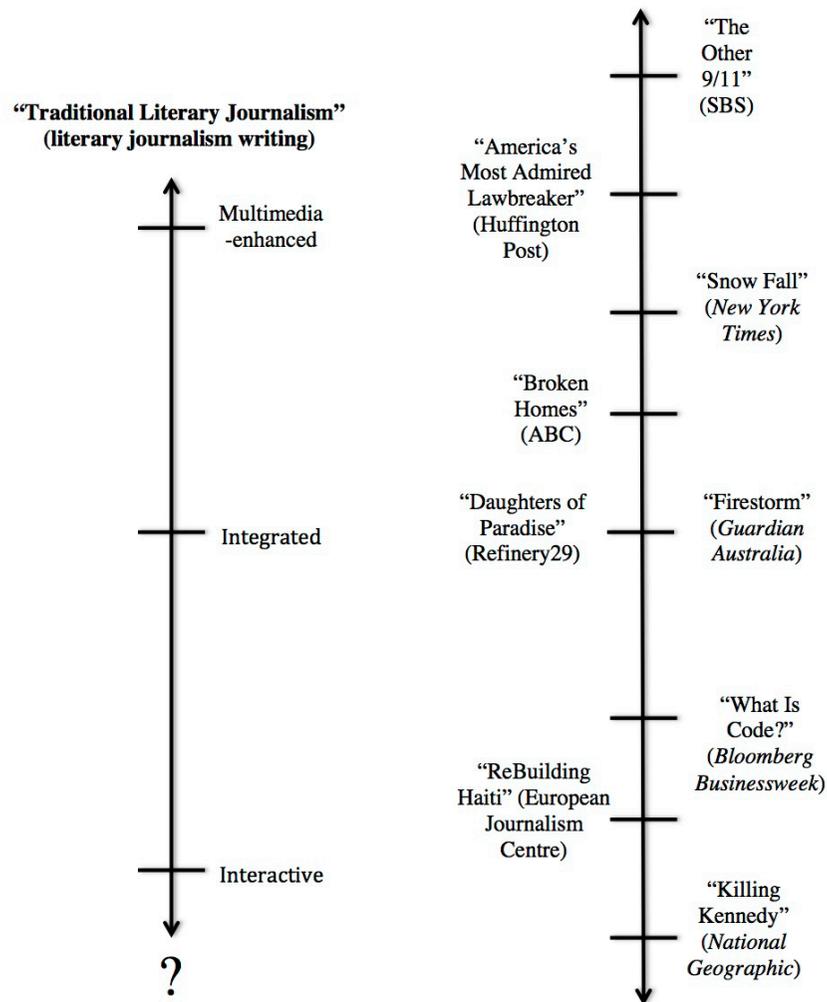


Multimedia Literary Journalism Spectrum



Digital LJ . . .

Multimedia Features as “Narra-descriptive” Texts: Exploring the Relationship between Literary Journalism and Multimedia

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Abstract: Digital platforms that enable the interweaving of videos, photographs, and audio, together with a layering or central stream of written narrative, provide many opportunities to enhance readers’ experience. This essay explores the implications of this technological shift for literary journalism. We examine the relationship of this form to definitions of literary journalism and consider where this new media belongs in the changing journalism landscape. As a preliminary study, we propose three categories: multimedia-enhanced literary journalism, the integrated multimedia feature, and the interactive multimedia feature. We conclude that integrated multimedia features best leverage the digital medium to convey the narrative, while the multimedia-enhanced and interactive features hold audio, video, and interactivity in a tangential relationship to the written narrative. This is not to propose that there is a single gold standard for narrative long-form journalism. Instead, we adopt John Hartsock’s ideal of the “narra-descriptive” text that “empowers the reader imaginatively” and explore the extent to which this may occur within different multimedia configurations.

Keywords: literary journalism – interactive journalism – multimedia long-form narrative – narra-descriptive journalism

Literary journalism is increasingly read onscreen and continues to circulate in print, while digital technology enables enhancements that are not possible offline.¹ Since 1997, when Mark Bowden's serial "Blackhawk Down" appeared as twenty-nine installments in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, long-form narrative has incorporated audio-visuals and scope for interactivity.² Bowden's prototype now looks primitive, but offers a point of origin for digital long-form journalism, with multimedia increasingly integrating layers of meaning through a variety of formats.³

This study explores three approaches to combining multimedia with narrative writing, proposing the categories of *multimedia enhanced*, *multimedia integrated*, and *multimedia interactive* literary journalism. The framework is based on a range of multimedia features conforming to the definition of literary journalism. While acknowledging many different approaches to narrative writing,⁴ this study focuses on different relationships between multimedia and written narrative to derive these categories.

The examples are situated along a spectrum between traditional written narrative and interactive multimedia features, allowing for hybridity.⁵ We conclude that enhanced multimedia narrative resembles traditional literary journalism most closely, its multimedia complementing the story as do print-based illustrations. At the other end of the spectrum sit interactive multimedia features, which direct readers into different cognitive spaces that may detract from affective engagement. In the middle sit integrated multimedia features, preserving the literary journalism value of immersion while making extensive use of multimedia techniques. The different relationships reflected in these groupings—between writing, images, sound, and interaction—provide a basis for identifying where literary journalism might have morphed into something else, providing a different reading experience.

Visuals have accompanied writing since antiquity, and images have traditionally accompanied print news. Daily journalism often relies on "picture opportunities" to achieve publication.⁶ Other examples of mixed media in narrative storytelling relate specifically to literary journalism. As Hartsock notes of James Agee's collaboration with photographer Walker Evans in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, "While the printed text can be read independently of the accompanying photographs, it can still be viewed as an early attempt at 'converging' media . . . [because] the printed text complements the photographs in a mutual interpretive synergy."⁷ Hunter S. Thompson's *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* is enhanced by Ralph Steadman's wild illustrations.⁸ Similarly, millennial magazines such as *Wired* and *Raygun* deconstructed typography, images, and writing, bringing the aesthetics of the screen to the page.⁹

Defining Literary Journalism

Literary journalism is traditionally defined through a process of exclusion, understood as neither fiction nor news journalism, but drawing on narrative techniques while remaining factual. Hartsock coined the term "narrative-descriptive journalism"¹⁰ for text that "empowers the reader imaginatively."¹¹

. . . a journalism that emphasizes narrative and descriptive modalities. . . . I have come increasingly to characterize the genre as a narra-descriptive journalism . . . that works on a spectrum or continuum that, if taken to extremes, results in either an increasingly alienated objectified world on the one hand, or on the other, a solipsistic subjectivity in the most personal of memoirs.¹²

Here literary journalism is no longer defined in terms of its deficits—as neither fiction nor daily journalism—but distinctive in its own right as factual storytelling. Additionally, it can range along a spectrum from impersonal third-person studies to unverifiable stories of the self.¹³

Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche narrowed their definition to four core elements.¹⁴ Not unlike Wolfe's four elements of scene-by-scene construction, dialogue, third-person point-of-view, and status life,¹⁵ they define the criteria as scene, dialogue, characterization, and dramatic tension.¹⁶ Hartsock builds on Wolfe's scene-by-scene construction, among other aesthetic elements, such as subjective engagement with "shared common senses."¹⁷ Hartsock's focus on a structure upending the inverted pyramid is useful for distinguishing the news reports from narrative journalism, as news reporting "denies the often challenging journey in which a reader can imaginatively participate in the performance by 'realizing' what is happening" as the story unfolds.¹⁸

These definitions emphasize literary journalism's ability to relay factual information in a way that is creative and engaging, giving readers enough detail to create a picture, but also room, via the written word, for their imaginative processes.

Defining Multimedia Features

Multimedia features include photographs, video, audio, hypertext, slideshows, animations, data graphics, and other features.¹⁹ To qualify for inclusion in their analysis, Jacobson and her colleagues note that multimedia features must have consisted of "at least 2000 words on a specific topic."²⁰

Deuze proposes two kinds of multimedia features: a "package on a website using two or more media formats"; or "the integrated . . . presentation of a news story package through different media."²¹ The first is a media collation and the second an interweaving of media with story. Echoing Deuze's second

definition, the Jacobson research team defines a multimedia feature as one that “seamlessly [integrates] multimedia into the narrative.”²² McAdams adds that multimedia features are narratives wherein the “components of the story are crafted to complement one another.”²³

All these definitions regard as key the integration of media into a whole, although the extent to which the written text could be understood without the additional media is not established. Using Hartsock’s term, an “interpretive synergy” is implied through the concepts of McAdams’s complementarity²⁴ and integration²⁵; Deuze and the Jacobson team require a minimum of 2,000 words. But little attention is paid to how the different elements work together, and the extent to which they might fragment, detract from, or interrupt the narrative.

Another element of multimedia features is interactivity.²⁶ This requires more than hitting play, pause, stop, or scroll on a piece of content, inviting readers to make choices.²⁷ As Opgenhaffen and d’Haenens argue, using interactive features can transform the reader’s experience from passive to active, while maintaining intimacy.²⁸ McAdams stresses that wherever interactive features are included, their role should be to enhance the feature, not crowd it or confuse the reader.²⁹

The following analyses examine the extent to which multimedia components (and their relation to the written narrative) contribute to a feature’s position along a traditional literary journalism spectrum. We have ranged the approaches along an axis, with examples illustrating where each might sit, and where digital storytelling might become qualitatively different. (Please see chart, p. 74.)

Multimedia Enhanced Literary Journalism: “The Other 9/11,” “America’s Most Admired Lawbreaker,” and “Snow Fall”

Thirty years before the September 11, 2001, attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., Chile was torn apart when President Salvador Allende was overthrown in a military coup. Augusto Pinochet’s ensuing dictatorship resulted in the kidnap, torture, and murder of thousands, many of whom “were ‘disappeared.’”³⁰ “The Other 9/11” details these events, including the role other countries played in Chile’s destabilization.

Of the examples analyzed, “The Other 9/11” is the closest to traditional literary journalism. Predominantly text-based, it uses scene-by-scene construction,³¹ detailing the Chilean coup and the events that followed. Despite being text-heavy, the feature employs video, slideshows, and audio to enhance the narrative. While other pieces of literary journalism may not be structured into specific chapters, many are split into sections that signal to the reader when a

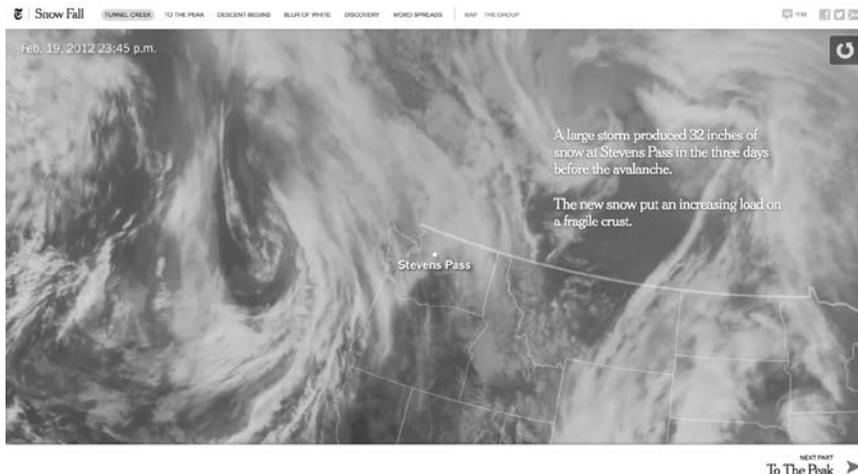
The screenshot shows the SBS website interface for the article "The Other 9/11". At the top, there are navigation links: Introduction, The Coup, Australia's Spies in Chile, The Sanctuary, Home Truths, and Credits. Below the navigation is a header with social media icons. The main content area features a large black and white portrait of Gough Whitlam, Prime Minister of Australia (1972-75). To the right of the portrait is a quote: "Espionage is illegal and the clandestine service's job is to break those laws without being caught. Espionage is deceptive, covert, underhand. It is probably the second oldest profession in the world." Below the quote are three small thumbnail images representing different media elements. Underneath these thumbnails is a note: "Redacted extracts from the Hope Report (Royal Commission on Intelligence and Security)." followed by a paragraph: "The full implications of ASIS's role in Chile was never examined by the Royal Commission, and the Hope Report certainly did not condemn it:" Below this is another quote: "At no time was ASIS approached by the CIA, or made aware of any plans that may have been prepared, to affect the internal political situation in Chile. The ASIS station in Santiago was concerned only with intelligence gathering via the agents handed over to it." At the bottom of the screenshot is a small audio player icon with the text: "Listen to SBS Radio's Special Feature in English or Spanish."

“The Other 9/11,” SBS, September 1, 2017, uses multimedia to complement the written word, but does not leverage it to make it part of the narrative.

change of theme, topic, or angle is occurring. The presence of chapters in “The Other 9/11” relates factual information in the creative style of a novel.

The chapters also mark chronological points in the narrative. While this might have impeded the flow of the story, the online medium prevails with easy scrolling between chapters. Dialogue, provided through transcripts of historical documents from the coup to current interviews, is crucial to constructing scene, characterization, and dramatic tension.³² These first-hand accounts drive the story. The profiles at the end, of two women from Chile who settled in Australia, bring the narrative to a contemporary resolution. Because Australia’s involvement in the coup was covered up, what little evidence is available to journalists comes mainly from first-hand individual accounts (including Australian government officials), plus dialogue from academics. This highlights the country’s post-coup anguish, humanizing those persecuted by the military.³³

When added to the structural characteristics “The Other 9/11” shares with literary journalism, multimedia are not leveraged to an increased narrative effect. The non-written media are not part of the story, but situated alongside. As a montage of material supplementing the narrative, this dimension of the storytelling could arguably belong to the category, “aesthetic journalism.”³⁴ Given the lack of interactivity between readers and the feature’s multimedia elements—as nothing more than a click is needed to begin a slideshow or video—the reading experience is primarily literary. Additionally,



“Snow Fall,” *New York Times*, September 1, 2017, uses the autoplay function on graphics like this to integrate visualizations of what is being described in the text.

the first video in Chapter 1,³⁵ with Allende’s final speech and footage from the coup, includes advertising that intrudes automatically before the video begins. Not only are the multimedia secondary to the story, they are thereby commercialized. Similar to the interactive function in “ReBuilding Haiti” (discussed below), the advertising precludes intimacy between the reader and the feature, and may result in readers skipping a component entirely. The lack of interactivity and integration of non-text media in “The Other 9/11,” in combination with the format of the diverse media in the work, establishes this piece as a form of multimedia enhanced literary journalism.

The features “America’s Most Admired Lawbreaker”³⁶ and “Snow Fall”³⁷ also use supplementary media to enhance the written narrative. “America’s Most Admired Lawbreaker” exposes the negligence and wrongdoing of pharmaceutical giant Johnson & Johnson. The feature, created by Huffington Post USA, is similar to a book, containing fifteen chapters that are predominantly text-based. However, the digital format enhances the long-form narrative by providing a synopsis of the previous chapter in a “catch-up” paragraph at the beginning of the next chapter. It also breaks up the written word with charts, hyperlinks to PDFs, timelines, mini-explanations of key characters, and video snippets of case studies. Despite its wealth of multimedia, these merely supplement the writing and, if removed, would leave the narrative intact.

The *New York Times*’s “Snow Fall,” the story of a deadly avalanche in Washington State’s Cascade Mountains, uses multimedia in a similar way. Acclaimed for its visualizations and animated graphics as well as introducing

parallax scrolling that layers image over text, the technology primarily supplements the writing. Like “The Other 9/11” and “America’s Most Admired Lawbreaker,” the article includes links to more information about characters and topics.³⁸ Arguably, the multimedia do not add information to the written narrative. However, the use of multimedia to explain the avalanche’s formation in “Snow Fall” (in Part Two: “To the Peak”) also lend to the integrated multimedia sub-genre. Animated graphics assist the reader by illustrating concepts difficult to explain in writing. Hence “Snow Fall” can be situated on the spectrum between the multimedia enhanced literary journalism and the integrated multimedia feature.

Integrated Multimedia Literary Journalism: “Firestorm” and “Daughters of Paradise”

In January 2013, a bushfire raged through the Tasmanian town of Dunalley, Australia. Tim and Tammy Holmes were minding their grandchildren when the fire raced towards their property. Tammy led the children into a nearby lake beside a jetty. Tim joined them later, photographing Tammy with the children in the water, the sky alight in the background, and surrounded by thick smoke (Chapter 1). The picture spread quickly around the world. Five months later the photo became the cover image to “Firestorm,”³⁹ a multimedia feature created by the *Guardian Australia*.

Combining writing, photographs, audio, and video, “Firestorm” employs techniques common to literary journalism. Like “The Other 9/11,” “Firestorm” uses separate chapters while maintaining a sense of cohesion. The nar-



Screenshot of “Firestorm,” *Guardian Australia*, September 1, 2017, the story of a family from Tasmania who flee from an oncoming bushfire, seeking safety in the water. Courtesy *Guardian Australia*.

rative is two-fold, telling the family's story and the history of bushfires in Australia. Using the Holmes family as the anchor, "Firestorm" humanizes the disaster. This personal quality is reinforced through videos and photographs. The Holmes's video interviews and voiceovers provide dialogue and characterization more effectively than transcriptions. Readers see the family members' faces and body language and hear the emotion in their speech. Using multimedia to create dramatic tension⁴⁰ allows the piece to work like literary journalism. Readers learn as the characters and narrator reveal each successive element of the drama.⁴¹ Additional footage of the surroundings sets the scene of desolation left by the fires.

While multimedia are present throughout, they do not intrude on the reader's imaginative autonomy. As Hartsock argues, the ability to imagine how the events took place, and what they mean to those who experienced them, keeps the reader "cognitively in imaginative participation with phenomena . . . as evidence outside the covers of books located at the intersection of a distinctive time and place."⁴² "Firestorm" lets the reader create a mental picture of the events by supplying aural and written material as well as imagery of the blaze.

Using additional media dimensions, "Firestorm" successfully leverages the digital platform to provide a different reading experience from that of a purely written account. Yet because "Firestorm" isn't interactive, in the sense of readers being required to respond to non-written elements to progress the narrative, it preserves the autonomy of the reader found in print-based literary journalism. The video and audio media within "Firestorm" require no third-party interaction as they auto-play when the reader scrolls through the

feature. The multimedia are interwoven seamlessly, yet readers can choose which elements to read and in what order.

While a lack of interactivity qualifies "Firestorm" as literary journalism, the interwoven nature of its multimedia positions it further along the spectrum than "The Other 9/11." The multimedia in "Firestorm" have been integrated so that if you were to remove the videos and photographs, the Holmes's narrative would no longer make sense. It would also remove any context from the broader narrative and strip it of its humanizing elements. In the chapter entitled "The Jetty," for instance, the side panel allows the reader to navigate to each medium—video, photographs, or written text. If a reader were to read only the writing within chapters, there would be a large gap in the narrative explaining how Tim reconnected with Tammy and their grandchildren, and how the famous photograph was taken. This gap, and the subsequent desirability of reading all dimensions of the feature for the narrative to be cohesive, means "Firestorm" belongs to the integrated multimedia feature genres.

"Daughters of Paradise" also integrates multimedia to leverage the narrative.⁴³ Produced by Refinery29, it explores the Syrian refugee crisis through three women's stories about escaping from Syria to Turkey. Like "Firestorm," the multimedia are interwoven with the story, engaging readers in the context. The eye-catching presentation of the definition of the term "refugee" and the zooming-in map of the world provide a dynamic beginning. Like the introduction, each of the three chapters begins with scene-setting videos and quotes. At points throughout each chapter the written element is replaced with either short auto-play videos of the women or a longer, introductory video. The auto-play videos begin in black and white and expand to color, coming to life as the subjects do. Most importantly, the construction, techniques, and multimedia do not interrupt the narrative.

Interactive Multimedia Literary Journalism: "ReBuilding Haiti," "What Is Code?" and "Killing Kennedy"

When a 7.0 magnitude earthquake struck Haiti in 2010, it decimated local infrastructure, killed over 220,000 people, and left 1.5 million homeless.⁴⁴ Four years later, a project funded by the European Journalism Centre and the Innovation in Development Reporting Grant Programme documented the country's recovery. "ReBuilding Haiti" details the Haitian government's failure and incorporates video footage, photography, animation, and interactive quizzes into the narrative.

"ReBuilding Haiti" exemplifies "slow journalism."⁴⁵ The feature describes itself as a "multimedia interactive story," revisiting an event that was broadcast by mass media around the world and resulted in billions of dollars of



Videos in "Daughters of Paradise," *Refinery29*, September 1, 2017, are used not only to further the narrative of the individual women, but aesthetically to bring the women to life. They begin in black and white and progress to full color.



“Killing Kennedy,” *National Geographic*, September 1, 2017. There are a number of sections in the piece where the control of what part of the narrative is read next is handed back to the reader. Here, the reader can scroll widely and choose from a range of media on each of the characters.

international aid to the country. Until this feature, little media attention was paid to how Haiti coped and whether the money helped.

Each chapter explores a different issue, following no particular order, providing a package of information about Haiti’s reconstruction. This means “ReBuilding Haiti” does not align with Hartsock’s requirement that literary journalism should work towards an end,⁴⁶ partly because the story of Haiti’s reconstruction is an ongoing one. The incoherent structure also dilutes the “core elements” of literary journalism as defined by Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche—scene, dialogue, characterization, and dramatic tension.⁴⁷

Because the feature does not follow any individual or part of Haiti, the dialogue comes from a variety of unrelated individuals and resembles quotes for a news report rather than dialogue, preventing the development of characters. Chapter 5 includes short profiles on four Haitian men and women. However, the impact is minimized because they can only be viewed in the specified order and appear toward the end of the feature.

The title screen of “ReBuilding Haiti” includes a photograph of a street corner blended with bright animation, illustrating a vibrant scene. The writing outlines Haiti’s systemic financial and infrastructure woes, and the visual representation steadily changes to reflect the worsening conditions. However, without a narrative leading to a conclusion, “ReBuilding Haiti” lacks dramatic tension, a lack that is increased by the insertion of an interactive

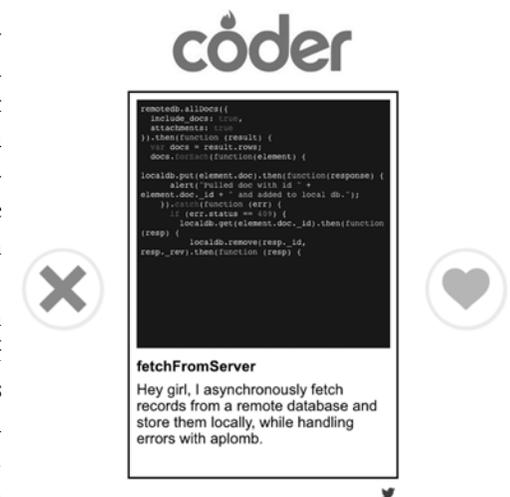
questionnaire after each chapter. Unlike “The Other 9/11,” the reader cannot skip forward. Instead of marking different points in the narrative, the chapter endings stop readers to test their comprehension of the text thus far.

Because of this interactive function, “ReBuilding Haiti” belongs to the interactive multimedia sub-genre, rather than being a multimedia enhanced work of literary journalism.⁴⁸ At the end of each chapter the reader must choose what happens next in the reconstruction of the country. The feature then reveals the impact of the reader’s choice and how it would affect re-development. This interactivity ensures readers stay engaged, while forcing them to think critically about the country’s dilemmas. Because readers cannot progress through the feature until they have answered the interactive questions, the creators dictate how, and in what order, the feature can be read. This detracts from affective engagement and impedes intimacy between the reader and the subject.⁴⁹

In addition, the multimedia are integrated with the story. Photos, videos, and interactive elements must be scrolled through and experienced to get to the next section of written text. In some cases small parts of the text have been superimposed on top of the photos. The result is that if any of these media were removed, key parts of the story would be removed. While interactive components in “Rebuilding Haiti” make it interesting, the multimedia do not enhance the narrative; instead, they test the reader and interrupt the flow of the story.

The didacticism of “Rebuilding Haiti” can also be found in the long-form piece, “What Is Code?”⁵⁰ Predominantly a written text, it uses interactivity so readers can determine what they learned from each chapter.

The feature provides an exhaustive explanation of computer coding and why it is important to understand, and is peppered with multimedia. These include information boxes over terms that require background knowledge, images, GIFs, and an animated blue character who pops up to



Screenshot of “What is Code?,” *Bloomberg Businessweek*, September 1, 2017. This didactic feature tests what has been learned by the reader using a function that mimics the popular dating application Tinder.

explain concepts. Interactivity is strewn through each chapter, teaching the reader visually what is explained in the text. However, if readers engage in the mini-tutorials, they are diverted from the narrative flow.⁵¹ In Chapter 3.1 the interactivity goes beyond disrupting the story, with an invitation to try the “Wreck It All” function. This destroys the piece entirely, forcing a return to the beginning.

Another written narrative leveraging interactivity is *National Geographic America’s* “Killing Kennedy,”⁵² the stories of President John F. Kennedy and his assassin Lee Harvey Oswald. Unlike “What Is Code?” and “ReBuilding Haiti,” “Killing Kennedy” foregrounds visual elements of the story. Images provide backdrops to writing, but every time the reader scrolls, the feature changes. It might be a different color background, a split-screen transition to something entirely different, or icons for exploring different narrative culs-de-sac. Pictures and information boxes appear as chapters proceed, but readers retain autonomy regarding order. Icons for videos, quotes, photos, or added information appear on particular pages, each relevant to the narrative of Kennedy or Oswald. In Chapter 3 the icons are scattered so the reader must scroll widely to reveal them.

“Killing Kennedy” leverages multimedia to great advantage—except where its narrative is concerned. By allowing readers complete control over what they read, listen to, or watch, “Killing Kennedy” risks its audience missing entire sections of the story. Should someone scroll through a chapter and not click on each separate icon, the information that follows appears out of context.

Conclusion

These examples are distinctive in the ways they incorporate multimedia to fulfil different narrative goals. In “The Other 9/11,” multimedia complement a story told self-sufficiently through writing, closely resembling traditional literary journalism. Alternately, “ReBuilding Haiti” and “Firestorm” use photographs, voice-over, and videos to assist in telling the story; if they were removed, the narrative would no longer be coherent. The interwoven multimedia of “Firestorm” communicate key elements of the narrative, providing an example of multimedia used to great narrative effect. As an integrated multimedia feature, “Firestorm’s” narra-descriptive function enables a *mutual interpretative synergy*. Conversely, the interactive quizzes in “ReBuilding Haiti” fragment the narrative, reduce affective engagement and constrain readers’ autonomy. “Rebuilding Haiti” is educational rather than emotionally engaging and sits further along the spectrum, nearer “Killing Kennedy,” from traditional literary journalism.

Multimedia features bear a close relationship to traditional literary jour-

nalism, if the multimedia unobtrusively complement the writing. If the narrative is disrupted by the removal of additional media, then the text departs from traditional literary journalism but may still enable readers to participate “imaginatively in the journey or process of the story.”⁵³ In both cases, continuity and reader engagement are maintained. In some instances, however, opportunities for interactivity may also be present where interactivity disrupts the central narrative in order to engage readers in other tasks. This is a departure from literary journalism, particularly if these activities are a barrier to progressing through the narrative.

Given the continuing changes in technology, multimedia literary journalism will further evolve. Hybridity might itself become a characteristic of multimedia literary journalism, and where there is a critical current of written narrative, finer distinctions between sub-genres of multimedia literary journalism could be identified. Where a narrative attends to the techniques of affective writing, fosters readers’ engagement, maintains continuity to preserve this connection, and respects readers’ autonomy in navigating the story, its qualification as literary journalism remains uncompromised.

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Notes

¹ Berning, "Narrative Journalism in the Age of the Internet," 1–15.

² Bowden, "Blackhawk Down."

³ Royal and Tankard, "Literary Journalism Techniques," 82–88. When the site was published in 1997, it received up to 42,000 hits a day. In 2004 the story was still receiving 32,000 hits a month.

⁴ For example: linear vs. non-linear, divergent points of view, relationship between authorial, narrating, protagonist's subjectivity, and other stylistic particulars.

⁵ In this context *hybridity* means combining, overlapping or intersecting genres. See for example, Flis, *Factual Fictions*, 50.

⁶ Harcup and O'Neill, "What Is News?" 274.

⁷ Hartsock, *Literary Journalism*, 153. See Agee and Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*.

⁸ Thompson, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*.

⁹ *Raygun: Design Is History*. www.designishistory.com/1980/ray-gun/. The website provides a discussion of the interaction of text and image in print media. We see these couplings as mixed media rather than multimedia given the digital connotations and interactivity of the latter.

¹⁰ Hartsock, *Literary Journalism*, 3 and following.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3. See also, Hartsock, *A History of American Literary Journalism*, 247.

¹³ Another use of a spectrum to define literary journalism is in Roberts and Giles, "Mapping Nonfiction Narrative," 101–17.

¹⁴ Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche, "Digital Animation," 6.

¹⁵ Wolfe, "The New Journalism," 46–50.

¹⁶ Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche, "Digital Animation," 6.

¹⁷ Hartsock, *Literary Journalism*, 26.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁹ Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche, "Digital Animation," 7; Deuze, "What Is Multimedia Journalism?" 140.

²⁰ Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche, "Digital Animation," 5.

²¹ Deuze, "What Is Multimedia Journalism?" 140.

²² Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche, "Digital Animation," 2.

²³ McAdams, "Multimedia Journalism," 188.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Deuze, "What Is Multimedia Journalism?" 140.

²⁶ Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche, "Digital Animation," 7; McAdams, "Multimedia Journalism," 188; Opgenhaffen and d'Haenens, "Heterogeneity within Homogeneity," 303.

²⁷ McAdams, "Multimedia Journalism," 189.

²⁸ Opgenhaffen and d'Haenens, "Heterogeneity within Homogeneity," 303.

²⁹ McAdams, "Multimedia Journalism," 191.

³⁰ Melgar et. al., "The Other 9/11," Chap. 3. The use of "were disappeared" was common following the coup and other military practices in South America where citizens were taken and their bodies never discovered nor accounted for. See United States Institute of Peace. Report of the Chilean National Commission; Melgar et al., "Mariana Minguez," Chap. 4.

³¹ Wolfe, "The New Journalism," 9.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche, "Digital Animation," 6.

³⁴ Giles, 12.

³⁵ References in the text to chapters are from the website presentations, unless otherwise stated.

³⁶ Brill, "America's Most Admired Lawbreaker."

³⁷ Branch, "Snow Fall."

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Hyperlinks to photo galleries or video snippets provide context (for example, "Tunnel Creek," "Saugstad," "Descent Begins").

³⁹ Henley et al., "Firestorm."

⁴⁰ Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche, "Digital Animation," 6.

⁴¹ Hartsock, 21.

⁴² Hartsock, *Literary Journalism*, 57.

⁴³ Forde et al., "Daughters of Paradise."

⁴⁴ Abbiateci et al., "ReBuilding Haiti."

⁴⁵ Le Masurier, "What Is Slow Journalism?" 141–42.

⁴⁶ Hartsock, *Literary Journalism*, 21.

⁴⁷ Jacobson, Marino, and Gutsche, "Digital Animation," 6.

⁴⁸ McAdams, "Multimedia Journalism," 189.

⁴⁹ Opgenhaffen and d'Haenens, "Heterogeneity within Homogeneity," 303.

⁵⁰ Ford, "What Is Code."

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, see Chapters 2.1; 2.3; 2.4; 4.2; 5.3; 5.7; 6.2; 7.5.

⁵² "Killing Kennedy."

⁵³ Hartsock, *Literary Journalism*, 21.