampf um Gerechtigkeit im Kongo.'
00:17:30	Collège Alfajiri	Jean Louis-Gilissen	Gilissen/ Co-Founder of the Den Haag Criminal Court, Head of the Congo Tribunal: question: 'Warum sind sie Präsident des Kongo Tribunals?' He says: 'Ich hatte die Ehre, gefragt zu werden. Es gibt Dinge im Leben, die man nicht ablehnen kann. Und schließlich [fights with tears].... ist es eine Frage des Engagements. Man muss sich für etwas einsetzen. Sonst dreht sich alles um das eigene kleine Leben, Heiraten, Kinder kriegen, Geld verdienen. Und man sagt sich, alles ist in Ordnung. Ich habe geheiratet, habe Kinder, alles gut. Man weiß, es ist nicht genug. Bei allem, was in der Welt passiert, ist das nicht ausreichend. Für wen halte ich mich, das zu akzeptieren? Für wen halten wir uns, das zu akzeptieren?'
		image of the interior, the hearing room, with the surtitle 'Justice et vérité' – Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit.	
		you can see the queue in front of the building, many Congolese people waiting to get in	
00:21:34			Das Kongo Tribunal ist eröffnet – Aktion!
00:24:20	Switzerland		Jean Ziegler, Consultant for UN-Human Rights Council says: 'Normalerweise wird das immer bewilligt. Der Menschenrechtsrat ist eine universelle Organisation, die UNO hat ja ein Interesse, dass wir im Sinne der UNO tätig werden [...] da wurde es abgesagt, und zwar ganz energisch abgesagt. Und das hat wahrscheinlich damit zu tun, dass die Vermutung in New York war, dass die UNO bei diesem Kongo Tribunal kritisiert werden wird.'
00:25:14	Collège Alfajiri		Meine Damen und Herren. Wir müssen uns vor diesem Kongo Tribunal, einigen sehr komplizierten Fragen stellen. Sind der kongolesische Staat und die Armee Akteure bei den systematischen Übergriffen auf die lokale Bevölkerung? Fördern sie die Unsicherheit und das Chaos in der Region entweder durch Passivität oder durch Zusammenarbeit mit den Rebellen Gruppen? Machen sich die internationale Gemeinschaft und die im Kongo stationierten UN-Truppen einer Mittäterschaft schuldig, indem sie die Streitkräfte einer Regierung unterstützen, die nicht im Sinne ihres eigenen Volkes handelt und die Menschenrechte missachtet? Eine weitere Frage, die wir zu klären haben: Profitieren die multinationalen Bergbauunternehmen von der Instabilität und dem Chaos des seit 20 Jahren andauernden Krieges? Um sich Minen-Konzessionen zu sichern? Und sich die kongolesischen Ressourcen günstig zu beschaffen? Sind sie in diesem Fall schuldig der Plünderung des kongolesischen Volkes?
00:27:53		New chapter: Die Reichtümer der Erde	
00:27:55	Bukavu		Fidel Bafilemba, NGO Enough Project says: 'Wenn sie sich mal den grossen Reichtum des Kongo anschauen. Betrachtet man nur die Bodenschätze, beläuft sich das Potenzial auf 24.000 Milliarden USD. Selbst wenn Sie das BIP der USA und von Europa addieren, kommen Sie nicht auf diese Summe

00:28:57	Congo		farm workers saying: 'Der Boden hier ist der fruchtbar. Zuerst machen wir Bohnen. Dann Mais und zuletzt wieder Bohnen. Im gesamten Kongo gibt es viele Rohstoffe. Aber hier, in diesem Gebiet, wo wir Landwirtschaft betreiben, hier gibt es keine Mineralien.'
00:29:34	Congo		Théophile Gakunzi says, is in a dark room with candlelight, low key music in the background: 'Wir haben hier alle vier Jahreszeiten. Wir haben hier viel Platz. Wir haben eine große Fruchtbarkeit. Dennoch essen wir kanadischen Reis. Wir essen importierte Bohnen. Auch die Bananen, das Gemüse, sogar der Zucker. Sogar die Seife, alles. Wie kann man eine blühende Wirtschaft haben, wenn alles, was wir konsumieren, von anderswo kommt?'
	Mining shaft		Hamuzi Muzungu: 'Hier gibt es viele Geschäftsleute. Die meisten schürfen auch selbst. Hier wird eingekauft und dann wird es nach Bukavu zu den Händlern gebracht. Von dort wird es dann exportiert. Vielleicht nach Europa, ich weiß es nicht.'
00:31:48	Mine		Robert Zeninga, merchant: 'Was sie hier sehen ist Coltan [...] von Mombasa geht es mit dem Schiff nach Malaysia. Nach dem Einschmelzen in Malaysia, von dort wird es weitergeschickt. Zu Motorola oder zu Philips, Nokia oder CMS, um Handys zu produzieren.'
00:32:05	Goma		Prince Kihangi: '[...] Diese Achse verbindet die Provinz mit Kisangani. Und in dieser Region befindet sich die Bisie-Mine. In dieser Region arbeiten ca. 12.000 Menschen in den Minen. Allerdings hat sich der Gewinn bis heute nicht positiv auf die Bevölkerung ausgewirkt, weil es erhebliche Konflikte gibt, zwischen den Schürfern und der MPC, Mining and Processing Congo. Deswegen gibt es ständig Anfragen an den Staat Regelungen zu schaffen, die helfen, den Konflikt zu lösen. Konflikte gibt es zwischen den lokalen Kleinbauern und der MPC und auch zwischen den Gemeinden.'
00:33:32	Walikale		Das Problem für uns aus Walikale ist, dass wir uns fragen, wo MPC denn herkommt? Wer steckt dahinter? Es heisst, Amerika hat MPC hier installiert. Amerika scheint die Verbrechen von MPC an der Bevölkerung von Walikale zu tolerieren.
			Sie haben unsere Leute vejagt. Sie haben uns geschlagen und auf uns geschossen. Sie haben unsere Häuser niedergebrannt. [...] Und heute hält MPC unsere Minen besetzt.'
00:38:01	Collège Alfajiri		Witness Zihaliwa says: 'Das ist der Ort an dem das Unternehmen den Abfall entsorgt. Das Wasser ist giftig. Die Vögel, die davon trinken, sterben.'
			Bisimwa: Sie sagen also Banro hat das hier gebaut? (holding up a picture of the water site)
			Witness replies: 'Ja, Banro. Sie haben eine Seite des Flusses gestaut. Kühe, Ziegen und Schafe sterben wegen des Wassers sofort.'
			Bisimwa: 'Können Sie beschreiben, was sie bisher verloren haben weil das Wasser in das Sumpfgebiet geleitet wird?'
			Witness: 'Kühe, Ziegen und Schafe sind alles, was wir haben.'
		Gilbert Kalinda, lawyer of a mining company: holds up a picture and shows that Banro also built a school and hospital in Kibuti	
			Mrs. Laheri Kafabul, Kihangi interviews her, she says getting a new house for their family to sleep in would be enough reparation

	Office Kalinda		Interview talking head with Gilbert Kalinda in what seems to be his office, saying that one cannot expect the competitor to finance the other party
00:42:00	Collège Alfajiri		Das Unternehmen MPC ist unser Problem. MPC hält sich nicht an die Vereinbarungen. Wir haben die Mineralien entdeckt. Es gibt einen Zusammenarbeitsvertrag. Doch jetzt wollen sie nichts davon wissen. Wir verlangen von der Regierung, dass sie ein anderes Unternehmen finden, das uns hilft, uns zu entwickeln. Wir wollen ein internationales Unternehmen, das unsere Rechte anerkennt. Wir wollen einen Teil der Mine für uns, damit wir dort auf unsere Art schürfen können. Wenn das Unternehmen, das ganze Vorkommen abbauen will, akzeptieren wir das nicht.'
00:42:20	Office Kalinda		Es stimmt, sie waren zuerst da, aber in juristischer Hinsicht ist dieses Gebiet Hoheitsgebiet eines Staates, der Demokratischen Republik Kongo. Sie ware wirklich dort. Aber nicht legal.
	Collège Alfajiri		Witness says 'Ich würde den Kongo nie verlassen. Wir waren schon immer in Bisie. Uns gehört Bisie.
	Berlin		Same witness in the frame of one of the screens in the Berlin hearing room.
			Witness Mrs. Miriam Saage-Maaß : 'Sobald Staaten enteignet haben, rechtmäßig, und das Land einem bestimmten Unternehmen überschrieben haben, ist es faktisch für die Betroffenen maximal möglich gegen die Enteignung selber vorzugehen, das heißt gegen den Staat selber, sofern es überhaupt ein Verfahren zur Verfügung stellt. Unternehmen aber, im Grunde genommen, sind dann nicht greifbar.'
			Ich denke transnationale Unternehmen befinden sich in einem Raum der Straffreiheit bewegen. Das heisst sie wissen, sie können agieren, sie können Menschenrechte verletzen und die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass sie in irgendeiner Form dafür belangt werden ist unheimlich gering.
	Collège Alfajiri	Domingo Vital	
	Congo		Nadine Kusi, MPC/Alphamin: Das kongolesische Recht besagt, dass Kleinbauern und Industrieunternehmen nicht in den gleichen Konzessionen arbeiten dürfen. Wir haben Beweise dafür, dass die Kleinbauern vom Konzessionsgebiet von Alphamin entfernt werden müssen. Die Zeit der gegenseitigen emotionalen Vwürfe ist vorbei. Wir müssen voran schreiten. [cut, the actual interview situation in the full frame]. Wenn alle auf ihrem hohen Ross sitzen bleiben, und sagen, dass das nicht möglich ist, müssen wir sie eben zurücklassen.'
	Collège Alfajiri		
	Congo	hearing is closed, images of the city an a surrounding lake at night time with music in the background	
00:50:39		New Chapter: Der Weg in den Bürgerkrieg	
		birds-eye images of the area with the church in focus, music in the background, no explanatory commentary	
	Church	Church people singing, priest plays the piano, Venantie Bisimwa Nabintu saying:	Die Religion ist für die Menschen hier wichtig. Sie brauchen Schutz. Sie erhoffen sich eine Erklärung für ihre Probleme. Ja sogar Lösungen. Lösungen in metaphysischer Hinsicht. Der starke Glaube ist sehr eindrucksvoll hier. Die Menschen berufen sich auf die sogenannten Männer Gottes. [...] Die Antwort Gottes folgt nicht sofort. Gott lässt sich Zeit. Er nimmt nicht den Aufzug, man sagt er nimmt die Treppe. Und so fügen sich die Menschen. Ihr Leben lang, bis ins hohe Alter.'

	Mukungwe	Nabintu with a local police officers showing her the village from the top of the hill, walking down to the village (music in the background, a lot of time for the spectator though to reflect, to follow up with the thoughts)	
			Was erhofften sich die Menschen von Banro hier?'
		they arrive at the village, the officer says 'Soldaten, stilgestanden.'	
			resident: 'Dass es Arbeit gibt. Und gute Strassen, eine gute Gesundheitsversorgung. Aber nichts davon wurde gemacht. Absolut nichts.'
			another resident: 'Niemand vertritt unsere Interessen gegenüber Banro. Warum sind die hier in unserem Bereich?'
			a resident saying: 'Es liegt am Staat, der ist schwach. Es fehlt an Polizei, es gibt keine Justiz... das einzige, was wir tun können ist weiter Druck auf die Regierung auszuüben.' (Kleinbauerverband)
	Indoor setting		Valentin Kasha, speaker of the displaced artisinal mining workers: 'Wir erwarten, dass der Staat... Der Staat ist für seine Bürger verantwortlich. Und für die Nation, für uns alle. Der Staat muss die Dinge in die Hand nehmen. Uns bereits in den etablierten Strukturen unterstützen und mit de Zivilgesellschaft zusammenarbeiten.'
	In front of Collège Alfajiri	many soldiers	Valentin Kasha is testifying as a witness, Colette Braeckman is interviewing him he talks about the taxes they have to give to the military, the government and the land owners
	Collège Alfajiri		Raymond Africa, representative of the commune Luhwindja, the topic is whether BANRO pays its taxes to the government or not
	Hearing room Berlin		Saskia Sassen watching Raymond Africa testifying, Gilissen asks Raf Custers to testify in front of the Berlin tribunal: 'Es ist unglaublich was da passiert. Man weiß, dass Banro von einer vollständigen Steuerbefreiung profitiert und zwar für die gesamte Dauer der Minentätigkeit des Unternehmens in der Provinz Süd-Kivu. Von einer kompletten Steuer- und Vorsteuerbefreiung.'
01:01:06	Collège Alfajiri		Kürzlich waren wir an der neunten Konferenz der OECD in Paris. Wir konnten zwei Lager beobachten, das amerikanische und das europäische. Im Verlauf der Verhandlungen tauchte ein drittes Lager auf: China. Der Konkurrenzkampf war deutlich zu spüren. Ich weiss nicht, was ich Ihnen mehr zur Situation sagen soll. Sie wissen genau so wie ich, dass es nur um diese Konkurrenz geht.'
			Colette Braeckman: 'Gibt es in ihrer Region noch bewaffnete Militär- oder Rebellen Gruppen?'
			Murhi: 'Sehr verehrte Jury-Mitglieder, das betrifft die Sicherheitspolitik'
			images of people laughing in the audience, they cant belive the answer, cut: wide angle of audience, on top at the railing it again says: 'Truth and justice'
	Office Bisimwa		Die Leute denken an Selbstschutz, an eine Miliz zum Schutz der Gemeinschaft. So entstehen mehr und mehr Milizen. Das führt am Ende zu einer Rebellion.'
	Collège Alfajiri		he is part of a rebel-group, militia called Ceka-Gruppe, he testifies anonymously, the founded the group in defense to MPC
			Temoin B: 'Nicht nur die Rebellen Gruppen begehen Vergewaltigungen, die staatlichen Gruppen auch.'
01:01:04		New Chapter: Die Herren der Welt	
		Milo Rau and another soldier get off the car wide angle showing soldiers talking to each other, laughing, cut: soldiers closer looking directly into the camera	

			One soldier says: 'Wir haben eine lange Ausbildung gemacht. Wir sind bereit. Mit meiner Machete zeig ich es euch. Dann wird hier mal richtig aufgeräumt.'
		frontal shots, semi-wide angle shots of the soldiers just standing and looking into the camera, no music, background noise from the site	
		rebels singing and marching, there are also two female rebels	
			Rebel Jeanette Sifa Kandole, interview outside, both women are squatting: 'Alle versuchen etwas von den Schätzen abzubekommen. Von Bukavu bis Kindu gibt es Minen mit Gold und Diamanten. Auch andere Mineralien, wie Kassiterit. Rebellen überfallen die Minenarbeiter. Sie fesseln, schlagen und töten sie sogar. Das können wir nicht dulden. Deshalb kämpfen wir.'
	Office Jean Ziegler		Also diese Karte ist hochinteressant aber auch sehr beunruhigend.' - die Bodenschatzgebiete, Agrargebiete mit Monokulturen etc. fallen zusammen mit Konfliktgebieten. 'Wo Menschen zu Tausenden jedes Jahr sterben in sogenannten Stammeskriegen.'
01:08:00		images showing the rebels singing.	Der Schluss liegt nahe, dass es zwischen den beiden Tatsachen einen Kausalzusammenhang gibt. Dass die Grosskonzerne, die Mineralrohstoffe abbeuten [...] dass die diese ethnischen Konflikte schüren, damit jede Art der Staatsgewalt, der öffentlichen Gewalt, aus diesen Gebieten verschwindet.'
		image of the map Ziegler was talking about.	
01:08:02			NGO activist: Ich habe nicht dieselbe fatalistische Auffassung über den Kongo wie andere. Wir haben die großen amerikanischen Elektrofirmen gebeten [image of a barrel with the shipping label saying Malaysia], und auch die amerikanische Regierung, als Endverbraucher unserer Rohstoffe, ihre Verantwortung endlich wahrzunehmen. Und so wurde dem Dodd-Frank Act der Artikel 1502 angefügt. Dank dieses Gesetzes, sind heute 67% der Coltan-, Wolframit [images of two men showing Milo Rau a list] und Kassiterit-Minen konfliktfrei. NGO
01:08:33			Zacharie Bulakali NGO leader of IPIS: Das Gesetz besagt, dass kein Kauf mehr von Mineralien, die aus dem Ostkongo kommen, weil diese Mineralien den Konflikt schüren. Wegen diesen Mineralien entstehen die bewaffneten Gruppen. Alle Käufer, auch in Europa, sollen dort nichts mehr kaufen. Der Wert steigt, aber niemand darf mehr damit handeln. Der Schwarzhandel beginnt. Anstatt dass sich unsere Geschäfte durch das Gesetz verbessern, führt es uns noch tiefer in den Schwarzhandel. Und all unsere Mineralien landen in den Nachbarländern.
	Change of scene		cabinet du ministre, interview talking head in the office with, Lieta Tuta Wa Tuta, Head of Mining South-Kivu: 'Der Dodd Frank Act hat uns nur in Schwierigkeiten gebracht. Ein amerikanisches Gesetz. Man spricht von Konfliktmaterialien, solange sie sich im Kongo befinden. Sobald die Mineralien das Land verlassen haben, sobald sie 'gewaschen' wurden, sind sie keine Konfliktmaterialien mehr. Und die Nachbarländer und das Ausland profitieren davon.'

01:10:03	Office Prince Kihangi		Prince Kihangi: Auf international Niveau gibt es diese harten Interessenkonflikte. Wer beutet die Rohstoffe im Gebiet der grossen Seen aus? Wer wird im Kongo ausbeuten? Die Multinationalen suchen nach einer Strategie, hier auszubeuten und andere daran zu hindern. Dies ist ein Kampf auf internationalem Niveau. Die großen Unternehmen, da ist jeder gegen jeden, Amerikaner gegen Asiaten gegen Europäer. Es stellt sich die Frage: Wir wird was abschöpfen? Wer kriegt das Gold aus dem Ostkongo? Wer das Coltan aus Masisi? Wer das Kassiterit aus Walikale? Denn gemäss Experten sind die Menge und die Qualität der Bodenschätze aus dem Ostkongo viel höher als anderswo, als in allen anderen Regionen des Landes. Hier tobt ein Kampf.'
01:10:53	Berlin		testifying Frédéric Triest, Head of EurAc, European Network for Central Africa: 'Ganz kurz: Was sind Konflikt-Rohstoffe? Das sind zentrale Rohstoffe für die europäische Industrie. Was also tut die Politik? Sie sichert sich den Zugang zu diesen Rohstoffen zum kleinstmöglichen Preis. Da die europäische Industrie von ihnen abhängt und sich in Konkurrenz mit Russland und China befindet, ist die Politik besorgt über die Instabilität der Preise.' 'Das ist das altbekannte Problem Europas. Das erklärt auch den Kolonialismus. Nichts Neues unter der Sonne. Wenn Produzenten wie zum Beispiel der Kongo ihre Ressourcen schützen wollen, um sich zu industrialisieren, ihre eigene Entwicklung voranzutreiben, dann nutzt die EU alle möglichen legalen Mittel, um sie davon abzubringen. Um die Mineralien auf den internationalen Markt zu bringen zum tiefstmöglichen Preis.'
			Luc Henkinbrant, former head of UN-human rights Büro, MONUSCO, South-Kivu 'Die für dieses Verbrechen verantwortlichen Leute, sitzen in sehr wichtigen Positionen. Sowohl von Seiten der Rebellen, wie auch von Seiten der Regierung [in the frame is the opposition leader Kamerhe in the audience, taking notes] gibt es folgenden Konsens, eine Art Gentlemen's Agreement. Es besagt ungefähr Folgendes: Ihr klagt mich nicht der Verbrechen an, die ich begangen habe, und ich mische mich nicht in die Verbrechen ein, die ihr begangen habt.
01:12:36	Mutarule	Mutarule, soldiers sitting in front of a building, cut Milo Rau in the midst of people from the village, walking to the small hospital, where the crime took place, the massacre	
		hey are at the crime scene, the same men from the beginning, Amini Kabaka Shemu, of the film talks about what happened, everything is still covered in blood, he explains that woman was giving birth there, while the soldiers came to kill, CLOSE UP of the blood.	
		outside, camera is filming two soldiers under a tree in the distance, Shemu says that they 'Always only come when people are already buried.'	
	Collège Alfajiri		The minister of internal affairs and national security arrives, Jean-Julien Miruho, many people, people asking questions, military close ups, hand-held camera
	Change of scene	Sylvestre Bisimwa interviewing survivors of the massacre in Mutarule	
			Witness H, survivor of the massacre says: 'Sie fielen über uns her. Sie fügten mir Stichwunden zu. Sie stachen mehrmals mit einem Messer zu. Sie schossen mir viel Mal in den Bauch. Sie töteten das Kind in meinem Bauch.' shows her scares, but one cannot see her face, she remains anonymous
		they show the picture of the dead baby, it is in the frame as a close-up of the photo	Es starb noch in meinem Bauch.'

01:16:42	Collège Alfajiri		Witness J, survivor of the massacre: Ich bin zur UNO-Mission in Mutarule gegangen und bat sie einzugreifen, weil in Mutarule Menschen umgebracht wurden. Aber sie sind nicht hingefahren. 'Was halten sie von der Rolle der UN-Mission?' 'Im Hinblick auf ihr Schutz-Mandat, werden sie ihrer Rolle nicht gerecht.'
01:17:20	Headquarter UN-mission	UN flag blowing in the wind, entrance gate of the MONUSCO headquarters Bukavu	
			Biliaminou Alao, press and communications UNO-Mission South-Kivu: 'Ihr müsst verstehen, dass die UN-Truppen nicht überall sein können. Ausserdem sind hier in der Provinz Süd-Kivu über 40.000 Soldaten der kongolesischen Armee. Sie haben viel mehr Leute als die UN-Truppen. Zur zahlenmässigen Unterlegenheit kommt hinzu, dass das Mandat Kampfhandlungen ausschließt. Es ist ein rein defensiver Auftrag. Sie können nur einschreiten, wenn danach verlangt wird.'
		UN flag again	
			Milo Rau asking Christine Kapalata, Head of UNO-Mission: 'Wenn sie das Massaker analysieren, warum ist es passiert?' 'I am not very comfortable with the word massacre. A lot could have been done, but the information didn't filter, or if it filtered it was dismissed and then things just took a downward spiral and that is what we have.'
	Collège Alfajiri	hearing room, jury is in the frame watching the interview on the screen	
			witness Étienne Togera, resident of Mutarule, explaining what happened and the actors involved. 'Wir wurden in Anwesenheit der Polizei massakriert.'
			witness Amini Kabaaka Shemu, representative of the students of Balufieru, he called MONUSCO when the massacre happened, he says 'Ein pakistanischer Kommandant war am Telefon. Er sagte: 'Don't worry, the congolese army is there, they are controlling the situation, nothing will harm the population.'
		inbetween in the frame are close-ups of the audience, showing them talking and discussing, listening etc.	
			Wer profitiert ihrer Meinung von diesem Massaker in Mutarule?' 'Die kongolesische Regierung.'
			Jean-Julien Miruho, Minister of internal affairs, why did you arrive only three days after it happened, accuses Shemu of a lie. 'Die Ereignisse spielten sich in der Nacht ab. 'Heißt das, dass die Polizei nur am Tag arbeitet?'
			the governor Marcellin Chishambo stands up, saying: 'Wenn sie einen anderen Gouverner haben: Her mit ihm! Aber ich denke, ich bin immernoch eurer Gouverneur. Ich möchte Folgendes zur Polizei sagen, ich versichere Ihnen, dass die Polizei in der Ausbildungsphase ist.'
01:25:06			Prince Kihangi: Wenn man den kongolesischen Staat wegen unterlassener Hilfeleistung zur Rechenschaft ziehen würde? 'WER SOLLTE DEN KONGOLESISCHEN STAAT WEGEN UNTERLASSENER HILFELEISTUNG VERKLAGEN? Wer und wo? Wer käme auf die Idee, den kongolesischen Staat zu verklagen?'
		in the frame the governor smiling	
			Braekman: 'Hat die Regierung der sie angehören landwirtschaftliche Pläne in der Rusisi-Ebene?' 'Ja, wir stehen tatsächlich gerade in Diskussion mit der Weltbank. Es handelt sich um ein grosses Entwicklungsprojekt...'
		Close-Ups audience, Truth and Justice banner in the picture, and beneath it is the Congolese people	
	Mutarule	footage, close-ups, wide-angles of the village burying the dead bodies	

		two miners standing on top of a hill overlooking the region of South-Kivu, showing their back to the camera,	
		the lake where Nadine Lusisi was interviewed, cut: congolese people on a boat, cut: city, destroyed buildings	
	Collège Alfajiri	banner of the tribunal in the hearing room in a close-up	
			Milo Rau in the frame saying: Die Dreharbeiten beginnen. Das Kongo Tribunal, Schlussplädoyers. Aktion.
			Sylvestre Bisimwa: 'dies waren keine Einzelfälle. Das Kongo Tribunal interessiert sich aber für alle begangenen Verbrechen und Gewalttaten. Von den Kongolesen genauso vergessen wie von der internationalen Gemeinschaft'.
			Kalinda: 'Es gibt nicht nur ein Mutarule, es gibt viele Mutarule.' – names a lot of them!!!
01:30:00			Prince Kihangi: Die Demokratische Republik Kongo, unser Land, ist reich. Dieser Reichtum hat sich für die Menschen nie ausgezahlt. Stattdessen schafft und verschärft er die Konflikte. Wenn die grossen Unternehmen in ihre Länder zurückkehren, hinterlassen sie uns, ein Land und Erdreich ohne Ressourcen. Es ist an der Zeit dass die Republik Verantwortung übernimmt und alles unternimmt, damit die multinationalen Firmen, die Rechte des Volkes respektieren. Das Verhalten der internationalen Gemeinschaft folgt eigenen Interessen. [INTERNATIONALE GEMEINSCHAFT HIER DIE NATIONEN UND INSTITUTIONEN NICHT DIE ZIVILGESELLSCHAFT] Die internationale Gemeinschaft bestärkt die starken Staaten in ihrer Stärke. Wenn sie schwach sind, werden sie in ihrer Schwäche begleitet.
			Milo Rau: 'Sie wissen sehr genau, dass dieses Tribunal fiktiv ist. Es wurde nicht von einem Staat ausgerichtet oder von einer internationalen Organisation. Im Gegenteil: Es ist ein unabhängiges Tribunal. Ein symbolisches Tribunal. Ein Volkstribunal, das ausschließlich der öffentlichen Meinung verpflichtet ist. Dieses Tribunal wird seine Legitimation in der Zukunft haben. Und zwar durch den Beitrag, den es zur Entwicklung dieses schönen Landes, des Kongo, leisten wird. Und es setzt sich kein anderes Ziel, als die Wahrheit, nichts als die Wahrheit, bekannt zu machen. Danke.'
			Gilissen closes the tribunal. Applause, standing ovations.
		Shots of Vital Kamerhe and the governor talking to people.	
01:34:50	Mutarule		Bisimwa walking with Shemu: 'Sie haben nichts gemacht.' talking about the massacre.
		the hospital, cut: another house, cut: a ruin, cut: both in front of the graves	
		two men taking pictures in front of them with their phone, Shemu in the frame. Very slow fade out of the frame	
		Black Screen	
			Die Bukavu Hearings endeten am 31. Mai 2015 mit der Verurteilung der kongolesischen Regierungsvertreter und der multinationalen Rohstoffkonzerne.
		text plate	Die UNO-Mission wurde von einer direkten Mitschuld am Massaker von Mutarule freigesprochen.'
		text plate	Der Innenminister und der Minenminister der Provinz Süd-Kivu wurden kurz nach dem Kongo Tribunal aus all ihren Funktionen entlassen.'
		text plate	'Seit 2015 engagiert sich Sylvestre Bisimwa für die Gründung eines ständigen Gerichtshofes nach dem Vorbild des Kongo Tribunals zur Aufarbeitung der Verbrechen im Ostkongo.'
		hearing room berlin	Das Kongo Tribunal endete am 29. Juni 2015 in Berlin mit einem zweiten Urteil zur Verantwortlichkeit der Weltbank und der EU für die Verbrechen im Ostkongo.'
		CREDITS	