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Violence and Victimhood: The Language and Image of *Kony 2012*

Invisible Children inc. (IC) is a San Diego and central Africa-based NGO advocating the arrest of Joseph Kony, head of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in central Africa, and his trial before the International Criminal Court (ICC). The LRA and Kony in particular have been accused of gross human rights violations including murder, rape and, most important to IC and prominent in the *Kony 2012* video, the kidnapping and recruiting of children as child soldiers or sex slaves. Based on his crimes against humanity Kony is currently the top international criminal on the wanted list of the ICC. Furthermore, IC provides development and humanitarian aid in central Africa, most notably Uganda, in the form of education. In order to raise funds and awareness for their cause, IC creates films which are distributed through the internet, particularly by using social media such as Facebook and Twitter. A second strategy is raising awareness by organizing lectures and workshops at high schools. The organisation has been praised for being able to effectively reach, inspire and mobilize its target audience which consists mainly of young adults. Critics however point out that the

organization's message simplifies the crisis in central Africa to such a degree that it becomes misinforming and manipulative (Cavanagh 1-2). Although this forms an interesting discussion, it lies beyond the scope of this paper.

Kony 2012 is a short (30 minutes) documentary film made by IC. It calls for the arrest of Joseph Kony and mobilizes its viewers to take action. The audience is called upon to cooperate in an experiment which will eventually lead to the arrest of Kony. The plan of action is to make Kony as famous as Hollywood celebrities by increasing global awareness. This will then increase pressure on the United States government and the international community to make the arrest of Kony a priority. In order to achieve this goal the video asks the audience to purchase an action kit which contains a bracelet and a poster featuring Kony which were to be put up throughout major cities on April 20th, an event called *Cover the Night*. The video was released on March 5th 2012 and was shared extensively through social media. Within a week, the video was watched over 73 million times on YouTube and 16 million times on Vimeo (Raine et al 1). In doing so, it set an all-time record for viral video in terms of number of views relative to the time span since its release. At the time of writing the number of views has risen to 91 million on YouTube and 18 million on Vimeo.

In contemporary society, social media are increasingly becoming of vital importance to companies, NGOs and governments for reaching young adult audiences. With 901 million active users (Facebook statistics April 2012) Facebook has become the largest social network in history. Its users are able to *share* and *like* each other's messages, photos and videos. An important aspect of viral videos is the spread through Facebook by *sharing*. Members of the community can *post* material on their personal pages, making it visible to friends and relatives. They may in turn share it with their own social group, and so on. This makes it possible for media to rapidly spread through multiple social groups, potentially reaching millions of individuals.

According to statistical research by Pew Research Center, social media played a critical role in the spread of *Kony 2012* (Raine et al 1). They found that in ages 18-29 the majority of survey subjects who knew about *Kony 2012* learned about the video through the internet, the majority of whom through social media such as Facebook and Twitter. Furthermore, when talk show host Oprah Winfrey started sharing the video with her 9,6 million followers, the number of views skyrocketed. Pew concluded that “[t]he internet was more than three times more important as a news-learning platform for young adults than traditional media” (Raine et al 2).

These findings seem to correspond with developments in 2011 in which social media played important roles: the sudden call for democracy in several Islamic countries during the Arab Spring in early 2011 and the Occupy movement which emerged in the autumn of 2011. In both cases civilians took to the streets and protests against longstanding governments ensued. Although the systemic grievances which eventually led to the rise of these movements were established long ago, it is often claimed that both movements originated through specific Facebook *groups*, smaller social groups within the Facebook community. They were used during their peaks as messaging boards for internal communication, strategy planning and mobilization. Moreover, the movements are still heavily supported by social media. In short, social media clearly has an important role to play in the process of videos ‘going viral’. Furthermore, social media seems to have a capability for mobilizing social groups.

Consequently, this suggests that the creators of such videos, especially those looking to mobilize target audiences and move them into action, adapt their material to its audience in order for it to be considered for extensive online sharing and thus viewership and eventually mobilization. Obviously, not every political video, no matter the dedication of the producer to

social media, goes viral. In other words, there has to be *something* about the video that convinces its viewers to extensively share it.

This paper will argue that the essence of the video's impact lies in its content, rather than strategic use of social media. A discursive case study of the content of *Kony 2012* will focus on word and image. This will examine the social processes which the video applies to mobilize its audience, form social boundaries and legitimize violent action, in this case military intervention by the Ugandan army supported by United States army experts. It will be argued that mobilization efforts such as *Kony 2012* serve complex and dynamic social processes in that they actively and deliberately form social dichotomies based on in-group inclusion and outside hostility. It is therefore important to conduct further in-depth research to understand these underlying dynamics.

Although the study of persuasion in online media and viral videos in particular are still in their infancies, the body of literature surrounding these phenomena is growing. These studies often expand on existing research in rhetoric, however, which has a firm but rather conservative grounding reaching back to Aristotle. Consequently, the discussions which are the result of these videos tend to focus on the credibility of the speaker's arguments, charisma or appeal to emotions. This traditional approach to viral video forms an interesting starting point, but still leaves social aspects, the forming of social group boundaries in particular, untouched.

One of the few studies of the effects of viral video was conducted by English et al. in 2011 about the persuasion appeals used. The persuasion capabilities of viral video were assessed using Aristotle's modes of persuasion: ethos, pathos and logos (English 735). Test subjects were shown several citizen-produced short videos, similar to those found on the online video community YouTube, which focused on either the credibility of the speaker (ethos), emotional appeals (pathos), in this case humour, or logical arguments (logos). Each

video had a single speaker in a single location. Based on their findings, English et al. concluded that the arguments based on ethos were considered to be the most persuasive (744). This traditional academic setup severely limits the scope on viral videos, however, which are often highly edited, feature multiple speakers and are less one-dimensional in their means of persuasion. English et al. also do not elaborate on the choice of humour to test the effects of arguments based on pathos. An appeal to empathy would arguably make for a more persuasive video. More importantly, however, the study does not take into account the social implications of viral video, which, as will be argued in the case of *Kony 2012*, actively form social groups and group boundaries, basing mobilization arguments on us/them dichotomies of inclusion and exclusion. Aristotle's modes of persuasion, then, prove inadequate to assess the social complexities of viral video.

Because of the inherently social characteristics of mobilization efforts it may be argued that a different approach to viral videos such as *Kony 2012* is in order if we aspire to a firmer grip on the content and effects of such material and a more nuanced perspective for future discussions. In recent sociological studies, in particular the field of conflict studies, the subject of *discourse analysis* is increasingly recognized as being of vital importance to analyzing mobilization efforts. This seems to provide a more fitting approach to mobilization efforts through the use of viral videos. Mobilization, after all, is a contest to win the hearts and minds of the public. Considering this process as part of a conflict therefore seems worthy of study.

Demmers explains that the discursive approach “examines the ways in which people engage in discursive practices that render violence against ‘the other’ legitimate and inevitable” (“Telling Each Other Apart” 20). It is a theoretical framework based on Giddens’ *structuration* theory, which argues that the forming of social structures is not a chicken and egg situation of *agency* (individuals have the capacity to initiate social change) versus

structure (individuals are born into a society which dictates social rules and are unable to initiate change). Rather, it states that “[s]tructures and agents [...] stand in a dialectical relationship to one another” (Demmers, “Telling Each Other Apart” 5). In other words, individuals can change the social structure, but are in effect limited by those changes. Vivienne Jabri expanded on this theory and identified the power of language as concrete evidence of Giddens’s theory: she argues that dominant discourses create, shape and change social structure (Demmers, “Telling Each Other Apart” 6). A contemporary example would be that of the term *terrorist*: when an individual or social group becomes labelled as such, behaviour towards that group or individual changes. Social and international interaction grinds to a halt: governments may refuse to negotiate with terrorists or terrorist organisations. Moreover, other forms of behaviour, mostly hostile, will be legitimized. The discursive approach, then, analyzes this process as a power struggle of meaning and naming, also known as the *politics of portrayal* (Demmers, “Telling Each Other Apart” 6). As the previous example indicates, such politics can have far-reaching consequences. This is not to be confused with Foucault’s understanding of discourse, which suggests that individuals have no agency in the forming and dominance of discourse. Foucault’s approach is more or less comparable to the deliberately limited vocabulary of Newspeak in Orwell’s *1984*.

Others have expanded on the discursive approach by identifying specific frames of discourse used by social movements, governments and individuals. Benford and Snow for instance analyzed mobilization efforts by social movements and found several of what they coined *collective action frames*. These encompass diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames, which indicate an issue, propose a solution and mobilize the audience (Benford and Snow 615-617). Schröder and Schmidt found what they termed *violent imaginaries* as core elements in the framing of events for specific goals. It follows their theory that “violence needs to be imagined in order to be carried out” (Schröder and Schmidt 9) and as such looks

specifically at the legitimization of violence against an outside group by specific discourses and images which contain violence. This can be either violence against the inside group, framed as injustice and victimization, or against the outside group, framed as just retaliation. Steuter and Wills have studied the visual aspect of communication in political cartoons and newspaper headlines. They identify metaphors for enemy construction in several studies and describe how the enemy other is often dehumanized to resemble animals or insects, either to be hunted down and killed or feared and exterminated (Steuter and Wills, “Discourses of Dehumanization” 13).

The above studies have in common that the discursive process, i.e. the politics of portrayal, serves two main purposes: 1) to establish us/them dichotomies and 2) to legitimize violence against the excluded group.

Initial findings

For an initial general analysis, a qualitative discourse analysis of *Kony 2012* was conducted, mapping the different narratives of the video. This was done by tagging relevant particles of text, meaningful images or both with one or more properties (see Appendix A for the study in its entirety). Key subjects such as violence or victimization were recognized and included, as well as social groups and collective action (see fig. 1). For instance, the sentence “[i]f my son were kidnapped and forced to kill it would be all over the news” (*Kony 2012*.) was tagged *included group (us)*, *victimhood* and *violence*.

The graph indicates that the value *included group (us)* is most prevalent in *Kony 2012*. This value was used to indicate text or image used to: 1) identify the “us” group; 2) address the audience as one of the “us” group or inviting to become a member of the group by taking action; 3) set or reify social boundaries by contrasting “us” to “them”. After the subject of *collective action*, which is also carried out by *us* and may or may not be violent, the identification of *enemies* is significantly higher than other subjects. This value shows the

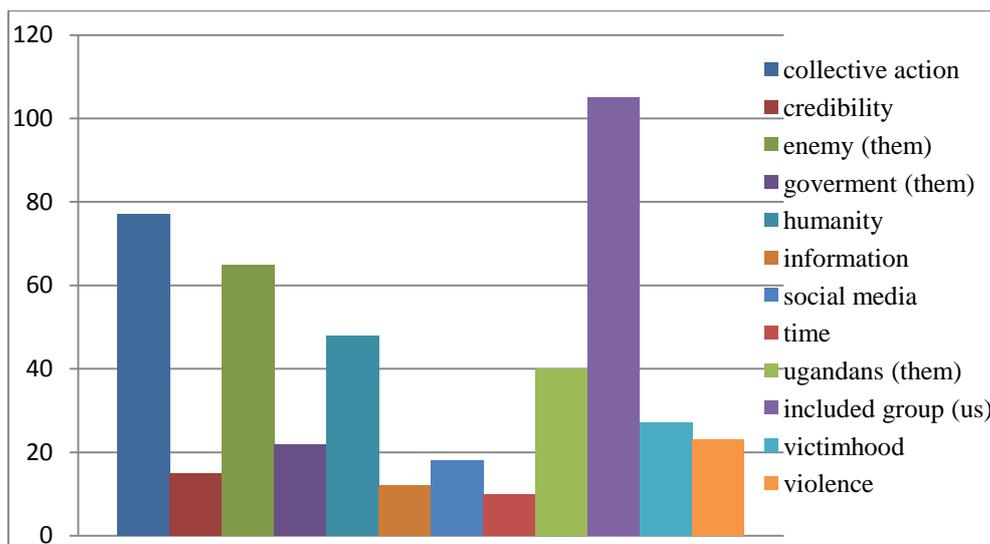


Fig. 1. Quantitative overview of *Kony 2012* (Appendix A)

number of times enemy identities are formed. In this case obviously Joseph Kony and the LRA are regarded as enemies. However, the United States government is also considered an *other*, albeit a non-violent entity.

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The graph supports the claim of the discursive approach that the main social processes in discourse are the creation of us/them dichotomies and the legitimizing of violent action towards the excluded social group. These three concepts (us, them, action) are presented,

shaped and repeated in *Kony 2012*. It furthermore offers a first glance of *Kony 2012* by defining which narratives are most often used and which social groups are addressed or identified.

Collective action frames: identification of victim and enemy

Benford and Snow explain that framing is understood as an active practice of “meaning construction” (614) through the use of language. The framing used by social movements has an added component of mobilizing its members into collective action. Frames used by such movements are therefore called *collective action frames*. Benford and Snow recognize three core frames used by social movements: “diagnostic, prognostic and action mobilization framings” (615).



Fig. 2. Jacob, victimhood and injustice frame (*Kony 2012*.)

The diagnostic frame is used to indicate an issue which needs to be resolved. In *Kony 2012* a number of frames are used to achieve this goal. The most noticeable frame used in the video is a so-called *injustice frame*, which identifies victims and amplifies their victimhood. Benford and Snow rightfully point out that injustice frames are not always part of diagnostic

frames, but often they are (615-616). The injustice frame is first touched upon by the introduction of Jacob, a young Ugandan man who symbolizes Ugandan suffering throughout the video. When Jacob first features it is immediately made clear that he is “our friend in Africa” and the emotional bond between Jason Russell, who narrates the video and features in it, and Jacob is emphasized by photos and videos on Facebook, the Facebook *timeline* showing their connection through the years (*Kony 2012*). The injustice frame is then introduced by a combination of word and image: while the timeline goes back to 2003, Russell narrates: “but when my friends and I first met him in Uganda, in central Africa, it was in very different circumstances”. Upon this, the camera pans to an interactive Google Maps image of Africa, zooming in on Uganda and the city of Gulu. This process is accompanied by the text “he was running for his life” (*Kony 2012*). Following this is footage of an interview with a much younger Jacob in which he explains his fear of being killed by the LRA rebels and how his brother was killed while trying to escape. When Jacob is asked if he saw this, his reply “I saw” is echoed for emphasis (*Kony 2012*, see fig. 2). The diagnostic frame continuously builds on this image of Ugandan victimhood under the violence of the LRA. After Jacob has been identified as a victim, the video places similar labels on other Ugandans both through short interviews and long shots of refugees sleeping in Internally Displaced People (IDP) camps.

Another important aspect of the injustice frame is the perceived passive role of the Ugandans in the conflict. This becomes clear after the first emotional climax in the video which occurs when Jacob breaks down and cries after he speaks about his lost brother and his own death wish. This triggers the first mentioning of a prognostic frame when Russell comforts him and is heard saying: “we are going to do everything that we can. [...] We are going to stop them”. Again, the final sentence is echoed for emphasis (*Kony 2012*). This not only reinstates the injustice frame, thereby identifying Jacob and other Ugandans as victims, it

also implies their lack of agency. Consequently, further meddling by IC as an outsider and action in the form of military violence are legitimized. This recurring theme caused controversy amongst Ugandans and local NGO activists, as Cavanagh states, because it “obscured decades of local activism and grassroots campaigning by Ugandans themselves [...]” (3).

Soon after the upbeat intro, it becomes clear that Joseph Kony and the LRA abducted children in order to recruit them as child soldiers or as sex slaves. This introduces a second aspect of the diagnostic frame, which is often called an *adversarial frame*. Benford and Snow explain that this framing places blame or responsibility with one party, identifying it as an enemy (616). In the case of *Kony 2012* blame is clearly placed with Joseph Kony and the LRA. When Russell attempts to explain the LRA conflict to his four-year-old Gavin, Kony is immediately identified as “a bad guy” (*Kony 2012.*). The child-like explanation Russell offers



Fig. 3. Joseph Kony, the “bad guy” (*Kony 2012.*)

his son, it seems, is mainly to ease the audience into the subject matter as the majority of viewers are possibly ignorant of the existence of Kony before watching the video. The

segment which follows contains a more detailed explanation of Kony's war crimes. Luis Moreno Ocampo, head prosecutor for the ICC, reifies the criminality of Kony by stating: "the criminal here is Kony". Interestingly, while the LRA has at times been a large rebel group with multiple leaders, Kony is singled out as the sole perpetrator of the crimes, for instance: "[f]or 26 years Kony has been kidnapping children into his rebel group, the LRA. [...] It's been over thirty thousand of them". This section of the video, lasting three minutes, starts with a dramatic abduction of a child and a static image of Kony staring straight into the camera. Light falls only on his eyes while other details are blurred, guiding attention to his eyes (see fig. 3). In doing so, Kony literally becomes the face of the homogenous group which is the LRA.

A final aspect of Kony's villainous portrayal is the following claim by Russell: "as if Kony's crimes aren't bad enough, he is not fighting for any cause, but only to maintain his power. He is not supported by anyone and has repeatedly used peace talks to re-arm, again and again" (*Kony 2012*). In doing so, Kony is accused of committing senseless violence. This discourse, which is also adopted by the ICC, has several consequences, as Adam Branch has pointed out: "The LRA is reduced to a criminal group; the Acholi peasantry are turned into innocent, passive victims; and the ICC itself, aligned with the military force of the Ugandan government, becomes the exclusive interpreter and enforcer of justice – the judge, police and jailer" (190). Consequently, Kony and the LRA are denied any political relevance, thereby denying the existence of structural issues in Uganda which may have led to the rise of the movement in the first place (Branch 191). The diagnostic frame of *Kony 2012*, then, proposes a discourse in which Kony is reduced to an icon of evil, deserving of destruction. Moreover, by placing all blame on Kony, IC seems to apply an elite theory of conflict, an approach which argues that violence is strategically orchestrated by elites to gain or maintain group support (Demmers, "Identity, Boundaries and Violence" 12). This top-down theory assumes

masses are generally passive victims or submissive servants of the elite mastermind. Removal of the elite from society would then solve the problem. Elite theories of conflict, however, are often criticized for being too narrow and simplistic (Demmers, “Identity, Boundaries and Violence” 13) and many argue that removing Kony will not end the conflict

One approach not covered by Benford and Snow is what may be termed an *awareness frame*, as it includes a discourse often used by awareness campaigns. It characterizes the inside group as knowledgeable and aware of a certain issue while the “rest of the world” is unaware or uncaring. Russell narrates that “It's obvious that Kony should be stopped. The problem is 99% of the planet doesn't know who he is. If they knew Kony would have been stopped long ago” (*Kony2012*). As part of the diagnostic frame, it creates a dichotomy between the social movement and the masses based on what is perceived to be essential knowledge.

The *prognostic frame* intends to propose a solution to the problem (Benford and Snow 616). As Benford and Snow state, the forming of the prognostic frame “takes place within a multi-organizational field consisting of various SMOs [Social Movement Organization], constituting a movement industry, their opponents, targets of influence, media, and bystanders”. They conclude that prognostic frames often refute solutions by others and support their own solutions with arguments (Benford and Snow 617). The case study of *Kony 2012* shows that this theory needs slight expansion to also incorporate the criticizing of the *lack* other parties’ solutions, governments in particular. This point is made when the video narrates the experience of the members of IC as they return from Uganda and confront the United States government: “we thought that if the government knew, they would do something to stop him, but everyone in Washington we talked to said there is no way the United States will ever get involved in a conflict where our national security or financial interests aren't at stake” (*Kony 2012*). This same criticism is later used as a way of

legitimizing the IC's course of action: "[...] because we couldn't wait for institutions or governments to step in, we did it ourselves [...]" (*Kony 2012.*). This implies that the perceived passiveness of other outside parties is used to present the IC as the only party able and willing to bring justice to Uganda.



Fig. 4. “We should stop him” (*Kony 2012.*)

The actual solution to the problem propagated by *Kony 2012* is to “stop Kony”. The word “stop” features twelve times in total, seven of which within one minute in the middle of the video. In this section Gavin and ICC head prosecutor Moreno Ocampo are interviewed for their thoughts on Kony. The ICC, an international institution dedicated to bringing the world's worst criminals to trial, serves as a beacon of hope and justice. Because the court only prosecutes war criminals and human rights violators, Ocampo has been exposed to many gross crimes against humanity over the years. In *Kony 2012* this is shown by his pragmatic attitude when listing Kony's crimes. Ocampo's age and years of experience are then contrasted to four-year-old Gavin, who is told for the first time about Kony and asked for his opinion on what to do. His youthful innocence and intuition instinctively lead him to say: “we should stop him” while he points at a photograph of Kony, immediately followed by Ocampo who states: “[t]he criminal here is Kony. Stop him and then solve other problems” (*Kony 2012.*, see fig. 4).

Benford and Snow attribute vocabularies of urgency, agency and efficacy to a call to arms, or *motivational frame*, the final task of collective action frames (617). Because the prognostic frame of *Kony 2012* also contains these vocabularies, it can be argued that there is no clear distinction between prognostic and motivational frame, the two frames continuously overlap. The video warns that “time is running out” and “it’s got to be 2012”. It also claims that the process has already begun: posters are already being put up “right now, today”, and an event of joint activism is planned for April 20th. “when we will meet at sundown and blanket every street in every city until the sun comes up” (*Kony 2012*). These instructions are supported by clips of enthusiastic activists putting up posters in large western cities. Agency is emphasized throughout the video, from the initial slogan “[n]othing is more powerful than an idea whose time is now” to mobilizing sentences such as “[...] if we succeed, we change the course of human history” and “[...] what we do or don’t do, will affect every generation to come” (*Kony 2012*).

Violent imaginaries: legitimize violence using violence

An important aspect of the forming of discourses of exclusion is the re-enactment of past violence. The renewed experience of highly emotional events can foster support for victims of violence or legitimize retaliatory violence against an antagonistic group. Schröder and Schmidt go even further: “[t]here exists no more important resource for an ideology of violence than the representation of past violence, of former dead, former loss and former suffering” (8). *Kony 2012* contains several scenes which make use of this “[...] performative quality” of violence (Schröder and Schmidt 5). Schröder and Schmidt argue that “violent imaginaries” can be divided into three categories: stories about glory or suffering (narratives), public rituals (performances) and images in the cultural landscape (inscriptions) (9-10). According to their theory, TV images would strictly fall under the ‘inscriptions’ category (Schröder and Schmidt 10). This is, however, slightly misleading. Once dissected

for analysis, documentaries and short videos such as *Kony 2012* contain imaginaries which would fit in each category.

The underlying assumption of violent imaginaries is that “violence needs to be imagined in order to be carried out” (Schröder and Schmidt 9). By emphasising violent suffering and presenting violence as just retaliation against the outside group, violent imaginaries are important in the process of the legitimization of violence. It conditions “us” to accept violence as a just and inevitable course of action. Violent imaginaries are usually analysed in a context where “we” are victims of violent conflict. *Kony 2012*, however, shows that violent events which have no cultural salience to the audience can also be effective in mobilizing audiences and garnering popular support.



Fig. 5. Child abduction, a violent imaginary

An example of this practice is a short scene in which a young Ugandan boy is abducted (see fig. 5). In a ten second slow motion sequence he is grabbed while sleeping and dragged away from the camera. While the boy screams there is no sound apart from Russell’s voice-over, saying: "I couldn't explain to Gavin the details of what Joseph Kony really does. Because the truth is Kony abducts kids just like Gavin." The violent image of the abduction and the distressing silence presents a clear distinction between “us” and “them” (*Kony 2012*). In ten seconds it becomes clear why “we” should fight “them”. The moral degeneration of the victimization of the child is personalized by Russell relating the

situation to his own son. It combines the narrative and the visual, a violent discourse of suffering.

The justification of violence as a course of action against Kony and the LRA is shown through multiple images of the Ugandan and United States military forces. These inscriptions are accompanied by Russell explaining that "in order for Kony to be arrested this year, the Ugandan army has to find him". Another aspect of violence as a means to an end is the identification of the IC activists as "an army of young people" who are chanting that they "will not stop [...] will not fear" and "will fight war" (*Kony 2012.*). Furthermore, the activists wear army-green shirts with images of rifles printed on them and are shown multiple times posing as a static homogenous group collectively giving the peace sign (see fig. 6). Although the sign has different connotations, in the context of the green uniform-like shirts and their demeanour, suggests a military greeting. These images, combined with the discourse of suffering, fighting and war further legitimise that the logical course of action is violence.

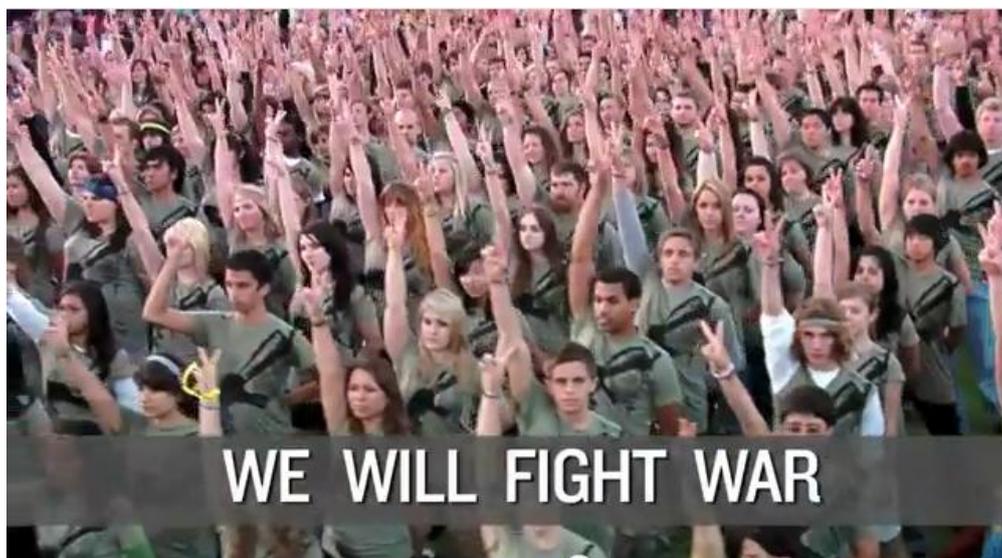


Fig. 6. Invisible Children Inc. activists

As Schröder and Schmidt point out, however, it is important to realize that each party in the “triangle of violence” (perpetrator, victim and observer), forms its own frame according to its own cultural factors (12). *Kony 2012* has been framed from the perspective of a western observer, not an African victim. Consequently, the frames and imaginaries proposed by IC may be incongruent with those of the Acholi people, let alone Joseph Kony and the LRA. Local communities, for instance, have pointed out that the arrest of Kony is of far less importance to them than ending the conflict and having children returned home (*Peace vs. Justice.*). *Kony 2012* on the other hand argues that the return of child soldiers can only occur after Kony is caught. It becomes clear, then, that the violent imaginaries serve to mobilize the observers of the conflict, not represent its victims.

Enemy construction: textual and visual metaphors

As indicated earlier, Joseph Kony is clearly identified as the antagonist in the diagnostic frame of *Kony 2012* by focusing on the victimhood of the Acholi community, most notably Jacob, and literally degrading him to a criminal. Furthermore, by reliving violence of the past, violence becomes a viable option. Steuter and Wills discerned another trend in news media headlines since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, namely the dehumanization of enemy identities. They are “metaphorically linked to animals, particularly to prey”. This brings with it what they term a “hunt metaphor”, which indicates that the image of the enemy becomes an animal of prey which needs to be tracked down (Steuter and Wills, “Discourses of Dehumanization” 13). Another study by Steuter and Wills focuses on visual, rather than textual metaphors, political cartoons in particular. Both studies suggest that in times of war enemy identities are often dehumanized to represent insects or rodents, especially rats, to conjure up feelings of fear, disgust, disease and de-individualization; the enemy often resembles a swarm of homogenous invaders which needs to be exterminated (Steuter and Wills, “Discourses of Dehumanization” 14-15; 19).

Analyzing *Kony 2012* for the use of metaphors leads to the conclusion that there are no real insect and/or rodent metaphors in the video. The narrator is noticeably careful not to use hunt model vocabularies such as “trap”, “hunt” or “snare” (Steuter and Wills, “Discourses of Dehumanization” 13). What does feature, however, is a theme of invisibility, for both Kony and his victims. The IC, after all, refers to the victimized children of the Ugandan conflict, while Kony himself is described as being invisible: “[h]e's invisible, Joseph Kony's invisible” (*Kony 2012*). As such, the theme of invisibility has multiple functions, invoking similar connotations as insect or rodent metaphors. The invisibility of swarms of insects to describe enemy movement is touched upon by Steuter and Wills, but relates mostly to large numbers of enemies (“Discourses of Dehumanization” 15). Kony, on the other hand, is a single antagonist in the video. His invisibility in turn works in multiple ways. First of all, it is the underlying assumption for the entire campaign. Kony’s invisibility symbolizes his impunity. He and his crimes have to be made visible in order for justice to be carried out. This then relates to the hunt metaphor, turning him into a beast of prey to be hunted by the Ugandan military and United States experts. The hunt metaphor often ends in death when the prey is caught (Steuter and Wills, “Discourses of Dehumanization” 13), but neutralization would be a more fitting term for *Kony 2012*. Kony is to be trialled and removed from society rather than killed in action. The other function in *Kony 2012* of Kony’s invisibility is the potential danger he poses to the population. This places Kony in the role of a predator, hunting passive Ugandan victims who in turn take on the role of prey; they are, once again, lower down the food chain. This can also be seen in the abduction clip as discussed earlier (fig. 5).

The most striking of visual metaphors is the poster which IC adopts to communicate their message (see fig. 7). Kony’s face, his eyes invisible, fills most of the image while headshots of Osama Bin Laden and Adolf Hitler serve as the background. This powerful

image, characterized by the violent contrast of red and blue as main colours, forms a clear portrayal of the enemy, not just of Uganda, but of humanity. The obvious allusions to the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the extermination of millions in the Second World War need no explanation. Interestingly, Hitler and Bin Laden's eyes are clearly visible. This is in stark contrast to other images of Kony in the video, which in fact draw emphasis to the eyes. It entails that the shadow which is cast over Kony's eyes, is a deliberate choice by the creator of the poster.



Fig. 7. *Kony 2012* poster (*Kony 2012*.)

Furthermore, the castings of black and red in Kony's face are far more rugged and angular than those in the faces of the others, creating an even more violent image. The image is thus presented as a gradual rise of evilness and senseless violence. On the other hand, one could argue that the image challenges the western viewer to defeat Kony. Osama Bin Laden and Adolf Hitler, after all, were defeated by western intervention, American military intervention in particular. From this perspective, Kony is next in line, so to say, to be defeated by western powers. The *Kony 2012* poster, it seems, is the ultimate enemy identification of the campaign

and in the video. It draws on extremes, both visually and symbolically. It defines who Kony is and seems to be the final step in the “metaphoric entrapment” which the video sets out to achieve. Metaphoric entrapment occurs when “a concept is understood so thoroughly and consistently in terms of a particular metaphor that it doesn’t make sense in any other terms” (Schröder and Schmidt, “Infestation and Eradication” 15).

Conclusion

The case study of the viral video *Kony 2012* showed that in the politics of naming and portrayal many social dynamics are of importance and how mobilization efforts can be analyzed. By using Benford and Snow’s collective action frames a global setup of the video was created. The diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framings were identified and discussed and, if necessary, their definitions were expanded. By clever use of the victimhood of the Ugandan victims of Joseph Kony and the identification of him as the criminal responsible for their suffering, a discourse of othering and antagonism was clearly visible. The overlapping prognostic and motivational frames set out a plan of action and called out to the audience for collective action. Here it became clear that agency and urgency are prevalent in the video, spurring activists on to join the ongoing activities and ensuring their capacity to make a change. This capacity was effectively removed from the Acholi, however, reducing them to passive victims in need of rescue. The role of violence in the forming of us/them dichotomies is also of importance. The reliving of suffering in the past through violent imaginaries as defined by Schröder and Schmidt legitimizes violence against Kony. Finally, the use of textual and visual metaphors seem to create a final image of Kony. At the end of the analysis, Kony is characterized by evilness, senseless violence and danger. The above shows that mobilization efforts such as *Kony 2012* serve complex and dynamic social processes in that they actively and deliberately form social dichotomies based on in-group

inclusion and outside hostility. It is therefore important to conduct in-depth research to understand these underlying dynamics.

The findings suggest that in garnering support for mobilization campaigns, victimhood and enemy construction are essential and that violent events form effective tools to form social groups. This study may also inform future discussions on the subject of mobilization and the chosen language. Where the initial criticism of *Kony 2012* focused on the subject of oversimplification as a tool to garner support, it did not amply explain why the video was so effective. The discursive approach adds nuance to this discussion, laying bare the underlying social mechanics which can explain the efficacy of a mobilization video.

It must be pointed out that this study was limited in several ways. First, as a case study *Kony 2012* sheds a light on one example; findings in other videos may vary. Secondly, the video was not compared to mobilization videos by other NGOs. Furthermore, IC has released several videos in which the NGO reacts to criticism regarding *Kony 2012* and further explain the Cover the Night campaign. A sequel to the video has also been released in April. These videos were not included, perhaps forming interesting case study material for future research. Finally, by focusing on violence and victimhood, other visual or linguistic aspects of *Kony 2012* which may influence viewer reaction were not studied.

It would be very interesting for future research to investigate why the *Kony 2012* campaign, regardless of its high number of viewers, was less successful in transferring the video to actual collective activities. Interest in the video and subject matter diminished within weeks and at the time of writing the crimes of Kony are no longer relevant in the collective memory. The ambitious Cover the Night event seems to have failed. No reports of areas covered in posters were found in news media. On the contrary, reports of failure and criticism for planning the event on Adolf Hitler's birthday and anniversary of one of the worst LRA

massacres in Uganda were all the more prevalent (iMaverik). A future study investigating this process from digital to real world activism would be very interesting.

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Appendix A

Abbreviations:	
ca=collective action	Actions performed or to be performed in the future by <i>us</i>
cr=credibility	Proof of perceived credibility of the narrator
en=enemy (them)	Collective enemy (<i>them</i>)
gv=government	Role of government in conflict (<i>them</i>)
hm=humanity as a whole	Concerning the whole of humanity (<i>us</i>)
if=info	Informative of conflict or movement
sm=social media	Social media as shared identity (<i>us</i>)
ti=time	Sense of time and urgency
ug=uganda (them)	Portrayal of Ugandan victims (<i>them</i>)
us=included group	Target audience of the film and/or social movement itself (<i>us</i>)
vc=victimhood	Victimhood as shared identity of victims (<i>them</i>)
vi=violence	Vocabulary of violence (<i>us/them</i>)

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
Social Media in context	txt	00:24 - 00:30	"Right now, there are more people on Facebook then there were on the planet 200 years ago"					x		x					
00:24 - 1:40	vis	00:15 - 00:30	Earth seen from outer space; spinning					x		x					
	txt	00:35 - 00:50	"Humanity's greatest desire is to belong and connect and now we see each other, we hear each other"					x		x			x		
	txt	00:50 - 00:54	"we share what we love and it reminds us what we all have in common"		x			x		x			x		
	vis	00:55 - 01:18	<i>YouTube</i> clips: fun/happiness; children; clicking on Facebook/YouTube; importance of share button					x		x					
	txt	01:14 - 01:16	"And this connection is changing the way the world works"					x		x			x		
	vis	01:18 - 01:23	Taghrir square protest tweets/protestors	x		x		x		x					

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
Intro clip	vis	08:50 - 09:02	Symbols: triangle, poster, bracelet, stickers, shirts												
08:50 - 09:02	vis	08:50 - 09:02	People: activists: young, predominantly white, western, hip, identical shirts + locals (2 shots): speaking into radio microphone, map												
	vis	08:50 - 09:02	Activities: putting up posters & stickers, wearing bracelet, building (?), speaking into radio, cheering at white house, posing (army-like)												
	aud	08:50 - 09:02	Music: upbeat												
Explanation to Gavin	txt	09:12 - 09:21	Russell: "He knows I work in Africa, but he doesn't know what the war's about or who Joseph Kony is, so I'm going to explain it to him today, that's what we're doing."		x				x						
09:05 - 10:37	txt	09:32 - 09:38	Russell: "What do I do for a job?" Gavin: "You stop the bad guys from being mean."		x	x						x	x		
	txt	09:38 - 09:46	Russell: "who are the bad guys?" Gavin: (hesitates, doesn't know) " <i>Star Wars</i> people"			x							x		
	txt	09:58 - 09:59	Gavin: "he's a bad guy?" Russell: "yeah"			x			x			x			
	txt	10:02 - 10:17	Russell: "Joseph Kony, he has an army, ok? And what he does, is he takes children from their parents and he gives them a gun to shoot and he makes them shoot and kill other people."			x						x		x	x
	txt	10:20 - 10:30	Gavin: "But they're not gonna do what he says because they're nice guys, bright?" Russell: "yeah they don't wanna do what he says, but he forces them to do bad things."			x						x	x		
	txt	10:31 - 10:34	Russell: "what do you think about that?" Gavin: "it's sad"										x		
Real explanation	txt	10:37 - 10:48	"I couldn't explain to Gavin the details of what Joseph Kony really does. Because the truth is Kony abducts kids just like Gavin."		x	x							x		
10:37 - 12:00	vis	10:40 - 10:50	Child gets abducted while sleeping. Slow-motion pulling away from camera, panic		x	x									x
	vis	10:50 - 10:59	Close up of Kony spins to fit background. Devilish looks, sweat on his face, looks straight into the camera			x									
	txt	10:57 - 11:03	"For 26 years Kony has been kidnapping children into his rebel group, the L.R.A."		x	x			x						
	txt	11:07 - 11:15	"Turning the girls into sex slaves and the boys into child soldiers."			x			x			x		x	x

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
	txt	11:17 - 11:27	"He makes them mutilate peoples faces and he forces them to kill their own parents."			x			x			x		x	
	vis	11:20 - 11:22	Short, quick selection of mutilated faces. Hard to see details because of high speed											x	x
	txt	11:30 - 11:38	"And this is not just a few children. It's been over 30.000 of them."			x			x					x	
	vis	11:30 - 11:38	Picture of Kony in crucifixion pose surrounded by children. Camera pans out to emphasize sheer numbers			x						x		x	
	txt	11:43 - 11:45	"And Jacob was one of those children"											x	
	vis	11:43 - 11:45	Zoom in on Jacob standing in crowd of children											x	
	vis	11:48 - 11:50	Slow camera pan on Kony staring straight in the camera, again evil looking			x									
	txt	11:50 - 12:07	"As if Kony's crimes aren't bad enough, he is not fighting for any cause, but only to maintain his power. He is not supported by anyone and has repeatedly used peace talks to re-arm, again and again."		x	x			x						x
	vis	11:53 - 12:07	Official-looking documents, sentences mentioned by Russell are highlighted. Peace sign turns into ak-47		x										x
ICC & Ocampo	txt	12:09 - 12:14	Ocampo: "Kony different times proposed peace and then just regained strength and attacked"			x			x						x
12:09 - 13:00	txt	12:14 - 12:18	"This is the head prosecutor for the International Criminal Court"		x				x				x		
	vis	12:14 - 12:37	Ocampo talking, ICC building, official looking document -> wanted list		x								x		
	txt	12:19 - 12:26	"In 2002 when the court was started their job was to find and demand the arrest of the world's worst criminals."			x			x				x		
	txt	12:27 - 12:37	"Although there are a lot of warlords, murderers and dictators in the world, the perversity of Kony's crimes made him first on the Court's list"			x									x
	txt	12:37 - 12:44	Ocampo: "Kony is the first guy indicted by the ICC. The crimes basically are crimes against humanity and war crimes committed against the civilian population."			x									x
	txt	12:44 - 12:50	Ocampo: "including murder, sexual slavery, rapes, abductions"												x
	txt	12:50 - 12:55	Ocampo: "we need to plan how to arrest Kony. Start to plan and it has to be serious."	x		x							x		
	txt	12:55 - 13:00	Ocampo: "In fact, the only way to stop Kony is to show him "hi, we're going to arrest you"". "	x		x							x		

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
Gavin & Ocampo	txt	13:02 - 13:06	Russell: "what do you think we should do about him?" Gavin: "We should stop him"	x		x							x		
13:01 - 13:29	txt	13:07 - 13:11	Ocampo: "The criminal here is Kony. Stop him and then stop other problems."			x									
	txt	13:12 - 13:14	Russell: "We should stop who?" Gavin: "him". (points at Kony)			x							x		
	txt	13:16 - 13:23	"It's obvious that Kony should be stopped. The problem is 99% of the planet doesn't know who he is."	x		x									
	vis	13:16 - 13:29	Profile pictures panning out from Ocampo and Gavin (in colour) to show mosaic picture of the world of profile pictures in black and white										x		
	txt	13:24 - 13:26	"If they knew Kony would have been stopped long ago."			x							x		
Ugandan politicians	txt	13:29 - 13:34	Lapolo: "let the world, let the international community, take justice to him there, follow him wherever he is."									x			
13:29 - 13:47	txt	13:34 - 13:39	Lapolo: "First, to rescue our children, and secondly, to deliver the justice."									x			x
	txt	13:39 - 13:48	Mao: "We are determined to cooperate with any friend of Uganda to ensure that this mindless killing and slaughter is ended."	x								x		x	
Role of the US government	txt	13:52 - 13:55	"[...] we thought that if the government knew, they would do something to stop him."			x	x						x		
13:52 - 14:30	txt	13:55 - 14:08	"But everyone in Washington we talked to said there is no way the United States will ever get involved in a conflict where our national security or financial interests aren't at stake."				x						x		
	vis	13:55 - 14:08	Jason talking to politicians, the American flag, Wall Street				x						x		
	txt	14:08 - 14:18	Prendergast: "No administration, republic or democrat, Obama, Bush, Clinton, doesn't matter, would do enough, because it's simply not an important enough issue on the radar screen of American foreign policy".				x								
	vis	14:16 - 14:23	Long panning photo of the White House				x								
Forming of Community	txt	14:23 - 14:30	"Since the government said it was impossible, we didn't know what else to do but tell everyone we could about Jacob and the invisible children."	x			x						x		

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
14:23 - 17:46	txt	14:30 - 14:34	Russell during meeting: "we're gonna show this movie to as many people as possible in such a way that it can't be ignored."	x									x		
	txt	14:35 - 14:40	Back to voiceover: "and when we did, people were shocked and their awareness turned into action."	x									x		
	vis	14:27 - 14:40	Screenings of films about Jacob, crying audience, explanation by activists from Invisible Children Inc.	x									x		
	vis	14:40 - 14:45	Creating group on facebook. Number of members grows.							x			x		
	txt	14:40 - 14:42	"We started something. A community"							x			x		
	txt	14:46 - 14:54	Activist: "I have friends that have been living in this conflict their entire life. Fight for that, because that is what's going to change the world and that is what defines us."	x									x		
	vis	14:47 - 14:51	Young activists, speeches and hugging ugandans	x								x	x		
	vis	14:54 - 15:08	Facebook page showing creation of mural, jason and other IC activists chanting "it's not over", map of Central Africa, oil spill depicting influence of LRA now also in Cong/Sudan, message from Jacob "I'm coming to America!", clip of Ugandans' arrival.	x		x				x		x	x		
	txt	14:54 - 14:58	"We got creative and we got loud"	x									x		
	txt	15:02 - 15:12	"And as the LRA began to move into other countries, Jacob and other Ugandans came to the US to speak on behalf of all people suffering because of Kony."									x			x
	txt	15:14 - 15:21	"Even though Uganda was relatively safe, they felt compelled to tell the world that Kony was still out there and had to be stopped."			x						x			
	vis	15:13 - 15:28	Speeches by Ugandans, ends with speech by Jacob who says: "and this change we are going to make is going to last forever."	x								x			
	vis	15:29 - 15:30	Facebook: numbers of group still rising, into 5,000							x			x		
	txt	15:29 - 15:39	"We built a community around the idea that where you live shouldn't determine whether you live; we were committed to stop Kony and rebuild what he had destroyed."	x		x							x		
	txt	15:40 - 15:50	"And because we couldn't wait for institutions or governments to step in, we did it ourselves with our time, talent and money."	x			x						x		
	txt	15:50 - 15:52	"So we rebuilt schools." (pictures of schools)	x									x		
	vis	15:30 - 15:50	Action shots of collective actions: gatherings, people hugging, protests, building	x								x	x		

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
	txt	16:00 - 16:06	Jobs/security: "I see the lives of those who have been hopeless. Now they have hope."	x								x	x		
	vis	16:06 - 16:21	Schools/working people (sewing)/radio tower/radios/walkie-talkies	x								x	x		
	vis	16:22 - 16:23	Facebook: numbers of group still rising, into 22,000							x			x		
	txt	16:22 - 16:30	"All of this was funded by an army of young people who took their money toward their believe in the value of all human life."										x		x
	vis	16:23 - 16:30	Groups of young people looking in camera and doing wave while forming a peace sign.	x									x		
	txt	16:36 - 16:40	"[...] and proved that a bunch of littles can make a big difference and as a result the unseen became visible."	x									x		
	vis	16:38 - 16:46	Young activists looking straight into camera, serious faces	x									x		
	txt/aud	16:46 - 17:08	Chant: "we've seen these kids" "we've heard their cries" "this war must end" "we will not stop" "we will not fear" "we will fight war"	x								x	x	x	x
	vis	16:46 - 17:08	Gathering/video of victim crying/child soldier carrying weapon/crowd/politician shaking hands/activists running or protesting	x			x					x	x	x	x
	vis	cont.	Still image: crowd of young activists collectively giving peace sign (choreographed). They all wear identical army green shirts with the image of a rifle on them (uniform).	x									x		x
	vis	17:09 - 17:29	Activists and Ugandans dancing/building/travelling/gathering with sign	x								x	x		
	txt	17:28 - 17:39	Activist: "[...] we're all doing this for the exact same reason and we're all coming from completely different places. This is what the world should be like."	x									x		
	vis	17:39 - 17:43	Facebook: numbers of group still rising, into 680,000							x			x		
Community has formed	txt/vis	17:46 - 18:30	American politicians agree with IC, all points of IC are repeated by outsiders				x						x		
17:46 - 19:50	txt	18:34 - 18:55	Above comments culminate in Obama's statement that America will assist Ugandan troops in the removal of Kony.				x						x		
	txt/vis	18:55 - 19:10	Details of USA mission: no combat, but assistance.				x						x		
	txt	19:22 - 19:26	"After eight years of work, the government finally heard us."	x			x						x		
	txt	19:37 - 19:45	"It was the first time in history the United states took that kind of action because the people demanded it."				x						x		

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
Kony is still a threat, must be stopped	vis	19:55 - 20:18	Computer screen typing that Kony has heard of plan and changed tactics to avoid capture			x									
19:50 - 21:41	txt	20:19 - 20:31	"We've come so far, but Kony is still out there. He's recently changed his tactics, making it even more difficult to capture him."	x		x							x		
	txt	20:32 - 20:36	"And international support could be removed at any time."	x											
	txt	20:37 - 20:43	Inhofe: "if we take the pressure off, if we're not successful, he is going to be growing his numbers."	x		x							x		
	txt	20:49 - 21:00	"If interest wanes, it'll just go away [...] it's got to be 2012."	x											
	txt	21:01 - 21:08	Ocampo: "it's not bad for the youth, it's bad for the world if we fail. It's not important just for Ugandan people, it's important for everyone."					x				x	x		
	vis	21:07 - 21:08	Crying Ugandan woman gets comforted									x	x		
	vis	21:09 - 21:16	Cut to photo of Hitler, mass graves											x	x
	txt	21:10 - 21:22	"It's hard to look back on some parts of human history, because when we heard about injustice, we cared, but we didn't know what to do."										x	x	x
	vis	21:20 - 21:27	More mass graves, skulls											x	x
	txt	21:23 - 21:25	"Too often we did nothing."										x		x
	vis	21:32 - 21:37	List of war criminals, scrolls up to Kony.												x
	txt	21:30 - 21:35	"We have to start somewhere, so we're starting here, with Joseph Kony."	x		x							x		
	txt	21:36 - 21:42	"Because now we know what to do. Here it is. Ready?"	x									x		
Roadblocks: awareness & invisibility	txt	21:43 - 21:48	"In order for Kony to be arrested this year, the Ugandan army has to find him."			x						x			
21:42 - 22:55	vis	21:43 - 22:23	Step by step video footage of Kony speaking to soldiers/Ugandan soldiers marching through jungle/Laptop symbolizing technology/American soldiers/US government/crowd of people	x			x						x		x
	vis	22:19 - 22:19	Final step is putting up of poster. All previous clips fall over like dominos	x											
	txt	22:04 - 22:11	"[...] if the government doesn't believe the people care about arresting Kony, the mission will be cancelled."			x	x	x							

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
	txt	22:12 - 22:19	"In order for the people to care, they have to know and they will only know if Kony's name is everywhere."	x		x		x							
	vis	22:23 - 22:30	Still image: New York Times featuring headline "Kony Captured"			x									
	txt	22:24 - 22:33	"This is the dream: Kony arrested for all the world to see and the abducted children returned home."			x						x	x		
	txt	22:36 - 22:55	Russell to Gavin: "here's the biggest problem. Nobody knows who he is." "He's not famous. He's invisible, Joseph Kony's invisible."			x									
	vis	22:55 - 22:55	Gavin gasps												
Plan of action: change the conversation	txt	23:00 - 23:04	"We are going to make Joseph Kony a household name."			x							x		
	txt	23:09 - 23:12	"And we are starting this year, 2012."										x		
22:56 - 25:35															
	vis	23:32 - 23:36	George Clooney and Kony next to each other on covers of Time			x									
	txt	23:28 - 23:36	Clooney: "I'd like indicted war criminals to enjoy the same level of celebrity as me. That seems fair."			x							x		
	txt	23:44 - 23:55	Spread word through "culture makers"	x											
	txt	23:55 - 24:13	Influence policy through "policy makers"	x											
	txt	24:10 - 24:13	"[...] no matter what side you're on, this is something we can all agree on."												
	txt	24:20 - 24:32	Prendergast: "when citizens by the hundreds of thousands start demanding that our government do something, suddenly it becomes in the national interest of the United States government to respond to this problem."	x			x						x		
	txt	24:33 - 24:37	"12 policymakers that could change the game regarding Kony"			x	x								
	txt	24:46 - 24:50	"If my son were kidnapped and forced to kill it would be all over the news"										x	x	x
	txt	24:50 - 25:00	"So we are making Kony world news by redefining the propaganda we see all day every day that dictates who and what we pay attention to."	x		x									
	txt	25:00 - 25:16	Fairey: "[...]people feel powerless. "I'm not a corporation, [...] I just don't have any say." I think it's empowering to a lot of people to realize that one individual can make an impact."	x									x		
	txt	25:18 - 25:24	"Here are these really simple tools. Go out and rock it." Voiceover: "and that's just what we intend to do."	x									x		
	vis	25:24 - 25:29	Short clip: dubstep music and activists running around.	x									x		

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
	txt	25:29 - 25:35	"Our goal is to change the conversation and get people to ask: "who is Joseph Kony?"			x							x		
	vis	25:32 - 25:35	Kony 2012 poster, featuring Hitler, Osama Bin Laden and Kony			x									
Plan of action: activities	txt	25:35 - 25:40	Posters, stickers, yard signs, flyers, bracelets	x											
25:35 - 27:07	vis	25:40 - 25:45	World map changes to poster.	x				x							
	txt	25:40 - 25:45	"[...]that are right now, today, being put up in major cities all over the world."	x				x			x		x		
	txt	25:46 - 25:51	"[...] Kony 2012 bracelets, that we want everyone to wear [pause] this year only."	x							x		x		
	vis	25:46 - 25:55	Photos of bracelet	x											
	txt	25:54 - 25:59	Unique ID number	x											
	txt	25:59 - 26:04	" Track your impact in real time"	x							x		x		
	txt	26:05 - 26:08	"Everything you need is in a box called the action kit"	x									x		
	txt	26:20 - 26:29	"Start making Kony famous today, but all of these efforts will culminate on one day, April 20th, when we <i>Cover the Night</i> "	x		x							x		
	vis	26:20 - 26:29	Young people putting up Kony 2012 posters, switches to screen filling text "Cover The Night"	x											
	txt	26:30 - 26:36	"This is the day when we will meet at sundown and blanket every street in every city until the sun comes up."	x								x	x		
	vis	26:30 - 26:47	Timelapse of skyline until night, activists putting up stickers and posters at night.	x								x	x		
	txt	26:36 - 26:39	"We will be smart and we will be thorough."										x		
	txt	26:39 - 26:47	"The rest of the world will go to bed Friday night and wake up to hundreds of thousands of posters demanding justice on every corner."	x				x				x	x		
	aud	26:47 - 27:01	Dubstep music												
	vis	27:01 - 27:01	Still image: "POWER"												
Power in numbers: we are the 99%	vis	27:08 - 27:23	Triangle depicting hierarchy of power, slowly panning out.				x	x							

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
27:08 - 27:58	vis	27:23 - 27:38	New group is added, symbolizing united people through social media. Triangle turns upside down.	x			x	x		x					
	txt	27:07 - 27:17	"It's always been that the decisions taken by the few with the money and the power dictated the priorities of their government and the stories in the media."					x							
	txt	27:17 - 27:20	"They determined the lives and opportunities of their citizens."					x							
	txt	27:22 - 27:30	"But now, there is something bigger than that. The people of the world see each other and can protect each other."	x				x		x	x				
	txt	27:31 - 27:36	"It's turning the system upside down and it changes everything."	x				x							
	txt	27:37 - 27:44	Ocampo: "we're living in a new world, Facebook world, in which 750 million people share ideas"					x					x		
	txt	27:44 - 27:48	"Not thinking in borders, it's a global community, bigger than the US."				x	x							
	vis	27:48 - 27:53	Kony speaking into camera, closes up to his face.			x									
	txt	27:48 - 27:54	"Joseph Kony was committing crimes for twenty years and no one cared. We care."			x							x		
Importance of the mission for the future	vis	27:55 - 28:05	Profile pictures, now in colour, several are zoomed in on.							x					
27:58 - 29:59	txt	27:55 - 28:05	"We have reached a crucial time in history where what we do or don't do, right now, will affect every generation to come."					x			x		x		
	vis	28:06 - 28:12	static picture of kony												
	txt	28:06 - 28:19	"Arresting Joseph Kony will prove that the world we live in has new rules; that the technology that has brought our planet together is allowing us to respond to the problems of our friends."			x		x					x		
	vis	28:12 - 28:26	Facebook page showing Jacob and Jason having fun. Switches to Jacob and Jason communicating through webcam.							x		x	x		
	txt	28:20 - 28:25	Jacob: "when it ends finally by bringing Kony to justice, it should be celebrated worldwide."	x		x		x				x			
	txt	28:26 - 28:30	"We are not just studying human history, we are shaping it."					x					x		
	vis	28:27 - 28:30	Crowd of activists holding up banner saying "we are shaping human history"	x				x					x		
	txt	28:32 - 28:50	Russell narrates about leaving a better world for Gavin.					x							
	vis	28:30 - 29:01	Clips of Gavin playing with Jason and Jacob. Ugandan children dancing. Gavin says he wants to be like Jason.					x				x	x		

	type	time	text/image	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
	txt	29:01 - 29:07	"The better world we want is coming. It's just waiting for us to stop at nothing					x					x		
	vis	29:01 - 29:03	Sun rises around earth					x							
	vis	29:08 - 29:13	Last few seconds of clock								x				

	ca	cr	en	gv	hm	if	sm	ti	ug	us	vc	vi
Totals (445 tags)	77	15	65	22	48	12	18	10	40	105	27	23