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UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace

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Film as a Tool for Conflict Transformation

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List of Abbreviations

AT	Appropriate Technology
CTF	Conflict Transformation Film
ECT	Elicitive Conflict Transformation
EU	European Union
IR	International Relations
ISB	International Socialist Bureau's
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

List of Figures

Figure 1-1. Lederach's doodle of the pyramid of approaches to peacebuilding 28

Figure 1-2. The inter- and intrapersonal layers of Lederach's pyramid. The diagram of Transrational Peace, bird's-eye view. 38

Figure 3-1. Schematic diagram of Jung's model of the psyche 101

Figure 3-2. Hero Rites of Passage Monomyth 103

Figure 3-3. Word tree from keyword search 'De Beers' 110

Figure 3-4. Word tree from keyword search 'Blood Diamond' 110

Figure 3-5. Sunburst chart for Blood Diamond 111

Figure 3-6. A hero's journey chart adapted by Lisa Paitz Spindler 122

Figure 3-7. Nvivo tree graph search 'exploitation' 131

List of Tables

Table 1-1. A Typology of Violence 16

Table 1-2. Lederach's Prescriptive/Elicitive Comparative Summary 26

Table 3-1. Hierarchy chart for Dirty Pretty Things 133

KEYWORDS: **Film, Elicitive Conflict Transformation, Cultural Peace, Violence.**

Abstract: The research in this dissertation combines the fields of film theory and conflict transformation research as they relate to the study of peacebuilding. The entirety of the work is thus guided by the question, how can the overlapping interests of film and peace theory be operationalized to adapt conflict transformation to filmmaking and what might be the consequences in both fields should this be realized? In order to address this question several theoretical frames, including phenomenology, myth, cognitive science, psychology and international development research are used to assess case studies and a literature review. Although a complete insight into this interdisciplinary study cannot be concluded from this document alone, it does provide a great deal of support for the application of narrative filmmaking in the conflict transformation process. Finally, it confirms the powerful potential influence of film on culture and identity, the necessity to construct moral limitations to content, and also the specific context this tool of conflict transformation is best used.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements i

List of Abbreviations ii

List of Figures iii

List of Tables iv

Abstract v

Introduction 1

Preface 1

Cultural Peace and Film 2

A Pretext for the Subaltern Approach 3

Research Question & Objectives 5

Methodologies 5

Literature Review 6

Case Studies 7

Relevance in the Field of Conflict Transformation 7

Chapter 1 : Philosophy for Peace Literature Review 9

1.1 Introduction 9

1.1.1 Two Faces of Elicitive Conflict Transformation 10

1.1.1.1 Prelude to the Academic Field of Peace Theory 11

1.1.1.2 International Socialism and Peace 13

1.1.1.3 Critique of Johan Galtung's Triangular Peace Project 15

1.1.1.3.1 Martinez Guzman and Francisco A. Muñoz 20

1.1.1.4 John Paul Lederach and the Transformation Shift 22
1.1.1.5 The Serendipity and Art in Peacebuilding 27
1.1.1.5.1 Lederach in Practice 31
1.1.1.6 Wolfgang Dietrich and the Transrational and Elicitive 37
1.1.1.6.1 On the Transrational Shift 37
1.1.1.6.2 On Elicitive Conflict Transformation Peace Research 41
1.1.1.7 Between Dietrich and Lederach 50
1.1.2 Film Theory: Aesthetics of Film and the Mind 53
1.1.2.1 Peace Film as a Movement 53
1.1.2.2 Sontag and Moral Aesthetics 58
1.1.2.3 Psychology and Cinema: Between Story and Reality 60
1.2 Chapter Summary 64
***Chapter 2* : Analytic and Theoretical Tools to Analyze *Blood Diamond* and *Dirty Pretty Things* 67**
2.1 Introduction 67
2.1.1 Framing the Criterion 67
2.1.1.1 Historical Film Perspective of the Conflict 70
2.1.2 The Power of Negative Media 74
2.1.3 Criterion and Format of Case Studies 77
2.1.3.1 The Gender Perspective 81
2.1.3.2 Methodological Tools 82
2.1.4 The Film *Blood Diamond* as a Case Study 83
2.1.4.1 Justification for Blood Diamond 84
2.1.4.1.1 What is a *blood diamond?* 84
2.1.4.1.2 International Reach 86

2.1.4.2 Data Methodology for Blood Diamond 87
2.1.4.3 Theoretical Methods for Blood Diamond 89
2.1.5 The Film *Dirty Pretty Things* as a Case Study 91
2.1.5.1 Justification for Dirty Pretty Things 92
2.1.5.2 Global Audience Reach 94
2.1.5.3 Data Methodology for Dirty Pretty Things 95
2.1.5.4 Theoretical Approach for Dirty Pretty Things 96
2.2 Conclusion 97
Chapter 3 : Results, Discussion and Analysis 99
3.1 Introduction 99
3.1.1 A Foreword on Analysis 99
3.1.2 The Hero's Journey 100
3.1.3 Scientific Application of Theorists 105
3.2 Case Study Findings 109
3.2.1 Data Assessment of *Blood Diamond* 109
3.2.2 Theoretical Assessment of *Blood Diamond* 117
3.2.2.1 The Path of The Hero 117
3.2.2.2 Subaltern in Blood Diamond 123
3.2.2.3 Psychology of the hero and consciousness in *Blood Diamond* 127
3.2.2.4 Gender, Violence and Peace in "Africa" 129
3.2.3 Data Assessment of *Dirty Pretty Things* 131
3.2.4 Theoretical Assessment of *Dirty Pretty Things* 134
3.2.4.1 The Path of Another Hero 134
3.2.4.2 Subaltern in *Dirty Pretty Things* 137
3.2.4.3 Psychology of the Hero and Consciousness in *Dirty Pretty Things* 137
3.2.4.4 Gender, Violence and Peace in London 138

3.3 The Comparative Assessment....140
3.4 Conclusion....144
Conclusion....148
Summary of Research....148
Key Findings....150
Conclusions....153
Limitations and Further Research....154
Personal Perspective....156
List of References....157

Introduction

Preface

If there is indeed something that can be objectively considered a war film—thus, an *anti-war* film is also granted the assumption of existence—there certainly must be the possibility for something labeled a *peace film*. In order to locate such a thing, it will be necessary to identify the subfields of research within peace research, primarily, and secondarily, film theory.

Peace research, like other academic disciplines, has benefited from the interdisciplinary movements in fields that became ideologically divided over the last century. This movement in turn has presented several interesting opportunities from which to approach the art of peacebuilding from renewed perspectives. Like many theories, this work attempts to draw from certain aspects of previous works in order to develop a practical approach to peacebuilding using two specific areas of interest: cultural peace[1] and film.

Contemporary research frameworks in the field of peace studies take on many forms, although there remains an ideological split between a liberal style of peacebuilding, which can be identified more commonly to the field of International Relations (IR), and to the more philosophically oriented peace frames, which range from the communication based practical approaches to *radical disagreement* theories of Ramsbotham (2010) to the centrist approach of Francis (2010) encompassing media, activism, academia and the socio-political, and of course the extreme therapeutic philosophical approaches in Lederach (2005) and Dietrich

[1] Cultural peace is outlined extensively in Chapter I, however it can be considered most simply as the opposite of *cultural violence*, which are the aspects in a culture that make physical violence look and even feel morally correct. This is a much-abbreviated explanation of the work of Johan Galtung's *Cultural Violence* (1990).

(2014). This work uses the latter work of the deeply philosophical approach to frame a compliment to the developing field of Elicitive Conflict Transformation (ECT)[2]. It should be noted that although several theoretical frames are applied to this writing, and none are holistically subscribed to—furthermore many are considered with a measured evaluation. But if there were a concise description of how I consider peace, it is best expressed by Francis:

> I dream of a world where conflict is accepted as part of life, inextricably linked with variety, movement and change – not seen as a reason for killing; a world where we all share responsibility for ensuring that conflict is handled in constructive, nonviolent ways; a world where people work to change the things that harm them, harm others, or threaten the future of our planet (Francis, 2010: 1).

Although it is clearly outlined from which perspective of peace theory I am writing, the case is less apparent in film theory. For this reason, several filmic theoretical applications are presented and used as forms of analysis and assessment.

As such, there is no apparent gap in the theoretical approach to film but rather a lack of operationalization between the two areas of research. It will be shown in the following chapters, the several areas of overlap and inadvertent transdisciplinary nature of the two fields. However, in addition to no explicit works linking the two areas of study there is no specific methodology for assessing the promotion of peace through film, rather there are a wide range of research centers, commercial enterprises, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) and not for profit organizations that are devoted to soc*ially conscious* filmmaking and its effects on film viewership. That is to say, measuring film's social impact is a developing field but as it relates to the aims of cultural peacebuilding there is very limited research in this area.

Cultural Peace and Film

Filmmaking and viewership can be used to connect millions of people to a singular narrative. Naturally, the power of filmmaking has been proven historically, used for

[2] See Chapter 1 for extensive outline of theoretical and practical applications of ECT. The term is merely introduced here as an explicit tool for the theoretical basis of the thesis.

connecting societies and dividing them, but the application of film to use as a tool in the framework of ECT presents a compelling challenge and opportunity. In the context of globalization, the inquiry into media research and conflict transformation has begun to focus intensely on other forms of media. However, interest in film is legitimized by its distinction among other forms of media and their relation to conflict transformation. Certainly social media has enjoyed attention from recent developments during the Arab Spring, and radio and television are often used to address social welfare, as shown by the extensive work of BBC Media Action (2016). Conversely, these forms of media are diversified by narrative approaches and tend to be audience specific.

The goal of this approach is the promotion of cultural peace, as such it should be considered that ethnically or issue specific programing, while impressively effective, limits the holistic nature of cultural peace. Furthermore, serialized drama does not contain elements of storytelling that frame the argument in this work.

If there were to be a centralized argument in this text it would argue that *films that use a mythological framework in narrative structure can be used as a tool for conflict transformation in order to promote cultural peace*. Of course, this being a highly specialized theoretical frame, it requires a highly specialized group of conflicts for which it would be applicable. That is to say, it acknowledges the limitation of *radical disagreements* and other elements that are perhaps inapplicable to conflict transformation tools, and also focuses on the semi-preventative aims of peacebuilding under the larger aims of cultural peace. Thus, it is concerned primarily with the globalization discourse of the way in which North and South relations have evolved in the post-colonial context because these problems can centralize much of contemporary conflict.

A Pretext for the Subaltern Approach

The theoretical basis for the positions presented here are in large part influenced by

the complexity of conflict in a globalized historical context. Rooted in that are the emerging studies of a subaltern perspective.

Subaltern Studies is a relatively new field that emerged out of South Asia and is now spreading to Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa, and is concerned with post-colonial marginalized peoples. As Lee (2005) explains:

> Subaltern Studies is the shorthand expression for a school of postcolonial thought and historical practice primarily centered on South Asia, trancing its origins to a collective of scholars who emerged in the early 1980s with the publication of *Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (1).

The aim of the work was originally to recover the histories of marginalized groups similar to the work of Howard Zinn in the 1980s but has expanded to include theoretical notions of political agency and the "historical nature of power" (Lee, 2005: 1). Applied to Sub-Saharan Africa, there has been a movement to present alternative histories to that of the "Eurocentric interpretations of African history with an emphasis on local perspectives" (Lee, 2005: 5). Beyond the study of history, subaltern study has subsequently become linked to post-colonial study, Marxism and post-structuralism but for the concerns in the context of peace film the subaltern perspective is primarily concerned with the post-colonial subject of the marginalized class. Nonetheless, the linkages to subaltern perspectives and the arts have been explored by several researchers: in film theory by Gabilondo (2001) and Subramanyam (1996), theater by Lieder (2015), and photojournalism Linefield (2010). Finally, the subaltern perspective has immerged as legitimate incorporation into the peace paradigm (Richmond, 2008: 136, 148 & 163). As Rogers (1999: 745) indicates, "for southern states, the global economy was seen as essential a colonial creation assigning them a subservient role as producers of primary commodities made worse by numerous trade barriers imposed by the industrialized north", arguing this analysis effected the development of structural violence theories. Thus, the subaltern perspective is an essential part of the theoretical framework of peace and film theory.

Research Question & Objectives

Although this work concerns a broad range of influences, it is primarily concerned with the intersection of peace theory and film theory. As such, the research question in relation to the following text would be *how can the overlapping interests of film and peace theory be operationalized to adapt conflict transformation to filmmaking and what might be the consequences in both fields should this be realized?*

The starting point for this discourse would benefit from a review of the variety of peace and film theoretical frames and sub-frames.

Following which a more detailed approach can emerge in the form of a case study involving to two practical film examples applied to a broader conflict. An exploration of what films would constitute applicable films for a case study should be included. Additionally, the research would benefit from a comparative assessment and analysis of the two films. The aim it so to connect the theoretical mix of peace and film to a praxis of conflict in the globalized context incorporating several additional frames—including the subaltern, gender, IR theory, cognitive film theory, Jungian, and phenomenological perspectives.

Through these objectives a range of tools are applied to outline how film is used in peacebuilding in the specific context. Ultimately, the goal of the convergence of case study and theory would provide an example of the conflict for which Conflict Transformation Film (CTF) could be applied.

Methodologies

Some scientists use the terms *proximate* and *ultimate* to uncover the typology of conclusions from which evidence can support. Applied to political science, the much-sited cause of the outbreak of World War I (WWI) is often identified with the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand would be considered a *proximate* reason, the *ultimate* reason can be attributed to a number of factors including the military buildup alliances of neighboring

European nations, the decline of the Ottoman Empire leading to fears of violent suppression in the Balkans, balance of power ideologies[3], and imperialism and nationalism (BBC, 2014). Considering this scientific frame, the approach to this work is aimed at exploring the *ultimate* reasons for violent conflict. Violent conflict is widespread across the world and human existence, but contemporary research often formulates proximate answers to complex conflict webbing. In an attempt to seeking out the complexities in specific conflict contexts, the approach to assess film as a tool for conflict transformation applies methodologies ranging from the classical, using an interdisciplinary literature review, and the innovative, using a case study approach that includes a news media assessment.

Literature Review

Grounded in the theoretical framework of Friedrich Nietzsche, Carl Jung, Joseph Campbell and Jordan Peterson, the entry point to both a filmic assessment and peace literature review is the proposition that storytelling and narratives can change the nature of reality. From this perspective literature emerges from peace philosophers and cognitive film theorists.

The peace framework developed by Johan Galtung, Wolfgang Dietrich and Jean Paul Lederach produces the majority of literature reviewed, particularly the theory of ECT. Although several film theorists are used to support the connection between the phenomenological elements of peacebuilding—rooted in mythical narrative—several additional theorists are presented to give the work a holistic and interdisciplinary foundation. Although cognitive film theorists play an important role, most prominently David Bordwell and Murray Smith, Susan Sontag is also presented as a critic and theorist to present a moral foundation to the approaches to filmmaking.

Finally, a short review of subaltern theory is used to reframe the debate of post-colonial peoples into one that applies to those from Africa who have migrated to the North.

[3] See *Chapter I* for discourse on liberal peace projects.

Case Studies

In an attempt to complement the theoretical frames of a wide range of theorists, Chapters 2 & 3 involves a comparative analysis and assessment of two films using a theoretical analysis and data assessment. The films for the case study are carefully selected using a heavily outlined criteria presented in Chapter 2 and then assessed and analyzed in Chapter 3.

The goal in framing the films under a specific guideline is to frame the content within the range of theories presented in the literature review and other theories presented in Chapter 2. The analysis attempts to answer the questions: how does each film reflect a mythological narrative, what are the cognitive cues of the films, how does the film address the different levels of conflict presented, and what kind of a discourse do the films produce in relation to their social implications?

In a data assessment section, articles from newspapers were sourced using Factiva and assessed by coding phrasing and references of subject matter in order to determine how discourses change after film viewership in a particular region influences the media. This data is supportive of my theoretical approach by exploring the level public, private or political sphere is influenced by particular films. The overall goal of the data is to measure a positive correlation between content and changes in the public sphere as reflected by the news media regionally.

Relevance in the Field of Conflict Transformation

Because there remains great ideological split between peace research and IR—indeed within these diverging disciplines, it is unique to find a definition of peace as concise as Francis'—it is increasingly important to situate research with explicit aim and definitive propositions and stances. The heavily critiqued universal peace approach needs not only an innovative review but also a reflection on some of the more classical theoretical roots. The

purpose of investigating the cultural violence prevalent in our societies is confirmed by not only an intensely divided culture in the North but also how these divisions and self-narratives shape reality for those living in the global South. Considering Ramsbotham's radical disagreements approach, *spoilers* in reconciliation and other limited discourse actors as isolated issues in conflicts, we must ask: how can we insure that the violent tendencies on the fringes of a society do spread into a populous and evolve into broader violence? As neoliberal political policy dominates most of the world economic and social policy, the divisive nature of nationalism, Islamophobia and economic inequality alternative discourses will be necessary to promote alternatives to rising neo-fascism in the North.

Chapter 1 : Philosophy for Peace Literature Review

We shall not cease from exploration, and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time. -T. S. Eliot

1.1 Introduction

Perceptions in the Social Sciences as an academic disciplines transcend the demands of contemporary societies. As such, what our evolution of language to describe diverging societies—developed vs. undeveloped, Western/Northern vs. South, wealth vs. poverty, imperialist vs. subaltern—transcends is the misguided notion that progress is linear; something that beset with the powerful inertia of time that exponentially affects the power of human capacity. This is to say that it is an arrogant notion that one's theories regarding the moralist hierarchy that suits humans best has been endowed upon this generation—although, I do not follow any notions of the *eternal return*. My point is to position myself within the knowledge of existing literature as a guide to approach one of the many potential theoretical foundations from which to orient discourse on conflict transformation, peacebuilding, particularly cultural peace and cognitive film theory.

In what follows will explore the potential to combine film theory, conflict transformation and cultural peace at it relates to using film as a tool for conflict transformation. In order to assess the potential for CTF, I will present and discuss literature related to peace theory, film theory and critique, IR theory, and some the historic roots of these fields. Much of literature takes a philosophical approach but is countered with critique from opposing disciplines. For this reason, the peace theory presented is heavily influenced by a philosophical approach to peace research opposed to the realpolitik approach to peace

research often attributed to IR. A limited discourse on peace movements is important because they measure the zeitgeist of social attitudes, often the voices of the minority, and tools in the networks that mobilize populations toward non-violent dialog. In addition, there are parallels that run between the development of film culture throughout the twentieth century and the devastation of the wars and subsequent peace movements throughout those years. The less deeply explored but nonetheless equally important theoretical basis is that of the incorporation of a phenomenological film theory discourse, which contains similar thematic elements to that of the work of peace theorists. This chapter is seen as a prelude to the development of a framework for the analysis of case studies criteria and analysis.

1.1.1 Two Faces of Elicitive Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation, recognized by the Berghof Foundation (2012: 7) as a newer approach to peacebuilding, distinct from conflict resolution in that it "views the existence of conflicts as a valuable, indeed indispensable, part of social change and development, but does not see violence as inevitable in their relations and interactions between conflicting parties". Lederach (2003) makes a similar conclusion but expands on these notions by presenting a elicitive mode of conflict transformation opposed to a prescriptive mode of conflict transformation. In turn Dietrich (2013) punctuated his conceptualization of ECT with his work *Many Peaces*, which is subsequently detailed here. With regard to film, these two authors are prioritized because they not only take considerations for a philosophical attitude that is similar to much of the filmic approaches to conflict transformation but also because CTF is aimed at exploring the elicitive elements of conflict transformation. In accordance with what will follow in the subsequent chapters there is heuristic approach to peace film, not a propagandistic one but rather using film to engage and encourage. Indeed, the goal of mythic narrative in film is not to manipulate the subconscious like much of the history of

antagonistic film propaganda has but to challenge perception through conflicting notions of *reality* and *persona*.

1.1.1.1 Prelude to the Academic Field of Peace Theory

Nigel Young (2013), a peace researcher for more than half a century, concisely articulates the complexity of the movement toward peace as an academic study, while Richmond (2008) helps to clarify the evolution of idealist verses realist approaches to peace and the highly pursued liberal peace within IR theory. The subsequent pressures produced by theoretical frames of peace and conflict resolution minimize the focused movements of the 19th and 20th centuries that helped peace research to become a serious field academic study (Lederach, 1995, Jiménez Arenas, 2012, & Dietrich, 2012), but some of the earliest peace researchers recognize linkages between the split between the *realpolitik* of IR peace and the phenomenological philosophy for peace (Galtung, 1998). Gleditsch, Nordkvelle and Strand make this explicitly clear, "peace research was born at the intersection of peace activism and the emergence of modern social science" (2014: 146). Consequently, many of these diverging notions of peace are rooted in Kantian idealist views of *Perpetual Peace*, which links wellbeing to "international law and democracy"—which becomes increasingly problematic when connected to economic ideas and are some of the root so disastrous neoliberal ethics and policy—as well as some of the ideals of Thomas Hobbes (Richmond, 2008: 25). Indeed, Kant was concerned about the hegemonic potential in such institutions of which exist in today in the World Bank, United Nations (UN) and European Union (EU). But these institutions are also a byproduct of two world wars, and as Young reflects on the events of the past century as pivotal to peace research as an academic discipline and takes a holistic historical approach in mapping movements, recognizing WWI as a central turning point in peace movement history.

WWI is central for many reasons, which will be discussed at length later, but what Young emphasizes is the impact the war had on the world's *cultural memory*—it was the first

war that was extremely well documented with photography, film and literature (Young, 2013: 157). A secondary distinction of WWI was the decline of pacifist movement leaders through imprisonment and death. Between the years of 1912-1919 some of the most important peace movement leaders (Bertha von Suttner, Keir Hardie, Jean Jaurés, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg) had been assassinated, jailed or removed from prominence as a socially and politically significant movement for peace (Young, 2013: 158). Richmond on the other hand, locates the association pacifism with peace *movements* and civil society advocacy, "ideological and social movements in the nineteenth century, as well as industrialization, social problems and the emergence of anti-colonial movements, drew on pacifism as a form of resistance" (2008: 31). Considering the power of the socialist peace movements and other pacifist ideologies of the time, WWI was a deep blow to the pacifist movement. The next major movement based approaches to a peace would come in the form of anti-conscription or conscientious objection movements and anti-nuclear movements, while liberal peace dominated much of the political agenda during the period following World War II (WWII) (Young 2013, Richmond, 2008).

The narrowness of these movements, pacifist activism or advocating one type of war over another (anti-nuclear), along with the shift in United States (US) and other governmental shifts in policy framing—from war to security based ideology—led to an alternative in academics using peace scholarship to be both transnational and multidisciplinary. The 1950's and 1960's were dominated by the Cold War politics of *mutually assured destruction*, satirized in the film *Dr. Strangelove or: How I learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964), but what emerged from that time were the academic movements led by Gene Sharp, using civil resistance and the definitive explanation of peace as a discipline dominated by the introduction of "the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* at the University of Michigan in 1957 and Galtung's founding of the forerunner of the Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO) in 1959"

(Rogers & Ramsbotham, 1999: 742). According to Young (2013), Galtung's contribution of distinguishing negative and positive peace was the cornerstone of the modern ideal of peace culture. Alternatively, Rodgers and Ramsbotham (1999: 744) mark this period also as an ideological split in peace research that exists today between North American pragmatists, 'minimalist', and the European structuralists, 'maximalist'. This work relies heavily on the material presented by the latter but considers the work done by pacifist activist as an invaluable source inspiration for practical aims in peacebuilding. Further organizations linked the academic sector of peace to the activist, namely The International Peace Research Association, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Peace Research Society all emerged in the 1960's (Gelditsch, Nordkvelle & Strand, 2014:147).

Furthermore, it was the combination of 19th and 20th century of social movements that contributed to the internationalism of peace philosophy. With relation to the ideological split in peace theory, some of the most important contributions have been marginalized from discourse as they are related to a movement with a distinction of its own, what can be called *the socialist peace movement*.

1.1.1.2 International Socialism and Peace

At the turn of the 19th century and following the Crimean War—during which arguably the first historical reference to war photography in the form of Roger Fenton (1819-1869) made his mark, which will be a significant point of reference to be discussed later—a pacifist socialist movement, with its roots in the Paris Commune (1871), began in 1889 with massive peace mobilizations culminated by the Socialist International or the Second International Congress of Basle in 1912 (Sontag, 2013 & Callahan, 2004). The roots of the Second International can be traced to the internationally recognized *May Day*, celebrated May 1st of every year globally to recognize the rights of workers, which was proclaimed by the Second International at the Paris founding congress in July of 1889 calling for a

demonstration for an eight-hour work day and international peace (Callahan, 2004: 149). This began a series of socialist movements around Europe united under the premise of peace.

Socialist leaders recognized the power of the organized worker to halt the manufacture of weapons through organized strike. This ideology framed the International Socialist Bureau's (ISB) agenda to mobilize protests and antimilitarist agitation with conferences calling for protections against human rights violations and political repression (Callahan, 2004: 151). In 1912 the outbreak of the First Balkan War mobilized the ISB's coordination of massive demonstrations across France and German drawing millions of participants (Callahan, 2004: 168-169). Unfortunately, in the following years Europe was quickly swept into war and the negative consequences of *red scare* anti-communism and Cold War politics eviscerated the scope and relevance of the ISB's peace movement but the pathway led toward non-violent demonstration as a tool for peacebuilding. The socialist antimilitarists notion of using strike to halt the war machine inspired the War Resistance League in the US and other marginalized movements that failed to sway public opinion against the propaganda for war developed in the Wilsonian era (Bennett, 2001).

The peace narratives excluding a holistic approach to peace histories, especially those drawing from a 19th and 20th century perspective, are limiting important lessons drawn from very effective forms of resistance. This is a lasting impression from the repercussions of decades long fighting between East-West ideology associated with capitalism verses communism, which offered a similar vision of liberal peace in Marxist peace that determined violent resistance may be needed to achieve peace (Richmond, 2008: 59-72). Additionally, some peace researchers in the 1960s and socialist activist turned to Maoist Marxist forms of resistance that supported violent liberation, which created a last association of violent Marxist ideology in socialist activism in place of the non-violent work done prior (Gleditsch, Nordkvelle & Strand, (2014) Subtle references to single individuals or movements, such as

Mahatma Gandhi in India, Martin Luther King Jr. in America or Nelson Mandela in South Africa, draw much inspiration for peace scholars but socialist pre-WWI movements are relatively absent from general peace philosophy narratives. Unfortunately, the exclusion of the socialist peace movements limits notions of a global peace project is lost. The modern peace philosophy, grounded in grassroots movements, has failed to produce a unified approach that reaches the mass public in a manner the ISB was able to achieve. Lessons in non-violent approaches to peace building and mobilized efforts against industrialized killing, which has become an export product from the global North to the global South, need to be heeded should we in the North remain legitimate actors in the peace process. It comes as no surprise that within the peace philosophy ideology there is not only exclusion of relevant movements, but also many controversies and differing approaches that are topically similar yet practically and theoretically opposing.

1.1.1.3 Critique of Johan Galtung's Triangular Peace Project

As discussed earlier, Galtung's distinction of positive peace provided one of the most significant steps toward what can be considered *peace culture*. Galtung (1969) first proposed his theoretical framework in the 1960s as a reaction toward the collective acceptance of the concept of *negative peace*. Although, Galtung was certainly not the first to argue that peace does not mean the absence of war. Richmond (2008: 23) calls attention to Baruch Spinoza's pronouncement of peace as virtue, not the absence of war. Galtung founded the Peace Research Institute Oslo, the *Journal of Peace Research*, and is the author of over 100 books and thousands of journal articles (Galtung, 2013). He can be considered one of important contributors to peace research for his ABC triangle of a conflict, which involves *attitudes* (perceptual notions of friends and foes), "*behaviors* (violent or non-violent, physical or verbal)", and contradictions (marked by diverging goals) (Galtung, 2013: 13). And of course the violence triangle: direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence (Galtung, 2013:

45). Over the last half-century, his research has remained prescient and in recent years has shifted toward conflict transformation in the form of the *TRANSCEND* approach (Galtung, 2007).

Galtung begins with a simple approach to the problem of violence: the use of violence as a reaction to a problem and, his most important analysis, legitimatizing the use of violence. The latter is a final link in the triangle of violence that Galtung forms as a cycle of violence. It outlines how different levels of violence prevent a peaceful existence. His frame understands violence as avoidable insults to basic human needs (*see* Table 1-1.) "survival needs (negation: death, mortality); well-being needs (negation: misery, morbidity); identity, meaning needs (negation: alienation); and freedom needs (negation: repression)" (Galtung, 1990: 292). From this structure, his analysis of violence leads to three broad categories of violence: direct, structural and cultural. The direct and structural are connected to the categories of needs described above. Direct violence is clear enough, as it causes physical harm to the being but recent works of Galtung (1990, 2007) have included reflections on 'ecological balance', which considers violence against nature a threat to human survival—as anthropocentric as it may be. Structural violence is a little more complicated.

Table 1-1. A Typology of Violence[4]

	SURVIVAL NEEDS	WELL-BEING NEEDS	IDENTITY NEEDS	FREEDOM NEEDS
Direct Violence	Killing	Maiming Siege, Sanctions Misery	Desocialization Resocialization Secondary-Citizen	Repression Detention Expulsion
Structural Violence	Exploitation A	Exploitation B	Penetration Segmentation	Marginalization Fragmentation

To understand structural violence more clearly, as it contains a broad range of examples and webbed, charted frameworks presented by Galtung (1990), it is helpful to look

[4] Reprinted from Galtung (1990) "Cultural Violence", *Journal of Peace Research*, 27 (3), pp. 292, table I.

at the work or Martha Nussbaum. Defining basic human rights or more convoluted terms like 'social equality' is a divisive issue even among academics. It is my understanding that by virtue there can be no social equality without deep repressions and interventions from coercive influences, therefore this approach would negate the actual goal of reducing violence. Furthermore, the universal human rights approach is also limited in scope and phrasing, thus the most apt frame to apply to Galtung's structural violence is the *capabilities approach* presented by Nussbaum (1997: 277), which calls for legal guarantees of "freedom of expression" and other aspects of "the general capability to use one's mind and one's senses in a way directed by one's own practical reason." Although Nussbaum does speak of the theory of justice and concepts of equality what the capabilities approach outlines the ability of individuals to flourish in a particular environment. Nussbaum's approach also connects the theoretical to the practical by calling for legal or constitutional rights under the outlined framework, while calls for international law in such frameworks are mostly symbolic as the United Nations (UN) has now coercive power against states or individuals it is a step toward a global understanding of what is acceptable for human protections (Nussbaum, 1997: 277). Galtung's structural violence makes considerations for a range of violence, from famine to religious suppression while Nussbaum's capabilities approach is generally a framework developed for the international development and aid discourse. By applying both definitions to a peace theory it is easy to justify some level of universality that critiques tend to flaw in this approach (Richmond, 2008, Sützl, 2016). But if Galtung's goal is a deep understanding of violence in order to deeply investigate peace, then is helpful to begin the discourse of structural violence at the roots of basic human needs with the most definitive understanding of those needs and capabilities. Put simply, in my understanding structural violence is the negation of human capabilities outlined by Nussbaum, which recognizes actualized rights and rights in relation to *contextualized* human capabilities.

The final frame in Galtung's violence pyramid, perhaps the most important for the purposes of this writing, is *cultural violence*. Galtung defines cultural violence as:

> Those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence—exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics)—that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence (Galtung, 1990: 291)

The apex of which includes the conscious indoctrination of masses of which a litany of examples are known throughout history, most obviously in forms of propaganda from the 20th century ranging from Wilsonian WWI to Joseph Goebbels, it also contains the unconscious forms of social likeness that perpetuate otherness and alienation. Certainly, more nuanced examples exist. Galtung denotes these examples from the use of religion to identify the *chosen people*, ideologies that promote the *Self* above others like nationalism, languages that form gender hierarchies, art that constructs a historic identity that excludes the South—particularly Arab art—and empirical science, formal science and cosmology that all contain a Eurocentric historical narrative and ideology (1990: 296-302).

It is cultural violence that will guide my inquiry into *conflict transformation film*. The historical relationship between the use of film for propaganda and social change will be discussed later but with regard to cultural violence, film can be seen as a transfer system of social norms that can often perpetuate ideologies that justify violence. On the contrary, as Galtung notes, the inquiry into the cultural violence produced by film and filmmaking can uncover forms of peace.

The development of peace culture begins with the acknowledgment that the negations of the three levels of violence should be different peaces. However, it is important to note what Galtung (1969) coined *positive peace* is different from peace as the absence of violence or *negative peace*. The ideology that dated back millennia, which will be discussed at length later, developed the Western notion of peace that permeated discourse and movements related to the subject. Galtung's contribution to the development of peace culture by presenting an alternative to the status quo of peace discourse was significant in its outline of positive peace

as an alternative not only because it laid the foundation for future research but also because it changed the focus of movements that contained narrow aims of peace, like nuclear disarmament and movements to limit the world's most devastating weapons, toward a culture that sought to investigate the source of violence thus allowing the flourishing of peaces. Along with positive peace, Galtung's work developed over the decades to recognize that structural violence's opposite should be structural peace and thus, cultural violence's opposite would be cultural peace (Galtung, 1990: 291). His absolute visions of peace created a divisive discourse between peace researchers: on the one side those maximalists who argued that focusing on the negation of war could obscure wide injustices in society, while the minimalists argued that such expansions in peace research agendas would be "acquiring the qualities of an intellectual black hole wherein something vital, a phraseological edge or purpose, is lost" (Rogers & Ramsbotham, 1999, Lawler, 1995: 237). Nonetheless, Galtung's contributions are some of the only work that bridge the philosophical and ideological divide between IR theory, liberal peace, and other peace theories (Rogers, 1999, Francis, 2010, Richmond, 2008). Richard contends that, although with its own faults, Galtung's notions still present a stronger case for peace compared to that of the liberal peace approach, writing:

> From a critical perspective the main theoretical patterns through which peace is imagined, theorized and practiced and deployed within orthodox, liberal-realist-oriented IR theory, encompasses a discursive imaginary of world politics and of mechanisms, institutions, actors and methods required to entrench the liberal peace. This is achieved through governance in international, state or private life, as patterns and frameworks of global, local and regional interaction (2008: 121).

Additionally, within this cultural peace framework there is a deep recognition for media as a powerful tool to shape discourse.

Over 30 years the development of peace journalism has influence Peace and Conflict studies in an attempt to address the influence political and corporate interest has had over public influence in conflict reporting (Gilboa, 2009, Saleem, 2014). The Yugoslav War exemplified this in our current context, signified with the "hearts and minds" statement by

Alastair Campbell in 1999, by the direct goal of gaining public compliancy in a war effort—an example of the spread of cultural violence (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2007).

Journalism and government propaganda's collaboration date back to Woodrow Wilson's relationship with Edward Berneys—the father of public relations—which sold the American public on WWI (Pinsdorf, 1999). In a contrary approach, Lynch and McGoldrick (2012) provide some very convincing alternatives to peace in media through peace journalism in an intensive study contrasted to war journalism, finding audience responses lower in anger, fear and less likely to seek appropriation of blame. These, and other notions presented by Galtung, present great opportunities for CTF in the peace philosophy framework. Certainly, the Galtung's theories may be flawed by generalizations in application and indefinable praxis but he remains the strongest and most versatile of peace theorists.

His work provided much of the foundation for the researchers that will follow. Before moving onto the conflict transformation theorists, a brief introduction to two Spanish contributors to the peace philosophy will be presented to support the outline of cultural peace.

1.1.1.3.1 Martinez Guzman and Francisco A. Muñoz

Martínez Guzmán (2006) concurs with Muñoz (2006) in regard to the myth of perfect peace as a place to begin discourse but also recognizes the importance of existing narratives in the conflict context and the need to "reconstruct" them. Martnez Guzmán also seeks out historical notions of peace and reiterates the narratives presented by the religious text in Islam, Christianity and Judaism as well as ancient Greece and Rome. These representations are often connected to notions of negative peace, although there are notes of positive peace within the narratives, they are dominated with a relationship to identity and domination of agriculture (Martínez-Guzmán, 2006). The most significant contribution from his work is the Gandhian peace analysis. He references the word *Satyagraha*, which dictates "the grasping of truth should be guided by love" (Martínez-Guzmán, 2006: 31). The *Satyagraha* that Gandhi

envisioned was related to the idea of many peaces by seeking many truths in life. Recognizing human limitation, Gandhi conceived *Satyagraha* as a mode of being that self-realization and trails with truth are a path toward recognizing one's limitations and imperfections leading to freedom (Martínez-Guzmán, 2006: 31). This path toward being allows for a transient and flexible justice for those entrenched in a conflict. These notions are always present in good storytelling, and in film, the most highly regarded movies are often those which present the journey of a deeply flawed protagonist who enables audiences to recognize their own imperfections—examples include Federico Fellini's *8$^{1/2}$* (1963), Ingmar Bergman's *Persona* (1966) and Michelangelo Antonioni's *L'Avventura* (1960) to name just a few.

The recognitions of an imperfect peace, a flexible justice and an existence guided by a search for many truths and opportunities of growth (self-realization) through trials with truth are steps toward a space for conflict transformation.

Along with Martínez-Guzmán, Muñoz recognizes the importance of an anti-utopian approach to peace. He presents the term *imperfect peace* to describe the state between positive and negative peace. Muñoz imagines peace as something under construction, incomplete, and thus imperfect (Muñoz, 2006). Muñoz (2006) believes that imagining imperfect peace allows us to plan for conflicts and to recognize peace in violent spaces. For Muñoz the imperfect peace presents a linear progression of peace research.

Indeed, recognizing the imperfections, as noted earlier, are important steps in a toolbox of peacebuilding but the notion hints of a linear aspect of progress—humans initially lived in peace, complex interactions led to war and then peace research developed as an academic study to address violence—which is absent of some significant historical concepts and theories, in addition to a largely hegemonic perspective of *knowledge*. The theoretical approach to these conclusions draws from a history limited to a single trajectory, which unwittingly marginalizes indigenous knowledges such as African Ubuntu (Murithi, 2009).

Additionally, the imperfect approach is limited on discourse with regard to peace culture and focuses on direct violence conflicts, which does not provide an opportunity to explore the potentials for positive peace in its framework. It also does away with notions of utopia, using a rather realist approach that limits the *is* verses *ought*—naturalistic fallacy argued by Hume—of which to a limited moral ground that could better be considered as an ultimate possibility of non-violent society. The flaw in utopianism is that one has determined what utopia is and thus force the world to be restricted to this—much the way of Communist Russia and China—alternatively, using absolute ignorance[5] as a guide, a utopian approach can be beneficial in assuming non-violent societies can indeed exist, yet the path to which contains a fluid mode of possibilities. Considering this, the most relevant contributions from these frameworks to CTF are notions of alternative perspectives on peace and multitudes of truth and justice.

1.1.1.4 John Paul Lederach and the Transformation Shift

The theories of Lederach emerged out of a new ideal in peacebuilding, recognizing the limitations of peace workers in practice by admonishing the reality that a conflict is not a single occurrence of out of apparition on a linear scale but an intrinsic part of *being*. Obviously, there are micro and macro conflicts; there are tensions that pervade beneath what is visible. This notion was already presented by Galtung's triangle of violence, with each influencing the other. But as the imperial nomenclature of world powers shift from military to security and peace through violence, preventative conflict exists in a perpetual mode of marginalization even within the work of Lederach. What Lederach did recognize was consider conflict an opportunity in these existing tensions.

[5] This is in part a reference influenced by Rawlsian veil of ignorance. For more see Rawls, John (1971) *A Theory of Justice*, Cambridge, Belknap Press.

Assuming conflict is something that always exists, Lederach adapted his vocabulary to move away from notions of *management* or *resolution*, assuming a conflict cannot be resolved permanently—especially if we consider the various forms of conflict presented earlier. Furthermore, Lederach considers conflict as something necessary and useful for change—it is a conclusive response to then see conflict as an opportunity for change (Lederach, 2003). Lederach outright positions himself in ideology rooted in Mennonite tradition and humanistic psychology, with a tendency to remain outside the norms and approaches of the academic community. Similar to a psychologist, Lederach considers himself as a practitioner, not a scientist. As such, his works are full of real world examples and clear approaches to ideals.

From this stance he paints a conflict with a vision of mountainous topography (Lederach, 2003). As you climb a first peak all you see is the peaks beyond, this is the visible, most recent or significant challenges in conflict—the ones we are in now. The valleys below are the unresolved failures in our conflict solutions. He uses this visualization to conclude that we are often limited in our scope of a problem, only seeing the most immediate and threatening issue while missing all of the "peaks and valleys" beyond. Indeed, this can be found in a maximum in praxis in social settings—marginalized victims tend to gain right periodically only to find themselves fighting for those same rights a generation later. As related to film in action as spread for non-violence, film is the immortalization and additional tool from which reflection on the past can be made. Furthermore, Lederach acknowledges that a conflict is a socially constructed phenomenon. From these notions Lederach draws his practical approaches to conflict transformation.

It is crucial to note the importance Lederach places on culture. His position is that it is social knowledge growing from a particular culture where conflicts are constructed. He also distinguishes between examples of social cultural knowledge in communication: Expression

(what we say), perception (what draws our attention in the world), and interpretation (placing it in things that are already known) (Lederach, 1995: 41-46). Relying heavily on humanistic psychological research underpinnings, Lederach breaks down conflict and communication to the cognitive and perceptual level, from this perspective he acknowledges opportunity in the dialectic nature of a conflict. CTF breaks away from Lederach's notions of culture in that it assumes there are indeed universal aspects of culture of which can be promoted and others, such as wants and needs that are certainly not constructed and exist across cultures and time. Nonetheless, Lederach argues that there are obvious difficulties in locating shared social meanings and cross-cultural dialog. With this in mind, in his book *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures* (1995), Lederach takes on a practitioner's approach to peacebuilding.

Beginning from the point of view that implicit knowledge is everyday knowledge of experience, and explicit knowledge a more training based knowledge, Lederach forms his understanding of two general approaches to conflict mediation (Lederach, 1995: 44). Again, it should be noted that another influence of Lederach is the Paulo Freire approach to education—*popular education*—in addition to the anti-technocratic thinking of Appropriate Technology (AT) and the importance of the study of ethnography. Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) has maintained a lasting influence on academics and social science practitioners, creating a range of academic study and practice. Freire's model indicates heavy influence from Marxist ideology as well as Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), approaching education in its current form as a *banking approach* to education, which should be transformed into one of mutual discourse and discovery between teacher and student. Freire's influence would eventually reach the arts in the form of Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed, which will be discussed in relation to Dietrich. The strongest connection between Lederach's use of *popular education*, AT, and ethnography all circle back to his

emphasis of social knowledge and the influence of culture on conflict. This thinking also informs his understanding of modes of mediation.

Lederach makes an explicit note to not assume the comparison of *prescriptive* and *elicitive* approaches as polarities, although he uses extreme examples to frame each approach. In the prescriptive model of conflict transformation, he uses an anecdotal approach to exemplify the use of prescriptive models as the packaging and selling of solutions (Lederach, 1995: 47-50). He presents this approach as a top down, knowledge of knowledge training that Freire would consider the *banking approach*; one in which the student is empty and should be filled with the appropriate information. The prescriptive model is one of experts using transfer methodologies to make teachable units universally known to the subject by the conclusion of the training. It becomes readily apparent that Lederach is not in favor of the prescriptive model, albeit he presents an extreme mode of transmission, and confesses the inability for the elicitive model to remain outside the prescriptive model (Table 3-1).

Table 1-2. Lederach's Prescriptive/Elicitive Comparative Summary[6]

PRESCRIPTIVE <———	———> ELICITIVE
Training as transfer	Training as discovery and creation
Resource: Model and knowledge of trainer	Resource: Within-setting knowledge
Training as content oriented: Master approach and technique	Training as process oriented: Participate in model creation
Empowerment as learning new ways and strategies for facing conflict	Empowerment as validating and building from context
Trainer as expert, model, and facilitator	Trainer as catalyst and facilitator
Culture as technique	Culture as foundation and seedbed

In the alternate extreme, Lederach presents the elicitive model as a source of discovery, one in which no training model can be universally applied. The elicitive model relies on creation and solidification of relationships that emerge from present resources in certain settings and adapt environmentally to the needs of the surrounding conditions. Instead of an expert trainer with knowledge, the lead participant is more of a *facilitator* (again there is an obvious influence from the humanistic psychology approach to therapy). Lederach concludes, "the foundation of this approach is that this implicit indigenous knowledge about ways of being is valued resource for creating and sustaining appropriate models of conflict resolution in a given setting" (Lederach, 1995: 56). That is not to say that indigenous knowledge is the panacea of the elicitive method but rather the participant knowledge should be trusted to have the capacity and creativity to discover approaches that adhere to their needs. As a general approach it is clear that Lederach finds the elicitive model a more effective tool for conflict transformation.

[6] Reprinted from Lederach (1996) *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*, Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, p. 69 figure 9.

In the bases of culture that Lederach cements his rational, the prescriptive method in principal violates the founding tenant because of its universal cultural assumptions. The alternative elicitive approach is limited by the time and difficulty it requires from its subjects. The prescriptive model is one of training—it can be learned in lessons and does not take into account a dialectic ambiguous form. As such, it can be done with more accuracy and efficiency but it is limited by nature. What the elicitive model is lacking is a concrete training, which raises the paradox of training for the facilitator. Considering these notions, conflict transformation focuses on the changing environment of a conflict, thus the elicitive model appears to be the most relevant approach as it works in a more fluid manner. More importantly, it requires a counterintuitive and creative approach to conflict that invasions conflict as an opportunity for change. Lederach's other important contribution to peace research literature attempts to address this position of creativity and counterintuitive thought.

1.1.1.5 The Serendipity and Art in Peacebuilding

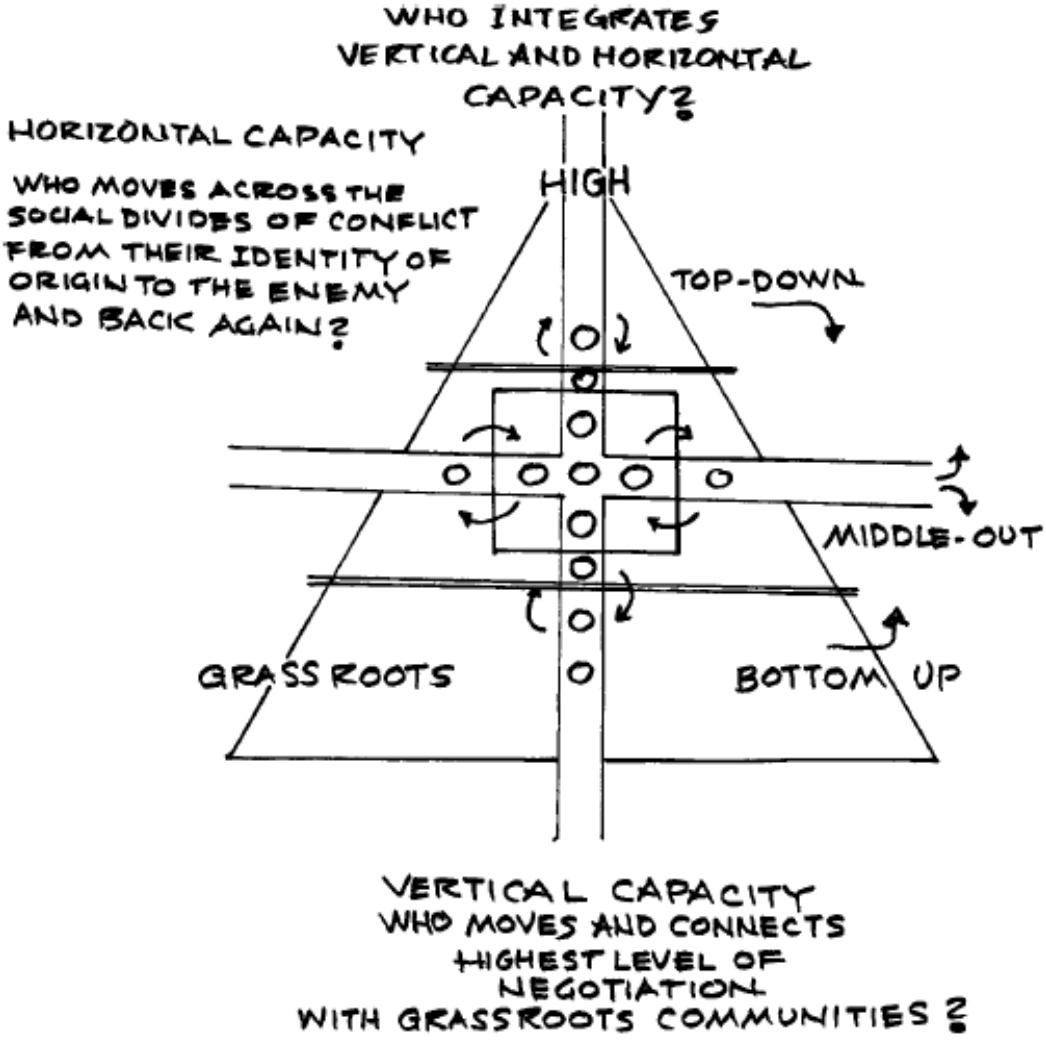
The book *Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (2005), Lederach expands on his practical approach to peacebuilding. For the concerns of CTF two important ideas emerge from the work: serendipity and artistic aesthetics. Using conflict transformation and *Preparing for Peace* as a point to expand upon, he further simplifies his approach to peace work by emphasizing the necessity of creativity in problem solving. According to Lederach, the moral imagination is something that can be clearly outlined using the following standards:

> The moral imagination requires the capacity to imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that include our enemies; the ability to sustain a paradoxical curiosity that embraces complexity without reliance on dualistic polarity; the fundamental belief in and pursuit of the creative act; and the acceptance of the inherent risk of stepping into the mystery of the unknown that lies beyond the far too familiar landscape of violence (Lederach, 2005: 5)

The large range of ambiguities in that statement are clarified and expanded upon throughout the book.

In his poetic style, Lederach applies a multitude of anecdotal[7] accounts to support his thesis. Including some of his handwritten *doodles* outlining his initial pyramid of approaches to peacebuilding (Although the focus on Lederach's text is not concerned with his many first hand, practical examples of the *moral imagination*, but rather two themes that the book covers: aesthetics and serendipity.

Figure 1-1. Lederach's doodle of the pyramid of approaches to peacebuilding[8]



[7] I use the term anecdotal here, which is often devalued by the scientific community in favor of *evidence* or *empirical evidence*, but the use of anecdotes are extremely visceral first person accounts or real world examples that Lederach provides to support his theoretical frames. Furthermore, the empirical evidence in peace studies is as complex as measuring peace itself under the broad definition outlined by Galtung.

[8] Lederach, John Paul (2005) *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, Doodle Two, pp. 79.

For Lederach aesthetics are important in as an artistic turn in peacebuilding. The appreciation for aesthetics is buried in the complexity of knowledge. In a conflict cannot be understood simply by analyzing the issue into smaller pieces. This a bit of *seeing forest for the trees* but Lederach avoids the aphorism and applies the line of thinking in an artist way, linking complexity to the art of haiku. As he notes, "[haiku] connects intuition, observation, and experience" (Lederach, 2005: 69). It does not simplify an idea it synthesizes it into something concise. He goes on to compare the art of listening to metaphor, taking the art of haiku and applying it to a conflict. The art of taking the complexity of a conflict, which moves in a circular discourse of misunderstanding, and synthesizing it into a metaphor is a creative act that can be world building in a sense of consciousness—a perception shift. The perception that dictates how one has framed themselves inside a conflict and thus be shift through art (image, film, dance, words, etc.) into something more tangible, something outside of a personal perspective. In this way CTF can be considered in the frame of Lederach's aesthetics.

The second theme in Lederach's book to be considered is his use of serendipity in peacebuilding. Serendipity is often a misunderstood concept—it has a tendency to be confused with coincidence—but serendipity is connected artistically to aesthetics; it requires a creative mind. Lederach recounts the first written use of the word by Horace Walpole in a letter:

> [T]his discovery indeed is almost of that kind which I call serendipity, a very expressive word, which as I have nothing better to tell you, I shall endeavor to explain to you: you will understand it better by the derivation than by the definition. I once read a silly fairy tale called The Three Princes of Serendip: as their highnesses traveled, they were always making discoveries, by accident and sagacity, of things which they were not in quest of (Walpole: 1754)

The letter hints at the word's source from the tale of *The Three Princes*, which according to Lederach can be traced to an ancient Persian origin, but the definition of serendipity was later reinterpreted as "a gift for discovery by accident and sagacity while in pursuit of something else" (Lederach, 2005: 114, Remer, 1964: 14). The key difference

between serendipity and coincidence is knowledge and openness—and perhaps creative vision, in other words sagacity.

From the story of the three princes and serendipity itself, Lederach puts an emphasis on the ability to observe in what he calls the *peripheral vision*. In contrast to tunnel vision, which in the moral imagination would only focus on a desired outcome, peripheral vision is able to offer alternative avenues of view (Lederach, 2005: 121). Peripheral vision is the ability to observe a conflict from an unconventional perspective, and see things that are often ignored.

The other key points regarding serendipity according to Lederach are the ability to learn creatively and smart flexibility. The first goes back to the Freire notions of creative learning and openness to alternative knowledges, and the second is in relation to intelligence and capacity for change. Both are old concepts that will be discussed from other perspectives in relation to Dietrich but the mode of thinking that allows for serendipity is an important association to make with the type of creative peacebuilding we are interested with in CTF.

Lederach's approach to writing and peacebuilding are extremely palatable. Furthermore, his insights and writing style draws praise for readability and simplicity. Upon review of several of his volumes, his work almost reads as literature or a memoir in place of academic discourse—certainly this is his aim, as his attitude toward institutions indicates (Lederach, 1995: 5). For these reasons Lederach is consistent in his approach in theory and practice. That is not to say he oversimplifies the subject, nor should be marginalized by the academic community for remaining outside the social movement's standard-bearer norms. However, should one seek out more academic approaches in conflict transformation British scholar Diana Francis, who spent 15 years as chair of the Committee of Conflict Transformation and is the author of numerous volumes about conflict transformation including her most recent work *From Pacification to Peacebuilding: A Call to Global*

Transformation (2010), and the indispensable *Berghof Glossary on Conflict Transformation* (2012), both provide deep insights in to the use of conflict transformation in a more academic, policy oriented perspective. Although there is a great deal of ideological crossover between the three—*The Berghof Glossary on Conflict Transformation* defines conflict transformation as, "best described as a complex process of constructively changing relationships, attitudes, behaviors, interests and discourses in violence-prone conflict settings" (Berghof Foundation, 2012: 23). Francis, who calls for practitioners to "get political", has an ideology based in her activism experiences and calls for a more concise approach to conflict transformation:

> The theory encapsulated in this phrase is that, in order for a conflict to be resolved in a lasting way, the basic human needs of the different protagonists – for security, identity and participation – must be met. These needs will underlie the more specific 'interests' of the conflicting parties, which should form the basis for negotiation or joint thinking aimed at 'problem-solving' – radically different in approach from 'positional bargaining' – to find a way forward that will meet the needs of all parties to the conflict (Francis, 2010: 4).

Francis' definition closely relates the capacity approach of Nussbaum discussed earlier. Regardless of the more nuanced differences, the root of the differing theoretical definitions of conflict transformation is the ability to see beyond a singular perspective and make a creative opportunity toward peace.

What Lederach adds to the relevant peace discourse on conflict transformation is an approach that is almost therapeutic in nature. It is a methodology that does not approach conflict as an equation to be calculated and solved but rather artistically explored. The limitations of hardline principles found in the work of Nussbaum and to a lesser extent Francis have the potential for coercive necessity that Lederach avoids. Furthermore, the cultural emphasis Lederach propagates is an important standard for both praise and critique.

1.1.1.5.1 Lederach in Practice

As noted repeatedly in this text, the root of Lederach's perspective is guided by his religious, psychological and emphasis on cultural knowledge. With concern to my thesis, I find many insights and connections between Lederach's vision of ECT and my theory of

conflict transformation cinema. I focused primarily on outlining his perspective of conflict transformation and his most recent work to synthesize more of the practical approaches and the foundation of those practical approaches to ECT in *The Moral Imagination* because these areas support the foundation of my theoretical framework. I differ with Lederach in terms of cultural emphasis and make more attempts to be explicitly transdisciplinary.

Because I use the elicitive form of conflict transformation as a point to develop cultural change, I find it not problematic that Lederach emphasizes culture in his work but I am with greater concern focused on the vagueness of what culture is to him and what aspects of culture should not be protected. For this reason, I tend to follow the approach of Nussbaum and Francis in terms of beginning with defining what is unacceptable treatment of humans—what can we say about Galtung's cultural violence in relation to Nussbaum's human capabilities approach? Furthermore, culture is not an all-encompassing simplicity, it is related to identity in its forms of micro and macro. It is clear that we are now in an age of globalization, as such in what ways has that influenced micro and macro cultures. Individuals can be reduced from connections as broad as the human race, nations and ethnic groups all the way down to local norms, village or city social in-group hierarchies and familiar traditions. If we can trace identity to a micro level, we can also assume there are large differences between macro and micro-cultures.

Two articles will briefly support the notion and experience of macro and micro-cultural influences on violence. In the case presented by ethnographer Atreyee Sen (2012), the ethno-religious conflict in the slum of Hyderabad, India is analyzed as a micro-culture. Through a range of interviews, Sen shows that a *subculture* of violent, Muslim youth living in the slums have emerged from decades of isolation and social exclusion. The writer argues that the macro level of communal tensions can filter down to already marginalized ethno-social

groups creating micro-cultures where protection schemes lead to transformations of safety and security creating micro opportunity for change.

On the other side of the world, using another form of analysis and practice, psychologists in Latin America develop a critical theory called *modest changes, big revolutions*. They use an applied form of social psychology to generate social change from the micro to the macro by working with families on a dialog of socio-cultural problems (Medina Centeno, 2007). It could be that the openness toward cultures and differing attitudes that Lederach suggests would be counter operational in the aims of these social scientists. On one side, there are the needs of the micro-culture—the families, small village coalitions and community organizations—and on the other is the macro-culture—the government at large, neighboring communities, and the religious establishment and civil society—both sides have cultural influences that guide them. The social scientist's explanation is quite clear:

> We believe, on the one hand, that social sciences, as a culture and community, have an enormous power in the construction of reality, especially in Western societies. On the other hand, social reality, as a historical and cultural condition, is created itself in everyday life […] We understand this not as an element of demagogic rhetoric, not a purely theoretical reflection nor uncritical practice, but rather as a social philosophy which organizes, coordinates and guides our actions as researchers in a clear political direction. That is, in a context where impunity, violence, corruption and racism are institutionalized practices, the social scientist becomes a promoter of critical reflection and, if possible, participates in the various social movements, which on a daily basis denounce government atrocities (Medina-Centeno, 2007: 212).

This statement exemplifies not only the complexity of developing a moral approach to peacebuilding but the importance of trans-disciplinary approaches that would take some of the ideals that Lederach suggest and apply them to actual practice within the academic community.

Furthermore, Lederach's overall vision for peacebuilding is one of therapeutic means that is applied in a holistic sense to all conflicts around the world. Indeed, Lederach admittedly recognizes ECT as prescriptive mode of peacebuilding but also a philosophical approach to being in part. The most relevant limitation of Lederach's perspective is its broad and unspecific approach, as such it could also be seen as its greatest benefit.

The elicitive form of conflict transformation, the examples and experience of Lederach in my review of his literature are submerged in a single type of peacebuilding frame. His writing takes a great deal of time to discuss the individual, the individual's place in culture and webs of conflict but almost the entirety of Lederach's work in practice is focused on violent conflict (Lederach, 2005: 7-19). Although the psychological and philosophical frames suggest otherwise, I find that Lederach is mostly concerned with negative peace, albeit a sustainable negative peace. Clearly his aim is to transform how we thing about conflict and how we can create sustainable opportunities for peace but within his many examples of conflicted societies, there is a weighted majority toward optimism overshadowing the potential for more complex situations. There is little practical discourse regarding the role of peace culture in social change, identifying potential threats to peace and the role of *spoilers* in the peace and post-conflict context.

The Berghof Foundation (2012), for instance, spends several sections addressing the role of spoilers as threats to the peace process. On the contrary, Lederach has no mention of the word *spoiler* in my review of his text, nor the concept of *radical disagreements* mentioned with relation to Ramsbotham (2010). Furthermore, if we are speaking about a guide to peacebuilding, it is helpful to review potential tools for including those who are marginalized from discourse in the peace process and eventually become threats to that process—hence, spoilers to the peace process. Although he repeatedly remarks on the complexity of conflict, yet Lederach oversimplifies living in a conflict. In the section of *The Moral Imagination* called "The Practice of Paradoxical Curiosity", Lederach argues that "cycles of violence are often driven by tenacious requirements to reduce complex history into dualistic polarities that attempt to bot describe and contain social reality in artificial ways" and as a prescription "people who display a more imagination that rises above the cycles of violence in which they live also rise above dualistic polarities" (Lederach, 2005: 35-36). This reduction is contrary to

the accounts of conflict presented earlier in the Hyderabad slum, more importantly, the accounts of deep violence in Serbia presented from firsthand accounts by Chris Hedges in his book *War is the Force that Gives Us Meaning* (2002).

Hedges was a war correspondent for 15 years for the *New York Times*, winner of the Pulitzer Prize and covered wars in Nicaragua, Palestine, Iraq and the former Yugoslavia to name a few locations. His book recounts many of his experiences as a correspondent but his primary reflections are on the victims of war. Hedges begins a chapter in the book called "The Destruction of Culture" with a quote by Senator Hiram Johnson, "the first casualty when war comes is truth"[9] (Hedges, 2002: 83). I believe Lederach would agree with this statement—the reshaping of narratives is a key to conflict and conflict transformation. The missing links between the accounts of Hedges and Lederach, as they are on polarities in many ways, are the utter destitute conditions that the many on what Lederach would call the *grassroots* level of a conflict. It is difficult to imagine an emergence in the grassroots level of peacebuilders to infiltrate the year of hate propaganda in conflict ranging from the Rwandan Genocide to Serbian and Palestinian/Israeli identity based hate. These are institutionalized narratives that shape discourse and public thought, disseminating cultural violence that represent the synthesis of preventable violence. In an alternative approach, Hedges reflects on a story of a Bosnian Serb couple, Rosa and Drago Sorak who were living as minority Serbs in a Muslim area during the Bosnian War.

In the middle of a heavy siege on the city of Goražde, their newborn daughter was dying because the mother was unable to nurse the child and there were severe food shortages because of the shelling of the city. After five days a Muslim farmer came and gave the couple milk from his cow, despite threats from fellow Muslims. The Muslim man continued to come for 422 days and although Muslims were responsible for killing their son, long after the war,

[9] The quote is credited to Hedges here although the actual quote is not recorded in any manuscript and is found to predate Johnson.

the couple refused to listen to scorn for Muslims without recounting their tale (Hedges, 2002: 70-72). Hedges argues that it is these experiential narratives that are able combat the mythic nationalism that destroys logic and hampers peace. He writes:

> The small acts of decency by people such as Slavica, a Serb, or Fejzić, a Muslim, in wartime ripple outwards like concentric circles. These acts, unrecognized at the time, make it impossible to condemn, legally or morally, an entire people. They serve as reminders that we all have a will of our own, a will that is independent of the state or the nationalist cause (Hedges, 2002: 72).

His experiences in various conflicts have led him to maintain a foreboding notion of societies reaction to nationalism, regardless of culture. After experiencing rapid shift in social conscious toward nationalism in a conflict, Hedges concluded:

> Lurking beneath the surface of every society, including ours, is the passionate yearning for a nationalist cause that exalts us, the kind that war alone is able to deliver. It reduces and at times erases the anxiety of individual consciousness. We abandon individual responsibility for a shared, unquestioned communal enterprise, however morally dubious. There is little that logic or fact or truth can do to alter the experience (Hedges, 2002: 62).

It is for this reason and others reflected earlier, his thesis differs from Lederach's, which assumes people make a conscious decision to choose sides. As if the decision of a low skilled laborer for employment in slave like conditions of a sweatshop in Indonesia or Taiwan were any different than a choice with a gun to one's head—coercion works on a multitude of levels. Although Hedges approach appears pessimistic, it is also optimistic in the potential for alternative narratives. So instead of approaching Lederach's *paradoxical curiosity*—a term that describes what has been discussed at great length both philosophically by Søren Kierkegaard (2009) and neuroscientifically by Robert Sapolsky (2011) as paradoxical religiosity and cognitive dissonance respectively—as a choice toward creative thinking, it is the reality that at the same time victims of deep violence are coerced into a culture of hate, there are other narrative realities that are possible.

The purpose is not to seek out shades of Lederach's positions that are deficient and unravel them, but rather to explore distinctions between his theoretical frames and the portions from which my position can be supported. Unlike what is found in Lederach's work, I attempt to focus on the cultural aspects of particular societies that are a potential for violence

or that propagate violence. In doing so, it is helpful to look to Lederach for his approaches to the ebb and flow of a conflict and to the artistry of peacebuilding. The use of serendipity in artfully seizing opportunity and synthesizing a conflict into metaphor both provide expansive windows into the potential for CTF that will be presented in Chapter 3.

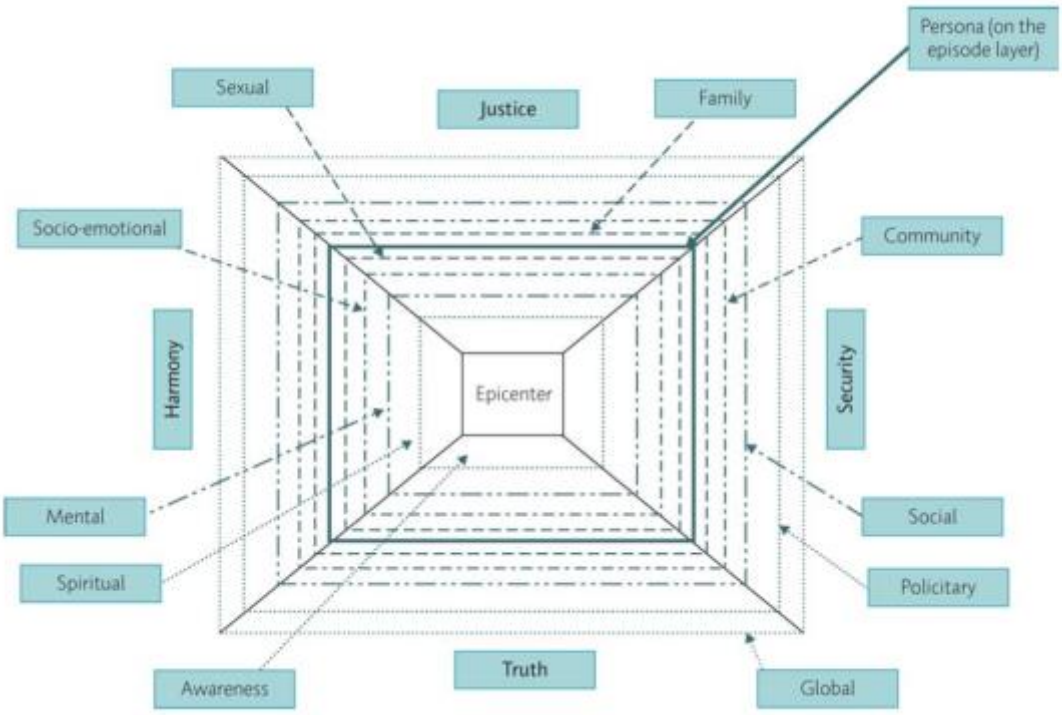
1.1.1.6 Wolfgang Dietrich and the Transrational and Elicitive

The work of Dietrich poses an alternate variant in the conflict transformation methodology in only moderately differing theoretical framework and a more precision approach to fieldwork. Dietrich's most important bodies of work to date are his *A Call for Many Peaces* (2006), *A Call for Trans-Rational Peaces* (2006), and his two books released in a trilogy titled *Many Peaces* (the third of which has yet to be published), *Interpretations of Peace in History and Culture* (2012), *Elicitive Conflict Transformation and the Transrational Turn in Peace Politics* (2013). Although the primary concern is with his work on the mythic structure and narratives of peace history, the review of his other theories in peace will be presented in order to draw distinctions between my theory and his, and present a critique on some of his conclusions.

1.1.1.6.1 On the Transrational Shift

A helpful place to begin to understand Dietrich's extremely complex theoretical framework, from which he develops his theories on transnationalism and ECT, is to explore his ideology roots and philosophical influences. In a similar manner to the framing of Lederach's ideological roots, the starting point is with the foundation of Dietrich's position. It is this position that guides his interests and his approach to peace theory in general but he expands on both Lederach's three dimensional conflict pyramid and Galtung's more simple approach by creating a multi-dimensional pyramid with exponential modes of understanding a personal and social interrelation frame to visualize conflict (*see* Figure 1-2).

Figure 1-2. The inter- and intrapersonal layers of Lederach's pyramid. The diagram of Transrational Peace, bird's-eye view.[10]



In a broad sense, Dietrich makes it explicitly clear that the roots of both transrational peace and ECT are linked to humanistic psychology. Although humanistic psychology is a broad field and its roots can be found in both existentialist theory and Freudian psychoanalysis, throughout Dietrich's text several more centered themes emerge. The key figures at the root of Dietrich's philosophy are Friedrich Nietzsche, Carl Jung and Fritz Perls—all of who will be discussed briefly in relation to Dietrich (2012: 25-26). Although other themes will be discussed regarding Dietrich, less concern is given to linking psychology and peacebuilding than with his historical framing of peace and connections between the mythical framing of order and chaos to understand and analyze conflicts.

The goal of the call for transrational peaces is to recognize the value of modern science in form while at the same time embracing an emotional and spiritual understanding of

[10] *Note*. Reprinted from "A Brief Introduction to Transrational Peace Research and Elicitive Conflict Transformation" (2014), Dietrich, Wolfgang, *Journal of Conflictology*, 5 (2), p. 52.

peace (Dietrich, 2014: 48). Although the movement has even been noted in IR theory by Richmond (2008: 149-151), when he called for an interdisciplinary approach in IR in addition to a multidimensional understanding of peace. In order to accomplish this, Dietrich takes many examples throughout history to distinguish what developed to be the European interpretation of peace that dominates much of the modern political and social discourse.

The movement from the multi-peace and multi-truth philosophies around the world shifted in thought with Plato's introduction of one truth, one order—this could be considered the origin of negative peace according to Dietrich (2012). This idea was expounded upon with the rise of Christianity, which saw another shift from god being peace to god being the judge of peace—it was no longer the idea of god but something given to humans by god. The distinctions that arose over time in Dietrich's view can be attributed to the Dionysian/Apollonian conflict. Here we find the ideas of Nietzsche clearly present; drawing from his writings on good and evil in relation to Greek mythic thinking. It is clear that Dietrich recognizes Nietzsche as the foundation of thought leading toward the conclusions drawn by Jung and Freud. Furthermore, Jung is even more important for the growth of humanistic psychology according to Dietrich, he compares his contribution to quantum theory for physics (Dietrich, 2012: 14). Although some of the other theories, particularly those within the mystic community like Ken Wilber (whom Dietrich holds in high regard), take Jung's ideas exponentially beyond the scope of what Jung himself wrote and what this paper is concerned with, it is important to recognize the *archetypes* as one of the foundations for the power of narrative film.

Instead of some of the Cartesian views of dualistic interpretations of Jung, the focus will remain on his original definitions of the archetypes[11]. As recent studies in neuroscience

[11] Scientific support for his archetypal theories are relevant in the field of Ethology: "Ethologists call these structures innate releasing mechanisms, or IRMs. Each IRM is primed to become active when an appropriate stimulus - called a sign stimulus - is encountered in the environment. When such a stimulus appears, the innate mechanism is released, and the animal responds with a characteristic pattern of behaviour which is adapted,

have confirmed, there is not a nature/nurture argument that holds relevance (Sapolsky, 2011). Furthermore, the idea of blank slate can equally be dismissed. With this in mind, Jungian archetypes were part of what he called the *collective unconscious,* and held a principled approach that stated:

> Just as the physicist investigates particles and waves, and the biologist genes, so Jung held it to be the business of the psychologist to investigate the collective unconscious and the functional units of which is composed—the archetypes, as he eventually called them. Archetypes are 'identical psychic structures common to all', which together constitute 'the archaic heritage of humanity' […] Essentially, he conceived them to be innate "neuropsychic centres possessing the capacity to initiate, control, and mediate the common behavioural characteristics and typical experiences of all human beings (Stevens, 1994: 146-147).

I disagree to the degree Dietrich holds these notions as literal and absolute, drawing from the theories of *Akashic field* and *Akashic record* he writes, "all human experience and history is stored in a universal memory and can be accessed through quantum physic methods" (Dietrich, 2012: 16). The use of Jungian archetypes for storytelling discussed later but it is important to distinguish this point of diversion between a Jungian understanding of the collective unconscious and the mystic re-appropriation of the term as an ideological framework. As Peterson (2015: 28:30) explains, according to Jung the price of enlightenment comes at a particular serious cost—especially reflected in archetypal thinking and thus, much of their representations in myth—and the difference from new age thinking in matters of individuation and that of Jung is that new age thinkers would believe something similar to a notion that following your bliss will lead you to a personal utopia, while Jungian thinking argues that following that which is meaningful with honesty will lead you to where do not want to go, and in turn until you go there you cannot "climb up higher on the other side".

As for Dietrich's many peaces, the primary interest for CTF is the use of the energetic peace. The energetic peace described by Dietrich, continues the discourse discussed earlier

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through evolution, to the situation. Thus, a mallard duck becomes amorous at the sight of the handsome green head of a mallard drake, the green head being the sign stimulus which releases in the duck's central nervous system the innate mechanism responsible for the characteristic patterns of behaviour associated with courtship in the duck" (Stevens, 1994: 134).

among other peace philosophers and looks toward ancient understandings of a many peace and truths perspective. In addition, the transrational notion of peace appeals to me because it transcends beyond the scope of the tangible peace but also embraces some of the more academic and practical disciplined approaches to peace work that NGOs and more traditional academic fields embrace.

1.1.1.6.2 On Elicitive Conflict Transformation Peace Research

Although he is surprisingly contrary approach to ECT, Dietrich writes of deep admiration for Lederach but considers outright ECT to be a prescriptive model and goes on to take a very detailed approach as to these prescriptive methods and who is most apt to carry them out. Dietrich's approach is very interesting but it also contains several flawed and controversial ideologies that should be considered carefully against alternative literature. A more detailed critique will be withheld for the final section of the survey of Dietrich's work but some clarifications will be necessary throughout the writing. Furthermore, the foundation of his rationale is compelling but unfortunately his theoretical roots leave him at a disadvantage to take his work in a more practically grounded direction.

Although Dietrich spends the opening chapters of grounding his theory in humanistic psychology and a diverse approach to conflict transformation, including shamanic rooted, breath-oriented vipassana meditation, communication oriented, and butō and aikidō approaches, in *Chapter 6* he begins his approach to peace work in praxis. It is at this point that his work begins to prescribe the methods discussed in earlier chapters to a framing of the current global conflict context and peace work. His argument for doing so is clear:

> No matter how much technical information, data, or sensitive information politicians, high-ranking officials, or diplomats might possess, it is their readiness for selective authenticity and self-revelation, their capacity for empathy, their sincerity in expressing their own preferences and objectives that act as non-quantifiable yet decisive factors in political or diplomatic negotiation and in conflict work (Dietrich, 2013: 152).

In this case, Dietrich centers on human connection as a universal and thus ECT is applicable and necessary for the modern politician and diplomat. In order to develop what ECT is from his perspective, Dietrich used the same frame as Lederach but makes a more explicit stance by stating that management, settlement and resolution are all obsolete (Dietrich, 2013: 7). Again, Dietrich's position is that a practitioner cannot be *neutral* in a conflict and his work should serve as a guide for practitioners to be well equipped in pursuit of ECT in practice. It is at this point he sources much of his later conclusions back to Gestalt Therapy.

Although his theories are influenced by Adam Curle and other peace researchers, and uses a strong reference to Jacob Levy Moreno's work in theater-based therapy in which patience act out their problems, the crux of Dietrich's theoretical framework reflects the ideas of Fritz Perls' Gestalt Therapy—made famous by the Esalen Institute. Wood (2008) traces the history of Esalen and Gestalt Therapy by way of Perls German roots and Freudian influence to his flight to America and infusion of Moreno's work in what became known as "psychodrama". This therapy developed into a what Wood describes

> In a group setting, Perls alternately put one volunteer after another in the 'hot seat'. With a participant—and himself—center stage he prodded, ridiculed, coaxed, and tantalized individuals to confront themselves. Only when one faced what he contended was the divided self could one begin to synchronize body and mind. As Perls described the result, "The previously robotized corpses begin to return to life, gaining substance and beginning the dance of abandonment and self-fulfillment; the paper people are turning into real people" (Wood, 2008: 461).

The work stems from a notion that the mind, body and spirit are all part of the human being but the methods exposed ring of cult practices and at times appear to counter the aims they claim to hold of *healing*.

Although Dietrich credits the institute for critical communication between the Cold War powers, the institute is more famous for its elitist clientele, psychedelic drug experimentation and sexual liberation (Dietrich, 2013: 42). In his book *Esalen: America and the Religion of No Religion* (2007), Jeffrey Kripal details the history of the institute, it mixing

of intellectuals and politicians that was indeed influential through the counter culture in which it developed in the 1960's until the "hot tube diplomacy" that arguably played a part in the end of the Cold War in the 1980's. Despite the lauded work done at Esalen, from both the arts and academic areas, and the influences from connections in politics and intellectuals, the institutes success can be more reasonable attributed to the social climate in the US during its inception and relevance period than it can be to revolutionary ideas in psychology or diplomatic approaches. There should be no confusion made regarding Esalen, the institute is for the elite class to this day, charging $400 to $1,700 per workshop for its trademark blend religion and science where holistic wellbeing is promoted through psychotherapy, sports and healthcare (Wood, 2008: 485). Esalen, like Gestalt Therapy—which has shown little evidence to be an effective tool nor is it included in any US academic curriculum (Warner-Moore, 2004: 188)—provides an interesting blend of mind, body and spirit but in practice have produced mystical fundamentalist that avoids dogmatic structures but reinforces notions of in-group elitism, which can itself lead to group aggression.

Psychologist Peterson (1999) argues that it is our self-narratives that when threatened often enable individuals to conduct acts of atrocity. This notion is echoed by David Livingston Smith, who in his book *Less Than Human* (2011) argues that it is a narrative of in-group status and *otherness* that enables acts of atrocity. In order to bridge these notions of in-groups and out-groups to Dietrich's work, rooted in many ways to Eastern philosophy, we can look to the Buddhist philosophy of harmony and coexistence in relation to extremism. Studies find that although adherence to Buddhist, Taoist or folk religious ideology may reduce rebellious anti-government activism in comparison to Protestant Christianity, it may also increase in relation to religious involvement (Chang, 2010) and although there is little room for notions of *just war* in Buddhist ideology, there have been several historic justifications liking the religion to similar notions (Jayasuriya, 2011). Meaning, there is a relationship

between religious ideology and the self-narratives that may develop into divisive as they become more acute as Peterson suggests. These are peripheral and limited examples, certainly they are not presented to serve as holistic critique of the prescriptive methods developed by Gestalt Therapy and the subsequent use by Dietrich but the deviation will support the differentiation between modes of operation I subscribe to and Dietrich's approach.

Dietrich does develop his approach well beyond Gestalt Therapy and uses the work of Virginia Satir as an influence to move away from the focus on the individual. He clearly uses her work in family therapy as a resource for ECT. Dietrich argues:

> The first thing one encounters upon meeting someone is his or her idea about the person. As a result conflicts tend to be particularly frequent and severe among those who have not yet discovered who they are or who others are. Satir's recommendation is to invite the conflict parties to form a research team if possible, rather than become entangled in the accusatory logic of society (Dietrich, 2013: 43).

Like Lederach, Dietrich forms much of his approach to ECT from his personal experiences and from humanistic psychology but as noted Dietrich takes a more focused, austere approach in practice. For my purposes I will not go in depth with regard to his chapters on the more thematic chapters for his ECT methods. They include, as noted earlier, shamanistic breath oriented conflict transformation, voice oriented conflict transformation—including non-violent communication using methods developed by Marshal Rosenberg—and movement oriented, which include dance and theater. The section on theater presents an opportunity for my work but as this research is focused on the experience of spectatorship, I will exclude the chapters that focus on methods of minimal relevance in relation to CTF and instead discuss the *transrational turn in international peace work*.

Dietrich excels at utilizing his personal experience from around the world and his various influences from psychology to present the transrational model for peace building. However, when he attempts to practically apply them to the field of international relations produces a limited approach. He begins the section discussing the emergence and value of two-track diplomacy and some of the historic developments in military peace operations. The

chapter references the development of the action and the lexicon concerning humanitarian intervention—although the word itself is not used.

Furthermore, critiquing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) doesn't deepen discourse toward his aims, and his discussion of NATO doesn't properly discuss the most relevant NATO interventions in Kosovo and more recently in Libya—discourse on NATO can really only be discussed in terms of it as a tool for the US military and its utter humanitarian and international law failures. Furthermore, institutions such as NATO and UN Peacekeepers cannot be comparable from a historical perspective, which would look beyond ideological rhetoric and only analyze events.

Indeed, this section does not need to forage too deep into the complications of global governance but it will address some positions that will become relevant in this text later. Although NATO has adopted some of the rhetoric and vocabulary of the US military, replacing notions of *war* with terms like *security* and *protection*, the reality is most liberal academics acknowledge the use of NATO since the end of the Cold War—although optimistic—has ultimately expanded from protectionist notions in definition and practice. The UN Security Council sanctioned NATO intervention in several cases that arguably went well beyond the scope of its mandate for defense, particularly in Afghanistan, but the bombing of Yugoslavia (1999) and Libya (2011) are both recognized as violations of international law by scholars and bring about questions of the legitimacy of global governance and international law (Glennon, 2015: 75-95). However, these events can be distinguished from the use of UN Peacekeeping forces, which although they are still armed soldiers—a dichotomy to have armed peacekeepers—and have a record of sexual exploitation are overall considered a move in the positive direction (Grady, 2010). I do not wish to minimize the severity of the crimes of UN Peacekeepers recorded over decades but only to emphasize the role of UN Peacekeepers as a more hopeful application of global governance and their potential for peace promotion

opposed to NATO an institution that holds no hope for either of the aforementioned categories. Furthermore, it is lofty to hold failures of UN Peacekeepers in Yugoslavia holistically responsible for atrocity—the massacre in Srebrenica in July of 1995—nor, as Dietrich suggests hold the UN Peacekeeper's withdraw responsible for the "1994 Rwandan genocide" as Dietrich suggests (2013: 169). Furthermore, Dietrich is also a bit out of step with the most recent literature on humanitarian intervention and UN preparedness for so-called 'new wars'.

The theories that frame 'new wars' in order to differentiate them from other historical conflicts are intrinsically connected to concepts of state sovereignty and legitimacy. Mello (2010) accurately outlines the range of literature that explores the justification of distinguishing modern warfare form those in the early 20th century. He breaks down many of the assumptions for declaring the modern conflict 'new wars' most convincingly by calling into question the different forms of violence, particularly terrorism and civilian deaths in war—both of which he dispels with contradictory research. Newman (2004), on the other hand, calls for a historical perspective to contemplate 'new wars'. He argues, "sovereign statehood remains a core characteristic of the international system" (Newman, 2004: 187). If this can be considered a legitimate statement, then it would be an important point to consider for the use of humanitarian intervention. Dietrich correctly argues that the use of the term humanitarian intervention has been used by the US to legitimize the illegal action against sovereign states but he fails to show a deeper knowledge of the current discourse, including the debate concerning the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). Francis, who incorporates many of Lederach's concepts directly and thematically into her work, discusses in detail the movements of R2P as an encouraging step toward the prevention of conflict (2010: 157). In addition, Aiden Hehir's (2013) comprehensive work on humanitarian intervention argues that the sovereignty *is* responsibility, meaning that with state sovereignty comes the responsibility

to protect civilian populations. He also concludes that it is much too early in the development of this approach to declare it a success or failure. This is the conflict organizations like the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)—which is the UN mandated organization responsible for the protection of civilians—are faced with working in conflict zones. How can one protect civilians, while being excluded from access to them by threats of violence? The ICRC is in fact of the extreme position of neutrality and is a critic of R2P as it was used to legitimize violence and politicization of the civilian violence in Libya in 2011 (Pommier, 2011). What is important to consider is the how politician, academics and the media perceive conflict may shape the reaction to conflict. Indeed, it may be prevention that is the most effective tool for protecting civilians.

All of this is to say that the application of Dietrich's methods are more therapeutic and could be focused on other areas of peacebuilding but his approach to International Relations—as shown by a limited interdisciplinary approach—should not be one of them. Furthermore, the attempts by Dietrich to move toward a holistic shift in the peace paradigm should not assume that ECT can be applicable to ongoing conflict, and perhaps would better serve to address the themes presented by cultural peace prospects—delegitimizing violence and opening up those aspects of culture that are closed by intolerance. Hedges (2012) argues that it was the hate speech and political situation that largely contributed to the violence in Yugoslavia; a similar case could be made for the Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLMC) in Rwanda, which broadcasted hate speech against the Tutsi's in the year before the Rwandan Genocide (Smith 2011). The two examples above illustrate the necessity to counter the grassroots pro-violence movements, which invent false narratives that divide societies, as in the case of Yugoslavia and the role larger organizations can play in the fragile reconciliation process, which would recognize the need to include *spoilers* in the peace process, as was the case in Rwanda.

The fragile efforts for power sharing following the Rwandan Civil War made during the Arusha Accords needed a more holistic approach by the forces of global governance and International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs). In this case, the R2P initiative could be applicable in the context of structural and cultural violence instead of the reactionary attempts that violate state sovereignty and often exacerbate existing conflicts. Many of the contemporary suggestions for peacebuilding are a reaction to events that were indeed effected by negative use of the media, this presents the opportunity for a counter movement that would incorporate CTF. I do not wish to depart too far into these other conflicts but only to emphasize the necessity to consider the most current research discourses when approaching the interdisciplinary potential to bridge the IR field and Peace Studies. If the background is not accurate the prescriptive approach to conflicts may be hindered. Furthermore, these notions permeate Dietrich's discourse on Transrational Development as well.

Dietrich criticism of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the institutions of sustainable development are neither innovative nor surprising, although his language and concepts appear muddled leaving little clear conclusion. Again, he appears to neglect the relevant academic discourse in Development, particularly the field of Political Ecology and the call for indigenous knowledges to be used in development (Robins, 2012, Gomes, 2012). A movement toward de-growth should also be considered as part of this discourse. Dietrich's discourse is not particularly flawed ideologically but development and IR are not areas where he particularly thrives due to a lack of current discourses.

In the area of political economy Dietrich develops more sound theoretical approaches. He again beings with a historical approach, drawing from the global impact of neoliberalism, the Breton Woods establishment, Reganomics and Thatcherism and capitalism overall. One point concerns the use of violence, accurately, the historical use of *justice* as a legitimization of violence, he writes, "justice is elevated to an all-determining factor to which peace and war

are necessarily subject. However, justice cannot be objectively measured. It is not a self-evident condition" (Dietrich, 2013: 196). It is not explicitly clear what type of justice Dietrich is considering. He presents a very narrow scholarly selection that excludes Rawls (1971), Amartya Sen (2009) and Nussbaum (1997)—in addition to some of the important discourses presented in the more commercial book *The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger* (2009). Furthermore, the ideas of the self that Dietrich present are contradictory to the findings of Peterson (1999), who argues that external environment greatly shapes our identities, highlighting the notion that the individual is intrinsically shaped by his or her environment to varying degrees and thus is not a tabula rasa. Dietrich attempts to outline the many ways of applying his theory where it fits; it would perhaps be more helpful not to force his theory into an omnipotent cure-all for every peace related discipline.

Beyond pressing the theoretical framework into the various disciplines of peace work, Dietrich finalizes his work by approaching who would be explicit apt to perform peacebuilding. He transforms the pyramid developed by Lederach forming a three-dimensional pyramid with 16 layers intertwined, encompassing every imaginable level of existence. Form this design he formulates the idealist of peaceworkers. Drawing from the work of Gestalt Therapy, Dietrich holds the use of empathy among the attributes necessary for the peaceworker at the grassroots level. Indeed, empathy is extremely important for workers in peacebuilding, but I have failed to visualize through his writing how local, indigenous knowledge and individuals would participate in his conflict transformation. If this group is not considered, then the form of elicitive conflict transformation Dietrich proposes is rooted in the same imperial values that he criticizes. This can be said as well for his insistence of sexual openness in fieldworkers. The suggestion is troubling in that it lacks a discussion of gender violence and gender rights, protections that come with professionalism and harassment. Overall, I find his prescriptions for the ideal peaceworker to be a narrowed field

that appeals to the elitist roots of Gestalt Therapy and fails to produce a convincing argument for the necessity for the specificity of the ideal peaceworker.

Dietrich's operationalization of transrational peacework is potentially interesting as a theoretical foundation but the details are not supported with relevant knowledge of the subject matter. If the how is to bring about a sustainable peace process through transrational thinking, the post-modern research is lacking in his approach. Furthermore, the reliance on mystics instead of the mythic roots—more accurately Gestalt Therapy and the work of Ken Wilber over Nietzsche and Jung—moves the discourse away from broad notions of being to a more austere prescription. Like Lederach, Dietrich marginalizes and removes the civil societies from the history of peace movements. The prescriptive approach also focuses on the most visual aspects of conflict and does not appear to address the aspects of cultural violence that are necessary for sustainable peace. Effective therapeutic results rely heavily on the participant's interest in progressive change. Applying a therapeutic approach to conflict assumes parties involved are interested in developing significant personal change. The very basis of most conflicts is the struggle to position oneself to become empathetic to that which challenges ones self-narrative—to be fearless of otherness. This position leaves little room for spoilers and other complicated elements in a conflict transformation.

1.1.1.7 Between Dietrich and Lederach

My position draws from both Lederach and Dietrich for several reasons discussed throughout the review of each author. One of the more striking, yet not particularly emphasized, areas of Dietrich's work is his emphasis on growing one's capacity for empathy. Relevant research supports the notion that empathy can be something built upon but depending on the individual—there is a limit to how far one can develop such an emotive response (Schumann, et al, 2014). Furthermore, evidence also indicates that there is an *in-group* bias for empathy (Gutsell and Inzlicht, 2012). This suggests that the initial limitation of

conflict transformation is for those in a deeply divided society must first reduce notions of in- and out-group status to begin improving empathy building. Furthermore, from the perspective of both Lederach and Dietrich, most peaceworkers are outsiders coming into a community to elicit conflict transformation as outsiders, according to the relevant scientific research; their capacity to empathies would be predictably limited assuming differing cultural norms exist.

Just as Dietrich emphasizes empathy, Lederach approaches ECT with a heavy reliance on social/cultural knowledge. The notion in it of itself is rooted in some of the early cultural anthropological ideals rooted in colonialist thinking. The current state of the world is increasingly globalized. The concept of socio/cultural knowledge is not clearly outlined by Lederach, as the notions of culture are not clearly outlined. What aspects of culture should be respected? If we were to approach these notions with a more accurate language, perhaps using the capabilities approach and indigenous knowledge would be more succinct. In this sense, we do not lose practices like Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), child marriage in post-war Syria or bride burning in India as cultural aspects that should hold the same protections many of the indigenous knowledges that are so often ignored. These of course are descriptive notions: what is clearly inhumane? What do we find unacceptable? This is not to assume we have an all-encompassing prescriptive methodology to address these issues—the exact stance of Lederach is of course we do not—but rather from where to do we position ourselves, as impartiality is an illusion.

Both Lederach and Dietrich fall victim to ideology they themselves warn of against. They focus on protracted conflict—the most visible aspects of a conflict—those that draw the most attention because of their heightened level of violence. But underneath are very relevant levels of conflict to be addressed. They are the less visible but extremely important parts of violence. These are the levels of which are most important on the grassroots levels. Lederach give some examples of this but how can the grassroots be mobilized in larger efforts?

Lederach as well warns against these types of movements, because they may falter, but he contradicts this notion with the understanding that there is an ebb and flow of conflict. We must consider that although social movements may have a particular ephemeral quality to them, they are relevant in the collective conscious. For example, thirty years ago in the West it was much more socially acceptable to use a derogatory slur toward homosexuality, but now we have an acronym that accurately encompasses the world of peripheral sexuality: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) and an intense movement toward their rights and equalities. This cultural shift was a series of grassroots movements and awareness campaigns that reached high courts in the US and eventually voting ballots across Europe—met with much acrimony.

Beyond this there should be a mechanism for those incapable of perceiving themselves outside of the conflict context, those who are beyond reason addressed earlier in regard to spoilers in the peace process. What considerations can be made for those already so deeply entrenched in a conflict that violence seems inevitable? Most of the theoretical framework proposed are aimed towards individuals that can be reasoned with—most of the great atrocities in human history were perpetrated by those beyond reason, but these men were supported at large by society and culture in some form. For this reason, I believe we must go beyond the argument of cultural openness and define to what degree may culture be shaped in order to promote peace? Furthermore, if there is a call for ECT movements then they should be focused, specific aspects of conflict in which they address. As stated earlier, both Dietrich and Lederach approach ECT as a form to address conflict primarily on the grassroots level yet throughout the literature most of the situations are in relation to direct violence, I find this to be flawed. From my position, ECT may be applied in a very specific context of direct violence but would be better served as a long process in preventative

violence—focusing primarily on cultural violence and structural violence. It is from this position I make my call for conflict transformation cinema.

1.1.2 Film Theory: Aesthetics of Film and the Mind

At this point the focus will be shifted to film as it relates to the project of peacebuilding both historically, in the trajectory of anti-war film, and theoretically, primarily on the moral project of film and the study of aesthetics.

1.1.2.1 Peace Film as a Movement

Before moving on to a literature review of film theory, I would like to devote a small section to bridge peace theory and film theory through some works that address film history as it pertains to the construction of violent narratives and realities. In terms of the physical production of film—the making of films—there are interesting links between Hollywood and the so-called military-industrial complex. As notes Mark J. Lacy notes, "the history of twentieth-century warfare had an intimate connection with cinema" (2003:613). The writer is particularly addressing the US Pentagon's, the headquarters of the US Department of Defense, direct involvement in the editing of film scripts and the approving film content in exchange to access military equipment for production. Furthermore, Lacy argues that war films are a large part of Wests attempts at legitimizing, normalizing and suppressing the moral anxiety to war—providing a "moral security" and sense of justice (2003: 634). These notions predate cinema in many forms but for the purposes here the focus will remain on the visual aspects of these aesthetics over the last two centuries.

This relationship between spectacle and use of images for justifying conflict has existed as a difficult balance since the period before war photography came into common use. An interesting cultural phenomenon that developed in Paris was the city morgue, which became a public spectacle soon after opening in 1864 (Tredennick, 2010). This morbid

attraction can trace some of the first large public gatherings to view the spectacle of violence as a form of spectatorship (the role of spectatorship in violence will be discussed with regard to Susan Sontag in the following section). For forty years crowds lined up to view the daily displayed corpses, the means of identifying unknown dead became a social pastime. This can also be subtly related to the public fascination of the *tableau vivant*, which was a living picture in essence, a still staged scene popular before the advent of photography—also a less macabre form of entertainment related to pre-film culture (The Chicago School of Media Theory, 2016).

Although the first official war photographer is attributed dated to 1855, this period is a significant precursor to the cultural shifts that followed in the coming decades. As discussed earlier, historical events like the Crimean War (1853-1856), and the revolutions of 1848 before, led to a sentiment of peace through social movements throughout Europe but in parallel the rise of photography and film technology emerged as new forms to reach the public.

What accompanied Bertha Von Suttner's (the woman who was a key influence behind the creation of Nobel Peace Prize) book and *Lay Down Your Arms* (*Die Waffen Nieder*, 1908) was a film of the same title that was set to premiere on September 15th, 1914 (Kelly 1997: 4). WWI preceded the release and the twenty-first International Peace Congress, which was suspended indefinitely because of the outbreak of war. Indeed, this was the first anti-war film. The question of if an anti-war film is the same as a *peace film* will be discussed in Chapter 2 but this was the first of a series of films that used artistry and storytelling to combat the malaise of war propaganda during the same era. Although anti-war films were produced in the US as it remained *neutral* in the war, as soon as the nation became involved in the war the propaganda machine began to recruit Hollywood directors and public relations specialists in attempt to sway public opinion for the war, most notably through the so called Creel

Commission (Kelly, 1997; Pinsdorf, 1999). The most notable British contribution to was *Battle of Somme* (1916) the first documentary propaganda film. This was before Sergei Eisenstein, the most revolutionary editor in the history of filmmaking, discovered the psychological potential for propaganda using film editing. As such, most of the films produced in the US and the rest of Europe during and immediately following WWI are melodramatic and forgettable. One film remains from the period immediately following the war as the most resonant pacifist film. *J'Accuse* (1919)—although it has the same title as the famous Émile Zola letter, the content has not relation—filmed in part on actual battlefields can be remembered for the haunting scene, "return of the dead", when the dead soldiers rise from the grave to haunt the protagonist Jean.

The commercial success of another novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929), complimented the film of the same name, released the following year. Just three years after the first "talkie", *The Jazz Singer* (1927), the film resonated with audiences at the peak of anti-war sentiment following the carnage of WWI. The film also highlighted a shifting sentiment noted by film scholar Vicente J. Benet: "victimization of the soldier" (2013). Benet argues this was part of a shift in the collective memory of America and Europe. The sentiment is echoed by Jay Winter, who wrote extensively not only on the issue of cultural remembrance, the publics large dedications and efforts to remember the dead as if to justify the atrocity of WWI, in his book *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning. The Great War in European Cultural History* (1995), but also "moral witnesses" narrators who strip away the heroicness of war (Winter, 2007). The roots of these sentiments were influenced by a mix of the rise of Freudian psychoanalysis treating victims of WWI and other reconciliation efforts with the violence of war, like the work of Jean Norton Cru's *Témoins* (Witnesses) in 1929 (Benet 2013: 393). This was a transformation from how war had been portrayed historically,

and a tradition carried on by writers like Tim O'Brian, Michael Herr and Hedges. O'Brian, who served the US Army in the Vietnam War cautions readers question a typical war story:

> A true war story is never moral. It does not instruct, nor encourage virtue, nor suggest models of proper human behavior, nor restrain men from doing the things men have always done. If a story seems moral, do not believe it. If at the end of a war story you feel uplifted, or if you feel that some small bit of rectitude has been salvaged from the larger waste, then you have been made the victim of a very old and terrible lie. There is no rectitude whatsoever. There is no virtue. As a first rule of thumb, therefore, you can tell a true war story by its absolute and uncompromising allegiance to obscenity and evil (O'Brian, 2009: 122-123).

From this the typical war film becomes something absurd in its fiction, but what evolved in the anti-war film genre was a consideration for art as well as propaganda. What emerged on the eve of WWII is considered a masterpiece. Jean Renoir, son of painter Pierre-Auguste Renoir, achieved what many consider the one of the greatest films of all time in *La Grande Illusion* (Grand Illusion) (Renoir, 1937). Renoir was a critique the typical war film and in turn created a war film with no fighting scenes and very little deaths at all. The film approached pacifism not by showing the horrors of war, which had been the approach to much of the arts in the anti-war movement in the past, but show universal humanity that is beyond class, nation, religion or culture (Kelly, 1997: 91). This was the illusion, that there existed any difference between men (or women). After all, Karl Koch, the technical advisor for the film, allegedly fired at Renoir's plane during the war, which Renoir found to form a bond (Kelly, 1997: 92). The film is indeed a form of high art, and was recognized as such upon its release; banned by but appreciated by the Nazi's and lauded by Roosevelt, the film reached the political and social levels of society. Although art house cinema was not recognized with independent theaters and distribution until the 1960's and 1970's, high art in this context can be considered in term of 'high' and 'low' art with regard to popular appeal and reach—high art tends to appeal to a more select audience, while low art is often associated with popular culture (Younger, 2011:36). With considerations for production, content and reach, *La Grande Illusion* is the baseline standard for conflict transformation film. Renoir himself viewed the film as a failure after witnessing the escalation of violence in

WWII but as discussed earlier, conflict transformation is not a singular act, nor is conflict itself. It is an ebb and flow.

Therefore, CTF cannot easily be judged as binary successes or failures but assessed by rather quality and content. *La Grande Illusion* presents an interesting position; does an anti-war film need to show the war itself? Francois Truffaut is often credited with the line, "there is no such thing as an anti-war film", alluding to the fact that no war film is able to avoid the trap of glorifying the battlefield (Brook, 2014). Although *La Grande Illusion* is what I would consider an ideal pacifist film, I believe it falls outside the lines of what Truffaut is discussing. The film achieves several things with subtle precision and it addresses the three triangles of violence in turn. The most prominent of course is the direct violence of war, which is of course the first of the *grand illusions* presented by Renoir. The arc of the film is an argument for the futility of all-out war—there is very little direct violence although the repercussions of violence are made clear and their motives arbitrary. Addressing structural violence of the situation, the film takes aim at class, race and ideology by presenting a range of typically marginalized groups and humanizing them through a universality in comradery. Finally, perhaps the largest arc of all destruction of notions of cultural violence in nationality, language and culture, the cultural peace of the film is the transcendence of the potential for good and evil in all humans. In this sense, the film is beyond an anti-war film because it addresses several layers of society beyond the topical layer of violent conflict and shows that depiction of violence is unnecessary to dissuade others from violence or show its potency. Contrarily, just as decades of contested studies of violence in film and television confirm, one cannot place holistic blame on the material itself.

Prince (2009: 280) notes some 43,000 studies confirm a positive relation between violent and aggressive behavior, and violent media. Furthermore, Anderson (2010) called for a more diversified approach to behavior and violence in media studies. If we followed

Truffaut's notions concerning war cinema, the film *Dr. Strangelove: Or How I learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964) would lose satirical significance as a tool to highlight the utter insanity of the Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) occurring between the US and Soviet Union (USSR). In addition, *Battle of Algiers* (1966) would also be diminished although the film is one of the ultimate representations of the rationale for subaltern violence.

This review of anti-war films expresses the intent to support a theoretical notion that within the peace paradigm using film as a tool of elicitive conflict transformation is distinct in its appeal for a nuanced approach to the cultural aspects of violence. Those who find inspiration for glorified war and national pride in a film like *Full Metal Jacket* (1987) are deeply entrenched in a cultural narrative of delusion of which can only be transformed by a cultural shift over time, while those experiencing an alternative reaction of awakened social awareness from the film must be flourished by more alternative narratives. From this perspective, anti-war films are not the same as peace films but certain films under the proper criterion can begin movements toward larger scale awareness movements and cultures of peace flourishing.

1.1.2.2 Sontag and Moral Aesthetics

In order to proceed with a modest review of some relevant film theory literature, it is important to position myself with an underlying point of reference. Sontag explored a multitude of disciplines throughout her career and is considered one of the most important and influential art theorists and critics of the twentieth century. Unlike great film theorists like André Bazin or David Bordwell, Sontag wrote much further outside of film and society as well as immersed herself as a controversial political figure and war journalist; she explored film and photography beyond the psychological or sociological aspects and considered these forms in the broader histories of art and culture.

Her most relevant work, which apply to the interests of conflict transformation film, is *Regarding the Pain of Others*, in which she questions the validity of her original position regarding photography, disagreeing with her previous position that, "photographs shrivel sympathy" (Sontag, 2003: 77). Her inquisition into who has the right to view the suffering of another human is compelling, in that it challenges the notion that images of violence promote social change. The voyeuristic nature of violence on film was a transition from the painter's interpretation of reality. Sontag argues that documenting atrocity after the advent of photography became a way to claim a duplication of reality, as if to attempt to prove that the event occurred and validate it, and as such, the voyeurs of atrocity make the images in a way "pornographic" (2003). In opposition to what was always an interpretation of reality by painters and writers became a document to objectively convince the viewer of its existence. In her opinion, only those in a position to alleviate suffering or learn from it have the right to view images of suffering (2003). The relevant factor to consider in this debate emerging from Sontag's earlier work, *On Photography* (1977)—most notably from Butler (2006) and Linfield (2010)—is the notion that images of suffering are not the single factor for mobilization against atrocity. As Sontag concludes, "a narrative seems likely to be more effective than an image" (2003: 91).

Early notions of anti-war film confirm the notion that spectacle without narrative is limited in impact. This is not to say that images of suffering need to be handled in the austere sense that Sontag evokes, but should be handled with care. Indeed, as Linefield notes, the pressure to eliminate conflict should not rest on the power of photography (2010: 60). Nor is it appropriate to assume that an anti-war film should include violence, as Renoir showed audiences. The shifting narrative from sporadic anti-war films over recent decades, from *Platoon* (1986) to *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989) and more recent pictures like *In the Valley of Elah* (2007) have not only increased the notions of a soldier as a victim but have

also been heavily overshadowed by a renewal of extremely patriotic war films. Films like *Act of Valor* (2012), the extremely commercially successful *American Sniper* (2014) and the award winning *Zero Dark Thirty* (2012) have created a deadly application of soldier victimhood, nationalism and *justified* violence. Under these circumstances it becomes clear that the development of CTF must take into consideration for how the victim is portrayed and how violence is handled.

1.1.2.3 Psychology and Cinema: Between Story and Reality

Although aesthetics have only been discussed here in a topical way, the use of narrative hinges on suspension of disbelief but also authenticity—this should not be confused, as it often is, with *reality*. Without slipping into an existential discourse, I will continue with the basic assumption that reality is subjective to—and perhaps subordinate to—consciousness.

The blurred lines between reality and fiction in film viewership creates in the consciousness of audiences is driven by several subtle technical and narrative aspects. In short, film appeals to what has been discussed as the unconscious. To what degree this is part of a Jungian unconscious is theoretically supported by what will follow in this work, how else could such deep connections across cultures be made with cinematic experience? Nonetheless, a large body of psychological analysis supports the notion that these technical aspects of film appeal to unconscious sensory brain.

The most subdued aspect could be something as simple as film continuity. This is a filmmaker's attempt to immerse the viewer into a story and with support from, what Smith (2009) uses to address these aspects of film, the *inattentional* and *change blindness* in film. The brain's ability to focus on a limited number of visual arrays helps filmmakers direct an audience's attention and ignore peripheral inconsistencies or irrelevancies. Unlike photography, which Sontag argued for a representation of proven reality, reality's duplicate if

you will, the narrative film, since its inception with films like *Trip to the Moon* (1902), have been used to manipulate the nature of what is *real*. The filmmaker in a way is a profound illusionist, directing audience attention in order to create a specified version of perception. Of course, several film movements and theorist have rejected such approaches, most recently the Dogme 95 movement, which proposed in a manifesto for a completely stripped down version of raw filmmaking and of course some of the French New Wave filmmakers. Nonetheless, film is an art of expression that is not intrinsically tied to these storytelling tropes that are used for emersion. It is natural that, although filmmakers have attempted reject them in some way, they eventually resurface in some form, most notably in sound.

The psychological connection places on sound are one of the most connective devices used in filmmaking. The experience of a film striped of the aesthetics of sounds is a jarring realization; sound in film is the completion of an environment. Furthermore, some filmmakers believe that elements such as film score can be conceived as another character in the film itself. Filmmakers often use these sound cues to represent an emotional motif. At this intersection of sensory perception we find many examples of the blending of sight and sound. In the most iconic pop-cinema example, the film *Star Wars* (1977) uses an ominous film score first with the introduction of the villain and then with the character's subsequent aesthetic entrance into a scene. The now famous character Darth Vader's score has become an icon for the essence of evil, used to introduce George Bush in *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), and has been used in the sequels and prequels to the classic film to signify the spirit of Vader's darkness. In the same film, the motif of red is used to represent the 'dark side', and when the protagonist is tempted a red hue shines across the side of his face. These exemplify the psychological function of the unconscious mind. For instance, neuroscience may place memory in terms of explicit and implicit—chosen recall, like episodic memories, or unconscious reactions, like motor skills respectively—but the sequences in films often appeal

to aesthetics that can trigger unconscious recall in relation to previous unconscious memories. Writing on film and consciousness, Smith argues:

> Although the model of mind here is not psychoanalytic, and in particular does not posit a mechanism of repression whereby certain experiences are actively "buried" beneath conscious attention, the concept of representational memory does acknowledge the existence of unconscious sources of conscious states of mind – mental states which are not merely currently non- or only peripherally conscious, like the objects of secondary awareness as I watch a scene in a film, but largely or wholly unavailable to consciousness (Smith, 2009: 43-44).

In this sense there is a dualistic nature to the consciousness of film spectatorship. It allows for a deeper connection to a film and the desired emotional connection. Because these elements cannot be explained definitively by empirical science, does not invalidate their connection to emotional responsiveness and spectatorship.

These notions are highly influenced by Bordwell's essay in "A Case for Cognitivism" and his writing on semiotics—in the case of film this relates to repressed meaning (Nannicelli & Taberham, 2014). From this point an interdisciplinary field emerged called Cognitive Film Theory, broadly defined:

> Specifically, it is an investigation of cognition, encompassing attention, learning, memory, reasoning, problem-solving, and perception, that draws upon research in a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, artificial intelligence, linguistics, neuroscience, philosophy, and psychology (Nannicelli & Taberham, 2014: 5).

The field of neuroscience has opened up these studies significantly. The work continued by Smith (2014) explores the emergence of unique areas of research like *neuroaesthetics* and *neurocinema*, while the work Barrett (2014) explores a range of studies that differentiate Eastern and Western experience in aesthetics, which he derives certain universalities—camera angles, motifs and match-editing—and others that have subtler cultural differences in viewership reaction. Within this field two important positions should be explored.

Firstly, the work of Plantinga (2014) explores the role of ethics in a powerfully emotive work of film. But as much has already been written within film theory about this subject he focuses on the way *moods*—by mood he speaks metaphorically about the tone or

atmosphere of a film. Plantinga argues that moods in films are an important part of aesthetics that can have real world consequences, writing, "Moods also have the tendency to draw together cognition, judgement, memory, and associations based on prior experience" (2014: 149). In short, it is an argument the film helps shape individual's worldview by tapping into spectator emotions and triggering moral intuitions through aesthetics. In relation to the moral aspects of mood generating effects of film Falzon (2009) asks a more precise question that film can potentially address: *why be moral?*

One of the central themes of this work is the question of how film can be used to guide the question of how to *be*. In large part, this is the question of acceptable morality, one in which mythic story attempts to explore, and has subsequently been related to psychology, sociology, film theory and philosophy—undoubtable many more fields. In the case of film Falzon explains the use of morality:

> Most of the time, shaped as we are by our upbringing and culture, we do the right thing without giving it much thought. But when faced with a situation where we can do anything, no matter how wicked, without fear of punishment, or where doing the wrong thing seems more rewarding than doing the right thing, the question of why we should be moral naturally arises. Film, in a position to pose hypothetical scenarios of this sort, offers an opportunity for exploring such considerations. In addition, by posing these hypothetical scenarios in the form of concrete, emotionally engaging narratives, film can capture something else as well, the question's "existential" aspect. Whether to be more is not simply an abstract theoretical question, but a deeply practical concern, of how one is to live, whether to commit oneself to a particular way of life (Falzon, 2009: 591).

Furthermore, spectatorship allows for unexpected connections between audiences and sympathetic characters because film does create a buffer between what is real and an emotional response to story, allowing for a connection without a threat to safety. Research by Plantinga (2009) suggests this framework to provide the environments for so-called anti-heroes to emerge as sympathetic characters; indeed, this is a tradition reflecting literary heroes such as Fyodor Dostoyevsky's Rodion Raskolnikov in *Crime and Punishment* (1866) (2009: 86-92). This bridge between creativity in character and audience suspension of disbelief is a narrow distinction.

Film narratives must create character believability while limiting creative liberties. Ideally a peace film would use actors and stories with some sensitivity to the marginalized characters they represent. This would include subaltern and indigenous knowledges. Obviously actors have a diverse potential to portray passionate, deep performances of characters that may stand in contradiction to their real life personas. One interesting irony is the casting of British Ben Kinsley as Indian Mahatma Gandhi, who of course practiced non-violence against British imperialism. The film *Gandhi* (1981) is widely considered a great success, both artistically and commercially, while it iconized the man into a reduction of holistic meaning, avoiding any critical elements, the result was a connective performance. Theorists argue that spectatorship hinges on the empathetic ability of a performance (Coplan, 2009). Thus, arises the question to what extent is the importance of filmic experience over that of social considerations? Is the choice of Kingsley an insensitive approach to the story, further marginalizing the subaltern or does it acknowledge unity?

1.2 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the great length of attention to which was devoted to various peace theory frames, in relation to the rather marginal film theory review, is justified by the notion of film in the context as a subordinate tool for peacebuilding. Since peacebuilding is the ultimate goal of this study, it is important to frame the tools available to a peace builder and what ideologies are appropriate.

From this position, the focus on movements was a relevant point of discourse because it focused on the specialized goals of peace builders in a critical period. The socialist peace movements prior to WWI and the ant-war film movement following WWII are particularly interesting in terms of mobilization and cultural shifts. From this position the departure from these highly specialized approaches is acutely noted in the works of Lederach and Dietrich who come across more ambiguous and theoretical. The critique of both philosopher/theorists

is certainly a controversial approach but necessary to distinguish what notions of peace theory I find appropriate to apply to peace film. It is also important to note that the critique of peace research focusing on violence has been explored by Gelditsch, Nordkvelle and Strand (2014) in their article "Peace research - Just the study of war?", they also bring to light, through a rigorous analysis of peace writings and history, that discourse is dominated through negative peace opposed to positive peace. Certainly Galtung's framing could indeed be found to be equally ambiguous but his specificity in contextualizing conflict in the three-sphered approach is in its essence both simplistic and filled with nuanced complexity. Galtung also gives peace builders a language to embark on a theoretical debate from. For these reasons—and the fact that Galtung does not make suggestions toward conflict transformation—I remained limited in a critical response to Galtung.

Though a survey of peace theory would suffice to develop a holistic approach to conflict transformation film, I included literature from film theorists who promote a phenomenological stance in order to bridge the connection between peace theory and film theory. Here the literature is minimally selected but a wide range of study into consciousness and cinema is available. Much of this work is synthesized with the yearly conference and work done by Society for Cognitive Studies of the Moving Image, who's work supports much of the theories behind the phenomenological study of film by using an interdisciplinary approach that includes neuroscience, psychology, and cognitive and philosophical theory.

Finally, a brief acknowledgment to Sontag's work was necessary to frame the justification of the use of violence in film and such relevant discourses. This inclusion can be considered under the basis of discourse concerning the anti-war film's use of violence and the absolute saturation of violence in contemporary film and media.

Beyond the notions of peace and film the following chapters will analyze certain films in the goal of considering ways toward a specific kind of peace: cultural peace. As mentioned

earlier, this peace does not exist as an exclusive function but rather it is the best way to address violence using film. Spectatorship could certainly have an effect on direct violence or structural violence, as has been proven by several documentaries[12], but nonetheless, my framing is that in the Western world it is cultural violence that threatens to perpetuate cycles of violence and exploit that violence abroad. For this reason, I choose the word transformation, because other dialectical terms like justice seem inappropriate.

[12] Some of the more notable films of the last decade include *Invisible War* (2012), *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006), and *Citizenfour* (2013).

Chapter 2 : Analytic and Theoretical Tools to Analyze *Blood Diamond* and *Dirty Pretty Things*

There are no facts, only interpretations. –Fredrick Wilhelm Nietzsche

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the theory of elicitive conflict transformation was framed in the context of film theory and viewership, presenting film as a tool for conflict transformation. This chapter will present the constrictions for what could be considered conflict transformation film, which will produce relevant case studies as well as provide a detailed outline of the methodologies used to discuss the data and analysis in Chapter 3.

The basis of my study is conflict; as such I begin this chapter with the discussion of a broader conflict and its relation to the chosen films. I narrow the conflict as well as present specific criterion for the films I intend to use as case studies. Once the case studies have been outlined, the methodological approach is outlined. In this chapter the material for analysis and limitation are presented but the findings will be reserved for Chapter 3. Instead of presenting the findings and discussion here, I have allocated Chapter 2 for the justification and framing of the case studies.

2.1.1 Framing the Criterion

In order to develop and discuss the criterion and justification for films analyzed in the context of conflict transformation, we must first establish the conflict framework in which the films will be chosen. Primarily the case studies will consider cultural violence and how film could give the conflict transformation agency in this broad social context.

A constant source of friction between differing societies is how collective perception of society is used to address the uncertainty of the unknown. Putting aside the discussion of cultural openness norms by region or ethnicity, and other identity issues, what research has shown with some certainty is the negative use of identity and otherness as a means to perpetuate and justify violence (Smith, 2011 & Galtung, 1990). In a contemporary context, the issue of national identity is more complicated than previous research regarding identity tensions because new norms of migration and economics are affected by post-colonial globalization. Furthermore, the evolution of a unipolar and globalized world has put increasing strain on the global North in terms of identity, migration and economic inequality—despite being the richest country in the world, the US was recently identified as a country of concern for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the countries dangerous levels of poverty—and inspired a reemergence of conflicts evoking ethnic nationalism and anti-immigration (Calamur, 2016). Often with economic uncertainty, inequality (as an absolute consideration between rich and poor indexes) is politicized to generate fear and centralize hegemonic power. This position was exemplified by conflicts throughout the 20th century: the threat of the Hun prior to WWI, the Jew in WWII, the Red during the Cold War and now the threat of the immigrant, primarily those of Muslim and African identities. It is of particular concern that levels of global inequality between extreme wealth and poverty are currently at the highest levels in recorded history and a recently study in collaboration with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) predicts a catastrophic collapse if these levels continue (Nafeez, 2014). Thus, it can be deemed of the utmost necessity to address the issue of immigration and identity as they may be used to promote fear and hate while at the same time distracting from issues of real substance. For this reason, European and American immigration will be the conflict of great significance in the coming years, especially in the wealthiest states.

Immigration in the United Kingdom (UK) has risen steadily since WWII but as of 2014 migrations figures show a drastic rise in immigration in recent years. As of 2014, England had a foreign-born population of 13.1 percent, a rise of 7 percent in twenty years and 8.5 percent ethnic minority citizens, up 4 percent from that same period respectively; however, in a city like London the number of foreign born jumps to 39 percent (Rienzo & Vargas-Silva, 2015: 5). In those same decades from WWII, the UK immigrant population suffered from an ongoing governmental policy shift and public opinion volatility toward immigration, most notably attempts to limit the immigration of *colored* members of Commonwealth states. This period at times recorded anti-immigration levels periodically shifting from 65 to 90 percent of British society with a negative outlook toward immigration (McLaren & Johnson, 2001: 711-712). The repercussions of post-colonization in Africa and the ongoing British influence in the region have certainly played a role in the rise of Sub-Saharan African immigration into the UK. Policies such as over the horizon peacekeeping and economic intervention and exclusivity over former colonies have stifled economic wellbeing in most of the continent. Data supports the notion that Britons fear cultural differences and economic threats to job security posed by immigrants from Africa and the Middle East over large groups of more assimilated immigrants like the Indian populations of the UK (McLaren & Johnson, 2007). The drastic rise in immigration coupled with fears of terrorist attacks, economic instability and socially constructed notions of *Britishness* have influenced negative attitudes toward African immigrants in the UK (Ibelema, 2014; Andreouli & Howarth, 2013). Furthermore, the ongoing perception of Sub-Saharan Africans and Indians is greatly affected by media representations of these ethnic groups (Ibelema, 2014).

The public perception of immigrants is actualized by the rise of far-right, anti-immigrant political parties in Europe. The attitude of political parties in power is continually interventionist in the case of Sub-Saharan Africa. Dating back to the Berlin Conference in

1885, UK policy, especially in Western Africa, exploited natural resources and divided ethnic groups, setting the foundation for states of perpetual poverty and conflict plagued by West African nations (Humphreys, 2012 & Campbell 2011). Thus, two conflicts emerge within framework of post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa and the UK: one between African immigrants living in the UK and the attitude and the other a foreign policy toward those living in decolonized African states. Most citizens fail to recognize the connections that are widely evident, a long history of dehumanization and exploitation in combination with globalization has driven coerced migration to extremes. There is a potential to discover the connection between reducing cultural violence domestically for the UK and realizing a positive correlation between foreign implication in direct and structural violence driven by the UK and *neocolonial* activities.

2.1.1.1 Historical Film Perspective of the Conflict

In order to discover the direction to proceed in a search for the ideal representation of peace film assessment in the context of immigration in the UK, it is helpful to recognize some of the more revolutionary attempts to address such subject matter. Socio political film has a long history but there are several noteworthy movements and films that are worth discussing briefly in relation to African and British cultural films.

The first Sub-Saharan film to receive international praise made by an African should also be considered one of the first subaltern films. As discussed in Chapter 1, I will consider the term subaltern in the context of the marginalized post-colonial citizen. In this context, the film *Black Girl* (*La Noire de…)* (Sembène, 1966) addresses the experience of the post-colonial subject. The title to the film in French anticipates a more poignant reflection. *La Noire de..*, which means *the black girl of…*, implies a more distinctive translation that would complete the sentence, the black girl of *someone*, a reference to continued subjugation. The film explores the journey of a Senegalese girl who travels from Dakar, Senegal to Antibes,

France to work as a maid and nanny for a wealthy French couple. The story portrays the post-colonial struggle using several narrative devices as well as visual symbols. It is also one of the first films to implicate a reverse *otherness,* turning Eurocentrism around making the Senegalese the individual sympathetic protagonist and the French a societal assembly of faceless others.

The film's director, Ousmane Sembène is widely considered part of a movement developed by Latin Americans Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino called *third cinema.* third cinema, heavily influenced by the writings of Franz Fanon and neocolonial theory, called for the film to be used as a tool to manifest a political revolution (Solanas & Getino 1969). The writers considered 'first cinema' to be the Hollywood film machine that drives commercial film culture of which is an ultimately capitalist system aimed at conformity and maintaining the respect as gatekeepers of social and political norms, in short the enemy of intellectuals and artists. The development of 'second cinema' is largely considered of byproduct of *French New Wave* cinema and the rise of the auteur director. Solanas and Getino considered this a significant movement toward artistic authorship but recognized the limitations imposed by the Hollywood system, whom would eventually assimilate or marginalize, which was indeed correctly predicted—there are little to no artistic freedoms found today as were found in the era of auteur cinema, although serialize television and online streaming are making that a reality once again. Finally, they so-called manifesto concluded that third cinema would be guided by several principals:

> The anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of the Third World and of their equivalents inside the imperialist countries constitutes today the axis of the world revolution. Third cinema is, in our opinion, the cinema that recognises in that struggle the most gigantic cultural, scientific, and artistic manifestation of our time, the great possibility of construction a liberated personality with each people as the starting point – in a word, the decolonisation of culture (Solanas & Getino, 1969; 2).

Solanas and Getino were successful in several attempts at producing films they qualified as third cinema, particularly *Hour of the Furnace* (1970). Certainly Sembène used

cinema to give voice to the subaltern, but his film *Black Girl* (1966) was not explicitly in the framework of third cinema aesthetics according to one academic scrutiny (Penney, 2015). It was however notable for the above-mentioned reasons but failed to sustain a broader film movement among the other more recognizable third cinema films. In fact, for decades, very few films addressed the perspective of the subaltern living in a post-colonizer state. The immigrant perspective was absent in both the high and low art of cinema for decades.

The perennial *Battle of Algiers* (1966) undoubtedly had an impact on the third cinema manifesto but the narrative pertains to colonial relations between France and Algeria. Nonetheless, the film is of extremely relevant significance for its portrayal of equal brutality between opposing ideologies in a conflict, and contemporary significant justifications for torture and changing vocabulary concerning conflict. Much like the US termed torture such as waterboarding as "enhanced interrogation", the film uses similar wording to describe the torture of an Algerian at the hands of the French soldiers. Although several more relevant examples exist in the years between *Black Girl* and contemporary cinema, some of the best representations of high art cinema are found in the many works of Mike Leigh. The writer/director's film *Secrets and Lies* (Leigh, 1996) may be one of the most socially significant films to address race and culture in Europe in several decades. The film is not from the perspective of the subaltern per se but a universal approach to storytelling, which centers on the emotional experience of the characters without a socially explicit agenda. Although the story is essentially a family melodrama, the subtle narrative devices used by Leigh are storytelling at its highest art form. The film, although not the first of its kind, nonetheless signaled an era in which films began to represent the cultural pluralisms of the post-WWII and more importantly for people of color, the post-colonial era.

The films described above are outliers in the cinema world. Although they received international attention as high art films and were honored with awards, they reached a small

portion of audiences globally. Moreover, films like *Hotel Rwanda* (2004) and *The Last King of Scotland* (2006) were part of a movement following the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 that addressed post-colonial struggles, globalization and integration. These films, along with several others to be discussed later, reaffirmed the tribalist narrative of the global South presented by the global North. A notion that third cinema struggled with as its authors formulated a manifesto to combat the dominant narratives of what they called the "System". The films reached a broader audience globally for their brutal depiction of violence and stereotype confirmation. Although the two films mentioned address significant violent conflicts—the Rwandan Genocide in the film *Hotel Rwanda* and the brutal dictatorship of Idi Amin in *The Last King of Scotland*—they perpetuate stereotypes of violence and victimization in Sub-Saharan Africa. The films are not problematic in terms of a broader representation of Africans, but they are not films balanced with a subaltern perspective that would have presented a more holistic perspective of the African. The research done by Innes (2010), of which a media analysis of the UK is done, finds the most threatened ethnic minorities have not only come to be represented as victims but more commonly as threats, mostly from the narratives portrayed by the British media against asylum applicants. Moreover, an ethnographic communications study done by Ibelema (2014) from 2010 to 2012 finds that as a credit to growing globalization the Western media's "tribal fixation" on Africa has diminished in recent years but notions of otherness and brutality in African states remains strong. Much like the opinions expressed throughout this work, the study also notes a lack of contextualization in conflicts. This has been and still is the approach to many films concerning post-colonial Afro-English relations. On the other hand, all too often film narratives centered on the experience of immigrants that reach a global audience tend to subdue some of the more serious problems faced by the marginalized elements of British society.

The unlikely film *Bend it Like Beckham* (2002), which was a success both critically and commercially, enamored audiences and critics with a genre blending comedy that subtly addressed some of the ongoing social issues facing a middle class family of Indian immigrants living in the UK (Box Office Mojo, 2016 & Ebert, 2003). In place of the serious tone that films dealing the issues of globalization and social integration normally contain, *Bend it Like Beckham* uses comedy and sport to engage international audiences with issues of substance. Although film critic A. O. Scott raised an important concern in his review of the film by comparing the film to its predecessors, which includes the comedy Monsoon Wedding (2001), that use a comic appeal but balance a serious tone in narrative arch, inducing not shying away from more controversial content (2003). The use of comedy is an important tool in storytelling, and can be applied to films that form the framework of CTF but it is most powerful when used in accordance with respect to the subject matter.

The films discussed above represent only a portion of a larger selection of films that narrate social issues of globalization, and relations between the UK and the global South in a post-colonial context. The large majority of the films produced in the period discussed, like the docudrama tracking refugee human smuggling from Pakistan to England called *In This World* (2002), the Chinese perspective of immigration represented in *Ghosts* (2006), the sub-continent/British connecting *My Son the Fanatic* (1998) and the Bangladeshi period piece *Brick Lane* (2007), can certainly be considered high art cinema but as such have been largely neglected by the public at large. It is worth considering the efficacy of CTF in terms of both high and low art, and genre base. The case studies discussed later will consider the repercussions of the broad categories of narrative devices and content.

2.1.2 The Power of Negative Media

The complexity of anti-immigrant sentiment, or even ethnic violence, in the UK cannot be attributed to one single aspect of cultural violence. Notwithstanding, immigrant

identity and otherness is often at the heart of cultural violence and is highly influenced and dictated by various sources of media. Thus, media can be considered a major source of cultural violence historically and contemporary. From cinema's begins, most poignantly in the most significant early silent-era film *Birth of a Nation* (1915), used as a recruiting tool for the American racist group the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), to the best example of a modern American propaganda film *American Sniper* (2014) that glorified a 'most deadly sniper in American history' although he was an outright racist and wrote in his memoir he enjoyed killing people, film has been used to legitimize violence, both structural and direct by rewriting historical narratives (Hedges, 2015). But even films from the global North that may be sympathetic to foreigners can contribute to negative perceptions of immigrant populations.

Shaping a holistic picture of minority immigrants in media is not an endeavor that content providers are motivated to participate. Media organizations formulate agendas through the maximization of profits and catering to their target audience. Target audiences are normally made up of the majority of a population that media organizations and advertisers direct content. The simplest example of this is the references made of the UK and American media toward Japanese and Germans during WWII. Propaganda and news media would often refer to the Japanese as *Japs*, using a myriad of racist and dehumanizing references to describe their *enemy*, but the Germans were always referenced in relation to Nazism or Hitler and were condemned for their crimes but not necessarily dehumanized for being German (Riley, 2012). The media and government propaganda followed the sentiment of the larger population that for many reasons determined a differentiation between Germans and Nazis, which can be assumed to be motivated by the overwhelming majority of German-Americans living in the United States compared to the minority Japanese—as the aphorism *he who pays the piper calls the tune* trivializes.

It is useful to see the modern media landscape through the WWII narrative that

distinguished between Nazi and German. The minorities in countries often are subject to unintended outcomes due to representations in film. The two opposing agendas are at odds. From on perspective are the needs of the consuming audience, one that is often pandered with a narrative overwrought with a confirmation bias, hinged on social norms and political identification—if not nationalism. On the other side we find a minority, which often exists as a negative reflection of good, who are not particularly *bad* but rather one-dimensional objects as discussed earlier. In film concerning the African continent they are often represented as a poor African farmer who is victimized by warlords, or in urban America or Europe an untapped prodigy from the inner city—it is also typical for a white American or European to come to alleviate the suffering of these individuals. Realizations of these biases come in the form of many films like *The Constant Gardener* (2005), *Finding Forester* (2000), *Machine Gun Preacher* (2011), *Black Hawk Down* (2001), *The Blind Side* (2009), *The Help* (2011), *The Soloist* (2009), *Mississippi Burning* (1988) and even *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962). Kathleen Fitzgerald and other film critiques call these films "white savior films", ones in which a white person is portrayed as complex protagonist who comes in to save another person "generally one that is poor, troubled, and oppressed" (2014: 364). Scholar Matthew Hughey goes so far as to devote an entire book to the subject, with the title *The White Savior Film: Content, Critics and Consumption* (2014).

What is more, the films that present the alternative, the perspective from the subaltern, often also form a dejected protagonist that can only be empathized through victimization. In this case, the aims of the filmmaker may indeed work against them for long-term outcomes. An alternative could be to formulate narratives that represent both the holistic struggle of the protagonist while adhering to the aspects of storytelling over social agenda. These binary minority representations, representations of either victimization or criminality, have deep and long lasting social implications in Britain.

Otherness in the media cannot be directly linked to the repercussions of the immigrant narrative and cultural violence, but evidence clearly supports a negative, possibly subconscious public discriminatory factor. Data assessed by Brynin (2012) attempts to locate the sources of ethnic pay gaps in Britain. The findings support ethnic differences in wages but locate the source as a lack of access to promotion and higher paying positions. Recognizing that discrimination plays a role, Brynin centralizes discrimination on "occupational closure" and goes on to state that the gap in wages implies a failure in social and economic integration (Brynin, 2012: 575). Discrimination is not an isolated entity but rather a symptom of a broader perception. The role that media, and more specifically narrative film, plays in the real-life narratives in society must be accounted for in discussing the broader implications of perception of social outliers and ethnic minorities. The victimization and negative representations of immigrant classes have correlations to the implications of political and social integration in Britain as shown by the work of Erel (2010), who uses social capitol theory to illustrate the limitations of migrants' agency to self-determinate employment. This is only of course a single selection of breadth of literature and theoretical approaches studied by academics across disciplines to address the issue of immigration in the post-colonial context. The reason Erel is referenced is due to the study's emphasis on culture as one of the driving factors to assess social integration and mobilization.

2.1.3 Criterion and Format of Case Studies

The number of films available for assessment are limited by the choice in theoretically framing the criterion and the conflict in order to develop relevant case studies. Within the already reduced selection of films—films whose narrative subjects involve contemporary Afro-European relations—I have reduced the selection further by considering the films in terms of social impact and theoretical frames. Therefore, the films must contain relevant content, in an explicit way related to my philosophical framework, that addresses, either

directly or indirectly, the social conflict of immigration and identity. Considerations should also include aspects of the physical and post-production of the films: for example, actors, writers and distribution. The distribution is perhaps controversial[13] considering my research aims, but the should viewership should be significantly large in order assess the material using analytical research methods. Finally, the films must contrast each other sufficiently enough to discuss both their content's similarities and differing inferred ideologies in filmic approach.

In terms of content, the films needn't be solely from the perspective of the subaltern, as in *Black Girl* (1966), nor do they need to be what I would consider a *peace film* per se. Furthermore, it should be clear that the case studies are not to be considered the essence of conflict transformation cinema, but rather examples to assess the efficacy of the thesis I have presented. The purpose of the case studies are to address issues of post-colonial Africa and the UK, and the lasting influence of the UK in both regions. The films should contain representations of the subaltern, elites and authorities. In short, the films should attempt to be socially relevant to Afro-British relations. In addition to the broader social themes, the film should center on a specific theme within the broader social problem. The film's social theme would therefore be incorporated to the overall production to provide a story that contains devices that do not distract from the aims of the narrative, including acting performances.

For obvious reasons, the films should not be *white washed*, or be filled with only white actors playing the roles of clearly differing races. The actors should reflect contemporary globalization, which can include an international cast of actors. Notwithstanding, the actors may indeed of the ethnic background differing from the one that they are representing on film. This is a contentious issue in ethnic film discussion within the community of critics and film

[13] This could be considered controversial because by virtue CTF should appeal to high art and thus some difficulties for larger distribution according to historical international reach in independent film, but in order to gage the material's broader social impact, it is advantageous to used more commercially and critically *successful* film examples.

advocates who are currently criticizing the *Hollywood elite*—those representing the top tier of film production and distribution—for using white actors to represent a vastly different ethnic group—Christian Bale portrayed as an ancient Egyptian in *Exodus: Gods and Kings* (2014) for example (Scherker, 2014). The argument for the use of actors with international recognition for leading roles according to Hollywood film executives and elites is one of purely financial reasoning. In defense film studios, directors and producers have continually maintained that without a recognizable name on a film ticket, audiences will not purchase enough tickets to justify the films high production costs—as star actors often make up the majority of many film productions, this argument is a mix of hyperbole and convoluted reasoning creating a closed circle argument of sorts. Anecdotal evidence contradicts these notions, as shown with recent examples like *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015), which featured a female protagonist and an Afro-British actor in a supporting role both of whom had never stared in a major film role; however, the film's success of over 2 billion dollars in ticket sales was mostly due to the quality of the production and franchise recognition (Box Office Mojo, 2016). The French film *Intouchables* (2011) reinforces the point, featuring an Afro-French actor (Omar Sy) with little international fame as the protagonist. The film reached global audiences and became the most successful French language film of all-time, defying the Hollywood model of using name recognition and marketing (Box Office Mojo, 2016). Considering those factors, art is an interpretation, thus manipulation of reality and as such is subject to *creative liberties* that should serve the story not market valued interests. The selected films for analysis will balance the aforementioned factors to in order to justify the use of certain actors and other production or story elements. The choice of actors is an important factor but not exclusive from need to reach a broad audience.

In order to apply specific tools for this broad audience analysis, it is important to have the film reach a large audience. The most easily accessible form to judge film viewership is

by accessing data from organizations that track consumption by dollar values. Using this method provides a fairly accurate picture for developing an estimate for overall audience range. I chose to use the resources available through online services *Box Office Mojo* (2016) and *The Numbers* (2016). Both offer access online and *The Numbers* allows access to more detailed databases for certain films. In some cases, *The Numbers* also offers a more accurate picture of spectatorship by providing DVD sales while *Box Office Mojo* allows users to select country specific information. Other measures certainly exist, the accounting for video piracy, online streaming services and actual tickets sold for example are not accounted in these measures, but pursuing inquiry regarding alternative or in depth analytics would require a methodology or study of its own and financial resources; my interests primarily center on extracting sufficient support that these films reached an audience large enough to measure social impact. The films I measure will share similar elements in audience accessibility but differ significantly enough to draw comparisons.

The primary area of differentiation between the films will be storytelling devices and narrative function. In order to understand the social impact, and thus the potential for conflict transformation, the films should differ in approaches to the same ideal of socially relevant film. It will be important to justify the films selection by the ability to assess if the filmmaker's intent can be validated by critical analysis. It should become evident by the end of the analysis what narrative functions of the films are relevant to my overall thesis.

Film production has moved to a larger extent toward a globalized approach, recognizing not only domestic social issues but also the broader implications of the post-colonial framework, which has shaped our societies in recent years. Considering the rise in socially relevant films, the criterion for selection in my analysis should be centered on the specific interests of my thesis and the factors outlined above. After a careful review of the relevant content in the following sections will be justify the chosen films according to this

framework and discuss the methodological approach to analysis.

2.1.3.1 The Gender Perspective

The value of the post-colonial, peace philosophy and social justice theoretical frameworks should not be discounted but the gender prospective merits additional attention because of the social and academic concerns raised by this area of study. The issues of race and ethnicity will be discussed at length, and the overall scope of this research surrounds the implications of otherness, but what has not been discussed in my research is gender in relation to film. Feminism and gender studies are vast areas of study, and I would first center my understanding of the gender perspective—what it is and what it is not. Secondly, it is important to outline how the gender perspective will be applied with consideration to the films I discuss. Gender theory in film, or feminist film theory, is a well-established area of research (Rosen, 1973: Garcia Landa, 1996: Mulver, 1999) but I will focus my gender perspective with specific understanding of these theories.

The two overarching themes that have remained controversial and dominated much of the discussion regarding the gender perspective, feminism and gender equality, will be avoided altogether in my analysis. Feminism is, generally speaking, a social movement or an ideology. Although I have interest in social movements, feminism has a tendency to be more didactic, opposed to social justice, which is more dialectic. In addition, the drive for equality within the feminist framework is problematic. These notions of equality are removed by the gender definition of Garcia Landa:

> The notion of gender is a convenient theoretical construct: in practice, it is not separable from a consideration of sexual anatomy, official sex, sexual preference, brain sex… Being a complex issue, gender may be experienced and analyzed at several levels of specificity. We could distinguish three aspects of gender: gender identity, or an individual's ascription to a gender; the roles of each gender as defined in a culture; and gender style, the management of identity and roles through significant individual practices (1996: 15).

Furthermore, the notion that gender is holistically socially constructed obstructs further discussion toward conclusions that may alleviate violence. Ignoring the research

findings that indicate significant differences in gender preferences loses sight of the ultimate goal of gender social justice (Croson & Gneezy, 2009). Gender social justice is more accurate wording for the attempts to provide protections and rights regarding self-determination, regardless of gender. The proposed framework of Sorial (2011), applying Habermas' *proceduralist* model of law to feminist by acknowledging sexual difference and conflicting needs and interests, which require focused understand from both men and women, reframes the discourse and reiterates my contention toward a more progressive and open understanding of gender differences. Acknowledging this framework frees the focus not to attempt a movement toward forced equality but rather a socially conscious protection of the most vulnerable and transformation of cultural violence.

Ideologically speaking, the work of Butler (2009, 2012) will guide gender perspectives throughout the film analysis because it best outlines the complications between gender rights, political establishments and immigrations. Just as Butler's work on violence, media and war are poignant and informative her work on feminism is equally relevant to this study. Thus, the following will analyze the depiction and representation of gender norms and how they may perpetuate or disrupt cultural violence. The gender perspective is helpful to see how film may be used to, consciously or subconsciously, reaffirm and justify violence. In a controversial approach, my aim is to analyze the experience of both male and female in relation to gender expectations and norms.

2.1.3.2 Methodological Tools

In principal, a theoretical framework will be used to both justify the film choices and analyze them. Theoretical frames are extremely helpful in this assessment but beyond the use of dialectic debate some more intensive processes are available.

Since film is under the media umbrella, another form of media may be helpful to assess the impact of film on society. Whether social debates are driven or reflected by the

news media is irrelevant, the importance of applying a media analysis resides in the intrinsic power of the media discussed at length throughout this writing. The correlation will be justified by the power film has to force discourse into the news or if the films discourse spreads into the public sphere at a rate of influential significance that would force a public discourse through the news media. As such, the newspaper database Factiva is applied under specific search prerequisites to find a selection of relevant articles. In order to organize the newspaper articles the tool Nvivo is used to code and visualize the qualitative findings. Nvivo is a powerful tool that can be used to tag information within documents to correlate language key words and draw qualitative conclusions from quantitative data.

For each film discussed there are socially relevant information within the film. In the following I will outline the tags and distinctions regarding the specific use of Nvivo. It is important to recognize that my position is not that ultimate relationships can be drawn between films and public discourse through tools like Nvivo, but it can be used in conjunction with other analysis to support and assess my conclusions.

2.1.4 The Film *Blood Diamond* as a Case Study

Ostensibly, the film *Blood Diamond* (Zwick, 2007) is a socially conscious film. The uses a direct approach to address the issue of conflict diamonds and as a byproduct of sub-plot, presents an opportunity for discourse into the broader implications of British influence the post-colonial states of Sub-Saharan Africa. The film also allows for discourses on child soldiers and various levels of exploitation in Sierra Leone during the Sierra Leone Civil War. Although those social and political issues are appealing, the film is a relevant example of *high art* and *low art* combined. Although the film is essentially an action genre film with hints of socio-political discourse, it nonetheless received five nominations from the Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences Awards or *Oscars* in 2006, which are the most prestigious international film awards (Box Office Mojo, 2016). The combination of high and low art will

be discussed at length in Chapter 3 but the violence depicted throughout the film with minimal sensitivity and high exploitation would appear to negate the rational to apply this film to my theoretical framework. However, I will form a justification to analyze this film in the context of what a CTF could be, not what it is.

2.1.4.1 Justification for Blood Diamond

In essence, *Blood Diamond* (2007) introduced a significant number of societies in the global North to the issue of conflict diamonds. For this film, I give priority to this notion of significant awareness and social change. I chose to use this film because it carries a measurable impact to position myself in the discourse of film as a tool for conflict transformation. The film gives rise to a relative conative dissonance for a social scientist: it directly and effectively addresses public discourse on a relevant issue, while at the same time alienating and marginalizing the subaltern protagonist depicted in the film.

Although the primary use of this film is to analyze the rise and reference of nomenclature in relation to the film's release, the secondary format for analysis is based in the films relation to my theoretical framework. Furthermore, the film provides a resonance for the social ramifications of globalization, Afro-European relations and post-colonialism.

2.1.4.1.1 What is a *blood diamond?*

War always results a deep human cost, but in order to perpetuate the destructiveness of war, financial means must be met. A simplistic statement indeed, but it reveals the ineptitude of conflict analysis to objectively approach a conflict. Along with notions of *jus bellum iustum* (just war), approaching who provides the funding for a conflict with a determination to distinguish a separation between good and bad is inherently convoluted. It can be further noted that the greatest proliferators of arms trading are perpetuated by the US and their allies. The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sudan and Nigerian Boko Haram soldiers are not

producing weapon that fuel conflict domestically. The benefits of arms sales are received in large part to the nations that victims of conflict have consistently fled to over the years since WWII—a profuse irony for those against refugee immigration. Thus, it should be well-established from a peace perspective that funding of conflicts can be negated by peaceful means, such as boycott, strikes and divestments as discussed in Chapter I regarding socialist peace movements prior to WWI.

In the Sub-Saharan African context, a primary example of the convolution of what exactly are conflict goods and who benefits from them can be seen through the lens of the Biafra War. This conflict was controlled in favor of those who controlled the country's oil production, and it should be noted that despite gross atrocities conducted on the part of the American and British supported Nigerian government against Biafra civilians, there was no movement to boycott or regulate Royal Dutch Shell whom owned the majority of the stake in oil production (Campbell, 2011). Nonetheless, the discussion of conflict diamonds in the particular case of funding the conflict in Sierra Leone, depicted in *Blood Diamond*, is an important discourse.

According to the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC) the majority of the various atrocities (including maiming, rape and murder) during the Sierra Leone Civil War (1991-1999) were attributed to the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) who funded their army primarily through the sale of illegally traded diamonds (Bah, 2013: 3: Rodgers, 2006: 268). Although it was not until after the unstable peace agreement that officially closed the decade-long conflict that the terms *conflict diamond* and *blood diamond* were introduced (Rodgers, 2006: 269). The intent is not to over-simplify the Sierra Leone Civil War; it involved influences ranging from a neglected refugee population on the border with Liberia and arms support for Charles Taylor flooding into the region by way of Muammar Gaddafi's Libyan government. One cannot holistically blame the illicit diamond trade for the violence in Sierra

Leone, as a well-known study by Partnership Africa Canada (PAC) concluded (2000). As indicated, the situation was complicated by post-Cold War agendas in Africa. Primarily, the global North's desire to control the resources of Western Africa and Africa's most prominent strongman Gaddafi. Gregory Alonso—who spoke with once Liberian president and war crimes convicted by International Criminal Court (ICC) mass-murderer Taylor regularly during the Sierra Leone Civil War—concludes that Gaddafi desired to exert his presence in Africa, and trained and funded RUF leader Foday Sankoh and Taylor to realize his aims (2012). Considering the evidence above, which is well known, it would be a misnomer to assign blood diamonds the primary source of RUF funding and assume by outlawing them the war would have come to an early close. Therefore, it is imperative to consider peace film in terms of the broader consequences of isolating accountability. This point should be considered heavily in the analysis phase in Chapter 3, following which it would be determined the viability of focusing on a selected portion of a conflict versus the deflection of a core issue.

2.1.4.1.2 International Reach

As noted earlier the film *Blood Diamond* addresses the theme of globalization with a complex interweaving plot, but in addition, the film reached an international audience. According to *The Numbers* (2016), the film earned a global theater sales total of over $171 million in ticket sales and over $62 million in DVD sales in the US. As postured earlier, complex estimations to conclude audience estimates for each particular film is not my aim, rather minimum accumulation ticket sales are sufficient for the purposes of my research. Considering this limitation, the film surpassed a mark of $100 million in ticket sales globally and over $15 million in the UK, which I find to be a sufficiently broad audience reach for analyses (Box Office Mojo 2016). Furthermore, considerations for demographics and factors other than raw sales will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1.4.2 Data Methodology for Blood Diamond

In addition to the theoretical analysis that follows, several qualitative steps have been made to assess the film *Blood Diamond* in terms of social impact. As noted earlier, media is the entry point for qualitative data. The best tool available for the constraints of this study is the newspaper database Factiva.

Using the keyword newspaper searches found through Factiva, I collected articles from English language papers searching for 'blood diamond'. In order to preemptively limit the number of results, the search was limited to the UK and countries with deep ethnic sympathies and political connection to the UK—including Ireland, Channel Islands, Isle of Man, Malta and Gibraltar. The first date range was reduced to the years from *2000* to *2005*—the years before the *Blood Diamond* motion picture was released—and the keyword search also included the word *conflict diamond*.

The first search picked up over five hundred hits. In order to reduce the number, the result was reduced according to news sources, favoring newspapers with larger circulations an omitting those that are not focused directly on the discourse of the UK. As such, the newspapers of relevance were reduced to *The Times (UK)*, to provide a conservative perspective, and *The Guardian (UK)*, which is recognized as a more liberal newspaper. This result yielded a total of eight articles, of which were reduced to four relevant articles that directly addressed the subject matter. The next search contained the date ranges between 2006 and 2008, the period just previous and following the release of the film *Blood Diamond*. The results were drastically different from the years of 2000-2005, resulting in 133 articles with these keywords in the same newspapers. Indeed, the bulk of the articles increase was due to the commercial success of the film and the film's lead protagonist played by internationally known actor Leonardo DiCaprio. Because this section of the qualitative study is focused on content within the media discourse not analysis of the film per se, direct reviews or articles

focusing solely on film analysis will be excluded. After reviewing pertinent articles, twenty-two articles were found to be suitable for further analysis using Nvivo.

The evaluation is based on nomenclature in relation to the films subjects with Nvivo because it goes beyond the data that could show a correlation between the film's release the influence on media references to blood diamonds. Since there is a positive correlation between the references to *blood diamond, conflict mineral,* or *conflict diamond* and the film's release it will be discussed in further analysis in the theoretical section of Chapter 3. Interestingly, the word conflict mineral failed to yield any results as this vocabulary rose after conflicts in DRC and other areas in the region experienced a rise in similarly funded conflicts in the years after 2008. However, the coding in Nvivo will use a different approach to visualize the selected news articles.

In order to visualize data in Nvivo several *nodes* must first be created. Nvivo uses the word 'Node' to describe keywords that can be used to indicate references within the text, which can be highlighted within Nvivo. The newspaper articles loaded into Nvivo are coded with several nodes that relate to my principle conflict of subaltern/post-colonial relations. In essence, the nodes that correlate to the references of Africans in *positive, negative* or *neutral* tones were coded and distinguished by the period before or after the release of the *Blood Diamond* film.

This portion outlines the qualitative portion of my case study. In order to tag an article with a positive node, the paper must allude to Africans using indications of self-determination. If the reference is negative it will contain allusions to Africans as violent, poor or uneducated. In order for the reference to be tagged with a neutral node, Africans would have to be referenced but in an allusion that is indistinguishably negative or positive—there should be neither reference to violence perpetrated by Africans nor allusions to self-determination. These references will directly relate to the secondary nodes.

The primary nodes are used to indicate the references to Africans, while the secondary will be used to annotate references to the global North, including enterprise and finally a relationship to blood or conflict diamonds themselves. These nodes will indicate *assumed responsibility, unaccountability* or *neutrality*. The assumed responsibility tag should highlight text that shows references any country in the global North or its enterprises as assuming accountability for the repercussions of blood diamonds or conflict diamonds. Conversely, the tag of unaccountability will draw no correlations between the aforementioned words relating to blood diamonds and the global North or its enterprises accountability for violence or conflict. The neutral tag will indicate either inconclusive allusions or non-existence of allusion to accountability. The primary and secondary nodes should formulate a visual correlation.

My hypothesis is that following the release of the film, a correlation between the film's release and the amount of accountability for conflict diamonds will rise, while the references toward Africans will remain the unchanged. It is also possible that there is a rise in references toward African victimization, which would fall under the node of negative references.

2.1.4.3 Theoretical Methods for Blood Diamond

In order to achieve a deeper, more holistic analysis, I used the theoretical framework and contemporary measurements of social behavioral change through media to address the aspects of *Blood Diamond* that conform to the concepts of CTF discussed in Chapter 1. The analysis spans over three levels assessment: the emotional reach of the film, to what extent does the film achieve elements that form a mythological framework; the philosophical approach, to which ways does the film contain elements of elicitive conflict transformation and the many peaces framework; the film theory approach, how are the aesthetic aspects of the film used to appeal to the unconscious mind discussed in Chapter 1? The theoretical

analysis also includes the perspectives of White's (2014) social action campaign assessments. Together, the theoretical approach to *Blood Diamond* applies the lens of elicitive CTF the social implications of the narrative devices, discussed from both a theoretical perspective with 'real world' consequences.

In addition, *The Hero of a Thousand Faces* (2004) storytelling framework is utilized to compare to the narrative of *Blood Diamond* to the mythical storytelling devices discussed in Campbell's book. I will seek to position the film in comparison to a mythological narrative and judge how successfully the film appeals to the audience's emotional subconscious. Furthermore, making an evaluation of the films overall success, critically and financially, based on the mythological framework will give a real world perspective to the theoretical aspects. The mythological framework, as made clear earlier, should work in unison with the elicitive conflict transformation, as defined earlier.

In terms of the philosophy for peace, using the framework of Lederach and Dietrich, Chapter 3 assesses film as a tool for elicitive conflict transformation. The evaluation applies peace philosophies within the context of the larger social conflict presented in the film. In this context, the film is evaluated by unintended consequences from the perspective of the social issued it attempted to address. As the analysis becomes more critical of the filmmaking aesthetics itself, focus is shifted to the film critique approach.

Using the work of Sontag (2003) to position myself morally, a range of film theorists are applied to approach the work of filmmaking in the context of proliferation of violence. In addition to the theoretical base, the work of the most relevant and contemporary research approaches to social change and media are used in an attempt to uncover correlations between their work and *Blood Diamond*. As mentioned several times, the physical production aspects also play a role in assessment and are addressed within the above-mentioned frames. Finally, the gender perspective outlined earlier is considered in the final analysis of the film, including

considerations for subaltern theory as it relates to filmmaking and some broader concepts of social theory.

The incorporation of theory, supported by a minimal approach of data analysis could provide support or weaken my approach to filmmaking as at tool for elicitive conflict transformation. Although, the investigation of *Blood Diamond* (2007) will give a solid counter balance for the second film I will use to frame my argument.

2.1.5 The Film *Dirty Pretty Things* as a Case Study

The film *Dirty Pretty Things* (2002) was released during a subtly significant period of filmmaking, and a year of particularly exceptional filmmaking. The film was part of a movement in cinema that marked a renewed social awareness for marginalized individuals in society. Three extremely well received and award-winning pictures of 2002 overshadowed the relatively small production of *Dirty Pretty Things*: *Gangs of New York* (2002), *The Pianist* (2002), and *Road to Perdition* (2002) were all glossy films, staring well-respected actors and directors, produced with awards in mind. In addition, several very important socially conscious films where released that year: *Whale Rider* (2002), *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002), *City of God* (2002) and *Real Women Have Curves* (2002) performed moderately at the box office but reached a cult audience and critics while addressing a range of social issues from racism and identity to poverty and violence, which showed not only the potential for high art and globalization to work in unison raising awareness toward social issues, but also expressed the large potential for diversity in global cinema. In the same year, the most successful documentary of all time and arguably the most socially effective documentary of all time, *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), signaled a new era for documentary filmmaking in art and as a potentially lucrative genre in filmmaking. This movement toward socially conscious, diverse film in the early 2000's slowed significantly with direct relationship to the financial crisis in 2007. The social films of 2002 mentioned above were all produced outside the US,

and as such reliant often on state funding conglomerates, opposed to the Hollywood system financed by large studios. European government film subsidies for instance were cut by as much as 20% in Spain (Adler, 2010). After this time, fewer international art films were recognized with awards or box office success; mostly being replaced by the lurid range of superhero films and so-called *reboots* of old action franchises seemingly produced with unending fervor. Larger studios like Marvel Studios, owned by Walt Disney Pictures, notably took advantage to increase their market share of global films beginning with the production of *Iron Man* (2008), creating a so-called 'Marvel universe' dominating global box offices ever since. It is important to consider social film in this economic context in order to understand the momentum of film movements and their relation to political pressures. *Dirty Pretty Things* was selected considering the political and social environment of Europe during this period, although other films may have held more social significance. As discussed earlier, the film *Dirty Pretty Things* was chosen for the manner that it addresses the social issue of integration. In addition, unlike the film *Bend It Like Beckham*, the film takes on the issue with a serious tone, conveying the trauma and the impossibilities in everyday life of marginalized immigrants in England. It is not in absolute terms that comedy is of limited importance, but in the context discussed earlier and in the context of Chapter one's discussion of violence in film. The film also adheres to a specific measurable theme.

The analysis of this film is weighted with more consideration for the theoretical framework than the data use of Nvivo. The methodology of Nvivo will indeed remain similar to that of *Blood Diamond*, although I predict the results to be less conclusive because the specific issue addressed was not as broadly relevant as that of diamond sales, but the tool will nonetheless be helpful to support my broader intentions.

2.1.5.1 Justification for Dirty Pretty Things

Dirty Pretty Things addresses the broad issues of immigration and globalization but,

among various other themes throughout the film, it connects the concerns with the specific crime of human organ trafficking. It is helpful to see this issue through the framing presented by Stein (2010) in her analysis of *Dirty Pretty Things* from an Environmental Justice (EJ) and biocolonialism perspective. The term *EJ* is indeed rooted in social justice themes, but EJ is specifically aimed at reducing the exploitation of people of color as tools to test "experimental reproductive and medical procedures and vaccinations" (Stein, 2010: 101). Biocolonialism refers to a similar exploitation but adapts the word to a new form of colonization, which commoditizes the bodies of the developing world for use in the wealthier (often white) global north (Stein, 2010: 102). Thus, Stein's analysis is a solid foundation to begin analysis of the film, which also supports the justification for the use of data assessment.

The use of Nvivo is supported in this case by Stein's framework because of the availability in keyword search through Factiva. The theme of human organ trafficking is a central part of the story in Dirty Pretty Things and will allow for a measurement of social discourse. But the film also complies with the other prerequisites of high audience reach and thematic approach. Furthermore, the film will be analyzed through the previously discussed film theory frames in relation to its adherence to physical and thematic production approaches and narrative.

The broader themes of *Blood Diamond* pervade *Dirty Pretty Things* but instead of being based in a conflict zone in Western Africa, the film takes place in London, dealing with the experience of trauma-affected immigrants. Both protagonists are fleeing violence in their home country, one from Nigeria and the other from Turkey only to find other forms of violence in England. This film more directly addresses the experience of immigrants but it also contains elements of both globalization and post-colonialism. Most importantly, the film is from the subject of subaltern, highly emphasized throughout this work. Although it is not directly addressed in the film, the historical impact of colonialism is felt by the Nigerian

immigrant and will be discussed in the analysis section of Chapter 3. Aside from thematic rationale, the film also meets several other markers of adequate levels for further assessment as a conflict transformation film.

2.1.5.2 Global Audience Reach

By my estimation the limited theatrical success of *Dirty Pretty Things* (2002) was affected by a saturation of high quality, socially relevant films released in 2002. The Numbers (2016) registers over $14 million in global ticket sales for the film, while the numbers for DVD sales and digital downloads is not available without specialized solicitation from The Numbers. Although the sales numbers are not as significant as those of *Blood Diamond* (2007), the film is more specialized with factors that I will discuss later and thus can justified to be discussed at length. The limited success of films in this genre makes it difficult to locate a social film that also has high audience reach. With those considerations, the sales numbers are relatively significant for a socially relevant film.

In the context of other films addressing the content in these films, none of the films discussed in the beginning of this chapter (*Secrets & Lies, Others, Brick Lane, My Son the Fanatic, In This World*) reached as high a level of success as *Dirty Pretty Things* (Box Office Mojo 2016). Certainly *Bend it Like Beckham* and of course *Monsoon Wedding* both performed better than *Dirty Pretty Things* but for reasons discussed earlier are inappropriate examples. Indeed, the more socially significant and specialized the film content becomes the problems to penetrate the 'system', addressed by Solanas and Getino (1969) begin to emerge. However, relatively lower ticket sales should be considered with the caveat of a low budget and many international accolades (IMDB, 2016).

Although the film did not win the most prestigious awards in international film, it did prove to be recognized for several areas of production. The lead protagonist, played by Chiwetel Ejiofor (notably of Nigerian decent himself) was recognized by several film awards,

including the British Independent Film Awards[14]. Screenwriter Steven Knight was nominated for both the most prestigious awards in the US, the Academy Awards, and the UK, the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) Awards, for his original screenplay writing (Box Office Mojo, 2016). Finally, the film's director, Stephen Frears, was nominated and won awards for his work by institutional awards around the world.

2.1.5.3 Data Methodology for Dirty Pretty Things

The data methodology for Dirty Pretty Things does not alter much from that used for *Blood Diamond*. Searching using Factiva, the same limitations where applied to the region of the search and the sources were limited to *The Guardian* and *The Times* as in the first search. In an attempt to repeat the process of the first case study, articles that pertain to the three social issues presented in *Dirty Pretty Things*: illegal immigration, refugee exploitation and organ trafficking were searched using similar date ranges as those of *Blood Diamond*, in relation to the film's release date, so the first search was focused on the years between 1997 and 2002, and the second from 2003 until 2005. The search with concerning organ trafficking yielded only one article from the either paper in range between 1997 and 2002 and from 2003 until 2005 achieved similar results. A search for 'illegal immigration' however yielded over 140 articles from each publication from 1997 to 2002. In order to limit the article base, the terms 'refugee' along with 'illegal immigration' and uncovered relevant material adding the words 'African' or 'Nigerian' or 'London'. This limited the results to seventy articles from *The Guardian* and *The Times*. A similar approach was used for the other date range. In total thirty-seven articles were selected from all date ranges and keywords to be assessed using Nvivo.

After reviewing articles that adhered to my scope, I loaded the remaining thirty-seven

[14] Although Ejiofor was a relatively unknown actor in 2002 was but later nominated Best Actor by the Academy Awards in the US and was awarded Best Leading Actor from the BAFTA Awards in the UK for his work in the film *12 Years a Slave* (2012).

into Nvivo to begin coding with nodes and visualizing the data. I separated the articles that contained each keyword and created nodes similar from my *Blood Diamond* (2007) study: *positive, negative* or *neutral.*

The immediate limitations that will be discussed in Chapter 3 pertain to the lack of interest in the issue of organ trade or trafficking and the disconnection between the film's impact in the general social atmosphere compared to *Blood Diamond.* Nonetheless, the assessment of articles can still provide a window into the social climate of London during the period of the film's release.

2.1.5.4 Theoretical Approach for Dirty Pretty Things

My theoretical approach to *Dirty Pretty Things* altered somewhat from my analysis of *Blood Diamond*. The broader framework of mythological analysis, many peaces perspective and film theory critique all remained, while I emphasized the impact of physical production as a position that positively affects the other factors of the films performance as conflict transformation cinema. In the case of *Dirty Pretty Things* (2002), the physical production transcends and compliments the other aspects of the film.

By examining the choice of actor, in contrast to those in *Blood Diamond* (2007), filming locations and other aesthetics, I found varying levels of legitimacy in the storytelling. I evaluated the cast as interlocutor for subaltern representations—how authentically are they represented in reality and film narrative? The stage is an illusion and therefore the consequence of actor origins should be limited but as discussed earlier the actors transcend film themes and creative aims. In addition, I positioned myself with the theory: *between story and reality,* discussed in Chapter 1. I used this framing to approach the filmmaking style and story structure of the film in terms of mythological narrative and emotional appeal.

I used a combination of the work of Campbell (2008) and Jung (Hunt, 2012: 84) to respond to the film's content with an approach that considers both spiritual and scientific

influences. The Jungian archetypes and Campbell's storytelling myth framework are used to connect the ideas of Dietrich's *many peaces* to film's ability to influence conflict transformation. I used this framework to evaluate the film's story structure and its ability to function in a conflict transformation context. Ultimately, the value is placed on the degree in which the film is able to appeal to the audiences' emotions that value is supported by the above mentioned works.

The application of a mixed analysis of emotional appeal, mythical storytelling and post-colonial theories combine works of relevant film theoretical approaches to *Dirty Pretty Things*. Film theory that approaches trauma in film (Narine, 2010, Benziman, 2014), post-colonial analysis (Thorner, 2007, Stein, 2010), and psychology and cinema (Zumalde-Arregi, 2011, Mulvey, 1999, White, 2014, Sontag, 2003) were used to situate *Dirty Pretty Things* within the social conflict narrative. For insight, I scrutinized the films aesthetic motifs, character development and spectator relationship. The application of these tools provides a holistic context of the film in relation to the broader conflict.

The additional use of a gender perspective is more relevant for *Dirty Pretty Things* because of the films content. As such, more consideration for the aspects of gender representations is applied to the film in comparison to *Blood Diamond*. *Dirty Pretty Things* can be considered a more apt case for CTF so the emphasis on high art is a bit more prominent. The textual analysis will be discussed further in Chapter 3 in relation to the film's content and aesthetics but this portion is used to outline the material and theories behind my findings.

2.2 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the criterion, background and methodologies used to discuss and analyze the films *Blood Diamond* and *Dirty Pretty Things* as case studies for conflict transformation cinema. The theoretical and historical background presented in this chapter

will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, but the information used in Chapter 2 reflects the framing of the conflict and the two films.

There are explicit connections between the two films and post-colonial immigration in the UK that will provide the opportunity for a more in depth discussion in what follows. By separating the operating procedure and distinctions of my case studies the following chapter will be spent discussing the relevance of the case studies to conflict transformation and the qualitative data findings. Furthermore, the theoretical framework outlined in this chapter is a definitive context to begin the presentation of my analysis of the case studies.

The material presented in this chapter presents a detailed justification for the use of these particular films as case studies, but because of the limitations of this study the case study is the beginning of a deeper investigation; thus, the films are not the ideal approach to film as a tool for conflict transformation. Furthermore, methodologies used to ascertain the social implication of narrative cinema that engages with a conflict are limited. The current methodologies will be discussed further in Chapter 3 but apply techniques that differ greatly from my approach. My goal is to view the broader connections between the theories I discuss and draw conclusions based on social data measurement.

Chapter 3 : Results, Discussion and Analysis

It would not be too much to say that myth is the secret opening through which the inexhaustible energies of the cosmos pour into human cultural manifestation. –Joseph Campbell

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will continue the foundation presented in Chapter 2 by assessing and analyzing the two case study films in order find a more concrete framework of potential in conflict transformation film. While the data findings are qualitative assessments, they provide important points of references and an ambitious methodology of which few studies have undergone. Furthermore, the theoretical frames represent the transdisciplinary nature of the study that mixed peace theory with media theory, with an emphasis on cognitive media theory. Because this is the first work which attempts to bring together a film assessment of conflict transformation the theoretical frames are largely relied on my moderately related fields of study for lack of more relevant literature available.

3.1.1 A Foreword on Analysis

Before beginning the analysis section of this chapter, a section will be devoted to the work of Campbell, particularly the book *Hero of a Thousand Faces.* In order to convey the importance of myth and the psychological connection to storytelling narratives, the following will outline Campbell's analysis of historic myths. It will also briefly address the rationale for Campbell's regard for myth as a connective force for human experience sharing across cultures.

3.1.2 The Hero's Journey

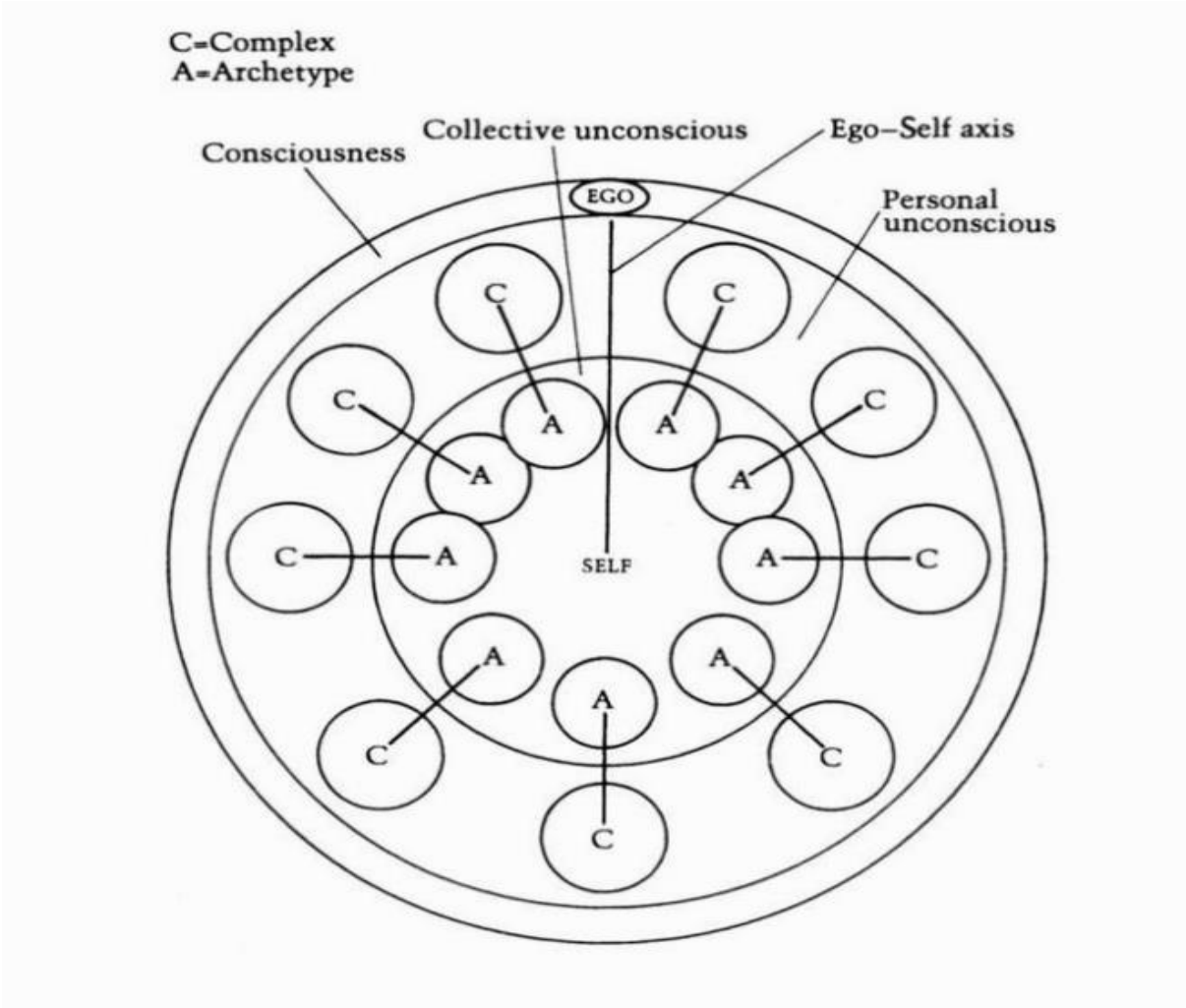
In order to frame *Hero of a Thousand Faces* outside a purely theoretically based justification, it should be first revisited by the most current literature on the subject before explained in a filmic context. Campbell's influences are expansive but can be traced to both phenomenology, or put simply the study of consciousness from the first person point of view (Stanford, 2003), and collective unconscious narratives.

As noted, it is hard to imagine Jung's collective unconscious without the work of Nietzsche or to elaborate further, Nietzsche without Fyodor Dostoevsky, and similarly, it is difficult to image—if not impossible—Campbell without Jung and Freud. It is this very type of refinement of ideas that can reduce knowledge and influence into a repetitious synthesis that actually perpetuates notions of collective unconscious. Nonetheless, in order to avoid a phenomenological deviation, the focus will remain on the relationship between Campbell and Jung.

Because of some of the flawed approaches to mythical narrative, described in relation to Dietrich in Chapter 1, the collective unconscious has been associated with mysticism and new age spirituality although its study still holds resonance within the scientific community—albeit indirectly. Both Adamski (2011) and Hunt (2012) attempt to bridge the notion of the collective unconscious and archetypes to modern science but the arguments appear flimsy. Nonetheless, neuroscientists Giulio Tononi and Christof Koch proposed an Integration Information Theory (IIT) in 2004 and have continued their work in the field since (Azarain, 2015). IIT attempts to physically explain consciousness through measured calculation but unfortunately fall well short of explaining the phenomena of consciousness as a whole. What is clear, because Jung's theories have failed to adhere to the 20th century's rigid scientific structural approach of falsifiability, the archetypes have been deeply marginalized. The structuralist and constructionist approach would suggest that the world is made of objects, and

as Peterson (2013) suggests, this philosophy has dominated science for the last four hundred years but argues the world is actually made of potential. In this case, Jung's ideas become incompatible with the structuralist worldview. As noted above, the science of the last fifty years has begun to unravel this dominate scientific thinking but because it cannot account for experiences of consciousness, theories such as Jung's are predominantly marginalized, although they are largely the core of much of modern clinical psychology and philosophy. Regardless of the scientific debates, Campbell develops a strong case of Jungian archetype (*see* Figure 3-1) in historical myths and their resonance in modern society.

Figure 3-1. Schematic diagram of Jung's model of the psyche[15]



Although Campbell blends mythic stories with Jungian notes on patient dream and Jung and

[15] *Note*. Reprinted from *Jung: A Very Short Introduction* (1994) (p. 128), Stevens, Anthony, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Freud's research as a whole, the focus of Campbell's work as it relates to CTF and the following film analysis is the outlining of the classical mythic structure—or what Campbell calls the 'monomyth' (Campbell, 2004: 28). Campbell also uses the labels of archetypes to formulate his analysis of the classic myth. Because this will not be a longer form literature review, the focus will be limited to universality of storytelling.

The essence of the monomyth is reduced to a triangulated description of narrative events. Campbell begins with the 'hero' as the focal point for mythical story but it should be first stated how the classical archetypes[16] function in a life cycle.

Jung depicts the archetypal modes of experience as different states in the individual's lifecycle. Because Jung rejected the notion of the tabula rasa, he argued that humans all have archetypes events, figures and motifs we experience. In the beginning of the adult period, Stevens notes Jung's thought on maturation:

> Maturation is to be conceived, therefore, as proceeding through an innate sequence of archetypal expectations, namely, that the environment will provide the following: sufficient nourishment, warmth, and protection from predators and enemies to guarantee physical survival; a family consisting of mother, father, and peers; sufficient space for exploration and play; a community to supply language, myth, religion, ritual, values, stories, initiation, and, eventually, a mate; and an economic role and/or vocational status (Stevens, 1994: 182).

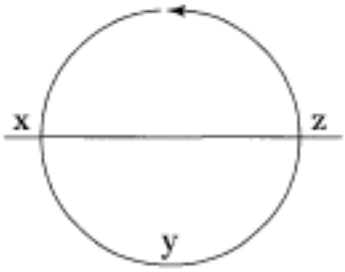
Each archetypes represents not only an unconscious human emotional state but also representations in a story according to Campbell's work. Furthermore, Campbell is quick to note that Jung never claimed to invent the archetypal theory of the unconscious (2004: 16). Because many of these concepts are rooted in the study of dreams presented by Jung and Freud, Campbell describes the archetype of dreams in relation to a larger symbolic imagery of human experience. He also notes a clear distinction between the archetypal images found in dreams and those in myths, "dream is the personalized myth, myth the depersonalized dream; both myth and dream are symbolic in the same general way of the dynamics of the psyche" (Campbell, 2004: 18). Meaning the dream of the individual may occur in relation to

[16] For definition and further explanation of archetypes see Chapter I and the book by Stevens, Anthony's *Jung: A very short introduction*.

unconscious thought and repetitious emotion but it is specialized to the thoughts of the individual, while myth is a universal unconsciousness for all humans. Because life is experienced from the individual perspective, myths begin at the perspective of the '.

Myth provides a hero from whom the individual reflects his own lessons, conflicts and validations. Thus, the basis of Campbell's monomyth is a formula of rites of passage indicated by *separation, initiation and return*. Much like the archetypal principals presented by Jung, Campbell suggests a visual cyclical pattern dependent on exterior forces hero' (*see* Figure 3-2).

Figure 3-2. Hero Rites of Passage Monomyth[17]



A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man.

Compare this cycle with the one of maturation above and the pattern of universality of experience is easily detected. What occurs clearly in both cycles is necessity of conflict as a driving force. Several recent studies in neuroscience, including those by Carrasco et al. (2009), confirm that human attention is limited, especially visual attention, and conflict is something that makes a priority in our consciousness—something that will be discussed later in relation to film. Campbell is one of many writers that connects this mythical story to that of the Buddha, among many other myths, but it also relates to the Daoist balance of order and chaos. In his archetypal understanding of the hero, often the starting point of myths is harmony or peace, but it is conflict and forces the hero from the stable world into chaos in

[17] Note. Reprinted from The Hero of A Thousand Faces (2004) (p. 28) Campbell, Joseph, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

order to once again bring balance to existence. As Campbell meticulously outlines the single adventure "of a number of the world's symbolic carries of the destiny of Everyman" he organizes each phase in distinctive categories and subcategories (Campbell, 2004: 33-34). In the first stage, separation or departure, is the point that the ordinary world is invaded by chaos, which includes the subsections: "The Call to Adventure, Refusal of the Call, Supernatural Aid, The Crossing of the first Threshold, and The Belly of the Whale" (Campbell, 2004: 34). The second stage, trials and victories of initiation includes: "The Road of Trials, The Meeting with the Goddess, Woman as the Temptress, Atonement with the Father, Apotheosis and The Ultimate Boon" (Campbell, 2004: 34). After the final test, of which the hero receives the "ultimate boon" he or she is faced with a range of possible outcomes that Campbell addresses as, "Refusal of the Return, The Magic of Flight, Rescue from Without, The Crossing of the Return Threshold, Master of the Two Worlds and Freedom to Live" (Campbell, 2004: 35). *A Hero of a Thousand Faces* diligently outlines the historic narrative representations and the emotion binding of each stage of the hero. For Campbell, myth was not something that merely reflected human questions of existence, meaning, morality and connectivity but a transcendent tool of human learning. Addressing the questions about how to interpret myth and for whom myth is written he writes:

> For when scrutinized in terms not of what it is but how it functions, of how it has served mankind in the past, of how it may serve today, mythology shows itself to be as amenable as life itself to the obsessions and requirements of the individual, the race, the age (Campbell, 2004: 354).

But it is some of this moral guidance that Campbell suggests had been marginalized by modern societies. The same warning given by Nietzsche's Zarathustra in his much misunderstood "Dead are all the gods" moment (Nietzsche, 2008). Similarly, Dostoevsky wrote, "If there's no God and no life beyond the grave, doesn't it mean that men will be allowed to do whatever they want?" in *The Brothers Karamazov* (2003: 1,263). Both quotes question the direction of the 20th century that would follow as science began permeate society, they question became: what will keep humans morally bound? In a small regard this is what

Campbell was emphasizing but the application of Campbell's work and mythic narrative in general can be felt more deeply in the formation of visual narrative of film than in the written word.

In another turn in the adaptation of old ideas into more simplified digestible material, writer Christopher Vogler's *The Writer's Journey: Mythic Structure for Writers* creates a format for writers and screenwriters to adapt a mythic structure to their stories. The language is altered but the structure remains the same. The format will be used later in the assessment of the film narrative of *Blood Diamond* and *Dirty Pretty Things* in order to analyze the film's unconscious appeal.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the audiovisual motifs that appeal to the unconscious mind are a portion of potential that can be achieved through film. These storytelling techniques are repeated habitually by filmmakers and can be traced to Campbell's descriptions if not in origin, like the film *Star Wars*, as has been stated by the films writer George Lucas (Seastrom, 2015), then in description. It is not to suggest that a mythic structure makes for superior storytelling nor that the structure would produce a more powerful motivation for altering spectator perspective, but the mythic structure of narrative in film is an important element in the other subconscious emotional triggers that are supported by the conclusions of philosophers, clinicians and scientist with evidence to this effect throughout this text. Jungian archetypes are the personality traits—ego, persona, shadow—that are represented in myth to reflect what is actually inside every human. Much like the advertising techniques of public relations guru Edward Berneys, instead of an evolution of consumerism and shopping, this element in filmmaking is the ideal neglected by Solanas and Getino, one that could promote micro-revolutions of cultural peace if properly used.

3.1.3 Scientific Application of Theorists

The current state of the psychological power of cinema to increase social awareness

and drive social justice has been led by several scientific organizations and workgroups uncovering some interesting revelations and confirmations. Although many of these groups focus on non-fiction documentary films, the last decade has elevated the standard for which films are measured as social action pieces, as Portello (2014) writes, measures now span over several "arenas" such as "public awareness, capacity building, and corporate, political or behavioral change". Other organizations like the Fledgling Fund, which supports social change through documentary filmmaking, analysis the effectiveness of films from an exponential vision called "Dimensions of Impact" that begins with a *compelling story* (first ring), which raises *awareness* (second ring) then *engagement* (third ring) produces a *stronger movement* (forth ring), and finally will raise *social change* (fifth ring) influenced by individual viewership as a movement (The Fledgling Fund, 2016). The Fledgling Fund is just one of many institutions, including the Center for Social Media, Media Impact Funders, Participant Media Index and USC's Lear Center, who are changing the way social change through film is being measured.

If there were a media institution driven by social justice issues that mirrored the vertical integration of 1930's Hollywood but adapted it for action campaigns it would be Participant Media. The main company, Pivot TV for television, Participant Media Index for social change measurement and Take Part that links its films to more information and ways to act, all work in unison for each film released under its production company. For instance, the film *Beasts of No Nation*, a fictional film about child soldiers in West Africa, is promoted on Participant Media's main website with information about the films real life subject matter and several ways to personally take action against the noted human rights violations—although for this film it only offers two options both of which only ask for donations for ongoing projects. An interactive map shows different countries with child soldiers in Africa, and with each click on a scroll bar, the site takes the user to a new section with information about a

particular conflict, historical or current. Other films link to the website Take Part, while the Media Index only has information from its first report in 2014. Nonetheless, the report focus is on "the relationship between social issues, emotional involvement in entertainment, and social actions an audience is inspired to take after consuming entertainment (TPI, 2014). The report concludes that although audiences highest concern is human right issues, the issues individuals engaged with most were those concerning data or online privacy and income inequality (TPI, 2014). Furthermore, the study concludes that the more emotional involvement in content, the higher rates of action afterward (TPI, 2014). This is hardly a revelation, a large amount of information shows that those already engaged socially tend to seek out socially engaging information and align with content focused on action campaigns. What makes Participant unique as a media company is its recognition for balancing both quality storytelling and social issues, something that had been marginalized in the past. From this perspective, in addition to Participant's multiple levels of application, their approach to making media is unprecedented and recognized by several academic institutions.

Both the Media Psychology Review and particularly University of Southern California's Norman Lear Center are also innovating the method in which the historically illusive measurement of social change is done. Although some studies at the Norman Lear Center apply traditional methods, such as audience questioners in a study titled "Changing Appetites & Changing Minds: Measuring the Impact of 'Food, Inc.'", they also approach issues using media data such as YouTube metrics; providing a guide for journalists and nonprofits to assess the efficacy of projects using internet data. White (2015) also shares some of these aims but notes the importance of emotional connection as a pathway to empathetic action—prioritizing stories that use models of Entertainment Education (EE) and Narrative Transportation Theory, "or how an audience is transported into a story" to support data. With an emphasis on empathy, White draws on the work of neuroscientist to argue that emotional

mirroring induced in film spectatorship differs from cognitive empathy from affective empathy in that it triggers "a different biological mechanism in the brain, one that has to do with understanding, rather than feeling, people's emotional states" and furthermore that affective empathy increases the likelihood of "altruistic behavior" (White, 2015: 6). This is a positive alternative to the findings of neuroscientist in relation to violence. Findings also indicate that not only empathy and compassion show a positive relation to the possibility for social change but also kindness and forgiveness may also support those same goals (White 2014). Furthermore, empathy and morality are two different concepts; motivation from empathy can indeed be used to justify violence against those done wrong.

The work by Anderson et al (2003, 2010) and Alia-Klein et al (2014) is extensive in the complexity of visual exposure to violence, and how that changes across cultures; nonetheless, the findings are clear that exposure to film and television violence does increase aggression and violent behavior, as well as increase gender violence when screen violence is coupled with sexually explicit content. Additionally, the work of Eitzen (2014) cautions for a tepid approach in differentiating actual violence and imaginary violence in film, taking points from behaviorist science and other evidence. He explains:

> We do not merely observe and judge violence that we see on the screen, in other words; we are actively involved in it, even if only imaginary. There is no question that this kind of involvement has physiological, psychological, behavioral, and cultural effects. Since real world violence is harmful, it behooves us to weigh carefully what these effects are. Yet we should be careful about jumping to conclusions (Eitzen, 2014: 158).

The work also highlights the limitations of social science research to provide absolute understandings of human behavior. Nonetheless, it is the case that film is indeed part of the cultural framework and thus the social environment so imaginary film violence does need to be carefully considered in its application.

Finally, because empathy is indeed something that can be enhanced—although there is a limit to what extent based on individual psychology—the prospect for effective empathy as an inclusive tool for peaceful filmmaking shows promise for conflict transformation.

3.2 Case Study Findings

The following section explores both case study findings applying the previously mentioned theoretical frames. There are explorations beyond the scope of what has been previously addressed only in order to contextualize the films into a broader praxis of the holistic conflict.

3.2.1 Data Assessment of *Blood Diamond*

Upon reviewing the material from the media assessment of *Blood Diamond*, several levels of assessment should be addressed. Primarily, the selection of articles was first assessed in a general word association query using Nvivo. Secondly, the coding process provided the development of several noteworthy inferences. Lastly, the visualization of the final coding schemes provided insights into the connection between blood diamonds and broader media and social trends. Using this data, a deeper knowledge of the social consequences—or lack thereof—can be better connected to the film viewership with considerations to the dynamic conclusions found by TPI and other film based social justice research centers. Before moving onto those connections, the broad terms of the key word findings will be discussed.

Nvivo offers a range of tools to assess much more complex data pools than those assess in this work but to discover media patters in relation to *Blood Diamond* a few several relevant ones were applied. By first using a basic *word frequency* query in Nvivo the most common words found in all the articles were not surprisingly 'blood diamond' and 'conflict diamond' and other words to their relation like 'rights'. However, surprisingly was the term 'De Beers' as second most popular word combination. De Beers is the leading diamond company in the world, owning a huge market share of the diamond industry (The Guardian, 2000). Following the connection to De Beers was of course the word industry. From the word query option in Nvivo, it is possible to visualize the connections between keyword by utilizing the *word tree* function (Figure 3-3 & Figure 3-4).

Figure 3-3. Word tree from keyword search 'De Beers'

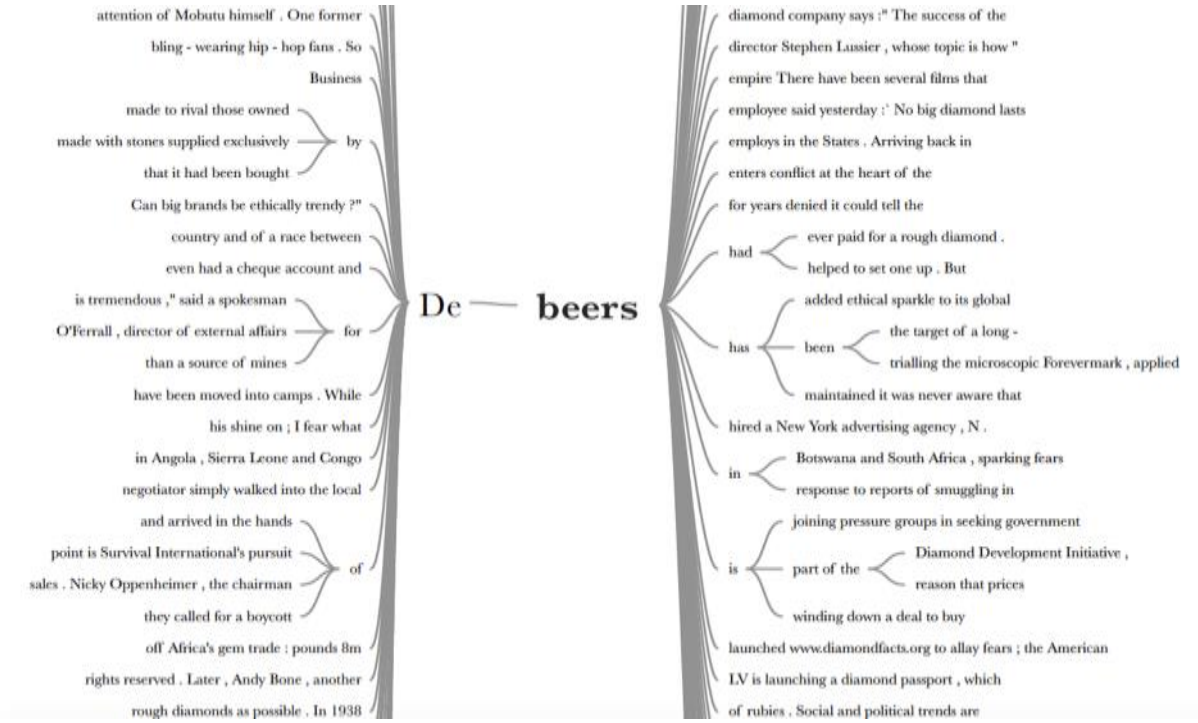
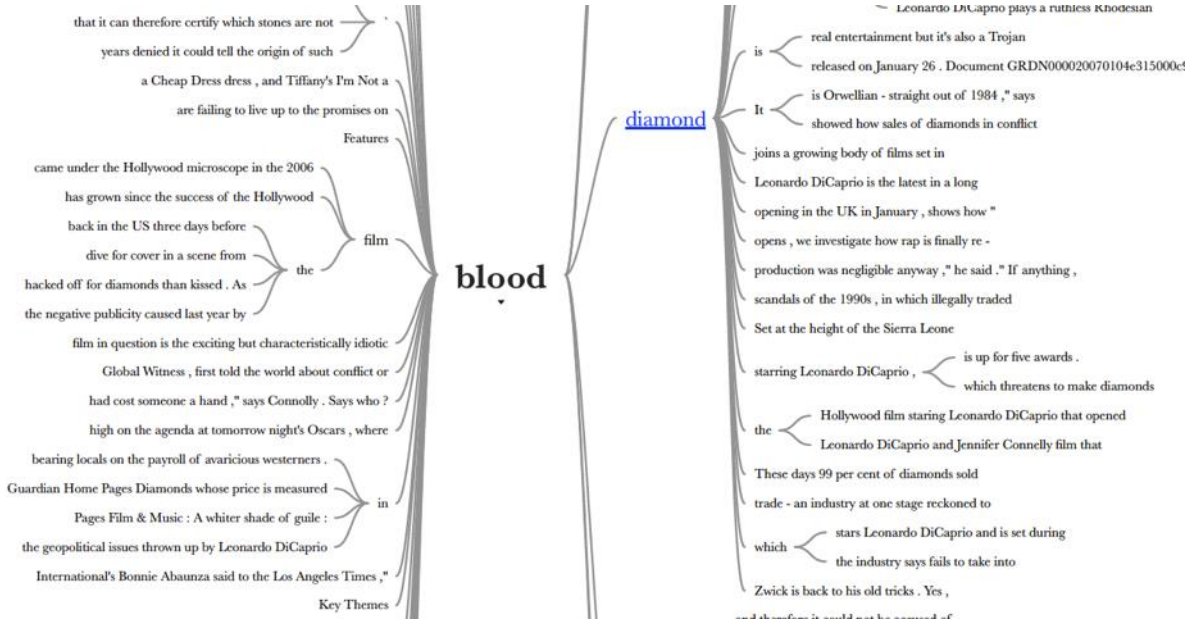


Figure 3-4. Word tree from keyword search 'Blood Diamond'

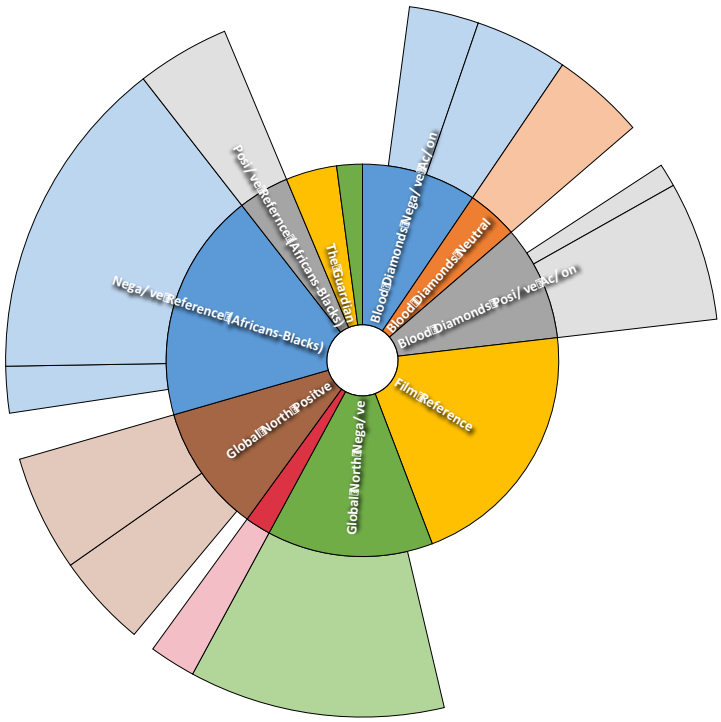


The results in relation to the 'De Beers' query tend to be related to business and commerce and to a lesser extent to policy, while the relationship to 'blood diamond' is heavily influenced by the film and to a lesser extent to human rights issues. This search is done before any coding, to investigate any opportunities to find relationships or patterns in the

selection of articles. The visualizations following the coding process revealed much different insights.

In order to explore the results from coding, Nvivo offers several simple tools to find relationships and others more complex. For the purposes of this study, the use of the *hierarchy chart* proved sufficient. The basic *word tree* function quickly revealed the most common codes were in relation to the film and negative references toward Africans or blacks. The *sunburst* chart, much like a pie graph, reveals the same information in a circular pattern (Figure 3-5). What is clear from the results, as was indicated from initial searches, is the relationship to references in the film *Blood Diamond* and references to media stories about the diamond trade in general. That can be linked not only to the lack of articles addressing the issue of blood diamonds prior to 2006 and the drastic change thereafter. However, there was a distinctive change in how the two newspapers discuss the information about blood diamonds.

Figure 3-5. Sunburst chart for Blood Diamond



Regardless of the publication, the articles about blood diamonds where largely *opinion* pieces

opposed to investigative journalism but with that in mind, the conservative verses liberal journalistic choices were apparent by several noteworthy aspects. The articles in *The Times*, especially those that discuss De Beers or the diamond industry, tend to use the tenants of neoliberal policy—the economic policy that has promoted policy of free trade, government deregulation on industry, reduction on welfare and public spending—to justify anti-government regulation on industry. The articles from *The Guardian* tend to be more critical of industry and more articles are found to be of investigative in nature. Furthermore, although the coding assessment shows many coding references toward positive action against blood diamonds in both papers and positive accountability for the culpability for industry in the global north, under closer scrutiny there is a complete absence of a deeper investigation or explanation of the more complex relationships involved in the conflicts that produce a business that flourishes from the exploitation of sub-Saharan Africans. Finally, as predicted the coding shows a very low level of positive references toward Africans or blacks living in the U.K. These are references that should represent individuals in positions of empowerment or self-determination in relation to the subaltern. Again here the numbers do not exactly reveal a complete picture that evolves from two differing sources.

The Guardian, although the articles were coded as negatively representing black Africans, tended to write more nuanced articles that attempted to explain the situation surrounding blood diamonds and their relation to the diamond industry; particularly the 'Kimberly Process' developed over the period following the Sierra Leone Civil War with the UN to regulate diamond trade and outlaw illicit diamonds that fund conflicts. Other articles tend to tribalize black Africans by focusing on the brutal violence of the RUF, cutting off the hands of civilians during the war and using the Kalahari Bushmen as one of the only homegrown organizations of anti-blood diamond activists. Overall, *The Guardian's* articles appear to be well intentioned but still portray a violent, corrupt and out of control Africa.

Perhaps it is unavoidable write about the subject without somewhat marginalizing the victims as needy but work by *The Guardian* at a minimum focuses on the individual cost and takes the issue of blood diamonds with some seriousness not found in articles written by *The Times* journalism staff.

As noted earlier, the articles in *The Times* tend to focus on the financial aspect of the issue of blood diamonds and often appear to convey a level of snide toward the seriousness of the violence perpetuated from the sale of conflict diamonds. As one write flatly explains it, "Some discover to their cost that business and Africa do not always mix well", after already alluding to the modern connections that persist in Africa that were written in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (Ashworth, 2000). A harsh opinionated representation repeated often in relation to Africa in *The Times*. It should be noted that *The Times* is owned by Rupert Murdock, an internationally known billionaire and owner of one of the largest news empires in the world, who also owns *News of the World* of which was investigated in a phone hacking scandal and led to an eighteen-month prison sentence for the newspaper's editor in 2014 (Cowell & Bennhold, 2014). This subsequent development does not alter the outcome of both new sources as clinging onto a key issue but altogether missing the broader implication.

Although both newspapers connect themes of blood diamonds, Hollywood activism, De Beers and the diamond industry, the NGO Global Witness and the Sierra Leone Civil War neither paper connects the broader issues to a single African governing force nor mentions any state that ratified and cooperated with the Kimberly Process.

The first two node cases are discussed above dealing with the representations of black Africans and blood diamonds but the other node class was less active but still showed relevant information to draw conclusions from. The coding produced both high numbers of global North accountability and unaccountability. While coding some articles the material contained contrary opinions, they often both reference the work done by entities in the global North to

outlaw blood diamonds and account for the consumer's connection to fueling a conflict but also find that the implementation of the Kimberly Process was developing into a failed action. This can be confirmed by the organization leaving the Kimberly Process it was largely responsible for creating in 2011 because consumers were still unable to confirm the origin the diamonds they purchase (Leggett, 2011). Overall, the issue of blood diamonds became intrinsically connected in the social conscious of the global North to the film and celebrity activists like the film's star DiCaprio.

The fact that the social issue that is most prominent throughout the film *Blood Diamond* becomes its own hindrance. As will be discussed later, the connection that the viewer has to a specific issue narrows the focus of what action will be taken by the viewer. In the case of blood diamonds, the social identity issues limit the viability of a specific consumer behavior to pervade beyond the purchases of luxury goods. Diamonds are highly selective product that symbolizes among other things ostentatious consumerism that can be easily limited. A call for a ban on conflict diamonds is akin to the current socially low view that purchasing fur produces. In short, it was a simple single issue for the film to address and for discourse and indeed a great deal of consumer and social behavior to shift from the direct influence the film. However, as shown from the newspaper's discourse following the film's release, the issue only further marginalized those it attempted to highlight as victims of exploitation from big business. The perception of the subaltern as poor, violent and tribalistic was raised with the depiction of Sierra Leone during its civil war. Because some of the more complex and controversial issues are brushed over in the film, the oversimplification of the conflict reduces the brutalization of the war to hinge on a single issue of a luxury good like diamonds. Had the film more accurately traced the funding of the conflict to the oil rich country of Libya, it is implausible that a call for 'conflict oil' would have produced a driving force for socio-behavioral change. The study of newspaper articles with Nvivo was indeed

helpful not only to shape the argument against a single issue as a vehicle for social change but also to understand how differing media sources can shape those issues into differing discourses.

In regard to social cinema, how films are interpreted by the media 'gatekeepers'—the handful of large media empires that disseminate the majority of media on the planet: Viacom, CBS Corporation, Time Warner, 21st Century Fox and News Corp to name a few—can alter the direction that a social movement takes. Should the majority of the public follow neoliberal ethos, the issue of blood diamonds would be limited to a critique of government overreach. The public influence of conservative papers such as *The Times* impacts social welfare by a more divisive and fear based rhetoric that could hinder the development of cultural peaces. In addition, *The Guardian's* well-intentioned support of social awareness toward blood diamonds is only highlighted by a flawed approach and perhaps limited resources, which fail to stimulate a more investigative and deep review of the issues that surround complex conflicts. Furthermore, *media power,* as Habermas (2006) distinguishes it from a power that does not necessarily require legitimacy as political power does and is defined by "self-regulating media system", is problematic in its transformation as a tool of mass communication into a tool to shift public influence and political pressure by elites who hold majority capitol (Habermas, 2006: 420). Discussions for which the hope is to determine whether media reflects society or society reflects media Habermas indicates an ideal conditionality:

> However, for the rules of the right game to exist, two things must first be achieved: First, a self-regulating media system must maintain its independence vis-a`-vis its environments while linking political communication in the public sphere with both civil society and the political center; second, an inclusive civil society must empower citizens to participate in and respond to a public discourse that, in turn, must not degenerate into a colonizing mode of communication (Habermas, 2006: 420).

It could also be determined that a transformation occurred in the post-WWII West that film and television began to dictate social trends, which has become even more

convoluted with the electronic based media forms. The risk in the contemporary news environment is one of apathy for lack of inclusion, as the Habermas' second condition troublingly exemplifies. Certainly the new media environment will create solutions and complications to the discourse of social films as the public at large has access to the newspapers, social media and potential political engagement of which can be used to confirm or contradict original material sources, thus raising the level of 'capitol' for the average citizenry. The work of TPI supports this notion.

Their findings indicate access and capacity as the driving force behind the practical involvement in a film's issue. For example, after seeing films about economic inequality or online privacy audiences tended to seek out more information, while films that examined the food industry like *Food Inc.* produced high levels of information sharing and taking individual action (TPI, 2014). This is a reflection of capacity. The easiest form of action to take is to share the information on a selected issue. However, when more complex issues are lain out the audiences are limited in activities like community involvement, and with every issue the empathetic connection to the story drives deeper involvement. As such, the connection between the film *Blood Diamond* and social action is convenient, which was reflected in the data. The Kimberly Process and the issue of conflict diamonds was not part of an influential social discussion before the film's release, but following the release there was a clear increase in media discourse. The articles also reflected a great deal of social action that was not apparent before the film influenced the public. Furthermore, the public knowledge of conflict minerals, ones mined in Democratic Republic of Congo for example, have become more aggressively researched (Winsor, 2015). As an interesting contrast, there has been no consumer action against these conflict minerals. Again, the it furthers the point of accessibility, life without diamonds is permissible but these minerals are everyday items, such as oil, and even if driven by a socially significant film would not make a plausible socio-

behavioral change.

3.2.2 Theoretical Assessment of *Blood Diamond*

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, in addition to a media assessment framing of *Blood Diamond*, the application of the theoretical frames will be used to assess the film. A special attention to the mono-myth will be given as it is the basis for which the theory of CTF can be achieved.

3.2.2.1 The Path of The Hero

In Chapter 1 the evolution of the hero was discussed as he transitioned into the victim in WWI cinema, and earlier in this chapter Campbell's mythic hero was discussed as the transcendent representation of the human experience—both will be used to assess the hero in *Blood Diamond*. The former explains the hero's journey as one constructed socially, while the latter inspires phenomenological thinking with expressions of the hero. As Campbell explains, the hero can most certainly be both. The hero's journey is not formulaic; it is a nuance structure with symbolic meaning rewritten with an unconscious veracity, adapting to each epoch. How then can we uncover the modern mythic structure and the constructed hero within *Blood Diamond*?

The starting point for film assessment in a hero's journey should be an ability to name a film's theme and its protagonist. Most simply in *Blood Diamond* we need only to look for who begins and ends the film's story. Although DiCaprio is indeed the star of the film, and certainly develops much more in a broad character arch—which will be discussed for other reasons later—the real protagonist is Solomon Vandy, played by Bénin born actor Djimon Hounsou.

Vandy begins his journey as a simple fisherman but the Sierra Leone Civil War spills into his village. He is nearly brutally used as an example by the RUF against voting in

elections by having his hand chopped off at the forearm but is sent to work the shallow waters of a diamond mine instead. Danny Archer (DiCaprio) soon enters and presented as corrupt mercenary, gunrunner and diamond smuggler. By the standard of Campbell, this first act of the film includes what he calls the "Departure".

Within that section of the hero's journey several key events are paralleled. Unquestionably there is the "Call to Adventure" within the film but this is not the point when Vandy is taken by the RUF but could be when he finds an extremely large diamond and the chaos that follows this point. Most accurately, the call to adventure occurs when Archer overhears a conversation in a Freetown jail about an oversized pink diamond Vandy found and quickly coordinates his exit from prison. Excluding several unnecessary side plots—and indeed several plot holes—the story that relates to Campbell's mythological structure picks up some time later when Vandy "Refuses the Call". Vandy is unsure if he should trust the unknown mercenary Archer but when the RUF enters Freetown, he is forced to quickly follow Archer's escape from the violence. But this does not exactly follow what Campbell considers the refusal. As he presents it, "the myths and folk tales of the whole world make clear that the refusal is essentially a refusal to give up what one takes to be one's owe interest" (Campbell, 2004: 55). Conversely, what Archer admits to convince Vandy to accept his help is that he does not care about Vandy but he will help him get his family back for half of the diamond's worth. So a loose connection can be made there, but nonetheless, this is where the first transformation takes place.

Excluding what Campbell calls "Supernatural Aid", as it is considered for those tales that exclude a refusal, "The Crossing of the First Threshold" is the hero's first entry into the unknown. Vandy follows Archer into his world of dubious violence by sacrificing his moral integrity allowing Archer to kill to men in cold blood so he can pass. As another point of symbolic nature the scene is centered on the crossing of a bridge. The protagonist must

literally cross a bridge to continue his journey of development. Once crossed the journey twists into "The Belly of the Whale". Campbell notes, "this popular motif gives emphasis to the lesson that the passage of the threshold is a form of self-annihilation" (Campbell, 2004: 84). This point also ties into what morality Vandy is willing to sacrifice to return to his family.

Thus begins the "Initiation". Within the section called "The Road of Trials", Campbell explains that a hero will find a series of "tests" and "ordeals" during this part of a myth (Campbell, 2004: 89). After help from a photojournalist, Maddy Bowen (Jennifer Connelly), Archer and Vandy attempt to rescue his family in a refugee camp but are barred from entry allowing the two to begin a journey back to the location Vandy buried the priceless diamond. Several of the subsections of the hero's journey mythic representations, such as "The Meeting with the Goddess", "Woman as the Temptress" and "Atonement with the Father", are abstractly found throughout the midsection of *Blood Diamond* but the film makes a scattered narrative deviation that reflects the moral limitations of the Hollywood system itself more than a flawed story frame. The story shifts from the established protagonist to the Hollywood star in DiCaprio. Archer's storyline is blended as a secondary story, although technically he is the foil—the contrasting character typical in narrative storytelling who is often used to highlight the protagonist's traits—of the story or in terms of archetypes a blend of the *mentor, ally,* and *trickster* but Archer slowly becomes a second protagonist. Essentially the antagonist in the film is war itself.

The unfolding of Archer's character is revealed in several key scenes as he becomes more of a representation of the hero. In a scene between Bowen and Archer, which will be discussed at length in the following section, the most significant transformation of audience understanding takes place. The character reveals more complexity and abandons some of his protections. As Campbell understands it, this could be what he calls "Apotheosis" and what

The Writer's Journey author, Vogler, calls approaching the innermost cave. Because, for reasons to be discussed later, Archer is primarily on an emotional journey, this is the point of deepest emotional unraveling. Although to Campbell, this is a much deeper inquiry into the divine. It presents the hero's ability to move beyond the "last terrors of ignorance" (Campbell, 2004: 139). It is the representation the hero gives that presents all humans to attain a life beyond fear, in the Buddhist approach this is the Bodhisattva. From this point the hero can face the final challenge or *ordeal*: "The Ultimate Boon".

According to Campbell it is necessary in myth to move beyond the perceived limitations of reality. The final ordeal for the hero will push transcendence above the physical world. He eloquently notes:

> Their function, to cart the unadroit intellect away from its concrete clutter of facts and events to a comparatively rarefied zone, where as a final boon, all existence—whether heavenly, earthly, or infernal—may at last be seen transmuted into the semblance of a light passing, recurrent, mere childhood dream of bliss and fright (Campbell, 2004: 167).

Where can we find these elements within the confusing, if not altogether convolutedly typical, climax of *Blood Diamond*? The path here is split by the emotional and the physical. Vandy and Archer physically overpower the South African soldiers to take control of the diamond but are quickly faced with the next phase of Campbell's mythical explanations: "Return" and "The Magic Flight".

Vandy has reached the boon but must first reconcile with his son in order to continue. This certainly justifies inclusion into the flight section that Campbell describes. Indeed, the three continue to flee soldiers while Archer confronts his emotional journey. As the plane arrives to take them all to freedom Archer, bleeding from a fatal gunshot wound, realizes his fate he gives the stone to Vandy and encourages him to go to Bowen for help. Thus he becomes the emotional martyr of the film, while Vandy goes on to return from the *dark*, bringing knowledge of the unknown world to light by exposing the network of illegal diamond trade. The film has a clear message in the end but there is also the attempt to hide

this message with a myth. Because the journey is done by another, in a good myth it largely limits the sense that the spectator is being told what to do.

Although this story fails to have many of the stronger elements found in a myth, certain motifs are there and a basic journey of passage and a limited return are symbolically located. How can one locate the importance of a mythic structure within what is essentially an action film with a moral message? Campbell explains that a good myth can dispel the self-righteous notion that the individual assumes himself or herself to be an exceptional being and thus justified for ill doings because of an inherent goodness. But the myth itself can combat this:

> The goal of the myth is to dispel the need for such life ignorance by effecting a reconciliation of the individual consciousness with the universal will. And this is effected through a realization of the true relationship of the passing phenomena of time to the imperishable life that lives and dies in all (Campbell, 2004: 221).

Turning to a more synthesized approach, Lisa A. Paltz Spindler (Figure 3-6) shows the influence of Campbell, Vogler and others to form a detailed visual outline of the monomyth adapted to a novel form. This visual reference to the mythic structure helps to assess the adherence of a film like *Blood Diamond* to mythic motifs. The stories structure and the literal split of the symbolic hero in the film, it fails to meet many of the key points of structure, primarily the ending of the film. The film does not present a *false victory* found in many films that is almost always quickly followed by the *Black Moment*. There are only mild shifting moments of action throughout the film and therefore the climax is not the highest potential emotional point. For this reason, the most significant emotional climax is the last conversation between Archer and Bowen, which of course could be considered sacrifice—leaving Vandy to become *Master of Two Worlds*. Vandy sells the diamond on the condition the London diamond dealers rescue his family from Guinea.

Figure 3-6. A hero's journey chart adapted by Lisa Paitz Spindler[18]

Finally, the films ends with a controversy stirred surrounding conflict diamonds from Bowen's article about Vandy and Archer. The closing scene cuts just before Vandy testifies to the commission that would formulate the Kimberly Process in South Africa. What is lacking the films ending is a circle back to the thematic origin found in the beginning of the film. In what follows, a brief analysis of the film from the subaltern perspective will be made but what can be considered here is the film's use of myth to tell a story of white guilt that leaves the global North in an authoritative action position. Instead of a closed loop of character experience the short scene at the beginning of the film, following the introduction of Vandy as a simple African fisherman, a room of white men is shown as they voice over begins, "throughout the history of Africa, whenever a substance of value is found the locals die, in

[18] Spindler, Lisa A. Paltz "A graphic version of the Hero's Journey" (1997), *Lisa Paitz Spindler*, http://www.lisapaitzspindler.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/myth_quest_model_04.jpg viewed July 29th, 2016

great number, and in misery. Now this was true of ivory, rubber, gold and oil, it is now true of diamonds" (Blood Diamond, 2006). The circle closes with the introduction of Vandy as a witness to the exploitation of Africans. The film essentially perpetuates a different type of myth, one that was discussed in terms of the white savior in Chapter 2.

3.2.2.2 Subaltern in Blood Diamond

Concerning the subaltern representation in *Blood Diamond*, the question arises as to why a story of a black African fisherman caught in the middle of a civil war would be told through the lens of a white "Rhodesian" and a white American? The answer concerns post-colonial Africa but also globalization, the Hollywood film industry and social norms. To begin, it is helpful to assess the situation of Africa presented by the politicians quoted in the previous section.

The speaker explains a typical *resource curse* explanation of African states. The popular notion that pervades contemporary development and international relation policy and research stipulates that states with weak governments and gross natural resources fail to maintain legitimate governance and often lead to stagnant growth or even military violence, such as ongoing military coups or civil wars seen in many African states. In an assessment of the post-Cold War designated *new wars*, Newman (2004) extensively outline contrary notions that find neoliberal policy and international intervention into sovereign states to foster "mafia style economies" allowing private groups to vie for resources. He argues that the privatization of public goods has altered developing states capability to cope with globalization writing, "neoliberal economic forces have resulted in a weakening of state capacity and a weakening of the provision of public goods", which couples the failure of a state with the privatization of violence. From this perspective, the primary curse of resources stems from Northern intervention to promote 'democracy' or neoliberal policy. A more thorough analysis would indicate neoliberal policy, most proximately presented by Jeffrey Sachs and Andrew Warner,

attempts to remedy its own mistakes with a continuation of the policies for which they emerged. The problem is not the concept of a resource curse it is the passivity of its presentation. As the speaker in the film explains in the passive voice that when resources are found the locals die in large numbers. Certainly a true statement but it lacks a viable context. As if to say, after WWI in Germany, when industry reemerged and economy grew, Jews were murdered or the Japanese suffered most from atomic science. The historic rationality of violence against indigenous inhabitants of Africa traces back to King Leopold II of Belgium who murdered and maimed an estimated ten million Congolese in the 19th century. As is the early exploitation of South Africa by famed Britton Cecil Rhodes, who recently has become a more controversial figure for his legacy as a racist and imperialist (Scott, 2016). A subaltern representation of the situation in *Blood Diamond* would have explained that so often when resources are discovered in Africa, Northern governments and private enterprises subvert public welfare and exploit the resources and the people of the country in order to maximize private wealth. This omission provides an important narrative perspective throughout the film, it can be seen through further analysis of the films protagonist arch or lack thereof.

Indeed, there is a split protagonist but the antagonist is difficult to locate as well. Although the driving force that presents obstacles for both Archer and Vandy is the war and all it represents. The constant threat of violence from the RUF, the killing of civilians by the Sierra Leone and West African government troops and the South African paramilitary soldiers are at every turn of the film threatening the two bonded protagonists. Even the UN refugee camp bureaucracy presents a byproduct of war that bars access to Vandy's family present the civil war as an active antagonist. But it the protagonist blending is what presents the most interesting and concerning revelation for a subaltern perspective.

Although not mutually exclusive, the emotional and physical separation between the two developed protagonists represents a marginalized subaltern and an empowered colonizer.

Indeed, Archer's character describes his experience with the fleeting vestiges of colonialism. He confides to Bowen that his parents were murdered in Rhodesia, presumably during the violent conflict that resulted in the creation of Zimbabwe led by Robert Mugabe, after which Archer moved to apartheid South Africa where he became a soldier. He explains how fought in Angola alongside blacks but dismisses the truth and reconciliation period in South Africa in a hint at the subtleties of racism that pervade the film without a particular judgment. It is this moment in the film, one of deep expression between Archer and Bowen, that the cold-hearted, racist and self-interested soldier becomes humanized and loved by Bowen. A clear emotional transformation takes place in Archer. From the point of view of Archer, an emotionally deep and complex character emerges while in Vandy a one-dimensional physicality limits his depth.

At the same time Bowen and Archer bond, the film has nearly forgotten Vandy. He has almost entirely been led confused through the murky war in an infantile state. Even in the film's opening scenes he seems so unsure of his environment as if to be shocked to see the RUF arrive at his village although a civil war had been raging throughout the country for nearly a decade—if the timeline were to follow the RUF's assault on Freetown which took place in 1999. More importantly, Vandy's character presents no deep emotional arch—he does not change from an emotional complexity assessment that assumes experiential learning, a heuristically founded journey that accompanies much of the mythic structure. Vandy is essentially unmoved morally and ideologically throughout the film, only his surroundings and those around him like Archer evolve. As mentioned earlier at the point of reconciliation with his racism and self-interest, Archer suddenly—if for no other reason than dying—inexplicably gives the diamond to Vandy after admitting he planned to deceive him and keep the stone for himself, smuggling the diamond back to London using his previous international contacts. It marks a deep change in that he only shortly before called Vandy a *kaffir*—a word

from South Africa that equates to nigger in the United States—and planned to solely consider Vandy a tool for exploitation. He is finally further humanized by the last conversation with Bowen, while Vandy's importance continues to be as tool to identify the simplification of the conflict in a luxury good.

These are common trends in the Hollywood film industry but what makes them particularly concerning is the unconscious prevalence of a subordinate relationship between *all* blacks and whites within a socially conscious film. The writers, producers and director of the film were undoubtedly aware of film being primarily a business and as such needs to be guided by international celebrities like DiCaprio—however this notion has already been dispelled. What is curious in the case of *Blood Diamond* is the unnecessary emotional dampening of Vandy's journey. Certainly this would go against the popular narrative of the global North and may have resulted in a less successful film but it would have also been closer to what could be considered a peace film. The message in the film is defined by resolutely a continent in feeble need of help, instead of one in need of social welfare and education improvement. The film closes the with several title cards reading:

> In January 2003, forty nations signed "The Kimberly Process" – an effort to stem the flow of conflict diamonds. But illegal diamonds are still finding their way to market. It is up to the consumer to insist that a diamond is conflict-free. Sierra Leone is at peace. There are still 200,000 child soldiers in Africa (Frears, 2006).

The implication is that although the Northern governments—those are after all the countries depicted in the film, no African state intervention is presented—have made attempts to outlaw conflict diamonds, the North's consumer population much make the real change, which under assessment with Nvivo there is some indication of large amounts of cultural shifting. The secondary issue addressed is one of child soldiers—exclusively mentioned in the context of Africa—which inaccurately estimates the number of child soldiers. The United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) provide *global* estimates of children involved *in a variety of roles* in a conflict to be up to 300,000 at

any given time but Relief Web found there to be only 120,000 in 1999 and provided further evidence that the overall number can be misleading because children are registered in the statistics from the age of under 18 and a large portion of the recruitment is voluntary (Jézéquel, 2006, UNICEF, 2006 & Relief Web, 2000). Furthermore, the constant referral to Africa as a single place, ignoring great diversification throughout the region, further indicates notions of colonization and tribalism that define the perception of the continent since the independence era, which continually form the cinematic landscape of all African states. But what's also concerning is the fact that conservative and globally focused research groups have recognized that although there are potentially more conflicts on the continent than anywhere else in the world, the continent enjoys the same global trends of downward internal wars and civilian deaths as the rest of the world (Sieff, 2008). That is not to downplay the level of violence in Africa, the continent leads the world in conflicts by nation and homicides according to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), but it should be considered that global war is on the rise and the Americas should soon overtake Africa in terms of total homicides (UNODC, 2011). However, none of these statistics overshadows the primary ideology of unaccountability of the global North's political and corporate interventions on the continent as a source great violence and exploitation.

It is with these factors in mind that *Blood Diamond* can be considered devastatingly negative narrative toward the subaltern struggle for equal representation.

3.2.2.3 Psychology of the hero and consciousness in *Blood Diamond*

It has been shown that perceived reality is not necessary for character connection—exemplified in the case of science fiction and fantasy film—but what is necessary is a balance of the circumstance of the character and its challenges cultural norms and in-group identification. Violence and threat to group norms presented by Peterson (1999) are the balance that film may always must address; as the more challenges to the perceived or

identified reality the more audiences need character identification; more specifically represented by novelty as a challenge to hope in a mythic story structure. Some of these concepts are discussed in the section above but the connection to consciousness and psychology should also be introduced.

There is an inevitable history of psychology used to interpret film and vice versa, in addition to a phenomenological approach to film theory. This all falls under the umbrella of what Bordwell calls Cognitive Theory. Bordwell (2009) traces the psychological study of film to Hugo Münsterberg's *The Film: A Psychological Study* (1916). The development of work that would become Cognitive Theory includes a range of interests that include work discussed in Chapter 1 but it also contains theories of cross-cultural connection through the medium of film. But for the purposes of this writing, Bordwell's explanation of the divergence of cognitive dissonance between the social and the personal is a good point of departure for what became the limitations of *Blood Diamond*:

> Finally, Heath considers how contradiction informs the social identity of both character and viewer. As a textual construct, a character is only a moment in the film's systematic sliding between economy and logic. The character, as agent, hero, or star "image," helps bind the text; but as a "figure," the character may be a site of dispersion. The spectator is similarly divided. The coherence of the film requires a conversion of public symbolic systems -family, gender relations, language, film conventions -into an imaginary unity in which the viewing subject misrecognizes himself as a counterpart to the Other. But that unity is purchased at the cost of repression; and narrative triggers a set of displacements and condensations which offer, if only momentarily, the possibilities of Barthesian *jouissance*, a "radical heterogeneity" (Bordwell, 1989: 94).

Furthermore, Falzon (2009) locates film as a way to identify with conflicts between what is morally sound and what is desired. He articulates this writing:

> By posing these hypothetical scenarios in the form of concrete, emotionally engaging narratives, film can capture something else as well, the question's "existential" aspect. Whether to be moral is not simply an abstract theoretical question, but a deeply practical concern, of how one is to live, whether to commit oneself to a particular way of life (Falzon, 2009: 591).

With regard to *Blood Diamond*, locating some of the shortcomings of its narrative structure can be found with the help of the psychology of an audience. What the film fails to do, and what the most relevant films achieve with greatness, is challenge both one's moral foundations by creating a new "hypothetical" reality, as Falzon suggests and creating a

situational likeness that allows for one's identification in the "other", as Bordwell outlines. *Blood Diamond* ignores both of these challenges by using action and violence as a tool for entertainment.

3.2.2.4 Gender, Violence and Peace in "Africa"

The theoretical assessment of *Blood Diamond* should not conclude without a consideration for discourses on gender and violence, and of course an assessment of how it can be placed as a peace film. The gender perspective that is discussed here is in relation to a non-constructionist approach with sexual differences and identities but gender rights and violence depicted in the context of the film. For this reason, gender and violence are linked in a way that peace is not necessarily in this discourse.

From a gender perspective, assessment of *Blood Diamond* also cannot be excluded from discourse from a subaltern perspective. The perspective of Vandy's wife, Jassie, is just as marginalized and one-dimensional, if not more so, than that of Vandy's. Conversely, Bowen enjoys much agency and independence as an active and entitled participant in all plot points. In the case of *Blood Diamond*, the question arises as to if it is possible to assess the gender perspective as only an exasperation of the subaltern legacy? The answer is unfortunately no. As is in many cases concerning the gender perspective, gender rights are never exclusive from other social issues. In this case we can connect violence to a tool for entertainment instead of a tool for action by linking it to gender violence, or lack thereof, depicted in *Blood Diamond*.

The film goes to great lengths to show the brutality of war—child soldiering, amputation of limbs, civilian massacres—but fails to show the level of gender violence that was present in the war. Along with amputees and child soldiers, victims of rape and other violence are among those who struggled to overcome post-conflict issues like "stigma and medical complications" following the civil war (Millar, 2016:719). The filmmakers could

certainly argue a point of addressing too many issues in a single film but this would show little evidence of restraint in a film such as *Blood Diamond*. Furthermore, in order to justify violence in a film, the dictation of events should be sought that presents a holistic and accurate narrative should they be connected to historical truths.

According to Galtung's peace triangle, the film does certainly contain a great deal of direct violence, structural violence—in the exploitation of minerals from the country of Sierra Leone—and to a limited extent cultural violence but is extremely limited in the presentations of their alternatives. It would be fair to say that the approach to blood diamonds is the primary objective to reconcile notions of structural peace. Positive peace—wellbeing in communities—and cultural peace are approached with cynicism, as the film portrays no real *good guys* only innocents. Certainly, Archer is the most accurate contradiction of the complexities of the ebb and flow of peace but is extremely cynical and is limited in his knowledge gained from suffering. As noted in Chapter 1 the implications of "the affective power of narrative film" directly connects film mood to real life situations, "Thus *Blood Diamond* […] may elicit anger about the cruel tactics and practices of the rebel forces […] and also the consumer market […] that not only ignores but profits from the worst effects of the diamond trade on Africa" (Plantinga, 2014: 142).

Peace film can thus aim to follow the tenants of peace journalism in the case of historical dramas. *Blood Diamond* exaggerates violence in some areas and reduces it in others for the sake of entertainment. In this case, with violence as a controversial element in film, proceeding with caution and justification is the only provision acceptable for the depiction of violence. An easy assessment of narrative would also provide guidance in this case. Does the violence serve the narrative drama and challenge the viewer emotionally or would the narrative and emotional response to character development be stronger should the violence be removed? In much of *Blood Diamond* the latter would be a resounding yes.

3.2.3 Data Assessment of *Dirty Pretty Things*

Several key points should be made before outlining the conclusions from the data found using Nvivo. Primarily, the scale of the film *Dirty Pretty Things* both as a production and as a tool for social awareness was significantly lower than that of *Blood Diamond* for several reasons. The most obvious is the budgetary constraints of a small British production verses that of a large-scale Hollywood studio financed film; the production budget for *Blood Diamond* was an estimated $100 million, while *Dirty Pretty Things* is estimated at only $10 million. Beyond that the film did indeed contain an international star, but the internationally celebrity presence of Audrey Tautou is much lower than that of DiCaprio. In addition to being a drama instead of an action film, *Dirty Pretty Things* is a film that focuses an issue of low public relevance compared to the accessibility of the conflict diamond/consumerism relationship. The product of which is a lower public discourse on the issue of organ trafficking and little development of the broader theme of immigrant exploitation. The lower discourse is reflected in the data found assessed with Nvivo.

Using the same approach as with *Blood Diamond* the assessment began with query searches. Because of the above-mentioned issues, the query results yielded inconclusive results. The frequency tool only found words like “people”, “Britain” and “rights” to be most frequent, while more important key words like “immigration”, “black” and “illegal” were much less common. Furthermore, the word “exploitation” used in the word tree was hardly a factor for assessment (Figure 3-7. Nvivo tree graph search 'exploitation').

Figure 3-7. Nvivo tree graph search 'exploitation'

Similarly the hierarchy chart (Table 3-1) provided limited insights into the influence of *Dirty Pretty Things* as a point of departure for public discourse. What is apparent is the state of concern for immigrant exploitation or organ trafficking in Britain, which are both low on a scale of public discourse. It is difficult to discern a relative deviation between the release of the film *Dirty Pretty Things* and either of those discourses or a protracted difference between the two sources. The highest nodes used in coding were those labeled "migrant sympathies", a total of twenty-one coded nodes, and those labeled "negative reference toward subaltern", a total of thirty-two coded nodes. There are several variations in which coding can be arranged in hierarchies but because the assessment was relative toward the film's release and not the newspapers the visual chart used reflects a yearly based hierarchy—the issue of media bias has already been discussed. Considering that statement, it should also be noted that again within the texts there were relatively more negative references toward the blacks and immigrants in general in *The Times* than found in *The Guardian*. Another journalistic point that should be of concern is a relative lack of investigative reporting on issues of immigration during this period. Only one writer, Rosie Cowen, was involved in a series of stories that concerned violent crime and immigrants in Britain; with stories titled "Rewriting the rulebook in the face of globalised crime", "People trafficker 'could hold clue' to ritual killing of child: Police believe link with Nigerian city may provide evidence", "Jail for torso case people smuggler". The context in which immigration is being discussed in the media is not solely a reflection of the media itself but it can be related to the findings of TPI as well.

Table 3-1. Hierarchy chart for Dirty Pretty Things

Aside from the structural elements of the film, the issue of immigration does not concern the majority of the public at large as it is presented in *Dirty Pretty Things*. Although the TPI report finds the issue of human rights to be the strongest point of reaction to media, it finds little evidence to suggest active engagement on the issue. Accordingly, the film's subjects of immigration and organ trafficking have little traction with audiences, aside from actual reach of distribution, as reflected in the two selected newspapers. The film *Dirty Pretty Things* and the subject of organ trafficking are only coded ten times each in all the articles reviewed. The result can be connected to the work of TPI and a simple case of the film's popularity. As noted earlier, the notion that an audience should react more firmly to issues for which they have agency is relevant in the case of *Dirty Pretty Things* but fails to be convincing looking at several documentary films and culture changing influencing films. What can be confirmed is a limited number of subaltern films, especially those from the modern era of film. Undoubtedly, high art recognizes *Ali: Fear Eats the Soul* (1960), *Battle of Algiers* or *La Haine* (1995) for their cinematic achievements in storytelling but, with the exception of *Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, the films remain relatively unknown to broader contemporary audiences. For a smaller film like *Dirty Pretty Things* the ambitious approach to assess engagement using a newspaper analysis provides an environment of limited

conclusions.

Without a keystone issue, as was the case with *Blood Diamond*, and a massive amount of viewership, the newspaper analysis approach is not as powerful tool in comparison to the methods used by the leading media research organizations. However, because of the power the news media retains as a tool of public influence it is an important attribute to consider within any context of social development, even in light of much scholarly work done on the subject of social media.

3.2.4 Theoretical Assessment of *Dirty Pretty Things*

Similarly, to the rest of this outline, the analysis of *Dirty Pretty Things* will follow that of *Blood Diamond*. The subtle differences exist predominately with that of the film's deeper connection to subaltern perspectives and social representations.

3.2.4.1 The Path of Another Hero

Unlike *Blood Diamond*, the protagonist in *Dirty Pretty Things*, Okwe, is a more clearly structured to that of a mythological structured hero as shown by the broader elements of the story. In addition to story structure, character arch and motifs, the story also contains several recognizable archetypes that provide the protagonist with a mythic realization. But most importantly the film incorporates, what Campbell himself recognizes as essential in mythic story, the most contemporary themes while maintaining a hero archetypal journey for the protagonist.

The narrative of *Dirty Pretty Things* revolves around the experience of several immigrants, both legal and illegal—including Okwe—living in London but is also a story of exploration and return. The lead protagonist, revealed only by a single name of Okwe (performed brilliantly by Chiwetel Ejiofor), is a Nigerian immigrant who works as both a taxi driver by day and an overnight hotel clerk. By opening with nuances of globalization inside

an international airport the primes viewers for the events and environment that will follow. Although this is what Campbell calls the *known world*, the mood is of foreigners in a known world. The film's director, Stephen Frears, presents a world familiar to those in the global North but filled with unfamiliar characters. Beginning with the two passengers Okwe picks up at the airport to his off-duty taxi office of neon lights, reggae music and various migrants. Nonetheless, it is Okwe's ordinary world, inhabited with a seedy underworld of London's illegal service workers, which include prostitutes, drug dealers, taxi drivers and hotel workers. Okwe, maintaining energy with East African and Middle East leaf drug khat or qat, performs physical check-ups on his taxi agent, rents a couch from a Turkish immigrant and prepares food for hotel guests after the kitchen has closed until he finds a human heart in the hotel toilet.

From the point of discovering the heart, Okwe begins his emotional *departure*. It is clear that he is a morally good man and this point is improved by his singular friendship with a morgue physician, Guo Yi. The character functions throughout the film as an Old Wise Man archetype. Tellingly, Campbell explains the archetype:

> The dangerous crises of self-development are permitted to come to pass under the protecting eye of an experienced initiate in the lore and language of dreams, who then enacts the role and character of the ancient mystagogue, or guide of souls, the initiating medicine man of the primitive forest sanctuaries of trial and initiation. The doctor is the modern master of the mythological realm, the knower of all secret ways and words of potency (Campbell, 2004: 8).

Guo Yi is not just a doctor, an expert in medicine, but he is also an advisor to Okwe—he is constantly advising Okwe beyond practical matters, providing life philosophies for him. As Guo Yi is the moral guide, the character called Sneaky (Juan) is the archetypical shadow. In an early scene he tells Okwe, "You think if you don't take the money you are innocent?" (Frears, 2002). The line is reflexive of Okwe's internal conflicts about his morality. Finally, the Turkish refugee, Senay Gelik (performed by French actress Tautou), presents motifs of the Great Mother archetype—Campbell calls her the *Universal Mother* and her *shadow*, or Terrible Mother, of course can be found in Juliette—one the pure virgin from whom Okwe

rents a couch, the other a prostitute who provides Okwe and Gelik with underworld guidance throughout the film (Campbell, 2004: 105). Each character also performs an important role in the plot progression.

For Okwe, finding the heart in the toilet is merely the departure from the ordinary world, a small test of a raid by immigration officers proceeds, but when he helps two African migrants he finally crosses the first threshold. Indeed, Sneaky is in the scene acting as a shadow—guarding the path beyond the threshold—forcing Okwe to break with his morality to help the two men. He enters a hospital, posing as a nurse, and steals the necessary equipment to save the man from death by a failed kidney removal operation. A continuation of tests follows Okwe after saves the man but continues to struggle alongside Gelik, who has been forced to work in a sweatshop after leaving the hotel position. Gelik still attempts to pull Okwe back to a deeper emotional connection, while Sneaky seduces him with the prospect of using his surgical skills in exchange for a forged French passport and Guo Yi bestows a philosophic realism upon Okwe. Finally, Okwe is forced into a position to face a *supreme ordeal,* performing a kidney removal for transplant on Gelik. In a form of *Elixir Theft,* he drugs Sneaky, removing his kidney to sell to the client. What makes the myth in *Dirty Pretty Things* effective is the moment of flight of Okwe, he does not travel to New York with Gelik as she hopes, but instead reveals his innermost demons to her. The cost of his morality in Nigeria was the loss of his wife, and when he fled the charge of her murder he left behind his daughter for whom he must now return to Nigeria with the false passport.

In the final scene, Gelik flees alone to New York and Okwe is in the same location as in the beginning of the film: at the international airport. Okwe returns to his normal world with an elixir both physically, with the French false passport, and emotionally, having found the courage to touch his innermost human emotions. In this light, *Dirty Pretty Things* presents

a compelling contemporary approach to a mythic structure. Even if in the mildest form, the hero entered chaos and emerged to bring justice and harmony.

3.2.4.2 Subaltern in *Dirty Pretty Things*

The film *Dirty Pretty Things* is exclusively presented from the point of view of the subaltern in London. The film reverses conventional narrative, presenting the subaltern characters sympathetically while showing natives as the primary villains. Ever character given significant screen time is an ethnic minority in London, although the character of Sneaky is the antagonist in the film, the men he works for are the source of his ability to exploit.

The film works impressively to connect each ethnic group, from Eastern European to black Caribbean and African, even the leading woman (although played by a French actress) represents the Turkish community. The white natives, in roles of immigration police, are in actuality portrayed as one-dimensional thugs; a sinister and silent businessman who collects the organs for trafficking plays the only other native white person. As a work which represents the subaltern in a responsible light, the film is immensely successful although they are not indeed presented as empowered individuals.

It is a convoluted approach to either misrepresent reality or inadvertently marginalize a socio-ethnic group. In this case the latter is not necessarily applicable due to the realistic nature of the film. Furthermore, as noted in the opening of this section, the film provides a comprehensive perspective from the subaltern. The characters, although desperately oppressed and exploited, are empowered as individuals to emerge from conflicts with a will indeterminate of those who normally come to the aid of the subaltern in cinema—white men.

3.2.4.3 Psychology of the Hero and Consciousness in *Dirty Pretty Things*

As noted in the previous section, several motifs appear throughout *Dirty Pretty Things* that appeal to the unconscious mind, which raises the broader narrative and cinematic form.

The motifs that compliment sensory stimulus in the film are the same that are more nuanced—discussed in Chapter 1 with regard to Smith (2009).

In order to construct an immersive audience experience, Frears situates Okwe in a deeply alternate environment. From the film's opening, and continued throughout the picture, the color of the light always appears to that of either dusk, night or dawn. As the camera follow Okwe into different environments—neon darkness of the taxi company, lighting from below at the Baltic Hotel, the cold blueness of the morgue and the clean brightness of the hospital—it takes the viewer through Okwe secret world that is the known unknown of London. Where the film succeeds in visual potential, the audio elements, more specifically the score fail to produce the same immersive experience. This does not remove the psychological depth of the protagonist.

Okwe himself is a wounded man. The film is an emotional journey of a man who is introduced as fiercely guarded, filled with despair, and finally transformed into one capable of deeper emotions, like hope and love, once again—as the final line in film is not audible but a distanced lip movement, forming the words "I love you", as Okwe and Gelik part at the airport (Frears, 2002). Although the character development in *Dirty Pretty Things* benefits the film's narrative, the film fails to take greater risks that create truly compelling cinema.

The film presents a parallel world to the one known by most Northerners but ties that world to an emotional familiarity. Because the film departs from the known world it must not distance itself from some of the more typical structural frames—the film ends with all of Okwe's acquaintances, the prostitute, the doctor, the hotel clerk, all colluding to aid him in deceiving the organ smuggler. In the sake of a positive ending, the film takes an easy escape by departing from some of the gritty realism the film shows signs of throughout.

3.2.4.4 Gender, Violence and Peace in London

Beyond the scope of an impressive approach to a subaltern perspective, from the

gender perspective, and a violence and peace perspective, the film fails to achieve the same qualities. Although the women in the film are represented as self-determinate in several ways—most notably Gelik's independence—the power of this quality is cancelled out by serious notes of disempowerment. The situation in this film is similar to that of *Blood Diamond*, precisely, what is expectable to omit in order to balance gender representations and victimhood?

After Gelik is forced to flee her hotel job and work in a sewing 'sweatshop', she is sexually exploited by her employer in order to keep him from turning her in to the immigration police. She is later again sexually violated by Sneaky in order to attain her passport—although this creates a serious 'plot hole' because why would she offer to give up her kidney in addition to her virginity for a passport when the normal price throughout the film was a kidney? The implausibility of the situation removed, it is a clear intention of Fears to show the exploitation and commoditization of women (the only other female character is a prostitute) but the just as the film presents the case for the plight of women it does so with a casualness that may not justify the sexual violence. Beyond the scope of the sexual violence, the film does not relish in any sort of real violence as a narrative tool.

Given the perspective of negative peace, the *Dirty Pretty Things* adheres to lesser notions of peace determined by a universalist approach to peacebuilding. But under the scrutiny of the deeper goals of cultural peace, of which universal standards have already been argued, the film fails to do more than provide an alternative perspective to the same violence projected on the victim. The weakness in this approach is found in Boal's approaches to the Theater of the Oppressed. In Boal's work he only focused on the oppressed and provided no channel for a discourse with the *oppressor*. Where a cultural peace film should ideally conclude with a connective quality. To take on a Jungian psychological approach to the issue, the archetypical shadow is a representative of the repression of undesirable traits, as such, the

representations of those can be realized in a deeper mythic narrative by a realization of likeness between good and evil (Stevens, 1994: 159). This is to note the missing potential for a cultural peace representation in the film. Additionally, the other points in the violence pyramid are present but at different degrees of success.

The use of violence has been discussed in relation to gender but what can be said about prospects of positive peace in the film? Certainly, if there is direct violence, and a great deal of structural violence—in that the story surrounds the exploitation of immigrants and the negation of their wellbeing—there should be notes of structural peace and positive peace if it were CTF. How could this have been achieved and is it necessary? Firstly, had the story followed a truly mythic narrative, Okwe would have had lost something vital to move toward a higher potential of being. There are certainly hints of darkness (shadow) in his character but in terms of justice, the final scenes seek to answer violence with violence in that he harvests Sneaky's kidney and sells it. In a sense, the victims become perpetrators with no recourse for their actions. Had the film used absolute CTF technics, the ending would have been resolved, not necessary without violence, but with indeed a great sacrifice and just use of the knowledge found from the sacrifice—indeed this is a very necessary consideration for CTF. Finally, these notions of peace and gender using the frames of Galtung, Nussbaum and Butler are important to balance film's connection to reality and the vision for which that reality can potentially be should these reflections on *being* be deeply considered.

3.3 The Comparative Assessment

The assessment of film in the holistic manner attempted in this case study of two diverging approaches to storytelling is also an effort to assess relevant ECT frames and how they are approached in a globalized context. Although peace philosophers like Lederach and Dietrich critique the use of a prescriptive mode of peacebuilding, the scope of how to apply peacebuilding techniques is in direct contradiction with the philosophical frames they use to

justify their approach—namely, any attempt to promote predictive peace approaches, which would address cultural violence that precludes mass atrocity or human rights violations. Indeed, if there were to be such a thing as a 'new war' it would not be defined by intrastate violence but by the globalization, *profitization* and exportation of violence directed by the global North on a post-colonial south. Yet the recent movements by Sützl (2016), Mitchell (2009) and Bratic (2016) maintain that there are not universalities with positive peace and that violence, although often incited and perpetuated by media, and ECT with media only have potential to be used in a conflict or post-conflict context, not as a tool to promote universalities defined in Chapter 1 with regard to the capabilities approach. Despite broad discourses in movements to bridge media and conflict transformation, the use of film television and storytelling in general—ignoring a long history of success by organizations like the BBC and Deutsch Welle (Deane, 2014, BBC World Service Trust India, 2009)—have been supplanted by a fascination with *new media*. The theoretical framing that precludes this assessment is therefore aimed at a transdisciplinary understanding that contemporary conflicts must be viewed in light of globalization and deeply shaped by cultural violence. As conflict discourses by Brigg and Muller (2009: 124) confirm culture may be the most important issue of all for peace workers, it is also something manufactured and disseminated as a "Western-derived" notion. Through these notions it is considered: how do these two films compare as peace films?

Each film shows a moderate effectiveness in its aims, albeit moderately flawed, but therein lays the failure; each film approaches story and social conflict in a manner that is preeminently doomed to produce something close to a peace film. With considerations for Lederach's aesthetics and serendipity, each film can be analyzed in praxis. Returning to the notion of Haiku, intuition, observation, and experience, can either *Blood Diamond* or *Dirty Pretty Things* be conceptualized in such a way? The former uses a metaphorical

sledgehammer to convey its synthesis of conflict, while the latter is much more nuanced aesthetically but does not provide a comprehensive experience of which could encourage the kind of perception shift Lederach discusses. Again, the application of serendipity is relevant to viewership, while CTF can be measured by its ability to remove conflict *tunnel vision*. *Blood Diamond* certainly convinced a large audience to break purchasing habits to a more socially conscious consumerism but, as discussed, the effect is negated by the marginalization of sub-Saharan Africans. While there are no social miracles produced in *Dirty Pretty Things*, the underbelly of London is rather exposed in the film providing a very fertile environment to expand knowledge of immigrant experience, but still hindered by the employment of a melodramatic subtext.

In the case of *Blood Diamond*, although the film reached huge audiences and addressed a serious social issue, it perpetuated racial stereotypes and used excessive violence as a tool for self-promotion. *Dirty Pretty Things* conversely failed to reach broader audiences, for a number of reasons, but appealed to high art aesthetics and palatable story structure but was limited in originality, complexity, and had shortcomings in gender representations and discourse with the *oppressor*. Certainly the two are not equal in terms of potential in conflict transformation but in the same position both contain exclusive benefits.

Although Sharma (2012) made a similar media analysis, the relationship to the influence of Hollywood on agenda setting is the primary goal of the article and little revealing information is presented. However, the work does confirm the influence a 'Hollywood' film has on the media. The direct approach that *Blood Diamond* takes to address its primary issue also proves as an asset for drawing attention in an activist filmmaking approach that is not found in the more nuanced approach that is found in *Dirty Pretty Things*.

Discourse surrounding *Blood Diamond* contains references to the modern media landscape and as Plantinga (2014) notes, the film drives at the audience's morality to force

action, but *Dirty Pretty Things* encourages discourse on human commoditization in a globalized economy. Whittaker (2011) points out the flawed notions of utopian vision constructed about modern Britain that *Dirty Pretty Things* subtly critiques as disturbing vision of migrant exploitation with globalization in large part to blame for migrant suffering. Stein (2010) comes to similar conclusions in her analysis of *Dirty Pretty Things* in light of EJ and *biocolonialism*; although she also importantly points to the migrants solving their own problems as part of hopeful indication of a movement in narrative. The clearly far reaching implications of the analysis of researchers, including Chrisman's (2012) critical indictment of the representation of blacks in *Blood Diamond*, shows that *Dirty Pretty Things* not only out performs *Blood Diamond* in terms of narrative approach but the social issue of human exploitation and commoditization is deeply affecting for a subaltern perspective.

Although neither film is an ideal peace film, they do provide a position from which to uncover what the necessary approaches in practice that peace film uses. What has been uncovered is a deeply problematic film according to the standards presented in *Blood Diamond*, while the shortcomings of *Dirty Pretty Things* are imperfections in storytelling and its ability to appeal to a greater audience. Finally, the dealings with *reality* between the two films are just as diverging.

It should not be considered a necessity in peace filmmaking, but a short analysis of film production reveals the benefits of writer's and actor's connection to the fictional material. The *Blood Diamond* contained a more activist approach and received much more attention because of the involvement of DiCaprio, also drawing attention to Hounsou's performance, but neither out-performs Ejiofor's authentic acting in *Dirty Pretty Things*. Indeed, Hounsou is also born in West Africa (Benin), immigrating to Paris and later becoming a model, but his connection to the character portrayed was not as direct as that of Ejiofor. Ejiofor who, like the character he performs, was born in Nigeria and immigrated to London lost his father at the

age of eleven, allegedly based his performance from the likeness of his dad (The Guardian, 2004). The sadness of the actor's expression in the film reveals, as critiques of the film agree, much more about him that what is said aloud, leading to a very powerful performance (Ebert, 2003b). Differences in production beyond acting reveal a deeply contrived Hollywood studio production (*Blood Diamond*) and an authentic screenplay by a well-respected British writer (*Dirty Pretty Things*) who was honored with an Oscar nomination among his many career accolades (Dunkley, 2004). Furthermore, *Dirty Pretty Things* writer Steven Knight has deep talent for writing conflicted and complicated characters as shown more recently with films *Eastern Promises* (2007), *Locke* (2013), *Closed Circuit* (2013) and *Pawn Sacrifice* (2014). These elements help to connect these real world issues and the film production to a deeper narrative connection for audiences.

Although the reality of the Sierra Leone situation was discussed at length in relation to *Blood Diamond*, race relations in London and organ trafficking were omitted in the discussion of *Dirty Pretty Things* because the film is a hypothetical underworld of London of which is not directly comparable to any historic period of events. The World Health Organization (WHO) finds not only a limited amount of literature in both the news media and academic articles but also most of the illegal transplants are undergone as "transplant tourism", patients who go abroad to the developing world to receive an illegal transplant (Shimazono, 2007). But because the film craftily suggests globalization as a cause for the exploitation of the bodies of immigrants, the subversive subject matter and its presentation are more palatable than a shaming approach used by *Blood Diamond* of which limited results can be found over time.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the results of the data research from newspapers that relate to the subject matter of the two film case studies and assessed the two films using several

theoretical frames. Several deductions can be made after the considering the two films in the complex framework of elicitive conflict transformation film.

The direct activist approach to filmmaking is limited because of the considerations of balancing audience ideals verses threats of otherness produced by social cinema. Furthermore, the goals of CTF would be the promotion of cultural peace; as such there is less room for singular agendas if they sacrifice the broader aims of cultural wellbeing. Indeed, the toolbox of pertinent approach formulated from Lederach are elusive in the approach to these films—serendipity and synthesizing a conflict into a metaphor. Films that address serious issues tend to approach them in such a way that the message becomes overtly obvious, evolving into melodrama. The nuanced way *Secrets and Lies* addresses the themes of race and family are overshadowed by the humanization of universal needs for love and difficulties within the family structure. Similarly, *La Grande Illusion* is able to express the absolute absurdity of war, class and nationalism without explicit violence or rhetoric. It can be deduced with some certainty that CTF is most effective with more nuanced narratives, which is not to say controversial or shocking approaches should be avoided, after all this is of course mainly drama for that CTF addresses. But the kind of shocks that *third cinema* sought are less-effective. Furthermore, some of the methodology presented here outside of story can be considered in light of the findings.

The limitations presented by not having a huge audience pool and specific aim of a film, removing the activist element in place for storytelling, it makes it difficult to make a media based assessment, as shown by the convincing media assessment in *Blood Diamond* and what was lacking with *Dirty Pretty Things*.

The use of narrative assessment guided by peace, media and social theory frames is a positive alternative but it also is limited by lacking a practical implication. That said it is difficult to consider what exact aspect of *Dirty Pretty Things* limited its theatrical success—

however, as mentioned earlier it was an exceptional year for film production.

Certainly, the melodramatic elements of *Dirty Pretty Things* do not help it appeal to both high and low art the way British director Leigh has been able to throughout his career. But most telling is the film suffers as a genre film—a thriller—instead of a contemporary drama.

Regarding *Blood Diamond,* the film can be essentially reduced for the purposes here to show what happens when a peace film goes wrong—concretely, expansive Hollywood studio films and peace film do not make a compelling combination. The problem remains, the one in which Solanas and Getino struggled, as to how to overcome and integrate CTF into the "system". Additionally, the problems of media power presented by Habermas (2006) remain elusive for much of the socially conscious cinema that could be included in CTF.

However, just as importantly in the case of *Blood Diamond* are the films depiction of sub-Saharan Africans that may confirm existing notions of tribalization of Africans. Recalling the work of cognitive film theory's mood and morality, the implications of the film transferred the social issue of conflict diamonds but also transcended the notion that conflict emerges out of barbarism and exploits the plight of the innocent, avoiding the more complex and controversial elements in a conflict. We should consider the elements of "spillover" from a film like blood diamond in that black Africans, much like their Northern black counterparts, are steeped in violence and poverty by absolute measure. Conversely, the same can be said about the notion of justice produced at the end of *Dirty Pretty Things* and the depiction of the immigrant classes, how does a filmmaker balance the reality of a social situation with the potential over-victimization of those they seek to raise awareness for?

Conversely, BBC's Media Action work makes the argument, supported by Baezconde-Garbanati et al. (2014), Rodriguez, Ferron and Shamas (2014), and Kidd (1999), that indigenous change may serve as a superior alternative to film influenced by Hollywood

mainstream cinema. Moreover, their work may also subvert my notions that issue based activist film should not be used as peace film.

Conclusion

Summary of Research

Good film—like good literature, painting and poetry—begins with a good question. The best of which does not presume to know answer to these questions but rather explores the possibilities—and many truths. What peace film is or what should be is not a concrete combination of rules and ethos but rather, like mythic structure itself, a shifting tide of potential attempting to touch the deeper subconscious in humans, while adapting to what is most relevant to a particular period of time. Fifty years ago, Galtung attempted to shift discourse on East-West conflict to one of North-South. Today, a limited discourse on such a holistic approach exists among conflict transformation theorists. While emphasizing contemporary, post-Cold War conflicts as differentiated from those prior, Dietrich (2013) and Lederach (1997: 7-10) fall under the influence of hegemony by failing to recognize the exploitation of the Southern countries in this context. Since the Cold War ended, the US initially lowed military spending but subsequently raised it to levels which account for the rest of the top eight counties combined (Nagdy & Roser, 2016). Furthermore, the leading weapons exporters in the world all come from the global North (including China and Russia), while weapons imports are dropping in Europe they are growing exponentially in the Middle East, North Africa and Asia (Wezeman & Wezeman, 2015). What can be drawn from this knowledge is need for a rational understanding of peace and conflict, both are disseminated and reacted upon. For example, a peace researcher from France may travel to Syria to assist refugees from the civil war, indeed important work, although his country holds a five percent share of weapons exports, a deeply divided class of Arabs and Africans and rising sense of

nationalism. The researcher could instead, perhaps more effectively, draw on socialist influences to mobilize against the arms industry, work within the community of France to promote interculturality with minority communities, or engage politically to confront xenophobic nationalism. Without a holistic approach to peacebuilding the remedies appear to approach conflict with a reactionary mentality that marginalizes interstate conflicts to identity based conflicts that contain long histories (Lederach, 1997: 8). The approach throughout this work has been to explore the many truths in peacebuilding with the aim cultural wellbeing.

This work began by outlining some of the peace theorists whose work is rooted in more classic perceptions of peace and the history for which these theorists were influenced both directly and indirectly. It continued to summarize and analyze these theories using a literary review of two important innovators on the more philosophical range of peace research. Indeed, both Dietrich and Lederach outline specific approaches to ECT, and although CTF does favor the notions of the elicitive form of conflict transformation, opposed to the prescriptive, categorically, it does not fit completely into the specific framework of ECT. Although CTF takes its cues from the elicitive form, it addresses the influences of identity and locality that limit or promote the public engagement in conflict transformation. ECT uses a more therapeutic rooted approach to address conflict, unfortunately, most effective uses of therapy perform best when those engaged do so of their own free will and already consider a notion of reconciliation—which leaves little room for spoilers or radical disagreements. CTF assumes that there are culturally divisive issues of which deep self-narratives are inherent and thus must be addressed through discrete channels.

Thus, it uses the simpler wording of *conflict transformation film* while still preserving much of the ideology of the elicitive form.

In an attempt to bridge the fields of peace research and film theory, the focus shifted to several relevant theorists, especially those concerned with the aesthetic and particularly cognitive film theory.

Through these literature reviews a range of related fields emerged. Although the breadth of the work could have remained more narrow, the transdisciplinary nature of the goals of film as a tool for conflict transformation concern and are consequentially supported by the fields of psychology, neuroscience, film and peace theory and mythology, as has been shown throughout this text. This approach continued through the case study portion of the work, in both the criterion portion and assessment.

Because the contemporary globalized context was a key feature in the outline of the cultural peace paradigm presented, it was necessary to not only analyze the case study films in terms of narrative conflict and the bridge between peace theory and film theory, but also frame them within a globalized conflict. Each of the films uses this globalized context to outline the three layers of violence presented in each context and subsequently how they present prospects for peace. The films were also analyzed and assessed using both theoretical and data tools to do so. Although some methods functioned better than others several conclusions can be found from the work.

Key Findings

In opposition to a work of scientific research, the methodologies of this work are purely qualitative in nature. As such, there are few findings one could hold to be *fact* but rather a range of information from which to draw conclusions in order to continue further research.

Findings can be considered in three broad categories: what insights can the literature review provide, what does the data show and what does a theoretical analysis reveal?

Firstly, the literature into conflict transformation and its development from the realist approach to peace theory is found to be superficially consistent but in a detailed reading great divisions concerning ECT can be found among its theorists. Among conflict transformation theorists, few researchers take on a critical opinion of Galtung's work and often it is a basis from which to begin discourse (Ramsbotham, 2010: 44, Richmond, 2008: 11, Francis, 2004: 63). But concerning Lederach, Ramsbotham argues while addressing his specialized approaches to deal with what he calls *radical disagreements*:

> His all-embracing critique of either/or and espousal of both/and thinking precludes Lederach from doing this. He does not see anything worth investigating in radical disagreements. In fact, in the end, he seems not to think that there are such things as radical disagreements at all (Ramsbotham, 2010: 83)

For Ramsbotham, the focus of his analysis is based on violent conflict transformation. In order to understand the communication based complexities of where to begin an attempt to transform a conflict he uses the frame of radical disagreements. There is a lengthy discourse about this issue but the most concise description he describes is:

> Conflicting perceptions, embattled beliefs, hardened attitudes, opposed truths, segmented realities, contrasting mental worlds, antithetic ideological axioms, incompatible ideological beliefs, alternative mental representations, differing views about reality, divergent discursive representations, differing discourse worlds—all of these can be seen to come within the same general idea that radical disagreements are conflicts of belief taken 'in its broadest sense'" (Ramsbotham, 2010: 7).

In this approach, he flaws Lederach—and it can be assumed Dietrich—for ignoring factors in violent conflict, like *spoilers* (discussed in *Chapter 1*) which deprive an umbrella prescription, which ECT attempts to limit but undoubtedly pursues. What the review suggests is a need to develop highly specialized ECT for specific contexts. For example, a rural violent conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa between parties willing to begin a dialog, a prescriptive form of ECT could suggest several areas in the toolbox to apply. However, waring parting with radical disagreements would not benefit from ECT as well and would be better served using other peacebuilding approaches—regardless of training and methods, those form the North arriving to the South can never produce *indigenous peace*. Mac Ginty (2008) explains the

convergence of indigenous peace into IR and certainly these notions can be promoted and supported by ECT methods.

The literature review also is revealed that ECT research would benefit from an attempt to uncover the mechanisms available to promote deeper attentions to cultural peace. This of course is not to exclude the work being done in peace education and intercultural peace, notably the work of París-Albert and Guzman (2004), Navarro-Castro and Nario-Galace (2008) and Portera (2011) all contribute to evolving notions of peace culture through intercultural integration, education and peaceful dialog. This work differs in its approach to cultural peace using CTF in that the latter applies the subtle unconscious forms of peacebuilding, those involved need not necessarily explicitly know that they are patriating in the *peace project*. It is from this window that goals of peace film emerge, not from notions of propaganda but form a non-hegemonic heuristic approach.

Secondly, the data sets that were used to explore how discourse on film through newspaper publications is a relatively unknown methodology in principle. The argument between the more influential impact between society or the news media is a widely discussed but will be excluded here, with the certainty that newspaper publications can be assumed to relate to public discourse by either coercion or representation. What was found in the difference between the two films were the influence certain issues can impact media discourse—especially with the backing of Hollywood celebrities. But contrarily found that the news media does not enjoy the liberal freedoms that other media arts may utilize, nor does it feature a balanced media power presented by in *Chapter 3* with regard to Habermas. This distinction is shown in the representations of immigrants in even the more liberal newspaper *The Guardian*, which failed to show as sympathetic approach to immigrant exploitation compared to those represented in both *Dirty Pretty Things* and *Blood Diamond*. The deeper analysis of the newspaper media was used to reflect upon the holistic nature of a conflict in

society and how multiple layers of influence effect the aims of cultural peace through active engagement.

Finally, the theoretical analysis found that although mythic structure is an important contribution to audience emotional connection, the success of a film financially cannot be directly attributed to its application in a narrative context. Analysis of far reaching films does concur that deviation too greatly from the monomythic structure makes a broad audience appeal limited, certainly we can look to the movement that rejected traditional approaches to narrative in Art Film for examples of the exclusive audience range in such pictures (Younger, 2011). The film *Blood Diamond* proved to be less than convincing compared to the outline of possible aims of conflict transformation film. In all areas of theoretical frames, the film does not use the necessary tools although it attempts to address a social issue. It is furthermore an example of a stereotypical negative representation of victims under the guise of a socially conscious film. Conversely, *Dirty Pretty Things* succeeds in most theoretical frames but is not without its flaws. It both failed to represent women in the most positive way and it failed to contain a bilateral discourse between the subaltern and the idealized North. Furthermore, the narrative execution does not take the necessary risks that produce great cinema.

Conclusions

What is clear is a need and desire in the peace research community to explore the latest developments in ECT using an inter- and transdisciplinary approach. Recent work by Rodríguez, Ferron and Shamas (2014), Sützl (2016) and Bratic (2008) all confirm the desire for intensive research into ECT and media, however no investigation into the connecting film to these areas has been done as of yet. What the work here concludes is an obvious relationship between the work of film theorists and peace researchers. It also confirmed the complexity of measuring the viability of what outcomes CTF can produce.

The issue of measurability should not be as great a concern as the theoretical position presented here, especially that which calls for a highly specialized approach to ECT and furthermore centers on preemptive conflict transformation: cultural peace. The peace theories used, along with other interdisciplinary approaches, confirms that film could be a very useful tool in the promotion of cultural peace among.

Finally, the work of the movements of political cinema auteurs, including third cinema, Sontag's notions of violent spectatorship, Bordwell's cognitive film theory, and Subaltern theory can be a helpful starting point to develop a moral and ethical approach to how filmmaking can be used in conflict transformation.

Limitations and Further Research

As mentioned earlier in the text, the approaches presented here to ECT and other methods to use film to promote social welfare are only hindered by the ambitious approach to connect them to the broader frameworks of their related fields. While theoretically sound, the methodology presented in this work is limited by resources and time and is less convincing considering the newspaper media data methodology. Although media analysis is an important area to of research in the field of peace, as represented by the work of peace journalists, perhaps as measurement of public discourse there are too many objections as to why the newspaper media is not a good measurement of public will—which was indeed shown by the short, but intense discourse promoted by *Blood Diamond* in the media. Further work in a deeper theoretic frame for CTF would be advantageous, in addition to a development of research intensives similar to that of TPI, USC's Media Impact Project, and the BBC's Media Action (formerly known as the BBC World Service Trust). These methods include traditional survey approaches and range to the more technical, using analytics and Internet user activity to confirm hypothesis.

Furthermore, the focus on the cultural peace project is dependent on taking elements of Lederach's relationship based context to understand the complexity of conflicts but to broaden that understanding to include consequences of globalization and cultural violence. The leading peace theorist discussed in this work inadvertently tend to address the kind of conflicts focused on by IR theorist, but instead of deploying ethos of liberal peace, the philosophical approaches are rooted in therapeutic methods. Unfortunately, the therapeutic approaches may only be helpful to overcome highly specialized violent conflicts and therefore, although it lacks the universal simplicity of non-violence, cultural violence does indeed present some of the best opportunities for the application of more philosophical approaches to peace. "Problem-solving workshops operating "with 'reasonable people, with reasonable goals such as peaceful coexistence'" are less effective in protracted asymmetrical conflicts "with those fighting for existential justice", like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Ramsbotham, 2010: 86).

The alternative praxis of CTF film would be the collaboration of conflict transformation using filmmaking and storytelling as a community building project. As such, the project becomes one of participation instead of spectatorship, although the two are naturally not mutually exclusive. Much like the work of participatory media[19], the film project would bring conflicting groups together to collaborate on a narrative film project—as most of the participatory media uses documentary film and radio. Personally having a background in film television production, I would continue this approach as a compliment to my established research into CTF.

[19] For more on participatory media see Baú's (2014) work in the Rift Valley of Kenya, "Building peace through social change communication: Participatory video in conflict affected communities", *Community Development Journal*, 50 (1), 121-137 and Rodríguez, Ferron and Shamas' (2014) assessment of citizens' media, "Four challenges in the field of alternative, radical and citizens' media research", *Media, Culture & Society*, 36 (2), 150-166.

Personal Perspective

Although it is often a part of several methodologies, especially in peace research among those including Lederach (2005) to place oneself within the research frames, but because my personal experience does not directly relate to the research presented, I decided to remove the *I* from my work. Of course the *I* can be assumed in decision for research aims and approaches is always a personal choice and driven by several life experiences. My connection to CTF and the assumption to mine the universality of being in the peacebuilding process comes from my extensities experience traveling cultures with supposedly deep division between my own as American and within my host country at large. But contrary to xenophobic notions of the other, I, whom have been called *deeply opinionated* and *difficult to debate with*, was always able to find common ground in a foreign land and make friends. From Maasai in Kenya to Yanomama in Venezuela and Syrians to Indian I have found kindness openness in places that natives should be very suspicious of foreigners. Admittedly, I was not faced with many direct conflicts in these travels but should I have, what kind of tools could I use to apply the universal connections that made us understand each other in friendship to help us understand each other in conflict? I believe this is the aim Lederach is often discussing when he writes of peacebuilding as art, it takes creativity and artful tenacity to translate these common notions of being into a conflict and transform that potential violence into something of an education.

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