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Documenting Dissent: How Global Justice Movement Documentaries Encourage Righteous Indignation

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THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PUBLIC POLICY

DOCUMENTING DISSENT: HOW GLOBAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT DOCUMENTARIES
ENCOURAGE RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION

By

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A Dissertation submitted to the
Department of Sociology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Degree Awarded:
Spring Semester, 2012

Sammy Rastagh defended this dissertation on March 30, 2012.

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For all the symbolic interactionists out there

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper couldn't have been possible without the unconditional love and support of my parents, Majid and Farzaneh Rastagh, and my fiancée, Hilarys Rosario. Additionally, I am extremely thankful for all the knowledge, guidance and encouragement received from FSU faculty since 2002, particularly: Doug Schrock, Jill Quadagno, John Reynolds, Andy Opel, Jamie Yeargan, Daphne Holden, Harry F. Dahms, Larry Isaac and John Taylor. I am also grateful for all my graduate school friends along the way, including: Jason Laguna, Lisa M. Weinberg, Rusty Shekha, Jessica Bishop-Royse, Sarrah Conn, Mike Stewart, Emily Boyd, Jason Eastman, Scott Grudman and Joanna Hunter.

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ABSTRACT

What emotional messages are present in Global Justice Movement (GJM) framing? What framing strategies are employed within activist-generated GJM documentaries to construct sides surrounding issues? How do these films express emotions to inspire mobilization? Although scholars recognize emotion as a key component of social movement framing that motivates participation, few empirical studies have analyzed movement frames with an eye toward emotional messages located within them. This dissertation addresses this issue in an empirical study on data from nineteen GJM activist-created documentaries that have been utilized in recruitment. The findings explicate instances of narrative emotional framing, which I define as the use of narrative techniques to invoke frames and emotional orientations that support movement aims. Specifically, I demonstrate how GJM documentaries engage in characterization of victims, villains, and heroes to conjure emotions of sympathy, anger and pride, respectively. This emotional blend, in turn, promotes righteous indignation toward corporate financial control of Third World nations. This project contributes to research linking framing, narrative and emotions by providing an ethnographic analysis that outlines how emotional orientations are called upon within GJM documentaries. Implications of these findings for further research on social movements are discussed.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I analyze activist-created documentary films that depict protests of the Global Justice Movement (GJM), a loose-knit affiliation of social movement organizations (SMOs) fighting for localized rule against global economic institutions. My basic research question is, “How do movement documentaries narratively construct meanings and emotional orientations amicable to activism?” In answering this question, I first examine how GJM documentaries encourage sympathy by representing particular groups as victims hurt by international trade policies. Second, I explore how these films narratively promote anger toward groups constructed as villains deemed responsible for and benefitting from the suffering of victims. Third, I show how the film narratives encourage pride for GJM activists who are valorized as heroes. Finally, I will argue how sympathy, anger, and pride work together within GJM documentaries to encourage righteous indignation. My aim throughout is to foster an understanding of how narrative, framing, and emotions are intimately connected in such work.

Broadly, this project follows the “cultural turn” in social movement research that recognizes how protest can be as much of a battle over meanings as it is over resources (Jasper 1999). One line of this research emphasizes the process of framing, which looks at how movement organizers tap into shared cultural beliefs so that their messages resonate with audiences (Benford and Snow 2000). Another line of research emphasizes emotions by looking at how feelings are an essential part of mobilization (Jasper 2011). A third line of cultural research focuses on narratives to detail how activists tell stories that convey contextual cues that engender commitment (Davis 2002). In this dissertation, I bring together these three lines of research by developing the concept of *narrative emotional framing*, which I define as using narrative techniques to invoke frames and emotional orientations that support movement aims. I will argue in the conclusion chapter that this is a sensitizing concept (Blumer 1969) that can shed light on other movements and can be further developed with empirical research.

In addition to the aforementioned contributions, this dissertation can shed light on the role documentary films play in fashioning the GJM. While sociologists of social movements often examine how movements are represented in the mainstream media (see McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996; Oliver and Maney 2000; Earl et al. 2004) and how SMOs create their own media such as newsletters (see Taylor 1989; Meyer and Whittier 1994; Rohlinger 2006), they tend to neglect incorporating analyses of documentary films into their work. I argue it is important to do so because such films—with their personal testimonies, video imagery, musical soundtracks, and narration—have the potential to create powerful experiences in audiences that facilitate mobilization. Although other social movements have utilized documentary films, I concentrate on the GJM because its members arguably focused more on generating documentary films to represent their movement. I first learned about this possibility while doing fieldwork in a global justice movement organization and observed how animated activists became during and after watching such films. My dissertation is an attempt to find out how these films may facilitate such experiences.

It is important to note here that my analysis will mainly be concentrating on discourse contained within GJM documentary films. Following Loseke (2009), my main focus is on how emotion works through discourse to illustrate how person-categories carry along with them implicit emotional orientations. To accomplish this, I have categorized examples of characterizations as they appear within the text of GJM documentary transcripts. Thus, I focus less on visual and audio characteristics that are inherent to many other studies of film in favor of the actual words spoken within GJM documentaries. It is not that incorporating analyses of such features of film as cinematography, sound and editing is unimportant; in fact a study of the medium of film would call for an emphasis on such cinematic qualities as being crucial. However since the focus of this study is on how social movement framing carries along with it implicit emotional messages, the findings will be concentrated on words that are exchanged within GJM documentaries.

I begin this introductory chapter by providing some background information on the GJM, including its members' demographic characteristics and core beliefs. After that, I review sociological research on the GJM. While scholars have extensively analyzed changes in movement dynamics over time and other important dynamics, less is known about the GJM's cultural products, including documentary films. Next, I will provide justification for analyzing

documentaries, a medium that has historically dealt with social problems. Finally, I will offer an outline of the following chapters of this dissertation.

Introduction to the GJM

Broadly defined, the GJM consists of “campaigns of mobilization against global or transnational neoliberalism or its agents, taking place against the policies of international financial institutions or their meetings” (Hadden and Tarrow 2007: 361). *Neoliberalism* is the idea that society is best served by “liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms” through financial deregulation and the creation of markets where they do not already exist, such as the privatization of public services (Harvey 2007: 2). Scholars have pointed out that neoliberalism has negative consequences for third-world nations, including: pollution in air and water supplies when local environmental laws interfere with the pursuit of profit (Shiva 2002); labor abuses due to national governments losing their ability to establish worker rights, including the right to unionize (Armbruster-Sandoval 2004); economic crises as local currencies are overvalued when they compete with the U.S. dollar, forcing governments to take out huge loans (Blustein 2005); and an increase in disease as indigenous communities contract viruses to which they have no natural immunity (Armelagos and Harper 2005). GJM advocates highlight these consequences to argue that transnational corporations tend to take advantage of neoliberal trade agreements to exploit economically disadvantaged nations.

Historical antecedents to the GJM are found among different protests in the name of social justice that have sprung up around the world. In developing nations the origins of the GJM can be traced back to various uprisings against the privatization of public services in South America throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Harris 2002). For example, in 1994 a Mexican grass-roots insurgent force calling themselves “Zapatistas” seized control of seven towns in Chiapas to declare war against the government on the day the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) opened up commerce with the United States. Precursors to the GJM within First World nations are found, in part, in various student movements fighting for social justice, such as the 1968 new left movement in France and student protests against the Vietnam War in the United States (Hayduk 2002). More recently, the United Students against Sweatshops campaign sprang up across hundreds of American colleges with the goal of eliminating exploitative conditions in factories that produce university-licensed clothing (Krupat 2002).

A history of GJM protest reveals a number of large-scale events occurring in different parts of the world over the last couple of decades. One of the first major GJM protests was in November of 1999 when more than 40,000 people gathered in Seattle and shut down meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO) as millions over the Internet watched “the most heavily televised protest in history” (Sellers 2004: 191). The following year saw greater participation around the world as a pair of protests six months apart against the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank in both Washington DC and Prague, Czech Republic drew tens of thousands of united protestors. In 2001 there were a couple of particularly violent GJM protests, including events surrounding the third annual Summit of the Americas (SOA) in Quebec in April and the Group of Eight (G8) summit in Genoa, Italy during July. For example, the Genoa protest saw the death of a protestor named Carlo Giuliani who was shot in the face by approaching riot police as he threw a fire extinguisher atop a police car. There was a lull in GJM activity during the following year as the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 caused financial meetings to be moved into more remote locations with enhanced security. The last major GJM protests in North America occurred in 2003 as WTO protests in Cancun, Mexico during September and demonstrations against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) in Miami in November once again drew massive crowds in confrontation with riot police. With further financial meetings being conducted in increasingly remote and secure locations, many North American activists went on to join a growing anti-war movement protesting the actions of the United States in Iraq (Hadden and Tarrow 2007).

Since the Seattle protest of 1999, the Internet has facilitated the unification of diverse SMOs over vast geographic distances against what they view is the excessive commodification of culture. Tools such as the World Wide Web, e-mail, web blogs, listserves, and other communication technologies “facilitate the formation of a transnational civil society” against global capitalism (Lichbach 2003:42). Furthermore, social networking sites such as Yahoo groups, MySpace, and Facebook help keep even those with tangentially related concerns up-to-date with GJM events (Lee 2007). Recent surveys conducted during GJM protests find that over 80 percent of activists use web-based resources to learn more about issues and coordinate travel to GJM events (Fisher et al. 2005). The democratic nature of electronic communication allows existing SMOs to maintain sovereignty while participating within the larger GJM. In fact, web-based resources are integral to reconstituting autonomous activism as a creative form of protest

within the GJM (Deslandes and King 2006). Today, the GJM continues to utilize Internet communication to organize large-scale protests outside all major financial summits, reporting their experiences to independent media outlets (Juris 2005).

Large-scale GJM protests are comprised of various SMOs with interests related to social justice, including environmental groups, student activist groups, workers rights groups, and labor unions, leading many to refer to the GJM as “a movement of movements” (Sellers 2004). These GJM SMOs were not founded directly against corporate power, but rather have roots in related single-issue campaigns such as living wage, labor union organizing, and various environmental and anti-sweatshop movements (Langman 2005). Many of their members are highly educated, under the age of 25, from professional, middle-class families, identify as left-wing politically, and are involved in other, related social movements (Bramble 2006). Most GJM followers are not against international trade per se, but rather believe that neoliberalism deteriorates the quality of life in all nations. As activist-author Naomi Klein (2004) explains:

In reality, the movement is a rejection of what is being bundled along with trade and so-called “globalization”—against the set of transformative political policies that every country in the world has been told they must accept in order to make themselves hospitable to investment. I call this package “McGovernment.” This happy meal of cutting taxes, privatizing services, liberalizing regulations, busting unions. What is this diet in aid of? To remove anything standing in the way of the market. (226)

GJM activists thus gather outside closed-door meetings in which global trade regulations are negotiated in order to express non-consent to the neoliberal agenda. Some protestors demand inclusion into trade discussions, while others wish to shut down international financial institutions and forums such as the WTO, World Economic Forum (WEF), World Bank, IMF, FTAA and the G8.

While there has been an abundance of recent sociological research on the GJM, much of it has been on demographic and organizational dynamics of the movement at the expense of understanding how GJM activists construct meanings. For example, scholars have shown GJM participants as coming from a variety of backgrounds, traveling great distances to attend protests, and being inspired by global issues they believe have a direct impact on their lives (Fisher et al. 2005; Bramble 2006; Montagna 2010). Further research demonstrates the importance of

electronic communication in uniting GJM activists at large events where they can embrace diverse perspectives and avoid imposing any sort of authoritarian rule over their movement (Della Porta 2005; Langman 2005; Thörn 2007). Others offer more pessimistic analyses of GJM diffusion, noting how direct action tactics have not spread to activists of color and local framings of GJM issues do not always resonate across different SMOs (Wood 2007; Norval 2009). Additional research points to a recent decline in GJM image events, with increased police repression making it difficult to stage large-scale protests as the GJM has broken off into smaller coalitions fighting for social and economic justice around the world (Gillham and Edwards 2003; Hadden and Tarrow 2007; Gillham and Edwards 2011). As this collection of research suggests, scholars often neglect examining how GJM activists make their movement, symbolically speaking, meaningful.

Recent scholarship, however, has begun examining how the movement's cultural products shape mobilization. For example, studies have analyzed how flyers allow adherents to emphasize diversity and inclusion (Lacey 2005), reading materials help followers formulate resistance narratives to neoliberalism (Atkinson 2006), and SMO websites offer opportunities for GJM advocates to pursue their interests within such an autonomous movement (Deslandes and King 2006).

While researchers have yet to systematically analyze GJM films, they have recognized the GJM activists use digital video as important activist tools. For example, observers have noted there are often more cameras among GJM demonstrators than there are among mainstream press assigned to cover GJM protests (Smith et al. 2001). Activists use footage of police brutality, for example, to mount counter-public relations campaigns against city representatives, drastically altering the power relationship between themselves and mainstream media (Owens and Palmer 2003). Additionally, defense lawyers are using uploaded protest footage (logged according to time and place) to exonerate protesters accused of property damage (Pickard 2006). The focus of this project is on one of the more influential uses of uploaded protest video—GJM films created collectively by advocates to document protest events and disseminate movement frames. The dissertation thus contributes to knowledge about the GJM by analyzing how the movement represents itself and constructs its opponents.

How Documentary Films Represent Reality

Documentaries have presented harsh realities and raised awareness of social problems for nearly the last hundred years. That being said, the responsibility of documentary films to accurately chronicle reality has been under scrutiny as long as the medium's existence. One of the first documentaries, Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922), presents a questionable account of Inuit life in the Canadian arctic. Reports quickly surfaced of Flaherty inventing names, assigning roles for his subjects, and having them recreate activities they no longer practiced such as hunting with harpoons rather than the guns they typically used (Aufderheide 2007). Flaherty fabricated details to create a greater contrast between his audiences' "civilized" life and the harshness of the arctic. Since then, film scholars have come to accept that documentary filmmakers often "obfuscate basic issues so that they could, at one and the same time, claim journalistic/scientific and (contradictory) artistic privileges" (Winston 1995: 6). Indeed, the very act of pointing a camera in a specific direction implies that action that is taking place in other directions goes unfilmed. In other words, as the title of Bill Nichols's seminal book (1991) on the subject suggests, documentary filmmakers often "represent reality" to convey a cinematic story.

Despite a concession that documentary film is more of a representation of truth than reality itself, the medium has evolved over the last century to uncover various social problems and present images of social change. *Housing Problems* (1935) offers interviews with middle-class British workers forced to live in deplorable conditions. However like many documentaries of its era, it denies its subjects a sense of equal status with filmmakers by implying that workers suffer some "plight" that government agencies should take pity on (Winston 1995). Representations of those wronged by powerful agencies evolved with a new generation of filmmakers in the 1960s and 1970s who conceived of documentary films as a political weapon against institutional power. For example, many Latin American documentaries criticize neocolonialism and capitalism. *La Hora de los Hornos* (*The Hour of the Furnaces*, 1968), directed by Octavio Getino and Fernando E. Solanas but filmed by a collective of workers, peasants, and students, reveals the wretched working conditions and fierce military repression imposed upon a poor and indigenous population by an Argentinean plutocracy that sold the country's natural resources to foreign interests.

Concurrently in the global north, many documentarians spent a great deal of time with one particular protest group documenting an entire political campaign. For example, American expatriate William Klein presented raw, emotional footage of student protests on the streets of Paris in his influential *Maydays* (1968). A few years later, *Harlan County U.S.A.* (1976) won an Oscar and international acclaim for an unflinching portrayal of the impact of a coal miner's strike on a small Kentucky town. As these examples suggest, documentary films can provide sympathetic portraits of those suffering from economic exploitation as well as valorizing those who stand up, with pride, for justice.

While contemporary GJM documentaries resonate to some extent with the aforementioned classic films, because activists collectively produce them they resonate more with the Newsreel tradition (Nichols 2001). Newsreel, a commune of guerilla filmmakers that made and distributed dozens of films in the late 1960s and 1970s and reported on topics such as the war in Vietnam, draft resistance, college strikes, national liberation movements around the world, and the women's movement. Newsreel films were collective and radical in tone with no individual credits at the end, created to foster political resistance to government actions and policies. They contributed to the grassroots political activism of their era through (oftentimes) unauthorized screenings on campuses, in community centers, and sometimes even on the walls of buildings.

Today this sort of guerilla filmmaking is coordinated online, as GJM activists utilize web-based communications to distribute digital recordings and coordinate screening events with one another. The documentaries assembled from footage shot by GJM activists and narrated in their voices allow advocates to reflect on and fashion a narrative of the movement. In other words, these films chronicle the past, present, and future of the movement through the words and images of its participants. For example, the films contain interviews with GJM organizers discussing plans, and are interspersed with critics of neoliberalism, footage of suffering citizens of the Global South, and street activists both creatively expressing their dissent and courageously standing up to police. Given that selective dissemination of protest accounts build anticipation for future events while forging movement unity (Eschle 2005), GJM documentaries help foster communal stories of struggle that work to prepare viewers for action. As a result, the story of the GJM becomes a collective creation told through documentary films that provide a multifaceted presentation of the perspectives of those involved. Because these films distill the essence of

movement principles through multiple, autonomous voices of GJM participants and supporters, a great deal can be gleaned through their systematic analysis.

Overview of Dissertation Chapters

This dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 discusses sociological literature on social movements, media, narratives, emotions, and framing to situate the upcoming analysis. Chapter 3 describes the data and research methods used in this study. Chapter 4 explores how victimization within GJM documentaries promotes feelings of sympathy. Chapter 5 examines how villainization within GJM documentaries encourages responses of anger. Chapter 6 looks at how valorization characterizes protestors as heroes that viewers should feel proud of. Finally, chapter 7 summarizes the study's key findings and considers how victimization, villainization, and valorization in GJM documentaries together contribute to fostering righteous indignation. This conclusion will also address the contributions of the study, its limitations, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter I will review research to situate both an empirical and a theoretical gap in the sociological literature I wish to fill with this dissertation. On the empirical side, I wish to contribute to research on the GJM by analyzing how issues are framed within GJM documentaries. I will provide justification for this research by first looking at the relationship between SMOs and mainstream media outlets. Then, I will review studies of activist-generated media, noting how scholars have begun to look to alternative media sources to understand the subjective side of protest through participants' perspectives. I will demonstrate that although social movements have traditionally had difficulty getting their perspectives out through mainstream media outlets, the GJM has taken advantage of new communication technologies to create media more in line with movement principles of autonomy and self-rule. Although an abundance of research exists on how the GJM utilizes its own media, few studies have actually looked at the content of GJM media, particularly documentary films that are collectively created by GJM participants. Thus, the empirical aim of this dissertation will be to contribute to our understanding of the GJM through a systematic analysis of movement documentaries collectively created by its members.

On the theoretical side, I wish to combine three conceptual tools utilized in cultural studies of social movements to develop *narrative emotional framing*, a concept that can aid future studies of protest dynamics. Such studies could help us understand how SMO organizers utilize discourse to evoke the sort of emotions that inspire protest. While social movement research has utilized framing, narrative, and emotions together in various combinations, scholars have yet to analyze how emotions are transmitted through SMO framing via narrative techniques. The theoretical aim of this dissertation is to develop the concept of narrative emotional framing to create a more holistic understanding of how the meaning making accomplished by SMOs is tied into emotional processes.

Social Movements and Media Research

In this section, I discuss existing research on media and social movements. Since public protests are a vehicle to create pressure for social change, SMOs have historically had to depend on favorable mainstream media coverage to appeal to influential targets outside sympathetic channels (Lipsky 1968). However, with neoliberalism quickly becoming a hegemonic mode of discourse among mass media outlets (see Harvey 2007) it has become increasingly difficult for social movements to spread their message through mainstream channels. I will begin by reviewing studies that analyze biases inherent to mainstream media reports on protest before addressing strategies employed by SMOs to bypass these mainstream media biases. I then discuss how scholars have studied media created by social movements, including the formation of alternative media outlets that rely on self-reports of protest activity. I will conclude this section with a discussion of how documentary films chronicling protest can be seen as a form of media campaign that focuses on the words and feelings of participants. This will situate my empirical contribution of looking closer at how GJM documentaries help foster commitment and recruitment to the movement.

Mainstream Media Reports on Protest Activity

One way social movement scholars have incorporated media into their analyses is by analyzing how mainstream media outlets often ignore or misrepresent SMO activity. Such studies show how mass media outlets often believe conveying concerns about specific policies or issues is secondary to portraying protest activity in a manner that appeal to the largest possible audience (Gitlin 1980). In reviews of newspaper accounts of protest events (see Earl et al. 2004; Ortiz et al. 2005), sociologists uncover two forms of media bias that occur as news editors seek to maximize viewership and appease advertisers. *Selection bias* involves some protest events being deemed less “newsworthy” than others by the press and subsequently going unreported. Factors that influence selection bias in mainstream media outlets include the proximity of an event to the news agency, the size of the event, the presence of counterdemonstrators, police, and violence at the event, and the sponsorship of local SMOs (Oliver and Myers 1999; Barranco and Wisler 1999; Oliver and Maney 2000). Additionally, the privatization and concentration of media ownership during the 1970s and 1980s has led to self-censorship practices as news agencies tend to crowd out perspectives for which there is no substantial economic support

(Herman 1995). As this research demonstrates, some protest events may go underreported by mainstream media outlets while others may not be ignored.

In cases where protests receive mainstream media attention, biases may affect how protest events are reported. *Description bias* occurs when media-constructed versions of protest events differ from both objectives of protesters and interpretations of their actions by outside observers (McCarthy et al. 1996; 1999). Since contradictions between SMO and media agendas are greatest for movements that oppose the economic system that corporate media outlets depend on (Smith et al. 2001), description bias is often present in reports on GJM protests. In fact, mass media discourses have been accused of creating an “incitement to silence” the negative effects of global capitalism by undermining GJM protesters as irrational threats to public order (Wahl-Jorgensen 2003).

Corporate media accounts of GJM protests tend to focus on villainizing a numerical minority of activists engaged in property destruction, which works to isolate the GJM politically, justifies the brutal repression of all street protesters, and divides movement supporters by reinforcing their least confrontational elements (Juris 2005). This poses danger for all GJM street protestors, as the public has come to accept “less lethal” weaponry such as pepper spray and rubber bullets as a means of deterring nonviolent civil disobedience (Opel 2003). Ironically, mass media discourses often portray GJM protesters as villains that are dangerous to society despite the fact that, “after years of increasingly militant direct action, it is still impossible to produce a single example of anyone to whom a US activist has caused physical injury” (Graeber 2002: 66). As a result of such description bias, mainstream news reports often represent protest as threatening rather than utilize the opportunity to examine why protesters participate.

How SMOs can influence mainstream media coverage. The social movement literature discusses how SMOs have strategically responded to media bias by negotiating with mainstream news outlets to ensure that their message is shared. In a guide to activism, Salzman (2003) instructs groups to communicate effectively with mainstream media reporters by implementing practices such as creating sound bites, rehearsing their answers, and writing quality press releases. Such tactics are present among some of the largest and most successful SMOs. For example, the National Organization for Women has established communications departments that network with mainstream journalists so that they can readily respond to interview requests (Rohlinger 2002). Recent comparative analyses examining the relationship

between SMO tactics and mainstream media coverage provide further support, as highly organized SMOs professionally pursuing institutional goals through formal legislative channels are most likely to receive mainstream news coverage more sympathetic to their movement aims (Kowalchuk 2009; Andrews and Caren 2010).

One method SMOs have to generate mainstream media coverage is to alter their protest tactics to make align with the types of stories news outlets often tell. In fact, when determining how much mainstream media coverage a protest will receive, the size and duration of the event become of secondary importance to the congruency of that protest's tactics with existing media narratives (Wilkes, Corrigan-Brown, and Myers 2010). Therefore, one strategy employed by movement groups is to control discourse by staging *image events* (DeLuca 1999), or instances of political theatre that become highly publicized. For instance, the presence of "symbolic violence," such as the smashing of Starbucks coffee shop windows alongside images of police officers assaulting citizens in response, ironically encourages mainstream media narratives more empathetic to GJM demands (DeLuca and Peeples 2002). This is because symbolic violence can often compel reporters to question protesters about their tactics, and reports on excessive police brutality often paints activists in a sympathetic light.

It is important to note that activists can never truly have complete control over mainstream media narratives. In some cases image events are not even explicitly planned, such as the death of an innocent bystander during protests against the G20 in London leading to British newspapers suddenly devoting attention to previously ignored police brutality (Rosie and Gorrige 2009). That being said, while image events utilize mainstream outlets to raise awareness of violence at protests, their reporting is primarily logistical in nature, with politically relevant content frequently omitted (Sobieraj 2010). In other words, while news coverage of violence at protests often contained extensive details about who was present, how they dressed, what they did, and whether or not anyone was arrested, information about why people were motivated enough to face violence often went unmentioned.

Analyzing SMO-Generated Media

Another way scholars study the relationship between social movements and media is by incorporating analyses of SMO-generated media such as newsletters, websites and, in the case of the GJM, documentary films. Scholars acknowledge many essential roles played by SMO cultural creations, including that they are used to plan strategies, communicate news and

perspectives on issues to the general public, coordinate with other groups, and unite participants (Langman 2005). Thus, while the previous section reviewed attempts to integrate SMO perspectives with mainstream media narratives, this section looks at how movement groups utilize their own cultural creations to appeal to outsiders. I begin by providing an overview of research analyzing SMO cultural creations, including studies of various forms of movement-generated media. I will then conclude with a focus on how activists are utilizing alternative media outlets to take an active role in how their issues are presented. Taken together, these studies demonstrate the importance in examining how activist-generated media helps shape meanings and emotions that SMOs utilize to understand the world.

SMO cultural creations. Studies of social movements are beginning to incorporate analyses of movement-generated media. This research answers critiques that scholars have tended to relegate analyses of SMO cultural products to a secondary status compared to more concrete movement productions such as protest events and mainstream media coverage (see Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002). In response, more traditional research methods such as surveys of mainstream newspaper data are increasingly being augmented with content analyses of activist-created media such as movement newsletters, press releases, and publications (Staggenborg 1988; Taylor 1989; Meyer and Whittier 1994; Fitzgerald 2009). For example, a data set analyzing recruitment to the Nichiren Shoshu Buddhist movement in America utilizes a variety of methods, including participant observation of group meetings, informal interviews with members, and analyses of personal testimonies published in a movement-generated newspaper (Snow et al. 1980; Snow and Phillips 1980; Snow et al. 1986). Similarly, Rohlinger (2006) supplements interviews and archival data with analyses of movement-generated newsletters to demonstrate how political opportunities can influence the creation of protest tactics. Along these lines, Maney, Woehrle, and Coy (2005) designate “the public face” of a peace movement as the topic of their inquiry, which they operationalize in the form of press releases, editorials, and statements on the group’s website. Taken together, these studies build upon mere presentations of SMO cultural artifacts (for examples, see MacPhee and Reuland 2007; Cushing and Drescher 2009) to help uncover how movement-generated media shape the meanings SMOs utilize to generate interest.

Through analyses of SMO-generated media, social scientists are increasingly answering Jasper’s (1998) plea to look at the subjective side of protest by paying more attention to how

activists shape their own realities to inspire protest and keep participants motivated. For example, Reed's *The Art of Protest* (2005) analyzes how protest movements have created their own culture, including poetry in the Women's Movement, religion in the Black Civil Rights Movement, painted murals in Chicano Movements, street drama in the Black Panthers, graphic arts in action against AIDS, and web-based news outlets in the GJM. Along these lines, the Black Civil Rights movement integrated music into protest, as folk songs helped define experiences in picket lines, sit-ins and jails (Roy 2010). At the opposite end of the spectrum music also plays a role in racist movements, as White Power songs are considered a resource to cultivate recruitment (Corte and Edwards 2008). Similarly, the emerging medium of radio helped unite textile workers to strike against mill owners in the American south during the 1930s (Roscigno and Danaher 2004). More recently, pirate stations have played a comparable role by helping spread alternative voices that seek to gain support for Free Radio reforms that fight monopolization of the radio industry (Brinson 2006). In all these cases, SMO activists utilize their own cultural creations to motivate protest.

Alternative media outlets. Research demonstrates how SMOs utilize new communication technologies to gain media access and take control over their groups' representations. In prior decades, the New Christian Right in the United States put up their own satellites and engaged in religious broadcasting of televangelism to raise awareness and gain supporters (Hadden 1987). It has been theorized that recent improvements in consumer electronics technology will greatly facilitate the creation and spread of self-sufficient SMO media (Coopman 2003). Along these lines, Maratea (2008) considers the Internet to be the social arena of the twenty-first century, with websites providing avenues to public attention for SMOs traditionally shut out of mainstream support. In fact, a web presence has been shown to be important for constructing identities for groups marginalized in traditional media outlets, such as white supremacists (Adams and Roscigno 2005) and anarchists (Owens and Palmer 2003). Such identities can serve as a resource for activists to call upon, such as the various organizational websites that comprise the larger GJM allowing members to live between the tensions provided by such a large, autonomous movement (Deslandes and King 2006). In all these cases, SMOs create their own culture by utilizing communication technology to control their messages.

Emerging technologies also provide SMOs with alternatives to mainstream news agencies in the form of new media outlets. GJM activists cite three valued ideals that constitute

alternative media: a non-profit orientation; a commitment to social change; and a non-hierarchical organization that encourages participation (Rauch 2007). The freedom of choice provided by the Internet facilitates a “long tail” of various niche media sources that can reach a large number of people quickly (Anderson 2006). For example, Indymedia.org represents a worldwide association of over 110 autonomous, interlinked websites run by local volunteers in thirty-five countries that make up the Independent Media Center Network (IMC) (Kidd 2003). Activists utilize Indymedia not only to organize large-scale protests designed to generate mainstream media attention through spectacle (Smith et al. 2001), but also to facilitate networking among related SMOs while allowing organizations to maintain their anonymity (Juris 2005). As a result, alternative media outlets allow SMOs to communicate protest-related issues directly to those more sympathetic to their movement’s aims.

It is through alternative media outlets that activists can foster movement cultures by sharing their viewpoints with one another. This is evident in Indymedia’s motto, “Don’t Hate the Media, Become the Media,” which encourages everyone to contribute photos, audio, video, and text in an effort to decentralize the flow of information and present multiple perspectives of events. With mass media outlets becoming highly concentrated and biased in their resistance to corporate globalization (Smith et al. 2001), web-based media outlets are becoming one of the few places where GJM protesters can share their experiences in a manner congruent with movement principles of autonomy and self-rule (see De Jong et al. 2005; Opel and Pompper 2003 for overviews of alternative media in the GJM). The proliferation of affordable digital video cameras, along with the ease of sharing video over the Internet, allows activists to document their protest experiences and distribute them around the world. One of the more influential uses of uploaded protest videos is in the creation of documentary films that serve as a counterpoint to mainstream news reports of GJM protestors as “violent anarchists” intent on destruction. Therefore, analyzing GJM documentaries can shed light on the perspective of those committed to GJM protest.

GJM documentaries as media campaigns. When it comes to the GJM, mainstream news reports are supplemented with another form of media—documentary films offering the words and feelings of movement participants to inspire further participation. These collectively constructed films operate as a form of media campaign designed to promote the GJM by offering the perspectives of those involved in the movement. Howley (2008) contributes a brief review of

three GJM documentaries where he urges others to study how they utilize discourse. He claims these films, “represent a fertile site of analysis for social movement studies,” since, “activist video...provides an exceptional lens to evaluate and refine extant social movement theory...to help bridge the divide between activists and academics” (Howley 2008: 98). Sociologists have largely been reluctant to accept this challenge, as the introduction to an issue of *Mass Communication and Society* focused on documentaries states, “documentary film, despite its growing influence and many impacts, has mostly been overlooked by social scientists studying the media and communication” (Nisbet and Aufderheide 2011: 451). Thus, to date it has been difficult to find any detailed, systematic analyses of the role documentaries play in shaping meanings within the GJM.

This project seeks to rectify this empirical shortcoming with an analysis of GJM documentaries that can reveal some of the discourse that encourages GJM protest. With media biases often silencing and misrepresenting protestors in mainstream news accounts, GJM documentaries offer activists an opportunity to share their perspectives with outsiders. In contrast to image events, which can only steer discourse in a certain direction, GJM documentaries offer a platform for participants to share their thoughts, feelings, and reasons why. As Howley (2008) explains, “the value these films have for students of social movements,” is that they offer, “the proper context to explore the meanings organized protests have for movement participants” (99). Therefore, we can consider GJM documentaries to be media campaigns that allow activists control over their own representations. As a result, analyses of GJM documentaries could help us understand how meanings guide GJM protest.

In a general sense, a study of documentary films could reveal insights not possible from other forms of social movement media. Unlike an SMO newsletter or webpage, for example, a documentary film can transport viewers through movement narratives that can have more of an emotional impact. This is because audiences are aided in understanding others’ perspectives by hearing the actual voices of activists, suffers and enemies. As a result, documentary films may have the potential to change one’s orientation, perhaps even more strongly than reading a piece of propaganda in a newsletter or an organization’s mission statement. With SMOs across the political spectrum sharing protest videos online in a new form of democratic media activism (see Carroll and Hackett 2006), studying movement-created documentaries is an important avenue other social movements scholars should be interested in. Therefore, my empirical contribution is

to examine an often neglected but increasingly common aspect of contemporary social movements, particularly the GJM, activist-created documentary films utilized to foster recruitment and commitment.

Framing, Narrative, and Emotions

In this section I address the theoretical gap I hope to fill with this project by reviewing how social movement scholars have studied concepts of framing, narrative, and emotions. I will start with a general review of social movement research addressing emotions, noting how research has shown feelings to be integral to multiple stages of mobilization. Following that, an overview of studies of social movement frames, which work to transmit perspective and meaning to SMO followers, will account for how scholars have incorporated emotions into framing research. Then, I review different lines of research on social movements and narratives to show how storytelling can be central to processes of mobilization. While a cultural approach to social movements has increasingly shown the role of framing, narrative, and emotions for social movement scholarship, sometimes showing how two of them are related, the theoretical contribution of this dissertation will be to look at how the three concepts work together. I conclude this section with a discussion of narrative emotional framing, which combines the three into a new concept.

Emotions and Social Movements

This section is concerned with reviewing general trends in research on emotions and social movements, including how emotions are vital to processes of recruitment, participation, and commitment within social movements. Over the last two decades social movement scholarship has embraced emotions as a focal point to understanding why people protest. This is in contrast to earlier conceptions dominating much of the last century that associated emotions with irrational behavior by utilizing psychological assessments of protestors as powerless under the intuitive forces of an angry mob (see Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001 for a review). However, by the beginning of the 1970s sociologists more sympathetic to protest movements they were studying began to view activists as rational beings weighing the costs and rewards associated with participation. Over time such structural models were shown to be inadequate in explaining the spontaneity of collective action, becoming superseded by cultural perspectives that sought to understand the meanings that guide protest. This recent cultural trend includes an

eye toward how movement processes (such as framing and narrative) are social, illustrating how they rely on the exchange of emotions to create context.

One strand of research examines how emotions play a central role in recruitment to SMOs. Movement groups may find a surge of support in response to their use of *moral shocks*, defined as “information or events that...suggest to people that the world is not as they had thought” (Jasper 2011: 292). For example, Gould (2001) notes how gay and lesbian SMOs shifted from feeling ambivalence about their sexuality into becoming angry, militant activists in response to the AIDS crisis of the mid-1980s. Membership to AIDS activist groups skyrocketed once movement organizers began to encourage anger and indignation by drawing attention to a government they portrayed as doing nothing in response to a rising death toll. Similarly, American religious groups cultivated moral outrage by bringing attention to human rights abuses in Central America (Nepstad and Smith 2001). Organizers evoked a Christian identity that emphasized a commitment to social justice and peace, finding an increase in SMO participation once they directed indignation toward such atrocities. In other cases SMOs may downplay emotions to attract prospective recruits. The animal rights movement, for example, emphasizes rationality during debates with medical scientists to combat criticisms that they are an “emotional” movement mainly comprised of women (Groves 2001). Overall, these studies illustrate how social movements utilize emotions in recruitment, altering bystanders’ perceptions and feelings in the process.

Altering participants’ feelings speaks to another line of research, one that examines how emotions engage a transformative mechanism for SMOs. Much of this work focuses on how support groups that handle stigmatized identities work to manage members’ feelings. For example, Britt and Heise (2000) outline a process of converting shame into pride within gay and lesbian activist groups. Since shame is a negative feeling about how others may view you, movement organizers engage in social processes that first equate shame regarding one’s sexuality with fear that others may ostracize them. This fear is then transformed into anger regarding one’s subordinate status, anger that is used to inspire pride in their collective identity as gay and lesbian activists. Flam (2005) refers to this transformation that grants marginalized identities the opportunity to feel and display anger, indignation, pride, and other sentiments associated with political agency as *emotional liberation*. In other cases emotional liberation comes from framing centered on factors external to SMO participants. Young (2001) discusses a

“revolution of the soul” that occurred as a result of abolitionist movements beginning to frame slavery as a mortal sin (99). As a result, emotional urgency to end slavery overtook white Christians who suddenly came to equate emancipation of slaves with their own personal salvation. Thus, SMO organizers may evoke a sea change of feelings to inspire protest by transforming emotions in response to things both internal and external to movement participants.

A third line of research looks at how emotions keep activists committed to SMOs and interested in movement aims. Research demonstrates how movement organizers work to keep members involved and satisfied with their participation by associating positive emotions with protest. Such enthusiasm becomes strong among movement groups with a high level of collective solidarity, which is present when there are high levels of both *shared emotions*, which involve joint reflexive affective responses to events, and *reciprocal emotions*, which consist of shared affective loyalties (Jasper 1998). Once bonded, collective solidarity can become so strong that participants may feel despondent or bitter when a movement ends, even when it has attained its stated goals (Adams 2003). As a result it becomes the *moral sensibilities*, which involve ways of feeling about the world, that become one of the most lasting accomplishments of social movements that participants can take away (Nepstad and Smith 2001). Later SMOs often build upon moral sensibilities, such as compassion for animals being utilized to create movements to aid the poor that are later applied by SMO organizers to rally against distant suffering around the world (Jenkins 1992). These findings suggest that although movement goals may often seem remote and distant, the practice of protest often must offer its own satisfactions along the way if activists are to remain committed.

Taken together, these studies demonstrate how emotions are central to social movement dynamics, being used to recruit members, inspire their protest, and keep them committed along the way. In a recent review of emotions and social movements, Jasper (2011) reminds us that, “Emotions are part of a flow of action and interaction, not simply the prior motivations to engage or the outcomes that follow” (Jasper 2011: 297). In other words, emotions are an integral part of what makes protest movements social. Jasper concludes by suggesting others analyze emotion work conducted during protest to uncover, “hidden mechanisms beneath many of the concepts we have taken for granted for so long” (298). His implication is clear that studying emotion is a core component of social movement research. I now turn my attention to a transmission method of emotions within social movements, namely collective action frames.

Collective Action Frames

The interpretive process that occurs when people join SMOs is explained through the concept of framing (see Benford and Snow 2000 for a review). The framing perspective in sociology all started with the work of Erving Goffman (1974), who conceived of *frames* as a sort of “interpretive schemata” that allows people to quickly define experiences within the world at large and make them subjectively meaningful. Snow et al. (1986) introduced framing studies to social movement research with the concept of *collective action frames*, or sets of belief that help inspire collective action by legitimizing SMO campaigns to followers. Movement organizers must engage in three core framing tasks to mold followers’ interpretations of events: diagnostic framing, which involves attributing blame for a situation by diagnosing a problem to be confronted; prognostic framing, which consists of proposing a corrective action to followers; and motivational framing, which includes inspiring adherents by providing rationales for action (Snow and Benford 1988). SMOs are considered successful and large-scale social change becomes possible when organizers’ projected frames resonate with members’ frames, which results in *frame alignment* (Benford and Snow 2000). Consequently, the concept of framing allows social movement scholars to account for subjective dimensions of protest activity by highlighting processes of interpretation that influence SMO participation.

Collective action frames are differentiated from mere cognitive constructions by highlighting their contextual nature, noting that they are products of negotiated shared meaning. Benford and Snow (2000) point out that, “framing is a dynamic, ongoing process” that, “does not occur in a structural or cultural vacuum” (628). SMO members and organizers continuously modify their frames in attempts to find ways to reach new audiences and connect with potential supporters. Recent research highlights the influence of both internal and external factors on the development of SMO frames, including oppositional movements causing SMOs to modify their framing (McCaffrey and Keys 2000) and organizational structure and effective media strategies within an SMO ensuring their frames achieve mainstream media coverage (Rohlinger 2002). In other words, SMOs in multi-organizational fields must continuously work to both differentiate their message from each other and present them in ways that resonate with the greatest number of potential recruits. Thus framing becomes a contextual process of meaning construction, and the analysis of an SMO’s collective action frames can reveal just as much about what is going on inside a movement as what is going on around it.

With collective action frames constantly evolving, social movement scholars are beginning to pay attention to the interactive nature of frame alignment processes. This perspective is promoted by Snow and Benford (2005) who point out that the essence of collective action frames, “sociologically, resides in situated social interaction, that is in the interpretive discussions and debates that social movement actors engage in amongst each other and in the framing contests that occur” (207). In other words, when there is broad consensus as to the meanings of things frames can often be taken for granted as implicit to interaction. However when disagreement arises as to how to diagnose social problems and present reality in a manner that maximizes mobilization, *frame disputes* (Benford 1993) can occur within social movements. In fact, sociological research shows frame disputes to be a pervasive aspect of movement dynamics, shaping the structure, relationships, and collective identities of SMOs in ways both harmful and advantageous to social movements (Haines 1996; White 1999; Futrell 2003; Shriver and Peaden 2009). This research suggests that rather than being static entities, collective action frames are born from interaction and rely on a back and forth sharing of interpretations until one version of events becomes accepted as reality. Once widespread consensus regarding frames is reached, such things as the interpretation of unfair conditions as a grave injustice becomes taken for granted as a *master frame* (Snow and Benford 1992) that is unquestioned by SMO followers.

Having established their place as constantly evolving interactive processes that shape interpretations, the importance of collective action frames to SMO mobilization cannot be overstated—more than mere campaign slogans, frames help contextualize movement meanings to become the lenses of belief through which social activism is accomplished. Core framing tasks become important not only to SMO recruitment but also to determining movement outcomes, as the absence of a coherent frame that identifies a problem, denotes those responsible, and offers specific solutions for that problem means that a movement probably cannot succeed (Cress and Snow 2000; McVeigh, Myers and Sikkink 2004). In fact, studies have shown movement frames to be as central to the success of an SMO as any of its structural resources (Kolker 2004). That being said, much of this research on collective action frames often ignores how emotions are involved in collective processes of shaping meaning.

Framing and Emotions. Considering collective action frames are born from interaction, it makes sense that research on collective action frames is beginning to recognize how emotional

responses are shaped in the process of framing. This section details two lines of social movement research that look at the role emotions play in fashioning protest frames. One involves research on injustice frames and victimization studies that notes how different emotional responses are encouraged toward differing characterizations surrounding social problems. The other line of research illustrates how motivational framing by SMO organizers ties into cultural symbols to promote emotional resonance in response.

One strand of framing research that incorporates emotions builds upon Gamson's (1992) concept of injustice frames. A form of diagnostic framing, *injustice frames* by SMOs, "identify the victims of a given injustice and amplify their victimization" to define the actions of an authority figure as unjust (Benford and Snow 2000: 615). Scholars have demonstrated how injustice frames act as a mode of interpretation within a variety of SMOs, including victims' rights movements (Weed 1997), anti-rape organizations (White 1999), unemployment protests (Della Porta 2008), and same-sex couples seeking legal marriages (Nicol and Smith 2008). In all these cases, injustice frames facilitate the understanding of controversial issues by emphasizing the suffering of those hurt through circumstances beyond their control. SMO organizers utilize injustice frames to direct indignation toward specific targets, such as returning missionaries targeting moral outrage against the Reagan administration for human rights abuses in South America (Nepstad and Smith 2001). Similarly, American workers manufacturing baseball caps were united through a shared sense of moral outrage over the treatment of sweatshop workers in Latin America (Carty 2006). As these examples illustrate, research on injustice frames speaks to the role of emotions in fashioning meaning by demonstrating how anger and sympathy can be directed toward those designated villains and victims.

Since an injustice frames identifies those who are suffering, this calls to mind other constructionist studies of victimization processes. Although not specifically rooted in the social movement literature, Holstein and Miller's (1990) analysis looks at how claimsmakers of social problems characterize both victims and their victimizers, or in other words, "the interpretive processes that constitute what comes to be seen as oppressive, intolerable, or unjust conditions" (Miller and Holstein 1993: 6). As their analysis demonstrates, interaction imbues social problems with emotionally laden understandings that define both those that have been harmed and those who are accused of harming them.

Following their lead, other scholars have analyzed how SMO organizers encourage emotional responses by utilizing injustice frames that construct interpretations of social problems as important enough to take action against (Jenness 1995; Benford and Hunt 2003; Loseke 2003). For example, Berbrier and Pruett (2006) compare current debates over gay and lesbian equality with discourse over black civil rights from the 1960s to show how in both cases injustice frames construct meanings that instill emotional responses of sympathy toward those defined as victims. Similarly, Canadian campaigns for victims' rights characterize and promote strong emotions associated with the victim experience, including grief, fear, injustice, and anger (Stanbridge and Kenney 2009). Others focus on how constructions of villains inspire adherents, including both gun-rights groups and English-only SMOs working to mobilize fear by rhetorically constructing moral threats to American society (Lio, Melzer, and Reese 2008).

Along these lines, Loseke (2009) examines how presidential speeches following the 9/11 disaster shrewdly utilized *emotion codes*, which she defines as, "sets of ideas about what emotions are appropriate to feel when, where, and toward whom or what as well as how emotion should be outwardly expressed" (498-499). She conceives of these emotion codes as constituting an emotional discourse that promotes feelings of sympathy toward American victims, pride in military heroes and anger toward evil, fearsome terrorists intent on attacking democracy. President George W. Bush's speeches, therefore, victimized, villainized and valorized different characterizations in an effort to garner support for wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Another line of research unites framing and emotions through the concepts of motivational framing and emotional resonance. *Motivational framing* provides rationales for participating in protest, including the construction of vocabularies of motive appropriate to protest (Benford 1993). Since motivational frames attempt to convince people why they should join SMOs, it makes sense that they would tap into existing cultural resources salient to the lives of potential recruits (Best 1999). As a result, successful SMO organizers rely on shared cultural symbols that generate emotional responses to add legitimacy to their movement's message and ensure it will resonate (Snow and Benford 1988). Berbrier (1998) refers to these shared symbols as *cultural affectations*, noting how, "emotionally laden values and culturally resonant claims" go together (440). Since then, scholars are recognizing the role emotions play in fashioning culturally resonant motivational frames. For example, the Nicaraguan state taps into ethnically sacred themes of motherhood to generate sympathy for soldiers' families and inspire war support

(De Volo 2004). Since cultural repertoires and emotional responses can shift over time, SMO organizers must be willing to modify their motivational frames. This is evident in discourse surrounding globalization, as shifting emotional cultures in response to exploitative multinational corporations are heavily influenced by contextual and structural factors such as the economy (Fiss and Hirsch 2005). As such examples illustrate, SMO organizers hook their framing into existing emotional cultures to ensure frame resonance when attempting to motivate participation.

Given that SMO organizers tap into emotionally laden values to fashion culturally resonant movement frames, it makes sense that they would strategically fashion motivational frames that invoke particular emotional responses. To that end, scholars are beginning to document how SMOs tactically utilize framing in response to shifting emotional cultures when targeting recruits. Schrock, Holden, and Reid (2004) refer to the link between targeted recruits' emotional lives and the emotions contained within SMO framing as *emotional resonance*. They demonstrate how Transgender SMOs promise feelings of togetherness, pride, and anger to provide emotional relief to recruits when support groups could not. Oftentimes SMOs will target particular audiences to take advantage of cultural opportunities for emotional resonance, such as women's suffrage movements in the United States consciously shaping arguments between differing appeals to justice and reform to ensure they resonate with the beliefs and values of their audiences (McCammon, Hewitt, and Smith 2004). McCammon et al. (2007) extend this argument further to demonstrate how SMOs fought to allow women to serve on juries by paying attention to cultural opportunities that included people's emotional reactions toward women's increasing societal roles. More recently, Berns (2009) updates our understanding of the relationship between motivational framing and emotional resonance by illustrating how both death penalty advocates and abolitionists tap into cultural narratives of "closure" for crime victims' families. While those in support of the death penalty argue for closure through vengeance and revenge, abolitionists tend to argue that closure comes from forgiveness and forgetting about anger. As these studies demonstrate, SMO organizers engage in motivational framing that strategically taps into existing emotional cultures so that their message resonates with audiences' feelings.

Research analyzing the emotional aspects of collective action frames demonstrates the importance of paying attention to how SMO organizers tap into and fashion cultural repertoires to influence feelings in potential recruits. Since framing involves convincing people that issues

are worth protesting over, SMO organizers strategically utilize cultural symbols, values, and beliefs to hook their motivational framing into existing emotional cultures to ensure resonance with targeted recruits. At the same time, injustice frames can contain implicit emotional responses toward those defined as victims, villains, and heroes. Since collective action frames are exemplified through the stories that movement members share (Fine 1995), I now turn my attention to analyses of narrative and emotions in social movement research.

Narratives in Social Movement Research

This section reviews general trends in research on social movements and narratives. After providing background information on narratives, I discuss research that looks at how activists have embraced protest narratives that promote further participation. At times this can involve movement organizers transforming discourse to make it more amicable to protest. In so doing, these movement narratives can work to imbue collective identities with subjective meanings.

No longer exclusive to the realm of literary theory, narratives are increasingly becoming a topic of inquiry for social scientists. Maines (1993) offers a traditional definition of *narratives*, arguing they are made up of three irreducible elements: events, sequence, and plot. Griffin (1993) looks a little deeper by stating, “Narratives are analytic constructs...that unify a number of...happenings, which might otherwise have been viewed as discrete or disparate, into a coherent or relational whole that gives meanings to and explains each of its elements and is, at the same time, constituted by them” (1097). In his overview of research on narrative and social movements, Davis (2002) adds on to these definitions by stating, “Stories do not just configure the past in light of the present and future, they also create experiences for and request certain responses from their audience” (12). Keeping this in mind, we can consider GJM documentaries to be presentations of discourse and narratives—stories that detail, inspire, and legitimate GJM protest—that characterize the organizations and social actors surrounding the movement.

One line of social movement research looks at how protest narratives promote discourse that subsequently comes to represent movements. For example, Polletta (1998) demonstrates how 1960 student sit-ins as part of the Civil Rights Movement characterized as spontaneous were actually the result of deliberate planning on the part of skilled adult strategists. However, students quickly succumbed to a narrative of spontaneity by embracing new roles as student activists attracted to high-risk protest. Davis (2002) suggests analyzing narrative can help scholars understand how SMO organizers frame issues, which could uncover, “how specific

moral responses are aroused” (9). Along these lines, Hunt and Benford’s (1994) analysis of protestors relating tales of how they became activists demonstrates how protest stories are imbued with contextual cues that promote further participation. In fact, contextual cues contained within movement narratives are so powerful that, once established, participants work hard to stick to them, even in the face of contradicting evidence (Benford 2002).

Since stories help provide contextual cues to audiences, social movement scholars are recognizing how narratives can be utilized by SMO organizers as a tactical resource. Their work shows how stories help prime adherents for protest, either by transforming discourse to make it more agreeable with protest, or by using narratives to imbue collective identities with subjective meanings. When it comes to the former, SMO organizers engage in discourse that orients audiences towards specific responses that are congruent with movement goals. For example, organizers in the American Black Civil Rights Movement transformed indignation over racial oppression into a belief in nonviolence, which drastically altered prevailing discourse among Americans in general and Southerners in particular that called for self-defense by taking up arms (Isaac 2008). This was accomplished by mentors in workshops who promoted “appropriate” responses of civil disobedience toward stories of racial oppression to resocialize participants into effective nonviolent freedom fighters. Other studies also offer examples of SMO organizers altering discourse to promote protest, including: battered women’s groups transforming complex tales of abuse into morally unambiguous cases (Rothenberg 2002); organizers of 1880s Irish landowner movements converting cowardice and shame expressed within members’ stories into courage and determination to fight British rule (Kane 2001); and speeches given at GJM counter-summits detailing police brutality on protesters transforming feelings of anger and rage into a sense of collective solidarity (Juris 2008). In all these cases, SMO organizers reframed discourse to orient audiences to feel in ways congruent with further protest.

Another line of research looking at narrative as a tactical resource examines how stories instill movement groups with collective identities that can contain subjective meanings for members. This is accomplished through processes of *collective memory creation* whereby events recognized by only a few members are transformed into narratives shared by an SMO’s entire membership, and *collective memory maintenance* where storytelling is used to ensure past memories are carried forward to future activists (Gongaware 2003). Over time collective memories become part of an SMO’s official discourse, and can mix with followers’ personal

hopes, dreams, and fears to fashion personal narratives congruent with movement aims (Auyero 2002). Loseke (2007) also notes a reflexive nature between individual and collective identities, explaining that members come to inhabit perspectives congruent with their group. As a result, SMO organizers can engage in discursive techniques to promote shared emotional experiences.

SMO organizers call upon collective memories to inspire connections among followers. This is because it is the protest stories members tell each other that help define particular moments as memorable, making these events central to an SMO's collective memory and, by extension, its collective identity (Armstrong and Cragge 2006). Sometimes collective memories involve historical figures, such as narratives of Zapatista rebellions in Mexico being used to empower GJM followers (Russell 2001; Jansen 2007). At other times collective memory creation focuses on historical events, such as the 1969 Stonewall Riots becoming defined as the start of gay rights movement many years after the fact (Armstrong and Cragge 2006) and the 1999 Seattle protests against the WTO coming to be commemorated as the beginning of the modern GJM (Smith 2001). Collective memories can also influence movement outcomes by fashioning collective identities, such as the case of hospital workers who succeeded in unionization efforts by utilizing discursive techniques focused on family (Penney 2006). Since family life was central to employees at this particular hospital, they shared stories calling upon their familial identities to inspire greater commitment to their cause. As these examples demonstrate, storytelling can foster attachments to collective memories that come to have significance among an SMO's membership.

Given that SMOs tell stories to appeal to outsiders, it is imperative for sociologists not to overlook how narrative techniques offer contextual cues that promote collective action frames. Studies have demonstrated the different ways protest movements use stories to prime adherents for protest, including: transforming discourse to make it agreeable with protest, creating collective memories that foster collective identities, and utilizing the subjective meanings that go with these identities to promote protest identities. In other words, this research demonstrates how social movement organizers utilize storytelling practices to instill context and motivate followers.

Narrative Emotional Framing

Here I combine the three theoretical concepts discussed thus far to introduce narrating emotional framing, which entails studying how movement narratives transmit SMO framing

through emotional orientations that rely on characterizations of enemies, allies and activists. As Loseke (1993) points out, “discursive productions of people-types simultaneously construct preferred emotional orientations and responses toward the constructed categories” (207). Characterizing someone as a blameless victim, for example, suggests to others they should feel compassion and want to help that person out. Therefore, SMO organizers can strategically utilize discourse to tap into emotional orientations in line with protest to motivate participation through narrative techniques, such as characterization. Analyzing narrative emotional framing involves taking a closer look at these strategic processes to examine how discursive processes are utilized to further movement aims.

Protest documentaries present images of mobilization alongside movement narratives that together constitute an emotional discourse that suggests the appropriateness of particular emotions in response. This includes characterizations of people-types within GJM documentaries that may orient audiences to feel, for example, anger toward multinational capitalists constructed as greedy villains and sympathetic toward indigenous communities portrayed as helpless victims of corporate greed. Analyzing narrative emotional framing within GJM documentaries entails examining how such narrative techniques transmit emotional orientations that frame the movement for viewers.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed literature on social movements, the media and processes of mobilization. I began with a discussion of research on the relationship between protest movements and media outlets, explaining how activists have dealt with mainstream bias by embracing alternative media in which they can control their message. Part of this shift toward SMO-created media involves the creation of documentary films, a medium particularly important to the GJM. If we consider GJM documentaries to be alternative media campaigns that chronicle collective memories, their analyses could shed light on how organizers disseminate movement frames. Such a study would fit alongside a growing body of existing research that analyzes SMO creations in an attempt to understand culture within social movements. Thus, the empirical aim of this project is to provide such an analysis of GJM documentaries.

The second half of this chapter was concerned with a review of theoretical concepts central to analyses of social movements. I began with a discussion of how scholars have looked

at the relationship between emotions and social movements, showing affect to be a vital component of mobilization. I then reviewed research on collective action frames and studies of framing that incorporate emotions into their work. Following this, I showed how social movement researchers have studied the concept of narrative and shown it to be vital part of what makes protest subjective. While these three components of mobilization have been examined in various combinations within constructionist research of social movements, studies are hesitant to incorporate all three into a single analysis. Therefore, the theoretical aim of this dissertation is to combine work on framing, narrative, and emotions through the concept of narrative emotional framing to create a more holistic understanding of how meaning making is tied to emotional processes.

As this literature review has made clear, the dissemination of collective action frames is a social process. This implies that constructing meanings amenable to protest is more than just a matter of employing static symbols to obtain desired outcomes. Rather, meaning is embedded in culture and the mechanism of meaning construction and transformation are, respectively, the metaphoric nature of symbols and individual and collective interpretation of those symbols in the face of concrete events (Kane 1997). Kane (1997) urges others to examine the process by which people construct meaning in order to fully understand how culture is embedded within social movements. Concurrently, recent studies call for a closer look into the way new communication technologies are changing the production and presentation of collective memories to better understand how narratives influence SMO participation in an electronic age (Armstrong and Cragge 2006; Loseke 2007). GJM documentaries offer the words of participants along with symbolic images of protest designed to generate an emotional response. Put differently, GJM documentaries offer collective memories and interpretations to promote emotional orientations and ask viewers which side of the fight they are on. Analyzing how GJM documentaries characterize victims, villains, and heroes can shed light on how the presentation of movement narratives utilizes emotions to facilitate SMO mobilization.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA AND METHODS

This chapter describes the data and methods I use to analyze the relationship between narrative, emotions, and framing within GJM documentaries. The methodology in this study is a mixture of deductive and inductive methods in that the arguments and theoretical conclusions proposed are based on both existing theory and data gained through direct observation and analysis of patterns within transcripts of GJM documentary films.

The research methods I follow are partially based in the tradition of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967). This means that my theories developed from the “ground up” as I gathered and analyzed data (Charmaz 2002). However, a common misconception of grounded theory is that it requires the researcher to start with a blank slate and not incorporate any preexisting research. However, Charmaz (2006) shatters that misconception, arguing instead that that engaging with prior research and theory can provide a conceptual leverage that allows researchers to understand larger social processes at work with only a small amount of rich data. Following this allows for both open coding of my data as well as coding informed by existing theories, both of which involve an extensive process of identifying main concepts, themes, and categories of data. Thus, the grounded theory approach I utilize allows me to understand hidden, implicit meanings and processes that shape and construct realities within GJM documentaries.

This foundation of this research utilizes Blumer’s (1954) notion of *sensitizing concepts*. These are basically ideas that give a researcher “a general sense of reference and guidance...[which] merely suggest directions along which to look” (Blumer 1954: 7). Sensitizing concepts can function as starting points for qualitative studies by drawing attention to unseen processes of social interaction, offering researchers background ideas that can guide inductive analyses (Charmaz 2003). In other words, sensitizing concepts do not suggest hypotheses, but rather allow researchers to focus when they begin so that valuable time and resources are not wasted collecting data without direction or purpose. Linking sensitizing concepts together with data as it emerges can help make up a conceptual framework (Seibold 2002) that serves as the impetus for developing a theory.

My analysis is also guided by Wendy Griswold's (2009) *cultural diamond* approach for analyzing artifacts such as films. This method calls for researchers to be familiar with how cultural objects such as documentaries are connected to a creator, receiver and the larger social world. In a recent analysis of ritual within documentary films, Schneider (2008) contends that the cultural diamond approach could be useful for understanding this medium because it illustrates how films are immersed in a social world, recognizes the role of the audience and draws attention to the creative process of filmmaking. Indeed a cultural diamond approach recognizes how GJM documentaries are not created within a vacuum, but rather are a product of an ongoing social movement.

Utilizing grounded theory and sensitizing concepts (e.g. the use of narrative to disseminate emotional orientations through social movement frames), this research can address larger issues surrounding social movements through the analysis of protest documentary transcripts. I began this project with a broad focus that became narrower as my research progressed through qualitative methodologies of observation, coding, and memoing. In the pages that follow, I first describe the sampling motivations and research methodologies utilized in this project. After that, I elaborate on the data analysis methods by discussing how introductory coding lead to initial memos which then brought me to focused codes and advanced definitional memos. Finally, I end the chapter with a brief discussion of some of the limitations of this study.

Data Collection

Through an inductive search I came to a sample population of GJM documentaries that were focused primarily on GJM issues, collectively created by GJM activists, and actively used in GJM recruitment. My first step was to conduct Internet searches through Google for public screenings and recommendations of GJM films. I searched for a variety of terms, including "global justice" "GJM" "recommended" "films" and "documentaries," in various combinations until my search results overlapped. My findings consisted of recommendations and screenings offered by various organizations including independent media advocates, student organizations, GJM documentary production companies, and activist groups. I kept track of names of these films through an Excel spreadsheet where I noted the name and location of each screening and recommendation when it came up in my searches. This spreadsheet was merely intended to be a rough draft, a means for me to track the frequency of films as they appeared in searches. Much of

the data from this spreadsheet has been transferred into a table at the end of this paper (see Appendix A) to illustrate these frequencies.

I further supported web results with informal more means of sampling. This included utilizing films from a GJM course I assisted with as a graduate student and informally asking student activist organizers I previously worked with on my Master's paper about which films they have shown and would recommend to others. Their responses were also added to the Excel spreadsheet as further confirmation of the popularity of which GJM films were frequently shown to engage outsiders to the movement.

Having now compiled an exhaustive list of GJM documentary films screened publicly, my next step was to narrow down the list to create a sample size suitable for analysis. First, I was able to shrink an initial finding of forty-two different films to a sample of thirty films by noting the frequency of documentaries screened and recommended (as outlined in Appendix A) and only counting those mentioned five or more times. This number served as an arbitrary cutoff point so that I could focus on the more popular GJM documentaries. After that, since my focus was on collectively constructed GJM films, I further narrowed my sample down to only look at those films consisting of footage shot by multiple activists and narrated by movement participants without a single voice of authority representing the GJM as a whole. This brought me to a final sample size of nineteen films, ranging in length from five to two hundred and seventy minutes, with different focuses on topics related to the GJM (see Appendix B). Some of the more prominent films are described here.

Zapatista (1999) chronicles the indigenous Mexican uprising on the day NAFTA took effect in 1994, with interviews with various participants and social commentators. The film served as a sort of precursor to the WTO protests in Seattle, inspiring many of participants and being referred to in subsequent protests. The film has been screened dozens of times over the last decade according to posts on Indymedia.org, including at a British Activist Network Film Festival. The film is also posted on Google Video, and although there is no view count, it has been freely available for the past five years and continues to be distributed by Big Noise films today.

Showdown in Seattle (1999) is a five-part series that was produced by the Independent Media Center in Seattle during the WTO protests and broadcast over satellite. The episodes aired during the protests, with each focusing on a separate theme such as labor and human rights,

women and development, and agriculture and environment. The shows contain footage from street protests and interviews with social commentators and participants. The series was recommended by both unitedforpeace.org and whisperedmedia.com.

This is What Democracy Looks Like (2000) is a coproduction between Big Noise Films and the Independent Media Center of Seattle. The film features footage shot by over one hundred videographers during the WTO protests of 1999 and includes interviews with participants and narration by Susan Sarandon and Michael Franti. The film is heavily endorsed, with recommendations coming from the Video Activist Network [freethought-forum](http://freethought-forum.com), the British Activist Network Film Festival, the Guerrilla News Network, and cinemapolitica.org. The entire film is available on Google Video and Youtube. A high quality version was posted to Youtube on October 5, 2011 and has already amassed 2,745 views. *This is What Democracy Looks Like* (2000) was issued on DVD by Blank Stare Media in 2005.

Breaking the Bank (2000) is an account of the IMF and World Bank protests in Washington DC during April 2000 shot by dozens of activists. The film is a joint production between numerous production companies and the Independent Media Center. It contains footage of street protests and marches alongside interviews with activists and advocates. *Breaking the Bank* (2000) has been screened many times, including at the 2004 Global Justice Film Festival, and comes recommended by the Guerrilla News Network jubileeusa.org. The trailer of the film was posted on Youtube on September 26, 2007 and has since amassed 2,095 views. As of this writing, the film is still distributed by Whispered Media on VHS.

Berlusconi's Mousetrap (2001) was a joint production by branches of the Independent Media Center in Ireland and Italy that documents 2001 protests against the G8 in Italy. The film compiles footage shot by numerous activists, news reports covering protests, and interviews with participants. Much of the running time is devoted to police brutality on protestors in the streets of Genoa. There were multiple screenings of *Berlusconi's Mousetrap* (2001) over the last decade in different parts of the world, and it has been recommended by numerous sources, including the Video Activist Network and tribal.org. While the film was never made available in a physical form, a version posted to Vimeo on January 11, 2010 has since amassed 1,670 views.

Kilomer 0: The WTO Shipwrecks in Cancun (2003) is a coproduction between Big Noise Films and the Independent Media Center documenting protests in Mexico against meetings of the WTO during the summer of 2003. The film contrasts the experience of tourists in Cancun

resorts with the lives of migrant Mexican farmers and factory workers, while other parts of the film focus on street protests outside closed-door meetings of the WTO. The film has been screened by the People's Global Action organization and comes recommended by the Guerrilla News Network. It is available for purchase on DVD from Big Noise Films' website. A trailer for the film was posted to Youtube on September 26, 2007 and has since garnered 2,295 views.

Trading Freedom: The Secret Life of the FTAA (2001) was created by the Independent Media Center with the intention of educating audiences for upcoming protests against the FTAA. The film contains footage of anti-neoliberal protests in cities around the world, including Quebec, Sao Paulo, Chiapas, and Washington DC. The scenes of dissent are intercut with interviews where speakers discuss trade abuses between First and Third World nations. The film is frequently screened, including during the British Activist Network Film Festival in 2003.

Trading Freedom: The Secret Life of the FTAA (2001) is not available for sale, but has recently been posted in its entirety on both Daily Motion and Google Video, neither of which provides a view count.

With a sample of nineteen documentaries in place, the task now turned to making each film in the data set measurable to ascertain common framing techniques among these different GJM documentaries. This involved having typed transcripts of every film that included every line of dialogue (with timestamps for future reference and retrieval) and camera shots contained in each of the films. About the half of the films already contained transcripts from other sources on the Internet, so I went through each of those first to ensure the accuracy of the transcripts, while taking observational notes to familiarize myself with the documentaries under study. I considered the transcripts complete once they contained all lines of dialogue, every line of screen text including identifications of all speakers, and an explanation of each scene. After that, I watched the other half of the films while transcribing, utilizing foot pedals to play and pause the video as I typed out every line of dialogue with time codes while identifying every speaker. I went through each of film at least once more after that, taking notes and adding to the transcripts until I was satisfied that every transcript described every scene in each film, contained every line of dialogue with on-screen text, and identified everyone who spoke. These identifications of speakers were conducted to the best of my ability, as unidentified speakers were categorized based on what they were doing in the films and their appearance (i.e. white, male student activist; Latin American female street protester). Once verified, the nineteen transcripts were

imported into the qualitative software program Atlas.ti (version 5.5) as a new project. With the data imported into a qualitative software program, it was now ready for analysis.

Data Analysis

Once the films had been transcribed and catalogued, I could analyze them according to a coding system. Atlas.ti allows me to make notions, or codes, on selected passages within the transcripts, keep track of these codes through distribution measures, and quickly access my coded passages through a search function. The first step of data analysis was to begin the coding process with simple, introductory codes to both identify and focus on trends within the data. Some examples of introductory codes that appear more prominently within the data include: “narratives,” “anger,” “sympathy,” “solutions,” and “framing of problems.” Tellingly, the introductory code that appeared most frequently was “framing of problems,” designated to connote whenever films addressed social problems caused by transnational corporations entering foreign lands. This code appeared hundreds of times in numerous contexts throughout each of the nineteen films, making it readily apparent that a primary focus of my analysis was going to be on how GJM documentaries portray social problems.

My second step of data analysis involved initial thematic and comparative free-written memos based on the introductory codes richest with data and examples from a variety of films. Therefore, my introductory codes served as broad analytic themes that I elaborated upon through analytic memos designed to get at the social processes under study (Charmaz 2006). These early memos were informal and often lacked focus since their purpose was merely to allow me to get my thoughts regarding what was happening in the data down on paper. An example of an early memo that later became the basis for my analysis chapters is provided in Appendix C. This memo is not necessarily definitional, as it does not define what I mean by “framing of problems,” or concepts such as victims, villains, and heroes that I would go on to rely on in the final product of analysis chapters. Instead, it presents an early critical analysis of themes and concepts appearing under the code “framing of problems” during my initial passes of the data.

The third step of data analysis involved more focused coding, as I reviewed my initial memos and went through the transcripts again while questioning ideas as they emerged from the data. As a result of initial memos, I came up with more focused codes including, “suffering,” “confrontations,” “greed,” and “colonizing” that I then selectively applied to data excerpts falling

under the introductory code of “framing of problems.” I continued to collapse categories of focused codes in order to dig deeper in a search for uncover social processes at work within GJM documentaries’ framing of social problems. Specifically, after repeatedly collapsing categories and more focused coding, I began to realize that most of these codes fit under interactional processes that I labeled “victimizing,” “villainizing,” and “valorizing,” to get at their underlying characterizations.

The final step of data analysis involved writing advanced, definitional memos where I attempted to flesh out the social processes at work within the films. Advanced memos were more organized and definitional in their analysis than my initial memos. Here, I attempted to separate analytically distinct concepts that would become the backbone of my analysis chapters. For example, in one memo (attached as Appendix D) I set out to define the process of victimization as it appeared in GJM documentaries by posing questions to the data. Such advanced memos began by naming a phenomenon, in this case victimization, in order to create a concept that needed defining. Then, I would write about the components of this concept as I looked over data that appeared underneath this focused code. How do GJM documentaries present victimization stories? What emotional messages are contained within the films in the construction of victims? How can I categorize examples of victimization as they appear in the data? By answering these questions, I worked out interpretations of the coded data that tie together a larger analysis regarding the use of emotions in social movement framing.

Once my core concepts had been clearly defined, analyzed, and categorized, I began writing analysis chapters that presented concepts and data to support my claim that GJM documentaries utilize emotions in their framing. In the chapters that follow, I demonstrate how emotional expressions work to create sides surrounding issues within GJM documentaries by sympathizing with victims, justifying anger toward villains, and instilling pride in protestors portrayed as heroes. Taken together, this mix of sympathy, anger, and pride promotes righteous indignation in viewers, or an intense passionate belief that GJM protest is morally right.

Limitations of this Study

Before heading any further, some limitations of this research design should be addressed. First, the nature of this project is to analyze the role of emotions in the presentation of injustice frames to audiences. As a result, my focus is on providing examples that elucidate how

emotional responses are evoked in GJM documentaries to inspire audiences. However, the effectiveness of these films in influencing audiences' emotions is outside the realm of this project since I am not actually measuring audiences' emotional responses.

It is also important to note that the framing techniques I will analyze do not represent the GJM as a whole. I acknowledge that each film has a distinct narrative of its own that may influence how stories are told. Instead, my search is for common themes among the documentaries under study to shed light on how emotional discourses construct injustice frames. By taking a closer look at such things as how sympathy is used to justify anger and how positive emotions are attached to dissent, I hope to gain a greater understanding of the role emotions play in the construction of meaning as employed by SMOs in general.

CHAPTER FOUR

VICTIMIZATION

GJM documentaries frame those hurt by exploitative international trade agreements as helpless victims. Processes of victimization involve the demonstration of “injury and innocence” to a party that cannot keep itself from harm (Holstein and Miller 1990: 105). In the case of GJM documentaries, narratives draw attention to rich capitalists exploiting poor communities. Thus, narrative emotional framing encourages an *injustice frame* by, “identifying the victims of a given injustice and amplifying their victimization,” to promote interpretations of authority figures’ actions as unjust (Benford and Snow 2000: 615). Injustice frames are more than just cognitive interpretations, but can also operate as a, “hot cognition – one that is laden with emotion” (Gamson 1992: 7). Therefore, victimization invokes emotional orientations by, “coalescing public sentiment” regarding problems and those who are affected by them (Holstein and Miller 1990: 117). In other words, victimization includes an emotional element whereby audiences are encouraged to feel sympathetic toward those depicted as victims. To that end, victimization within GJM documentaries encourages feelings of compassion toward those hurt by depictions of a corporate effort to control the world economy.

While issues surrounding economic globalization are complex, victimization narratives must be relatable to vast audiences. As a result, social movement claims-makers seek to establish “public images of victims if problems are to gain acceptance as culturally shared” (Holstein and Miller, 1990: 116). Existing research on victimization (Best 1999; Websdale 1999) primarily looks at abuse victims, noting they are often cast as morally pure, deserving of our commiseration and help. Within GJM documentaries, indigenous communities dealing with multinational corporations entering their lands are often cast into this victim role. This chapter analyzes how victimization within GJM documentaries orients audiences toward feeling sympathy. GJM victimization narratives can be categorized into those that are: (a) amplifying suffering; (b) signifying sacrifice; and (c) demonstrating powerlessness. The aim of this chapter is to explain how GJM documentaries encourage sympathy through characterizations of those whom the movement is fighting for.

Amplifying Suffering

We have very concrete proposals aimed at transforming present realities. We want to change the reality of a world where eleven million children are at risk of starvation, where one billion, three-hundred million people live on less than one dollar a day, where ninety-five percent of people who are HIV positive have no access to medicine, and where fourteen percent of the population of the world use over ninety percent of the world's resources. (*Berlusconi's Mousetrap*, 2001)

These words are delivered by Vittorio Agnoletto, a spokesperson for GJM activists, on an Italian newscast during the eve of massive demonstrations against the G8. It is a scene from *Berlusconi's Mousetrap* (2001), an independently produced documentary chronicling violent protests against the 2001 G8 Meetings in Genoa, Italy. Agnoletto contextualizes poverty statistics as an injustice by drawing attention to suffering in Third World nations that exists in the face of rich nations consuming greater resources. His words emphasize a moral innocence of victims having to suffer as a result of circumstances outside their control. In this section I turn my attention to victimization within GJM documentaries that encourages compassion by amplifying victims' suffering. I will first provide examples of GJM documentaries encouraging compassion toward victims of labor abuses at the hands of multinational corporations in Third World nations. I will also show how depictions of ecological damage by foreign corporations further work to generate sympathy for impoverished communities. Taken together, narrative techniques of victimization that amplify suffering within GJM documentaries invoke an injustice frame that encourages sympathy.

One way GJM documentaries amplify victims' suffering is by focusing on labor abuses committed by corporations, such as moving factories into poor nations and exploiting their workforce. For example, images of tourists in Cancun, Mexico wearing decorative beads contain text superimposed on the screen that such beads are made by "Chinese migrants displaced by IMF, World Bank, and WTO policies," who now, "make between 10 and 30 cents an hour, are routinely isolated and fined for talking, and are imprisoned for unionizing" (*Kilometer 0: The WTO in Cancun*, 2003). Such statements link the suffering of workers to the actions of multinational financial institutions. Other examples of victimization draw attention to Latin American *maquilas*, which are factories where tax-free materials are shipped to create products for export. For example, American union workers at one GJM rally detail horrible working

conditions present when they visited Mexican maquilas operated by their employer (*Trading Freedom: the Secret Life of the FTAA*, 2001). In other instances powerful testimony comes from depictions of maquila workers detailing their own suffering. For example, in the following excerpt a factory worker named Marta stands on the streets during a GJM protest while delivering an account of working in a maquila:

For those of us who work in the free trade zones, there is much exploitation and discrimination. The pay is marginal. We make between \$45 and \$50 a week, for a 48-hour work week plus mandatory overtime. They discriminate against women with pregnancy tests and sexual abuse. There is a lot of exposure to chemicals & solvents. Children have birth defects. Some are born without a brain, or with Spina bifida. (*Quebec 2001: The Battle against the FTAA*, 2001)

Presenting Marta's firsthand details work to draw sympathy toward horrors she is depicted as suffering through every day as a maquila employee. She draws attention to her low wages, long hours, and hazardous working conditions, which encourages viewers to feel compassion for Marta and others who must suffer working in a free trade zone. At the same time, the suffering of Third World workers like Marta ultimately extends beyond their own lives, as their future children must also unjustly suffer as a result of chemical hazards they are exposed to. As these examples illustrate, GJM documentaries identify victims of labor abuses and amplify their suffering to frame stories of injustice associated with international trade agreements that allow corporations to move into nations and exploit their workforce.

Another way discourses within GJM documentaries amplify suffering is by focusing on how corporate pollution has devastated Third World ecosystems. One way this is accomplished is by highlighting indigenous villages that have been self-sufficient for many generations now having their water and land contaminated as a result of corporate investment in their nations. Small farmers must struggle to deal with a depletion of nutrients in their soil due to overgrowth from producing crops for export (*Breaking the Bank*, 2000). Along these lines, an Indonesian farmworker is shown claiming over half of his nation's woodlands have been destroyed by deforestation for timber export as he points to neighborhoods in his homeland that are no longer habitable (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999).

GJM documentaries encourage sympathy toward these impoverished communities presented as innocent ecological victims through no fault of their own. Local water supplies

communities have come to depend on are shown polluted and unusable. As one Brazilian villager named Maria Jose Marinheiro claims, “They are taking so much water out of our river in order to take over our lands...that we can no longer travel on our river and the fish have disappeared” (*Another World is Possible*, 2002). Narrative emotional framing within GJM documentaries draws attention to suffering endured by indigenous communities at the hands of corporations. Shawn Brandt, organizer for the Ontario Coalition against Poverty, stands above a crowd of protestors as he uses a bullhorn to defiantly state:

We know what trade agreements do. We experience it every single day and now they want to add thirty-one more countries. Thirty-one more countries of indigenous people that they can dump their shit beside their communities, contaminate their water, destroy their hunting and fishing, destroy their ways of life. (*Trading Freedom: The Secret Life of the FTAA*, 2001)

Brandt’s accusations starkly illustrate examples of Third World communities victimized by corporate environmental pollution. He draws attention to people suffering from pollution caused by corporations that has not only dirtied their homelands, but has also affected their food supply, livelihood, and damaged their traditions. These narrative techniques emotionally orient viewers to feel sympathetic toward those rendered victims of corporate ecological exploitation through no fault of their own. As a result, victimization encourages sympathy by amplifying suffering and framing it as unjustly caused by multinational financial institutions and corporations.

Signifying Sacrifice

They have constructed an economic model they want the population of Mexico to submit to: That they should be producing everything for consumption in the US, that they should give up their communally held lands to people like Shell for oil development, that they should forget about the practice of their culture...stop living traditionally like they have for centuries, and do the only thing that they can to survive, which is go and sell their labor power on the market. (*Zapatista*, 1999)

These words are delivered to a crowd of GJM protestors by Zack De La Rocha, a musician and social justice advocate. He portrays Mexican citizens as being forced to sacrifice their ways of life and submit to the desires of American corporations in order to earn a living. As Holstein and Miller (1990) explain, “As an act of interpretive reality construction, victimization

unobtrusively advises others in how they should understand persons, circumstances, and behaviors under consideration” (107). In this instance, De La Rocha promotes an understanding that trade agreements have forced Mexicans to sacrifice their way of life to accommodate American corporations. While the previous section outlined how GJM documentaries display the suffering of innocent Third World victims, in this section I detail how GJM documentaries encourage sympathy by focusing on how Third World victims must make sacrifices as a result of exploitative trade policies. One way this is accomplished is by drawing attention to how Third World citizens must give up natural resources to lure foreign investment. Other sacrifices made by Third World communities involve the workplace, as economic sacrifices involve those who are portrayed as not benefiting financially from multinational corporate investment. Narrative emotional framing calls upon these sacrifices made by Third World communities to encourage GJM protest.

GJM documentaries portray citizens of developing nations foregoing natural resources to accommodate multinational investment. Renowned environmental activist Vandana Shiva characterizes this new global economy as, “a system in which 80% of the population must be written off as dispensable merely for deriving their life from the resources the corporations have set their eyes on” (*Another World is Possible*, 2002). Such statements draw attention to Third World communities forced to make sacrifices as multinational corporations exploit their land for profit. Along these lines, Argentinean farmer Alfredo Galli explains to the camera, “Argentina has hungry people because farmers are not producing for them... In order to survive they are producing commodities” (*Another World is Possible*, 2002). Thus, speakers in GJM documentaries encourage sympathy for communities they portray as growing food for export while their people go hungry. This is evident in the words of Marina Patricia Jimenez, an employee of the Center for Human Rights in Chiapas, who draws attention to injustice by stating, “It is in such contrast that Chiapas is a state so rich in natural resources like petroleum, coffee, uranium, and hydroelectric, yet its own inhabitants do not receive the benefits of these resources” (*Zapatista*, 1999).

GJM documentaries focus on impoverished Third World communities that have lost local commerce to fall back on as their lives have been completely uprooted to accommodate multinational investment. For example, South Americans describe how they have had to abandon local industries, such as hunting, fishing, and travel, which have been utterly destroyed as a

result of corporate environmental pollution (*This is What Free Trade Looks Like*, 2004). Entire villages are depicted being forced to resettle away from natural resources they have depended on for generations (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Taken together, such victimization orients audiences to feel compassion toward portrayals of Third World communities forced to sacrifice natural resources to increase foreign profits.

GJM documentaries also present instances of Third World workers making tremendous economic sacrifices for, while experiencing few of the benefits from, international free trade policies. Social justice advocate Peter Rosset of the Center for the Study of the Americas explains how “big American retailers” have negatively impacted local economies as small, local businesses are overtaken by large chains throughout South American urban areas (*This is What Free Trade Looks Like*, 2004). With their options limited, many Third World workers are compelled to take factory labor to produce goods for well-known multinational corporations (such as Sony, Old Navy, and Sears) while dealing with days as long as fourteen hours and wages as low as ten cents an hour (*Non a la ZLEA*, 2001). Discourse within GJM documentaries frames Third World workers as sympathetic victims who must sacrifice acceptable conditions just to get by. This is evident in the words of a female maquila worker who questions the human costs associated with exploitative trade agreements, “They say we have the opportunity to pass through poverty with these commercial agreements because they create many jobs...but what is the price that we, the workers, must pay?” (*Quebec 2001: The Battle against the FTAA*, 2001). Here, increased employment as a result of international trade agreements are framed as a double-edged sword as audiences are asked to recognize the sacrifices Third World workers must make to lure foreign investment. As with all these examples, GJM documentaries utilize Third World workers making sacrifices to orient audiences toward feelings of sympathy.

GJM documentaries also utilize victim sacrifices to encourage protest. For example, Nigerian Oronto Douglas of advocacy group Environmental Rights Action draws attention to ecological and economic sacrifices made by his nation to promote mobilization:

Because of their policies, the policies which have not helped my people, policies which have destroyed forests, policies which encourage the construction of dams, the canalization of rivers, policies which encourage the impoverishment of our people which has led to the wiping out of the middle class, policies which are creating social injustice on a mass scale...It is those policies that we have come to

protest peacefully and non-violently so that the world can now be a better place for us all. (*Breaking the Bank*, 2000)

Oronto's conjured images of ruined forests and canalized rivers suggest audiences feel sympathy for victims of ecological destruction caused by multinational trade agreements. He also ties sacrifice of environmental resources to the economic devastation that has wrought Nigeria. In so doing, Oronto engages in narrative emotional framing that promotes both compassion and action by drawing attention to sacrifices to promote unity against international free trade policies.

This section has outlined how GJM documentaries portray victims of exploitative international trade agreements making sacrifices to orient audiences toward feelings of compassion. GJM films depict Third World citizens forgoing natural resources to increase corporate profits. Additionally, the documentaries draw attention to economic sacrifices made by Third World communities as impoverished workers are forced to accept horrendous conditions when their opportunities dry up. Narrative emotional framing utilizes this compassion toward sacrifice to encourage further GJM protest. Taken together, depictions of sacrifice engender sympathy for exploited victims of corporate investment in poor nations.

Demonstrating Powerlessness

Decisions are made in places like Geneva that impact on the poorest of the poor in Mexico. They decide that the conditionality of a loan to Mexico is going to include the export of meat from Mexico. That means that land Mexicans had used to grow corn is now used to grow cattle, and that cattle is sold for fast food in the United States. That's a decision not made by the Mexicans, it's made by a World Trade Organization. Who is the enforcer of this? Well, of course, the US military becomes the enforcer of a non-democratic, even anti-democratic, corporate effort to control the world economy. (*Zapatista*, 1999)

In the above quote, Blasé Bonpane, director of advocacy group Office of the Americas, explains how Mexican citizens are rendered powerless by exploitative international trade agreements. His victimization focuses on how Mexicans have no say over the use of their farmland, as they must submit to trade agreements that usurp resources they have come to depend on. In fact, the very act of labeling victims encourages audiences to view their injuries as a result of circumstances beyond their control or, "through no fault of their own" (Loseke, 2000:

48). In this concluding section I turn my attention to how GJM documentaries focus on Third World citizens being rendered powerless as a result of exploitative trade agreements. GJM documentaries portray trade discussions between rich and poor nations as disadvantageous from the beginning for poor nations. Third World citizens express feelings of powerlessness as a result of these exploitative international trade agreements. Furthermore, speakers within GJM documentaries refute any claims that free trade agreements can lift disadvantaged nations out of their extreme poverty.

One way GJM documentaries depict Third World nations as powerless in the global economy is by framing that claims free trade agreements will help developing economies escape poverty are disingenuous. For example, University professor Wolfgang Sachs states, “The type of development we are in is an optical illusion because while it produces all kinds of glorious products and services, the world already consumes more resources than nature can regenerate” (*Another World is Possible*, 2002). Sachs’ words imply that, for rich nations to benefit, poor nations must be exploited. Bill Fletcher of the Black Radical Congress sheds further light, “The elimination of so-called ‘trade barriers’ means that countries of the global south are disadvantaged from the beginning...to the benefit of the multinational corporations and the ruling elites of the global north” (*Trading Freedom: the Secret Life of the FTAA*, 2001). Fletcher’s framing draws attention to how poor nations must submit to the rules of a global economic system that will never truly benefit them. Speakers draw attention to countries with limited resources having to compete with one another to attract foreign investment. An activist filmmaker named Rob explains, “The places that aren’t going to worry about things like social policies are going to be influxed [sic] with corporate factories, so you’re left with a system that’s fighting over the dollar instead of the promotion of human rights in general” (*Non a la ZLEA*, 2001). As these examples illustrate, narrative emotional framing draws attention to victims with no control over their own plight to promote sympathy toward poor nations are powerless in a worldwide economic system that takes advantage of them.

In other instances, interviews with Third World citizens portray personal feelings of helplessness as a result of exploitative trade agreements. For example, Monce Reyes Fausto, an activist representing peasant farmers in Veracruz, Mexico, articulates concerns toward potentially limitless corporate greed ruining ecosystems, “Yes, maybe you can say that we will benefit, but at what cost? To be left without natural resources, without nature and wildlife, or

where those only exist in part of our country? In the end, they take everything” (*This is What Free Trade Looks Like*, 2004). While Reyes acknowledges international markets could generate much needed revenue for his people, he expresses fear that the resulting ecological damage caused by corporate pollution left unchecked may be too great a price to pay. Others convey feelings of powerlessness when it comes to the workplace. For example, Latin American labor union organizer Francisco Hernandez Juarez expresses frustration that, “There are less jobs, worse jobs, and the economy has not grown, so where is the success? What good is it to export and attract foreign investment if it does not help the people?” (*This is What Free Trade Looks Like*, 2004). Juarez focuses on how her people do not benefit from international trade agreements when it comes to looking for employment. This perspective promotes sympathy for Latin American workers with few options left as they have no say in an exploitative system where the negatives associated with international investment far outweigh positives.

GJM documentaries also represent people in poor nations as powerless to escape horrible working conditions as a result of free trade agreements. For example, in an interview with Anuradha Mittal, founder of the advocacy group The Oakland Institute, she refutes suggestions that free trade policies can help Third World workers escape poverty:

Others have held that we should celebrate the fact that women have gained independence in Indonesia because now they can work for Nike and now they can buy lipstick. The question we need to ask is, “What kind of jobs are those?”...These are jobs where workers do not even have the right to go to the bathroom twice a day. These are jobs in maquilas that are guarded by armies. These are jobs where there is no human dignity and there is no right to unionize. It is a race to the bottom pitting workers in one country against the other. (*This is What Free Trade Looks Like*, 2004)

Here Mittal contests claims of foreign corporations helping Indonesian women out of poverty by conceiving of their workplaces as prisons as she draws attention to the horrible conditions therein. She focuses on how they lack any rights, emphasizing their constant surveillance by armed guards, to portray powerless workers as deserving of sympathy. Furthermore, her conceiving of a “race to the bottom” between Third World nations seeking employment opportunities demonstrates how these impoverished women are unable to escape horrendous working conditions.

The preceding section looked at how GJM documentaries portray victims of exploitative international trade agreements as powerless. With GJM documentaries portraying poor nations as lacking any power in international trade talks, the films present quotes from Third World citizens about how they feel powerless as a result of international free trade agreements. In fact, speakers within GJM documentaries actively refute any claims that international free trade agreements can empower Third World citizens to escape from the shackles of poverty. In all, these examples illustrate how GJM documentaries encourage compassion by establishing victims of exploitative international trade policies who feel powerless through no fault of their own.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis of victimization uncovers some of the ways GJM documentaries encourage sympathy for exploited Third World communities. As outlined at the beginning of this chapter, sociological research on victimization and injustice frames notes how claimsmakers emphasize the suffering of injured parties portrayed as innocent to solidify sympathetic responses. To that end, I have shown these films construct narratives that characterize victims in ways that evokes an injustice frame to orient audiences toward feeling compassion. I began by demonstrating how GJM documentaries amplify the suffering of both Third World victims and protestors fighting for their behalf. I then illustrated how GJM films convey understandings of circumstances surrounding exploitative international trade by focusing on the sacrifices Third World communities must make to accommodate multinational corporations. I wrapped up this chapter by showing how GJM films portray victims as being hurt by circumstances beyond their control through expressions of being rendered powerless by international free trade agreements. As this analysis demonstrates, GJM documentaries orient audiences to feel sympathy through victimization that depicts innocent suffers making sacrifices as they are rendered powerless in a global economic system that disadvantages them.

The stated goal at the beginning of this chapter was to gain a better understanding of how GJM documentaries encourage sympathy through characterizations of people whom the movement is fighting for. Through interviews with both victims and advocates, GJM documentaries frame Third World citizens facing environmental damage and labor abuses as innocent, powerless, and deserving of help. Accordingly, GJM documentaries encourage sympathy for victims of exploitative free trade agreements left with few alternatives for

employment, a clean environment, and the ability to escape their situation. Ultimately, GJM documentaries question whether unchecked corporate investment in poor nations is worth the sacrifices citizens must make to compete in a globalized marketplace.

CHAPTER FIVE

VILLAINIZATION

GJM documentaries portray those who benefit from international trade agreements as villains. According to Holstein and Miller (1990), the process of victimization, “implicitly designates a victim’s complementary opposition—a victimizer...simultaneously constituted,” through interactive processes (Holstein and Miller 1990: 109). By villains, I refer to victimizers characterized as evil and deemed responsible for intentionally and unjustly causing harm. Villains in GJM documentaries often take the form of international trade officials, multinational corporations and their representatives, and bureaucrats of national governments who each have a hand in exploiting indigenous communities for economic profit. When it comes to emotions, characterizations of villains tend to evoke feelings of outrage, anger, indignation, fear, and hate (Holstein and Miller 1990; Loseke 2009). Such emotional discourse is certainly present within GJM documentaries, as villainization narratives invoke an injustice frame that depicts capitalists callously exploiting resources and controlling Third World nations.

Narrative techniques within GJM documentaries characterize stereotypical villains for advocates to rally against. Existing analyses of villains (e.g., Jenkins 1994; Websdale 1999) look at, for example, media accounts of sexual predators and serial killers, noting how they are demonized as dangerous predators lacking conscience or remorse. Reviewing research on the social construction of villains, Spencer (2005) finds demonization is partly accomplished by decontextualizing both the victimizer and their actions, such as, for example, news reports on child battering failing to connect abuse with preceding events or interpersonal relationships (Johnson 1995) and media constructions of lethal domestic violence avoiding confrontations with gender politics (Websdale and Alvarez 1998). Stereotypical villains in GJM documentaries are capitalists characterized as coldly seeking to maximize profits without considerations for any harm they inflict. Thus, villainization within GJM documentaries relies on fixed characterizations of evil financial representatives lacking compassion while glossing over any of their economic justifications or preexisting social conditions in Third World nations.

Consequently, villainization invokes an injustice frame that legitimates anger against exploiters of impoverished communities.

Overall, characterizations of villains within GJM documentaries emphasize that they are: (a) portraying unbridled, remorseless greed; (b) acting as twenty-first century colonizers; and (c) subverting democracy in sovereign nations. This analysis of villainization narratives within GJM documentaries aims to reveal a greater understanding of how injustice frames provide emotional orientations that signify to audiences how they should respond to enemies of the GJM.

Practicing Unbridled, Remorseless Greed

These guys are playing for real. There's only one thing that the ruling interests have ever wanted and that's everything. They want all the investment, all the returns, all the wealth, all the advantages, all the civilities and comforts of modern society with none of the costs, none of the taxes... They want everything, and really we should give them nothing. (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999)

Michael Parenti, progressive political analyst and author, delivers these words during an interview in the opening minutes of *Showdown in Seattle* (1999), a documentary covering the anti-WTO protests in 1999. His words characterize villains, which he refers to as “the ruling interests,” as being motivated entirely by greed with little regard for giving back to the people. Parenti’s response that, “we should give them nothing,” promotes antagonism toward villains portrayed as having an insatiable desire to increase capital.

In this section I look at how villainization narratives present characterizations of capitalists as practicing unbridled, remorseless greed. One way this is accomplished is through characterizations of well-known multinational corporations as compassionless toward depictions of exploited victims. GJM documentaries encourage anger toward villains shown to be callously concerned with profits above the well being of exploited people. These films represent exorbitant profits by multinational corporations as being earned in the face of human suffering. Taken together, villainization offers examples of unbridled greed to encourage resentment against transnational financial institutions and multinational corporations depicted as exceptionally greedy and entirely remorseless.

One way GJM documentaries characterize unbridled greed is by using depictions of prominent multinational corporations in a never-ending search for profit. For example, American

steelworker union members discuss the greed of the Sony Corporation as causing them to move production to factories in Mexico where their employees live in deplorable conditions (*Quebec 2001: The Battle Against the FTAA*, 2001). Another film depicts Nike utilizing Chinese laborers who toil long hours earning a handful of dollars per day to assemble sneakers that sell for hundreds of dollars in the United States (*This is What Democracy Looks Like*, 2000). A female protestor points to such injustices of greed while defending vandalism of storefronts such as McDonald's, Starbucks, Old Navy, and Nike during GJM protests in Seattle by stating, "Those are symbols of multinational corporations that have no respect for the people who produce our clothes, the farmers who grow our food; it's a totally corporate view of the world in which shareholder profits are the only thing that matters" (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Her statement frames protestors' concerns as being larger than petty vandalism by directing outrage toward the corporate greed represented in the smashed storefront windows. Another sequence shows cheering protestors using police barricades to smash windows of a McDonalds restaurant in Prague. This footage is intercut with the following text appearing over a black screen that draws attention to the lengths of environmental devastation McDonalds goes through to increase their profits:

McDonalds is the world's largest user of beef. 24 billion pounds every year...Deforestation for cattle ranching and methane produced by cows contributes to the green house effect...800 square miles of forest are cut each year to supply McDonald's with paper. (*Praha 2000*, 2000)

Here, indignation is promoted through an injustice frame that interprets Third World communities losing their forests and atmosphere to grow exported food cheaply in order to satiate McDonalds' greed. Stark reminders of yearly sacrifices Third World nations must make in order to supply McDonalds restaurants around the world are used to contextualize the corporate exploitation of ecosystems belonging to indigenous people unable to fight back. Furthermore, the determination displayed by protestors attacking a McDonalds storefront encourages righteous anger against a multinational corporation portrayed as having little respect for the ecological resources of Third World people they exploit for profit. As these examples show, GJM documentaries utilize well-known corporations to put a face on corporate greed that audiences are familiar with.

Villainization also depicts representatives of multinational corporations and financial institutions as callously concerned with profits above all human costs. For example, global financial institutions such as the World Bank are depicted as viewing Third World nations strictly as investments, with expectations that for all the money they have invested, they expect to earn even more money back (*Revolting in Prague*, 2000). Medea Benjamin, co-director of advocacy group Global Exchange, states that in a global economy, “corporations want to be able to go anywhere in the world, pay as little as they can pay, exploit workers as much as they can exploit them, and then move on to the next place” (*Zapatista*, 1999). Such characterizations encourage resentment by framing corporate investment in Third World nations as not out of any altruistic interest to help struggling economies, but rather as being motivated by a desire to increase profits. This is the case in an interview with David Ricardo of the environmental group Friends of the Earth, who characterizes international trade officials as completely unsympathetic:

The chief economist of the World Bank said once, “We should send all the pollution to the Third World because they are under polluted.” It makes economic sense because if you put pollution in the United States you have to clean things and that requires a bunch of money, but if you send it to Nigeria it does not, so they want to send pollution to the south. This is the problem: that the World Bank sees everything in terms of economic profits, and not even economic profits for the world, but economic profits for big corporations. What about environmental concerns? They don’t matter. (*Praha 2000*, 2000)

Here David Ricardo identifies a high-ranking World Bank bureaucrat as someone who considers environmental pollution as just another cost of doing business. This promotes anger toward financial officials depicted as insensitive and greedy, hurting people in powerless nations to keep their profits up. Such portrayals help characterize GJM villains as remorseless predators preying Third World communities.

Another way GJM villainization narratives demonstrate unrestrained greed is by focusing on profits made in the face of human suffering. David Bjorkman, a member of an international union of electric workers, states, “Strangely enough, a lot of GE [General Electric] under NAFTA has moved down to Mexico but the price of refrigerators hasn’t gone down yet... it’s all for the profit margin, they think, ‘to hell with the people’” (*Quebec 2001: The Battle Against the FTAA*, 2001). Sound bites such as these encourage resentment toward corporations that reduce

costs without passing savings on to customers. Onscreen text in *This is What Free Trade Looks Like* (2004) explains how corporate greed has forced an end to Mexico's self-reliant food production: "Under NAFTA subsidized corn has been imported, undermining the price paid to Mexican farmers, which has dropped 50% while the price of corn tortillas rises." Here a direct correlation is made between rising profits and lower wages, encouraging responses of outrage toward an injustice. College professor and social advocate Noam Chomsky also discusses how trade agreements have inflicted unjust suffering in Mexico:

By the end of 1995, the estimates are that about 75% of the population was below the level at which they could manage enough food for subsistence, which is pretty bad. Meanwhile, at the same time the people couldn't eat, the guy who controls the corn market was still up on the list of billionaires. (*Zapatista*, 1999)

Here Chomsky draws attention to extreme poverty in Mexico, which he characterizes as "pretty bad." Immediately after, he focuses on the extreme wealth of those at the top of the food industry, associating their inflated profits with human suffering. Framing this discrepancy as an injustice orients viewers to feel outrage toward capitalists depicted as so greedy they would profit off of starving masses of people. Like the other instances where profits are associated with higher costs and greater poverty, Chomsky's words imply that such "villains" are motivated primarily by unbridled, remorseless greed.

The preceding section looked at how villainization narratives within GJM documentaries encourage anger by depicting capitalists as remorseless and having uncontrollable greed. GJM documentaries draw attention to renowned multinational corporations as exploiters of Third World nations. The films work to encourage resentment toward capitalists by portraying them as villains for considering impoverished communities as only financial investments. GJM documentaries further generate anger through examples of exorbitant profits made in the face of human suffering. Taken together, villainization narratives that characterize GJM villains as having unbridled greed encourage anger toward allegedly remorseless capitalists.

Acting as Twenty-First Century Colonizers

There is a continuation of resistance against colonialism. Today it manifests itself against NAFTA, which is just a new chapter in the colonization of the Americas.

I've seen some discussion about globalization being described as the re-

colonization of the world, and I think that's a really accurate description. (*Trading Freedom: The Secret Life of the FTAA*, 2001)

Gord Hill, organizer for indigenous rights advocacy group Native Youth Movement, places Zapatista struggles in Mexico into a larger historical context of battles against colonialism. In this section I describe villainization narratives within GJM documentaries that encourage anger by characterizing transnational financial institutions as twenty-first century colonizers. While historically colonialism has involved foreign invaders taking over native communities through violent force, modern-day colonialism is constructed as global financial institutions subjugating national economies to serve multinational corporations.

In this section, I offer examples of GJM documentaries promoting indignation by directly referring to exploitative capitalists as modern-day colonizers. I will demonstrate how these films narratively legitimate frustration toward transnational economic development projects for Third World nations that financial institutions present as being in the best interests of less powerful nations. I will also show how GJM documentaries encourage anger about international trade agreements defined as keeping impoverished nations poor and dependent upon outsiders. Overall, villainization encourages anger toward international trade institutions and global corporations depicted as twenty-first century colonizers.

One way GJM documentaries depict villains as colonizers is by illustrating how international trade agreements keep poor nations impoverished and dependent on outsiders. The films represent the WTO as opening trade barriers between nations, the World Bank as stepping in to provide financing to nations forced to compete with one another, and once prices fall the IMF offers aid by requiring cuts on social spending. As a result, according to GJM documentaries, national economies are, "handed over to global corporations through the coercive rules of the World Bank, IMF, and the World Trade Organization" (*This is What Democracy Looks Like*, 2000). GJM documentaries foster resentment toward these financial institutions they characterize as attempting to control, by proxy, national governments. As a result, contend GJM documentaries, international trade agreements are not written with an interest to help poorer nations, but rather to compel these countries to become servants of those with greater economic power. As one Mexican journalist says, "They wanted to adapt our country to the needs of the international market, but all they achieved was more poverty and misery because...the only thing that was taken into account were the large corporations that can buy and can sell" (*Zapatista*,

1999). Such accusations suggest a response of anger by framing trade agreements as beneficial only to corporate interests while leading to greater poverty in nations already economically weak. Others focus their ire on Third World leaders, depicting them as complacent in the exploitation of their own people as they bargain away public services to lure foreign investment (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Tom Hansen, director of the Mexican Solidarity Network, addresses these concerns during a speech at a People's Summit:

They're talking about the possibility of privatizing services, anything from water to electrical production, to schools, to hospitals, to the judicial system, to prisons, to public transportation systems—You name it, it's on the table. It's the corporate agenda. Corporations want to turn all these things into commodities and make money off them and we've seen in California what happens when you privatize the electrical industry, electricity rates have gone up forty percent in the last year. So we see what happens when these things are privatized, and that's the future under the FTAA. (*Non a la ZLEA*, 2001)

Here, Hansen delivers a stern warning of a future in which public services people have come to depend on are transformed into commodities for corporate profit. Hansen's words promote resentment toward a "corporate agenda" that would raise prices on things that meet society's most basic needs. GJM documentaries offer views of societies in which everything has a rising price and the people are impoverished as a result to frame transnational trade agreements as responsible for keeping Third World nations dependent.

GJM documentaries portray modern-day colonizers as representing their actions as in the best interests of those subjugated. This is accomplished by framing economic development projects as false and misleading. Rosario Ibarra, a woman living in an indigenous South American community, contends, "They keep saying that we make progress and that we are reaching the First World, but the First World is completely theirs" (*Non a la ZLEA*, 2001). Resigned statements such as these conjure antagonism toward false promises of international trade agreements boosting Third World economies.

An interview with a former World Bank consultant, Stan Andrews, supports these views, as he claims his former organization, "could take hundreds of millions of dollars and basically throw it down a rat hole in terms of helping poor people," since, "the only beneficiaries...were American and multinational firms" (*Breaking the Bank*, 2000). Randy Hayes, president of

environmental advocacy group Rainforest Action Network, echoes these characterizations by offering what he feels is the true *modus operandi* for global development institutions, “Their mission is about economic development for the betterment of those who are bettered by economic development” (*Breaking the Bank*, 2000). As these quotes illustrate, GJM villains are framed as focused on profiting off of Third World nations above any promises to improve struggling economies. As John Ross, an American journalist, says, “That is not a model of development, it’s a model for impoverishment” (*This is What Free Trade Looks Like*, 2004). In other words, the very notion of economic improvement in Third World nations is presented as a false promise. Danny Kennedy, director of California-based human rights and environmental organization Project Underground, clarifies:

It’s ridiculous to think we can generalize through six billion people the standards of living that a few people enjoy in the US, and Europe, and Japan, and Australia. If we were to try to do that just in terms of consumption of raw materials you’d need six planets as waste dumps just to go through the level of consumption we currently enjoy here in the north, so the whole exercise is based on a completely false assumption that we can do development, that we would want to do development, and these institutions are pursuing that goal willy-nilly, taking your money and mine as taxpayers in order to go on with this lie and destroy people’s lives in the course of their work. (*Praha 2000*, 2000)

Here Kennedy explains why promises of economic development bringing Third World nations in line with First World standards are completely unsustainable. His imagery of “six planets as waste dumps” hammers home that rich nations are consuming at a far greater rate than can be generated by the rest of the world. Antagonism is further fueled by Kennedy’s claim that financial officials are haphazardly wasting taxpayer dollars under false pretenses. Thus, his assertion that financial institutions are misleading people and destroying lives in the process frames financial organizations as evil colonizers, suggesting to audiences they should be angry toward such blatant misrepresentation.

At other times speakers in GJM documentaries directly refer to multinational capitalists as modern-day colonizers. Tom Goldtooth, director of the Indigenous Environmental Network, feels the WTO, “is part of the new form of colonialization, which is still the main issue of colonialization that’s impacted our people here...for over 500 years” (*Showdown in Seattle*,

1999). Kukdookaa Terri Brown of the Tahitian First Nation declares, “Economic globalization is directly linked to greed, racism, colonization and patriarchy” (*Trading Freedom: the Secret Life of the FTAA*, 2001). Others refer to villainous colonizers with more fiery words, not holding back in their disdain. For example, Liza Largoza-Mazza Gabriella, an activist at a protest states, “The streets of America are paved by the sweat and blood of people the United States have extracted through plunder by exploiting their colonies and neo-colonies” (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). In all these examples, capitalists are directly referred to as evil colonizers to promote outrage toward those depicted as overtaking indigenous communities that have prospered for centuries. In the following excerpt, a male activist uses colonialism as a metaphor for global capitalism during an interview with the television program *60 Minutes*:

So you can choose to either live in a soulless, wealthy colonial power like America or you can choose to live in a colony that has been taken over by the colonial power and now people are forced to live in company homes, work in factories with barbed wire fences around them, suck in poorly ventilated air and produce widgets for twelve hours a day at the age of twelve for basement wages their whole lives. (*Breaking the Spell*, 1999)

Here the GJM protestor characterizes the United States as “a soulless, wealthy colonial power,” which conjures resentment toward the nation for exploiting poorer nations for financial gain. The protestor’s pejorative description of contemporary Third World factory life as one of long hours, dangerous conditions, and low pay further frames trade agreements between rich and poor nations as unjust. Such a perspective promotes anger toward multinational corporations that allegedly keep Third World communities impoverished and dependent on outside investment.

This section has provided examples of villainization narratives within GJM documentaries that foster resentment toward transnational financial institutions characterized as twenty-first century colonizers. I first provided examples of speakers in GJM documentaries directly referring to transnational financial institutions as modern colonizers. After that, I offered examples of GJM films fostering resentment by portraying international trade institutions as offering false promises of economic development to impoverished nations. Finally, I showed how GJM documentaries portray these institutions as keeping impoverished nations dependent upon outsiders. These examples demonstrate how GJM documentaries work to villainize

transnational financial institutions by characterizing them as twenty-first century colonizers that are usurping economies of poor nations.

Utilizing Corporate Power to Subvert Democracy

In my view, corporate rule is dictatorship and the denial of shaping your economy is an end of democracy. (*This is What Democracy Looks Like*, 2000)

This statement, delivered by social justice advocate Vandana Shiva during a meeting of the International Forum on Globalization, draws a clear distinction between corporate and democratic interests. Shiva puts into question the sovereignty of independent nations through warnings about corporations so powerful they can control national economies and rob people of their voice. In this section I demonstrate how GJM documentaries villainize corporate representatives for undemocratic actions. GJM documentaries portray protestors as fed up with international trade agreements that are drafted in secret. The films encourage anger by characterizing corporate representatives as having stolen the will of the people by circumventing democratic processes to overturn national laws designed to protect citizens. Taken together, such villainization constructs capitalists as abusing corporate power to subvert democracy, orienting documentary viewers to feel anger toward capitalists.

One way GJM documentaries portray undemocratic practices is by drawing attention to transnational trade representatives drafting international agreements in complete secrecy. A male GJM protestor donning a pig mask contends, “We have to address the lack of transparency behind these negotiations...how can we debate the FTAA, without knowing what is happening behind closed doors?” (*Trading Freedom: the Secret Life of the FTAA*, 2001). A male member of steelworker union makes a more direct accusation, “There is a hidden agenda...Why aren’t we allowed to see what these negotiations are about?” (*Quebec 2001: The Battle against the FTAA*, 2001). Such questions suggest audiences should be wary of international trade agreements affecting so many people being drafted outside public supervision. Rebecca Spencer of advocacy group Corporate Watch characterizes corporate interests as antithetical to public concerns, “If you are not a part of the global elite, then you are going to be a victim of what it does, never mind whether you are living in Nigeria or in Britain” (*Genoa: Red Zone*). Such statements practice “boundary construction” (Gamson, 1992), or the defining of *us vs. them*, to direct audience anger toward financial elites who would knowingly keep exploitative trade agreements

secret from the public. Shoila Kawamara, a trade legislator from Uganda, also questions the intentions of closed WTO meetings before suggesting an appropriate response:

If it was a democratic institution why should they barricade themselves inside there? If it's in the interests of the people [then] discuss it openly, be transparent, be open, but as long as they barricade themselves inside there, it's just a matter of time. Everything has a breaking point, even human beings have a breaking point; at one time or another people have to come out and say, "No." (*Kilometer 0: The WTO in Cancun*, 2003)

Here Kawamara villainizes financial officials by implying they have something to hide in their closed-door meetings. By stating "it's just a matter of time" before people reach "a breaking point," he provokes viewers to feel fed up with being shut out of financial meetings.

Concurrently, his suggestion to respond with a stern "No" encourages open defiance against financial officials that have usurped the will of the people. This framing orients audiences to feel resentment against those who make decisions that negatively impact people without consulting them.

Another way villainization emphasizes the subversion of democracy centers on how the general public has no say in international trade negotiations. For example, US Congresswoman Maxine Waters of California states, "What you have here is a faceless government making decisions in favor of the multinational corporations and the little people are getting left on the cutting room floor" (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Activist David Ricardo questions such undemocratic policies, "Who decides in the World Bank? The United States, Japan, some countries in Europe, period. What about the rest of the world, which is the immense majority? They have nothing to say" (*Praha 2000*, 2000). As these examples illustrate, GJM documentaries frame the masses being barred from the decision-making process of trade agreements as an injustice. One masked street protestor further explains why this draws ire, "There are people other than ourselves in control of our lives...I don't care if they're making decisions that I like or hate, the fact that they're making those decisions is unhealthy and unnatural" (*Breaking the Spell*, 1999). Statements such as these frame transnational financial institutions as evil for circumventing democracy and appropriating the voice of the people. Tony Benn of Britain's Labor Party explains how this is a threat to democracy in an interview:

Nobody elected the World Trade Organization, nobody elected the International Monetary Fund and I think the truth is the leaders have stolen the agenda of the people. Some of these big companies are bigger than countries. Ford is bigger than South Africa. Toyota is bigger than Denmark. There's no democratic control at all...This is a movement for world democracy against political leaders who are all absolutely in the pockets of multinational companies and international organizations nobody elected and nobody can remove. (*Berlusconi's Mousetrap*, 2001)

Benn points out that members of international financial organizations were not chosen through democratic processes, decrying them for having “stolen the agenda of the people.” This invokes an injustice frame centering on a lack of democratic choice while encouraging anger toward multinational corporations for having robbed people of their voice in poor nations. Benn goes on to compare the immense size of for-profit corporations with democratic nations, further illustrating how large corporations threaten to overtake everyone's lives. His framing encourages anger toward democracy being cast aside by corporations more powerful than the nations in which they operate. Benn concludes by conceiving of the GJM as a “movement for world democracy” to act as a corrective for so much power being in the hands of so few unelected financial representatives.

In other instances, GJM documentaries portray multinational corporations and global financial institutions as working together to override national laws designed to protect people. Attention is drawn to NAFTA's *Chapter 11* rules, which allow for investor-to-state suits in which private corporations can sue national governments to overturn existing environmental standards that are deemed trade barriers by the WTO (*Trading Freedom: the Secret Life of the FTAA*, 2001). In the documentaries, GJM advocates argue how every case the WTO rules on favors rich, multinational corporations at the expense of the people, leading to overturned national labor laws and environmental regulations (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). An IMC reporter named Bob frames such suits as a threat to democracy by stating, “It's just giving corporations more power than the government that democratically says, ‘We want this law to protect our environment’” (*Non a la ZLEA*, 2001). Along the same lines, a Hispanic male street protestor contends, “Whatever nation still maintains some semblance of democracy will lose it with this agreement...Corporations can disrespect environmental laws, and still prosecute

governments who try and enforce them” (*Trading Freedom: the Secret Life of the FTAA*, 2001). As these examples illustrate, GJM villainization frames present international trade agreements as undemocratic to encourage anger.

Another way GJM documentaries portray global financial institutions as undemocratic is by illustrating how they supersede laws enacted by sovereign nations. An illuminating example of interpretive processes inherent to the interactive construction of these GJM villainization frames is present in the following excerpt from *Trading Freedom: the Secret Life of the FTAA* (2001), which intercuts interviews with both a student activist and an adult advocate who relay an account of corporate environmental abuse:

Jared Duval, Sierra Student Coalition: An American company called Metalclad went down to Mexico and wanted to build a toxic waste dump on top of their aquifer, their local supply of water. The Mexican government said, “No, this goes against our health regulations, this goes against our environmental laws.”

Kevin Danaher, Global Exchange: They’re getting poisoned from the water. What corporation has the right to poison our water, public property? They passed a law saying you can’t operate this thing.

Jared Duval: And they said, “That’s too bad. We have rights as a corporation and those outweigh your human rights.” They sued them for seventeen and a half million dollars, saying it was a barrier to free trade.

Kevin Danaher: This US corporation takes the Mexican government to a NAFTA court, sues under this chapter 11, and the ruling is the Mexican government has to pay millions of dollars in penalties for lost profits of this corporation.

Jared Duval: That is the kind of thing that is wrong and that people are trying to come here to make their voice heard. This affects everyone throughout the hemisphere, it could happen anywhere.

The back and forth editing here resembles a conversation between the two advocates, with each filling in the gaps left by the other to reveal interpretive processes that frame the actions of Metalclad undemocratic and therefore evil. Attention is drawn to how the Mexican government called upon environmental regulations designed to protect their people. Danaher’s query, “What corporation has the right to poison our water, public property?” defines Metalclad’s actions as an affront toward the people of Mexico. Concurrently, Duval’s paraphrase of Metalclad’s response,

“We have rights as a corporation and those outweigh your human rights,” answers Danaher’s question in a condescending manner to portray Metalclad as callously disregarding the Mexican people. These narrative techniques invoke an injustice frame and encourage anger toward Metalclad through portrayals that they forced pollution on impoverished communities. Duval characterizes Metalclad’s actions as “wrong” to justify GJM opposition and concludes with the warning that, “it could happen anywhere,” to signify to viewers they are all potential victims of corporate abuse if they fail to speak out against it.

The preceding section has offered examples of GJM documentaries presenting villainization narratives that portray corporate representatives subverting democracy. The films present the anger of those fed up with corporate representatives meeting in secret and being held unaccountable from the people. In other words, anger is engendered toward transnational financial institutions for having commandeered the voice of the people. I showed how GJM documentaries direct this rage toward examples of corporations having power over the people to change national environmental laws. In all, these characterizations work to generate resentment toward capitalists portrayed as villainous for overtaking democratic rule.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis of villainization narratives reveals how GJM documentaries orient audiences toward anger against global financial institutions and multinational corporations for exploiting Third World communities. I have provided examples of these films characterizing villains so as to invoke a larger injustice frame promoting anger toward exploiters of impoverished nations. I began by demonstrating how GJM documentaries characterize corporate representatives as having unbridled, remorseless greed. After that, I showed how the documentaries under study oriented audiences to feel outrage through depictions of capitalists as modern-day colonizers of Third World nations. I concluded by providing examples of GJM documentaries endorsing indignation toward corporations usurping control over sovereign nations for the purpose of increasing profits. As this analysis shows, GJM documentaries encourage anger through villainization narratives that depict transnational financial institutions and multinational corporations as evil exploiters of impoverished communities.

The stated goal at the outset of this chapter was to reveal a greater understanding of how injustice frames promote emotional orientations that signify to audiences how they should feel

about enemies of the GJM. To that end, I have demonstrated how GJM documentary films provide cues to audiences on how to understand issues surrounding the movement. The films act as “cultural productions of emotional meaning” (Loseke 2009) by advising audiences of how to respond emotionally toward enemies. In other words, the *feeling rules* (Hochschild 1979) these films promote help construct emotional boundaries that signify anger as an appropriate response toward depictions of financial executives as remorselessly exploiting indigenous communities. Consequently, by focusing on injustice, villainization helps foster anger and resentment toward those narratively defined as enemies of the GJM.

CHAPTER SIX

VALORIZATION

Valorization within GJM documentaries focuses on aggrandizing GJM activists. By valorizing, I mean the attachment of heroic qualities to SMO participation with the aim of glamorizing activists to encourage further support. Prior sociological research emphasizes the symbolic importance of glorifying heroic protestors when fashioning movement narratives, including college students during 1960s sit-ins of the civil rights movement (Polletta 1998), participants of the Stonewall riots (Armstrong and Crago 2006), and Zapatista leaders organizing uprisings in Mexico that inspired the GJM (Nepstad and Bob 2006). In all these examples, sociological research supports the idea that movement narratives rely on constructions of activists as heroes to inspire further protest. An analysis of GJM documentaries offers an opportunity to observe the generation of such valorization by looking at how frames orient audiences toward feeling pride in heroic activists.

In this chapter I present an analysis of valorization that occurs within documentaries to examine how GJM protestors are portrayed as heroes. After analyzing GJM documentary transcripts for instances where movement activists are mentioned, I categorized processes of valorization into those which celebrate movement participation, alliances with Third World victims and confrontations with riot police. First, I will demonstrate how statements by GJM advocates work to symbolize a united front within the GJM by associating emotions such as pride and joy with movement participation. Then, I will show how instances of GJM protestors fostering connections with Third World victims work to glamorize activists for both defending those less fortunate and recognizing that they are all part of the same battle. Lastly, I will focus on valorization that glorifies confrontations with transnational financial organizations at sites of protest by invoking emotions such as empowerment and anger to channel them toward GJM participation. Hopefully, this analysis of valorization within GJM documentaries can offer a more complete picture of how the films utilize emotions to construct GJM protestors as heroes.

Symbolizing a United Front

You can't fight these corporations by yourself. They're too powerful and too big. It takes everybody coming together and even then it's a hell of a battle. (*Breaking the Bank*, 2000)

Here George Becker, president of the United Steelworkers of America, stresses the importance of unity among GJM advocates. He evokes strength in their power as a united front in an uphill battle against a powerful enemy. Einwohner (2002) refers to such symbolic tactics by SMO participants that focus on positive consequences of participation, even in the face of seemingly negative odds, as *fortifying strategies* designed to, “maintain morale and legitimate further activism” (516). In this section I outline how GJM documentaries engage in fortifying strategies that portray GJM protesters as a massive, united front of activists ready to confront exploitative capitalists. Speakers within the films take pride in the power of their numbers as large crowds opposed to financial exploitation, identifying their movement as the voice of the people. Such fortifying strategies are further called upon in the face of GJM protest. Taken together, these actions symbolically utilize pride to construct a united front of heroic GJM activists.

One way GJM documentaries symbolize a united front of activists is by referencing the strength in their numbers against powerful financial institutions. For example, a Brazilian male student activist alludes to united protesters being uncontainable in a battle against authoritative institutions, “They are powerful but they are few, and our weapons are more powerful than theirs... They cannot kill our ideas, they cannot kill our truth, and they cannot deny our right to fight for our lives” (*Kilometer 0: the WTO in Cancun*, 2003). Here, reminders that GJM advocates outnumber financial representatives valorize protesters as heroes who have truth and determination on their side. Similarly, Maude Barlow, a Canadian author and activist, delivers a speech during a People’s Summit where she addresses secretive financial institutions by invoking protester solidarity, “You will alienate us and we will find each other and build a movement... I have news for them: There are more of us than there are of them!” (*Non a la ZLEA*, 2001). The eruption of applause that follows these words encourages pride in the masses of united GJM protestors dissenting powerful, exploitative financial institutions. Along these lines, a male street protestor valorizes GJM participation by explaining why he believes in the might of the crowd:

I think we do have power. When people get together like this it's powerful because it will bring attention. It has to be covered, it has to be looked at, and that will spawn conversation. If no one came out for this and said, "Hell, those guys know what's best, let them do their thing," and just read the nightly news or sat down in front of the TV, then I don't think there'd be nearly as much questioning...so in that way I do think there is power in the people. (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999)

Here, the idea that increased GJM participation can have a positive impact is promoted by framing greater awareness of issues as a victory in and of itself. In so doing, this works to create heroes out of GJM activists who have come out to make their dissent heard. Furthermore, contrasting GJM advocacy with an alternative in which nobody questions corporate exploitation may encourage participation for those on the fence about joining. In other words, glorifying the power of united protesters operates as a fortifying strategy that encourages beliefs that viewers can make a difference by joining GJM protests.

Another way GJM documentaries symbolize a united front of activists is through emotionally charged statements that identify the GJM as the voice of the people. For example, urgency is illustrated in the words of a female protestor who addresses news reporters by stating, "I think there are many responsible people here who care very deeply, who have a lot of passion, and who are out to nonviolently bring our message to the world" (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Such declarations characterize GJM protesters as both representatives of the masses and peaceful heroes determined to raise awareness about corporate exploitation. At other times GJM documentaries present unwavering affirmations by protesters that they are doing the right thing by participating, such as the words of another female participant who states, "There's a whole bunch of people here today...all working together to try to change something that we don't believe is right" (*Breaking the Bank*, 2000). Such declarations frame GJM protest as morally righteous while presupposing that the movement's interests represent most people. Along these lines, U.S. Senator Paul Wellstone of Minnesota states during an interview, "We want to make sure you've got a trade agreement that has some respect for the environment, has some guarantees for people, and respects human rights...That's what we're saying and the vast majority of people in this country agree" (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Here Wellstone's inclusive demands for social justice and presupposition that most people are on their side frame

the GJM as something everyone should stand behind. Such statements convey pride among GJM advocates that they are bravely fighting for the desires of the people.

Fortifying strategies that call upon their united front are also evoked to downplay any fears GJM activists may have of confronting riot police. This is present in the words of a female student protestor who dons a bandana over the lower half of her face for protection from tear gas as she explains the importance of street protests to expressing her dissent:

I've always wanted to be in a revolution, that's why I'm here...This is our chance, this is our moment to say, "No, no more, no way, never again." They have so much power, but today we have the power and we're going to show them that we're not afraid, that we're fighting for what's right, and we're not going to back down...The people going into the WTO to meet, they're going to be forced to listen to the voice of the people...They cannot ignore us. There are thousands of us here and we are not afraid. I'm thrilled to be here. (*Breaking the Spell*, 1999)

Here an impassioned plea emphasizing the importance of participation works to typify GJM protestors as a unified front fed up with corporate exploitation. First, her words work to encourage viewers to unite and attach importance to their protest by conceiving of the GJM as "a revolution," while signifying protest as, "our chance...our moment," to express displeasure with the actions of corporate representatives. In a way, her bandana grants anonymity to speak for all GJM protestors, as she urges the other side, "to listen to the voice of the people." Furthermore, her bravery is on full display as massive numbers of protestors by her side are portrayed as helping her disregard any fears while attaching positive feelings to protest. Defining street protest as an urgent battle of the masses helps fashion an inclusive identity among GJM protestors as a united public determined to help others.

As the preceding section illustrates, fortifying strategies within GJM documentaries valorize a united front among GJM protestors. With protest framed as a difficult struggle against a formidable adversary, GJM documentaries urge viewers to unite by calling upon their power as the masses. One way this is accomplished is through declarative fortifying statements that remind audiences that, by virtue of their numbers, those who benefit from corporate exploitation should listen to them. Fortifying strategies within GJM documentaries also involve presuppositions that frame GJM activism as a moral act everyone should engage in. These fortifying strategies are called upon in the face of police opposition. As these data indicates,

GJM documentaries instill pride in the GJM as a united front of the masses morally opposed to corporate exploitation.

Representing Activists as Transnational Allies

We have to start questioning the big picture. What are these clothes that we're wearing? What does this tag, "Made in China," or, "Assembled in Mexico in a Free Trade Zone," what does that mean? What does it mean that we have allowed our corporations to go to places around the world where they get guarantees from governments that workers will not be allowed to organize? (*Zapatista*, 1999)

This appeal during an interview with Medea Benjamin, co-director of advocacy group Global Exchange, implores others to look closer at their role as consumers of goods made in nations with repressive labor laws. Her words encourage listeners to connect with Third World victims and take a stand by confronting corporate exploiters. In this section I look at how GJM documentaries portray activists as heroic allies and impassioned defenders of suffering victims around the world. Protestors declare their solidarity with those framed as exploited victims through statements that they face the same threats as their Third World counterparts. On the whole, these examples will illustrate how GJM documentaries valorize protestors for fostering transnational connections with those who are designated victims.

GJM documentaries include portrayals of activists compassionately defending exploited foreign workers. An example of this is in the words of an older female activist who states, "If all the work goes to the other countries and they aren't going to give them fair pay, then it's just not equal, it's not right for that" (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Presenting GJM activists as fed up with Third World citizens being denied equal opportunities conveys an impression of activists heroically stepping up to defend impoverished victims in other parts of the world. Such framing is evident in the words of Linda Thompson, executive vice-president of labor union A.F.L.-C.I.O., as she addresses an audience of union members by stating, "We stood up today for those young children that are working in slave labor in so many countries...for the many people who have no voices in their own countries and who are forced to work for poverty wages" (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Here Thompson's words glorify GJM advocates as heroes because they provide a voice of dissent that speaks for workers rendered speechless as a result of

authoritarian economic policies. Similarly, a female activist explains how her protest provides a voice to the voiceless:

This is why we're doing what we're doing—because we're not allowed to speak our minds around the world, because people around the world are denied democracy, denied freedom, are in poverty, they have no health care. That's why we're speaking here, so of course we'll continue. Nothing will stop us. (*Revolting in Prague*, 2000)

Here, the activist's stated reasons for protesting allude to how victims of financial policies are unable to speak for themselves. Such a declaration characterizes her as a hero defending Third World victims. Her passion is further utilized to reaffirm what she frames as an unwavering dedication among GJM protestors to continue their fight.

GJM documentaries also portray activists as transnational allies through presentations of their declarations of solidarity with Third World workers suffering deplorable conditions. In fact, this is a reoccurring theme in the miniseries *Showdown in Seattle* (1999), as protesting American blue-collar workers are shown standing united with their Third World counterparts exploited by multinational corporations. For example, an American male union member states, "Organized labor does not tolerate lower standards for any worker anywhere, for any reason. We will fight for those workers. We will not stop" (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Through such statements, GJM documentaries valorize GJM protestors as heroes committed to standing up for exploited foreign workers. This is the case with another American male steelworker who declares, "We are all going to have good jobs and they're not going to drive us down to the bottom" (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Such valorous statements encourage audiences to view GJM advocates as transnational allies standing united with exploited foreign workers. This unity is called upon to encourage further GJM commitment by Ron Judd, president of the Seattle labor council, who states, "We have got to stand together united in solidarity as a global trade union movement representing all workers on this planet...to make sure that we're all sharing in the prosperity, and not just multinational corporations" (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Here, *boundary construction* (Lamont and Molnár 2002) is evident as Judd contrasts a unity amongst workers of the world with the authoritarian organizations he derides for seeking to exploit their labor for profit. As such examples of GJM protestors standing united with their Third World counterparts illustrate, GJM documentaries valorize those who demand equal rights for all workers.

In addition to depictions of protestors defending victims and standing united with them, GJM documentaries also frame protestors as transnational allies by showing how they recognize that all workers around the world are facing the same threats from exploitative capitalism. This is evident in the words of Juan Bocanegra, a Seattle lawyer representing protestors who states, “A lot of working class people in this country don’t see that they are linked directly with people in Brazil and...with people in Mexico City, and what happens to those folks happens to them. Not immediately, but damn it will happen” (*This is What Democracy Looks Like*, 2000). Here Bocanegra attempts to foster connections between protestors and victims by drawing attention to how they are all endangered by global corporations. Protestors utilize such threats to convey an unrelenting resolve to continue their fight no matter how difficult it becomes. For example, a masked male protestor conceives of the GJM as a collective battle uniting all citizens of the world by stating, “It’s our planet and I’m not going to let big corporate businesses run it and tell us what to do. If we don’t fight them now, we’re going to lose to them later” (*Breaking the Spell*, 1999). A female union worker offers a similarly urgent statement while looking ahead toward the future by declaring, “I don’t want to lose democracy for my children, my grandchildren, and the way the WTO is set up, if we don’t all stand up together we’re going to lose it” (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Through such quotes, GJM documentaries advance an idea that if all workers around the world do not come together to exercise their collective power today, it may be taken away tomorrow. As a result, GJM documentaries valorize GJM protestors through their portrayals as allies to victims of exploitative corporations.

As the preceding section demonstrates, GJM documentaries portray activists as transnational allies of exploited Third World victims. One way this is accomplished is by instilling pride in presentations of GJM protestors as defenders of exploited workers. GJM documentaries also provide examples of advocates standing in solidarity with their Third World counterparts who face deplorable working conditions. Additionally, GJM documentaries offer protestors making declarations that they all face the same threats as exploited victims from Third World nations. Taken together, these examples demonstrate how GJM films portray an emotional discourse that involves GJM advocates making transnational empathetic connections with exploited workers.

Embracing Confrontations

We want to challenge the dominant order, so we felt it was important to do it illegally because we didn't want to ask permission. In a way, if you ask permission you also affirm that kind of power structure. (*Reclaim the Streets*)

This statement is delivered by a male GJM activist who explains why he believes in engaging in illegal street protests outside transnational financial meetings. His words evoke eagerness to confront financial organizations that make decisions affecting everyone. This section outlines a reoccurring theme throughout the documentaries under study that involves categorizations of GJM activists as heroes who bravely embrace confrontations with corporate representatives depicted as evil. GJM documentaries instill urgency in standing up to exploitative capitalists. Speakers within the films justify violent street protest in the name of Third World victims and utilize pride to frame brutality by riot police as a means to enhance their resolve to protest. Taken together, such portrayals help to cement an impression that GJM protesters are brave heroes ready for confrontation.

GJM documentaries valorize activists for embracing confrontations through presentations of their urgent pleas to stand up to exploitative financial representatives. This is evident in the words of one male American union worker who encourages defiant opposition to corporate rule by stating, "The people's got to stand up on our hind legs and save the world for ourselves because all they're trying to do is pick our pockets" (*Showdown in Seattle*, 1999). Such statements encourage viewers that the time is now to get up, take a stand and protect themselves from corporate economic exploitation. This sort of urgency to confront exploitative multinational corporations is evident in the words of Rob, an independent-media cameraman who states, "If people understood the ramifications of this they would be against it... These are the jobs that United States citizens are losing" (*Non a la ZLEA*, 2001). Here, Rob implies that massive GJM participation would be a foregone conclusion if the American public were aware of the threats to their livelihood. Such framing consequently both implores viewers to recognize the effects that GJM issues have on their own lives and valorizes those portrayed as enlightened enough to bravely stand against abusive multinational capitalists.

Along these lines, in the following excerpt a middle-aged Asian activist urgently calls upon an enlightened awareness that unites GJM supporters and grants them the power to defy exploitative financial institutions:

We're really building a movement here, and this is our political moment, and we're telling the world that we know what they're doing, what they're meeting about, what kinds of decisions they're making that are affecting our people, and that we're just not going to take it anymore. (*Breaking the Bank*, 2000)

Here, the older protestor's inclusive words work to motivate action and encourage participation by framing GJM protest as, "our political moment." He makes his intentions clear by calling upon GJM activists' mutual awareness regarding exploitative transnational financial institutions, and uses this knowledge to draw a line in the sand by urging everyone to resist corporate rule. His bravery is on full display in his closing statement of, "we're just not going to take it anymore," as he suggests the time is now to oppose exploitative capitalists. Through such framing techniques, GJM documentaries depict GJM protestors as readily embracing confrontations with multinational financial exploiters.

One form this embracement of confrontations within GJM documentaries takes involves justifications of violent street protest as a means of defending Third World victims. For example, a masked male street protester answers allegations that property destruction is violence by stating, "The only way to hurt a corporation is financially... You can't put a corporation in jail... The only way to spank a corporation is by smashing the fucker" (*Breaking the Spell*, 1999) Here, the masked protester rationalizes breaking windows as a means of getting back at businesses that exploit foreign labor. The ramifications of how such actions may be perceived by mainstream media outlets are on the mind of a British male activist who complains:

The media love to portray people as just a violent mob. They never portray us as an intelligent mob who are angry about what goes on in the world. Angry to me are indigenous people who have had guns put to their head, who have had their women killed, their children beaten up, their health service taken away, their education fucked up, their homelands completely and utterly trashed. So they've got no trees, they've got no lakes, no rivers, they've got none of their culture left. That makes me feel bad, it makes me feel passionate. If I was one of these people, I'd be out with a machine gun trying to sort it out, really. (*Revolting in Prague*, 2000)

Here, the activist calls attention to ravaged communities to encourage bravery in viewers to defend Third World victims. He inspires protest by encouraging righteous anger toward a list of

injustices faced by Third World victims. Furthermore, his characterization of protesters as an “intelligent mob” incensed about atrocities committed on indigenous people frames GJM activism as a moral duty. He further instills pride by contrasting GJM protest with physical violence, distancing GJM protesters from violent armies who threaten economically powerless societies. Such characterizations work to valorize GJM activists as heroic defenders of threatened indigenous people.

Another way the films show activists embracing confrontations is through depictions of street protestors facing excessively violent police brutality for protesting meetings between international financial officials. For example, a protestor named Oscar explains, “We faced a huge, huge repression and even when some of the demonstrators tried to do non-violent actions and passive resistance, they were crushed by the police” (*Another World is Possible*, 2002). Many of the films under study contain long stretches of protest footage that illustrate such encounters alongside claims of inhumane treatment, such as stories of jailed protestors mercilessly beaten while denied food (*Caravan/Prague*, 2007). At other times, police brutality on GJM protestors is utilized to engender support for GJM activism as the morally right thing to do, such as one female college student protester who states, “We're fighting for justice and we have truth on our side, and the only recourse the police have is to use repressive tactics... We're totally open about what we're doing and why we're doing it because we know what we are doing is right” (*Breaking the Bank*, 2000). Here, the openness of the GJM and the protestor’s undying belief in the morality of its cause is contrasted with the authoritarian actions of riot police and closed-door meetings of international trade officials. Thus, GJM documentaries depict protestors bravely facing police brutality to draw attention to secretive financial meetings.

GJM documentaries depict activists as willing to face police brutality for the movement. For example, in the following excerpt, a middle-aged Italian female witness details the violence on GJM protestors she saw:

There was a group of people who were being chased by the police. At a certain point...all the people put their hands up and they became the target of attacks, both with tear gas grenades and with truncheons. I started shouting, “Shame on you! You are beating peaceful people!” There was an injured boy on the ground and this went on and on, it went on endlessly. (*Berlusconi’s Mousetrap*, 2001)

Here, an uninvolved third party describes how police used chemicals and batons to attack nonviolent protestors. The witness' words draw attention to peaceful activists bravely suffering violent repression for standing up for GJM principles. She paints a picture of unrelenting police brutality that does not let up even when protestors are injured to further contextualize this violence against GJM protestors as unjust. Such examples of eagerness to stand up against corporate exploitation, even in the face of police brutality, help portray GJM protestors as heroic for their willingness to confront enemies of the movement despite the associated risks.

As this section has shown, GJM documentaries portray activists readily embracing confrontations with exploitative capitalists. Representations of GJM advocates as enlightened defenders help to associate GJM protest with progressive thought. At the same time, depictions of activists justifying property destruction by framing protest as a battle to defend Third World victims further stress the urgency of their movement. In the end, portrayals of street protestors facing violent police repression help cement an impression that GJM activists are bravely putting their well-being on the line to spread their message. Taken together, these examples of valorization illustrate how GJM documentaries depict protestors as brave for their willingness to confront enemies of the movement.

Conclusion

The preceding analysis reveals some of the ways GJM documentaries frame activists as valorous for their participation. This is accomplished through an emotional discourse that invokes pride in GJM participation as heroic. Narratively, this includes (a) moral identifications of the GJM as the will of the masses opposed to exploitative international trade; (b) expressions of solidarity with Third World victims of exploitative trade; and (c) a brave willingness to confront those portrayed as villains at international trade meetings. This chapter has demonstrated how movement frames within these GJM documentaries call upon an emotional discourse of heroism towards GJM activists portrayed as caring enough to defend humanity from exploitative capitalists.

The stated goal at the onset of this chapter was to offer a picture of how valorization utilizes emotions in the construction of GJM protestors as heroes. To this end, I have categorized examples of valorization appearing within GJM documentaries that glorify GJM protestors as courageous and caring. Such frames rely on emotional understandings rooted in the collective

power of concerned citizens to stand up for social justice by demonstrating GJM protestors taking pride in having truth and justice on their side in a battle against exploitative capitalists. Thus, while victimization within GJM documentaries places a face on those hurt, and villainization identifies sources of that pain, valorization instills moral honor in those willing to stand up to corporate exploitation. The next chapter discusses how these three processes work together through narrative emotional framing to develop righteous indignation, which is fashioned through feelings of sympathy and anger meshed with a sense of pride in fighting for what is right, to encourage support in a fight against exploitative international trade.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This chapter reviews the dissertation as a whole and suggests directions for future research. First, I will review the inductive process that guided this research project. Second, I will provide an overview of the findings in the three analysis chapters of this dissertation. Third, I will go over some of the contributions of these findings to research on social movements. Finally, I will discuss some suggestions for future research that can build upon this work.

The Inductive Process

I began this project with an understanding that GJM documentaries were used to recruit new members to the movement and foster commitment among those already involved. This understanding came from a fieldwork experience I had watching *Breaking the Bank* (2000) with a college student SMO mobilizing to anti-FTAA protests in 2003. The screening quickly became an interactive experience, as audience members openly expressed sorrow for Third World victims while a voiceover relayed atrocities caused by transnational corporations. When corporate representatives came on to explain their side, it was difficult to hear them over sarcastic remarks from the viewing audience. The mood of the screening abruptly changed to one of affirmation as protesters expressed joy for having participated and urged others to continue their fight. However feelings quickly shifted once again, as footage of police brutality was met with pleas from the viewing audience to stop.

The screening was a powerful experience that left me with many unanswered questions. It was clear that the film could foster connections among GJM activists by utilizing their own words and video footage. As I watched more GJM documentaries on my own, I began to notice further similarities in how they cultivated anger towards injustices and fostered connections among activists. I began to wonder, what was going on in these films? What were the messages they were sending to viewers? How did these messages add up to more than each individual story? And how might they shape viewers' emotional experiences? These basic questions constituted my orientation when beginning this project.

My research utilized techniques of grounded theory (Charmaz 1983) that involved transcribing the films, posing questions to the data, and looking for common themes. It quickly became apparent that a key activity occurring within the documentaries was the representation of various actors in the social movement field. Drawing on Holstein and Miller (1990), I came to define the construction of victims within GJM documentaries as victimization, and applied similar terms—villainization and valorization—to define how enemies and activists were constructed. Recognizing these constructions of characters as part of a larger story that the films were trying to tell, I incorporated the concept of narrative to help tie them together. Because the concept of narrative includes the construction of protagonists and antagonists, which are analogous to the valorized heroes and stigmatized villains in an injustice frame, I came to see the construction of GJM film narratives as triggering an injustice frame (Gamson, Fireman and Rytina 1982). Because such framing was narratively produced, I came to view the symbolic work of these films as “narrative framing.”

Consistent with my initial ethnographically-grounded hunches about the emotionality of these GJM documentaries, as I began to examine the films more closely it became evident they contained a very strong, but often implicit, emotional discourse. Various narrative threads or discourses implicitly suggest how one is supposed to feel about what is being represented. In other words, discourse creates a “preferred emotional orientation” in others (Loseke 1993: 207). Drawing on twenty years of theory and research on how SMO discourse is linked to emotional experiences (see Jasper 2011), I asked how these characterizations may orient viewers who happen to be hooked by this SMO framing to feel particular emotions.

Making these connections between narrative, emotion, and framing helped develop the concept of narrative emotional framing, which I define as the use of narrative techniques within SMOs to support movement aims by evoking particular emotional orientations. Studying how narrative emotional framing works to characterize victims, villains and heroes differently demonstrates how the use of emotions, narrative, and framing are interrelated processes within social movements.

Overview of Analysis Chapters

In this section I will provide an overview of the findings presented in the analysis chapters of this dissertation. Since I set out to categorize different ways that GJM documentaries

narratively construct both meanings and emotional orientations, the findings were organized into chapters focused on victimization, villainization, and valorization. These characterizations can be considered narrative techniques that evoke a larger injustice frame that supports GJM aims by encouraging sympathy for those harmed, anger toward those inflicting their harm, and pride for the movement due to those valorized as heroes fighting for justice.

Chapter 4 detailed how GJM documentaries engaged in victimization that directed sympathy toward those portrayed as hurt by transnational corporations. One way this was accomplished is through narratives that highlighted suffering and depicted it as being the result of exploitative international trade agreements. Another tactic of victimization drew attention to sacrifices impoverished communities made in order to accommodate foreign investment. These tales of victimization were cemented through depictions of victims being powerless to escape their plight. Overall, speakers within GJM documentaries conveyed victimization narratives that promoted sympathy toward those characterized as victims. Put differently, victimization was part of a larger injustice frame that oriented audiences to empathize with those portrayed as helpless victims.

Chapter 5 showed how GJM documentaries engage in villainization to encourage anger toward those characterized as remorseless capitalists. One technique employed by the films was to emphasize unbridled greed on the part of transnational corporations. Speakers within GJM documentaries also depicted transnational capitalists as modern-day colonizers intent on ruling indigenous communities. These techniques of villainization were fortified through portrayals of multinational capitalists using their power to subvert local democratic rule. Taken together, villainization narratives within GJM documentaries encourage anger toward characterizations of callous corporate representatives. In other words, villainization was part of a larger injustice frame that suggested audiences should feel resentment toward multinational capitalists depicted as remorseless villains.

Chapter 6 revealed how GJM documentaries practice valorization to encourage pride in the movement as a result of how GJM activists were narratively characterized as heroic. Film narratives accomplished this in part by symbolizing a united front of committed GJM protesters. These activists were further praised through representations of them as transnational allies committed to helping less fortunate Third World communities. GJM protestors were also represented as heroic through depictions of them bravely embracing confrontations with riot

police at sites of protest. On the whole, valorization narratives within GJM documentaries suggested viewers should feel proud of the brave GJM activists.

The preceding review of the three analysis chapters demonstrates the close relationship between narrative, framing and emotions within social movement dynamics. Analyzing the characterizations promoted by GJM documentaries reveals how they work together to fashion an injustice frame that operates as the story of the movement. At the same time, these characterizations contain implicit emotional cues that orient viewers toward particular responses of sympathy, anger and pride. Taken together, these findings demonstrate how GJM documentaries utilize discourse to evoke an injustice frame that promotes emotional responses that can inspire further protest.

Contributions to Social Movement Research

This section reviews some contributions of this dissertation to social movement research. I will begin by situating this project with existing empirical research on the GJM. After that, I will discuss how processes of victimization, villainization, and valorization work together to promote righteous indignation within GJM documentaries. I will conclude by explaining how combining narrative, emotions and framing lead to the development of *narrative emotional framing*, which I will situate as a generic social process that can uncover a close relationship between discourse and emotions within SMO framing.

Empirical Contributions

Overall, this dissertation contributes to an empirical gap in social movement research with regard to analyses of activist-produced GJM documentaries. Specifically, I sought to understand how GJM documentaries symbolically utilize narrative techniques to characterize victims, villains, and heroes of the movement. Although constructionist victimization studies have begun to cross over into the realm of social movement research (Berbrier and Pruett 2006; Lio, Melzer, and Reese 2008; Stanbridge and Kenney 2009), I could not locate any GJM victimization analyses. Furthermore, while a burgeoning field of GJM research analyzes the movement's use of collective action frames (Della Porta and Mosca 2009; Fominaya 2010; Montagna 2010;), emotions (Deslandes and King 2006; Thompson 2007), and narratives (Atkinson 2006; Langman 2005), it is difficult to find a GJM study that incorporates the three

into a single analysis. This project addresses these shortcomings with an analysis of how documentaries utilize emotions to cement characterizations in their collective action framing.

This study also contributes to analyses of SMO-generated media, particularly movement-created documentary films. Although there is a long history of social justice documentaries, the GJM has arguably focused more on generating documentary films, utilizing digital video shared over the Internet to disseminate movement perspectives (Juris 2005). Documentaries created collectively by the GJM contain video imagery, personal narratives, protest experiences, and narration to frame the movement, attesting to their potential to facilitate mobilization by creating powerful viewing experiences. At the same time, while scholars have analyzed GJM flyers (Atkinson 2005), alternative media reports (Mamadouh 2004; Pickerill 2007), and organizational websites (Della Porta and Mosca 2009; Hands 2010), a systematic analysis of GJM documentaries is also hard to find, despite a recent calling for one (Howley, 2008). This research answers these empirical gaps in the literature with an analysis of narratives conveyed within GJM documentaries used for recruitment.

Righteous Indignation

GJM documentaries narratively define victims, villains, and heroes of the GJM by orienting audiences toward an emotional blend of sympathy, anger and pride that together constitutes an emotional discourse of righteous indignation. Alternatively, a combination of victimization, villainization, and valorization processes within GJM documentaries together evokes a larger injustice frame that conjures righteous anger that is amicable to protest. This injustice frame relies on different mini-emotional discourses that are each centered on characterizations of allies, enemies and members of the GJM, respectively.

Existing social movement theory discusses at length the role of injustice frames and righteous indignation to protest movements. Much of this work started with Gamson (1992) who argued that injustice frames are essential to protest because they depend on, “the righteous anger that puts fire in the belly and iron in the soul” (32). In other words, a core emotion guiding protest is moral anger resulting from perceived injustices.

More recently, Jasper (2011) defines this *righteous indignation* as, “a moral sensibility based on an analysis of injustice as well as a gut feeling of oppression” (297). Research demonstrates SMO organizers tapping into moral sensibilities by utilizing injustices to inspire protest. For example, ACT UP mobilized gay and lesbian communities by framing an anti-

sodomy ruling by the Supreme Court as a declaration of war against queer people (Gould 2009). In other words, organizers of ACT UP promoted righteous indignation through an injustice frame that contained clear characterizations of victims and villains to empower audiences and make them believe their protest could transform them into heroes.

When it comes to the GJM, the development of righteous indignation within movement documentaries has clear consequences for how issues surrounding the movement are understood. The suffering of impoverished Third World communities is contrasted with the greed of multinational corporate representatives. At the same time, GJM protesters are presented as moral crusaders standing in the way of multinational capitalists' unrestrained avarice. These activists' righteous indignation helps frame GJM protest as a moral duty to fight for what is right. Put differently, it is through a mixture of sympathy and pride that GJM advocates' anger can obtain moral qualities. Consequently, according to this framing, it does not matter how much police brutality GJM advocates face, or what lengths they may go through to share their message with the world, since they are morally justified to be righteously indignant.

Narrative Emotional Framing

In making these connections between narratives, emotions and SMO frames, the concept of narrative emotional framing emerged. Put simply, this involves using narrative techniques (in this case, characterizations) to conjure frames and emotional orientations that support mobilization. Studying narrative emotional framing can shine a light on the close relationship between discourse and emotions by exploring how SMO organizers narratively promote emotional responses. In this study, GJM documentaries fashion a discourse of righteous indignation by utilizing an injustice frame. This injustice frame gains its power through an emotional discourse involving: (a) sympathy for those hurt by international trade; (b) anger toward benefitting capitalists deemed responsible; and (c) pride in GJM activists portrayed as heroes for their participation.

The concept of narrative emotional framing can be a useful tool in understanding other social movements and social movement processes. In other words, we could consider it a sensitizing concept in social movement research that can allow others, "a general sense of reference," by offering, "directions along which to look" (Blumer 1969: 148). Future studies of social movement dynamics may incorporate narrative emotional framing in order to examine how SMO organizers utilize discourse in their framing to foster emotional orientations.

Taking a look back reveals plenty of existing studies that demonstrate processes of narrative emotional framing at work. For example, organizational leaders of both gun rights and English Only movements mobilize fear by rhetorically constructing villains within their newsletters and other official texts (Lio, Melzer, and Reese 2008). Narrative emotional framing also occurs outside stories told within movement media, in places such as the words of key spokespeople. For example, Wasielewski's (1985) classic analysis shows how Martin Luther King, Jr.'s speeches helped transform audiences' emotions such as anger over existing inequalities into pride in oneself and a commitment to struggling for justice. Narrative emotional framing is not limited to the realm of social movements, either. We see it at work in Loseke's (2003) aforementioned study of how presidential speeches utilize "cultural ways of feeling" she refers to as *emotion codes* to characterize victims, villains and heroes (498).

Studying narrative emotional framing could be a fruitful addition to future studies of social movements. It is a process that occurs not just in documentary films, but within all forms of social movement media and anyplace where activists communicate. With the Internet continuously facilitating the diversification of perspectives, research on social movements and media will have to be revised with an eye toward the twenty-first century (Anderson 2006; Maratea 2008). In other words, scholars must begin to take into account both the myriad of ways SMOs can reach audiences and the far reach that activist-created media can have among those interested. In the case of GJM documentaries, these films provide a counterpoint for a movement often misrepresented in mainstream media (see Opel and Pompper 2003). As a result, GJM activists have embraced alternative mediums to allow their perspective to be shared, including the use of protest footage narrated in their own voice. Thus, with activist-generated media rapidly emerging as a fertile site for analyses, scholars should take into account how stories told within these medium can help promote emotional orientations conducive to activism.

Directions for Future Research

This section will discuss avenues for future research that can build upon this work. I will first provide empirical proposals, such as alternative data sites and methods of research. I will then suggest some theoretical directions involving a closer look at how processes relating to narrative, emotions and framing can influence SMO mobilization. Overall, these suggestions for

future research address some of the limitations of this study while looking ahead for further applications of narrative emotional framing.

Empirical Suggestions

This dissertation project was limited in scope to the extent that it only looked at one particular medium utilized by one specific social movement. Since narrative emotional framing is a sensitizing concept, it can certainly be applied to a variety of social movements and empirical situations. For example, future studies of activist-created documentaries could look at how newer social movements utilize media to tell stories. Within the United States, for example, the GJM served as a precursor to a currently flourishing Occupy Wall Street movement that also protests corporate greed (Van Gelder 2011). An analysis of the digital video they share over the Internet could provide rich data regarding how they may utilize emotions to disseminate movement frames differently. Conversely, with the GJM still going strong in Europe and other parts of the world, analyses of how newer GJM films engage in narrative emotional framing could reveal how such processes change over time with respect to changing SMO campaigns and political contexts.

Newer analyses of narrative emotional framing could also integrate a wider scope with regard to research methods. For example, studies could incorporate participant observation on groups as they watch GJM documentaries to ascertain their audience effects. Such research could answer questions regarding the impact these films' narration of emotional framing has on viewers, bringing us one step closer to answering Kane's (1997) inquiry of how narrative can uncover social mechanisms of cultural creation. Alternatively, scholars could look deeper at the content of GJM documentaries, including how production choices such as the use of music may shape processes of narrative emotional framing. Such a choice could address one limitation of this study in that it was focused more on analyzing discourse rather than incorporating more analyses of visual components and production aspects. Taken together, these suggestions provide many opportunities for future empirical studies of activist-created documentaries.

Theoretical Suggestions

Other limitations regarding the scope of this project deal with theoretical concerns. When it comes to analyses of narrative, future studies could look beyond characterizations to investigate other aspects of storytelling such as sequence and plot (Maines 1993). Such research

could provide greater insight into the role emotions play in how movement narratives are conveyed. For example, would narrative emotional framing take on the same character in tales of victory as in tales of defeat? How does narrative emotional framing change over the course of a single documentary? Further studies of the content of movement narratives could reveal how they tie into the fashioning of emotional discourses.

Additionally, other researchers could look deeper at the emotions on display, going beyond the core, surface-level emotions identified in this analysis of sympathy, anger and pride. Perhaps future work could uncover how GJM documentaries evoke different levels or types of sympathy, anger and pride. For example, are there different forms of anger other than righteous indignation that may inspire protest? Does sympathy for Third World victims take on a different character than sympathy for fellow activists? Is the pride that comes along with being a part of the GJM different from the pride in a successful mobilization? Such analyses would shed further light on how emotions are communicated through movement narratives.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research project has demonstrated the importance of taking a closer look at how SMO framing utilizes emotions to convey movement narratives. From the outset, the basic aims of this research were to understand how GJM documentaries narratively construct understandings and emotions that are amicable to activism. These goals were accomplished by demonstrating how GJM documentaries narratively encourage different emotional responses toward victims, villains and heroes. These responses of sympathy, anger and pride work together to encourage righteous indignation in support of GJM aims. This study fills a gap in empirical knowledge of social movement media by providing an analysis of GJM frames within documentary films. Theoretically, this study demonstrates how narrative, framing, and emotions are intimately connected within social movements.

APPENDIX A

FREQUENCY OF FILMS IN SEARCHES

Table 1

Film Title and Year of Release	Places Film is Recommended	
A Place Called Chiapas (1998)	unitedforpeace.org recommends Indymedia.org screenings	UPJP screening People's Global Action
Another World is Possible (2002)	People's Global Action screenings Freethought-forum recommends Video Activist Network recommends	UPJP screening Worldcentric.org globalization film series
Attacking the Commons (2004)	unitedforpeace.org recommends	
Banking on Life and Debt (2000)	Jubileusa.org recommends	IMDB/"globalization"
Berlusconi's Mousetrap (2001)	Personal recommendation (M.D.) Indymedia protest recommendation Video Activist Network recommends	People's Global Action Screenings tribal.org recommends
Black Gold (2006)	foodfirst.org screening	
Breaking the Bank: Mobilization for Global Justice (2000)	Big Noise Screenings 2004 Global Justice Film Festival Guerrilla News Network recommends Personal recommendation (P.A.)	UPJP screening Whisperedmedia.com recommends Jubileusa.org recommends
Breaking the Spell (1999)	Freethought-forum recommends Indymedia.org screenings	Octopusbooks.ca screening Personal recommendation (R.I.)
Caravan/Prague (2007)	campus screenings Indymedia announcement IMDB/"globalization"	Personal recommendation (T.S.) globalization film series
Deadly Embrace: Nicaragua, the World Bank, and IMF (1996)	2004 Global Justice Film Festival 2002 Global Justice Film Festival Indymedia.org screenings	PGA screenings Worldcentric.org unitedforpeace.org recommends

Table 1 – Continued

Film Name and Year of Release	Places Film is Mentioned	
The Forth World War (2003)	Big Noise Screenings unitedforpeace.org recommends Video Activist Network recommends Freethought-forum recommends British Activist Network Film Festival Guerrilla News Network recommends	trabal.org recommends UPJP screening Indymedia.org screenings Attac screening cinemapolitica.org screenings
FTAA Protests (2003)	Video Activist Network recommends	
Genoa Legal Forum (2002)	Indymedia 2004 FTAA protests recommendations	
Genoa Red Zone (2002)	Globalpolicy.org screening	GWU screening
Genoa Without Answers (Genova Senza Risposte) (2002)	Indymedia.org screenings	
Global Village or Global Pillage? (1999)	2002 Global Justice Film Festival Indymedia.org screenings UPJP screening Attac screening	Octopusbooks.ca screening Worldcentric.org globalization film series
Non a la ZLEA (No to the FTAA) (2001)	People's Global Action screenings UPJP screening	Personal recommendation (T.S.) Jubileusa.org recommends
Hidden in Plain Sight (2001)	unitedforpeace.org recommends commondreams.org	recommends
Immokalee: A Story of Slavery and Freedom (2004)	Personal recommendation (S.P.)	
Indymedia Argentina (2002)	British Activist Network Film Festival Indymedia 2004 FTAA	protests recommendations
Kilometer 0 (2003)	Big Noise Screenings Guerrilla News Network recommends Indymedia.org screenings	Attac screening People's Global Action screenings

Table 1 – Continued

Film Name and Year of Release	Places Film is Mentioned	
Life and Debt (2001)	2004 Global Justice Film Festival 2002 Global Justice Film Festival trabal.org recommends IMDB/"globalization" cinemapolitica.org	screenings foodfirst.org screening Worldcentric.org globalization film series Jubileusa.org recommends
Miami Model, The (2003)	Video Activist Network recommends Freethought-forum recommends British Activist Network Film Festival Guerrilla News Network recommends	trabal.org recommends UPJP screening Indymedia.org screenings
Praha 2000 (2000)	Indymedia.org screenings UPJP screening Indymedia 2004 FTAA protests recommendations	Personal Recommendation (J.D.) 50years.org recommends
Reclaim the Streets (2003)	Globalpolicy.org screening People's Global Action	Campus screenings Personal Recommendation (S.D.)
Revolting in Prague (2000)	Big Noise Screenings 2002 Global Justice Film Festival Indymedia.org screenings Globalpolicy.org screening	Globalpolicy.org screening Personal recommendation (A.J.)
Showdown in Seattle (1999)	unitedforpeace.org recommends UPJP screening Whisperedmedia.com recommends	People's Global Action screenings 2005 Global Justice Film Festival
Something To Hide (1999)	Indymedia 2004 FTAA protests recommendations	
Strong Roots: The Landless Worker's Movement in Brazil (2000)	unitedforpeace.org recommends	
Tactical Frivolity (2001)	50years.org recommends People's Global Action	screenings
Take, The (2004)	unitedforpeace.org recommends 50years.org recommends British Activist Network Film Festival IMDB/"globalization" cinemapolitica.org	screenings Worldcentric.org globalization film series Personal recommendation

Table 1 – Continued

Film Name and Year of Release	Places Film is Mentioned	
Thirst (2004)	unitedforpeace.org recommends 2005 IMF screenings cinemapolitica.org screenings	Oxfam.org recommends Worldcentric.org globalization film series
This Is What Democracy Looks Like (2000)	Big Noise Screenings Video Activist Network recommends Freethought-forum recommends British Activist Network Film Festival Guerrilla News Network recommends	trabal.org recommends UPJP screening Indymedia.org screenings cinemapolitica.org screenings
This Is What Free Trade Looks Like (2004)	trabal.org recommends Oxfam.org recommends People's Global Action screenings	Worldcentric.org globalization film series UPJP screening
Trading Democracy: Bill Moyers Reports (2002)	50years.org recommends 2002 Global Justice Film Festival UPJP screening People's Global Action	Screenings Worldcentric.org globalization film series
Trading Freedom: The Secret Life of the FTAA (2001)	British Activist Network Film Festival Indymedia.org screenings Indymedia 2004 FTAA protests	Oxfam.org recommends unitedforpeace.org recommends Globalpolicy.org screening
Uprooted: Refugees of the Global Economy (2001)	unitedforpeace.org recommends	50years.org recommends
We Interrupt This Empire (2003)	Freethought-forum recommends Guerrilla News Network recommends	Whisperedmedia.com recommends
Zapatista (1999)	Big Noise Screenings British Activist Network Film Festival Guerrilla News Network recommends	Indymedia.org screenings UPJP screening Personal recommendation (S.P.)

APPENDIX B

FINAL DATA SET

Table 2

Name of Film	Main Target	Protest Year	Protest Location	Producer	Length
Zapatista	NAFTA	1994	Chiapas, Mexico	Big Noise Films	48 minutes
Global Protest: The Battle of Prague	IMF/World Bank	2001	Prague, Czech Republic	BBC	38 minutes
Breaking the Bank	IMF/World Bank	2000	Washington, D.C.	Big Noise Films	74 minutes
Kilometer 0: The WTO Shipwrecks in Cancun	WTO	2003	Cancun, Mexico	Big Noise Films	28 minutes
This is What Democracy Looks Like	WTO	1999	Seattle, WA	Big Noise Films	68 minutes
Another World Is Possible	World Social Forum	2002	Porte Alegre, Brazil	Moving Images Video Project	24 minutes
Caravan/Prague	IMF/World Bank	2000	Prague, Czech Republic	Cinema Libre Studio	76 minutes
Breaking the Spell	WTO	1999	Seattle, WA	Crimeth Inc.	62 minutes
Berlusconi's Mousetrap	G8	2001	Genoa, Italy	Indymedia	119 minutes
Genoa: Red Zone	G8	2001	Genoa, Italy	Indymedia	66 minutes
Praha 2000	IMF/World Bank	2000	Prague, Czech Republic	Indymedia	55 minutes

Table 2 – Continued

Name of Film	Main Target	Year	Protest Location	Producer	Length
Quebec 2001	FTAA	2001	Quebec City, Canada	Indymedia	39 minutes
Showdown in Seattle	WTO	1999	Seattle, WA	Indymedia	270 minutes
Trading Freedom: The Secret Life of the FTAA	FTAA	2001	Quebec City, Canada	Indymedia	55 minutes
World Economic Forum Protest NYC 2002	World Economic Forum	2002	New York, NY	Indymedia	5 minutes
Non a la ZLEA (No to the FTAA)	FTAA	2001	Quebec City, Canada	Media Mouse	19 minutes
This is What Free Trade Looks Like	FTAA	2004	Cancun, Mexico	Activist Media Project	64 minutes
Reclaim the Streets	Public Transportation	1996	London, England	Undercurrents	83 minutes
Revolting in Prague	IMF/World Bank	2000	Prague, Czech Republic	Undercurrents	26 minutes

APPENDIX C

INITIAL MEMO

The “fop” Code

This code stands for “framing of problems.” Having isolated the data excerpts under this code, I reviewed each piece of data individually in an attempt to identify different ways GJM documentaries frame social problems. Most instances of the “fop” code can be categorized into 4 main areas of focus: (a) third-world community destruction; (b) human/workers rights threatened; (c) environmental destruction; and (d) threats to democracy. It’s interesting that these same 4 subjects appear throughout different GJM documentaries that are made at different points in time by different production companies. This suggests there is something about these subjects, some common themes that unite them. One thing that stands out is that they all portray important resources taken away from powerless indigenous people at the hands of powerful corporations. This suggests GJM documentaries emphasize how capitalists commit injustices by taking away sacred resources, and that I should look closer at how emotions are used within the injustice frames put forth in GJM documentaries.

Taking a closer look at the 4 different categories of injustices, if I were to add gerunds to get at the framing processes at work, this leads me to refine the categories as (a) destroying indigenous communities; (b) devaluing labor; (c) polluting the environment; (d) subverting democracy. Having gone over the transcripts to code for each of these categories, one thing that sticks out is how each category provides opportunities for the films to generate both sympathy for victims and anger toward villains accused of wrongdoing. Furthermore, if I take into account those who are telling stories of injustice and are being portrayed as heroes for standing up to corporate greed, I could say that GJM documentaries also generate feelings of pride for GJM protestors. Looking over the data, it appears that the use of emotions to create 3 different sides surrounding issues of the GJM is a generic social processes within the data.

3 Different Sides Surrounding Issues

Reviewing the data under codes for each injustice and coding for “villains,” “victims,” and “heroes” within each injustice makes it clear that the GJM documentaries under study utilize

emotions to create three distinct sides surrounding social problems. In utilizing emotions, the films engage in processes of victimizing, villainizing, and valorizing by using sympathy, anger, and pride, respectively. Thus, GJM documentaries frame problems by creating sides.

Conclusion

Overall, I believe my analysis would benefit from being separated into the three different processes at work within injustice frames presented in GJM documentaries-victimizing, villainizing, and valorizing. I could provide examples of how each process uses emotions.

APPENDIX D

ADVANCED DEFINITIONAL MEMO

Defining “Victimizing”

Looking over the data under the code “victimizing” paints a picture of how GJM documentaries generate sympathy for victims. I would define victimizing as an emphasis on those hurt by the policies of transnational capitalists. Emotionally, victimization is about generating sympathy, or feelings of empathy for those portrayed as innocent who have been unjustly wronged. There is plenty of this stuff under the work of Holstein and Miller (1990) that I will need to look into and incorporate into an introduction to this analysis chapter. I will now use the rest of this definitional memo to organize the data falling under “victimization” into 3 analytically distinct categories in order to write an analysis chapter on victimization.

Analytically Distinct Categories of Victimization

One way GJM documentaries engage in victimizing is by **emphasizing the suffering** that victims must endure at the hands of transnational corporations. This is particularly evident when it comes to discussions of labor abuses and ecological damage in third world nations. In regards to the former, there is footage of miserable factory workers and plenty of facts given both on screen and through the words of speakers about how little people are paid and the deplorable conditions they face. These include making as little as \$50 a week and working as many as 48 hours a week while being exposed to work hazards such as chemicals and being overseen by armed soldiers. While plenty of the focus is on Latin American maquiladoras, there are also segments on Chinese and Filipino workers. GJM documentaries in some cases have the actual factory workers speaking from large-scale protests, on the streets with other protestors. Overall, their words encourage sympathy by presenting the stories of those who must endure low wages and horrible conditions just to earn a living as a result of foreign corporate investment.

Another way GJM documentaries emphasize suffering is through reporting on the damage inflicted upon Third World ecosystems as a result of corporate investment. Many tie this suffering into the damage inflicted on people’s livelihoods, as not having rivers and fertile soil has led to poverty since people are unable to hunt, fish, and move around. The films also touch

upon how Third World people do not have clean water to drink and are unable to produce for themselves since they do not have fertile land for crops and animals. A big part of victimizing involves bringing attention to these people who are suffering, as speakers remind audiences of how people's lives have changed as a result of corporations entering their lands and damaging their environment. In all these cases, the films make the point that victims are unjustly suffering as a result of corporate investment.

Another category of victimization appearing in the data is how the films **draw attention to sacrifices** victims must make to accommodate foreign corporations. Rather than emphasizing suffering, which involves stories of deplorable conditions, drawing attention to sacrifice involves showing audiences how to understand the damage done by foreign corporations. These examples of data involve speakers specifically alluding to how victims lives have changed as a result of outside interference by capitalists. Most of the data alluding to both sacrificing natural resources and ecological sacrifices. For example, speakers talk about how limited lands are now being used to produce exports, so people have to sacrifice their own ecology for the sake of corporate profit. Many speakers talk about the destruction of the local for the global, about how local commerce and industry is sacrificed for global markets. In these discussions, emphasis is placed on how victims receive few of the benefits from all this sacrifice as the profits are taken by some of the most renown and famous companies in the world. Speakers in GJM documentaries question the sacrifices Third World victims must make, depicting foreign investment as a double-edged sword. Again, like the last category, the main emotion evoked here is sympathy, as speakers encourage viewers to feel sorry for those unjustly giving things up in the name of multinational corporations.

The third and final category of victimization involves **depictions of victims as powerless**. The GJM documentaries under study make it a point that victims have no possible way to change their position, that they are stuck at the mercy of powerful multinational corporations. GJM documentaries depict trade agreements as disadvantaging poor nations from the beginning, that the very notion of trade agreements helping lift poor nations out of poverty is misleading as their only intention is to help the profits of multinational corporations. Another point made in the data is that outside investment comes at too high a price, that Third World citizens are not really benefitting from the boost of their economies. In other words, while there may be more employment opportunities, the added jobs are not worth it as the people have no

say in the direction of their work. Overall, a point is made that Third World citizens are truly powerless because they are disadvantaged from the beginning in a worldwide economy that exploits them. Speakers go to great lengths to foster sympathy for these victims depicted as unable to escape their situations. In other words, victimization involves encouraging sympathy for Third World victims of corporate exploitation.

Looking over this free-write, it's clear that the process of victimization as it appears in my data involves generating sympathy and compassion in response to 3 analytically distinct categories: suffering, sacrifice, and powerlessness in victims. Interestingly, victims are always portrayed as completely innocent, as the ones who are having harm done to them, and as unable to avoid their situations. All these factors add to feelings of sympathy by encouraging audiences to feel sorry for their unavoidable plight. It's almost as if the films are suggesting there are no alternatives, that these victims are trapped in their situation. Obviously, GJM documentaries would encourage viewers to take up protest, but the data (at least in these excerpts) tends to focus on victims' helplessness, on their unavoidable plight. Perhaps this is done to ratchet up the sympathy, to keep audiences feeling sorry for them. I'll be sure to discuss these issues in the other definitional memos to see if the pattern continues.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Sammy Rastagh was born on May 22, 1980 in Hollywood, Florida where he lived with his family until graduating McArthur High School. After high school, Sammy attended the University of Miami where he graduated with a Bachelors of Science in Criminology in the spring of 2002. He began graduate school at Florida State University the following fall, earning a Master's Degree in Sociology in the summer of 2004. Sammy received his Ph.D. in Sociology in the spring of 2012 with the completion of his dissertation, "Documenting Dissent: How Global Justice Movement Documentaries encourage Righteous Indignation." His areas of specialization include social psychology and social movements.