PICTURE THIS: HOW DIGITAL STORYTELLING

CAMPAIGNS FOR REFUGEES ELICIT EMPATHY FROM A

DISTANT AUDIENCE

by

MITRA LeBUHN

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of International Studies
and the Robert D. Clark Honors College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

June 2018

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Mitra LeBuhn for the degree of Bachelor of Arts
in the Department of International Studies to be taken June 2018

Title: Picture This: How Digital Storytelling Campaigns for Refugees Elicit Empathy
from a Distant Audience

Approved: _____

Professor Melissa Graboyes

This study is concerned with understanding the barriers to empathy in the
context of humanitarian imagery (shock effect, positive images, and digital
storytelling). The research questions ask: how can digital storytelling campaigns for
refugees be designed to elicit empathy from a distant audience, while ethically
representing the refugees and their stories? What platforms and mediums are most
conducive to this? This study draws from literature in psychology and humanitarian
communication, news publications, and 7 primary source interviews to analyze 5
individual humanitarian photos, and 7 case studies of digital storytelling campaigns
under 3 format categories (short film, photo series, and web documentary). The
implementation of narrative devices in digital storytelling generates evocative
campaigns intended to raise awareness. Although awareness and emotional response do
not actually solve the root of the problem, the objective of this study is to consider the
ethics behind refugee imagery and storytelling and better understand what about the
way a refugee's narrative is shared evokes empathy from a distant audience and
ultimately increases the viewer's motivation to act.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professors Melissa Graboyes, Stephen Wooten, and Dennis Galvan for their support and adjudication on my thesis defense committee. Professor Graboyes, thank you for your guidance as my primary thesis advisor and for leading me to consider the ethics of refugee representation in refugee relief campaigning. Thank you Professor Wooten for advising and encouraging me throughout my time at the University of Oregon. Professor Galvan, thank you for teaching an engaging INTL 240 course fall term of my freshman year and inspiring my degree in International Studies. I am grateful to the Clark Honors College for supporting me through this challenging but rewarding process.

Thank you to the School for International Training (SIT) for providing me with academic and financial support when I initiated this research abroad. Thank you to those professors and professionals that helped connect me to new contacts in Geneva, Switzerland (Anne Golaz, Michael Speir, Christian Captier, Francoise Flourens, and Alexandre Lambert) and to the interviewees who agreed to meet within the time constraint of my travels. I am grateful for your effort and input. Also in Switzerland, thank you Nathalie for welcoming me as part of your family and creating the most scenic and calming environment to initiate this work.

Finally, thank you to my family and friends for their endless support and faith in my completion of this thesis, in addition to fulfilling requirements for an International Studies degree with Departmental Honors. You are my glue.

Table of Contents

Introduction

A campaign, as defined by Merriam-Webster dictionary, is "a connected series of operations designed to bring about a particular result," (Merriam-Webster, 2018). Specific to the context of humanitarian work, I define campaigns as organized efforts, usually by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), to raise awareness, fundraise, or mobilize their audience for a specific crisis or human rights issue. This thesis hones in on digital storytelling campaigns in particular, which combine imagery and narrative in various ways for the purpose of raising awareness, and directly or indirectly fundraising or mobilizing (i.e. petitions, marches, and volunteering housing, resources or skills) for refugees. The first step to changing public opinion is draw awareness, followed by creating a sense of urgency and an outlet for contribution. Even of those campaigns that are made purely for awareness raising purposes, some form of action (i.e. donating, volunteering, advocacy, lobbying, local resettlement support) is the ultimate objective. Digital stories produced by news journals and celebrities or individuals might have other motivations that differ from NGOs. BBC news or Radio Television Swiss, two journals analyzed in the following case studies have created digital stories for refugees intended to inform people but also to sell a story. Celebrities, like Alicia Keys and Humans of New York, have created content to motivate funding or mobilize relief efforts but affixed is the personal incentive to boost their public relations image. However, if the content is accurate, increased awareness is a by-product of their work. As raising awareness is a shared objective, campaign success can be measured in viewership. This is limited in that the number of views or amount of website traffic does

not communicate where the views are coming from, nor if the people acting in support of refugees are the ones accessing the campaigns.

Considering the overarching goal is contribution to relief efforts, the target audiences of humanitarian campaigns are those with wealth beyond subsistence, who are educated, or offer some skills that are of value to the integration process, relief work, or advocacy. We can assume people around ages 25 to 65 are wage earners and fall into this group. This is a broad category, and to expand it further, those who might not have the means to contribute may be connected to people who do and can link others to the campaign information and inspire action. Children, for example, might not have the skills or finances to take action themselves, but they have the ability to talk to their parents and their community to emphasize the importance of getting involved in relief, integration, or advocacy efforts.

Campaigns are not the only way to change public opinion. Other means might include advocacy for refugees by global leaders, art and theatre performances, interactive games, virtual reality, community events, books, lesson plans and class discussions, and interacting with refugees (how this is achieved is an ethical concern, and it should be of benefit to the refugee). Like many of these other awareness raising methods, digital storytelling campaigns can fill physical space, but they are frequently published on internet, social media, and mobile phone platforms. This allows for rapid dispersal, easy and immediate access, and the potential for massive reach. According to statistics gathered by SmartInsights, a marketing advice website, as of 2018 the number of internet users worldwide is 4.021 billion, the number of social media users worldwide is 3.196 billion, and the global number of mobile phone users is 5.135

billion (Chaffey, 2018). Furthermore, Northern, Western and South Europe and North America have the largest internet penetration with between 74%-94% internet users compared to total population. Facebook is the most popular social media network worldwide with over 2 billion active users, followed by YouTube with over 1.5 billion active users (Chaffey, 2018). One major nongovernmental organization (NGO) working on refugee relief, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), receives donor money from over 27 countries but the majority comes from Europe and North America (Natter). Considering Northern, Western, and South Europe and North America have the largest proportion of internet users and are the predominant donors to MSF, and the top governmental donors to Syria as of 2015 are the United States, U.K, Kuwait, Germany, and Canada, internet campaign dispersal is ideal to reach the audience that has the means to act (Barcia, 2015). These countries are already donating, but targeting them as the audience may motivate more frequent or consistent donation; in the future other media formats may be better suited to motivate empathy from less involved countries and regions. Europe and North America are also distant (geographically, socially, and culturally) from most current refugee crises, but have the space and resources to support refugees and asylum seekers that countries bordering the crises do not as the surge in population size in neighboring countries is not sustainable. Although my background is in International Studies and not Journalism and Communication, for the above reasons I chose to focus this undergraduate honors study on the advertising approach of online digital storytelling campaigns and examine techniques in digital storytelling that evoke empathy, bridging the distance between refugees and those in the position to help.

Advancements in technology have opened the opportunity to represent the global refugee crisis and displaced persons using new mediums, new platforms, and reach a new audience through social media. As described by Dr. Valerie Gorin, digital storytelling is anything that relates to the use of social media applications and technical devices for multimedia online content that share stories, emphasizing the needs of the victims in a way that immerses the viewer in the issue. Digital storytelling may involve photo editing and manipulation (potential fabrication), animation, virtual reality, and film, among other techniques. Throughout the past century NGOs have been focusing on beneficiaries as victims. While holding on to core techniques of traditional storytelling, digital media has allowed for a major shift in lens (Gorin). Using short film, website documentary, photo series, social media, physical displays, blogs, slide shows, live events, and other formats, refugees share who they are and what they have experienced. Their narratives and faces make the refugee experience tangible to the campaign audience and serve as cogs in changing the socio-political climate surrounding the refugee crisis. Showing the world your story can be empowering, but that empowerment can be quickly negated when those with publishing power manipulate the image or the refugee's words. Ethical considerations like informed consent, photo staging, gift giving or receiving, and intrusion on private moments must be made when taking pictures of refugees for the news and journals, but are also appropriate in the context of humanitarian imagery where field reporters are often the photographers (NPPA, 2017). The National Press Photographers Association code of ethics states that manipulation should not alter the content or context of the photograph

to mislead the viewer or misrepresent the subject (NPPA, 2017). This prevents the exploitation of their suffering and an unauthentic telling of their story.

The Refugee

For the purpose of this study we will consider refugees as defined by the UNHCR:

> [A person] who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries. (USA for UNHCR, 2017)

The lack of response and resettlement of displaced populations can be attributed strongly to xenophobia and racism. As conflict continues more people are forced to flee, and without receptive sanctuaries the number of displaced persons accumulates. As communicated in an Amnesty International press release, "Some 56% of the world's refugees are hosted in just 10 countries located next to countries in conflict who, between them, account for less than 2.5 percent of world GDP. Only around 30 countries run some kind of refugee resettlement programme, and the number of places offered annually falls far short of the needs identified by the UN," (Amnesty International, 2017). United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Figures at a Glance report in revealed that in 2017, 65.6 million people, one in 113 persons, had been forcibly displaced from their homes by conflict and persecution. Between 2014 and 2015 this figure increased by 5.8 million, and has continued to grow to the record breaking number we face in 2018 (UNHCR, 2015). UNHCR Regional Representative for the United States and the Caribbean, Shelly Pitterman, put the

refugee count in perspective in an address regarding the resettlement of refugees from the Middle East. As reported in 2016 there are 263,000 Burundi refugees. There are 987,000 refugees and internationally displaced persons fleeing violence in the Central African Republic, and more than twice as many from the Democratic Republic of Congo. Even more are coming from Somalia and South Sudan. The second largest refugee population is from Afghanistan, with 380,000 Afghans newly displaced in 2015. Of the world, Syria and Iraq have the largest numbers of internally displaced persons. In 2016 one million Syrian refugees found sanctuary in Europe, while 4.8 million found refuge in host countries neighboring Syria (Pitterman, 2016). As put by Pitterman, "we are confronting the most troubled political – humanitarian landscape than at any time since World War II (Pitterman, 2016)." A year later on January 5th, 2017, 13.5 million Syrians of a population of 23 million were of refugee status. Nearly half of that 13.5 million is comprised of children (Charity Navigator, 2017). This has become the largest displacement crisis in the world over the past 7 years. Dr. Valerie Gorin, lecturer and researcher at the Center for Education and Research in Humanitarian Action (CERAH) in Geneva, claims that the hardest moment during the Syrian crisis was in 2014 to 2015 when refuges could cross from Greece in the Mediterranean to Europe, at which time the anti-refugee sentiment exploded. Between 2014 and 2018 there has been a major shift in dialogue regarding displaced persons, replacing dehumanizing labels with the recognition that these people are victims. The photograph of the body of 3-year-old Alan Kurdi (see Figure 1) who was discovered on a Turkish beach is one image that raised awareness and sparked a temporary surge in

donations from a number of countries in Europe and North America (Slovic et al., 2017).

Figure 1. Alan Kurdi. Photgraphed by Nilufer Demir. (2015).

Research Question

Throughout the humanitarian sphere, in human rights conferences, agency briefings, literature, and social media platforms, there is a common cry for "solidarity now." Empathy, compassion, and solidarity; these terms go hand-in-hand when it comes to fueling discussion and interest in human rights. Although these emotional responses do not actually solve the root of the problem, the objective of this study is to better understand what about the way a refugee's image and story are shared evokes empathy from a distant audience and ultimately increases the viewer's motivation to act.

1.   How can digital storytelling for refugees be designed to elicit empathy from a distant audience, while ethically representing the refugees and their stories?

2.   What platforms and mediums are most conducive to this?

With this information, organizations and humanitarian actors dedicated to refugee relief can design image-based digital storytelling campaigns that are strategic in eliciting empathy, and subsequent action, from a primarily Northern, Western, and South European and North American audience that is distant from the crisis.

Literature Review

There are a number of interpretations as to what "empathy" means, but my research will follow the definition created by psychologist Carl Rogers, quoted in a Stanford study:

> [The ability to] perceive the internal frame of reference of another with accuracy and with the emotional components and meanings which pertain thereto as if one were the person, but without ever losing the 'as if' conditions. (Stueber, 2013)

Furthermore, empathy has been split into two different types: cognitive (perspective) and affective (emotional). A study by Weiner and Auster draws on Halpern's essay, "What is Clinical Empathy," to determine that cognitive empathy is the imagining of another's feelings, or the conscious drive to recognize and understand another's emotional experience. Affective empathy is the physical manifestation of another's feelings in oneself, the often natural emotional response that emerges from the cognitive process (Weiner and Auster, 2007). Arguments based off of reason or justice evokes cognitive empathy, or perspective taking, while those that are emotionally driven and

lack clear logic for action tap into the affective empathy perspective (Decety and Yoder, 2016). Several studies have argued that the only "true" empathetic experience is when both types of empathetic response are active. This two-part definition of empathy is in line with Descartes' philosophy of dualism, which inspired the mind-body problem, suggesting that the mind is separate from the body but the two interact in an inseparable way.

Barriers to empathy

In the midst of large numbers it can be difficult to comprehend the magnitude of a crisis. This reaction has been given the titles "psychic numbing," the "tangible victim effect," and the "collapse of compassion," all of these names sharing the idea that as the number of people in need of help increases, the level of empathetic response decreases. In one study by Cameron and Payne, the collapse of compassion is attributed to the tendency to regulate emotion for higher numbers of people in apprehension of experiencing overwhelming levels of emotion (Cameron and Payne, 2011). As published in the journal PLOS One, Paul Slovic and colleagues found that even in incidents involving just two people, compassion is less for the group than an individual. In this study participants were presented both real and hypothetical situations and were asked to make a donation and report how they felt about donating, to either a lone needy child or two needy children. A photograph along with the name and age of each child was identified. People's positive feelings about donating decreased substantially for the group of two, and that emotional diminution was tied to lower donation amounts (S. Slovic and P. Slovic, 2015). This is also entwined with pseudoinefficacy, which is the affective phenomenon that, "positive feelings about the child one can help are

dampened by negative feelings associated with children who cannot be helped (Vastfjall et al., 2015)." This study showed that the negative feelings triggered by the awareness of the children that could not be helped reduced the "warm glow" associated with aiding the child that could be helped, irrationally deterring from helping any child at all (Vastfjall et al., 2015). Essentially, humans are wired to help one person at a time, and may be discouraged from doing that if we sense there are more people that we cannot help.

Another barrier to empathy is distance, which can be geographic (those we see), social (those we know), and cultural (or ethnic) (Kennedy, 2009). The more tangible the issue and the person in need, the greater the viewer can comprehend their impact and would be motivated to take action. Another study conducted by Cryder et al. determines that if details about an intervention promote a sense of impact, generosity will increase. The scale of impact works in tandem with a number of studies on the "tangible victim effect" that reflect that due to the perception of a proportionally higher impact for the one, prosocial feelings like sympathy are higher for an individual in need than they are for a group (Cryder et al., 2012). Thinking about impact in terms of an individual helps people perceive their impact as larger. Several factors that increase the sense of "realness" are if it is currently happening compared to the future (i.e. response vs. prevention), physical proximity, and similarity in life experience and identification with the victims (Cryder and Loewenstein, n.d.). We can assume that sharing one story at a time is ideal to promote prosocial feelings by accommodating compassion fatigue, pseudoinefficacy, and the tangible victim effect.

This is one motivation for featuring an individual in a digital storytelling image rather than multiple refugees. The risk is perpetuating a single story and inadequately portraying the depth of the individual, and the diversity within and size of the crises. This may be avoided by sharing a compilation of individual stories, and selecting narrative content that reflects the breadth of the person: the who and the what they identify with and as. Hannah Arendt's work, *The Human Condition*, she explains how this takes effect in enacted stories; "The moment we want to say *who* somebody is, our very vocabulary leads us astray into saying *what* he is; we get entangled in a description of qualities he necessarily shares with others like him; we begin to describe a type or a 'character' in the old meaning of the word, with the result that his specific uniqueness escapes us," (Arendt, 2018). This is a crucial consideration in digital storytelling campaigns, where often a few selected stories are use to represent large populations. Whether they are disclosed are not, personal identities define "who" somebody is while the "what" is made up of a person's qualities, gifts, talents, and shortcomings (Arendt, 2018). When sharing a refugee's narrative it is important to include how they identify themselves and name the characteristics and interests that define them. Otherwise, digital storytelling campaigns that attempt to humanize refugees and reduce "otherness" run the risk of appropriating the individual as mere object of sympathy or generalization of a population for humanitarian, profit, or personal purposes.

Considering identity and tangibility, it is more challenging to trigger an emotional response, and subsequent action, when the victims are not of the same "group" as the viewer. It has been found that it is harder to empathize with people of the out-group because brain activity known as perception-action-coupling, which refers to

the spontaneous and implicit simulation of another's actions and expressions, is limited for the in-group and is not innately triggered for out-group actions (Gutsell and Inzlicht, 2010). This is one example of unconscious behavior that deepens the divide between groups. Without the natural imitation of another's actions, we struggle to understand and feel their experience.

In a study of intergroup empathy bias, Cikara et al. elucidate what drives empathetic or counter-empathetic responses in intergroup contexts. Their findings show that intergroup empathy bias, in competitive settings, is driven by out-group antipathy rather than significant in-group empathy (Cikara et al., 2014). Counter-empathetic responses are rooted in fear of the threat of the other. Xenophobia and fear for national security are major drivers of the anti-refugee populist sentiment, as refugees are often perceived as extremely different from the general donor population. This high degree of separation between refugees and those in the position to help, and the resulting xenophobia-inspired counter-empathic reactions toward the displaced group, is the main barrier from motivating interest to support refugee relief efforts. Shelly Pitterman of the UNHCR stated in her address that, "empathy and a sense of responsibility motivate communities around the world to help refugees (Pitterman, 2016)." The 14th Article Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

> (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
> (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948)

This protects refugees' right to resettlement, and defends the notion that communities around the world should help refugees, rather than sitting idle. In light of the existing anti-refugee sentiments, Article 2 protects Article 14 with the statement that,

> "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948)

Article 2 makes these claims, but not all people treat one another as if they are entitled to the same rights and freedoms. This raises the question, how do producers of digital stories with the objective of helping refugees cultivate that sense of empathy and responsibility when refugees generally belong to the "other" group from the communities with the ability to help?

Research Methodology

This is a qualitative research project that draws on peer-reviewed studies in psychology and humanitarian communication, literature, and news publications to analyze 5 individual humanitarian photos and 7 case studies of digital storytelling campaigns. These photos and campaigns came from 12 different individuals, organizations, and journals with the intention of raising awareness of global, region, or country specific humanitarian crises. The photographs are "Napalm Girl," captured by Nick Ut, Omayra Sánchez Garzón's image taken by Frank Fournier, the Syria Gas Attack cover of the *Libération* news journal, "Afghan Girl" taken by Steve McCurry and published in the magazine National Geographic, and Amnesty International photo

campaign conducted in Switzerland. Other than the NGO Amnesty International's photo campaigns, freelance photographers took these pictures for the purpose of publication in news outlets and magazines. The in-depth case studies cover campaigns from NGOs (Save the Children's short film "The Most Shocking Second a Day," the International Organization for Migration's photo series "i am a migrant," and Médecins Sans Frontières' website documentaries "Urban Survivors," "Exodus," and "Stay Alive" campaigns), celebrities (Alicia Keys' short film "Let me in: We Are Here" and Brandon Stanton's (Humans of New York) photo series "Refugee Stories"), and news journals (BBC Media Action's short film "Your phone is now a refugee's phone" and Radio Television Swiss' website documentary "Exils"). These case studies were discovered through NGO interviewees that offered examples of their organization's digital storytelling campaign(s), examples provided by Dr. Valérie Gorink, from University of Oregon peer recommendations, and personal research of popular campaigns. These campaigns were selected to compare the number of views each received with creator or sponsor, the format, and platform of publication. Separated under 3 different media platforms: short film, photo series, and website documentary, the digital storytelling campaigns were contextualized, analyzed and theorized by drawing on secondary literature in the fields of psychology and humanitarian communication. Techniques and strategies such as the date of release, length of video, number of stories portrayed, positioning of the victim, chronotopic reversal, authenticity of the story, use of sound, use of celebrity diplomacy, social media platform, call to action and views and considered in the analysis.

7 primary source interviews (4 formal, 3 informal) were conducted in Switzerland with IRB approval. Interviewees were researchers of humanitarian communication and psychology, individuals who created physical digital storytelling gallery displays and hosted community events, and professionals working with nongovernmental organizations (International Organization for Migration, La Red (a Swiss-German NGO helping with refugee resettlement efforts), and Médecins Sans Frontières). Each interview was roughly 30 minutes in length, conducted in English and in person, via skype, phone, and email. All formal interviews and several informal interviews were conducted in Switzerland with IRB approval. Two informal interviews were conducted in the United States without IRB, but were used purely to inform my understanding of how digital storytelling may be define and presented in physical spaces. Interview topics covered psychology, the history of and current use of images in humanitarian communication, and professional experience working for or with humanitarian organizations that apply digital storytelling for refugee campaigns. They were used to inform my understanding of barriers to empathy and how this connects to imagery, how digital storytelling is defined, and to understand the strategy behind the "I am a migrant" and Médecins Sans Frontières' campaigns and use (or lack of use) of appeals.

This study was restricted by the time constraint of a 3-week research period in Switzerland and a lack of response from professionals working with NGO headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. I made no contact with refugees. It was also limited by minimal publicly available data regarding the target audience's reception of and response to the campaigns. Because the majority of the digital storytelling campaigns examined were

created for awareness raising purposes, interviewees shared that they did not track

donation or volunteer surges following campaign release. Without the knowledge of

exactly where viewership is coming from and how this audience is responding to these

visuals and narratives, outside of public comments, it was not possible know the

audience's emotional response or draw a correlation from empathy to action. Analysis

of the case studies and conclusions are grounded in theory from literature analysis.

Analysis

Traditionally, humanitarian communication employs two types of imagery appeals, the "shock effect" and the "positive image," the aim of each is to inspire action towards a cause by invoking a strategic emotional relationship between the typically Western audience and the distant sufferer. The core aesthetic of both techniques is juxtaposition. The shock effect, which was popular in past humanitarian campaigns, contrasts images of suffering (i.e. starved bodies, a reaching hand, lack of clothes, etc.) against the plenty of developed society. The results are feelings of guilt, shame, and indignation. (Chouliaraki, 2010) The "Napalm Girl," (see Figure 2) Nick Ut's photograph of Kim Phuc released in April 1972, is one famous image adopting the shock effect that has been incorrectly accredited with changing the public perception of the Vietnam War, but has become timeless for its evocative power. A Gallup poll from October 1967, 4 and a half years prior to the "Napalm Girl" publication, captured the true swing, when 46% of survey respondents said it had been a mistake to send troops to Vietnam and 44% took an opposing view. The same question was asked two years prior, to which 24% of respondents said it had been a mistake to send them and 61% said it had not (Campbell, 2017).

Figure 2. Napalm Girl. Photographed by Nick Ut. (1972).

 The "Napalm Girl" became a symbol of the horrors of armed conflict. The photograph

features a group of children running up a highway accompanied by several soldiers. The

focus is on the child in the middle, nude and screaming after having been hit by napalm.

Children, who represent innocence, their crying and screaming faces, the lack of

clothing, the soldiers disregard of the children before them, the aggressive cloud of

black smoke in the background, are all components to the image that evoke a loud

response of horror and shame to the viewer who did not intervene the conflict that

caused the moment. Another known image is of Omayra Sánchez Garzón (see Figure 3)

in Armero, Colombia, taken by Frank Fournier and released to news outlets in

November 1985.

Figure 3. Omayra Sanchez. Photographed by Frank Fournier. (1985).

The photograph shows her in her final hours of life, trapped by debris, waste deep in water, after a mudslide caused by a volcanic eruption. The 60 hours in which she was trapped were filmed and broadcasted by journalists, footage that shocked the comfortable viewers into awareness of the inadequacies of both government relief response and supplies. Fournier, the photographer, later said, "I believe the photo helped raise money from around the world in aid and helped highlight the irresponsibility and lack of courage of the country's leaders (BBC, 2005)." There is a lack of data on the trends of donations before and after the release of this image, but Fournier's quote encompasses the longtime belief that dark and shocking photographs move people to action. If the 'greater good' is to motivate people to donate, and this photo did succeed in this, and if this photo did inspire the Columbian government to improve it's relief response, then following the utilitarianism philosophy the ethics of taking and publishing this image are justified. But there is no available data reflecting

that this photograph inspired action or changes. Alternatively, if this image did not inspire action or policy change, then taking the photograph in the last ours of Sanchez' life broke the 4th clause in the National Press Photographer Associations code of ethics, which states:

> Treat all subjects with respect and dignity. Give special consideration to vulnerable subjects and compassion to victims of crime or tragedy.
> Intrude on private moments of grief only when the public has an overriding and justifiable need to see. (NPPA, 2017)

Even though this image won awards, if it did not directly inspire some change (the amount and form of change that is considered "good" is debatable) it is difficult to justify intruding on the last hours of Sanchez' life. Publishing the image after her death also means that no informed consent was obtained for the use of the image.

There is a limit with the shock effect. Dr. Gorin asserted that the general ethical code for humanitarian imagery is that one should not show dead bodies, neither anything too bloody nor depicting mutilation (Gorin). Photojournalism is inherently subjective and the line between what is "too bloody or depicting mutilation" is hazy. In the case of the photograph of the Syria Gas Attack (see Figure 4) published on the cover of the French news journal, *Libération*, this image breached Gorin's named code of ethics by showing the dead bodies of gassed children. In an interview with TIME LightBox about the image, Lionel Charrier, *Libération's* director of photography, acknowledges that the photograph is "unbearable" and denies hedonistic reasoning behind the selection for the cover with the statement, "This is not gratuitous…This is not done to sell copies," (Laurent, 2017). He emphasizes intent of grabbing attention by saying, "When you do a front page like this one, you want to disturb people." He continues, "We can't hide behind it. It's the image with a capital I; the one we will

remember this year," (Laurent, 2017). When asked if he would have published a photograph of French victims of a terrorist attack, Charrier contributes the opinion that, "publishing these images would be playing in the hands of ISIS, which wants to create terror," and that the Syrian regime denies these events happened which pushed the journalists to show it (Laurent 2017). This begs the question, how much do people need to see, and what good does this do? Awareness raising imagery is often accompanied by the difficult to prove assumption that shocking images move people to action. If that is so then the intent may be grounded in the utilitarian philosophy that the positives and negatives of the photograph maximize the good for the greater number of people. But if viewers do not act in response, or their action is inadequate, then the photograph does nothing to benefit the victims of the Syria Gas Attack and leaves viewers beyond informed: aware but unsettled.
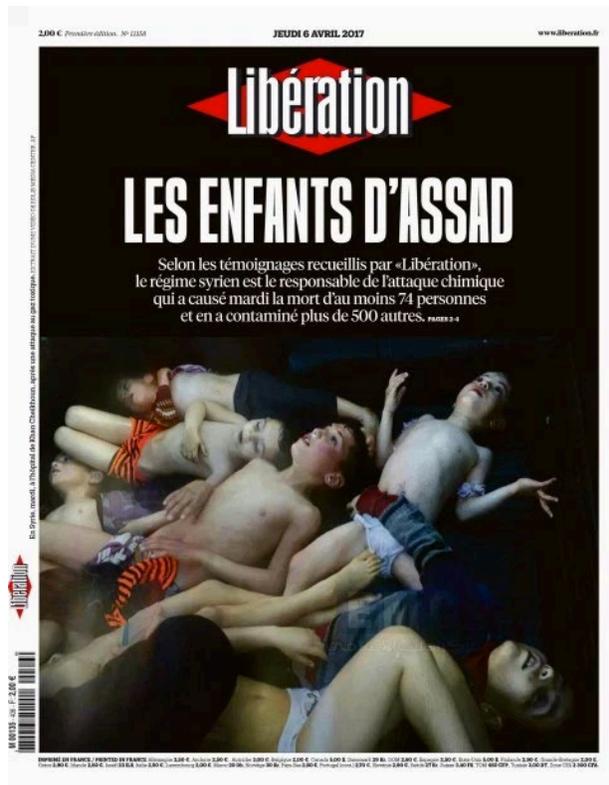
Figure 4. Syria Gas Attack. Libération. (2017).

The journal received a wave of negative response from viewers who did not understand

why it was necessary to show such a graphic visual. The disturbing nature of the image

drew attention to the controversial publication of the photograph, potentially distracting

from the actual crisis. This instance reflects the importance that non-governmental

organizations and journalists always explain why they are sharing a particularly

disturbing image or piece of footage. Repeatedly showing depressing imagery without a

sound explanation as to why they are important to see drains the viewer, instilling both

a sense of powerlessness and resistance to the gloomy campaigns (Chouliaraki, 2010).

This effect is suggested in a study of journalists working with photos submitted to the

newsroom by the general public, arguing that frequency rather than duration of

exposure to images of graphic violence is more emotionally distressing to journalists (Feinstein et al., 2014).

Negative imagery can also strip the dignity of the person behind the image, focusing on their neediness but not on the story of the human behind the photograph. Images that fall within the "shock effect" category work to make the donor society conscious of the different reality of the "other," placing the responsibility to act in Western hands and shames inaction. At the same time it plays with Westerners' collective guilt over a long history of complicity during the colonialist era. Functioning on an exchange between pain and pity, regardless of the potential benefits of mediating distance and confronting the uncomfortable reality, there is a major ethical concern with selling the "helplessness" of victims to the "Western savior." (Chouliaraki, 2010)

Positive images address the negative consequences of shock effect: the viewer's feelings of powerlessness to help the distant sufferer (bystander effect) and resistance to the depressing nature of these campaigns (boomerang effect). The boomerang effect is the social psychology theory of reactance, and in humanitarian photographs restricting viewers to repeated negative imagery tends to lead viewer to resist it (Chouliaraki, 2010). The difference with the positive image angle is that it places the focus on empowering the sufferer, emphasizing agency and dignity. Positive images empower the benefactor as well by portraying to them that they can effect change. Two key qualities of a positive image are 1) the personalization of sufferers by focusing on individuals as actors and 2) singling out donors as a person that can make a tangible contribution to improve a life. The personalization within positive imagery awakens the viewer's "modal imagination," to envision what is possible in addition to what is actual,

a necessary step before compassion. Bilateral emotion allows one to imagine the possible experience of another and comprehend the shared experience of humankind. This appeal relies on sympathy rather than complicity, which counteracts the downfalls of the shock effect (Chouliaraki, 2010).

The looming problem with using positive imagery is that although they appear to empower victims by portraying them with dignity and self-determination, these images run the risk of simultaneously disempowering victims by appropriating their "otherness," joining benefactors in a community of virtue and rendering others as objects of the actor's generosity (Chouliaraki, 2010). A secondary risk with positive image campaigns is the loss of apparent need. Featuring aid in action, positive photographs fail to cover the complex power dynamics of development and they reflect the picture that "everything is already taken care of," motivating inaction. Save the Children attempted a transition into the positive image appeal when they replaced all negative images with smiling faces, even advertising their annual report at "child friendly" (Save the Children Sweden, 2009). This change ultimately led to a drop in funding (Gorin). The decline in donations was not necessarily because positive images are less effective for funding than negative imagery; the challenge is that the image must still tell the reader why he or she should be concerned. In the example of the Save the Children image switch, the reason for concern was less obvious. Aaker et al. provides a hypothesis that supports the attractiveness of the positive image appeal, suggesting that giving out of happiness impacts identity, while giving out of guilt is short lived and does not. Identity impacted giving is sustained longer than generosity not grounded in indemnity. Considering this, imagery that cues happiness as a motive

rather than guilt may lead to larger or repeated donations (Aacker et al., 2009). But impacting your personal identity and connecting with a victim via shared identity are two separate emotional experiences. Those that use either "positive" or "shock effect" imagery should generally be wary of promoting a patronizing relationship between the benefactor and victim. Both of these appeals, if the name and narrative of the person are not identified, tend to appropriate the individual as an object to appease the donor's guilt or flex power and self-contentment through generosity. Lacking the story deepens the gap between groups and perpetuates the historical role of the Western savior.

Somewhere in between shock effect and positive imagery are what I deem "striking images." These photographs focus on the victim and, instead of inspiring action out of guilt or warmth, they evoke intrigue. Steve McCurry took the photograph of Sharbat Gula (see Figure 5) from Afghanistan, titled "Afghan Girl," in 1984 near Peshawar, Pakistan.
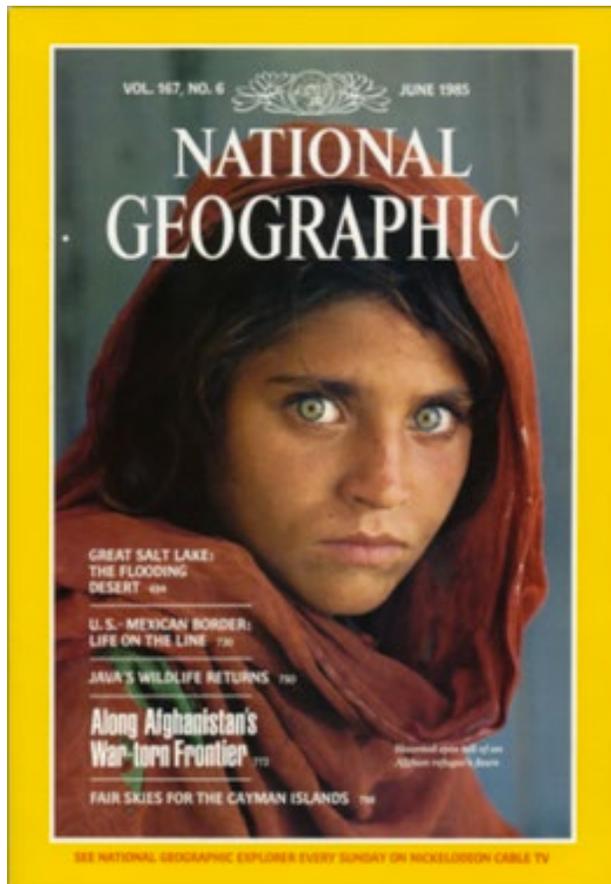
Figure 5. Afghan Girl. Steve McCurry. (1985).

It was featured on the cover of National Geographic in June 1985. In the photograph her face is a little dirty, her shawl is slightly torn, but otherwise she is clothed and her stare pierces directly into the camera. Gula's wide eyes, slightly furrowed eyebrows, and neutral lips form an intense expression. A key element is that the green of her eyes contrast the red of her shawl, and these complementary colors are striking to the human eye. The green of her shirt and the background provide depth, drawing the viewer into the photo. The presentation maintains her dignity and focuses purely on her without any acknowledgement of a benefactor. In 1985 Gula's face became on icon for refugee populations and helped to increase sympathy for displaced persons. McCurry shot the image using Kodachrome film, and slightly altered the coloration of Gula's scarf, shirt,

and eyes to intensify the contrast between the green and reds. McCurry also edited out

the dirt/glare in the corner of Gula's right eye, which is ethically questionable as the dirt

is representative of the girl and her living conditions at that moment. When the photo

was re-released in National Geographic's 100 best photographs commemorative edition,

and the dirt/glare is present again (Nagar, 2016). What I find to be an even deeper

ethical concern was McCurry's process of obtaining informed consent to take Gula's

picture. At this point Gula was a 12-year-old orphan who had walked for weeks with

her grandmother to various camps on the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan. McCurry

noticed her eyes with the green background in complementing the red of her scarf and

asked Gula's teacher in the refugee camp if he could take her photo. It is unclear where

her grandmother was at this point, but she should have been the one to provide consent

over the unfamiliar teacher. There was no contract for consent and photo release, and he

never collected her name or any reference for contact. McCurry shared in an interview

with National Public Radio (NPR) that Gula had never had her photograph taken before,

and initially she put her hands up to cover face. But when her teacher asked her to put

her hands down "so the world would see her face and know her story" she dropped her

hands and looked flatly into the camera (Hajek, 2015). The world wouldn't know her

complete story until McCurry found her again in 2001. During this re-introduction she

saw her portrait for the first time and agreed to be the subject of a new series of

photographs. National Geographic would finally publish her story in their April 2002

magazine. In the article she recalls her anger in the moment that McCurry took her

photo (McCurry, 2002). Her negative response enforces the notion that there was no

informed consent to capture the shot, not to mention to profit and publish it on the cover of a prominent magazine.

In response to the ethically problematic elements of emotional appeals in humanitarian communication, like dehumanizing the sufferer or skimming over their circumstance with a smile, a new appeal is emerging within media markets to which Chouliaraki assigns the term "post-humanitarian communication." This is essentially an umbrella category of digital storytelling campaigns, so I will switch to this terminology. Photorealism, which captures the starkness of reality, is evident in shock effect, positive imagery, and digital storytelling. But rather than using photorealism as a means of authentic witnessing, in digital storytelling it is merely a tool to represent acts of suffering (Chouliaraki, 2010). Although not devoid of emotion, this third appeal breaks from the moral mechanism of "grand emotion" applied by both the shock effect and positive image approaches, disengaging public action from pity and instead encourages the viewer to decide independently if action is worthwhile. The shock effect and positive image appeals rely heavily on cueing emotional reaction for action, while post-humanitarian communication works on a low-intensity regime using the technological opportunities of digital storytelling.

Another significant component to this approach is simplification in two ways, by using technology to make action as easy as clicking to donate or sign a petition, and by excluding any justification for action. The second mode of simplification sets this third appeal apart, eliminating the imposed moral discourse surrounding the decision to act on suffering by engaging the reflexivity of the viewer (Chouliaraki, 2010). This approach lacks grand emotion but is not devoid of emotion. Digital storytelling images,

videos, and interactive platforms use narrative devices like irony, hyper-reality, and optical illusion to surprise the viewer and insinuate rather than inspire an emotional response to suffering. The emotions of guilt, empathy, etc. arrive during introspection. This technique initially targets the evocation of cognitive empathy by strategically inspiring perspective taking, and then affective empathy arrives second during the emotional reflection experience.

An example of digital storytelling is the ad campaign that was conducted by Amnesty International in Switzerland (see Figure 6). It applies the narrative device of chronotopic reversal with each image-based ad. "Chrono," referring to time, and "topic" for place, is the technique of swapping the person and place from the issue of discussion with another in order to reduce the emotional distance between groups (Gorin). The Amnesty International ads took photographs of scenes of human rights abuse, captured by journalists in the field, juxtaposed against backgrounds that blended with the streets of Switzerland surrounding them. 200 posters were posted around the country, all branded with the line, "It's Not Happening Here But It's Happening Now" (D&AD, n.d.).

Figure 6. Amnesty International Chronotopic Reversal Ad/Poster campaign. (2017).

Post-humanitarian communication, applied in digital storytelling campaigns, portrays crises through a lens of cool logic that emphasizes realism and simple action; emotion is experienced second, in reflection over the sad reality. This prevents the presentation of the problem from becoming overwhelming, which would risk compassion fatigue. Then, this appeal de-complicates action by substituting the window of moral contemplation and justification with a clear and easy solution: typically, the click of a button. (Chouliaraki, 2010)

Case Studies

Building from this understanding of past and present image-based humanitarian communication methods, the following 7 digital storytelling campaigns for refugees are divided into 3 format categories (short film, photo series, and website documentary). All of these case studies embrace the post-humanitarian communication model and synthesize the previously discussed barriers to empathy.

Short Film Campaigns (Chronotopic Reversal)

The following three case studies use a short film format published to YouTube. All three apply the post-humanitarian communication device of chronotopic reversal. Chronotopic reversal works to diminish the difference between the viewer and the victims of the refugee crisis by using a bridging agent (the physical look of the featured child, the setting, or an object) to help the distant viewer identify with the refugees.

Save the Children; "The Most Shocking Second a Day"

On March 5th, 2014, Save the Children released a 94 second long video marking the 3rd anniversary of the Syrian civil war to raise awareness of the Syrian refugee crisis. It was designed and shot by London creative agencies Don't Panic London and UNIT9, and directed by Richard Beer. The brief for Don't Panic London and UNIT9, as described in an article by The Drum, was "to create empathy and make a British audience care about Syrian children," (McQuater, 2014). The tactic was simplicity and to help the public move past otherness and comprehend what life is like for Syrian refugees by swapping the person and place with an in-group member of the target audience and typical donor population. By featuring a British girl, Save the Children

avoids the ethical concern of appropriating refugees and kept the film within budget.

Although the context is different, the story of life during the Syrian war stays authentic

as all footage is based on real experiences pulled from case studies (McQuater, 2014). It

is filmed in second person and features a British girl in London, showing one second of

her day for a year. The protagonist is positioned at the foreground, so the viewer is

made conscious of her emotional state in all shots, but the background audio of

everyday sounds draws our attention to what is going on behind her. The video begins

in her home on her birthday; a group of family and friends sing for her as she blows out

her candles and makes a wish. She's portrayed as a happy and healthy child, playing

with lipstick, eating treats, spinning on a playground, etc. Her grandmother pinches her

cheek and she bats her arm away in playful embarrassment. The jump cuts increase the

intensity of the montage and allow for the volume of the background noise to change

irregularly, establishing a sense of unpredictability. The TV can be heard in the

background as news of conflict is broadcasted. Her father's anxious voice establishes an

air of tension. Sounds of airplanes are introduced, foreshadowing coming air raids, all

the while the girl is being a child—coloring, playing with fireworks, etc. Building the

story, the family has to leave their home to find refuge. Bombs fall, guns are fired, and

she becomes more and more disheveled and scared. Here hair begins to fall out, she

grimaces as she eats an old apple, and movement of the images heightens, insinuating

that the family is constantly on the run. It is unclear where they are at this point. At a

checkpoint she is separated from her father. Eventually she is rescued by military, but

the childlike sparkle in her eyes is lost. One of the officers pinches her cheek, but this

time her eyes stay fixed on the ground, portraying her emotional trauma through the

juxtaposition of her reaction to a cheek pinch. The video ends with the girl reunited with her mother in a dull refugee camp. It is her birthday again, but this year it is just her mother singing Happy Birthday, holding up a metal pan with a makeshift birthday cake and a single candle. In this last scene she looks directly into the camera, finally acknowledging the audience for the first time. (savethechildrenuk, 2014)

At first, the only mention of action throughout the video is a small textbox in the upper right corner that offers a number to text the words "URGENT" and "SYRIA" to donate 5 dollars or 5 pounds, depending on your location/currency. At the end the message appears, "just because it isn't happening here doesn't mean it isn't happening." At the same time in the bottom right corner is a red YouTube annotation that reads "How you can help," offering action without imposing and only after immersing the viewer in the experience. Originally the annotation was grey and stated, "find out more…" (Wong, 2014). The original text was a general call to action, but the new wording directly calls out the viewer and uses action-oriented language to maximize the feeling of impact. Jeremy Soulliere, Save the Children spokesman, said the first video brought in funds but, as the intention was to raise awareness, they did not track the amount (Basu, 2016). It is difficult to believe that Save the Children would not track the amount of money attained from the short film they funded, but the lack of transparency may be because they did not receive much funding in comparison to the viewership.

Two years later in 2016, Save the Children released another campaign video, this one titled "Still The Most Shocking Second A Day." Throughout this video there is a small black tab in the bottom left corner, and only once you move your cursor over it can you see it reads "Save child refugees now" with a hyperlink below that connects

33

you to a Save the Children donation page. At the end of this video a phrase is displayed, similar to what was shown in the first video. It reads, "It's happening now. It's happening here," (savethechildrenuk, 2016). The first video was the most watched public service announcement in 2014, and as of May 2018, has been viewed over 59 million times (Russell, 2014). The second video reached over 2.8 million people. The first video exhausted the element of surprise, leaving the sequel little chance of accumulating the same interest.

The original video was released without any prior advertisement, capitalizing on the element of surprise (Gorin). It was immediately covered in many UK newspapers and magazines including The Independent, Telegraph, Huffington Post, Express, Metro, and The Mirror, as well as Time Magazine, The Drum, Adweek, Al Arabiya, and the Washington Post. It received over 23 million views within a week of release. The short film attained another 10 million views when celebrity Ashton Kutcher posted an A Plus article about the video on his Facebook page, benefitting from the special role of the celebrity influencer (Johnson). By April 2015 it reached over 46 million views on YouTube. According to Don't Panic London's website, the short film was shared over 2.5 million times, there was a 93% uplift in funding during the campaign launch, and caused Save the Children's YouTube subscriptions to increase by over 1000% ("Most Shocking Second a Day," 2018).

Alicia Keys and HUMAN; "Let Me In: We Are Here"

"Let Me In" is a short film presented by American singer-songwriter, Alicia Keys, her nonprofit social movement, We Are Here, through which she endorses a number of selected non-profits including Partners in Health and Girls Rising. Keys

partnered with HUMAN, a storytelling and strategy agency that creates media for social impact, and Jonathan Olinger directed the short film "Let Me In" was strategically released on June 20th, 2016, to coincide with World Refugee Day. The 11 minute and 39 second long video premiers one of Alicia Keys original compositions, "Hallelejuh," and was created to correspond with the launch of a We Are Here, CARE, Oxfam and War Child campaign to raise awareness and reinvigorate the conversation around the refugee crisis. As of May 2018, it has received over 315,000 views on YouTube. Outside of viewership, there is no published data regarding the public reception of the short film.

Applying chronotopic reversal like Save the Children's "Most shocking second a day," "Let Me In" is set in Los Angelos, California, and aligned for an American audience. It opens with the mother "Zara" (Alicia Keys) getting her children "Tallah" (Naliyah Vega) and "Taj" (Taj Whipper) ready for school. She smiles and jokes with the kids; the camera zooms on Key's face as she chuckling asks Taj "are you okay?" The lighthearted breakfast is interrupted when the news anchor in the background states, "Many of them are fleeing the bombs falling from the sky. Bombs are indiscriminate and devastating." Momentum builds as Keys struggles to suppress her stress. The audio reduces to Keys breathing, as she models a calming exercise for Tallah who is nervous about a class presentation. The camera takes the viewer back out to a view of the exterior of the house, and suddenly a bomb drops and the sound returns as the kitchen window blows out, and the suburban neighborhood bursts into flames. There are gunshots as Keys and the children run out of the house and leave immediately towards the national border in Baja California, Mexico. The choice to set the video in the United States and Mexico accentuates the border tension between the two countries

and acknowledges the anti-Mexican migrant sentiments in the United States. Along the way Keys experiences some of the common challenges faced by refugees. Among the hoards of people Tallah loses her phone and is separated from Keys. Helicopter propellers, bombs, and cries and panicked voices play in the background and reflect the chaos as people rush towards boats (a visual reference to the Mediterranean Sea crossing). Keys voice can be heard in the audio shouting and asking for Tallah's location, saying she can't get on the boat without her, while the images flash a montage of her searching through the crowd and finally sitting on the boat rocking Taj and without her daughter. As Keys sets out to sea with her son, "Hallelujah" begins and the audience is transported back to Tallah's story where she and other refugees face the tough desert crossing on foot. The lyrics, "where fear ends, and faith begins," close the first verse, prefacing the emotion heavy chorus of "hallelujahs" with the notion of fear that is at the root of anti-refugee sentiments. Throughout the song Tallah walks across the desert with other American refugees walking in the background. She grows tired and stumbles and a woman helps her up, portraying solidarity among the American refugees.

As the refugees approach the border, Border Guard "Alejandro" (Ricardo Martin) calls together enforcement and they race to meet the Americans there. Pulling up in trucks, Alejandro aggressively says something in Spanish and subtitles flash the words, "I can't believe this. Let's move." The mood turns tense as the camera zooms to Alejandro placing his hands on his gun, the background music rumbles, and the Americans and Mexicans stand frozen on either side of the wire fence. Right when the audience is led to believe the Border Guards will resist, two of the American refugees

crawl through a hole in the fence and the guards move to let them in, helping carry the babies and children through. Alejandro looks to Tallah and says, "You're okay now. You're safe here." The words are reminiscent of the opening scene, when Keys had asked Taj if he was okay. The music softens and rises in pitch to create a feeling of relief. Keys said in a statement that the video was inspired by the statistic that there are, "more refugees in the world today than at any point in history, and more than half of them are children," (Rolling Stone, 2016). The music cuts out in the last two minutes of the film and these words are displayed in white font across a black screen. The messaging continues with "We demand our governments act with love." An image of the ocean shore and a lone lifejacket strewn on the beach appears, and the music commences again with Alicia Keys belting an emotional ad-lib. It's at this point that the direction for action is provided, as the campaign commands the viewer to "Go to WeAreHereMoverment.com to support our partners who are working to provide critical support."

One of the key attributes of this video is the use of Alicia Keys, which engages celebrity diplomacy to draw interest. Aside from the value of Keys' fame, her featured track, "Halleujah," is a heartfelt, emotional ballad, but also cues feelings of empowerment. The religious theme of the title and lyrics draws on the notion of needing strength, and taps into the idea of compassion for all people that is rooted in spirituality. This short film relies heavily on a sad emotional appeal but depends on the optimistic ending and empowering undertone to keep the feeling light enough that it is not entirely draining. The ending is suspenseful which grabs the viewer's attention if they have stayed until the end, and the positive twist gives the audience a visual as to

how they can have an impact. But because it is a border guard who is exercising agency to support refugees, and the border guard role is not one that every person can identify with, it is possibly the viewer might assign responsibility to act on people closer to the crisis than themselves.

BBC Media Action; "Your phone is now a refugee's phone"

"Your phone is now a refugee's phone" is a video campaign created by BBC Media Action and produced by Tom Hannen. The video is designed for be viewed vertically on a mobile device. Published on YouTube on July 18th, 2016, the 3 minute and 4 second video has reached over 346,000 views as of May 2018. The film is grounded on research that was conducted by BBC Media Action in partnership with DAHLIA, an American creative content agency based in Massachusetts. In an effort to understand communication and information challenges along the refugee journey, they interviewed 79 refugees and 45 humanitarian agencies in the middle of the refugee crisis in Greece and Germany (Hannides et. al, 2016). It begins by acknowledging that BBC Media Action spoke with over 100 refugees and humanitarian agencies, and that this is an interpretation of one story. Moving into the story a graphic of an iPhone is presented and it types out the question: If you had to flee your country, what's the one piece of technology you would take with you? The image changes to match an iPhone home screen, and is stylized to match Apple application aesthetics. The screen expands and lands with a bounce effect. Ominous instrumental music commences, reminiscent of the percussive mallets one might hear on a video game back track. A notification appears reading, "For the next few minutes / your phone is a refugee's phone," which confirms what has been visually communicated, and assures the viewer that the video is

brief. Following the iPhone aesthetic, Apple maps shows the route that the majority of refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq took to Turkey, before they would take a boat to Greece. Suddenly, the classic "ding" of a new WhatsApp notification sounds and a messages appears from the refugee's Dad. The notes in the back track lengthen, and what sounds like soft horns are introduced, supplemented with the sounds of ocean swells, seagulls, and a crying baby. Water droplets, either rain or from the boat, wash over the screen and build tension as the refugee types a response. Using a GPS, the refugee sends their location and the Dad informs them that they are headed to Greece. An audio of seagulls and a camera shutter sounds as the refugee sends photos of other refugees evacuating the boat for shore. Using the Safari Internet browser as a background, the video explains that this is the first refugee crisis in a digital age. A finger swipes to show an image of SIM card, and actual refugees using their phones. A new WhatsApp messages appears from an unknown contact and the film returns to the home screen, and the WhatsApp is opened again. The contact shares information that the border is closing. Unsure of who to trust, the refugee responds, but a fight breaks out and the phone screen shatters. It repairs, and then a low-battery notification pops-up and the phone battery dies anyways. The film ends with the messaging, "Who can you trust? How can you connect?" Another notification appears reading, "The refugee crisis is not going away." One finger emerges on the screen and attempts to make it go away by clicking "ok," but the message will not leave. More and more fingers of all skin tones enter the screen and attempt to click "ok," building momentum and internal tension from the unresponsive phone. The video ends with the final message, "Communication is aid. For more information go to bbcmediaaction.org." The screen

shakes and makes a vibrating sound and a box outlines the website as further

encouragement to research the issue.

The film was intended to make humanitarian agencies aware of the

communication needs of refugees. In the BBC Media Action and DAHLIA study,

refugees expressed a need to be heard and to share their stories, and participate in

dialogue that provides them with physical, social, and psychosocial support (Hannides

et. al, 2016). The video does not honor a particular refugee's story, but it does draw

from interviews and was crafted to express refugees' communication challenges with

accuracy. By applying chronotopic reversal in an unprecedented way, using a familiar

object instead of a person, the short film appeals to a wide audience that includes

anyone who identifies with the smart phone user experience.

Short Film Campaigns (Chronotopic Reversal) Analysis

All three videos address compassion fatigue, pseudoinefficacy, and tangibility

by honing in on an individual story: the unnamed British girl, the American girl Tallah,

and the unnamed refugee texting "Dad." They maximize empathy by making the

protagonist a child, a symbol of innocence. This also calls attention to the reality that

over half of the global refugee population is children. By swapping the person and place

of the refugee crisis with a child and country that the target audience can identify with,

the short films reduce the emotional distance between refugees and the distant viewer.

The Save the Children digital storytelling campaign, "The Most Shocking Second A

Day," and Alicia Keys' "Let Me In" videos are textbook examples of chronotopic

reversal, while BBC Media Action's "Your phone is now a refugee's phone" applies

chronotopic reversal without a face. All three of the films appeal to the Western

40

audience in different ways. Save the Children's film features a white, British girl, for an audience that is predominantly white. Alicia Keys' film stars an American girl, Tallah, who represents a woman of color in the American context. BBC Media Action's film uses iPhone aesthetics to link refugees and the viewer through the shared experience of texting and smart phone communication. Hannen spoke to this when explaining the inspiration for the video format; "People feel very strong connections to their own phones, and many viewers watching the video for the first time see the first message come through from 'Dad' and think it is actually a message to them – which is the point of it," (Scott, 2016). The intention for chronotopic reversal in "Let Me In" is clear, as Keys said in a statement, "Creating this film really allowed us to imagine, what if we were the refugees? What if we were the ones torn from the arms of our families and loved ones? How would it feel if this were happening to us?" (Kreps, 2016). Director Olinger reinforced this when he said, "I hope the film leaves people asking the simple question: What if it was us? And that it ultimately blurs the lines between 'us' and 'them' — as we are all human," (Kreps, 2016). The use of chronotopic reversal in "The Most Shocking Second a Day" arose due to budget limitations, but the purpose of transporting the experience of the crisis to London is clear (McQuater, 2014). This intent is reinforced with the final message, "just because it isn't happening here doesn't mean it isn't happening."

Off of the sheer number of views, of these three video campaigns the Save the Children short film had the widest reach (over 59 million views), then BBC Media Action's (over 346,000 views) and then Alicia Keys' (over 315,000 views). There are a number of variables that could have influenced the differences in reach, including

marketing and promotion methods, video length, and tone. A Wistia study in 2016 found that in order to hold attention, the optimum length for a marketing video is under 2 minutes. The difference between a 30 second video and 90 seconds is not drastic in viewer retention, but the tipping point lies at a video length of 2 minutes or less to keep about 70% of viewers by the end. Anything longer than 2 minutes experiences an exponential drop in audience engagement (Fishman, 2016). Content may influence this. Reinforcing the value of brevity, Médecins Sans Frontières' videos that are 30 seconds or less have received the best response (Natter). Médecins Sans Frontières is also among a number of NGOs that have adopted the social application "snapchat" to provide photo and film updates from the field, where videos on this platform reach a maximum of 10 seconds. Of the three examined short film campaigns, Save the Children's is the shortest and within the 2-minute margin, while BBC Media Action's film slightly exceeds that at about 3 minutes, and Keys' film drastically exceeds it at over 11 minutes. The musical element, and the use of celebrity diplomacy, may have helped maintain interest through the end of Keys' short film. Views on YouTube are counted after 30 seconds of playtime so statistics regarding viewer retention are unclear (Beck, 2015). Because impact messaging is often presented at the end of these films, as is the case with these three, viewer retention is important to turn emotion into action.

The common themes in messaging are a sense of urgency, proximity, and a call for solidarity. The phrase "It's happening here, it's happening now" and the annotation "how you can help" from the Save the Children's campaign address all three themes. Alicia Keys' film title "Let Me In" points to urgency, here movement title "We Are Here" addresses proximity, and the wording of "our governments" in the final message

also promotes solidarity. BBC Media Action's message that "the refugee crisis is not going away" captures the urgency and the image of numerous fingers working to delete the notification reflects the need for solidarity. All three short films incorporate a design element that allows the audience to identify with refugees and access some outlet for action. But by sharing a constructed story through an actor instead of one that is an entirely original, they miss out on the value of authenticity and of actually empowering a victim of the crisis.

Photo series

The following campaigns are published to websites and apply a photo series format. They use a portrait image accompanied by a quote from the subject, which when clicked redirects the viewer to the refugee's full story.

International Organization for Migration (IOM); "i am a migrant"

In September 2015, the IOM launched the digital storytelling platform and campaign titled "i am a migrant." It features testimonials of migrants and refugees across the globe to connect people with the human stories of migration, an effort to make the migrant and refugee experience more tangible to a distant audience. Thus, the stories decrease the sense of "otherness," increasing empathy and counteracting the xenophobia driven anti-migrant and anti-refugee sentiments. The resounding goal is to promote diversity and inclusion of migrants and refugees in society. So far, the "i am a migrant" campaign has received and collected more than 1,300 stories, from more than 90 countries (Kim). There is no publicly available data confirming the webpage traffic that "i am a migrant" has received. The website is arranged so that the viewer has the

option to select the country of origin, the current country, and a hashtag stating "#iamarefugee" or "iamamigrant." At the top of the webpage are videos, a stories map, and enlarged portrait advertising the latest story. Tiled across the page are square portrait photographs of individuals and families, submitted by migrants and refugees themselves, captioned with a direct quote, the name of the speaker, and the distance they have traveled from home to sanctuary. Another hashtag "#MigrantAlly" accompanies some portraits for stories submitted by employees of the IOM, and "#TogetherThroughSport" accompanies photos of refugees playing professional football (soccer) followed by narratives and articles from the Together Through Sport UN campaign that are advertised on the IOM's platform. Select the image the viewer is redirected to a new page where you can read their full narrative. The website features narratives from 8 different languages. With each narrative there is a button of the Facebook and Twitter logos, offering the option to share the story. All of the portraits can also be downloaded as a poster. Noting the value of accurate narrative, Florence Kim, Media and Communications Officer of the IOM explains, "When publishing the stories and photos we receive it is important to go through the proper steps to insure we represent participants correctly. "i am a migrant" gives them the opportunity to represent themselves through their own words," (Kim). By using original photos and quotes submitted by migrants and refugees, and protecting the validity of their words, this gives the campaign authenticity while empowering the victims instead of appropriating them.

The goal being perception change, there is no donation aspect to this platform, but the IOM is planning to slowly include donation options according to projects or

initiatives that they would support through the campaign. As affirmed by Kim, "the emotional response [to the stories has] turned into actions more than donations," although she did not mention how those actions take form. The IOM, after the use of the "i am a migrant" website and various social media sites, has observed a greater response from the public when there is a visual aspect of the story whether it be photo or video. And, although Kim says the IOM does not regularly promote appeals, she does mention that it is the positive messages that tend to elicit more of a response online. This is characteristic of the boomerang effect, the tendency to resist repeated negative imagery (Chouliaraki, 2010). But perhaps it also derives from the sense of hope that is felt out of optimistic words that alludes to viewers that their actions and dollars will have a larger impact, which motivates the greater response to positive messages. Kim notes that the IOM Twitter audience has continued to grow as the stories they collect are being shared across the globe. (Kim)

Brandon Stanton (Humans of New York); "Refugee Stories"

Brandon Stanton, creator of the popular photoblog Humans of New York (HONY), published a refugee series titled "Refugee Stories" to Facebook on September 26th, 2015. As of May 2018 it has received over 147,000 likes, 4,400 comments, and 13,450 shares. In addition to Facebook, Stanton has an active HONY website to which he publishes portraits and stories of the strangers he encounters. The refugee series is published here as well. Over 18 million people "like" the HONY Facebook page, as well as the HONY website. Stanton takes ethical measures by asking permission prior to photographing his subjects, and from the parents of children he is interested in photographing. He uses a translator when he cannot communicate directly with his

interviewees, and to ensure accuracy of the translated quotes he supplies. He asked one

mother for her daughter's photograph, which is now the cover photo (see Figure 7) for

the refugee series on the website and was used as the image icon for the re-post of the

series on Facebook (posted on January 17th, 2017). The re-post alone has received over

123,000 likes, 1,400 comments, and 33,000 shares. Aside from these numbers, there is

no publicly available website analytics confirming the webpage traffic that "Refugee

Stories" has received. (Humansofnewyork, 2015)

To begin the refugee stories on the HONY website Stanton shares, "For ten days

in September, I travelled to Greece, Hungary, Croatia, and Austria to learn the stories of

refugees traveling across Europe. These are some of the stories I learned…" Below are

20 rectangular portraits presented in Stanton's classic HONY style of communicating a

variety of emotion. The images are captioned with the refugee's current location, a

direct quote, and centered below is a button to read the full story. Three stories are of

allies, and one of those allies was a refugee from Afghanistan who had found sanctuary

Greece and is now helping newcomers. Stanton prefaces his Facebook post advertising

the new series by acknowledging the significance of first story of Muhammed, who had

been featured in a past post and with whom Stanton reconnected. Muhammed joined

Stanton as a translator for the interviewees in "Refugee Stories." Muhammed's story is

the first of the series, and includes the portrait from the 2014 post and 5 photographs set

on a beach. He recapitulates the horrors, challenges faced, and successes in the last few

months of his life. He is smiling in the last image, holding his outrageously hard-earned

Austrian identification card. Other photos in the series capture expressions of halfway

smiles, folded hands, and pained expressions. The quotes and stories are mostly sad, but

they are brief (typically 5-10 sentences), so they are not exhausting and the viewer is still motivated to read it all the way through. Stanton also shares some of his personal reflections inspired by these interviews instead of direct quotes from the subject. Accompanying the image of the child that serves as the series cover, Stanton wrote:

> Her eyes filled with the most uncontrollable fear that I've ever seen in a child. 'Why do you want my mother?' she asked. Later, her parents told us how the family had crouched in the woods while soldiers ransacked their house in Syria. More recently they'd been chased through the woods by Turkish police. After we'd spent a few minutes talking with her parents, she returned to being a child and could not stop hugging us, and laughing, and saying 'I love you so much.' But I went to sleep that night remembering the terror on her face when we first asked to speak to her mother. (Lesvos, Greece) (Stanton, "Refugee Stories)

By switching up the content he gives the reader a break from the intensity and immersion of the first-hand accounts, and offers a moment for the viewer to also reflect on what they have been seeing and reading. In saying he went to sleep remembering the expression of this girl's emotional trauma he encourages the viewer to consider this too.

The words "One story at a time NYC" form at circular logo at the top and bottom of the webpage, a mantra that communicates that Stanton's work and style is intended to emphasize an individual story at a time, a frame that maximizes the tangibility of a distant crisis that is difficult to fathom. Outside of the "Refugee Stories," Stanton has collaborated with the UNHCR to produce material for their website. He has also created a series of Syrian Americans, highlighting the refugee resettlement experience. Beginning in the summer of 2017 he commenced a series for the Rohingya refugees fleeing Myanmar. This most recent project was released March 5th, 2018, and simultaneously served as a gofundme.co fundraiser on behalf of Love Army to build bamboo shelters in the refugee camps. Within 13 hours he raised US$150,000

(CoconutsYangon, 2018). In 2 months he raised over US$2 million from more than 39,000 people, and the link to donate received 19,000 shares on Facebook. (Humansofnewyork, 2018)

Figure 7. Cover Photo of "Refugee Stories." Brandon Stanton (2015).

Photo Series Analysis

By addressing one migrant or refugee's story at a time, the campaign reduces the effect of compassion fatigue, pseudoefficacy, and tangible victim syndrome. But by displaying the photos next to each other on the same page the viewer is consistently reminded that there are still an overwhelming number of victims. And with a lot of heavy written content to digest there is the potential for quick emotional fatigue. Stanton's "Refugee Stories" includes quotes of variable length, but overall they are shorter than the IOM's "i am a migrant" featured stories. It is also unclear if the IOM shares the entirety of the stories submitted or excerpts, and it is uncertain as to how Stanton selects which excerpts from his interviewees to share. However it is the designer's artistic right to arrange the images and quotes, as long as that alteration does not misrepresent the person.

One challenge in assessing the success of the photo series format is that there are no publicly available website traffic analytics for these campaigns. Facebook likes, comments, and shares help give an understanding as to the reach of these campaigns, but it is difficult the pinpoint an accurate number of viewers. Additionally, with a website format the viewer must seek out the platform in order to access and explore it, which limits the potential to capture people that are unaware of the refugee crisis. Stanton used the photo series format with multiple platforms (HONY website, Facebook, and Instagram) and the celebrity status he has established through Humans of New York, which allowed his work to gain traction and reach the millions. The rapid donor response to Stanton's Rohingya refugee campaign suggests that viewers resonated with this presentation style, and it translated into an easy outlet for action.

Website Documentaries

The following campaigns demonstrate the integration of documentary style reportage on a user-friendly website. The technique is immersion education.

Médecins Sans Frontières: "Urban Survivors," "Exodus,"and "Stay Alive"

Founded by both journalists and doctors, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) is an NGO that provides medical relief in humanitarian crisis and has a history of reportage. Part of their program is treating patients, but another significant part of their work is speaking out about what they see in the field (Natter). One of the pioneer MSF web documentary campaigns, titled Urban Survivors, was made in 2011 for "invisible refugees," slum residents, in South America. Being one of the first digital storytelling campaigns, the newness gave it the element of surprise necessary for success. It was

well designed with quality content, translated into multiple languages, and embraced a people-centric approach for the 6 months of its running.

Both the Exodus and Stay Alive platforms are interactive web documentaries that incorporate 360-degree video footage, interviews, day-to-day sounds, quotes, photographs, and articles written regarding the refugee crisis. Exodus, released in 2014, at which time there were 16.7 million refugees worldwide, has 3 language options and highlights the experience of refugees in Syria, the internally displaced in South Sudan, and migrant crossing in Mexico. Stay Alive is more recent, launched in 2016 and shares stories from Syria and South Sudan translated into 2 languages. With a clear intent of immersion, the opening video advertises, "Experience their lives through virtual reality." The content for these platforms is always based off of what is happening in the field, making it adaptive, as well as centered on testimonies from patients.

All of these MSF campaigns accomplish informing viewers of the realities of the crisis via immersive techniques and the sharing of victim narratives, but there is no clear call for action, as MSF does not operate crisis specific appeals. This, and a lack of website traffic data, makes it impossible to know exactly how effective these platforms were in eliciting empathy and motivating action.

Radio Television Swiss; "Exils"

Radio Television Swiss, a Swiss station funded by tax dollars, created an immersive journalism operation, "Exils," aimed to objectively document the real migrant experience. For 3 weeks in October of 2015, journalist Nicolae Schiau followed and documented non-stop the journey of 6 young men fleeing the city of Raqqa, Syria

(the capital of ISIS in Syria), as they moved from Turkey to Germany to France (see

Figure 8), a migration that spanned over 6000 km.

Figure 8. Map of "Exils" route. Nicolae Schiau. (2015).

All of the boys were unaccompanied minors, except for 2 who were over 20 at the time.

Schiau used 2 GoPros embedded in his backpack to simulate Google Street View and

provided 15-minute daily broadcasts and minute-to-minute use of social media (i.e.

Twitter, Facebook, Instagram) to create an interactive viewer experience. Footage and

content from the documentary is now preserved on the Exils website. In the Radio

Television Swiss short video describing the project, the narrator says, "It's another way

of telling the story of the migrant road," (Radio Television Swiss, 2015). The

incorporation of social media allowed the audience to respond and influence the

direction of the show, while giving the feeling of travelling with the group on the train.

Schiau adapted what he filmed, the interviews he conducted, and the questions he asked

according to what the people wanted to learn about. People felt they were creating the

story with him. The interactivity in combination with the live footage increases the tangibility of the crisis and the feeling that the viewer can impact what is happening. (Gorin)

Sharing images from within the context could have led to the boomerang effect, counterproductive in eliciting empathy. But because Schiau incorporated humor, and built and showed his relationship with the boys, the content was not emotionally overwhelming. The report accumulated about 25,000 followers a day for the live videos, the audience primarily comprised of 15-20 year-old Swiss who traditionally hadn't taken an interest in migrant and refugee issues. This was the target audience, as the documentary worked to change sensitivities, reduce xenophobia, and deliver a more emotional education to the young generation. According to Dr. Gorin, the audience responded positively on social media. It was easy to click through screenshots, engage with the live footage when convenient, or sit and watch for a longer time. It was like watching a movie but where you can talk to the actors, which established a relationship that prevented the footage from projecting a fiction feel (Gorin). With the intention being reportage, there was no clear call to action or direct donation aspect to the operation. With the massive following it accumulated, the documentary at least increased interest and awareness of the refugee crisis among Swiss youth.

Website Documentary analysis

Due to the privacy of websites, outside of the associated social media platforms, it is not possible to pinpoint the traffic that these website documentaries attained. "Exils" incorporated multiple social media platforms that allowed for some tracking of engagement. Like the critique of photo series websites, the viewer must independently

seek out the website documentary in order to access and explore it, limiting the potential to inform people that are unaware of the refugee crisis.

Once discovered, the website documentary format is advantageous in raising awareness, as it is the most immersive and information dense campaign platform. The information from these two agencies is accurate and trustworthy, objective, and in the case of "Exils," live. The interactivity with live footage and social media, and with the virtual reality component of MSF's work, allows the audience to engage and better comprehend the distant crisis. These documentaries are closer to reportage in that they do not apply as intentional of an effort to inspire guilt or gratitude as do shock effect and positive imagery, but the global refugee crisis is an innately emotional subject so feeling is difficult to avoid. The density of content could potentially overwhelm the visitor, but the value of the website platform is that it takes minimal effort to exit and return. "Exils" may have countered this by producing live footage for 3 weeks, which allowed enough time to complete part of the refugee journey and made for consistently new material. The newness, the rapidly changing story, the authenticity, and the time limit made keeping up with this news easier. Then, watching a Swiss in-group member, Schiau, face migratory challenges alongside real refugees engaged followers' modal imagination, inspiring cognitive empathy for the refugee experience. His consistent narration applies the literary device of a "story within a story," or the French term, "mise en abyme," adding layers that are compelling to viewers by addressing interest in what the refugee migratory experience is like, and showing how a familiar person who was not an immediate victim of crisis is responding.

Conclusion

Whether it is the direct or indirect goal of the campaign, raising awareness is a shared objective between campaigns with a human rights focus. Nongovernmental organizations like Save the Children, the International Organization for Migration, and Médecins Sans Frontières have a direct intention of raising awareness, and benefit from a subsequent increase in donor pool size and action in support of refugee relief efforts. News journals like BBC Media Action and Radio Television Swiss' motivations for campaigning are inherently inversed, as a journals' objective is viewership for profit, but this cannot but separated from the humanitarian initiative of using the news platform to raise awareness for the refugee cause. Celebrity intentions are somewhat self-promoting but with a philanthropic edge. In the case of Alicia Keys' social movement, We Are Here, Keys benefits from the humanitarian identity the campaign brands her with, while resulting donations fund selected nongovernmental organizations. Brandon Stanton's (Humans of New York) also builds his public relations profile with social justice photographic compilations. However in the case of his Rohingya stories, he incorporated a donation element that gained rapid traction, raising over US$2 million in 2 months that went to building shelters for the refugees.

Considering awareness is the first step before any potential action, campaign success can be measured in viewership from the primarily North, West, and Southern European and North American audience that are the predominant users of social media and the top donors to nongovernmental organizations. The case studies reflect that the digital storytelling campaign with the greatest number of views is Save the Children's "The Most Shocking Second a Day (2014)" short film, with over 59 million views,

having attained 23 million of those views within the first week of release. This is followed by BBC Media Action's, "Your phone is now a refugee's phone (2016)," which reached 346,000. Released in the same year was Alicia Keys' short film, "Let Me In: We Are Here (2016)," which attained a comparable 315,000 views. While the exact audience traffic of Brandon Stanton's (Humans of New York) photo series, "Refugee Stories (2015)," is unclear, from his first Facebook post engagement numbers reflect 147,000 likes, 4,400 comments, and 13,450 shares. There may have been some duplication of engager's actions but all together the post attained 164,850 "clicks." His re-post in 2017 reached 123,000 likes, 1,400 comments, and 33,000 shares, totaling about 157,400 clicks. Combined with the first post the series earned 322,250 in some form of engagement. He also has over 18 million followers to his Facebook account, which heightens the potential that fans may have been exposed to the material but did not engage. Unfortunately, the viewership data for the International Organization for Migration's, "I am a migrant (2015)," Médecins Sans Frontières' "Urban Survivors (2011)," "Exodus (2014)," and "Stay Alive (2016)" campaigns, and Radio Television Swiss' reportage "Exils (2015)" is not publically available. Without viewership data for the amount website traffic and interaction with the website documentaries or the photo series publications it is not possible to assess which of these digital storytelling campaigns had the widest reach. Of the short films, Save the Children's campaign views were much higher than the rest. Although originally published to YouTube, the breadth of news coverage and sharing on social media, as well as the role of celebrity influencer Ashton Kutcher may have contributed to its success. Alicia Keys' film also utilized celebrity diplomacy, featuring Keys and her original composition, "Hallelujah."

As YouTube views are counted within 30 seconds of playtime it is not possible to presume the 11-minute length of the film decreased interest, but it is interesting to note that BBC Media Action's short film was released in the same year and attained comparable viewership (Beck, 2015). This may point to the timing of the release. Additionally, neither Keys' nor BBC Media Action's campaigns made a clear call to action, and the only connection to international nongovernmental organizations was through Keys' movement, which is not immediately clear in the video. While these short films used the narrative device of chronotopic reversal, swapping the person and place of the real story with a setting and individual the intended audience can more closely connect to, Save the Children's short film incorporated the most textbook application of this technique. Beyond that, in featuring a single child and offering clear outlets for action through YouTube annotations and call to action messaging in the final clips, the short film facilitated the intended British audience in understanding the rapid impact of the crisis on an individual and how the viewer can help. The choice to focus on one little girl in the foreground of the shots, and the success of the video, supports the theory that featuring one story at a time is advantageous to minimize compassion fatigue and pseudoinefficacy, and increase tangibility of the crisis. The strategic timing of release on the 3rd anniversary of the Syrian war may have also drummed up attention.

Considering the ethics of humanitarian and refugee specific imagery, all of the short film case studies shared constructed stories grounded in truth but without a real refugee's face. This protects refugees from exploitation and appropriation, but is not as explicit in sharing the reality of the crisis. The International Organization for Migration's platform does well to honor the "who" and "what" the refugees' identify

with by compiling photographs and narratives submitted by the refugees themselves. Mixing in images of allies and relief workers helps to add another kind of narrative to the discourse. Brandon Stanton (Humans of New York) does this too in his "Refugee Stories." Médecins Sans Frontières' and Radio Television Swiss' website documentaries work with the technique of immersion to increase the tangibility of the crisis. By capturing live footage and engaging with refugees, they work with these vulnerable populations but communicate with authenticity what refugees are seeing and experiencing. That being said, the footage they publish is not overwhelmingly gruesome, but as is especially the case with Nicolae Schiau's work for "Exils," there is an effort to mix in a range of emotion, even humor.

While all of this leads to the overarching goal of awareness for action, it is important to ask what kind of action is the audience taking, and is it enough? Is it ethical to make a US$5 donation to Save the Children when people are losing their homes, livelihoods, and lives? Considering the thousands to millions of views some of the campaigns are attaining, if each person that came in contact made some form of contributive action (i.e. petitions, marches, and volunteering housing, resources or skills), those US$5, or petition signatures, or community volunteers would positively impact refugee relief efforts. If campaigns offered more direct suggestions for action, especially oriented around housing, teaching, advocating for, and welcoming refugees, this might help translate the emotional response to an image and narrative into something concrete and productive. What are motivating donors and actors is another question. Refugee relief is an inherently emotional issue so there will be some feeling attached to giving. Empathy is a feeling of connecting and understanding another's

position; giving out of true empathy is very different from appeasing one's colonial guilt or exercising the role of the White Savior. While in the past "shock effect" and "positive imagery" dominated the pictures of humanitarian work, appealing to guilt and gratitude, digital storytelling has taken to narrative devices to inspire more thoughtful action and establishes a space for refugee stories to be shared.

Abbreviation List:

CERAH Center for Educations and Research in Humanitarian Action

IOM International Organization for Migration

MSF Médecins Sans Frontières

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WHO World Health Organization

Appendix

Links to Digital Storytelling Campaign Case Studies

1. Appendix 1/A: Save the Children and Don't Panic London/UNIT9; "The Most Shocking Second a Day"
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RBQ-IoHfimQ

   Appendix 2/A: Save the Children and Don't Panic London/UNIT9; "Still The Most Shocking Second a Day"
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKDgFCojiT8

2. Appendix B: Alicia Keys and HUMAN; "Let me in: We Are Here"
   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-1hpZzJpmg

3. Appendix C: BBC Media Action; "Your phone is now a refugee's phone" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m1BLsySgsHM

4. Appendix D: International Organization for Migration; "i am a migrant"
   http://iamamigrant.org/

5. Appendix E: Brandon Stanton (Humans of New York); "Refugee Stories" http://www.humansofnewyork.com/tagged/refugee-stories

6. Appendix 1/F: MSF: Urban Survivors (2011)
   http://www.urbansurvivors.org/

   Appendix 2/F: Exodus (2014) http://exodus.msf.org/en/#home

   Appendix 3/F: Stay Alive (2016) https://stayingalive.msf.org/

7. Appendix G: Radio Television Swiss; "Exils"
   https://www.rts.ch/info/monde/7073655-exils.html

Bibliography

Alicia Keys. "Let Me In - We Are Here." YouTube, YouTube, 20 June 2016, www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-1hpZzJpmg.

"Americas | Picture Power: Tragedy of Omayra Sanchez." *BBC News*. BBC, 30 Sept. 2005. Web. 28 Apr. 2017. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/4231020.stm>.

AmnestyInternational. "Refugees Call on People to #Takeaction in Emotional Video Responses to Tweets." Refugees Call on People to #TakeAction in Emotional Video Responses to Tweets, 1 Feb. 2017, www.amnesty.org/en/press-releases/2017/02/refugees-call-on-people-to-takeaction-in-emotional-video-responses-to-tweets/.

Anderson, Lauren. "Hands4Others Community Fair." 10 May 2018.

Arendt, Hannah, et al. The Human Condition. University of Chicago Press, 2018.

Barcia, Liana. "Who's Giving to the Syrian People?" *Devex*. Devex, 18 Sept. 2015. Web. 02 May 2017. <https://www.devex.com/news/who-s-giving-to-the-syrian-people-86938>.

Basu, Tanya. "Are You More Sympathetic Because She's British, And Not Syrian?" NPR. NPR, 13 May 2016. Web. 30 Apr. 2017. <http://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2016/05/10/477500337/are-you-more-sympathetic-because-shes-british-and-not-syrian>.

Beck, Martin. "What's A Video View? On Facebook, Only 3 Seconds Vs. 30 At YouTube." *Marketing Land*, 12 May 2015, marketingland.com/whats-a-video-view-on-facebook-only-3-seconds-vs-30-at-youtube-128311.

Best, Jessica (6 March 2014). "Shocking video shows what life would be like for Britain's children if war came to the UK". Retrieved 12 May 2018.

Bouckaert, Peter. "Dispatches: Why I Shared a Horrific Photo of a Drowned Syrian Child." *Human Rights Watch*. Human Rights Watch, 02 Sept. 2015. Web. 27 Apr. 2017. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/09/02/dispatches-why-i-shared-horrific-photo-drowned-syrian-child>.

"Campaign." *Merriam-Webster.com*, Merriam-Webster, www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/campaign. Accessed 7 June 2018.

Cameron, Daryl C., and Keith B. Payne. "Escaping Affect: How Motivated Emotion Regulation Creates Insensitivity to Mass Suffering." *American Psychological Association*. American Psychological Association, Jan. 2011. Web. 12 Apr. 2017. <http://psycnet.apa.org/journals/psp/100/1/1/>.

Campbell, W. Joseph. "Confronting the Myths of the 'Napalm Girl'." *Baltimoresun.com*, 2 Apr. 2017, www.baltimoresun.com/news/opinion/oped/bs-ed-napalm-girl-20170401-story.html.

Chaffey, Dave. "Global Social Media Research Summary 2018." *Smart Insights*, 28 Mar. 2018, www.smartinsights.com/social-media-marketing/social-media-strategy/new-global-social-media-research/.

Chouliaraki, Lilie (2010) Post-humanitarianism: humanitarian communication beyond a politics of pity. International journal of cultural studies, 13 (2). pp. 107-126. ISSN 1367-8779 DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1367877909356720

Cikara, M., E. Bruneau, J.J. Van Bravel, and R. Saxe. "Their Pain Gives Us Pleasure: How Intergroup Dynamics Shape Empathic Failures and Counter-empathic Responses." *Their Pain Gives Us Pleasure: How Intergroup Dynamics Shape Empathic Failures and Counter-empathic Responses* 55 (2014): 110-25. *Science Direct*. Web. 11 Apr. 2017.

CoconutsYangon. "Humans of New York Is Raising Money to Build Homes for Rohingya Refugees | Coconuts Yangon." *CoconutsYangon*, 5 Mar. 2018, coconuts.co/yangon/news/humans-new-york-launches-fundraiser-rohingya-refugees/.

Cryder, Cynthia, and George Loewenstein. "The Critical Link Between Tangibility and Generosity." (n.d.): n. pag. *Carnegie Mellon University*. Web. 11 Apr. 2017. <http://www.cmu.edu/dietrich/sds/docs/loewenstein/CriticalLinkTangibilityGenerosity.pdf>.

Cryder, Cynthia E., George Loewenstein, and Richard Scheines. "The Donor Is in the Details." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 120.1 (2013): 15-23. *Carnegie Mellon University*. Elsevier, 12 Aug. 2012. Web. 14 Apr. 2017. <https://www.cmu.edu/dietrich/sds/docs/loewenstein/DonorInDetails.pdf>.

D&AD. "Case Study: Amnesty International - It's Not Happening Here, But It's Happening Now." *D&AD*. D&AD, n.d. Web. 04 May 2017. <https://www.dandad.org/en/d-ad-amnesty-international-its-not-happening-here-happening-social-good/>.

Decety, Jean, and Keith J. Yoder. "Empathy and Motivation for Justice: Cognitive Empathy and Concern, but Not Emotional Empathy, Predict Sensitivity to Injustice for Others." *Social Neuroscience*. U.S. National Library of Medicine, Feb. 2016. Web. 04 May 2017. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4592359/>.

Demir, Nilufer. "Alan Kurdi | 100 Photographs | The Most Influential Images of All Time." *Time*. Time, 2015. Web. 08 May 2017. <http://100photos.time.com/photos/nilufer-demir-alan-kurdi>.

Feinstein, Anthony, et al. "Witnessing Images of Extreme Violence: a Psychological Study of Journalists in the Newsroom." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 6 Aug. 2014, journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2054270414533323.

Fishman, Ezra. "How Long Should Your Next Video Be?" *Wista*. Wistia, 05 July 2016. Web. 28 Apr. 2017. <https://wistia.com/blog/optimal-video-length>.

Frontier, Frank. *Omayra Sanchez*. 1985. Armero. *Wikipedia*. Web. 1 May 2017. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Omayra_S%C3%A1nchez#/media/File:Omayra_Sanchez.jpg>.

Getty Images. "The Power of Visual Storytelling." *Getty Curve*. Getty Images, 2017. Web. 16 Apr. 2017. <http://curve.gettyimages.com/article/the-power-of-visual-storytelling>.

Gorin, Valerie. Personal interview. 25 Apr. 2017.

Gutsell, Jennifer N., and Michael Inzlicht. "Empathy Constrained: Prejudice Predicts Reduced Mental Simulation of Actions during Observation of Outgroups." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 46.5 (2010): 841-45. *Science Direct*. Web. 11 Apr. 2017.

Hajek, Daniel. "How One Photographer Captured A Piercing Gaze That Shook The World." *NPR*, NPR, 26 July 2015, www.npr.org/2015/07/26/425659961/how-one-photographer-captured-a-piercing-gaze-that-shook-the-world.

Hannides, Theo, et al. "Research Report: Voices of Refugees - Media Action." *BBC*, BBC, July 2016, www.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/publications-and-resources/research/reports/voices-of-refugees.

Humansofnewyork. "Humans of New York." *Facebook*, 26 Sept. 2015, www.facebook.com/humansofnewyork/posts/1095998147140951:0.

Humansofnewyork. "Humansofnewyork." *Humans of New York*, 5 Mar. 2018, www.humansofnewyork.com/post/171534483051/it-was-early-in-the-morning-when-the-military.

"If Britain were Syria: charity releases 'brutally powerful' ad". Al Arabiya. 5 March 2014. Retrieved 12 May 2018.

"If London Were Syria: Harrowing Save The Children Video Shows Impact Of War On A Single Child". 7 March 2014. Retrieved 12 May 2018.International Organization for Migration. "Stories." *I Am a Migrant*. International Organization for Migration, 2017. Web. 02 May 2017. <http://iamamigrant.org/stories?field_hashtag_tid_selective=350>.

Jennings, Natalie (6 March 2014). "Save the Children 'Second a Day' ad is shocking, until you see a real Syrian child refugee". Washington Post. Retrieved 12 May 2018.

Johnson, Lauren. "Save the Children Spot Gets Another Run on YouTube Thanks to Ashton Kutcher". Adweek

Kennedy, Denis. "Selling the Distant Other: Humanitarianism and Imagery-Ethical Dilemmas of Humanitarian Action." *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*. The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance, 28 Feb. 2009. Web. 11 Apr. 2017. <https://sites.tufts.edu/jha/archives/411>.

Kim, Florence. "Student Research Interview." Message to the author. 02 May 2017. E-mail.

Kreps, Daniel. "See Alicia Keys' Moving Tribute to Refugee Crisis in Film." Rolling Stone, Rolling Stone, 20 June 2016, www.rollingstone.com/music/news/see-alicia-keys-moving-tribute-to-refugee-crisis-in-let-me-in-film-20160620.

Laurent, Olivier. "Syria Gas Attack: Liberation Cover Photo Shows Dead Children." *Time*, Time, 6 Apr. 2017, time.com/4729687/liberation-syria-cover/.

Libération. *Les Enfants D'Assad*. 2017. Syria. Web. 1 May 2017. <http://images.telerama.fr/medias/2017/04/media_156442/les-enfants-d-assad-en-une-de-libe-quand-la-photo-choque,M438841.jpg>.

Luckerson, Vick (5 March 2014). "Most Shocking Second a Day Ad Is Exactly That". Time Magazine. Retrieved 12 May 2018.

McCurry, Steve. *Afghan Girl*. 1985. National Geographic, Pakistan. *Wikipedia*. Web. 1 May 2017. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan_Girl#/media/File:Afghan_girl_National_ Geographic_cover_June_1985.png>.

McCurry, Steve. "A Life Revealed." *National Geographic*, 1 Apr. 2002, www.nationalgeographic.com/magazine/2002/04/afghan-girl-revealed/.

McQuater, Katie. "Anatomy of an Ad: Behind the Scenes of Save the Children's 'Second a Day' Syria Ad." *The Drum*, 7 Apr. 2014, www.thedrum.com/news/2014/04/07/anatomy-ad-behind-scenes-save-children-s-second-day-syria-ad.

Médecins Sans Frontières. *Stay Alive |*. MSF, Sept. 2016. Web. 08 May 2017.
    <http://stayingalive.msf.org/>.

Médecins Sans Frontières. *Urban Survivors - Médecins Sans Frontières*. MSF, 2011.
    Web. 08 May 2017. <http://www.urbansurvivors.org/>.

Morales, Agus, Anna Surinyach, and Quim Zudaire. *EXODUS: Large Population
    Movements in the 21st Century and Their Protagonists: Refugees, Displaced
    and Migrants*. MSF, 2014. Web. 08 May 2017.
    <http://exodus.msf.org/en/#home>.

"Most Shocking Second a Day." Don't Panic London, 2018,
    www.dontpaniclondon.com/project/most-shocking-second-a-day/.

Nagar, Kshitij. "Eyes of the Afghan Girl: A Critical Take on the 'Steve McCurry
    Scandal'." *PetaPixel*, 7 June 2016, petapixel.com/2016/06/07/eyes-afghan-girl-
    critical-take-steve-mccurry-scandal/.

Natter, Sophie. "Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF)." Online interview. 26 Apr. 2016.

NPPA. "Code of Ethics." *National Press Photographers Association*, 28 Nov. 2017,
    nppa.org/code-ethics.

Nudd, Tim (5 March 2014). "Three Years Later, We Finally Have a Brutally Powerful
    Ad About the Crisis in Syria A girl's life destroyed in one second a
    day". Adweek. Retrieved 12 May 2018.

Pitterman, Shelly. ""Empathy and a Sense of Responsibility Motivate Communities
    Around the World to Help Refugees"." *The Center for Migration Studies of New
    York (CMS)*. The Center for Migration Studies, 28 May 2016. Web. 16 Apr.
    2017. <http://cmsny.org/publications/may182016-pitterman/>.

Radio Television Swiss. "Exils." *Rts.ch*. Radio Television Swiss, 10 Sept. 2015. Web. 2
    May 2017. <https://www.rts.ch/info/monde/7073655-exils.html>.

Roaf, Richard (12 March 2014). "Why did the Save the Children Syria video go viral?
    Only four days after Save the Children launched the "Most Shocking Second a
    Day Video" it had reached 21 million views". Fairsay. Retrieved 12 May 2018.

Russell, Mallory. "2014: The Year Of The Nonprofit In Branded Video." *MediaPost*.
    Online Video Insider, 7 Apr. 2014. Web. 30 Apr. 2017.
    <https://www.mediapost.com/publications/article/223050/2014-the-year-of-the-
    nonprofit-in-branded-video.html>.

Sapkota, Kaushal. "Digital Storytelling." 22 May 2018.

Save the Children Sweden, UK. Savethechildrenuk. "Most Shocking Second a Day Video." *YouTube*. YouTube, 05 Mar. 2014. Web. 30 Apr. 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RBQ-IoHfimQ>.

Savethechildrenuk. "Still The Most Shocking Second A Day." *YouTube*. YouTube, 09 May 2016. Web. 30 Apr. 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKDgFCojiT8>.

Schmid, Salome, and Flore Portmann. "La Red." Personal interview. 4 May 2017.

Scott, Caroline. "New Vertical Video from BBC Media Action Takes over Your Phone's Screen to Show the Struggle of Refugees." *Journalism.co.uk*, Journalism.co.uk, 18 July 2016, www.journalism.co.uk/news/the-vertical-video-by-bbc-media-action-that-appears-to-take-over-your-phone/s2/a655513/.

"Shocking second a day video imagines war in London. This hard-hitting video charts how a British child's life would change if the country were to descend into civil war". Telegraph. 5 March 2014. Retrieved 12 May 2018.

Skirry, Justin. "René Descartes: The Mind-Body Distinction." *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, www.iep.utm.edu/descmind/#H4.

Slovic, Paul, Daniel Västfjällac, Arvid AndErlandsson, and Robin Gregory. "Iconic Photographs and the Ebb and Flow of Empathic Response to Humanitarian Disasters." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. National Academy of Sciences, 8 Dec. 2016. Web. 29 Apr. 2017. <http://www.pnas.org/content/114/4/640.full>.

Slovic, Paul. "Professor of Psychology University of Oregon." Online interview. 02 May 2017.

Slovic, Paul. "When (ln)Action Speaks Louder Than Words: Confronting the Collapse of Humanitarian Values in Foreign Policy Decisions." 2015 U. ILL. L. REV. SLIP OPINIONS 24. <http://www.illinoislawreview .org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Slovic. pdf.>

Slovic, Scott, and Paul Slovic. "Opinion | The Arithmetic of Compassion." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 04 Dec. 2015. Web. 26 Apr. 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/06/opinion/the-arithmetic-of-compassion.html>.

Stanton, Brandon. "Click Here to Support Houses For Rohingya Refugees Organized by Brandon Stanton." *Gofundme.com*, 4 Mar. 2018, www.gofundme.com/houses4rohingya.

Stanton, Brandon. "Refugee Stories." *Humans of New York*, www.humansofnewyork.com/tagged/refugee-stories.

Stueber, Karsten. "Empathy." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford
University, 14 Feb. 2013. Web. 04 May 2017.
<https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/empathy/#Bib>.

"Syrian Crisis." *Charity Navigator*. Charity Navigator, 5 Jan. 2017. Web. 18 Apr. 2017.
<https://www.charitynavigator.org/index.cfm?bay=content.view&cpid=1523#>.

UNHCR. "What They Took With Them." *#WithRefugees*. UNHCR, 14 Feb. 2017. Web.
02 May 2017. <http://www.unhcr.org/refugeeday/what-they-took-with-them/>.

United Nations. "Figures at a Glance." *UNHCR*, 19 June 2017, www.unhcr.org/en-
us/figures-at-a-glance.html.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. "UNHCR Global Trends 2015."
UNHCR. UNHCR, 2015. Web. 01 May 2017.
<http://www.unhcr.org/576408cd7>.

"Universal Declaration of Human Rights." *United Nations*, United Nations, 10 Dec.
1948, www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html.

USA for UNHCR. "What Is a Refugee? Definition and Meaning." *USA for UNHCR*.
USA for UNHCR, 2017. Web. 02 May 2017. <http://www.unrefugees.org/what-
is-a-refugee/>.

Ut, Nick. *Napalm Girl*. 1972. Vietnam. *Wikipedia*. Web. 1 May 2017.
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phan_Thi_Kim_Phuc#/media/File:TrangBang.jp
g>.

Västfjäll, Daniel, Paul Slovic, and Marcus Mayorga. "Pseudoinefficacy: Negative
Feelings from Children Who Cannot Be Helped Reduce Warm Glow for
Children Who Can Be Helped." *Frontiers in Psychology*. Frontiers in
Psychology, 20 Apr. 2015. Web. 27 Apr. 2017.

"VIDEO: Shocking second a day clip shows how British child's life could be hit by
war". Express. 5 March 2014. Retrieved 12 May 2018.

Weiner, Saul J., and Simon Auster. "From Empathy to Caring: Defining the Ideal
Approach to a Healing Relationship." *The Yale Journal of Biology and
Medicine*. Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine, Sept. 2007. Web. 04 May
2017. <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2248287/>.

Williams, Rob (4 March 2014). "If London were Syria: Save The Children campaign
releases unsettling video". The Independent. Retrieved 12 May 2018.

Windal, Pierre Marie. "Http://www.editions-ems.fr/revues/decisions-marketing/articlerevue/1506-la-carte-et-le-territoire-une-nouvelle-lecture-des-fronti%C3%A8res-et-des-mesures-d%E2%80%99importance-et-d%E2%80%99asym%C3%A9trie-des-attributs-dans-le-mod%C3%A8le-t%C3%A9traclasse.html." *Décisions Marketing* 79 (2015): 113-30. 2015. Web. 28 Apr. 2017. <https://www.msf.org/sites/msf.org/files/msf_finance_summary_2015-1.pdf>.

Wong, Kendrick. "Storytelling Lessons from 'Most Shocking Second a Day' Video." Yup Video, 11 Mar. 2014, www.yupvideo.com/2014/03/11/storytelling-most-shocking-second-a-day/.

Yandoli, Krystie Lee. "Here's A Behind-The-Scenes Look At Alicia Keys' Short Film About Refugees." BuzzFeed, BuzzFeed, 6 July 2016, www.buzzfeed.com/krystieyandoli/heres-a-behind-the-scenes-look-at-alicia-keys-short-film-abo?utm_term=.apjWQ32OQ.