

This PDF includes a chapter from the following book:

Seeing Human Rights

Video Activism as a Proxy Profession

© 2021 Massachusetts Institute of Technology

License Terms:

Made available under a Creative Commons
Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International Public
License

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

OA Funding Provided By:

The open access edition of this book was made possible by
generous funding from Arcadia—a charitable fund of Lisbet
Rausing and Peter Baldwin.

The title-level DOI for this work is:

[doi:10.7551/mitpress/12244.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/12244.001.0001)

Notes

Chapter 1

1. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 63.
2. Tina Askanius, "Video Activism as Technology, Text, Testimony—or Practices," in *Citizen Media and Practice: Currents, Connections, Challenges*, ed. Hilde C. Stephansen and Emiliano Treré (Oxon: Routledge, 2020), 136–151.
3. Quoted in Maria Bustos Hawkes, "The Square's Jehane Noujaim on Filming a Revolution," *WITNESS*, blog, January 31, 2014, <http://blog.witness.org/2014/01/jehane-noujaim-on-filming-egypts-revolution/>.
4. See Omur Harmansah, "ISIS, Heritage, and the Spectacles of Destruction in the Global Media," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 78 (3) (2015): 170–177.
5. See, for example, Johanna Drucker, *Graphesis: Visual Forms of Knowledge Production* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Neal Feigenson and Christina Spiesel, *Law on Display: The Digital Transformation of Legal Persuasion and Judgment* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); George E. Marcus, *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); Jennifer L. Mnookin, "The Image of Truth: Photographic Evidence and the Power of Analogy," *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 10 (1) (1998): 1–74; Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York: Basic Books, 1978); James Thompson "'Pictorial Lies'?—Posters and Politics in Britain c.1880–1914," *Past and Present* 197 (1) (2007): 177–210; Barbie Zelizer, *About to Die: How News Images Move the Public* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
6. See, for example, Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: Norton, 2007); Sharon Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
7. Sandra Ristovska, "Imaginative Thinking and Human Rights," in *Visual Imagery and Human Rights Practice*, ed. Sandra Ristovska and Monroe Price (New York: Palgrave, 2018), 311–320.

8. Sandra Ristovska, "The Case for Visual Information Policy," *Surveillance & Society* 18 (3) (2020): 418–421.
9. See, for example, Kari Andén-Papadopoulos and Mervi Pantti, "Re-imagining Crisis Reporting: Professional Ideology of Journalists and Citizen Eyewitness Images," *Journalism* 14 (7) (2013): 960–977; Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Zelizer, *About to Die*.
10. Zelizer, *About to Die*, 3.
11. James S. Ettema and Theodore L. Glasser, *Custodians of Conscience: Investigative Journalism and Public Virtue* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
12. See, for example, Claire Wardle, "How Newsrooms Use Eyewitness Media," in *Visual Imagery and Human Rights Practice*, ed. Ristovska and Price, 299–308.
13. Feigenson and Spiesel, *Law on Display*, 4.
14. See, for example, Elizabeth G. Porter, "Taking Images Seriously," *Columbia Law Review* 114, no. 7 (2014): 1687–1782.
15. Sabine Lang, *NGOs, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 91.
16. John Durham Peters, "Distrust of Representation: Habermas on the Public Sphere," *Media, Culture, & Society* 15 (1993): 563.
17. See, for example, Lang, *NGOs, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere*.
18. Christina Twomey, "Framing Atrocity: Photography and Humanitarianism," *History of Photography* 36 (3) (2012): 255–264.
19. Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera*.
20. Leshu Torchin, *Creating the Witness: Documenting Genocide on Film, Video, and the Internet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
21. Aryeh Neier, *International Human Rights Movement: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).
22. Neier, *International Human Rights Movement*, 234.
23. Amnesty International, "About Amnesty," n.d., para. 2, <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/issues/about-amnesty>.
24. Amnesty International, "Who We Are," 2016, para. 3, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/>.
25. Human Rights Watch, "Mission Statement," 2016, para. 3, <https://www.hrw.org/about>.

26. WITNESS, "About," 2016, para. 1, <https://witness.org/about/>.
27. See, for example, Nicola Perugini and Neve Gordon, *The Human Right to Dominate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).
28. The UN Refugee Agency, "Worldwide Displacement Tops 70 Million, UN Refugee Chief Urges Greater Solidarity in Response," June 19, 2019, <https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/press/2019/6/5d03b22b4/worldwide-displacement-tops-70-million-un-refugee-chief-urges-greater-solidarity.html>.
29. Ristovska, "Imaginative Thinking and Human Rights."
30. See, for example, Carleen F. Maitland, ed., *Digital Lifeline? ICTs for Refugees and Displaced Persons* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018).
31. For example, see Sam Dubberley, Alexa Koenig, and Daragh Murray, *Digital Witness: Using Open Source Information for Human Rights Investigation, Documentation, and Accountability* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).
32. See Jeff Deutch and Hadi Habal, "The Syrian Archive: A Methodological Case Study of Open-Source Investigation of State Crime Using Video Evidence from Social Media Platforms," *State Crime* 7 (1) (2018): 46–76; Sandra Ristovska, "Human Rights Collectives as Visual Experts: The Case of Syrian Archive," *Visual Communication* 18 (3) (2019): 333–351.
33. See, for example, Marwan M. Kraidy, *The Naked Blogger of Cairo: Creative Insurgency in the Arab World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016); Graham Meikle, *The Routledge Companion to Media and Activism* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Emiliano Treré, *Hybrid Media Activism: Ecologies, Imaginaries, Algorithms* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Zeynep Tufekci, *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2017).
34. Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, eds., *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
35. Andrew Delano Abbott, *The Systems of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
36. Ronald L. Jepperson, "Institutions, Institutional Effects, and Institutionalism," in *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, ed. Powell and DiMaggio, 143–163; Powell and DiMaggio, *The New Institutionalism*.
37. Malachy Browne, phone interview, July 9, 2019.
38. Bukeni Waruzi, interview, New York City, August 6, 2015.
39. See, for example, Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic, *10th Report of Commission of Inquiry on Syria*, Report no. A/HRC/30/48 (New York: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2015).

40. Belkis Wille, interview, New York City, June 25, 2015.
41. Eliot Freidson, *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), xi.
42. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).
43. Meg McLagan, "Circuits of Suffering," *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 28 (2) (2005): 223.
44. Philip Elliott, *The Sociology of the Professions* (London: Macmillan, 1972).
45. See Abdul Rahman Al Jaloud, Hadi Al Khatib, Jeff Deutch, Dia Kayyali, and Jilian C. York, "Caught in the Net: The Impact of 'Extremist' Speech Regulations on Human Rights Content," May 2019, https://www.eff.org/files/2019/05/30/caught_in_the_net_whitepaper_2019.pdf.
46. For an overview of how activists negotiate their relationship with mainstream technologies, see Elisabetta Ferrari, "The Technological Imaginaries of Social Movements: The Discursive Dimension of Communication Technology and the Fight for Social Justice" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2019); Natalie Fenton and Veronica Barassi, "Alternative Media and Social Networking Sites: The Politics of Individuation and Political Participation," *Communication Review* 14 (3) (2011): 179–196; Tina Askanius and Nils Gustafsson, "Mainstreaming the Alternative: The Changing Media Practices of Protest Movements," *Interface* 2 (2) (2010): 23–41.

Chapter 2

1. Louis-Georges Schwartz, *Mechanical Witness: A History of Motion Picture Evidence in U.S. Courts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).
2. See, for example, John Downing, *Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements* (London: Sage, 2001); Alan Fountain, "Alternative Film, Video, and Television 1965–2005," in *The Alternative Media Handbook*, ed. Cate Coyer, Tony Dowmunt, and Alan Fountain (New York: Routledge, 2007), 29–46; Thomas Harding, *The Video Activist Handbook* (London: Pluto Press, 2001).
3. See, for example, Deirdre Boyle, "Subject to Change: Guerrilla Television Revisited," *Art Journal* 45 (3) (1985): 228–232; Deirdre Boyle, "From Portapak to Camcorder: A Brief History of Guerrilla Television," *Journal of Film and Video* 44 (1–2) (1992): 67–79.
4. See, for example, DeeDee Halleck, *Handheld Visions: The Impossible Possibilities of Community Media* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002).
5. Katherine Dieckmann, "Electra Myths: Video, Modernism, Postmodernism," *Art Journal* 45 (3) (1985): 195–203; Lucinda Furlong, "Tracking Video Art: Image

Processing' as a Genre," *Art Journal* 45 (3) (1985): 233–237; Rosalind Krauss, "Video: The Aesthetics of Narcissism," *October* 1 (1976): 50–64.

6. See, for example, Tina Askanius, "Video for Change," in *The Handbook of Development and Social Change*, ed. Karin Gwinn Wilkins, Thomas Tufte, and Rafael Obregon (Malden, MA: Wiley, 2014), 453–470.

7. See Jane Sassen, *The Video Revolution: A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance* (Washington, DC: CIMA–National Endowment for Democracy, 2012), <https://www.cima.ned.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Video-revolution-FINAL.pdf>; Michael Z. Newman, *Video Revolutions: On the History of a Medium* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014); Laurie Ouellette, "Camcorder Dos and Don'ts: Popular Discourses on Amateur Video and Participatory Television," *Velvet Light Trap* 36 (1995): 33–43.

8. Newman, *Video Revolutions*, 36.

9. See, for example, Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera*; Sharon Sliwinski, "Human Rights," in *Visual Global Politics*, ed. Roland Bleiker (New York: Routledge, 2018): 169–175.

10. See, for example, Vicky Goldberg, *The Power of Photography: How Photographs Changed Our Lives* (New York: Abbeville, 1991).

11. See, for example, Martin F. Norden, "A Good Travesty upon the Suffragette Movement: Women's Suffrage Films as Genre," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 13 (4) (1986): 171–177.

12. See, for example, David Craven, *Art and Revolution in Latin America, 1910–1990* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

13. See, for example, Bill Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

14. See, for example, Bleiker, *Visual Global Politics*.

15. Thompson, "'Pictorial Lies?'," 209.

16. See John Brewer, *The Common People and Politics, 1750–1790s* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1986); Thomas E. Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994); Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Eirwen E. C. Nicholson, "Consumers and Spectators: The Public of the Political Print in Eighteenth-Century England," *History* 81 (262) (1996): 5–21.

17. Downing, *Radical Media*, 162.

18. Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera*; Thompson, "'Pictorial Lies?'"

19. Sliwinski, "Human Rights," 170.

20. Goldberg, *Power of Photography*.
21. Aryeh Neier, foreword to *Digital Witness: Using Open Source Information for Human Rights Investigation, Documentation, and Accountability*, ed. Sam Dubberley, Alexa Koenig, and Daragh Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), vii–x.
22. Immanuel Kant, “The Contest of Faculties: A Renewed Attempt to Answer the Question: ‘Is the Human Race Constantly Progressing?’,” in *Kant’s Political Writings*, 2nd ed., ed. Hans Reiss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 176–190.
23. Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera*.
24. Karen Halttunen, “Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture,” *American Historical Review* 100 (2) (1995): 303–334.
25. The spectatorship of suffering—as the underside of the efforts to link visuality with morality that Halttunen discusses thoroughly—was also promoted during the Middle Ages (e.g., Zelizer, *About to Die*) and shaped colonial discourses (e.g., Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011]; S. Sliwinski, “The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo,” *Journal of Visual Culture* 5 [3] [2006]: 333–363), and still challenges the production and consumption of traumatic images (e.g., Luc Boltanski, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media, and Politics*, trans. Graham Burchell [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999]; Lilie Chouliaraki, *The Spectatorship of Suffering* [London: Sage, 2006]; Lilie Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-humanitarianism* [Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013]).
26. See, for example, Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget*.
27. Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera*, 59.
28. Craven, *Art and Revolution*, 67.
29. Michael T. Ricker, “El Taller de Gráfica Popular,” *Graphic Witness*, blog, 2002, <http://graphicwitness.org/group/tgpricker2.htm>.
30. TGP, “Declaration of Principles of the Taller de Gráfica Popular” (1945), in *Estampas de la Revolución Mexicana: 85 grabados de los artistas del Taller de Gráfica Popular* (Mexico City: La Estampa Mexicana, 1947), para. 2, my translation, <http://econtent.unm.edu/cdm/ref/collection/artmuseum/id/65>.
31. See, for example, David Gillespie, *Early Soviet Cinema: Innovation, Ideology, and Propaganda* (London: Wallflower Press, 2000).
32. Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell, *Film History: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2003), 312.
33. For a theoretical discussion on the radical potential of art, film, and technology, see also Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, vol. 4: 1938–1940, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

34. Patricia Rodden Zimmerman, *States of Emergency: Documentaries, Wars, Democracies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 19.
35. De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.
36. Andrew Calabrese and Claudia Padovani, eds., *Communication Rights and Social Justice: Historical Accounts of Transnational Mobilizations* (New York: Palgrave, 2014); Halleck, *Handheld Visions*; Stefania Milan, *Social Movements and Their Technologies: Wiring Social Change* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Clemencia Rodríguez, *Fissures in the Mediascape: An International Study of Citizens Media* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2001); International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, *Many Voices One World: Towards a New, More Just, and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order* (London: Kogan Page, 1980).
37. For an overview of these terms and the naming discussion, see Rodríguez, *Fissures in the Mediascape*; Clemencia Rodríguez, Dorothy Kidd, and Laura Stein, eds., *Making Our Media: Global Initiatives Toward a Democratic Public Sphere*, vol. 1: *Creating New Communication Spaces* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2009).
38. Halleck, *Handheld Visions*.
39. Furlong, "Tracking Video Art," 234.
40. Boyle, "Subject to Change" and "From Portapak to Camcorder."
41. Newman, *Video Revolutions*, 21.
42. See, for example, Boyle, "From Portapak to Camcorder"; Furlong, "Tracking Video Art."
43. Harding, *Video Activist Handbook*; Fountain, "Alternative Film."
44. Downing, *Radical Media*, 193.
45. Cees J. Hamelink, *Trends in World Communication on Disempowerment and Self-Empowerment* (Penang, Malaysia: Southbound and Third World Network, 1994), 141.
46. See, for example, Jennifer Deger, *Shimmering Screens: Making Media in an Aboriginal Community* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Faye D. Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin, introduction to *Media Worlds: Anthropology on New Terrain*, ed. Faye D. Ginsburg, Lila Abu-Lughod, and Brian Larkin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 1–36; Jeff D. Himpele, *Circuits of Culture: Media, Politics, and Indigenous Identity in the Andes* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).
47. Pat Aufderheide, "'You See the World of the Other and You Look at Your Own': The Evolution of the Video in the Villages Project," *Journal of Film and Video* 60 (2) (2008): 26–34.
48. Boyle, "From Portapak to Camcorder."

49. See, for example, Coyer, Dowmunt, and Fountain, *The Alternative Media Handbook*.
50. Richard Edwards, "Torrents of Resistance," *Film International* 10 (2004): 39.
51. Dorothy Kidd, "Indymedia.org: The Development of the Communication Commons," *Democratic Communiqué* 18 (2002): 65–86.
52. Dorothy Kidd, "Occupy and Social Movement Communication," in *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media*, ed. Chris Atton (New York: Routledge, 2015), 457–468; see also Paolo Gerbaudo, *The Mask and the Flag: Populism, Citizenism, and Global Protest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).
53. Tufekci, *Twitter and Tear Gas*.
54. Justine Calma, "Facebook Says It 'Mistakenly' Suspended Hundreds of Activists' Accounts," *The Verge*, September 24, 2020, <https://www.theverge.com/2020/9/24/21454554/facebook-activists-suspended-accounts-coastal-gaslink-pipeline>.
55. Avi Asher-Schapiro and Ban Barkawi, "'Lost Memories': War Crimes Evidence Threatened by AI Moderation," *Reuters*, June 19, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-global-socialmedia-rights-trfn/lost-memories-war-crimes-evidence-threatened-by-ai-moderation-idUSKBN23Q2TO>. See also Megha Rajagopalan, "The Histories of Today's Wars Are Being Written on Facebook and YouTube. But What Happens When They Get Taken Down?," *BuzzFeed News*, December 22, 2018, <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/meghara/facebook-youtube-icc-war-crimes>.
56. For an overview, see Human Rights Watch, "'Video Unavailable': Social Media Platforms Remove Evidence of War Crimes," September 10, 2020, https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/09/10/video-unavailable/social-media-platforms-remove-evidence-war-crimes#_ftn36.
57. Martha Gever, "Pressure Points: Video in the Public Sphere," *Art Journal* 45 (3) (1985): 241.
58. Sam Dubberley, WhatsApp interview, July 24, 2019.
59. Liba Beyers, Skype interview, July 31, 2019.
60. See, for example, Deger, *Shimmering Screens*; Faye D. Ginsburg, "Screen Memories: Resignifying the Traditional in Indigenous Media," in *Media Worlds*, ed. Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod, and Larkin, 39–57; Halleck, *Handheld Visions*; Harald E. L. Prins, "Visual Media and the Primitivist Perplex: Colonial Fantasies, Indigenous Imagination, and Advocacy in North America," in *Media Worlds*, ed. Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod, and Larkin, 58–74.
61. Rodríguez, *Fissures in the Mediascape*, 127.
62. David Whiteman, "Out of the Theaters and into the Streets: A Coalition Model of the Political Impact of Documentary Film and Video," *Political Communication* 21 (2004): 51–69.

63. Bukeni Waruzi, interview, New York City, August 6, 2015.
64. Oren Yakobovich, "Hidden Cameras That Film Injustice in the World's Most Dangerous Places," *TED Talk*, October 2014, https://www.ted.com/talks/oren_yakobovich_hidden_cameras_that_film_injustice_in_the_world_s_most_dangerous_places?language=en.
65. Eyal Weizman, *Forensic Architecture: Violence at the Threshold of Detectability* (New York: Zone Books, 2017).
66. Eyal Weizman, "Open Verification," *E-flux Architecture*, 2019, para. 18, <https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/becoming-digital/>.
67. Sandra Braman, "The Medium as Power: Information and Its Flows as Acts of War," in *Communicating with Power*, ed. Cherian George (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2017), 3–22.
68. Weizman, "Open Verification," para. 19.
69. Scott Edwards, phone interview, March 22, 2018.
70. Jonathan Gray, "Data Witnessing: Attending to Injustice with Data in Amnesty International's Decoders Project," *Information, Communication, & Society* 22 (7) (2019): 986.
71. Madeline Bair, interview, New York City, July 2, 2015.
72. Robert Trafford, Jitsi interview, July 10, 2019.
73. Weizman, "Open Verification."
74. Ristovska, "Human Rights Collectives as Visual Experts."
75. See, for example, Alexandra Juhasz, *AIDS TV: Identity, Community, and Alternative Video* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996); Alexandra Juhasz, "Video Remains: Nostalgia, Technology, and Queer Archive Activism," *GLQ* 12 (2) (2006): 319–328.
76. Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (London: Verso, 2000), 16.
77. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 37.
78. Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Gregory Elliott (London: Verso, 2005), 36.
79. Michelle Bogre, *Photography as Activism: Images for Social Change* (Oxford: Focal Press, 2012).
80. Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).
81. Amit Pinchevski, *Transmitted Wounds: Media and the Mediation of Trauma* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 43.

82. Pinchevski, *Transmitted Wounds*, 45.
83. See Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, vol. 4, in particular the essay "The Work of Art in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction."
84. Priscila Neri, interview, New York City, August 6, 2015.
85. See also Christian Delage, "Simon Srebnik: Narratives of a Holocaust Survivor," in *Visual Imagery and Human Rights Practice*, ed. Ristovska and Price, 109–129.
86. Rebecca Wexler, "Technology's Continuum: Body Cameras, Data Collection, and Constitutional Searches," in *Visual Imagery and Human Rights Practice*, ed. Ristovska and Price, 89–105.
87. Trafford, interview.
88. Syrian Archive, *Eyes on Aleppo—Visual Evidence Analysis of Human Rights Violations Committed in Aleppo*, March 29, 2017, <https://syrianarchive.org/en/investigations/Eyes-on-Aleppo/>.
89. Human Rights Watch, "Syria: Coordinated Chemical Attacks on Aleppo," February 13, 2017, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/02/13/syria-coordinated-chemical-attacks-aleppo>.
90. Beyer, interview.
91. Lindsay Freeman, "Digital Evidence and War Crimes Prosecutions: The Impact of Digital Technologies on International Criminal Investigations and Trials," *Fordham International Law Journal* 41, no. 2 (2018): 283–336.
92. Situ Research, "ICC Digital Platform: Timbuktu, Mali," n.d., para.1, <https://situ.nyc/research/projects/icc-digital-platform-timbuktu-mali>.
93. Freeman, "Digital Evidence and War Crimes Prosecution," 318.
94. Freeman, "Digital Evidence and War Crimes Prosecution, 319.
95. Jackie Zammuto, Skype interview, July 2, 2019.
96. Freidson, *Professional Powers*.
97. Silvio Waisbord, *Reinventing Professionalism: Journalism and News in Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013), 15.
98. Elliott, *Sociology of the Professions*, 10.
99. Freidson, *Professional Powers*.
100. Freidson, *Professional Powers*; Elliott, *Sociology of the Professions*; Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

101. Freidson, *Professional Powers*.
102. Elliott, *Sociology of the Professions*.
103. Eliot Freidson, *Professionalism: The Third Logic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
104. Elliott, *Sociology of the Professions*.
105. Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit of Capitalism*.
106. Boltanski and Chiapello, *New Spirit of Capitalism*, 87.
107. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, xix.
108. Elliott, *Sociology of the Professions*.
109. Neri, interview.
110. Larson, *Rise of Professionalism*, xiii.
111. Freidson, *Professional Powers*.

Chapter 3

1. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*.
2. See, for example, Robert McChesney and John Nichols, *The Death and Life of American Journalism: The Media Revolution That Will Begin the World Again* (New York: Nation Books, 2010); Robert McChesney and Victor Pickard, eds., *Will the Last Reporter Please Turn Out the Lights: The Collapse of Journalism and What Can Be Done to Fix It* (New York: New Press, 2011).
3. See, for example, W. Lance Bennett, Regina G. Lawrence, and Steven Livingston, *When the Press Fails: Political Power and the News Media from Iraq to Katrina* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Thomas Patterson, *Informing the News: The Need for Knowledge Based Journalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 2013); Jeremy Tunstall, *The Media Were American: US Mass Media in Decline* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
4. See, for example, Stuart Allan, *Online News: Journalism and the Internet* (New York: Open University Press, 2006).
5. See, for example, Pablo J. Boczkowski, "Materiality and Mimicry in the Journalism Field," in *The Changing Faces of Journalism: Tabloidization, Technology, and Truthiness*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 56–67.
6. Manuel Castells, "The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (1) (2008): 78–93; Lang, *NGOs, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere*.

7. Emma Daly, interview, New York City, August 18, 2015.
8. Berland Edelman, *2014 Edelman Trust Barometer Executive Summary* (2014), <https://www.scribd.com/document/200429962/2014-Edelman-Trust-Barometer>.
9. Pew Research Center, *Public Trust in Government: 1958–2019* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, April 11, 2019), <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2019/04/11/public-trust-in-government-1958-2019/>; Mark Jurkowitz, Amy Mitchell, Elisa Shearer, and Mason Walker, “U.S. Media Polarization and the 2020 Election: A Nation Divided,” Pew Research Center, January 24, 2020, <https://www.journalism.org/2020/01/24/u-s-media-polarization-and-the-2020-election-a-nation-divided/>.
10. See, for example, Monroe E. Price, *Free Expression, Globalism, and the New Strategic Communication* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
11. Carroll Bogert, interview, New York City, May 6, 2014.
12. Daly, interview.
13. Daly, interview.
14. Weizman, “Open Verification,” para. 32.
15. Rasmus Kleis Nielsen and Lucas Graves, “‘News You Don’t Believe’: Audience Perspectives on Fake News,” Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism Report, October 2017, https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2017-10/Nielsen%26Graves_factsheet_1710v3_FINAL_download.pdf.
16. Claire Wardle, Angela Pimenta, Guilherme Conter, Nic Dias, and Pedro Burgos, “An Evaluation of the Impact of a Collaborative Journalism Project on Brazilian Journalists and Audiences,” *First Draft*, June 27, 2019, <https://firstdraftnews.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Comprova-Full-Report-Final.pdf?x19006>.
17. Pew Research Center, *The State of the News Media 2015* (Washington, DC: Pew Research Center, April 29, 2015), <http://www.journalism.org/files/2015/04/FINAL-STATE-OF-THE-NEWSMEDIA1.pdf>.
18. Michael Barthel, “5 Key Takeaways about the State of the News Media in 2018,” Pew Research Center, July 23, 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/07/23/key-takeaways-state-of-the-news-media-2018/>.
19. Quoted in Nick Visser, “CBS Chief Les Moonves Says Trump’s ‘Damn Good’ for Business,” *HuffPost*, March 1, 2016, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/les-moonves-donald-trump_n_56d52ce8e4b03260bf780275.
20. John Maxwell Hamilton, *Journalism’s Roving Eye: A History of American Foreign Reporting* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009); Priya Kumar, “Foreign Correspondents: Who Covers What,” *American Journalism Review*, December 2010–January 2011, <http://ajrarchive.org/article.asp?id=4997>.

21. Ulf Hannerz, *Foreign News: Exploring the World of Foreign Correspondents* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Bill Keller, "It's the Golden Age of News," *New York Times*, Opinion, November 3, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/04/opinion/keller-its-the-golden-age-of-news.html?_r=0; Collen Murrell, *Foreign Correspondents and International Newsgathering: The Role of Fixers* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Lindsay Palmer, *The Fixers: Local News Workers and the Underground Labor of International Reporting* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).
22. Zeynep Devrim Gürsel, "The Politics of Wire Service Photography: Infrastructures of Representation in a Digital Newsroom," *American Ethnologist* 39 (1) (2012): 81.
23. Carroll Bogert, "Similar Paths, Different Missions: International Journalists and Human Rights Observers," *Nieman Reports* 64 (3) (2009): 59–61, <https://niemanreports.org/articles/similar-paths-different-missions-international-journalists-and-human-rights-observers/>; Carroll Bogert, "Whose News? The Changing Media Landscape and NGOs," in *Human Rights Watch 2011 World Report* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2011), <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2011/country-chapters/africa-americas-asia-europe/central-asia-middle-east/north-africa>.
24. Pierre Bairin, interview, New York City, June 16, 2015.
25. Matthew Powers, *NGOs as Newsmakers: The Changing Landscape of International News* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).
26. Matthew Powers, "The Structural Organization of NGO Publicity Work: Explaining Divergent Publicity Strategies at Humanitarian and Human Rights Organizations," *International Journal of Communication* 8 (2014): 90–107.
27. Bogert, interview.
28. Matthew Powers, "Opening the News Gates? Humanitarian and Human Rights NGOs in the US Media, 1990–2010," *Media, Culture, & Society* 38 (3) (2015): 315–331, first published online April 4, 2015, doi: 10.1177/0163443715594868.
29. Ella McPherson, "Advocacy Organizations' Evaluation of Social Media Information for NGO Journalism: The Evidence and Engagement Model," *American Behavioral Scientist* 59 (1) (2014): 124–148; Shani Orgad and Irene Bruna Seu, "The Mediation of Humanitarianism: Toward a Research Framework," *Communication, Culture, & Critique* 7 (1) (2014): 6–36; Matthew Powers, "The New Boots on the Ground: NGOs in the Changing Landscape of International News," *Journalism* 17 (4) (2016): 401–416, first published online January 29, 2015, doi: 10.1177/1464884914568077.
30. Powers, "Opening the News Gates?"
31. Bogert, interview.
32. Daly, interview.
33. Daly, interview.

34. Daniel Eyre, Skype interview, August 14, 2015.
35. Bogert, interview.
36. Paul Woolwich, Skype interview, September 15, 2015.
37. See also Kate Nash, "Global Citizenship as Showbusiness: The Cultural Politics of 'Make Poverty History,'" *Media, Culture, & Society* 30 (2) (2010): 167–181; Powers, *NGOs as Newsmakers*.
38. Bogert, interview.
39. Daly, interview.
40. Philippa Ellerton, Skype interview, August 12, 2015.
41. Madeline Bair, interview, New York City, July 2, 2015.
42. Bairin, interview.
43. Philip Rottwilm, *The Future of Journalistic Work: Its Changing Nature and Implications* (Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2014), 16.
44. Barbie Zelizer, *What Journalism Could Be* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2017).
45. Malachy Browne, Skype interview, July 21, 2015.
46. Zelizer, *About to Die*, 6. See also Julianne H. Newton, *The Burden of Visual Truth: The Rise of Photojournalism in Mediating Reality* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001).
47. Kari Andén-Papadopoulos and Mervi Pantti, Introduction to *Amateur Images and Global News*, ed. Kari Andén-Papadopoulos and Mervi Pantti (Bristol, UK: Intellect, 2011), 10.
48. Gavin Sheridan, Skype interview, June 30, 2015.
49. Wardle, "How Newsrooms Use Eyewitness Media"; Mette Mortensen, *Journalism and Eyewitness Images: Digital Media, Participation, and Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2015).
50. Omar Al-Ghazzi, "'Citizen Journalism' in the Syrian Uprising: Problematizing Western Narratives in a Local Context," *Communication Theory* 24 (4) (2014): 435–454; Mortensen, *Journalism and Eyewitness Images*.
51. Zelizer, *What Journalism Could Be*.
52. Sameer Padania, Skype interview, July 28, 2015.
53. Barbie Zelizer, "'On Having Been There': 'Eyewitnessing' as a Journalistic Key Word," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24 (5) (2007): 425.
54. Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget*; Zelizer, *About to Die*.

55. Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget*, 24.
56. Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget*.
57. Raja Althaibani, phone interview, August 7, 2015.
58. Claire Wardle, Sam Dubberley, and Peter D. Brown, *Amateur Footage: A Global Study of User-Generated Content in TV and Online News Output* (New York: Tow Center for Digital Journalism, Columbia University, 2014), 4, <https://doi.org/10.7916/D88S526V>.
59. Wardle, Dubberley, and Brown, *Amateur Footage*.
60. Eyewitness Media Hub, "Eyewitness Media Hub Launch Guiding Principles for Journalists," *Medium*, September 9, 2015, para. 1, <https://medium.com/@emhub/eyewitness-media-hub-launch-guiding-principles-for-journalists-54aafc786eeb#.1vf0g92j8>.
61. Mervi Pantti, "Visual Gatekeeping in the Era of Networked Images: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of the Syrian Conflict," in *Gatekeeping in Transition*, ed. Tim P. Vos and Françoise Heinderyckx (New York: Routledge, 2015), 203–223; Wardle, Dubberley, and Brown, *Amateur Footage*.
62. Sheridan, interview.
63. Barbie Zelizer, "Journalism's 'Last' Stand: Wirephoto and the Discourse of Resistance," *Journal of Communication* 45 (2) (1995): 78–92.
64. Thomas Patrick Doherty, *Hollywood and Hitler, 1933–1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).
65. Zelizer, "Journalism's 'Last' Stand"; Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget*; Barbie Zelizer, "Words against Images: Positioning Newswork in the Age of Photography," in *Newsworkers: Towards a History of the Rank and File*, ed. Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 135–159.
66. Barbie Zelizer, *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
67. Andén-Papadopoulos and Pantti, "Re-imaging Crisis Reporting."
68. Mortensen, *Journalism and Eyewitness Images*.
69. Kari Andén-Papadopoulos and Mervi Pantti, "The Media Work of Syrian Diaspora Activists: Brokering between the Protest and Mainstream Media," *International Journal of Communication* 7 (2013): 2185–2206; Sahar Khamis, Paul. B. Gold, and Katherine Vaughn, "Beyond Egypt's 'Facebook Revolution' and Syria's 'YouTube Uprising': Comparing Political Contexts, Actors, and Communication Strategies," *Arab Media & Society*, no. 15 (Spring 2012), <http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=791>; Marc Lynch, Deen Freelon, and Sean Aday, *Blogs and Bullets III: Syria's*

Socially Mediated Civil War (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2012); Reporters without Borders, "Syria," March 12, 2012, updated January 20, 2016, <https://rsf.org/en/news/syria-2>.

70. Quoted in Wardle, Dubberley, and Brown, *Amateur Footage*, sec. 6.3, para. 1.

71. Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera*. In the United States, academic training in photojournalism started in 1942 at the University of Missouri Journalism School, and the National Press Photographers' Association was established in 1946.

72. Eyre, interview.

73. Josh Lyons, Skype, August 13, 2015.

74. Robert Trafford, Jitsi interview, July 10, 2019.

75. Christoph Koettl, interview, Washington DC, July 20, 2015.

76. Chris Cobb, "Amateur Videotapes Changing Perspective of News," *Gazette*, February 26, 1995.

77. K. Walker, "The Use of Amateur Video in Television News," Walker's blog, June 1991, para. 3, <http://walkerred.com/here-come-the-video-commandos> (site discontinued).

78. Fenton Bailey and Randy Barbato, dir., *Video, Vigilantes, and Voyeurism*, Channel 4 broadcast, 1993, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Txklb43mkiA>.

79. Quoted in Cobb, "Amateur Videotapes Changing Perspective of News."

80. Yvette Alberdingk Thijm, "Update on The Hub and WITNESS' New Online Strategy," *WITNESS*, blog, August 2010, para. 5, <https://blog.witness.org/2010/08/update-on-the-hub-and-witness-new-online-strategy/>.

81. Padania, interview.

82. Morgan Hargrave, interview, New York City, June 2, 2015.

83. Rottwilm, *Future of Journalistic Work*, 14.

84. Bolette B. Blaagaard, "Situated, Embodied, and Political: Expressions of Citizen Journalism," *Journalism Studies* 14 (2) (2013): 187–200; Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator*; Simon Cottle, "Journalists Witnessing Disaster: From the Calculus of Death to the Injunction to Care," *Journalism Studies* 14 (2) (2013): 232–248.

85. Morris Janowitz, "Professional Models in Journalism: The Gatekeeper and the Advocate," *Journalism Quarterly*, Winter 1975, 618–626, 662.

86. Mark Hampton, "The Fourth Estate Ideal in Journalism History," in *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism*, ed. Stuart Allan (New York: Routledge, 2010), 3–12.

87. Martin Bell, "TV News: How Far Should We Go?," *British Journalism Review* 8 (1) (1997): 6–16.
88. Johan Galtung, Carl G. Jacobsen, and Kal Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen, *Searching for Peace—the Road to TRANSCEND* (London: Pluto Press, 2002).
89. Jean-Paul Marthoz, "A Call for Committed Journalism," *Global Beat Syndicate*, May 5, 1999, <http://www.bu.edu/globalbeat/syndicate/Marthoz050599.html>.
90. Ibrahim Seaga Shaw, *Human Rights Journalism: Advances in Reporting Distant Humanitarian Interventions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
91. David T. Z. Mindich, *Just the Facts: How "Objectivity" Came to Define American Journalism* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 1.
92. Silvio Waisbord, "Advocacy Journalism in a Global Context," in *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, ed. Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch (New York: Routledge, 2009), 375.
93. Bairin, interview.
94. Woolwich, interview.
95. Daly, interview.
96. See, for example, Glenda Cooper, *From Their Own Correspondents? News Media and the Changes in Disaster Coverage* (Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2011); Louise Grayson, "The Role of Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Practicing Editorial Photography in a Globalized Media Environment," *Journalism Practice* 8 (5) (2014): 632–645.
97. See also Powers, *NGOs as Newsmakers*.
98. Padania, interview.
99. See, for example, Tirana Hassan, Skype interview, June 27, 2016.
100. Daly, interview.
101. For an analysis of such questioning of democracies, see Natalie Fenton, "Fake Democracy: The Limits of Public Sphere Theory," *Javnost—the Public* 25 (1–2) (2018): 28–34.
102. See, for example, Dannagal G. Young, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Shannon Poulsen, and Abigail Goldring, "Fact-Checking Effectiveness as a Function of Format and Tone: Evaluating FactCheck.org and FlackCheck.org," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 95 (1) (2017): 49–75; Stephan Lewandowsky, Ullrich K. H. Ecker, Colleen M. Seifert, Norbert Schwartz, and John Cook, "Misinformation and Its Correction: Continued Influence and Successful Debiasing," *Psychological Science in the Public Interest* 13 (3) (2012): 106–131.

103. Quoted in WITNESS, “Deepfakes—Prepare Yourself Now,” report launched October 2019, <https://www.witness.org/witness-deepfakes-prepare-yourself-now-report-launched/>.
104. International Council on Human Rights Policy, *Journalism, Media, and the Challenge of Human Rights Reporting* (Vernier, Switzerland: ATAR Roto Press, 2002), www.ichrp.org/files/reports/14/106_report_en.pdf; Sassen, *The Video Revolution*.
105. Daly, interview.
106. Bogert, interview.
107. Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 17.
108. Zelizer, *What Journalism Could Be*.
109. Michael Schudson, *The Sociology of News*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 2011), 19.
110. John Hartley, “Communicative Democracy in a Redactional Society: The Future of Journalism Studies,” *Journalism* 1 (1) (2000): 40.
111. Woolwich, interview.
112. Bogert, “Whose News?,” 30; see also Powers, “Structural Organization of NGO Publicity Work.”
113. Andrew Stroehlein, interview, Brussels, November 27, 2013.
114. Ellerton, interview.
115. Daly, interview.
116. Bairin, interview.
117. Bogert, interview.
118. Bairin, interview.
119. Ellerton, interview.
120. Woolwich, interview.
121. Kevin G. Barnhurst, “Contradictions in News Epistemology: How Modernism Failed Mainstream US Journalism,” *Media, Culture, & Society* 37 (8) (2015): 1244–1253.
122. Barnhurst, “Contradictions in News Epistemology,” 1250.
123. Bairin, interview.
124. Woolwich, interview.
125. Bairin, interview.

126. Ivan Watson, "Torture Allegedly Widespread in Syria," CNN, July 3, 2012, video, 2:56, <https://www.cnn.com/videos/world/2012/07/03/watson-syria-human-rights-watch.cnn>; Mark Memmott, "'Torture Centers' Stretch across Syria, Human Rights Watch Reports," NPR, July 3, 2012, <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwoway/2012/07/03/156179079/torture-centers-stretch-across-syria-human-rights-watch-reports>; Raniah Salloum, "Krieg in Syrien: Hier foltern Assads Agenten," *Spiegel Online*, July 3, 2012, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/folter-in-syrien-human-rights-watch-veroeffentlicht-neuen-bericht-a-842125.html>; AFP News Agency, "Former Detainees Reveal Syrian Torture Centers," July 3, 2012, video, 1:17, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CWFTCrloCV4>.
127. Eyre, interview.
128. Ellerton, interview.
129. Stroehlein, interview.
130. Hartley, "Communicative Democracy."
131. Hartley, "Communicative Democracy," 43–44.
132. A. Holley, prod., *HRWFF Podcast with Peter Bouckaert*, Human Rights Watch Film Festival Podcast, 2015, MP3 audio, 23:37, <https://ff.hrw.org/content/hrwff-podcast-peter-bouckaert>.
133. Human Rights Watch, "Syria: Strong Evidence Government Used Chemicals as a Weapon," May 13, 2014, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/05/13/syria-strong-evidence-government-used-chemicals-weapon>; Amnesty International, *Nigeria: Stars on Their Shoulders. Blood on Their Hands: War Crimes Committed by the Nigerian Military. Executive Summary* (London: Amnesty International, June 3, 2015), <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr44/1661/2015/en/>.
134. Eyre, interview.
135. Weizman, "Open Verification."
136. Bair, interview.
137. Rina Tsubaki, Skype interview, August 3, 2015.
138. Craig Silverman, ed., *Verification Handbook for Investigative Reporting: A Guide to Online Search and Research Techniques for Using UGC and Open Source Information in Investigations* (Maastricht, Netherlands: European Journalism Centre, 2015), <http://verificationhandbook.com/book2/>; Craig Silverman, ed., *Verification Handbook: An Ultimate Guideline on Digital Age Sourcing for Emergency Coverage* (Maastricht, Netherlands: European Journalism Centre, 2014), <http://verificationhandbook.com/book/>.
139. Eyre, interview.

140. Lyons, interview.
141. Koettl, interview.
142. Chistoph Koettl, "The YouTube War': Citizen Videos Revolutionize Human Rights Monitoring in Syria," *Mediashift*, February 18, 2014, para. 6, <http://mediashift.org/2014/02/the-youtube-war-citizen-videos-revolutionize-human-rights-monitoring-in-syria/>.
143. Joseph Lichtenman, "Amnesty International Launches a New Site to Help Journalists Verify YouTube Videos," *NiemanLab*, July 8, 2014, <http://www.niemanlab.org/2014/07/amnesty-international-launches-a-new-site-to-help-journalists-verify-youtube-videos/>.
144. Craig Silverman, "Amnesty International Launches Video Verification Tool, Website," Poynter Institute, July 8, 2014, para. 1, <http://www.poynter.org/2014/amnesty-international-launches-video-verification-tool-website/257956/>.
145. Tsubaki, interview.
146. Holley, *HRWFF Podcast*.
147. Bair, interview.
148. Koettl, interview.
149. Browne, interview.
150. Sam Dubberley, WhatsApp interview, July 24, 2019.
151. Gürsel, "Politics of Wire Service Photography."
152. Andén-Papadopoulos and Pantti, "Media Work of Syrian Diaspora Activists."
153. Bair, interview.
154. Bair, interview.
155. Althaibani, interview.
156. Bair, interview.
157. Althaibani, interview.
158. Hargrave, interview.
159. Jeff Deutch, Skype interview, October 19, 2018.
160. Bryan Nuñez, "Is This for Real? How InformaCam Improves Verification of Mobile Media Files," *WITNESS*, blog, January 2013, para. 6, <https://blog.witness.org/2013/01/how-informacam-improves-verification-of-mobile-media-files/>.
161. Koettl, interview.
162. Dubberley, interview.

163. Amnesty International, "Syria: Unprecedented Investigation Reveals US-Led Coalition Killed More Than 1,600 Civilians in Raqqa 'Death Trap,'" April 25, 2019, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/04/syria-unprecedented-investigation-reveals-us-led-coalition-killed-more-than-1600-civilians-in-raqqa-death-trap/>.

164. Ellerton, interview.

165. Bogert, interview.

166. Bair, interview.

167. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*.

168. For a good overview on this debate, see Kate Wright, "NGOs as News Organizations," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedias* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), doi: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.852. See also Natalie Fenton, "NGOs, New Media, and the Mainstream News," in *New Media, Old News: Journalism and Democracy in the Digital Age*, ed. Natalie Fenton (London: Sage, 2010), 153–168; Adrienne Russell, "Innovations in Hybrid Spaces: 2011 UN Climate Summit and the Expanding Journalism Landscape," *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism* 17, no. 4 (2013): 904–920; Ethan Zuckerman, "Using the Internet to Examine Patterns of Foreign Coverage," *Nieman Reports* 58 (3) (2004): 51–54.

169. Powers, *NGOs as Newsmakers*.

170. Waisbord, *Reinventing Professionalism*.

171. Mark Deuze, "What Journalism Is (Not)," *Social Media + Society* 5 (3) (2019): 2.

172. Powers, *NGOs as Newsmakers*.

Chapter 4

1. Feigenson and Spiesel, *Law on Display*; Richard K. Sherwin, "Visual Jurisprudence," *New York Law School Review* 56 (2012): 138–165.

2. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*.

3. Mnookin, "The Image of Truth."

4. See, for example, Feigenson and Spiesel, *Law on Display*; Elizabeth G. Porter, "Imagining Law: Visual Thinking across the Law School Curriculum," *Journal of Legal Education* 68 (1) (2018): 8–14.

5. Mnookin, "Image of Truth," 65.

6. Mnookin, "Image of Truth," 65.

7. Stuart Schulberg, dir., *Nuremberg: Its Lesson for Today*, motion picture, Schulberg/Waletzky Restoration, prod. Sandra Schulberg, restored by Sandra Schulberg and John Waletzky (Schulberg Productions, 2010).

8. Christian Delage, *Caught on Camera: Film in the Courtroom from the Nuremberg Trials to the Trials of Khmer Rouge* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Lawrence Douglas, *The Memory of Judgment: Making Law and History in the Trials of the Holocaust* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).
9. Quoted in Henry Rousso, "Competitive Narratives: An Incident at the Papon Trial," in *The Scene of the Mass Crime: History, Film, and International Tribunals*, ed. Christian Delage and Peter Goodrich (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 48.
10. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (1963; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 253.
11. Shoshana Felman, "Theaters of Justice: Arendt in Jerusalem, the Eichmann Trial, and the Redefinition of Legal Meaning in the Wake of the Holocaust," *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 1 (2000): 1–43; Douglas, *Memory of Judgment*.
12. Amit Pinchevski, "The Audiovisual Unconscious: Media and Trauma in the Video Archive for Holocaust Testimonies," *Critical Inquiry* 39 (1) (2012): 144.
13. Elian Peltier, "TV Cameras Coming to English Criminal Courts," *New York Times*, January 16, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/16/world/europe/cameras-british-courts.html>.
14. See, for example, Kyu Ho Youm, "Cameras in the Courtroom in the Twenty-First Century: The U.S. Supreme Court Learning from Abroad?," *BYU Law Review* 6 (2012): 1989–2031.
15. Quoted in Youm, "Cameras in the Courtroom," 1996.
16. Marjorie Cohn and David Dow, *Cameras in the Courtroom: Television and the Pursuit of Justice* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2002); Schwartz, *Mechanical Witness*.
17. Cohn and Dow, *Cameras in the Courtroom*.
18. Schwartz, *Mechanical Witness*.
19. Schwartz, *Mechanical Witness*, 106.
20. Between July 2011 and July 2015, a total of fourteen district courts voluntarily participated in a pilot study by the Judicial Conference to evaluate the effect of cameras and video recordings of proceedings. On average, the participating attorneys and judges viewed video favorably. See Molly Treadway Johnson, Carol Krafka, and Donna Stienstra, *Video Recording Courtroom Proceedings in United States District Courts: Report on a Pilot Project Submitted by the Federal Judicial Center to the Court Administration and Case Management Committee of the Judicial Conference of the United States* (Washington, DC: Federal Judicial Center, 2016), [https://www.fjc.gov/sites/default/files/2017/Cameras%20in%20Courts%20Project%20Report%20\(2016\).pdf](https://www.fjc.gov/sites/default/files/2017/Cameras%20in%20Courts%20Project%20Report%20(2016).pdf).
21. For an overview of this development and what it means for the administration of justice, see, for example, Neal Feigenson and Christina Spiesel, "How Is the Medium the Message? Zoom as Visual and Legal Practice," *First Monday* (forthcoming).

22. Rob Barsony, interview, The Hague, April 17, 2015.
23. Alex Whiting, phone interview, October 1, 2015.
24. Barsony, interview.
25. The ICTY's Outreach Office produced documentaries to communicate the court's mission and accomplishments to the wider public. A discussion of this project is beyond the scope of this chapter, but for an overview see Nenad Golčevski, "Communicating Justice in Film: The Limitations of an Unlimited Field," in *Visual Imagery and Human Rights Practice*, ed. Ristovska and Price, 153–163; Sandra Ristovska, "Video and Witnessing at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia," in *The Routledge Companion to Media and Human Rights*, ed. Howard Tumber and Silvio Waisbord (New York: Routledge, 2017), 357–365.
26. Susan Schuppli, "Entering Evidence: Cross Examining the Court Records of the ICTY," in *Forensis: The Architecture of Public Truth*, ed. Forensic Architecture (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2014), 279–314.
27. Paul Mason, "Reflections of International Law in Popular Culture: Justice Seen to Be Done? Electronic Broadcast Coverage of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law* 95 (2001): 212.
28. Mason, "Reflections of International Law," 213.
29. See, for example, Schwartz, *Mechanical Witness*.
30. Barsony, interview. These attitudes are echoed in the decisions to record and broadcast trials by the Supreme Courts of Canada in the mid-1990s, Brazil in 2002, and the United Kingdom in 2009. See Youm, "Cameras in the Courtroom."
31. Silvia D'Ascoli, interview, The Hague, October 13, 2015.
32. *The Prosecutor v. Mucić et al.*, ICTY, case no. IT-96-21, January 19, 1998. All passages from official court documents or trial transcripts are presented as released, transcribed, and/or translated by the ICTY. Linguistic errors are not corrected. Throughout the chapter, the excerpts are presented verbatim.
33. See Aida Ashouri, Caleb Bowers, and Cherrie Warden, "Working Paper: An Overview of the Use of Digital Evidence in International Criminal Courts," Salzburg Workshop on Cyber Investigations, 2013, https://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/HRC/Scholarly_articles_Salzburg_2013.pdf.
34. Freeman, "Digital Evidence and War Crimes Prosecutions."
35. Ashouri, Bowers, and Warden, "Working Paper."
36. Freeman, "Digital Evidence," 292, 298.
37. Keith Hiatt, "Open Source Evidence on Trial," *Yale Law Journal Forum* 125 (2016): 329.

38. United Nations, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, *Rules of Procedure and Evidence*, July 8, 2015, https://www.icty.org/x/file/Legal%20Library/Rules_procedure_evidence/IT032Rev50_en.pdf.
39. Freeman, "Digital Evidence," 301–302.
40. Whiting, interview.
41. Thomas Keenan and Eyal Weizman, *Mengele's Skull: The Advent of a Forensic Aesthetics* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2012); Forensic Architecture, *Forensis*.
42. *The Prosecutor v. Galić*, ICTY, case no. IT-98-29, October 18, 2000, 189.
43. D'Ascoli, interview.
44. *Prosecutor v. Galić*, December 3, 2001, 577–579.
45. *Prosecutor v. Galić*, December 3, 2001, 604.
46. For questions about the admissibility of victim-impact videos in the US context, see Regina Austin, "Documentation, Documentary, and the Law: What Should Be Made of Victim Impact Videos?," *Cardozo Law Review* 31 (4) (2010): 979–1017.
47. *The Prosecutor v. Jokić*, ICTY, case no. IT-01-42/1, December 4, 2003, 41.
48. *The Prosecutor v. Karadžić*, ICTY, case no. IT-95-5/18, December 8, 2010, 9427.
49. Vladimir Petrović, "A Crack in the Wall of Denial: The Scorpions Video in and out of the Courtroom," in *Narratives of Justice in and out of the Courtroom*, ed. Dubravka Zarkov and Marlies Glasius (New York: Springer, 2014), 89–109; Ivan Zver-zhanovski, "Watching War Crimes: The Srebrenica Video and the Serbian Attitudes to the 1995 Massacre," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 7 (3) (2007): 417–430.
50. *The Prosecutor v. Milošević*, ICTY, case no. IT-02-54, June 1, 2005, 40278–40279.
51. *Prosecutor v. Milošević*, June 8, 2005, 40733–40734.
52. Whiting, interview.
53. D'Ascoli, interview.
54. Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget*, 7.
55. Jeffrey C. Alexander, "On the Social Construction of Moral Universals: The 'Holocaust' from War Crime to Trauma Drama," *European Journal of Social Theory* 5 (1) (2002): 5–85; Douglas, *Memory of Judgment*; Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. W. D. Halls (New York: Free Press, 1984); Joachim J. Savelsberg and Ryan D. King, "Law and Collective Memory," *Annual Review of Law and Society* 3 (2007): 189–211.
56. *The Prosecutor v. Duško Tadić*, ICTY, case no. IT-94-1, May 7, 1996.

57. For the contested nature of the fence and the video, see David Campbell, "Atrocity, Memory, Photography: Imaging the Concentration Camps of Bosnia—the Case of ITN versus *Living Marxism*, Part 1," *Journal of Human Rights* 1 (1) (2002): 1–33, and "Atrocity, Memory, Photography: Imaging the Concentration Camps of Bosnia—the Case of ITN versus *Living Marxism*, Part 2," *Journal of Human Rights* 1 (2) (2002): 143–172.
58. Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget*.
59. Bill Nichols, "Documentary Film and the Modernist Avant-Garde," *Critical Inquiry* 27 (4) (2001): 582.
60. See, for example, Schwartz, *Mechanical Witness*.
61. Freeman, "Digital Evidence," 294.
62. Ashouri, Bowers, and Warden, "Working Paper," 8.
63. Neal Feigenson, "The Visual in Law: Some Problems for Legal Theory," *Law, Culture, and the Humanities* 10 (1) (2014): 22.
64. Carroll Bogert, interview, New York City, May 6, 2014.
65. Param-Preet Singh, interview, New York City, October 16, 2015.
66. Bukeni Waruzi, interview, New York City, August 6, 2015.
67. Waruzi, interview.
68. Quoted in Matthew Shaer, "'The Media Doesn't Care What Happens Here': Can Amateur Journalism Bring Justice to Rio's Favelas?," *New York Times*, February 18, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/22/magazine/the-media-doesnt-care-what-happens-here.html>.
69. Christian Delage and Peter Goodrich, introduction to *The Scene of the Mass Crime*, ed. Delage and Goodrich, 1.
70. Josh Lyons, Skype interview, August 13, 2015.
71. Eyal Weizman, introduction to *Forensis*, ed. Forensic Architecture, 9–32.
72. Robert Trafford, Jitsi interview, July 10, 2019.
73. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 41.
74. Lyons, interview.
75. Christoph Koettl, interview, Washington DC, July 20, 2015; Lyons, interview.
76. Christoph Koettl, "Can Video Document Possible War Crimes in Syria?," *WITNESS*, blog, January 2013, para. 9, <https://blog.witness.org/2013/01/video-war-crimes-in-syria/>.

77. Amnesty International, "Burundi: Suspected Mass Graves of Victims of 11 December Violence," January 29, 2016, burundibriefingaf1633372016english2.pdf. For further discussion, see Christoph Koettl, "A Convergence of Visuals: Geospatial and Open Source Analysis in Human Rights Documentation," in *Visual Imagery and Human Rights Practice*, ed. Ristovska and Price, 57–66.
78. Belkis Wille, interview, New York City, June 25, 2015.
79. Delage, *Caught on Camera*, 67.
80. Wille, interview.
81. Koettl, interview.
82. Daniel Eyre, Skype interview, August 14, 2015.
83. Feigenson, "The Visual in Law," 20.
84. Alexa Koenig, phone interview, July 8, 2019.
85. Koenig, interview.
86. Sam Gregory, Skype interview, December 11, 2015.
87. Whiting, interview.
88. Lyons, interview.
89. Whiting, interview.
90. Nine Bernstein, "Should War Reporters Testify, Too? A Recent Court Decision Helps Clarify the Issue but Does Not End the Debate," *New York Times*, Metro sec., December 14, 2002, <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/14/arts/should-war-reporters-testify-too-recent-court-decision-helps-clarify-issue-but.html?pagewanted=all>.
91. Hiatt, "Open Source Evidence," 325.
92. Wendy Betts, Skype interview, August 11, 2015.
93. Raja Althaibani, phone interview, August 7, 2015; Forensic Architecture, "Bil'in: Reconstructing the Death of a Palestinian Demonstrator via Video Analysis," 2010, <http://www.forensic-architecture.org/case/bilin/>.
94. Morgan Hargrave, interview, New York City, June 2, 2015.
95. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 36.
96. Lindsay Freeman, Skype interview, June 25, 2019.
97. WITNESS, "Use of Video Evidence Leads to Justice in Democratic Republic of Congo," September 2018, <https://www.witness.org/video-evidence-helps-lead-to-historic-conviction-in-democratic-republic-of-congo/>.
98. Kelly Matheson, interview, New York City, July 22, 2015.

99. Eyre, interview.
100. Priscila Neri, interview, New York City, August 6, 2015.
101. Neri, interview.
102. Sandra Ristovska, "Strategic Witnessing in an Age of Video Activism," *Media, Culture, & Society* 38 (7) (2016): 1034–1047.
103. Matheson, interview.
104. Matheson, interview.
105. Koenig, interview.
106. Freeman, interview.
107. Dubberley, Koenig, and Murray, *Digital Witness*.
108. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*.

Chapter 5

1. Jakes Tapper and Mariano Castillo, "First on CNN: Videos Show Glimpse into Evidence for Syria Intervention," CNN, September 8, 2013, <http://www.cnn.com/2013/09/07/politics/us-syria-chemical-attack-videos/>.
2. See, for example, Independent International Commission of Inquiry on the Syrian Arab Republic, *10th Report of Commission of Inquiry on Syria*.
3. For example, Jeff Deutch, Skype interview, October 19, 2018.
4. De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.
5. Freidson, *Professional Powers*, 3.
6. Marcus, *The Sentimental Citizen*, 6.
7. Barbie Zelizer, "Reflections Essay: What's Untransportable about the Transport of Photographic Images?," *Popular Communication* 4 (1) (2006): 12.
8. See, for example, Kelly Gates, "Professionalizing Police Media Work: Surveillance Video and the Forensic Sensibility," in *Images, Ethics, Technology*, ed. Sharrona Pearl (New York: Routledge, 2016), 41–57; Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*; William John Thomas Mitchell, *Image Science: Iconology, Visual Culture, and Media Aesthetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*.
9. See, for instance, Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda & Persuasion*, 6th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2015); Siegfried Krakauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press,

1947); Paul Messaris, *Visual Literacy: Image, Mind, & Reality* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994).

10. See, for example, Halleck, *Handheld Visions*; Torchin, *Creating the Witness*; Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget*; Zimmerman, *States of Emergency*.

11. Marcus, *Sentimental Citizen*, 5.

12. See, for example, Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Barbara Koziak, *Retrieving Political Emotions: Thumos, Aristotle, and Gender* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); Marcus, *Sentimental Citizen*; George E. Marcus, Russell Newman, and Michael MacKuen, *Affective Intelligence and Political Judgment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Martha Craven Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Martha Craven Nussbaum, *Political Emotions: Why Love Matters for Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Zizi Papacharissi, *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Zelizer, *About to Die*.

13. Paul Woolwich, Skype interview, September 15, 2015.

14. Bukeni Waruzi, interview, New York City, August 6, 2015.

15. Raja Althaibani, phone interview, August 7, 2015.

16. Christoph Koettl, interview, Washington DC, July 20, 2015.

17. Sam Gregory, interview, New York City, October 11, 2012.

18. See also Ristovska, "Strategic Witnessing in an Age of Video Activism."

19. Carroll Bogert, interview, New York City, May 6, 2014.

20. Liba Beyer, Skype interview, July 31, 2019.

21. Philippa Ellerton, Skype interview, August 12, 2015.

22. Morton Winston, personal communication, July 13, 2015.

23. Woolwich, interview.

24. Jim Ward, interview, London, April 12, 2018.

25. Sam Gregory, "Transnational Storytelling: Human Rights, WITNESS, and Video Advocacy," *American Anthropologist* 108 (1) (2006): 196.

26. CISCO, *CISCO Annual Internet Report (2018–2023)*, white paper, March 9, 2020, <https://www.cisco.com/c/en/us/solutions/collateral/executive-perspectives/annual-internet-report/white-paper-c11-741490.html>.

27. Jessica Clement, "Internet Usage Worldwide—Statistics & Facts," Statista, October 26, 2020, <https://www.statista.com/topics/1145/internet-usage-worldwide/>.

28. Emma Daly, interview, New York City, August 18, 2015.
29. Elizabeth Meckes, Skype interview, November 6, 2015.
30. Pierre Bairin, interview, New York City, June 16, 2015.
31. Newman, *Video Revolutions*; see also Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006).
32. Michael Z. Newman, "Ze Frank and the Poetics of Web Video," *First Monday* 13 (5) (2008): para. 11, 10, <http://firstmonday.org/article/view/2102/1962>.
33. Param-Preet Singh, interview, New York City, October 16, 2015.
34. Belkis Wille, interview, New York City, June 25, 2015.
35. For example, see Hartmut Rosa and William E. Scheuerman, introduction to *High Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power, and Modernity*, ed. Hartmut Rosa and William E. Scheuerman (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 2.
36. Beyer, interview.
37. Bairin, interview.
38. Daly, interview.
39. Ellerton, interview.
40. For example, see Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator*.
41. Woolwich, interview.
42. Singh, interview.
43. Woolwich, interview.
44. Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 132.
45. Ellerton, interview.
46. Singh, interview.
47. Singh, interview.
48. Singh, interview.
49. See, for example, Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); Chouliaraki, *The Spectatorship of Suffering*; Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator*; Halttunen, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain"; Susan Moeller, *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War, and Death* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
50. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*.

51. Beyer, interview.
52. Tirana Hassan, Skype interview, June 27, 2016.
53. Beyer, interview.
54. See Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator*, for its discussion of the move from an ethics of pity to an ethics of irony.
55. Matheson, interview.
56. Bryan Nuñez, interview, New York City, June 16, 2015.
57. Gregory, "Transnational Storytelling," 198.
58. Veronica Matushaj, interview, New York City, September 21, 2015.
59. Woolwich, interview.
60. Daniel Eyre, Skype interview, August 14, 2015.
61. Waruzi, interview.
62. Wille, interview.
63. For example, see Amy Brouillette, "Hungarian Media Laws in Europe: An Assessment of the Consistency of Hungary's Media Laws with European Practices and Norms," Center for Media and Communication Studies, Central European University, 2012, <https://www.eui.eu/Documents/General/DebatingtheHungarianConstitution/HungarianMediaLawsinEurope.pdf>.
64. Woolwich, interview.
65. Priscila Neri, interview, New York City, August 6, 2015.
66. See Ristovska, "Strategic Witnessing in an Age of Video Activism," for a discussion of how these videos illustrate a shift away from witnessing as constitutive of the traumatic world to witnessing as a strategic mechanism for change.
67. Madeline Bair, interview, New York City, July 2, 2015.
68. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 36.
69. Neri, interview.
70. See, for example, Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, 2nd ed.
71. Nichols, *Introduction to Documentary*, 2nd ed., 168.
72. Singh, interview.
73. Ellerton, interview.
74. Daniel Santos, email interview, July 26, 2019.

75. Meckes, interview.
76. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 36.
77. Neri, interview.
78. Neri, interview.
79. Wille, interview.
80. Meckes, interview.
81. For the consequences of this development in human rights and humanitarian communication writ large, see Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator*.
82. De Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, 54.
83. Hargrave, interview.
84. WITNESS, prod., *Help Make Human Rights Abuse Visible, #WitnessTruth*, June 22, 2016, video, 2:34, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x1PhAEwkJD4>.
85. Neri, interview.
86. Bair, interview.
87. Woolwich, interview.

Chapter 6

1. Lilie Chouliaraki, "Re-mediation, Inter-mediation, Trans-mediation: The Cosmopolitan Trajectories of Convergent Journalism," *Journalism Studies* 14 (2) (2013): 267.
2. Judith Butler, *Giving an Account of Oneself* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005).
3. Mirca Madianou, Liezel Longboan, and Jonathan Corpus Ong, "Finding a Voice through Humanitarian Technologies? Communication Technologies and Participation in Disaster Recovery," *International Journal of Communication* 9 (2015): 3020–3038.
4. Axel Honneth, *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996).
5. Nick Couldry, *Why Voice Matters: Culture and Politics after Neoliberalism* (London: Sage, 2010).
6. Alice Baroni, "Contested Visualities: Courage and Fear in the Portrayal of Rio de Janeiro's Favelas," in *Visual Imagery and Human Rights Practice*, ed. Ristovska and Price, 233.
7. For more on how voice materializes, see Butler, *Giving an Account of Oneself*.

8. Chouliaraki, "Re-mediation."
9. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Differend: Phrases in Dispute* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 8.
10. Pierre Bairin, interview, New York City, June 16, 2015.
11. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experiences: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
12. Felman, "Theaters of Justice," 2.
13. Dori Laub, "Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening," in *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in History, Literature, and Psychoanalysis*, ed. Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub (New York: Routledge, 1992), 57.
14. Felman, "Theaters of Justice."
15. Sliwinski, *Human Rights in Camera*, 94.
16. Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
17. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experiences*; Amit Pinchevski, *By Way of Interruption: Levinas and the Ethics of Communication* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2005).
18. Zelizer, *About to Die*, 13.
19. Raja Althaibani, phone interview, August 7, 2015.
20. Christoph Koettl, interview, Washington DC, July 20, 2015; Bryan Nuñez, interview, New York City, June 16, 2015.
21. Slavoj Žižek, "'I Hear You with My Eyes'; or, The Invisible Master," in *Gaze and Voice as Love Objects*, ed. Renata Salecl and Slavoj Žižek (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 91, 93.
22. Christian Delage, "The Place of the Filmed Witness: From Nuremberg to Khmer Rouge Trials," *Cardozo Law Review* 31 (4) (2010): 1096.
23. Bukeni Waruzi, interview, New York City, August 6, 2015.
24. Zelizer, *About to Die*, 13.
25. Priscila Neri, interview, New York City, August 6, 2015.
26. On the tenuous relationship between testimony and authenticity, see Michael Bernard-Donals, "Beyond the Question of Authenticity: Witness and Testimony in the Fragments Controversy," *PMLA* 116 (5) (2001): 1302–1315.
27. Carroll Bogert, interview, New York City, May 6, 2014.
28. Veronica Matushaj, interview, New York City, September 21, 2015.
29. Ristovska, "Strategic Witnessing in an Age of Video Activism," 1036.

30. See, for example, Sandra Ristovska, "The Purchase of Witnessing in Human Rights Activism," in *Routledge Companion to Media Activism*, ed. Graham Meikle (New York: Routledge, 2018), 216–222.
31. Althaibani, interview.
32. For example, see Tagg, *Burden of Representation*.
33. Robert Trafford, personal communication, July 10, 2019.
34. Ryan Kautz, interview, New York City, July 2, 2015.
35. See, for example, Sara Ahmed, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).
36. See, for example, Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, *Language and the Politics of Emotion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
37. For example, Kay L. Schlozman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady, *The Uneheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).
38. Bogert, interview; Belkis Wille, interview, New York City, June 25, 2015.
39. Morgan Hargrave, interview, New York City, June 2, 2015.
40. Freidson, *Professional Powers*, 17.
41. Lang, *NGOs, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere*, 64.
42. Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 196–244.
43. Lang, *NGOs, Civil Society, and the Public Sphere*.
44. Aryeh Neier, *International Human Rights Movement: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).
45. Kelly Matheson, interview, New York City, July 22, 2015.
46. For example, see Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *If God Were a Human Rights Activist* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015).
47. See, for example, Sam Gregory, "Cameras Everywhere: Ubiquitous Video Documentation of Human Rights, New Forms of Video Advocacy, and Consideration of Safety, Security, Dignity, and Consent," *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 2 (2) (2010): 191–207; Gregory, "Transnational Storytelling"; Sam Gregory, "Human Rights Made Visible: New Dimensions to Anonymity, Consent, and Intentionality," in *Sensible Politics: The Visual Culture of Nongovernmental Activism*, ed. Meg McLagan and Yates McKee (New York: Zone Books, 2012), 551–562; Sam Gregory, "Ubiquitous Witnesses: Who Creates the Evidence and the Live(d) Experience of Human Rights Violations?,"

Information, Communication, & Society 18 (11) (2015): 1378–1392; Dubberley, Koenig, and Murray, *Digital Witness*.

48. Freidson, *Professional Powers*; Larson, *Rise of Professionalism*.

49. John Nerone, *The Media and Public Life: A History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015).

50. See Nerone, *The Media and Public Life*, 156–163.

51. Nerone, *The Media and Public Life*, 224.

52. Zelizer, *What Journalism Could Be*, 25–26.

53. Jacques Derrida, “The Villanova Roundtable: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida,” in *Deconstruction in a Nutshell: A Conversation with Jacques Derrida*, ed. John D. Caputo (New York: Fordham University Press, 1997), 16.

54. Nerone, *The Media and Public Life*, 224.

55. Emma Daly, interview, New York City, July 10, 2019.

56. Daly, interview; Jim Ward, interview, London, April 12, 2018.

57. Samuel Moyn, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 216.

58. Livia Hinegardner, “Action, Organization, and Documentary Film: Beyond a Communications Model of Human Rights Videos,” *Visual Anthropology Review* 25 (2) (2009): 173.

59. See also Nestor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, trans. Christopher L. Chiappari and Sylvia L. Lopez (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); Joshka Wessels, *Documenting Syria: Film-making, Video Activism, and Revolution* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2019).

60. For example, see Perugini and Gordon, *The Human Right to Dominate*; Randall Williams, *The Divided World: Human Rights and Its Violence* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

61. Price, *Free Expression*, 4.

62. For example, see Perugini and Gordon, *Human Right to Dominate*.

63. See Scott, *Seeing Like a State*.

64. For example, see Sandra Fahy, *Dying for Rights: Putting North Korea’s Rights Abuses on the Record* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019); Anat Leshnick, “In One Hand a Camera and in the Other, a Gun: State’s Adoption of Visual Activist Strategies for Narrative Legitimacy,” *International Journal of Communication* (forthcoming).

65. Jackie Zammuto, Skype interview, July 2, 2019.