

The Performance of Journalism in Documentaries:

To what extent do documentaries perform journalism, while being a form of art,
and dealing with a past conflict?

Student Name: Tom Mulder

Student Number: 357537

Supervisor: Dr. A. G. Fokkema

Master Media Studies - Media & Journalistiek
Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication
Erasmus University Rotterdam

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ABSTRACT

The field of journalism is evolving in contemporary society. To achieve high quality content and maintain audiences, journalists attempt to develop new and original forms of journalism. In order to accomplish this, the performance of journalism is combined with various media platforms in light of media convergence. One of these media platforms through which journalism is conducted, is the documentary. The documentary is a type of film which combines art with a reflection on reality. The inherent qualities of a documentary to investigate social topics and reflect on reality lend itself to the investigative goals of journalism. The question is how journalism is performed in the narratives of documentaries, while the artistic aspects of the documentary influence this process. Also, how can past conflicts be researched through this medium? The aims of this thesis are to investigate the following research question: to what extent documentaries perform journalism, while being a form of art, and dealing with a past conflict? The conflict of genocide, specifically the genocides in Cambodia and Indonesia, is the main topic of this research.

This thesis' theoretical framework delves into the fields of journalism and documentary. The history, context and developments of journalism are discussed. Next to this, two types of journalism that share qualities with documentaries are investigated: slow journalism and narrative journalism. Then, the field of the documentary is examined. This framework looks into what constitutes a documentary, how it can reflect on reality and how narratives are applied in its creative process. Finally, the concept of collective memory is explored, as collective memory is connected to the investigation of conflicts in society.

In order to answer this thesis' research question, a narrative analysis is conducted. Through the application of two approaches to narrative analysis – the holistic content approach and the sociocognitive approach – four documentaries that deal with the genocides in Cambodia and Indonesia are the units of analysis being researched. The holistic content approach focuses on the content of the narrative; the sociocognitive approach inspects its discourse and context. In the analysis, data will be labeled based on the documentaries' narratives. The inductive nature of this analysis leads to interpretations of this data, from which conclusions are drawn.

The main findings of this research are that the narrative qualities of documentaries are very fitting for the performance of narrative journalism. Also, the extensive investigation that documentaries perform is strongly suitable to the performance of slow journalism. The artistic aspects of the documentary do not affect, but support the investigations being done in these documentaries. Finally, documentaries dealing with past conflicts like genocide show a powerful ability to shape collective memory regarding these conflicts.

KEYWORDS: *Journalism, Documentary, Narrative, Slow journalism, Narrative journalism, Narrative analysis, Holistic content approach, Sociocognitive approach*

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1. Introduction

1.1 *Research topic and rationale*

Journalism is an ever evolving field, influenced by media convergence, citizen journalism and technological advancements such as social media. In this development, journalists attempt to find new ways to perform journalism to survive as a professional in the field. This pursuit has led to an increased interest in qualitative journalism and original content, in which journalists dare to go beyond traditional journalistic conventions, like the striving for objectivity, and provide narratives that challenge conventional means of telling stories and exploring events (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). Such strife to conduct journalism in original ways demands platforms to enable journalists to do so. One of these platforms, or media, is the documentary.

Documentaries are considered an art form in film making (Nichols, 2010). However, as non-fiction filmmakers explore social phenomena and real life events within documentaries, they offer audiences a reflection on reality. By providing a specific perspective, a segment of reality is highlighted and discussed. The documentary shares this character trait with journalism, in which reality is framed in a certain fashion and delivered to audiences as content (Tuchman, 1978). Here, the emphasis lies on what stories are told and the way these stories are given. The effectiveness of storytelling in documentaries can be seen as a significant component of this medium (Nichols, 1991), as it is in the field of journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). Also, documentaries and journalism have a common ground in their societal impact (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2009; Nichols, 2010). Where journalistic content shapes the audience's perspective on certain issues, documentaries have the same effect by providing a narrative that presents a part of a larger whole. In all these factors, it is clear that journalism and documentaries have distinct similarities and perhaps share a mutual beneficial relationship.

The topic of this research is the performance of journalism through the medium of the documentary. Specifically, how is journalism conducted through the functional facets of documentaries, such as visualization and storytelling? Also, this thesis will deal with the matter how art may influence and affect the performance of journalism in documentaries. Furthermore, this topic is placed within the theme of representation of conflict in media. To explore and investigate a conflict, multiple perspectives on this conflict are provided in a variety of documentaries to embrace the scale of the conflict. This research is contextualized by two large conflicts in recent human history: the genocide in Cambodia between 1975 and 1979 under the Khmer Rouge regime (Dowell, 2014); and the genocide in Indonesia between 1965 and 1968 (Pamuntjak, 2015). The genocide as focal point of this thesis' topic is relevant and multifaceted. First of all, genocides are large scale conflicts in which a high number of people are victimized (Staub, 1989). This makes the topic controversial and interesting

to inspect how it came to be. Also, the effects of such a large scale conflict on contemporary society are an essential factor of genocides (Staub, 1989). Finally, the question is raised of how journalism can be conducted on past conflicts such as these genocides and subsequently uncovers aspects of the origin, execution and consequences of genocide.

The investigation of these two conflicts in this thesis is done by analyzing four documentaries: two documentaries dealing with the Cambodian genocide, namely *Enemies of the People* (2009) by Rob Lemkin and Thet Sambath, and *The Missing Picture* (2013) by Rithy Panh; and two documentaries dealing with the Indonesian genocide, which are *The Act of Killing* (2012) and *The Look of Silence* (2014), both created by Joshua Oppenheimer. These documentaries are critically applauded and relevant to today's society, as they deal with the consequences of a past conflict on a people that is experiencing these consequences until this day.

1.2 Documentaries on genocide

Joshua Oppenheimer's documentaries *The Act of Killing* (2012) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) investigate the Indonesian genocide, which took place between 1965 and 1968 under General Suharto (Pamuntjak, 2015). More than half a million people, accused of being Communist or affiliated with Communism, were arrested and executed in this period. Oppenheimer has chosen to present opposing sides of this conflict in this dichotomy of documentaries. *The Act of Killing* (2012) deals with the perpetrators under the Suharto-regime, the people who conducted the killings in name of the government. In the film, several of these executioners, headed by Anwar Congo, recreate and film their past actions (Oppenheimer, 2012). *The Look of Silence* (2014) investigates the opposite side of the spectrum, as optician Adi Rukun, whose family suffered in the genocide, confronts the murderers of his family. Here, the victim's side of the story is told as his emotions, as well as of those of the perpetrators, are scrutinized (Oppenheimer, 2014).

The other two documentaries deal with the genocide in Cambodia. This conflict took place throughout the country in 1975-1979, under the Khmer regime of Pol Pot, causing two million casualties (Dowell, 2014). These documentaries are *Enemies of the People* (2009) and *The Missing Picture* (2013). The former documentary deals with the perpetrators' perspective on the conflict as Thet Sambath interviews perpetrators of the genocide and tries to uncover their emotions and motives behind their actions (Lemkin & Sambath, 2009). Therefore, this film bears resemblance to *The Act of Killing* (2012). In contrast, *The Missing Picture* (2013) discusses the victim's side of the conflict, as Rithy Panh tells his personal story of life as a child in a Khmer Rouge camp and experiencing hunger and the loss of his family (Panh, 2013). In this way, the film reflects on *The Look of Silence* (2014). Furthermore, these documentaries share the aspect of shaping the collective memory of these countries

and the world on the two conflicts. By performing journalism and uncovering information regarding the genocides, their perpetrators and their victims, the documentaries add to existing knowledge on these matters and therefore are able to shape the collective memory regarding the conflicts. Thus, the four documentaries share aspects and outsets and are therefore suitable for comparison in this research.

1.3 Narrative analysis

To investigate the relationship of journalism and documentaries, with a shared connection to the concept of collective memory, a proper research method is chosen to analyze the four documentaries. In this research, a narrative analysis will be conducted (Smith, 2000; Polkinghorne, 2007). This qualitative research method will investigate the narratives of each documentary by following two approaches: the holistic content approach (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber, 1998; Williams and Keady, 2008; Beal, 2013) and the sociocognitive approach (Van Dijk, 2009; Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch, 2009; Wodak and Meyer, 2015). Both approaches provide different perspectives on the narrative analysis which are suitable to this thesis' research goals. The holistic content approach will inspect the concrete content and plot structure of the narrative, while the sociocognitive approach discusses the context, running discourses and ongoing social action of the narrative. Furthermore, the combination of these approaches will provide a suitable framework for interpretation where the analysis investigates the connection of the narratives to the concept of collective memory. As a form of media, documentaries have the ability to shape and influence collective memory, which sustains this connection between journalism, documentaries and collective memory (Zelizer, 1992; Ashuri, 2007). The framework is made of the aspects of these approaches that shape collective memory: the narrative's themes, social actors and ongoing social action (Smith, 2000; Van Dijk, 2009).

1.4 Social and scientific relevance

The four documentaries deal with large-scaled, past conflicts – genocides that embraced whole countries – that have ramifications on contemporary society, which is a characteristic of these conflicts (Staub, 1989). While journalism is constantly in transition through technological advancements and social changes, the field is such an important thread through society that it must be under scrutiny at all times (McNair, 2005). Research on journalism is therefore societally relevant in every respect. The documentary is still an important part of today's popular and intellectual culture (Nichols, 2010). As a part of film culture, the documentary has taken a vital place in this field, and more societal topics are

taken as subject for documentaries, both short and feature length. Also, society is always in transition, providing new and original social aspects for documentaries to investigate and cover. This also counts for journalism: new developments in society may be covered by different forms of journalism, making both journalism and documentaries strongly social relevant fields. Therefore, the relationship between these two fields – journalism and documentaries – is sufficiently relevant to investigate and inspect how this relationship is conducted in contemporary society.

Both fields of journalism and documentaries are well researched. Especially journalism, as such a multifaceted concept, is a saturated academic field. Mostly relatively new developments in the field, like citizen journalism, are researched a great deal, while other aspects of journalism are occasionally revisited (Deuze, 2005; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2009). The connection to art is one of these aspects that are being paid more attention due to the interest in more qualitative and original ways of journalism (Le Masurier, 2015). The field of documentary is less highlighted in the overarching field of film studies, while it is an academically rich topic due to its societal relevance (Nichols, 2010). Also, the reflective power of the documentary on reality makes the art form a relevant subject to academic research, as it can give insight into the workings of society (Bruzzi, 2006). This thesis will focus on the relationship between the two fields: the rich and ever expanding field of journalism and the field of documentary that attempts to find new ways of presenting social topics. This relationship will give more academic insight into how journalism can influence the field of art, and how forms of art can perform journalism.

1.5 *Research questions and outline*

This research will aim to answer the following question:

To what extent do documentaries perform journalism, while being a form of art, and dealing with a past conflict?

In this question, the concepts of documentaries and journalism are distinguished as the main factors under scrutiny. Next to this, the influence of the documentary as an art form on its journalistic functions is included in the question. Finally, the concept of the past conflict, in which collective memory is included, provides the final facet of this main research question.

To support this question, three subquestions are articulated below. The first two subquestions investigate the connection of the four documentaries to the specific forms of journalism, namely slow journalism and narrative journalism respectively. The third subquestion inspects the documentaries' relation to the concept of collective memory. These are the subquestions:

- Subquestion 1: What aspects of *Enemies of the People* (2009), *The Act of Killing* (2012), *The Missing Picture* (2013) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) are related to slow journalism?
- Subquestion 2: How are the narrative aspects of *Enemies of the People* (2009), *The Act of Killing* (2012), *The Missing Picture* (2013) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) related to narrative journalism?
- Subquestion 3: To what extent are *Enemies of the People* (2009), *The Act of Killing* (2012), *The Missing Picture* (2013) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) connected to the concept of collective memory?

First, this thesis will present the theoretical framework in which the research is embedded. First, the field of journalism is dissected. The field's history, context and developments are presented and discussed. Then, two forms of journalism that are deemed suitable to apply to the field of the documentary are described: slow journalism and narrative journalism. In the subsequent outlining of the field of the documentary lies a parallel to these forms of journalism. First, the documentary as a medium is defined and explored. Then, the connection to slow journalism is made by inspecting the relationship between documentaries and their reflection on reality. Furthermore, the connection between documentaries and the use of the narrative is presented and discussed, which draws a parallel to narrative journalism. The theoretical framework is concluded with an exploration into the concept of collective memory.

Then, the research design and method of this study will be presented. The choice for qualitative research will be explained and justified, as well as the use of the narrative analysis as the appropriate research method. The holistic content approach and sociocognitive approach are provided and described. The units of analysis and the time period of this research are given. The operationalization of the research design and an explanation on the accountability and justifiability of this research design will conclude the method section. Subsequently, the results section will provide the results of the narrative analysis divided over the subquestions. As the results are embedded in this thesis' theoretical framework in the successive section, conclusions are drawn in order to answer the research questions. Finally, limitations to this research are given, as well as suggestions for future research.

2. Theory and Previous Research

2.1 Introduction

This thesis raises the question how journalism is conducted in documentaries. Also, the matter of how these two sides of the documentary interplay and influence each other is scrutinized. Additionally, how is the matter of collective memory of a country incorporated in the structure and narrative of a documentary when it deals with past conflicts? The aim of this thesis' theoretical framework is to explore these questions and build this thesis' theoretical foundation. The documentaries that are investigated in this thesis discuss historical genocides that have been inflicted upon the people of Cambodia and Indonesia. Relevant theoretical concepts within journalism, documentaries and collective memory that emerge in this framework are applied to this research. Constructing this framework is essential to comprehending the relationship between documentary and journalism. Where does journalism end and film art begin, and what aspects are applied? As such a vital aspect of the stories of these documentaries, collective memory is discussed in this theoretical framework.

This section will first delve into the field of journalism, where its history and context are investigated. Subsequently, essential developments in journalism are discussed. The framework will delve into two types of journalism that are assumed to possess this relevance: slow journalism and narrative journalism. Then, the field of the documentary is defined, it's reflection on reality and the application of the narrative investigated. Finally, collective memory, an essential aspect to culture and society in general and frequently applied by both journalism and documentaries, is investigated.

2.2 Journalism

In order to understand to what extent documentaries perform and qualify as a form of journalism, it is necessary to constitute the field and its elements. In what ways is journalism expressed and performed and what developments have occurred in the field? The combination of the broad investigation on what journalism actually is and the inspection of two types of journalism that potentially relate to journalism performed in documentaries will provide this research with a solid ground to continue treading in the field of the documentary.

Hartley (1996) states that journalism is “the primary sense-making practice of modernity [as] it advances the key narratives of modernity and provides a store for our collective memory” (as cited in Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 3). Journalism, in this sense, plays an essential role in the ordering of and dealing with (historic) events. Next to this, Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009) address the function of journalism as “the primary means for articulating and playing out both

consensus and conflicts in society; so news stories capture the ongoing drama of the battles between the dominant ideology and its challengers” (p. 4). This journalistic function is essential to the topic of conflict in society where conflicting ideologies are the driving factor.

2.2.1 History, context and developments of journalism

Journalism has a rich history in civilizations: the rise of the printing press; the subsequent newspaper and pamphlet production; and the creation of the public sphere of discussion and information sharing. These factors are considered to be the start of journalism as we know it today, although in earlier civilizations forms of journalism were present through general communication (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2009). Newspaper circulation made way to an industry in which the sharing of news was built. Barnhurst and Nerone (2009) stress that authorities recognized the power and influence of the press and thus attempted to control it. However, early journalistic outlets desired to maintain a sense of freedom and exist as watchdogs, keeping an eye on authorities and reporting any wrongdoings (Ahrend, 2002). Then, in parallel to the ideas of the Enlightenment in Europe such as democracy and freedom of speech, journalism was enriched by press freedom and a diversity of social and philosophical debates that became regulated through journalistic outlets. The increasing demand of news in many directions –e.g. political, cultural, and sensational – made the industry explode and become a vital part of society. This also attracted individuals to perform journalism and become professionals in the field. Journalism has therefore created a societal position for itself, where news sharing and sense making has become an essential part of each individual, social group, and society as a whole. The field maintains a role where it contextualizes and is contextualized by society. In other words, journalism shapes society in the minds of the population and the actions of society determine journalism’s role in it, creating interplay between journalism and society.

The history of this field and its societal and cultural context are important to frame journalism as a concept. However, to understand the adaptive nature of journalism and its fusion with other aspects of society, the various developments journalism has experienced must be investigated. These developments show how diverse the field actually is and how journalistic aspects are planted in other fields, along with technological advancements and societal demands of a diverse assortment of news. A number of consecutive developments has led to various perspectives on the changing field of journalism. These perspectives deal with journalists, journalistic platforms, news consumers and their developing demands and expectation of news content, and channels of communication. Ultimately, these changes have arisen from technological influences (Wahl–Jorgensen et al., 2009; Franklin, 2012).

Franklin (2012) commences his description of developments in journalism with the notion that the field has been and still is developing fast, mainly due to the evolution of communication channels

that technological developments in the 21st century have made possible. The former 'ivory tower' status of the unapproachable journalist has been transformed to the possibility of news consumers to directly contact a journalist. New media through which to conduct communication and perform journalism, i.e. "distributing and consuming journalism products, but also shaping a new journalism practice and innovative opportunities for reporting news" (Franklin, 2012, p. 664), have changed the nature of journalism and the way it is performed and consumed in contemporary society. Also, the financial structures on which journalism is built – newspaper circulation, advertising, average wages of journalists – have been challenged by these developing channels.

Deuze (2005) distinguishes several qualities of journalism that are strongly applicable to the topic of societal events that are present in the documentaries investigated in this thesis. First, journalism offers public service to society as it may influence social movements and highlight or rake up important aspects of social life. This quality resembles the attention this thesis' documentaries give to the conflict they deal with. Also, the journalistic aspects of ethics and legitimacy play a large role in journalism as a whole, where the execution of journalism is scrutinized and the manner in which an event or conflict is investigated is analyzed. Next to this, McNair (2005) stresses the vital cultural role of journalism in today's society: a role that is transcended into other cultural products, such as film and documentaries. Aspects of objectivity and societal action – that are present and both journalistic content and documentary content – can stimulate journalism. "Infotainment" (McNair, 2005, p. 38) is a notion within journalism, which signals a connection to entertaining art forms like films and documentaries. The combination of information and entertainment is vitally present in journalism, as well as it is a main facet of documentaries in general (Nichols, 2010).

The role of the journalist has changed along with changes in the field of media. While tackling certain aspects of the profession of the journalist, Deuze (2005) acknowledges that technology has asserted the professional journalists' role of being "the one who determines what publics see, hear and read about the world" (Deuze, 2005, p. 451). In other words, the news consumer now has access to direct consumption of news while bypassing the journalist. In response, the journalist has to adapt to this possibility and produce content in such a way that it attracts consumers to him as a professional, instead of losing an audience to a multitude of other sources. Barkin (1984) provides insight into the storytelling capacities of 20th century journalism, where media have provided changing methods of storytelling for journalists to apply. Next to this, Kolodzy (2012) stresses that journalists lean on storytelling in their content to achieve their goals. Another development in journalism that has benefitted this lenience is media convergence. In the case of journalistic content, this means that content can be distributed and accessed via different media, which provides journalists with the tools to create the ideal mixture of content and accessibility to this content (Kolodzy, 2012). Professional journalists now are individual figures accessible by transparency of their respective journalistic outlets or by personal social media to access a larger audience. Although journalists maintain a function of

helping the audience make sense of news content, as Deuze (2005) stresses, the manner in which this sense making is done has to be reassessed in order to maintain an audience.

2.2.2 *Slow Journalism*

The reassessment of the way sense making is conducted in journalism has led to the development of forms of journalism that put the emphasis on the quality and accessibility of content (Franklin, 2012). To achieve this quality and accessibility, these forms are combined with various kinds of media such as documentaries that support the sense making of content (McNair, 2005). One type of journalism that may have strong connections with the documentary is slow journalism. It is not a form of journalism that is as pressured by time and financial motives as daily news content, nor does it result into a small amount of content. Slow journalism has been present in the field of journalism in terms of qualitative journalism, which has the goal to dig into a social topic and uncover any hidden aspects of it. Le Masurier (2015) adapts from Greenberg (2013), who distinguishes characteristics of slow journalism as that “such journalism gives time for research and writing at length, with an aim of quality – ‘the highest standards of storytelling craft’” (Le Masurier, 2015, p. 142). Therefore, slow journalism is directed towards quality in content, as opposed to being the fastest. This type of journalism is beneficial for investigative journalism; unraveling stories due to the fact there are almost no time restrictions. To have slow journalism be a successful part of journalism practices, Gess (2012) argues for a change of atmosphere in the journalistic field. The author claims that slow journalism is ideal for high quality journalistic content; ethics and the complete way of thinking about journalism have to be changed in order for slow journalism to be an accepted and integrated part of the field. Therefore, to achieve this acceptance, slow journalism has to prove itself through resilience and accessibility. Another important aspect of slow journalism is the emphasis on collaboration: the need for deep research into (a) specific topic(s) requires time and resource of multiple players in the journalistic field who aim for the same goals.

Here, the documentary may be an applicable form of slow journalism. As it is a type of film, the production of a documentary will most likely take a considerable amount of time (Nichols, 2010). This gives the filmmaker the opportunity to dive into a topic and approach and deal with it any way desirable and practically acceptable. Thus, in exchange for the time invested in its creation, the documentary provides quality and thorough investigation into a topic. Also, the creation of film leans heavily on collaboration of multiple players who aim to achieve the same final product and aid each other with their respective resources.

2.2.3 *Narrative journalism*

Not only slow journalism proves to correlate with the documentary on its creative processes. A second form of journalism is connected to the documentary; however, this form focuses more on content than the process of creating content. This form of journalism is narrative journalism. The narrative is a common facet of media content and is applied in various ways. The manner of storytelling that is used in (non)fiction film originates from the same human desire of telling stories as storytelling in journalism. This provides another similarity between the realms of documentaries and journalism, as storytelling structures content in an appealing and comprehensible way (Bird, 1990; Bruzzi, 2006; Bird and Dardenne, 2009). Bird (1990) claims that all journalism, in a sense, applies storytelling to its content. This type of journalism applies a form of narrative to get content through to the audience: to structure it and aid in making sense of its content. Bird and Dardenne (2009) emphasize the presence and effects of narrative qualities in journalistic content. The storytelling in news contrasts the traditional presentation of news as “it seeks coherence and meaning; a story has a point, and it exists within a cultural lexicon of understandable themes” (Bird and Dardenne, 2009, p. 207). Journalists have to consider competition and the nature of their audiences, and therefore attract them by presenting news in an appealing and comprehensive way. Ekström (2000) develops this theory further by delving into the aspects and characteristics of the story, where the focus on entertainment is essential. Providing entertaining news through the creation of a news story will structure news and simultaneously keep audiences attracted to it, making the news feasible.

Finally, the concept of art enters the image, as Neveu (2014) states that “Journalism is [...] a narrative art.” (p. 536) due to, amongst other reasons, the “rapidly collapsing attention levels of audiences” (p. 536). Storytelling in journalism has become a way for journalists to adapt to competition in the field and answer the audience’s demand of original news content that is provided in an interesting and original way. Neveu (2014) argues that the trend of storytelling in news content has simply emerged because of the need to satisfy audiences and provide news that is not dull or unstructured, but feasible and creative. News stories connect to audiences as stories have always done in history and tap into this audience need. Therefore, the narrative is used in journalism to capture the audience into the content that is presented. This is strongly relevant to the motives of films and documentaries that apply the narrative for the same reasons of keeping an audience attracted and focused on its content (Nichols, 2010).

2.3 *Documentaries*

As documentary makers are considered filmmakers, the media form of the documentary can be seen as a form of art. Common forms of imagery, like paintings, photographs that capture a fragment of reality

are considered as art; documentaries fulfill the same purpose (Corner, 1996). How are the journalistic aspects of documentaries' reflection of reality distinguished from its artistic aspects? First, a general demarcation and exploration of the field of the documentary is made. Then, an examination of the documentary's function of reflecting on reality is conducted. Finally, the types and usage of narratives that documentaries apply is outlined.

2.3.1 What is a documentary?

The documentary is next to journalism an overarching concept of this research. Nichols (2010) investigates the entire concept of documentary: its definition, its ethics and history and its reflection on reality. The documentary belongs to the domain of film. Here, the distinction must be made between fiction and nonfiction film. Fiction can be based on reality, but still applies fictional characters and narratives to explore a story (Bordwell, 2013). Nonfiction is always based on reality. However, it can use dramatization – reenacting an event using existing individuals and narratives – to carry out the story more effectively to the audience (Beattie, 2004). The distinction is found in the reflective functionalities of a film: “documentary films appear as pale reflections of the dominant, instrumental discourses of our society” (Nichols, 2005, p. 4). This creates a bridge to the societal functions of journalism: to discern discourses in society and to make sense of these discourses and how they create reality (Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch, 2009). To act as reflection and represent reality, the documentary distinguishes itself from fiction film in various terms (Nichols, 2005). First of all, the control of the filmmaker in the production of the film is aimed to be diminished as much as possible, in order to reduce external influences that may distort reality, thus increasing the realism and veracity of the documentary. However, the filmmaker may choose to exert control on the documentary's characters and manipulate the narrative, for instance through montage, to stress a certain point. This signifies a potential subjective nature of the documentary that filmmakers use to approach a part of reality a certain way, resembling the abilities of journalists to approach a news story from one perspective and report it as such. Both filmmakers and journalists provide a version of the truth: objectivity in presenting reality is a notion that is pursued, but is never fully achieved (Schudson and Anderson, 2009).

Another dimension of the documentary is the discourse that is applied. Nichols (2005) emphasizes the manner of application of the discourse, where a documentary does not discuss an issue specifically, but discusses the way the issue is spoken of. Therefore, the documentary applies a meta-perspective on these social issues in society. The discourse is portrayed through the actual text of the documentary and shaped by the way it is perceived by both the characters within the documentary and the audience who perceives it. Also, as is the case in journalistic discourse, power is an important facet of discourse in documentaries. Eitzen (1995) states that the presence and

division of power in documentary discourse depends on how power is framed by filmmakers and then situated within the corresponding narrative. Throughout the narrative, Nichols (2010) elaborates furthermore on various dimensions of the genre of documentary. The author explains that while documentaries mostly revolve around a narrative, this particular narrative is built around a specific logic, an argument that the filmmaker tries to convey, influencing the perspective on reality that is provided to the audience. Next to this, the dependency on visuals and commentary is more flexible with documentaries than with fiction film, as the narrative of the documentary allows it to switch between characters and periods more easily, and edit more freely, for this is done solely in service to the filmmaker's logic.

2.3.2 Documentary and reality

While the documentary is part of the realm of film, it does distinguish itself from the fictional film in various ways: its focus on real-life events and aspects of history, culture and society; the use of real individuals and groups instead of fictive characters; and the focus on truth and realism (Nichols, 1991). Not only does the documentary aim to represent reality: it can create (aspects of) reality and help shape the audience's perception on social issues. As Nichols (1991) stresses in the case of representation of conflict in documentary: "such representations actively construct a historical reality we may not otherwise see" (p. 12). This means that these representations combine ideas and ideologies to influence existing public consciousness of particular topics. The documentary therefore strives to represent reality, real events and characters (Ward, 2012). Although audience can distinguish whether content that is watched on screen is fictionalized or not, a documentary does have to focus on its presentation of reality. As the documentary can be stylized and content can be approached in various ways, the notion of reality is a sensitive one, and as with the notion of objectivity in journalism, which is a noble goal but impossible to completely achieve (Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch, 2009; Schudson and Anderson, 2009), the documentary must attempt to achieve as much realism in its content as possible.

However, a filmmaker does not necessarily have to achieve a perfect presentation of reality (Ward, 2012; Nichols, 2010). The approach to a topic is just as essential to the final product as the actual reflection on the real-life basis is conducted. This reflection on reality only makes sense if the filmmaker has chosen an approach to this specific topic, where some aspects of the topic are chosen and others are neglected. This notion resembles the news selection that occurs in journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009), where the framing of reality leads to the creation of a package of aspects that is presented and interpreted by audiences.

2.3.3 *Documentary and narrative*

Nichols (1983; 1991) makes a point of similarities between fiction and documentary. The usage of the narrative to build the documentary around, “concepts of character development and subjectivity, continuity or montage editing” (p. 6) are all applied in contemporary documentaries. The imagery may serve as sheer exposure of the real world: “documentary can [...] suggest that its perceptions and values belong to its characters, or adhere to the historical world itself” (Nichols, 1991, p. 6). While these functionalities are shared with fiction film, documentaries apply these only in support of “addressing nonimaginary, real-life issues” (p. 6). The narrative is therefore a main tool to guide the audience through the representation of real-life affairs. This tool can be distinguished into concrete and discrete applications. The story that runs through a documentary is a subtle but very present version of the usage of a narrative. In contrast, the actual narration of a story by its characters or a voice over is a concrete method of presenting a narrative.

Bruzzi (2006) and Young (2009) claim that narrative provides meaning, structure and authority: it is a way to exert a certain ideology concerning the reality that a documentary presents, where the discourse in its content is influenced. Next to this, Corner (2005) argues that documentary narrative provides structure to the documentary, as it place the content in a time frame through which a story is told. The narrative guides the audience into the presented reality and helps order events. This order influences the way reality is perceived (Bruzzi, 2006).

As an example of how the narrative can be executed, Bruzzi (2006) discusses the voice-over as a tool for the narrative: how it helps the audience to make sense of what is on screen, while simultaneously negatively influencing “the ‘pure’ film image” (Bruzzi, 2006, p. 40). Bruzzi argues for the documentary that lacks the use of the voice-over, in order for the audience to be able to enter the world in which the narrative is situated. Furthermore, narration “is an intrusion which interferes with this automatic prioritization of the image [while] distancing the spectator through its dictatorial methods” (Bruzzi, 2006, p. 42). An audience perceives the documentary and is, according to the author, disrupted by the voice-over and disconnected from the most important aspect of the documentary: its imagery. Therefore, Bruzzi (2006) argues, the voice-over is some sort of a mortal sin. However, a voice-over may add to the sense making by the audience as it can clarify aspects of the narrative and simplify it as a whole to make the narrative more comprehensible. Also, when a character of the narrative provides the voice-over during a scene in which he or she is involved, the audience may be more connected to the situation of the character. Nonetheless, this can result in a subjective view on the narrative from both the character and the filmmaker who has chosen to provide this voice over narration through the character (Beattie, 2004).

2.4 *Collective memory*

Wedged in between journalism and documentaries, as the central topics of this thesis, is the concept of collective memory. This concept is widely applicable to many events in and aspects of society, mainly historical. Schwartz (1991) defines collective memory as “a metaphor that formulates society’s retention and loss of information about its past in the familiar terms of individual remembering and forgetting” (p. 302). Information from the past is maintained or lost in a variety of ways. Assmann and Czaplicka (1995) connect collective memory to cultural identity: traditions that have lasted in (a part of) society, major events like wars and revolutions that are experienced by society as a whole and values that arise through everyday communication on a local scale that are integrated in a cultural group. Here, the distinction is made between ongoing practice, such as everyday communication, and singular events that have had and maintain an influence on a societal group and culture. Genocide is an example of the latter. Discussing major criminal events in history, Osiel (1999) emphasizes the effect of the scale of genocides, directed by authority, on the psyche of a people. As a result, this people will “cultivate a shared and enduring memory of its horrors” (Osiel, 1999, p. 6), aiming to prevent such an event of recurring.

As a concept, collective memory has an effective mutual relationship with journalism and media (Edy, 1999). Through media representation of past events and (ongoing) traditions, contemporary society has a way to retain these memories collectively. But according to Zelizer (1992), collective memory in journalism is mainly conducted “in ways that retain their roles as authoritative storytellers about public events” (as cited in Edy, 1999, p. 72). However, the power of journalists in representing the past lies in their shaping abilities: they tell the public what has happened and how it happened. Therefore, journalism plays a great role in the maintenance of collective memory. This also entails that collective memory is shaped in such a way that it may potentially benefit journalists or another social group. Also, the collective memory has to be agreed upon by the specific social group, which is connected through this memory.

Zelizer (1992) makes a point of a specific function of media, which is the shaping of collective memory. Documentaries have the ability to present historical events in such a way that audiences adapt these versions of the truth and act accordingly. Furthermore, Ashuri (2007) proposes the connections between media, a nation and its people and culture, and collective memory. Media, according to the author, contribute to the creation and shaping of a collective memory with their audiences, who make up a significant part of a nation’s populace. The creation and production of media content therefore influences the way in which history is perceived and remembered by the people. The concept of shaping collective memory is essential to this thesis’ topic, as it deals with how past conflicts are represented in recent documentaries: how the collective memory of these conflicts is shaped and presented will signify the journalistic aspects of these documentaries.

In this literature outline, the essential aspects of journalism and documentaries have been provided and discussed. Journalism has proven to be a strong developing field (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). Slow journalism is one outcome of recent developments in the field. This type of journalism aims for quality in its content and is conducted through extensive and time-consuming processes. In this regard, slow journalism shows parallels to investigative processes in documentaries (Nichols, 2010; Le Masurier, 2015). This is also the case for narrative journalism, since narratives are applied in both journalism and documentaries. The field of the documentary is discussed as well. Documentaries show to possess investigative qualities through their creative and artistic processes that show similarities with journalism. The reflection on reality that is provided through narratives in documentaries enables the conduct of investigations. Next to this, the connection of journalism and media to the concept of collective memory is outlined, in which it is signified that media – and specifically journalism through media channels – have a strong shaping ability regarding collective memory.

In the following section, the research method is provided. In order to answer each of this thesis' subquestions, the method provides two approaches to the narrative analysis that each deal with a subquestion. By operationalizing these approaches, the subquestions can be answered.

3. Method

3.1 *Introduction and research questions*

In this section, the research method of this thesis will be outlined and discussed. The focus in this chapter lies on how this research is conducted and data is found. To aid the research goals of this method section, the research question is repeated:

To what extent do documentaries perform journalism, while being a form of art, and dealing with a past conflict?

Documentaries and journalism are the objects of this question, as the concept of journalism is juxtaposed to the art form. This research question is therefore investigated by the research method that will be described and argued for in this chapter. The supporting subset of research questions is divided into three questions. The first subquestion is as follows:

What aspects of *Enemies of the People* (2009), *The Act of Killing* (2012), *The Missing Picture* (2013) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) are related to slow journalism?

Here, the journalistic aspects of these documentaries that are connected to slow journalism are analyzed. Le Masurier (2015) has argued that slow journalism is ideal to delve deep into the societal topics that require intensive research. Gess (2012) offers a strong signifier regarding slow journalism, as the effort that is put into the creation and production of a journalistic product will reward the process with quality and real value to society. Both these arguments connect to Nichols' (2010) thoughts on the documentary as a reflection of reality: slow journalism can be integrated in a documentary as a method of reflecting a part of reality through the investigation of societal events.

The second subquestion of this thesis is:

How are the narrative aspects of *Enemies of the People* (2009), *The Act of Killing* (2012), *The Missing Picture* (2013) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) related to narrative journalism?

Here, the emphasis lies on narrative. The common attributes regarding the narrative have been established in this thesis' theoretical framework, where it is stated that both journalistic products and documentaries apply the concept of the narrative in their content (Bird, 1990; Bruzzi, 2006).

According to Neveu (2014), narratives in journalism are used to keep the audience entangled in the content. As Nichols (2010) has found this same reasoning for using narratives in documentaries, the apparent similarity on this level is interesting to investigate as to how documentaries relate to

journalism, and perhaps perform journalism.

The third subquestion of this thesis is:

To what extent are *Enemies of the People* (2009), *The Act of Killing* (2012), *The Missing Picture* (2013) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) connected to the concept of collective memory?

Collective memory is a strong factor in the effects of large scale conflicts on a population (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995). Since this research focuses on past conflicts, specifically on genocides, collective memory is an important aspect to the narratives of the documentaries in this thesis. Each film will have a narrative that has an input based partially on collective memory. Also, the narrative's output, or the conclusion to each documentary's investigation, will add its findings to both national –Cambodian, Indonesian – and international collective memory.

To inspect the relationship between journalism, documentaries and collective memory, this thesis will perform a narrative analysis on four documentaries, in order to investigate how journalism is conducted within their narrative. This section will first discuss the qualitative nature of this research. Then, the narrative analysis is provided and argued for, after which the operationalization for this research method is provided.

3.1 *Qualitative research*

This research poses a research question that demands an exploratory and partially explanatory answer. The aim is to investigate the media form of the documentary as to how it can function as a journalistic tool, while being associated with the fields of art and past conflicts. What is scrutinized is the extent to which a documentary performs journalism. Thus, not only the way in which journalism is conducted must be investigated. The goals of the filmmaker in creating a documentary have to be researched through the narrative of the documentary, in order for this research to investigate how the journalistic process corresponds to these goals. This justifies the suitability of this research question to apply qualitative research, as it questions to what extent journalism is performed by documentaries. Next to this, the concept of slow journalism is considered a reinvented concept in journalism (Le Masurier, 2015), which makes in-depth investigation into the application of this form of journalism essential to this research. An in-depth investigation into the inherent aspects of documentary narratives and their themes is therefore necessary (Flick, 2006). Qualitative research is more flexible in its interpretations, generalizations and drawing of meanings than quantitative research. Therefore, while a multitude of methods may be applied simultaneously to reach certain goals and answer research questions (Flick, 2006), the character of this thesis' topic demands qualitative research. The goal of this research is to delve into the topic of past conflicts and the investigations of these conflicts, with the proposed

documentaries as subject of analysis. The narrative analysis is the ideal qualitative tool to explore the interrelationship of journalism and documentaries, because the inductive qualities and interpretive level of the analysis aid in scrutinizing this interrelationship (Smith, 2000). Therefore, this research demands the application of qualitative research.

3.2 *Narrative Analysis*

Narrative analysis is the suitable research method to investigate the relationship between journalistic and filmic aspects within these documentaries. Narratives are ubiquitous in both journalism and documentaries (Bird, 1991; Bruzzi, 2006). Smith (2000) states that the narrative analysis “both complements, and differs from, content analysis” (p. 327). Narrative analysis contains a focus on context and “provides access to subjective experience, providing insights into conceptions of self and identity” (Smith, 2000, p. 328). The narrative analysis is conducted on two levels: the analysis of the concrete narrative aspects, and the discourse that runs throughout the entire narrative of the documentaries (Smith, 2000). This is done by applying two approaches to the narrative analysis that encompass all facets to the narrative that are relevant to this thesis’ research goals. These approaches are the holistic content approach and the sociocognitive approach. The holistic content approach of the narrative analysis investigates three concrete factors of the narrative: themes, content, plot structure and social actors. The sociocognitive approach also considers the themes within the narrative of the documentaries, but applies a focus on the plot’s context- and spatiotemporal setting. This context provides a framework in which the narrative is placed. It is necessary to analyze these settings in order to make sense of the discourse and its references to the social world surrounding the narrative. These two approaches are explained and operationalized in section 3.5.

A narrative consists of multiple dimensions. Characterizing these dimensions is necessary in order to understand of what building blocks a narrative is constructed and how to analyze it. Dimensions are the aspects that the approaches to narrative analysis are based on, therefore guiding the analysis as a whole. Bordwell (2012) has described the following dimensions of narrative in film: the story world, where the narrative’s themes are presented and the context of the narrative is given; the plot structure, “the arrangement of the parts of the narrative” (p. 90); and the narration, the actual information coming social from actors in the narrative. Since these dimensions shape the narrative in its entirety, they are applied to the holistic content approach and sociocognitive approach in the analysis. Each approach uses some of the dimensions provided by Bordwell (2012) in order to make sense of the narrative. Thus, the narrative dimensions that each approach focuses on determine which approach is applied to which segment of the narrative.

3.2.2 *Holistic content approach*

The holistic content approach to the narrative analysis investigates the themes and content of the narrative (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber, 1998; Williams and Keady, 2008; Beal, 2013). The focus of this thesis' narrative analysis is the narrative's performance of journalism and subsequently the themes that are present in the documentaries. The holistic content approach involves searching for patterns: the themes that emerge from initial viewings of a narrative in film will lead to testing these themes during subsequent viewings: what exceptions arise, what theme is most dominant, and how are these themes delved into?

Holistic content approach distinguishes itself from other approaches to narrative analysis by focusing on the concrete content of the narrative. Other approaches focus on the narrative's form and technical specifications. This thesis' research questions aim for the way in which journalistic investigation is conducted in the content of the documentaries' narratives. Therefore, holistic content approach is the most suitable approach to the narrative analysis. Lieblich et al. (1998) discuss the holistic form approach, where the focus of the analysis lies on the formal and structural aspects of the narrative. This approach is less relevant to the investigation of journalistic aspects of the documentaries than the holistic content approach, since it focuses more on the technical structure of the narrative in opposition of its content. Content leads to the creation of the structure, instead of the structure influencing the content. This is the difference between the holistic content approach and the holistic form approach and the main reason for the application of the former.

3.2.3 *Sociocognitive Approach*

The sociocognitive approach to the narrative analysis focuses on the themes and context of the narrative, where the discourse and ongoing social action are vital to its process (Van Dijk, 2009). This approach distinguishes itself from holistic content approach in its focus. Sociocognitive approach focuses on the settings in which the discourse of the narrative is placed, while the holistic content approach inspects the narrative's content. There is an interplay between the content of the narrative and the setting in which the narrative is placed, since this contextual framework influences the narrative's content and its discourses. The context that is focused on is social. The social context of a narrative is essential to make sense of it. For example: an Armenian documentary on the Armenian genocide will differ strongly in its context in comparison to a Turkish documentary on the same genocide, since the historical, political and social perspectives of these countries on this conflict are dissimilar (Hovannisian, 1998). The focus on the narrative's context proves the added value of the sociocognitive approach to this thesis' narrative analysis.

The context of the narrative is thus what the discourse of the narrative is framed by. Now, it is necessary to understand the concept of discourse in the sociocognitive approach. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) state in their theory on the discourse that this concept is constructed of various aspects: “participants, behaviours, goals, values and locations” (as cited in Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 21). Machin and Mayr (2012) state that “in a Social Semiotic view of visual communication [...] choices of visual elements and features [...] constitute [the world]” (p. 19). In other words, this combination of chosen communicative elements creates an environment or sphere in which the audience of a text is embedded. As is discussed in this thesis’ theoretical framework, both documentary and journalism are concepts and fields that aim to reflect reality – the former predominantly cultural, the latter social. Also, the units of analysis that deal with social conflicts are embedded in historical events, and aim to provide the stories around the conflicts and their ramifications to society.

In order to analyze the social semiotics of the narrative of the documentaries, the sociocognitive approach that Wodak and Meyer (2015) draw from Van Dijk (2009) will be applied within the narrative. The approach originates from critical discourse analysis (Neuendorf, 2002) which mainly focuses on social themes, comparable to social topics that are used in journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen et al., 2009) and documentaries (Nichols, 2010). The sociocognitive approach is suitable to the narrative analysis as it focuses on social reality, and how it is communicated and represented. Van Dijk (2009) takes context into account in the analysis. The author claims that context is what themes and discourses are embedded in and provide meaning to in a broader way; this is mainly due to the “relevance of specific discourse structures studied in their own context, such as the aims and beliefs of the speaker or the recipients, the social roles, positions and relations of participants” (p. 71). Context is what links society to discourses and vice versa, through which “society relationships, such as those of power and domination” (Van Dijk, 2009, p. 74) are analyzed. Also, “social actors involved in discourse do not only use their individual experiences and strategies, they rely mainly upon collective frames of perception, called social representations” (Wodak et al., 2015, p. 26).

This process is suitable for analyzing slow journalism. Slow journalism resembles the extensive process of qualitative, investigative journalism, in which context and representation are vital factors (Le Masurier, 2015). Wedged in and building the bridge between the sociocognitive approach and slow journalism is the concept of conflict. The documentaries deal with immense conflicts that have lasting consequences in the respective societies. Here, both the individual and collective aspects of the approach are applicable, as the documentaries look at consequences on both these levels in contemporary society. Slow journalism comes into play because this form of journalism is suitable for investigating great events with a large context and social character (Le Masurier, 2015).

3.4 Data

To conduct the narrative analysis, data has to be gathered and applied. Here, the data for this thesis' research design will be outlined and discussed.

3.4.1 Units of analysis

The narrative analysis will be conducted on four documentaries: *Enemies of the People* (2009), by Rob Lemkin and Thet Sambath; *The Missing Picture* (2013) by Rithy Panh; *The Act of Killing* (2012) and *The Look of Silence* (2014), both by Joshua Oppenheimer. This number of documentaries is suitable for a thesis of this proportion and the qualitative content analysis it applies to achieve proper results to answer this thesis' research questions. Subsequently, the units of analysis will be described separately. Their plot, production specifications and international acclaim is discussed. First, the Cambodian centered documentaries *Enemies of the People* (2009) and *The Missing Picture* (2013) are presented. Then, the Indonesian focused documentaries *The Act of Killing* (2012) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) are addressed. This order of presentation will be continued in the results section, in order to maintain a logical structure in this research and distinguish the investigations of the Cambodian and Indonesian genocides.

Enemies of the People (2009), written and directed by Rob Lemkin and Thet Sambath, investigates the genocide in Cambodia between 1975 to 1979 (*Enemies of the People*, 2009). The documentary follows Thet Sambath, an investigative journalist who searches for the perpetrators of the Khmer Rouge regime to whom his family fell victim and interviews them for their motives and emotions. *Enemies of the People* is a cooperation between Cambodia and the United Kingdom, produced by Old Street Films and first released at the IDFA festival in the Netherlands on November 24, 2009. The film is shot entirely in Cambodia. Also, this documentary has received good press and multiple documentary awards, such as the World Jury Special Prize at the Sundance Festival in 2010 (<http://enemiesofthepeoplemovie.com/Press/Awards>).

The Missing Picture (2013) (or: 'L' image Manquante') also investigates the genocide in Cambodia in 1975-1979. This documentary tells the story of Rithy Panh, who, as a child, is put in a Khmer Rouge camp and is forced to work the fields and forests (*The Missing Picture*, 2013). Through the use of clay art and archive imagery, Panh visualizes his story and attempts to make sense of his experiences and the reasons behind the regime. Both written and directed by Rithy Panh, the film is a French-Cambodian collaboration and shot in Cambodia. It is produced by Catherine Dussart and has been released at the Cannes Film Festival on May 19, 2013. The film is narrated by Randal Douc and Jean-Baptiste Phou. It has been nominated for an Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film of

the Year in 2014 and has won various documentary prizes worldwide.

The Act of Killing (2012) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) deal with the Indonesian genocide of 1965-1968. *The Act of Killing* (2012) deals with the perpetrators of the genocide kill-squads and follows their process of the reenactment of their deeds at the request of director Joshua Oppenheimer (*The Act of Killing*, 2012). The reenactment can be done in any Hollywood style of the perpetrators' choice as long as they explain their actions to Oppenheimer. This documentary is a cooperation between Denmark, Norway and the United Kingdom, entirely shot in Indonesia and produced by Werner Herzog and Errol Morris. The film was released at the Telluride Film Festival in the United States on August 31, 2012. *The Act of Killing* was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Documentary in 2014 and has won multiple international documentary awards.

The Look of Silence (2014) also centers on the Indonesian genocide, in which optician Adi Rukun challenges his customers, who are the perpetrators of the Snake River Massacre in one part of Indonesia, to explain their reasoning for and reasoning behind their actions. In this way, Adi seeks closure for the murder of his brother in the massacre. This film is also directed by Joshua Oppenheimer and produced by Werner Herzog, Errol Morris and Andre Singer. The documentary is a large, multinational collaboration between Denmark, the United States and Indonesia, among others. *The Look of Silence* was released at the Venice Film Festival on August 28, 2014. This film too was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Documentary, in 2016, and also won various international documentary awards. The four documentaries share aspects in their topic, their focus, the approaches by the filmmakers, and the period they tackle. Therefore, these documentaries are compared with each other on their journalistic aspects. Also, these documentaries are selected beforehand on their topic and relevance to this research's topic and research goals, a selection which has been justified in this thesis. Therefore, the research sample of this particular research is limited to these four documentaries.

3.4.2 *Time Period*

The time period that is researched is twofold. First, all four documentaries originate from the 21st century: the least recent documentary originates from 2009 ('*Enemies of the People*'), the most recent documentary originates from 2014 (*The Look of Silence*). Therefore, these documentaries can be placed in the same period of film history and may share artistic and journalistic qualities. Second, the time periods these documentaries deal with are both situated in the 20th century. And finally, all four documentaries deal with the ramifications of these conflicts in the present, the 21st century. Thus, these documentaries are suitable to be researched in this analysis due to their similarity in time period.

3.5 Operationalization

The operationalization discusses how the method of the narrative analysis is made operational. Essentially, this means that in this section it is shown how each subquestion of this thesis will be answered. These subquestions guide the operationalization by discussing the application of each approach to each question. The concepts of slow journalism, narrative journalism and collective memory that guide these questions also guide the operationalization of the narrative analysis. The holistic content approach focuses on narrative journalism; the sociocognitive approach deals more with the concept of slow journalism. Finally, the combination of both approaches will help answer the subquestion regarding the documentaries' connection to collective memory.

The data of the analysis is collected by viewing the documentaries and analyzing their narratives. This data is labeled based on the narrative dimensions by Bordwell (2012) and focus points of the holistic content approach and sociocognitive approach. For the former approach, the narrative dimensions are the narrative's theme, plot structure and social actors' motives and actions; its focus points are content and social action of the narrative. The sociocognitive approach investigates the narrative dimensions of themes, spatiotemporal setting, social context and the social actors' representations and ideologies. The focus points of this approach are context, discourse and ideology. The labeling is done during the analysis. After the analysis, these labels are reorganized and restructured according to the narrative dimensions and focus points of the two approaches. These labels are presented in Appendix A. By grouping these labels together, their interrelationship becomes apparent and a coherent perception of what aspect these labels represent, for instance a certain theme, appears. This perception is used to answer each subquestion.

There are two viewings of each documentary. The first viewing is focused on the holistic content approach. The second viewing is based on the sociocognitive approach. In the following sections the similarities and differences in the operationalization of the approaches are given. Then, the narrative analysis is operationalized separately for the holistic content approach and sociocognitive approach. This is done separately in order to ensure clarity and structure regarding the execution of the approaches in the narrative analysis. In the results section, however, the results for both approaches will be combined. This will benefit the cohesion of the results per documentary and facilitate a clear presentation of each narrative dimension that is investigated. The diverging aspects of plot structure for the holistic content approach and context for the sociocognitive approach are discussed separately in the results section. As themes and social actors are shared attributes of the two approaches, these will be discussed together in the results. The combined presentation of the approaches' results will also serve to answer this thesis' subquestion regarding collective memory.

3.5.1. *Similarities and Differences*

The holistic content approach and the sociocognitive approach hold similarities. Both approaches have the same starting point of analyzing the themes and topics of the narrative. Their outset is the inspection of the themes that run through a narrative and continue from this point. The holistic content approach directs itself to the concrete plot and content of the narrative and how this leads to the structure of the plot. In contrast, the sociocognitive approach focuses on the context of this plot and the spatiotemporal setting in which the narrative is positioned. The approaches intersect on the focus on the social actors and ongoing social action in the narrative. Here, however, the focus on social actors and action differs. The holistic content approach points towards conversational topics and social actors' ideologies. The sociocognitive approach addresses schemes of representation and the societal position of social actors in the narrative. These similarities and differences between the two approaches are what makes this construction of the narrative analysis a versatile and effective research method.

3.5.2. *Holistic Content Approach*

The holistic content approach of the narrative analysis focuses on the content and plot of the narrative. The holistic content approach is both inductive and subjective. This means that the themes and discourses in the narratives are created based on patterns that emerge in the analysis. The signs of these patterns are also based on interpretation. The inductive approach to narrative analysis is chosen because this will give room to any theme that may emerge in the analysis, rather than limit the analysis to a predetermined set of themes. As a result, the analysis will provide a more varied collection of results from which specific conclusions can be drawn. Its inductive nature will make the narrative analysis subjective: the patterns that emerge are based on the researcher's interpretation of the narrative's content. However, this subjectivity is justified by the means of argumentation of the results, meaning that every pattern and label can be referred back to the narrative and this thesis' theoretical framework.

First, the themes in the narrative's content are identified and labeled, based on emerging patterns in the analysis. The labels can be found in Appendix A. Labels that represent a certain theme are grouped together, demarcating the themes (Lieblich et al., 1998). For example: a general theme may be sorrow; however, the narrative can show signs of this theme by stating that sorrow is caused by the loss of a family member. Such signs narrow a general theme down to a more specific theme such as sorrow due to the loss of a family member. This narrative analysis aims for specific themes, since these are more detailed than general themes and therefore aid in drawing specific conclusions

and answer this thesis' research questions more extensively.

The narrative may consist of multiple themes that coexist, where one theme is more dominant than the other. The significance of one theme regarding another is labeled as well and noted in the appendix. This dominance is based on the frequency of a pattern that emerges in the narrative: if signs of a pattern occur in a high frequency, the pattern becomes more apparent and the theme will be dominantly present in the narrative. When this frequency is high, theme satisfaction, or the confidence of the presence of a theme in the narrative, occurs (Lieblich et al., 1998; Van Dijk, 2009).

Next, the structure of the plot is outlined, based on the narrative dimension of the plot structure (Bordwell, 2012). The main question in this part of the analysis is: "in what way does the content lend structure to the plot?" (Williams et al., 2008, p. 336). The analysis of the plot structure is inductive: next to the order of events, the motivation of ordering these events in a certain way is interpreted. This interpretation is based on labels (Appendix A) and will signify the discourse of the narrative, since the chain of events leads to a conclusion that conveys the message of the filmmaker.

The order of events dictates a story arc. Whether this order is presented chronologically or not is noted and an interpretation of this choice is provided in the results section. In the story arc, the introduction of the story is given in which the conflict that drives the narrative and the rationale of telling the story is posed (Bordwell, 2012). These two factors of the narrative are interpreted in the analysis and provided in Appendix A. The middle section of the narrative shows events in which social actors deal with the conflict. These actions are labeled in order to make sense of the development of the narrative. An interpretation is given on why events are ordered the way they are to understand how the filmmakers have proceeded in their investigation in the narrative. Then, the conclusion to the narrative, in which the conflict that drives the narrative is solved, is noted and provided in the appendix. The reason for noting the introduction, middle section and conclusion of the narrative is to make sense of how the investigation is being conducted in the narrative, why events are ordered a certain way and how this leads to the solution of the conflict and the investigation. An example of a story arc is the story of optician Adi Rukun who seeks for closure and the reasoning behind the murder of his brother in the Indonesian genocide in *The Look of Silence* (2014). Throughout the story, he interviews the perpetrators of the murder in order to find closure to this loss. In the end, Rukun discovers the way in which his brother is murdered and what the perpetrators' motivations behind this murder were which gives him closure to the matter.

The social actors in the narrative are identified and labeled. They create the narrative's content through their social action. The significance and subsequent inclusion of these social actors is based on interpretation of the labels. The conflict in the narrative is posed by the social actors. The subsequent chain of events is caused through social action and the solution to the conflict is provided by the actors. The social actors are listed by name in the appendix. The main focus of this part of the holistic content approach lies in discovering the motives behind the actions of social actors and the role they play in developing the narrative.

When identifying the social actors and their role in the narrative, their ideologies are labeled. Signs of ideologies are interpreted based on the ongoing social action between actors (Williams et al., 2008). By labeling the connection between the actor and the ongoing social action, his motivation for this action becomes apparent. The significance of identifying social actors in the narrative thus lies both in their creation of narrative content through interaction and individual actions, and the subsequent ideologies and emotions that flow from there. The themes, plot structure and social actors are the aspects of holistic content approach that are operationalized. Next, the operationalization of the sociocognitive approach is given.

3.5.3 *Sociocognitive approach*

In the sociocognitive approach to narrative analysis, several aspects of the narrative are labeled. The topics and themes identified in the holistic content approach analysis are the starting point for the sociocognitive approach to the narrative analysis. The following categories, posed by Van Dijk (2009), are labeled: the spatiotemporal setting and the participants in the documentaries that partake in the narrative, of which their “identities, roles, relationships” (p. 74) are identified. These categories dictate the context in which the social action of the narrative takes place and how this context influences social actors and their action. Each category is presented in Appendix A. First, the spatiotemporal setting is labeled. This means that the time and place in which the narrative takes place is noted. The significance of this setting is that it influences the social world in which the narrative resides. The historical, political and social context of the nation or area the narratives take place in influences the ideologies of social actors and the choices they make in their social action. This context is labeled and presented in Appendix A.

Then, as well as in the holistic content approach, the social actors are characterized. However, the difference is that the sociocognitive approach labels the roles of social actors and the relationships between them, instead of their actions and social action. The relations between social actors are labeled, demarcating their social stance towards each other. The relationships are presented in Appendix A. Distinguishing this social position of the actors in relation to each other helps discovering the motives behind their actions in the narrative.

Ideology is, according to Van Dijk (2009), built on representation: schemas that point towards the representation of the self and others. The ideology or strong belief that is held by a social actor will drive this actor to certain actions that agree with this ideology or belief. The actor’s motives and subsequent actions are then influenced by his ideologies. Therefore, it is necessary in this sociocognitive approach to label and describe the social actors’ ideologies and social representation. An example of the social representation of a social actor is Thet Sambath in *Enemies of the People*

(2009), who is positioned as an investigative journalist with a professional relationship with the perpetrators of the killings in Cambodia, and has the aim to investigate the killings and personally come to terms with the murders of his family. His position as a journalist provides his motive of the investigation of the killings, which drives the narrative of the documentary, and motivates the perpetrators to open up to him as a journalist and share their stories, which Sambath will share with the world.

3.5.4. *Collective memory*

In order to answer this thesis' subquestion regarding the documentaries' connection to collective memory, the way in which interpretations on this connection are made is operationalized. In the narrative analysis, data concerning collective memory originate from the holistic content approach and sociocognitive approach combined. Collective memory is specifically integrated in the themes of the narrative. The themes of the narratives determine exactly what the narrative is about. As narratives shape the collective memory, the themes that are present are what influence this shaping ability. This is also the case for the ideologies and motives of the social actors in each narrative: the presence of these factors influence the shaping of collective memory as these are transmitted through social action.

The connection of each documentary to the concept of collective memory is based on interpretation using the results from the two approaches to narrative analysis that are presented in Appendix A. The ideologies and motives are classified per social actor in the two approaches. The interpretation of collective memory starts with interpreting the influence of the ideologies and motives for social action on the shaping of the themes. Subsequently, an interpretation is given on the influence of the narrative on the shaping of collective memory regarding the conflict that is discussed in the narrative. The results of the narrative analysis provide this research with a framework through which an interpretation on the influence on collective memory is made.

3.6 *Justification and accountability*

Polkinghorne (2007) states that “the general notion of validity concerns the believability of a statement or knowledge claim” (p. 474). The narrative analysis is an interpretative method. This means that the results of narrative analysis depend on the researcher(s) and the setting in which the analyses are conducted. The interpretations of the researcher(s) are not entirely based on methodologically solid measurements. In the case of the narrative analysis, Polkinghorne (2007) claims that “the validity of the story is attested to by its rich detail and revealing descriptions” (p. 483). This means that researchers “need to justify their interpretations for the reader” (p. 483) and give the reader a deeper

insight into the narrative. Results from narrative analyses are based on real material, which makes the justification of the interpretations and results strongly justifiable. In this research, the justifiability of the results of the narrative analysis is provided in twofold. First, the results section is rich of information – themes, plot structures and social actors – that are justified through detail and argumentation. This argumentation can be referenced back to the unit of analysis and the results that are drawn from the analysis. Second, the notes and labels that are created in the analysis and discussed in the results section are collected in the appendix of this thesis. Therefore, the argumentation and detail that is provided in the results section can be reflected upon the notes and labels collected by the researcher.

The reliability of the analysis is the matter whether different researchers achieve the same results when performing these analyses as described in a research design (Wood and Kroger, 2000). Wood et al. (2000) state that a qualitative analysis is based on theory and the repetition of concepts: “reliability can be assessed independently of context. That is, although the value of variables might vary across contexts, their nature does not” (Wood and Kroger, 2000, p. 164). When the same theoretical concepts are used, it does not matter in which (con)text the analysis is conducted: the concepts will be unchanged, and thus the research is reliable. This thesis applies the same theoretical concepts within the fields of journalism and documentary, as presented in the theoretical framework, in the narrative analysis to each unit of analysis, therefore enabling the repetition of the analysis with the same concepts. Within narrative analysis, the factual aspects of the narrative, such as the social actors and the conversational narratives are retrievable from the units of analysis, making this aspect of the analysis reliable and repeatable. In this research, accountability and reliability are ultimately ensured both by justifying every step of the research method in this section at every step of the process and by the argumentation of the results based on rich detail and the appendix, using this thesis’ theoretical framework as a safety net.

4. Results

4.1 *Introduction*

In this section, the results of the narrative analysis are divided over the four documentaries. Each documentary is introduced by a short description of its plot and subsequently divided into the following subsections: themes, plot structure, and social actors. The holistic content approach and sociocognitive approach are combined in the presentation of the results. This combination is chosen for the sake of argumentation and coherence in the presentation of results. Also, the approaches intertwine at certain points, such as their focus on themes and social actors. First, the themes in the narrative are discussed. Since both approaches overlap in their starting premise of investigating the themes, this will be the starting point of the results for each documentary. Then, the plot structure is discussed where the relation between the content and the plot structure will be given in light of the holistic content approach. Next, the context and spatiotemporal settings are provided, which relates to the sociocognitive approach. Finally, the social actors are presented and their motives and ideologies, as investigated by both approaches, discussed. Combining the two approaches in the results ensures the coherence of each aspect of the results. From the results in this section conclusions will be derived, upon which a discussion regarding this thesis' research questions and topic will be based.

4.2 *Enemies of the People (2009) (Appendix A1)*

Enemies of the People follows Thet Sambath, an investigative journalist in Cambodia. His project is to investigate the motives behind the actions of perpetrators in Cambodia during the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975 and 1979. The project itself is created between 2000 and 2013 and completely shot in Cambodia. The party of the Khmer Rouge was led by Pol Pot, 'Brother Number One', and Nuon Chea, 'Brother Number Two'. The documentary joins Sambath in his process of interviewing several perpetrators who are responsible for killing dozens of people under the command of the Khmer Rouge. The film interchanges conversations between Sambath and the perpetrators, among who is Nuon Chea, with anecdotes and personal thoughts of Sambath who is interviewed by filmmaker Rob Lemkin. Also, footage of life during the regime is shown.

The documentary starts with Thet Sambath introducing his personal situation: his family was killed during the regime. According to him, this loss drives him to try and understand the reasoning behind their fate. First, the interviewees are introduced. Sambath asks two perpetrators how they conducted their murders, who they received their orders from and how they feel about their actions.

Then Sambath explains his relationship with Nuon Chea, with whom he has had conversations for ten years. However, he does not tell Nuon that his family members were victims of his regime. During the narrative, it becomes known how the perpetrators feel about their actions. They also help Sambath find other surviving members of the regime who he can interview. Also, the perpetrators show in a practical fashion how they conducted their murders. Sambath's stories of his youth provide the emotional basis to this documentary, since it is his incentive to interview the perpetrators.

4.2.1 Themes

The narrative of *Enemies of the People* contains several themes that are all connected to personal stories and memories. The main theme in this documentary is the search for motives behind horrible acts: the whole narrative is based on this desire to investigate the reasons behind the killings and the situations the Cambodian people were put through. This theme is directly connected to the theme of suffering and loss, which is omnipresent throughout the narrative. All social actors feel a level of suffering, whether through the loss of a family or, on the other end of the spectrum, through their actions. Loss is what drives the characters to ask questions and give answers, in order to achieve resolution to their problems. Resolution is the third theme that drives the narrative: the repercussions and trauma caused by the events of the regime are sought to be resolved by telling stories and explaining the truth. A final theme is the concept of communism and hierarchy: the influence of the Khmer Rouge' strife to stay in power and destroy all opposition, which is transited to social actors on lower levels of the hierarchy, namely the perpetrators.

These themes are presented in the narrative through the conversations between the social actors. Each conversation between Sambath and a perpetrator begins with the explanation of the practicalities of the murders that have taken place, which is succeeded by the perpetrators expressing their emotions due to their actions. Feelings of regret and dealing with repercussions of actions are the leitmotif in the narrative. Next to this, Sambath's stories of his parents and siblings and how they were killed are told by him. This defines the personal connection Sambath has to this investigation and the narrative of *Enemies of the People* (2009), since these stories are what drive him to conduct the investigation in the first place. Finally, conversations concerning the workings and motives of the regime are held between Nuon Chea and Sambath, which provides the practical background of the narrative.

4.2.2 Plot structure

The plot structure of *Enemies of the People* is not clear and obvious, but subtle. The plot is mainly constructed of snippets of interviews that are linked by Thet Sambath talking to the camera, reflecting

on a specific interview or telling a story and explaining his feelings about the interviews and his interviewees. The narrative transits from interview to interview, in which specific topics are discussed. However, there is a main story line present in this documentary, which is Sambath's progressing discovery of the motives of the perpetrators' actions. The plot structure starts with the introduction of Thet Sambath, who tells the story of him and his family during the regime. Since he is the main figure in this narrative, the documentary opens with him. His aims and project are revealed and information on the regime is provided by him. Once the audience has been informed on Sambath's goals that will be carried out throughout the documentary, the plot structure becomes blurred. The interviews and personal stories are interchanged. This way, the narrative becomes broken into smaller pieces and shuffled, stimulating the viewer to connect the pieces into the larger narrative. As Sambath investigates the events under the regime and receives information piece by piece, the plot structure is characterized by him puzzling together the narrative himself. This makes the narrative both unpredictable and constantly in anticipation of its resolution. The pieces of narrative on their own are clear, as each signifies one facet of Sambath's recreation of the events. Next to this, Sambath reflects on the information by reviewing the footage of the interviews: through this, he reflects on this information simultaneously with the audience. Although the middle section of *Enemies of the People* is intermixed, the beginning and ending of the plot structure are clear: there is a resolution to the (personal) conflict that is outlined in the beginning of the film through Sambath's revelation to Nuon Chea and the latter confessing the murders. According to Sambath, this is what he has searched for in his project, making the project come full circle. *Enemies of the People* has a plot structure that is connected by the red line of Sambath's investigation.

4.2.3. *Social actors*

The recreation of the events during the regime is done through interviews. The social actors of this documentary are both storyteller and key player in their own stories. Thet Sambath has a multifaceted role. He investigates the events and the killings by the perpetrators by interviewing them; but he also recreates his own experiences by telling stories of his family to the camera. This makes Thet Sambath both filmmaker and key player of *Enemies of the People*, and therefore a documentary creator who is personally attached to the narrative and providing a level of subjectivity to the film. Although he was a child during the regime, Sambath's ideology towards the regime is open minded, but also in complete disagreement with the regime's concepts.

The perpetrators he interviews are Nuon Chea, second-in-command of the Khmer Rouge regime; and Suon and Khoun, two perpetrators who followed orders during the regime and acted out multiple killings. Nuon Chea is one of the regime leaders and therefore created the situation in which Thet's family was killed. He is positioned in this narrative as the key figure to Thet's search for

answers. Along with Pol Pot, his ideology is made clear in this documentary: although he regrets the fate of family members of people who he feels close to, he supports the ideas of Khmer Rouge fully. Suon and Khoun were of lower ranks and acted out orders of their superiors. They provide Thet with information concerning the practicality of the killings and the motives behind them. Next to this, they explain how they feel remorse due to their actions and therefore agree to do interviews and help the documentary be made. Their ideology towards the Khmer Rouge has been changed: they claim they just followed orders and did not fully support the regime's ideas.

Other key figures in the narrative are Thet's family members, who remain nameless and of whom no footage is shown. Although they are not concretely present in the film, they are the main incentive to Thet's search and thus to the creation of this documentary. Finally, one key figure who is positioned as the main perpetrator and antagonist, next to Nuon Chea, is Pol Pot, the regime's leader.

The conversations in the narrative are based on the social structures of society in which the participants of the narrative remain. There is a parallel in this documentary between social structures: the structure under the regime and the structure of contemporary Cambodian society. The relations of the key figures to each other and society have been changed. Nuon Chea is reduced from his high position to being a common citizen, equal to Thet and other characters. Khoun and Suon were low on the hierarchy and therefore had to conduct their crimes, which, at the time, they did not consider as criminal.

4.3 *The Missing Picture (2013)* (Appendix A2)

While *Enemies of the People* plot wise has a strong focus on members of the Khmer Rouge, *The Missing Picture* mainly describes the personal story of main character Rithy Panh, who, as a child, was placed in a Khmer Rouge camp along with his family. He recounts his experiences and emotions of that time and how this resonates on his personal life today. Similarities between these documentaries are the background information on the Khmer Rouge regime and stories of the way the killings were conducted. Here, figures like Pol Pot and camp leaders are presented and discussed. Another strong similarity is the fact that both documentaries are narratively led by one main figure, telling their story and recounting their emotions towards the event. However, the way in which their story is told differs strongly.

The Missing Picture is a narrative told by Rithy Panh, a Cambodian who has experienced life in a Khmer Rouge camp during the regime, along with his family. He explains how the regime came to be in his home region, how the people were stripped of their identity and belongings and put in camps to work the fields. Panh has to work the fields and in forests. He focuses on the personal experiences of hunger, loss, and destruction of social connections like family. One by one his family

members are either killed by camp leaders or struck by hunger, leaving Panh alone in the camp. Also, he explains how the regime slowly falls apart because the system of communism and working only for the nation appears to be inherently unsuccessful. Finally, it is recounted how the people of the camps are starting to revolt and are aided by the United States.

4.3.1. *Themes*

The narrative of *The Missing Picture* contains several themes. First of all, childhood and its innocence is a running theme, which is juxtaposed to injustice, as Panh is a child in his story who experiences injustice under the regime. Connected to his story are the themes of memory and personal search for answers, which are intertwined by the recounting of this story. Next to this, identity is an essential theme, as the regime aims to strip each individual of his or her identity to work as a collective for the state. Retaining your identity through hardship is the drive of the protagonist in this narrative. Furthermore, hunger, thirst and separation are themes that progress the theme of suffering throughout the narrative, as these struck the characters in this narrative one by one. Finally, freedom and revolution are themes that are repressed in the story, both by the main character personally and the regime members as a unit, but which are expressed towards the end of the narrative, as the camp is liberated.

4.3.2. *Plot structure*

The plot structure of *The Missing Picture* is clearer than the structure of *Enemies of the People*. First of all, the narrative is presented chronologically, starting with the dawn of the regime, continuing into the life in the camp and working in the forests, and closing with the revolution and release from the camps and the regime. Second, the plot is constructed of specific stories that Panh recounts, which makes the narrative a chain of stories that complete the story. This chain is connected through footage of the regime outside of the camp Panh is in, showing how life is throughout Cambodia during the regime. Third, the narrative has a definite beginning and ending: the narrative comes full circle, making the narrative a concluded investigation into personal life under the regime. What makes the investigation personal though, is the regular intermissions of Panh explaining his emotions in between telling the story. These intermissions provide the emotional atmosphere to the specific stories and the entire narrative as a whole.

4.3.3. *Social actors*

The documentary does not focus on too many characters. Rithy Panh's family members are discussed, especially their suffering and deaths. Also, other members of the camp are addressed, as well as the camp leaders. However, Panh strongly focuses on his own personal story to illustrate the situation. The themes influence the social structure of society, which is strongly communistic and rigid. There is a simple hierarchy of the common people below the Khmer Rouge regime. Any disobedience or deviation from the Khmer Rouge' standards and laws is punished by torture or death. This domination of the people drives the incomprehensibility towards the motives behind the Khmer Rouge and subsequent investigation of Rithy Panh's experiences.

Due to the fact that the narrative is narrated by Panh, conversations are lacking in *The Missing Picture*. The conversations that do take place are enforcing the themes of this documentary. For instance, a conversation between Panh and his father concerns the search for freedom and being the person you are, instead of being stripped of your identity by the regime. Also, the propaganda speeches the camp leaders address to the people in the camp signify the themes of injustice and propaganda.

An evident difference to *Enemies of the People* is the lack of distinct social actors and footage. This is because the story is told through the eyes of Rithy Panh as a child, meaning that the characters he remembers and recounts are only vague in his mind. Other characters, like his parents, remain unnamed. This lack is visualized through the use of clay figurines and sets that represent the situations and characters Panh, as a narrator, presents. The title of the documentary, *The Missing Picture*, signifies the absence of footage of life in the camps. The only footage that is present is that of propaganda imagery of the regime and news footage of Cambodia and international press. However, according to Panh, this footage is lacking in order to accurately show life as it was for him. Therefore, the stories are visualized with clay figurines and sets, in order to artistically represent the story along with the narration.

4.4 *The Act of Killing* (2012) (Appendix A3)

The Act of Killing has as its background the Indonesian coup of 1965-1966. The documentary takes place in cities in Indonesia, locations where people were murdered, and film sets. Director Joshua Oppenheimer interviews executioners of that coup, who are still self-proclaimed proud of their actions. Oppenheimer asks them to reenact their actions in the coup and film these in any genre of film they like. Because they are still revered by the people and proud of their deeds, they agree to partake

and explain to Oppenheimer how they executed people. They explain how their actions were influenced by Hollywood films. Throughout the film, the executioners play both themselves and their victims. They discuss their actions and how they felt and still feel about them. The process of filming their scenes is documented by Oppenheimer, who captures the conversations held between the executioners. During the process, the executioners become aware of what their victims must have felt like, and start to realize that their actions have enormous repercussions for their victims and themselves.

4.4.1. Themes

Similar to *Enemies of the People*, *The Act of Killing* presents themes of remorse, dealing with repercussions of past actions, and suffering and loss. Initially, these themes are not addressed. Instead, the theme of pride is portrayed through the main social actors. Questions asked by Oppenheimer are countered by Congo, stating that it was right what he has done and remaining stubborn on this matter. However, during the filming process, the other themes surface: executioners start realizing the repercussions of their murders to society and themselves and suffer under this realization. One particular event in which Congo acts as his own victim in a scene, the theme of remorse becomes evident when Congo clearly expresses feelings of remorse when he realizes what his victims have felt. During the documentary, these themes appear in parallel to Congo's comprehension of his repercussions. The change of ideology in this individual is what signifies the investigative journey of Oppenheimer in his research of the human emotions and motives regarding murdering a high amount of people. The difference between this documentary and *Enemies of the People* is that the perpetrators in Cambodia have realized that their actions are severe and feel remorse – except for the Khmer Rouge leadership, represented as Nuon Chea. Also, the Khmer Rouge is not in power anymore, while the Indonesian paramilitary groups still are. Therefore, the Indonesian perpetrators did not have to face their actions necessarily to their government or international courts and tribunals.

4.4.2. Plot structure

The plot structure of *The Act of Killing* is entirely based on the process of filming the actions of the main executioners Oppenheimer interviews. Initially, main character Congo is introduced. He explains his motives behind his murders and the practicalities of how they were done. Then, Oppenheimer shows how the military coup was done and paramilitary groups became and remain powerful. This is followed by the executioners, with Congo at the wheel, filming their scenes and arguing how specific

events went and should be filmed. These scenes are interchanged with scenes of conversations between the executioners, asking themselves how they feel about their past. In between the filming process, several executioners grasp the repercussions of their actions and try to explain to Congo how they were wrong during the coup. Finally, when the film is finished, Congo visits one place where he has killed hundreds of people, and breaks down when he realizes his crimes. This realization concludes the plot structure, where Congo has gone through an emotional exploration. Although multiple executioners are filmed by Oppenheimer, Congo is the main focus of the narrative and his story of becoming powerful in the coup and remaining revered in society is the heart of the narrative.

4.4.3. *Social actors*

The social actors in this narrative mainly consist of the perpetrators who reenact their actions. Anwar Congo is the main perpetrator and self-confessedly proud of the many murders he committed. He encourages other perpetrators to join in the reenactment. Other social actors are the paramilitary groups that support the killings of the genocide, since these groups stem from the coup leaders of 1965 to 1968. Oppenheimer has a small role as social actor since he sometimes mingles in the discussion between Congo and the other perpetrators by asking guiding questions. However, it is Congo that leads the narrative as social actor. The hierarchy between these actors is clear: Congo is the most esteemed remainder of the killers in the area and others look up to him for this reason. This hierarchy influences the social action, as Congo is the one who partakes in each discussion concerning the repercussions of their actions and the feelings they have for having killed people. The action is interchanged by reenactments of the perpetrators' actions, discussion between the perpetrators and Congo showing Oppenheimer the ways in which he proceeded during the coup. The social structure of society is essential in *The Act of Killing*: the perpetrators are allowed to walk freely and are untouched by international human right laws and tribunals.

4.5 *The Look of Silence* (2014) (Appendix A4)

The Look of Silence can be seen as a companion piece to *The Act of Killing*. Here, there is a parallel between the Cambodian focused documentaries and the Indonesian focused documentaries. *Enemies of the People* deals with the Cambodian perpetrators where *The Act of Killing* discusses the Indonesian perpetrators. *The Missing Picture* discusses the story of the survivors and their life in contemporary society, while *The Look of Silence* focuses on the repercussions of perpetrators' actions on the life of the survivors and their family. Thus, both conflicts have two documentaries that discuss the

perpetrators and the survivors of the genocide respectively.

Both *The Look of Silence* and *The Act of Killing* are created by Joshua Oppenheimer. In *The Look of Silence* he follows Adi Rukun on his investigation into the murder of his brother during the coup. Although he himself was born after 1966, he does experience the consequences of this loss in his daily life. As a travelling optician, Adi visits his customers, who happen to be the murders of his brother. While working with them, he confronts them with this fact and asks for their motives and whether they feel any remorse or not. This confrontation is dangerous for Adi and his family, because these perpetrators still hold powerful positions in society and are able to endanger Adi. His search is focused on finding the real killer of his brother.

4.5.1. Themes

The themes in *The Look of Silence* are similar to the other three documentaries. However, the emotions of remorse and regret are lacking in this documentary, since the perpetrators show very little of these in their conversations with Adi Rukun. When they realize that Rukun has lost his brother in the murders, they do express their regret towards him. This does not stop Rukun for feeling left without closure and he is desperately in search for answers. This search, along with finding peace with the loss of a family member and the ramifications of this is strongly evident. The way in which Rukun asks his questions and challenges the perpetrators to explain themselves and their motives points towards a strong motive that is driven by this search for the closure. The theme of repercussions on personal lives in today's world is evidently present. Here, the repercussions of the murders are positioned on the victim, in the shape of Adi Rukun. Rukun feels the loss of his brother and how this loss has affected his family in many ways. The final theme is the effects of a coup and the subsequent killings on a people as a whole, since the massacre has inflicted families throughout communities in entire Indonesia. The one massacre that is discussed in *The Look of Silence* represents other events in Indonesia during the genocide. This shows that what happened to Rukun's family has happened to many other families throughout Indonesia.

4.5.2. Plot structure

The structure of this documentary's narrative is based on Rukun's search for answers. Adi Rukun is introduced as he explains his desire to investigate what took place during the coup. Each customer he visits provides him with more information on the actual situation of his brother's murder. The perpetrators trust him as their optician and agree to be filmed and discuss their actions. Therefore, step

by step, Rukun comes closer to the truth of the 'Snake River Massacre', in which his brother was one of the victims. In between the interviews, Rukun watches footage of *The Act of Killing*, while he reflects on the realizations that are made there. Also, he visits survivors of the massacre to find out how his brother was murdered. Finally, Rukun discovers how this has happened, by which the search is concluded and the plot structure is ended. Next to Adi Rukun, the main social actors of *The Look of Silence* are the perpetrators of the 'Snake River Massacre' and its survivors. The perpetrators of this documentary differ from the other documentaries, because they show no remorse to Rukun, which shows no ideology changes in their character arcs.

4.5.3. *Social actors*

The main social actor in *The Look of Silence* is Adi Rukun. His investigation into the motives behind the Snake River Massacre is the driving force behind the narrative of this documentary. He is able to challenge the perpetrators and ask them questions regarding their feelings because he is their optician and they see him as an important man for this. The perpetrators do not speak as deliberately as they do in *The Act of Killing*. This is probably because a victim of their actions is asking the questions and not filmmaker Oppenheimer. Thus, even the hierarchy of Rukun in his profession as optician and the perpetrators as his customers does not completely empower Rukun in finding all the answers and closure he wants. His wife is another significant social actor. Her father is a perpetrator himself and stands behind his actions and motives. This fact makes Rukun's quest more personal and the investigation harder to conduct. The ongoing social action is taken up mostly by conversations between Rukun and the perpetrators. However, in between these conversations, Rukun's family is shown: his parents, who lost their son in the genocide, and his wife, whose father is one of the perpetrators. This contrast in his own circle of relationships has Rukun reflecting on the rationale behind the genocide and the breaking of families. The social action is also interrupted by Rukun staring at images of Oppenheimer interviewing other perpetrators, like Anwar Congo, and explaining their pride and feelings regarding their actions.

4.6 *Conclusion*

In this section, the results have been presented per documentary. The documentaries share investigative goals and themes, but differ in their execution of the investigation. *Enemies of the People* is the personal investigation of Thet Sambath into the motives behind the genocide in Cambodia. Social actors and their motives play a large role in the narrative, which is focused on themes of closure

and remorse. The narrative has a strong conclusion to its investigation when the perpetrators commit to their crimes. *The Missing Picture* is an account of one individual, making the narrative highly subjective. The narrative is based on Rithy Panh's memory and its investigation is a reflection on his own emotions and experiences during the Cambodian genocide. Panh's investigation is complete when his story is told and emotions are shared, interchanging journalistic with personal investigation. *The Act of Killing* conducts an investigation into the motives and emotions of perpetrators of the Indonesian genocide. Its social actors drive the narrative forward through the reenactment of their crimes, in which they realize the repercussions of their actions. The investigation is concluded as the narrative comes full circle when the social actors experience this realization and share their emotions. In *The Look of Silence* the personal investigation of Adi Rukun is tracked in the narrative as he challenges perpetrators to discuss their actions and emotions and tries to find answers regarding the murder of his brother. The investigation is concluded when Rukun finds closure as he discovers how his brother was killed in the genocide. Here, slow journalism is applied strongly as Rukun interviews the perpetrators over time and discovers more information of his brother's murder piece by piece.

In the following section, these results will be discussed and reflected upon, guided by this paper's literature framework. Conclusions will be drawn regarding the three subquestions. In the end, the main research question of this thesis is answered. Practical and societal implications are given. Limitations to this study are provided, as well as suggestions for future research

5. Conclusion and Discussion

5.1 Introduction

The results presented in the previous section will be reflected upon using this thesis' theoretical framework, in order to make sense of the results of the narrative analysis. Through embedding the results within this framework, conclusions can be drawn that will answer this thesis' research questions.

5.1.1. Research questions

The research question of this thesis is as follows: To what extent do documentaries perform journalism, while being a form of art, and dealing with a past conflict? This question is supported by three subquestions:

- Subquestion 1: What aspects of *Enemies of the People* (2009), *The Act of Killing* (2012), *The Missing Picture* (2013) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) are related to slow journalism?
- Subquestion 2: How are the narrative aspects of *Enemies of the People* (2009), *The Act of Killing* (2012), *The Missing Picture* (2013) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) related to narrative journalism?
- Subquestion 3: To what extent are *Enemies of the People* (2009), *The Act of Killing* (2012), *The Missing Picture* (2013) and *The Look of Silence* (2014) linked to the concept of collective memory?

The conclusion and discussion is divided between these three subquestions. Per subquestion, conclusions will be drawn based on the reflection of the results on the theoretical framework.

5.2 *What aspects of Enemies of the People (2009), The Act of Killing (2012), 'The Missing Picture' (2013) and The Look of Silence (2014) are related to slow journalism?*

As is projected in this thesis' theoretical framework, there is a similarity between the concept of slow journalism conducted by journalists and the process of creating a documentary by filmmakers. This

creative process has been proven to be extensive and time consuming, as is the in-depth investigation of journalists into a specific social topic in which they strive to uncover hidden information (Le Masurier, 2015). The Cambodian and Indonesian focused documentaries that have been analyzed in this research share the goal of uncovering inherent aspects of their respective conflicts through the recounting of stories centered on these conflicts. In other words, the search for reasons and motives behind the conduct of the genocides, as well as revealing the emotions held by both perpetrators and victims, is a shared goal between the four documentaries.

One strong motive behind conducting slow journalism is the journalist's willingness and ability to extensively investigate a certain topic for a long period of time (Greenberg, 2013; Le Masurier, 2015). Oppenheimer's ability to perform slow journalism is signified in his persuasion of the perpetrators of the Indonesian genocide to reenact their deeds and recount their experiences. As the process of filmmaking is inherently an intensive process (Bruzzi, 2006; Nichols, 2010), the creation of a film within a film – the perpetrators' reenactment within *The Act of Killing* – creates a meta-perspective on the extensive process of Oppenheimer's investigation. Next to this, the ability of both Rithy Panh and Thet Sambath to investigate the Cambodian conflict stems from their personal experiences under the regime and their close proximity to Cambodia and its people.

What are the results of the process of slow journalism of these documentaries, digging into their respective conflicts? The impact of the genocides is personified in the subjects on screen who explore and tell their stories regarding their experiences – stories that are characterized by guilt, regret, pain and loss. In *Enemies of the People*, Thet Sambath emphasizes the fact that he has to gain the trust of the perpetrators – becoming close to and friendly with them, which he claims to be personally difficult for him – in order for them to come clean with their emotions and motives. While this attempt of building a relationship is not always successful, only those attempts that do work are shown in the documentary. Joshua Oppenheimer's relationship to his subjects is twofold. For *The Act of Killing*, the director conducted years of research finding and getting to know several perpetrators, after which he chose Anwar to be his main subject for the film. On the other hand, Adi Rukun shares Oppenheimer's investigative goal in *The Look of Silence*, and already knows the perpetrators who he confronts since they are his customers. This initial entry into the investigation of gaining the trust of the subjects is what enables the process of slow journalism (Greenberg, 2013; Le Masurier, 2015).

Le Masurier (2015) emphasizes the aspect of quality that is inherent to slow journalism. This is the reason that a great amount of time and extensive effort are put into the process. The aspect of filmic art that is part of the creation of documentaries (Nichols, 2010) is another consideration that a filmmaker with a journalistic goal in mind has to deal with. A successful combination of these facets can be found in the conclusions of these documentaries: are the goals of the filmmakers and their subjects achieved, while creating a film that is up to filmic quality standards?

The answer varies per documentary. In *Enemies of the People*, Thet Sambath states several times to both the audience and his interview subjects that he is conducting a journalistic investigation.

In the documentary, Nuon Chea is simultaneously posed as an antagonist and a friend to Sambath. The story leans on the secret Sambath keeps for Nuon Chea concerning his family's fate. This level of investigation is personal, since it is Sambath's revelation that concludes his quest for answers. The investigation is complete when Sambath reveals his secret and Nuon Chea commits to his crimes. The years Sambath has dedicated to achieve his goals signify the process of slow journalism, in which answers and motives are unraveled.

The narrative of *The Missing Picture* is very personal and the story, as far as Panh recounts it, is concluded on his terms. During the narrative, the narrator reflects on his emotions and that of other characters, questioning the reasons behind the events of death, hunger and the regime. This investigation is finished because Panh's entire experience is recounted and emotions and motives have been reflected upon. However, the concept of slow journalism is blurry in this specific documentary: there are no strong revelations or outcomes to the investigation that answer concrete questions (Le Masurier, 2015) as to the motives behind the regime and Panh's experiences. He can only work with his recounting and historical facts, which limits both the scope and the results of this personal journalistic process.

In *The Act of Killing*, Joshua Oppenheimer only explains his goal to the perpetrators by stating that he wants to hear their stories and investigate their motives and past events, interested in the visualization of their actions. The expression of his goal is clear to both the perpetrators, who accept his request, and the audience. While the request is simple – reenact your actions and film them any way you want, while answering questions regarding your actions and motives – the result of the investigation is a character progression of several perpetrators, who discover the repercussions of their crimes. Therefore, Oppenheimer's journalistic process in this film is accomplished, as the perpetrators confess their emotions of remorse and explain their feelings.

In the case of *The Look of Silence*, slow journalism is relevant to an extent. The film is a continuation of Oppenheimer's research into the repercussions of the Indonesian genocide, but taking the victim's side as a focus point. Through Adi Rukun, Oppenheimer has found an individual who shares his search for answers, although Rukun's drive is strongly personal and challenging to his subjects. Rukun is clearly open to the perpetrators he speaks with about his brother's fate and often fiercely questions their motives and their (apparent lack of) emotions. While Rukun does find out who murdered his brother in the Snake River Massacre, his clear astonishment of how the genocide came to be leaves a sort of open wound in his investigation. Oppenheimer, on the other hand, does have a conclusion to his investigation, since he has investigated both the perpetrator's and victim's side of the genocide and uncovered the underlying emotions regarding their actions (Le Masurier, 2015)

In regard of the characterization and expression of slow journalism, *The Missing Picture* differs from the other documentaries for several reasons. First, the other three documentaries apply the technique of the interview to gain information from subjects where *The Missing Picture* does not. The interviews signal the presence of journalism, as the interview is a method of extracting information

(Deuze, 2005). Next to this, interviews are a means of reflecting on reality, which is used in many investigate documentaries (Nichols, 2010). Second, the filmmakers explicitly explain their goals and search for motives to their subjects, by which they openly express their aims and intentions.

5.3 *How are the narrative aspects of Enemies of the People (2009), The Act of Killing (2012), 'The Missing Picture' (2013) and The Look of Silence (2014) related to narrative journalism?*

Although both the content and technical aspects of the narratives, such as form and structure, are presented in the results section, the content is strongly linked to the concept of slow journalism within these documentaries (Nichols, 2010; Le Masurier, 2015). The way in which the narrative is posed influences the way in which its content is interpreted by the audience and thus the journalistic effects of the narrative as a whole. When discussing a reality, Bruzzi (2006) and Young (2009) claim that the structure and form of the narrative are functional to both transmitting and investigating an ideology. This is shown in the filmmakers' goals of investigating the genocides and attempting to achieve to discover aspects of ideologies that are present on both the perpetrators' and victims' sides. The narratives have proven to differ with each documentary, as each narrative is created to serve the documentaries' specific goals.

The Missing Picture tells a personal story in which the storyteller has chosen to tell it chronologically. It has a clear beginning of how the Cambodian conflict came to be and how Panh's family has been encamped. From this point, the narrative is a chain of events in chronological order. The narrative centers around one individual that narrates the story. While the narrative does talk about other characters, these remain vague portraits that are not benefitting the intimacy of the narrative. At certain points, background information is given on the situation in Cambodia to give societal context to his situation. This benefits the comprehensibility of the situation as it is being investigated and involves the audience in this journalistic process. Where slow journalism centers on extensive investigation and underlying themes, motives and emotions (Le Masurier, 2015), narrative journalism lays the focus on involvement, structure, comprehensibility and sense making (Neveu, 2014). Next to this, the voice-over in this documentary provides a level of intimacy into the story (Nichols, 1983; Bruzzi, 2006), as this story is told in a first person perspective. *The Missing Picture* is the most story-focused documentary in this research, in which sense making of emotions is the crux of the story and the narrative form is the strongest evidence of narrative journalism.

Enemies of the People too deals with a personal story based on making sense of the actions and motives of the perpetrators behind the genocide. Also, the narrative revolves around one individual, who is open about his feelings and goals. While the perpetrators discuss their guilt and remorse, the narrative opens up to intimacy with these characters, which supports the investigative

goals of uncovering emotions (Le Masurier, 2015). The layer of Sambath's personal story as a journalist provides a narrative in two-fold (Bordwell, 2012). The split narrative of Sambath's story and the perpetrator's stories intertwines with Sambath's family situation during the regime. The story is in chronological order, where the narrative is a spiral in which Sambath gets deeper into his investigation. The audience is therefore guided through the narrative along with Sambath's investigation (Nichols, 1991; Bordwell, 2012). Although the narrative structure is not entirely coherent – the narrative is a chain of separate interviews between Sambath and the perpetrators and speeches of Sambath and the camera – its beginning and conclusion are definite. The narrative form of interviews and monologues that reflect on the interviews is very effective to the narrative journalistic aspect of *Enemies of the People* (Deuze, 2005).

Joshua Oppenheimer applies a narrative form that is driven by his subjects in both *The Act of Killing* and *The Look of Silence*. The former follows the story of perpetrators as they decide how they want to explain their actions. Also within sequences of their reenactments, the scenery and characters are determined by the perpetrators. Oppenheimer's sole influence is the way in which the documentary has been edited. The structure of the narrative, as has been explained, builds on the emotional journey that the perpetrators, especially main character Anwar, go through. The form of the narrative is evident as this journey is a chain of scenes and sequences that are presented (Bordwell, 2012). The information that is given on the contemporary situation in Indonesia – with the perpetrators being unharmed and still in societal power – in parallel to the situation during the genocide provides a dimension of journalistic context (Bird, 1990). *The Act of Killing* holds a narrative that is a meta-perspective on the recreation of past actions through which the explanations and realizations of the perpetrators transcend (Nichols, 2010; Bordwell, 2012). Narrative journalism is therefore a strong factor in this documentary.

The Look of Silence has a strong connection to *The Act of Killing*. Its narrative, however, trails the investigation into a specific event of the genocide – the 'Snake River Massacre' – and focuses on the perpetrators of a smaller area of Indonesia. The narrative is therefore much narrower than *The Act of Killing*. The narrower aspect of *The Look of Silence* provides a more personal investigation into the emotions of both (indirect) victims and perpetrators because it is presented through Adi Rukun's process. Through this personal quest, Oppenheimer achieves a journalistic perspective as a spectator that provides him with a complete array of emotions of both victim and perpetrator (Bird, 1990). The narrative drives on the tension in the conversations between Rukun and the perpetrators and the revelations of emotions, of the lack thereof, are given. *The Look of Silence* takes one narrative event as central point and presents scenes and interviews that underpin the repercussions of that event and the emotions that flow from the perpetrators' actions, giving the documentary a level of narrative journalism that is suitable to the journalistic goals of Oppenheimer.

5.4 *To what extent are Enemies of the People (2009), The Act of Killing (2012), 'The Missing Picture' (2013) and The Look of Silence (2014) connected to the concept of collective memory?*

The four documentaries have a specific goal in common: the stories that are inhabited in their narratives are intended to be shared and transmitted to audiences. This is stated by both individuals within the narratives and through the filmmaker's requests to their subjects. The goal of sharing these stories with the world and maintaining the collective memory to which these stories belong is a much recurring theme in this analysis' results and one of the main drives of each documentary's creators. For them, the documentary is a suitable to achieve this goal in a journalistic way of both extracting stories and maintaining them (Ashuri, 2007).

Next to incorporating stories regarding the Cambodian and Indonesian genocide into the collective memory, another approach to the concept is dealing with the genocides through the filmmakers and their subjects' own memory and experiences, exposing the connection between this conflict and the media form of the documentary (Edy, 1999). The social actors in the narratives who were in the genocides reveal their experiences and discuss how they remember their situation at that time. Where collective memory is relevant to this approach is the social actors' discussion of the ramifications of their experiences on their lives today. Osiel (1999) states that, concerning the repercussions of major criminalities on the collective memory, the scale of an atrocity such as genocide affects both individuals and collective groups. However, these documentaries show the power of the individual to express his or her version of the collective memory of an event. In the analyzed narratives, collective memory is both the input of the filmmakers and their subjects into the creation of the narrative, as well as the desired outcome of the process.

This individual representation where memory plays a major part is omnipresent in *The Missing Picture*. Its narrative is entirely built on the memory of Rithy Panh, beyond the existing archive footage of the Khmer Rouge regime that is used. This footage is part of the collective memory of Cambodia, since it is proof of the existence of the Khmer Rouge camps and life in these camps. In this documentary, the goal is to add Panh's story and experiences to the collective memory of the world concerning the Khmer Rouge regime. Where individual memory is the input to this creative process, the outcome is a personalized account that provides a perspective on life under the regime. Through this, as Zelizer (1992) argues, the documentary has a way of shaping the perception on the victim's role in the narrative, as this role is told from the eye of the victim.

This shaping ability is less present in *Enemies of the People*, due to the variety of individuals who share their feelings and experiences. The filmmakers put Sambath's story in the larger perspective of the perpetrators that acted throughout Cambodia, in order to achieve a thorough perception of their role in the regime and not only show the personal story of the victim. Collective memory in the

narrative of *Enemies of the People* is constructed by documenting the conversations between Sambath and the perpetrators and the former providing context, albeit personal, to these conversations. Ultimately, this documentary adds to the collective memory on the Khmer Rouge regime by presenting the perpetrator's confessions, feelings and views on their actions in the narrative. By adding this perspective to the collective memory on the regime, *Enemies of the People* shows its shaping abilities on matters of humanity, regarding both the perpetrators and the victims of the genocide (Zelizer, 1992; Ashuri, 2007).

The perspective of humanity in the atrocities that are committed by Indonesian perpetrators is given in *The Act of Killing*, but more account of the perpetrators themselves. In the development of the narrative, it is proven that journalism and media interplay well with the concept of collective memory (Edy, 1999). As the perpetrators, headed by Anwar, attempt to reenact their actions as faithfully to their experiences as they can, they discuss how the process of killing people went during the genocide. The perpetrators recreate their collective memory and add it to the documentary's narrative. The perspective of the perpetrators as human beings performing inhumane actions is what *The Act of Killing* adds to the collective memory on the Indonesian genocide. Next to this, the visualization of the atrocities done by the perpetrators is, voluntarily, shown in detail in their reenactment. This provides imagery to the stories of the killings, influencing the image people may have of the atrocities. Finally, the realization of the perpetrators of how their actions have had repercussions on the Indonesian population is another addition to the aspect of humanity in this particular part of collective memory (Edy, 1999; Ashuri, 2007).

In a similar fashion to *Enemies of the People*, *The Look of Silence* deals with a victim searching for answers and closure by interviewing perpetrators of the Indonesian genocide. Adi Rukun is searching for motives behind the perpetrators' actions and their justifications for doing so. Although Rukun tries to find closure for the murder of his brother, thus being on a personal quest, the results of his conversations with the perpetrators represent the bigger picture of perpetrators throughout Indonesia since the genocide was nationwide. *The Look of Silence* therefore contributes to the collective memory concerning the genocide by aiming for the heart of the perpetrators and showing in the narrative the reasoning behind their actions (Zelizer, 1992; Ashuri, 2007; Nichols, 2010).

Each of these documentaries has a role in shaping and processing collective memory and attempts to achieve the goal of transmitting stories regarding the Cambodian and Indonesian genocides to both national and international collective memories. The filmmakers have chosen the documentary as the suitable medium to pass on these stories and maintain them within the collective memory. Each documentary has chosen a specific construction of the narrative to address the genocides through journalism and achieves this goal of adding to the collective memory on these genocides.

5.5 Conclusion

The general research question of this thesis can be answered by the combined conclusions of the subquestions. The research question that has guided this research is as follows: To what extent do documentaries perform journalism, while being a form of art, and dealing with a past conflict? The theoretical framework to this research has focused on slow journalism and narrative journalism. The matter of dealing with a past conflict is tackled by the concept of slow journalism, as this form of journalism concerns itself with uncovering hidden truths of past events. Also, the documentary as a medium has been investigated and its inherent aspects related to journalism, such as storytelling and investigating social topics, pointed out. Here it is outlined that the documentary is a form of art and therefore has a mixed interest in its process: art and investigation intermingle. Therefore, documentaries perform journalism to the extent of conducting an investigation into a social topic, while using artistic methods to benefit its narrative and investigation and applying this investigation to a past conflict, of which the causes and implications are uncovered and the ramifications for contemporary society exposed.

Conducting slow journalism on a past conflict means digging into both historical events and contemporary society which experiences the influence of this conflict. Examples of this influence are broken families, such as Thet Sambath's family in *Enemies of the People*, changes in national authorities and developments in international relations. This influence on contemporary society is the main rationale of conducting slow journalism of the four documentaries. In the investigation, art and narrative journalism cross paths: the narrative aims to support the investigation as a whole by telling the story of this investigation in a certain fashion. Here, artistic methods influence the narrative, which, in turn, has an effect on the journalistic goals of each documentary's investigation. One example of these artistic methods is the use of clay figurines and sets to visualize the narrative of *The Missing Picture*.

One question that this thesis' research question hinges on is whether artistic methods affect the journalistic investigations of these documentaries. The results of the narrative analysis show that in the case of the four documentaries under scrutiny in this thesis prove that artistic methods only help the narrative instead of disrupting its effects. The editing of the documentaries gives their narratives structure and logic, while the sets and characters aid in visualizing the stories of each documentary. This is the case for each documentary. Therefore, the artistic methods, which are mostly practical such as editing and visualization, assist the exploration of the social topics that are being investigated.

In conclusion, documentaries conduct a great deal of journalism, but in their own way: slow journalism and narrative journalism are the main platforms where documentaries build their investigations into social topics on when dealing with past conflicts. As genocides are the past conflict at hand, their scale is nationwide and often stretches into international public opinion. The four

documentaries apply slow and narrative journalism in their narrative to delve into these large conflicts and find the smallest stories to investigate that represent the stories of many perpetrators and victims. Through artistic methods, the narrative is made compelling and effective. Altogether, each documentary has posed and executed a journalistic investigation that has uncovered truths that impact contemporary society of Cambodia, Indonesia and the world.

5.5.1 Practical and societal implications

Due to the intersection of documentaries and journalism that has been investigated in this thesis' narrative analysis, this thesis has practical implications for the field of journalism and media. In terms of journalism, the emphasis of this thesis' results and conclusions lies on the way in which journalism is present and applied in the four documentaries. In other words: the narratives that have been analyzed show the performance of slow journalism, which is relatively new in this field (Le Masurier, 2015), in combination with the medium of documentary, as well as the suitable and effective application of narrative journalism. The dual theoretical approach of journalism and documentary that has been applied to this research shows that the two fields are in constant development by being combined in creative processes and output. Next to this, the practicality of the narrative analysis as a research method to investigate the coexistence of these two fields has shown to be effective on the medium of the documentary and repeatable when investigating similar topics of journalism and (past) conflicts.

This research proves the efficient combination between journalism and the documentary in twofold. First of all, the documentary is a suitable medium for conducting thorough journalistic investigation into deep societal topics, such as past conflicts. Second of all, this research demonstrates how journalism develops itself through new forms of journalism and transforms itself by being applied to artistic media. Therefore, this thesis signifies practical implications on the field of journalism – the practice of new forms of journalism, such as slow journalism, and original applications of existing journalism, such as narrative journalism; and on the field of documentary, proving that journalism and art can coexist in this medium and enable filmmakers to explore and investigate social topics on deep, personal levels.

Next to the practical implications of this study, its societal implications are plenty. The results of the narrative analysis show how the narratives of the four documentaries have uncovered truths behind the atrocities of the genocides. The perpetrators have acted as a source for the explanations regarding the motives and reasoning of the killings. The credibility of this information is increased this way and the stories of the Cambodian and Indonesian genocides are enriched by this information. Since this information is uncovered through the investigations of these narratives, common knowledge

on how and why these conflicts came to be is enriched. The societal implications of these investigations count for the collective memory of contemporary society and future generations. Exposure of the rationale behind the perpetrator's actions will inform these generations how to prevent history to repeat itself in the future. Also, families who have been victimized by the genocides may now have more knowledge on the events and how these killings came to be. Society is informed through these documentaries' investigations how the genocides developed and is able to learn from these mistakes.

5.6 *Limitations of the research*

This study has demonstrated certain limitations in its academic and practical aspects. Academically, first of all, the theoretical aspects that are provided in this thesis' literary framework are limited. Journalism has been discussed extensively; however, only two specific forms of journalism, slow journalism and narrative journalism are reviewed, since these are deemed suitable to this thesis' topic. Also, the field of documentary is widely discussed. The limitation to this field is that the framework surrounding documentaries is general and does not additionally focus on documentaries that deal with past conflicts specifically. This leaves the approach to the combination of journalism with the medium of the documentary relatively generalized, which is compensated by the research method and subsequent results and conclusions.

The qualitative research method of the narrative analysis is an interpretive method that depends on the researcher in question. The accountability of the method and justifications for its results are therefore at risk. This is compensated, however, by the extensive argumentation concerning the results and the elaborate justification of the operationalization of the research method. Next to this, the theoretical framework of this study and the narratives of the units of analysis provide a safety net to the drawn conclusions, as these are rationalized and justified. Finally, time restrictions and limited means, such as acquiring the documentaries, have prohibited this research of being conducted more extensively. In other words, the ideal sample size and in-depth analysis may have been expanded to achieve more data and draw more wide-ranging conclusions, has it not been for these limitations.

5.7 *Suggestions for future research*

Future research should focus on other conflicts and countries when researching the combination of journalism, documentaries and collective memory based on past conflicts. The genocides in Cambodia and Indonesia are large-scaled and strongly influential on these countries' populations and national

identity. Throughout history, many conflicts have taken place in many countries that have had similar effects on these countries. It is therefore essential for the academic community to investigate how other conflicts are investigated in documentaries. Also, the focus on the documentary as a form of art and its relationship to journalism should be researched more extensively. The way that artistic methods may affect or support journalism is crucial to be scrutinized, in order for the academic world to be able to take into account the effect of art on journalism when performed in documentaries.

Additionally, research on the fields of journalism and documentaries should apply other research methods to investigate the interrelationship between the two fields. This thesis' narrative exclusively focused on the narratives of the documentaries at hand, thereby omitting other inherent factors of the documentaries from the research. The focus must lie on qualitative research, since the conduct of journalism in documentaries concerning social topics demands for in depth, qualitative research. The exploration of this interconnection between the fields inspects its workings and inherent aspects, which is provided by qualitative research.

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Appendix A

Appendix A1 – *Enemies of the People* (2009)

Table A1.1: Labels of Holistic Content Approach

	Aspects	Labels
Themes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Motives behind killings and torture; truth; stories 2. Suffering, loss 3. Regret and remorse 4. Resolution for actions 5. Communism, hierarchy, motives of regime 6. Repercussions of actions 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sambath introduces the investigation and explains that he wants to discover motives of killing and torture. His nature to investigate. Perpetrators explain the motives for their actions as following commands. Propaganda and commands are motives. Perpetrators tell the truth of their actions through stories. 2. Sambath lost family members. Still feels this loss today. He questions why so many people died. Does this interview for all of Cambodia. 3. Perpetrators share their stories. They do this self-confessedly out of remorse. Each say they regret their actions. 4. Perpetrators share their stories with Sambath to let the world know. Try to find resolution through this. 5. Khmer Rouge regime is extremely communist: everyone equal. Existing hierarchy: khmer rouge members rule over Cambodian people. Hierarchy: perpetrators follow orders - motives for killings and torture. 6. Perpetrators feel emotional repercussions. Nuon Chea does not. Still stands behind Khmer Rouge ideologies.
Plot Structure	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction. Clear explanation 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Explanation of investigation. Sambath shares his goals and personal motivation. Shares

	<p>of conflict and how investigation will be conducted.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Middle section. Shuffled snippets of interviews. More and more is known. 3. Conclusion. Secret is shared. Nuon Chea is brought to court. 4. Structure: clear introduction and conclusion. Middle section is mixed, but chronological. 	<p>story of family's fate. Keeps secret from Nuon Chea.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Snippets of interviews with perpetrators and Nuon Chea. Perpetrators share emotions. Motives of killings revealed. More information is given to Sambath. 3. Sambath shares secret with Nuon Chea. He says he's sorry and admits his crimes of having people killed. Sambath experiences closure. Nuon Chea is brought to international court due to Sambath's interview. 4. The plot structure has a clear introduction and conclusion. The middle section contains snippets of interviews where more and more is revealed. The plot is told chronologically, because Sambath receives more information of the killings.
Social Actors	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Thet Sambath 2. Nuon Chea 3. Suon 4. Khoun 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Role: filmmaker, main social actor of the documentary. Introduces conflict of narrative. Conducts his investigation through interviews with perpetrators. Shares stories with the world. Motives: wants to investigate motives of killers and khmer rouge regime. Attempts to understand the reasons behind the genocide. Seeks closure for the loss of his family in the genocide. Open minded to perpetrators and Nuon Chea. 2. Role: second in command of Khmer Rouge. Main reason for the killings. Motives: still stands behind the Khmer Rouge ideals of communistic Cambodia. 3. Role: Perpetrator; shares his story with Sambath. Motives: during genocide: given commands

		<p>from regime. Shares story with Sambath to seek closure and redemption.</p> <p>4. Role: Perpetrator; shares his story with Sambath.</p> <p>Motives: during genocide: given commands from regime. Shares story with Sambath to seek closure and redemption.</p>
Social Action	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction by Sambath. Storytelling to camera. 2. Sambath interviews Suon and Khoun. 3. Sambath interviews Nuon Chea. 4. Sambath interviews officer of Suon and Khoun. 5. Sambath reveals secret to Nuon Chea. 6. Nuon Chea is arrested; Sambath shares emotions. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sambath shares his feelings regarding his investigation, the perpetrators and the loss of his family. 2. Suon and Khoun show the scenery of the killings to Sambath and show exactly how they murdered people. 3. Sambath explains his professional relationship with Nuon Chea. Interviews him on his role in Khmer Rouge regime and how he feels about the regime now. He stands behind it. 4. Sambath interviews the person higher in rank of Suon and Khoun. She says orders are orders; saddens Sambath. 5. Sambath reveals secret. Nuon Chea is shocked. Says he is sorry for his loss. He commits to having given the orders for the genocide. 6. Sambath finished the investigation. Shares it with international court. Nuon Chea arrested. Sambath expresses relief and closure.

Table A1.2: Labels of Sociocognitive Approach

	Aspects	Labels
Spatiotemporal Setting and Context	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Country 2. Society 3. Locations 4. Time period 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cambodia: South-East Asian country that experienced a communist regime and genocide. Freed of the regime by United States and war with Vietnam.

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Contemporary society has broken families and remnants of the regime, like the killing fields. Is a modern society. Society during genocide: extreme communist regime, Khmer Rouge. 3. Locations. Sambath's house. Nuon Chea's house where interviews are held. Killing fields where murders were done. 4. Regime: 1975 - 1979. Documentary: 1999 - 2009.
Social Relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sambath and perpetrators 2. Sambath and Nuon Chea 3. Perpetrators 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sambath has a professional relationship with the perpetrators. He investigates their role in the genocide and motives and emotions of their actions. They agree to his request of sharing their stories. 2. Sambath has a professional relationship with Nuon Chea. Holds a secret against him to keep the relationship professional. Reveals the secret: relationship becomes personal. Nuon Chea arrested because of Sambath's interviews. 3. Perpetrators share stories and emotions with each other. Express their perception of the hierarchy of the Khmer Rouges regime and call it the main motivation for their actions.
Social Representations and Ideologies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Thet Sambath 2. Nuon Chea 3. Suon: 4. Khoun: 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Investigative journalist. Ideology: genocide is wrong, seeks reasoning. 2. Second in command of Khmer Rouge. Stands behind Khmer Rouge ideology and rationalizes murders for the greater good. Feels sorry for personal harm he has done. 3. Perpetrator. Ideology: Killings are wrong, regrets his actions. 4. Perpetrator. Ideology: Killings are wrong, regrets his actions.

Appendix A2 – *The Missing Picture* (2013)

Table A2.1: Labels of Holistic Content Approach

	Aspects	Labels
Themes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Childhood; innocence 2. Injustice 3. Memory and emotions 4. Personal search for answers 5. Identity 6. Hunger and thirst 7. Separation 8. Propaganda, freedom and revolution 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Story is told from the perspective of a child. Innocence is claimed to be inherent to childhood. Innocence is affected by situation in the camp. 2. Injustice done through (child) labor, starvation, torture. Injustice of killing people for no reason. Injustice of stripping away identity. 3. Story is told from memory. Memory is influenced by personal perspective and emotions. 4. Search for reasons behind the situation in the camp, killings, the regime. Personal search for closure due to personal hardship and effects on life today. 5. Identity of people in camp stripped away by regime. Everyone is equal. 6. Starvation in camps, not enough food and water for people. Many deaths because of this. 7. Families are separated to work the fields, mines and forests. Family ties are broken. 8. Propaganda is spread to put people into place. Search for freedom and getting away from the regime. Revolutionary thoughts emerge when life in camp becomes extreme.
Plot	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction. Dawn of regime. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Narrative starts with start of the

<p>Structure</p>	<p>Put into camps.</p> <p>2. Middle section. Stories of labor; separation from family; family deaths; increasing hunger; propaganda speeches; Identity stripped.</p> <p>3. Conclusion. Hunger kills most people. United States liberates Cambodia. War with Vietnam.</p> <p>4. Structure. Chronological. Clear introduction, middle section and conclusion. Coherent plot structure.</p>	<p>regime. Rithy Panh is put into camp with his family.</p> <p>2. Panh and camp members are put to hard labor in the fields, mines and forests. Panh is separated from family. Panh’s father, mother and siblings die by hunger and murder by perpetrators. Food and water runs out: people die because of this. Regime holds propaganda speeches: people are forced to listen and cooperate. Identity is stripped to make everyone equal and put them under the camp leaders.</p> <p>3. Narrative is in chronological order. Introduction is clear, introduces conflict of Cambodia and Panh. Middle section: chronological chain of events. Increasing hunger, labor and death. Conclusion: revolution, release from camps, regime removed.</p>
<p>Social Actors</p>	<p>1. Rithy Panh</p> <p>2. Family members</p> <p>3. Camp leaders</p>	<p>1. Rithy Panh tells his personal story. Child in story. Experiences hunger, thirst, labor, loss of family member, hardship in camp.</p> <p>2. Family members: unnamed. Father, mother, siblings. Die due to hunger and perpetrators’ murders.</p> <p>3. Camp leaders: spread propaganda, kill people, put Panh to labor.</p>
<p>Social Action</p>	<p>1. Story told by Rithy Panh</p>	<p>1. No social action: only story of Panh.</p> <p>In story: Panh put into camp. Separated from family. Stripped away of identity. Propaganda</p>

		speeches. Father dies. Mother dies. Brother dies. Sister dies. Labor in fields. Labor in mines. Labor in forests. Liberation by United States army.
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Table A2.2: Labels of Sociocognitive Approach

	Aspects	Labels
Spatiotemporal Setting and Context	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Country 2. Society 3. Locations 4. Time period 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cambodia. Suffers communist regime and genocide. 2. Society: under Khmer Rouge communist regime. Hard labor for greater good. Regime war with opposition. No identity or personal possessions. 3. Phnom Penh: capital of Cambodia. Labor camp. Labor fields. Mines. Forests. 4. Regime: 1975 - 1979. Documentary: 2013.
Social Relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rithy Panh to family 2. Rithy Panh to camp leaders 3. Family to camp leaders 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Panh is put into camp with his family. Separated from family members. Loses his father. His mother. His brother. His sister. 2. Panh is forced to work in labor fields by camp leaders. Forced to hear propaganda speeches. Forced to starve; torture. 3. Panh's family members are put into camp. Separated from each other. Stripped of their identity. Camp leaders starve them. Death of starvation. Camp leaders murder and torture family members.

<p>Social Representation and Ideology</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rithy Panh 2. Family members 3. Camp leaders 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Child. Ideology: does not understand why child labor. Why starvation. Why torture and killings. Why stripped away from identity. Thinks regime actions are wrong. 2. Cambodian people. Ideology: think regime actions are wrong. Try to search for inner freedom and identity. Stay yourself in camp situation. 3. Khmer Rouge members. Strife for extreme communist society. Everything for greater good. People work for regime.
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Appendix A3 – *The Act of Killing* (2012)

Table A3.1: Labels of Holistic Content Approach

	Aspects	Labels
Themes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pride; communist hatred 2. Remorse and realization 3. Personal repercussions of actions 4. Suffering, loss 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Perpetrators feel proud of their actions in genocide. Pride of killings and torture. Hatred towards communists. 2. End of narrative: perpetrators experience remorse for killings and torture. Realize how victims have felt. 3. Strong emotions of remorse. Understanding of repercussions of actions: families broken. Perpetrators murdered innocent people. 4. Suffering of emotions towards actions. Loss of innocence.
Plot Structure	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction. Anwar Congo introduced. Context on military coup and paramilitary groups. 2. Middle section. Reenactment. Congo and perpetrators reenact murders. Discussions between perpetrators on consequences. 3. Conclusion. Realization Congo. Remorse. 4. Structure. Clear introduction and conclusion. Middle section shows development of 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anwar Congo is introduced. Shows Oppenheimer place of murders. Show how he murdered people; pride. He says it was the right thing to kill communists and anyone relate to communists. Paramilitary groups are shown. Military coup is explained by Congo. Congo in high regard in society. 2. Congo and perpetrators film their reenactment. They play murderers and victims. Discussions how murders really took place. Perpetrators and Congo discuss feelings on actions. 3. Congo plays his own victim. Shares

	reenactment. Unclear if chronological. Emotional journey.	emotion of experiencing fear. Revisits place of murders. Breaks down. 4. Introduction and conclusion of plot structure are clear: emotional journey of Congo comes full circle with realization of his crimes. Middle section is a chain of events: reenactments and discussions.
Social Actors	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anwar Congo 2. Perpetrators 3. Paramilitary groups 4. Joshua Oppenheimer 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anwar Congo: main social actor. Narrative follows him. Murdered hundreds of people in name of the coup. High position in society. Proud of past actions. Proud to reenact his actions. Experiences remorse when playing victim. 2. Perpetrators of Indonesian Genocide. Agree to reenact killings because of pride. Come to the realization that their actions are wrong. 3. Paramilitary groups stem from the coup during the genocide. Remain in power and maintain social position of past perpetrators. 4. Creator of the documentary. Oppenheimer actively takes part in the narrative by asking questions and having conversations with his subjects. Requests perpetrators to reenact their murders. Asks questions regarding emotions and reasons to perpetrators.
Social Action	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conversations between Congo and Oppenheimer 2. Reenactments of murders. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Congo shows Oppenheimer how and where he murdered people. Oppenheimer asks Congo how

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Conversations between Congo and perpetrators. 4. Visit to place of murders. 	<p>murders took place. Also, Oppenheimer asks personal questions of Congo's motives and emotions. Congo initially answers with pride. In the end of the narrative, Congo answers with remorse.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Congo and perpetrators reenact their murders by playing both perpetrator and victim. Discuss the reality of their reenactment. 3. Congo and perpetrators discuss the motives behind their actions. Disagree on the repercussions of their actions on people's lives and their own. 4. Congo visits place of murders in the beginning of the narrative and shows with pride how he murdered people. Narrative's conclusion: Congo visits place of murders and breaks down when he realizes that he murdered hundreds of innocent people.
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Table A3.2: Labels of Sociocognitive Approach

	Aspects	Labels
Spatiotemporal Setting and Context	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Country 2. Society 3. Locations 4. Time period 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Indonesia 2. Indonesian society still holds the coup and its perpetrators in high regard. Perpetrators are revered in society. Paramilitary groups that originate from the coup are in power. 3. Medan, Indonesia. Congo's place of his murders. Film sets where

		<p>reenactment takes place. Congo's home.</p> <p>4. Time period of coup and genocide: 1965 -1966. Time period of narrative: 2005 - 2011</p>
Social Relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anwar Congo to Joshua Oppenheimer 2. Anwar Congo to perpetrators 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Congo accepts Oppenheimer's request to show him how and why he murdered people in the coup and to reenact his actions. They have conversations about the reality of the murders and how Congo's actions make him feel. 2. Congo and the perpetrators share a feeling of pride and power regarding their actions. Congo has murdered many people and is more revered than the other perpetrators. The perpetrators realize sooner than Congo that their actions were wrong.
Social Representation and Ideology	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anwar Congo 2. Perpetrators 3. Joshua Oppenheimer 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Major perpetrator during the coup. Highly regarded by society and other perpetrators. Ideology: proud of his actions during the coup. Ideology changes at the end of the narrative: murders are wrong. 2. Highly regarded by society. Ideology: proud of actions during the coup. Ideology changes: murders are wrong. 3. Filmmaker and instigator of reenactment. Professional relationship with Congo and perpetrators. Ideology: killings are wrong, but open minded to information of Congo and perpetrators.

Appendix A4 – *The Look of Silence* (2014)

Table A4.1: Labels of Holistic Content Approach

	Aspects	Labels
Themes	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Repercussions of past actions on personal lives. 2. Sorrow and loss 3. Finding peace and closure. 4. Search for answers. 5. Effects of a coup on families in society. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The killing of people in the genocide has repercussions on their families in today’s society as they experience loss. 2. Sorrow is experienced by victims due to the loss of a family member 3. Adi Rukun seeks peace and closure for the loss of his brother. 4. Rukun searches for the reasoning behind the murder of his brother and attempts to find out how, where and by whom he was murdered. 5. The coup and subsequent genocide have broken up families by murdering members of these families. This inflicts society as these families continuously experience this loss.
Plot Structure	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction. Conflict is the loss of a family member. 2. Middle section. Rukun challenges perpetrators and watches interviews with perpetrators. 3. Conclusion. Rukun finds out who killed his brother and where it happened, 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The narrative is introduced by Adi Rukun who watches interviews with perpetrators explaining how they committed their killings. Rukun explains that his brother was murdered in the genocide during the ‘Snake River Massacre’ and that he experiences sorrow and loss. 2. Rukun is optician and visits his customers. These are perpetrators of

	<p>through which he finds closure.</p> <p>4. Structure. The narrative is clear, coherent and chronological.</p>	<p>the Indonesian genocide. He challenges them to explain why they performed their killings and asks about the situation in which his brother was killed. Also, Rukun challenges his father in law, who is a perpetrator himself.</p> <p>3. Rukun comes closer to the information concerning his brother's murder. When he finds out how his brother was murdered in the 'Snake River Massacre', he achieves closure to his loss.</p> <p>4. It starts with the search for answers. More information on Rukun's brother's murder is given throughout the narrative. It concludes by Rukun achieving this information.</p>
<p>Social Actors</p>	<p>1. Adi Rukun</p> <p>2. Rukun's parents</p> <p>3. Rukun's wife and father in law</p> <p>4. Perpetrators</p>	<p>1. Adi Rukun is the main social actor which the narrative follows. Rukun is an optician. His search for answers and closure is the focus of the narrative. He challenges perpetrators for answers. His brother is murdered. Rukun experiences sorrow because of the loss of his brother. His father in law and customers are perpetrators.</p> <p>2. Rukun's parents are alive. His father is blind and immobile. They experience sorrow because of the loss of their son. They share emotions on this loss and how they dealt with it and found closure.</p> <p>3. Rukun's father in law is a perpetrator. Rukun challenges him in company of his wife.</p>

		<p>4. Perpetrators are customers of Rukun. They speak with him about their actions, why they murdered people and how they feel about it.</p>
Social Action	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rukun challenges perpetrators 2. Rukun has conversations with his parents 3. Rukun watches footage of interviews with perpetrators. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. When visiting his customers, the perpetrators, Rukun challenges them to answer for their murders and explain how they feel. Because he has a professional relationship with the perpetrators, they speak with him and reveal information concerning his brother's murder. 2. Rukun asks his parents how they deal with the loss of their son and how they find closure. 3. Rukun tries to find the motives behind the killings and watches footage of interviews with perpetrators that Oppenheimer held in order to find answers.

Table A4.2: Labels of Sociocognitive Approach

	Aspects	Labels
Spatiotemporal Setting	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Country 2. Society 3. Locations 4. Time Period 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Indonesia 2. Indonesian society has many broken families due to the genocide. Perpetrators are still revered by society as a whole. 3. Rukun's home. Rukun's parents' home. Homes of perpetrators. 4. Time period of coup and genocide: 1965 -1966. Time period of narrative: 2012 - 2014
Social Relations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adi Rukun to parents 2. Adi Rukun to perpetrators 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rukun shares the emotion of sorrow due to the loss of his brother with his

		<p>parents. They all seek closure for this loss and discuss how to deal with it.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Rukun challenges the perpetrators in order to achieve closure to the loss of his brother. They hesitatingly accept his request and discuss why they murdered people and how it makes them feel.
<p>Social Representation and Ideology</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adi Rukun 2. Rukun's parents 3. Perpetrators 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adi Rukun is optician. Conducts a personal investigation into the murder of his brother during the genocide. His ideology is that he feels the killings are wrong and the perpetrators should answer for their crimes. 2. Rukun's parents are aged. They try to deal with the loss of their son. Their ideology is that the killings never should have happened. 3. Perpetrators are still revered in society. They stay behind their actions that the killings were good at that time, even though Rukun challenges them.