CIVIC PARTICIPATION AND INTERACTIVE DOCUMENTARIES: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE OPEN GOVERNMENT MODEL

Participación ciudadana y documentales interactivos: una contribución al modelo del gobierno abierto

Laura Cortés-Selva and Marta Pérez-Escolar

Laura Cortés-Selva is professor of media studies at the *Catholic University of Murcia*, Spain. She holds bachelors' degrees in media studies from the *University of Navarra* and cinematography from the *University of Barcelona*, and has a *cum laude* international PhD (2012). She has published several papers and book chapters about her main academic interests: visual style, cinematography, documentaries, and methodology. She has also been part of several research projects as well as an invited lecturer in various international universities. She has developed several professional projects as director, director of photography, and producer in short movies, documentaries, music videos, and commercials.
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0306-9401

lcortes@ucam.edu
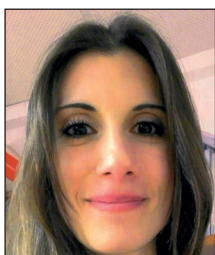
Marta Pérez-Escolar is a PhD student of communication science at the *Catholic University of Murcia* (Spain). She is a member of the *Comunicación, política e imagen* (communication, politics, and image) research group. Her main lines of research are cyber-activism, political participation, civic participation, cyber-democracy, collective intelligence, social movements, social protests, and political communication.
http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2575-7993

mperez726@ucam.edu

Universidad Católica de Murcia, Comunicación Audiovisual
Campus de los Jerónimos, s/n. 30107 Guadalupe (Murcia), España

Abstract

This research introduces the marriage between interactive documentaries (i-docs) and politics as an opportunity to motivate new civic participation and expression in the political sphere. The main objective of this study is to identify the different degrees of civic participation that i-docs permit and to setup a classification according to these levels of engagement. In order to achieve the main objective, this research has analyzed a group of documentaries using a mixture of Gaudenzi, Gifreu-Castells, and Nash methodology. The results show that it is possible to find a parallel between the closed mode and the Orwellian model; the semi-closed mode and the *Tokenism* model; the semi-opened mode and the playful model; and between the opened mode and the Athenian model. However, only the opened mode, used in the *Global lives* documentary, offers a real experience that symbolizes the purest representation of an open government system.

Keywords

Resumen

Esta investigación presenta el maridaje entre i-docs y la política como una oportunidad para motivar la participación ciudadana en la esfera política. El principal objetivo de este estudio es identificar los grados de participación ciudadana que permiten los i-docs y establecer una clasificación según esos niveles de implicación cívica. Para ello, esta investigación ha analizado un conjunto de documentales utilizando la metodología propuesta por Gaudenzi, Gifreu-Castells y Nash. Los resultados muestran que existe un paralelismo entre el modelo cerrado y el paradigma orwelliano; el modelo semi-cerrado y el paradigma de la cortina de humo o *Tokenism*; el modelo semi-abierto y el paradigma solaz y entre el modelo abierto y el paradigma ateniense. Sin embargo, sólo el modelo abierto, como ocurre en el documental *Global lives*, ofrece una experiencia real que simboliza la más pura representación de la filosofía del gobierno abierto u *open government*.

Palabras clave

Introduction

Old communication processes (**Lasswell**, 1948) are obsolete in the current public landscape. The internet and emergence of web 2.0 has changed the traditional distribution and consumption flows (**Area-Moreira**; **Ribero-Pessoa**, 2012). The digital revolution has motivated the rise of "participative communication" (**Servaes**, 1996; **Servaes**; **Malikhao**, 2005), encouraging citizens to monitor political elites and to play an active role in the decision-making process.

Following this idea, this research defends the position that civic participation becomes the cross axis of a new politics and the main ground of any cooperative model of open government (**Sampedro**; **Sánchez**, 2001; **Dader**, 2002). The web 2.0 has transformed the nature of the dialogue between the representatives and those who are represented and has triggered the redefinition of traditional democratic tenets. The main cause of the current crisis in representative democracy is the citizens' lack of trust in the political actors and public institutions. For this reason, contemporary social movements standup for new political reforms that allow citizens to engage and participate in the public sphere. In this context, the open government model could be understood as the best organizational archetype for citizens because it is a hybrid political form that provides participation tools for civic engagement and uses new technologies to influence and control decisions and actions taken by their representatives (**Campos-Domínguez**, 2011).

> The marriage between interactive documentaries (i-docs) and politics provides a new opportunity for creating and reformulating expressions of civic participation

This study considers that political i-docs could be understood as a perfect medium to interpret the open government paradigm. Therefore, the objective of this research is to analyze the levels of civic participation that i-docs allow in order to know the boundaries, challenges, and opportunities of the open government archetype. Although this is still an emerging political organization model, the results of this study could offer a prospective landscape about the future of civic participation and new forms of social engagement.

I-docs, as a new documentary genre (**Gifreu-Castells**, 2013), can provide renewed and exciting possibilities for civic participation in the political sphere: speakers –political elites and institutions– are not the only ones with the power to narrate stories –political storytelling–; but now receivers –

citizens– also find opportunities to divulge their stories and to share their narration with the rest of the receivers and speakers of the dialogical community. In this way, the story converts into a product that can be modified; this means that narration is not rigid, fixed or linear, but it is an organic, flexible, and malleable account. In this way the *i-doc,* or interactive documentary phenomenon (**Gaudenzi**, 2013), encourages the convergence of new social action forms like activism, in which "ordinary people" (**Hibbing**; **Theis-Morse**, 2002) achieve a new role as participative actors involved in configuring the political narration.

According to **Dahlgren** (2013), contemporary citizens have the abilities and qualities to produce their own content, to share information, to interact with the rest of the members of the community, and to participate in political debates and social movements organized in the digital environment. Thus **Dahlgren** (2013) proposed the term "civic intellectuals" in reference to a heterogeneous community of citizens that share the same social circumstances:

> "the dilemmas of democracy, the character of the media landscape, and not least, the contemporary crises of capitalism" (**Dahlgren**, 2013, p. 403).

Therefore, the concept of "civic intellectual" implies a new form of collective identity that will

> "lead democracy forward to a new golden age, but they do signal a potentially positive step in the chronicles of citizen participation and the evolution of the public sphere" (**Dahlgren**, 2013, p. 403).

In conclusion, this study supports the position that the marriage between interactive documentaries and politics means a new opportunity for creating and reformulating new civic participation expressions. These new social forms will facilitate the consumption, interaction, and transformation of the political story from speakers to receivers, as well as offer new ways to rethink about more open, horizontal, and more participative democratic models.

Concerning the principal objective aforementioned, this research not only aims to present the different levels of civic participation that i-docs offer, but also to determine if i-docs –as a kind of social activism- guarantee and enable the possibility of an open government model. Our point of view is focused on the idea that civic participation in the content and the structure of i-docs is what makes the difference and delimits the levels. For those reasons, applying the methodology suggested by Gaudenzi, Gifreu-Castells, and Nash, this study has analyzed a set of documentaries –most of them interactive- to match our objectives and expectations.

2. Theoretical approach to i-docs. From lineal documentary to interactive documentary

The documentary field has traditionally been characterized by a lack of consensus, especially in terms of its definition, and although there are several scholars[1] dealing with this subject, an agreement has not been reached.

It is necessary to understand and consider that, within film history, documentary as a term has included products such as so-called *actualitès,* travelogs, news, educational films, and TV programs of various styles and content (**León**, 1999, p. 59).

Being aware of the polysemy of the aforementioned term and its openness to different meanings, this research considers the convenience of underlining the definitions of pioneers such as Robert Flaherty. Mainly quoted as the father of the documentary for works such as *Nanook of the North*, Flaherty understands that

> "the purpose of the documentary is to represent life in a way in which it is lived. This by no means implies what some people might think; namely, that the task of the documentary director is to film, without making any selection [...]. The task of selection is performed on the documentary material, with the aim of telling the truth in the most appropriate way" (**Romaguera-Ramió**; **Alsina-Thevenet**, 1989, p. 152).

Nevertheless, John Grierson, leading historical figure of the British documentary movement, is considered the first to use the term documentary in 1926, which seems to be an adaptation of the French word *documentaire*, used during the 20's as a reference to travelogs (**León**, 1999, p. 59). Grierson interprets the term as a creative treatment of reality (**Grierson**, 1966, pp. 36-37), as an intention to include all the different works included in the documentary genre, that offer diverse ways to observe and organize reality.

Bill Nichols (1991) offers multiple perspectives to the term documentary, and his definition is the most accepted in the academic field. Nichols, being sensitive to historical changes, includes in his definition, not only the audience, but a body of texts and a group of filmmakers. From this, Nichols establishes three perspectives to understand documentaries:

- from the filmmaker point-of-view;
- from the text or film itself, and
- from the audience.

In this paper we will consider documentary films as a compendium of Grierson's creative approach to reality, together with Flaherty´s perspective, and Nichols´ multiple approach.

From the aforementioned, and with the consideration of the evolution of technology related to the web 2.0, i-docs (also known as webdocs, interactive docs, webdocumentaries, and interactive web documentaries) emerge.

Beginning approximately one decade ago, the creation and reflection upon this interactive documentary field has exponentially grown due to projects such as *Gaza/Sderot* (2008); *Highrise* (2009); *Prison Valley* (2010), and *Fort McMoney* (2013)*.*

Among the scholars[2] that dare to try to attempt the complex task of defining and researching this emerging genre, **Gifreu-Castells** (2011, p. 358) stands out with the definition of interactive documentary as an online/offline interactive application which tries to represent different navigation and interaction modes, depending upon the participation level.

Nash (2011, p. 2) uses the term webdocumentaries in allusion to interactive documentaries and defines them as

> "a body of documentary work distributed by the Internet that is both multimedia and interactive".

Finally, **Gaudenzi** (2013, pp. 31-32) refers to this new documentary category as i-docs and defines them as

> "any project that starts with an intention to document the 'real' (here, 'reality' is understood as any mediated material where mediation might happen through our senses, mind, or media) that we make sense of or make sense through (to establish a meaningful relationship with what surrounds us), and that does so by using digital interactive technology, will be considered an interactive documentary".

Gaudenzi pretends to include all the factual narratives concerning present and future devices such as tablets, computers, mobile phones, etc. Thus, in this paper we opt to use Gaudenzi´s terminology because it is the most suitable definition concerning the subject of study of this research.

> The potential of i-docs resides in changing the role of citizens, from passive individuals to active political actors, via the interaction between participants of documentary communities

3. The next step: creating new spaces for civic participation

Participation is an important factor for the development of democratic societies; however, it also represents an ambiguous concept that can be subject to vagueness within the field of communication and media studies. For that reason, this research aims to consider Carpentier´s approach to clarify and to delimit the meaning of participation

> "on the basis of a comparison with two other concepts, access and interaction, elucidating the differences between these three concepts" (**Carpentier**, 2015, p. 9).

According to the *AIP model* (**Carpentier**, 2012), *Access*, *Interaction,* and *Participation* can be articulated in four areas: technology, content, people, and organizations. However, this paper has placed the focus on media technologies. Thus the concept of *access* could be understood as an opportunity for users to make their voices heard and to provide feedback. Access "implies achieving presence (to technologies or to media content)" (**Carpentier**, 2015, p. 10) and expresses the metaphor of "coming closer" (**Berrigan**, 1979; **Carpentier**, 2015), playing an important role in motivating people to produce and distribute content.

On the other hand, interaction

"refers to the establishment of socio-communicative relationships within the media sphere" (**Carpentier**, 2012, p. 174).

So the idea of "social interaction" denotes a reciprocity process in which citizens produce, select and interpret content individually or collectively (**Jenkins**; **Carpentier**, 2013). Interactivity is a characteristic of media technologies that

"incorporates the possibility of user–content and user–user interaction through the interaction between user and technology" (**Carpentier**, 2015, p. 17).

Finally, the term "participation" represents those practices that imply a decision-making process. Therefore, participation is a practice that includes different forms of interaction and implies a high level of civic engagement and social commitment. For that reason, Jenkins argues that

"participative culture" is a "culture in which fans and other consumers are invited to actively participate in the creation and circulation of new content" (**Jenkins**, 2006, p. 331).

Nevertheless, the concept of "participation" is still an ambiguous term that expresses diverse interpretations. Academic debates suggest that there are various definitions about the idea of participation and different levels of participation (**Arnstein**, 1969; **Dahlgren**, 2012). As a consequence, this research aims to set out a theoretical framework that delimits the meaning of this polysemic term. In this way, this paper considers participation as a full and conscious action taken by an individual or by a community with the objective of getting specific results (**Velásquez-Carrillo**; **González-Rodríguez**, 2003). This means that civic participation differs from any other kind of social or individual action in that it is a civic expression characterized by a specific logic and principles (**Espinosa-García**, 2009). Moreover, citizen participation is also

"a categorical term for citizen power. It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future" (**Arnstein**, 1969, p. 1).

The ladder of citizen participation designed by **Arnstein** (1969) represents a symbolic structure of the levels of civic participation that could converge in any kind of social, economic, or political system (table 1).

Table 1. Ladder of citizen participation

8. Citizen control	
7. Delegated power	Citizen power
6. Partnership	
5. Placation	
4. Consultation	*Tokenism*
3. Informing	
2. Therapy	
1. Manipulation	Non participation

Source: **Arnstein** (1969)

The five first steps of the ladder include "non participation" forms or an allegorical participation model in the case of *Tokenism*. According to **Arnstein** (1969), the first two depict a manipulated society where citizens perceive a distorted reality and live in a community controlled by political and economic elites. On the other hand, *Tokenism* is a distraction strategy because, although citizens find opportunities for expressing ideas and opinions, there is no interaction or feedback between citizenship and political power. The peak of the ladder represents three kinds of "citizen power". In these last levels, participation becomes a tool that gives power to the individual and that guarantees public action legitimacy, justice, and effectiveness (**Fung**, 2006). It is at this point where the civic participation archetype works and where the open government model emerges: actors that take part in the communication process interact among themselves (**Sundar**; **Kalyanaraman**; **Brown**, 2003) and establish a mutually influential relationship.

> I-docs become the ideal agora for promoting various levels of participation and civic engagement

4. When i-docs met politics: towards an emerging open government model

There are two ways for citizens to participate in i-docs: "participation on media" and "participation through media" (**Jenkins**; **Carpentier**, 2013). The first, "participation on media", refers to the inclusion of non-professionals in the decision making process around a platform –structural participation– or around content production –content participation–. On the other hand, "participation through media" focuses on the social dimension of the documentary: individuals finding opportunities to get involved in the social debate through the debate itself. This last expression introduces the dilemma of considering if participants show the abilities and the interest:

- in communicating in a dialogical space;
- in spreading a message through a documental or social network –spreadability- (**Jenkins**; **Ford**; **Green**, 2013);
- in connecting with other users from the same community, following the "networked society" paradigm (**Castells**, 2008); or
- popularizing their own social voice.

Regarding participation through media form, **Nash** (2014) claims there are two important concepts about the voice that become relevant for the study of the interactive documentary: "voice as authorship" –the ability of participants to be taken into account for the development of the documentary– and "voice as social participation" –the ability to connect and to commit to other users in the development of the documentary–. According to these possibilities for participation, **Aston** & **Gaudenzi** (2012) elaborated a taxonomy in which they distinguished four types of interactive documentaries:

- conversational (a conversation between users and the computer);

- hypertext (a limited user experience through preset choices);
- participative (a conversation between authors and users in which users are actively involved in the production of content); and
- experiential (users utilize space to structure and to personalize the user experience until the boundaries between real life and virtual life become diffused).

Gaudenzi (2013, p. 252) considers the participative mode the main model that motivates transformations in the documentary since the audience is able to change content and to promote the growth of the documentary as if it was a "living documentary". In this way, Gaudenzi aims to emphasize the beginning of a new era for documentary production where the real *raison d'être* is not just the representation of the reality or the narration, but also the co-creation of reality or co-creation of the story. Along the same lines, **Darley** (2002, p. 165) summarized that

> "the ability to choose to do something to change or alter the scene, to intervene in the action does constitute an increase in participation relative to the quiescent state of the usually sedentary viewer".

For that reason, **Gaudenzi** (2013, p. 210) proposed three issues to be taken into account before analyzing the levels of participation in the interactive documentary: (1) Who is being called to collaborate? (2) What are they allowed to do? (3) When could they make the i-doc?

> I-documentaries enable four levels of civic engagement: closed, semi-closed, semi-open, and open

The marriage between documentaries and politics is not necessarily an innovation. The history of documentaries is full of stories about how social movements have used the genre to participate in the public debate. In fact, **Whiteman** (2004) carried out some case studies in which individuals and activist groups popularized a kind of documentary that directs the spectator's attention towards a specific social issue. In the same way, interactive documentaries are also starting to be considered a strategy for disseminating and sharing social petitions such as *Fort McMoney's*. One of the most remarkable characteristics of i-docs is their ability to narrate a unified story; this is mainly what distinguishes i-docs from other multimedia web sites.

In the same way collective collaboration motivates the development of democracy, participation gives the audience the opportunity to change the narration of the story (**Nash,** 2014: 387). However, it is important to consider that the

http://www.arte.tv/sites/en/webdocs/?lang=en
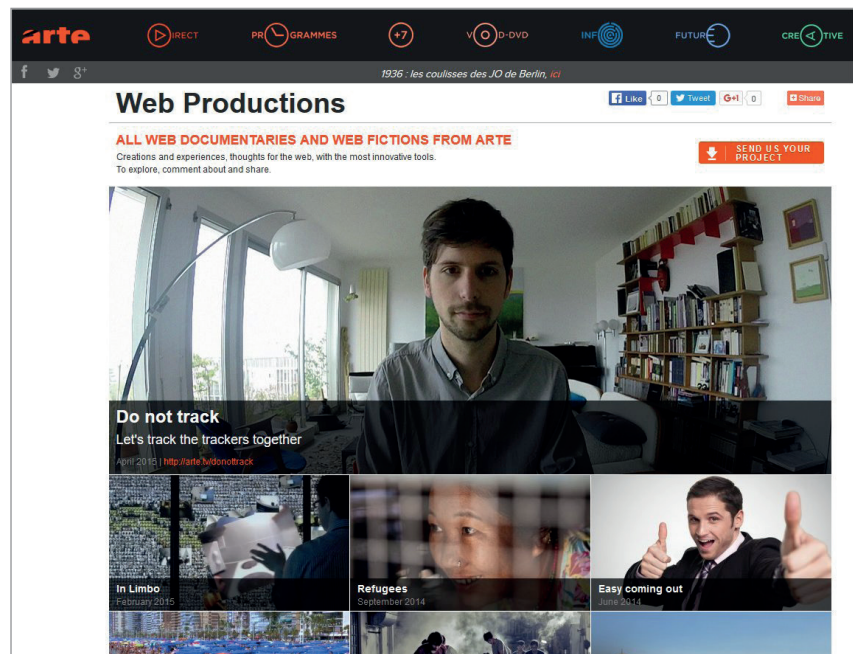
levels of collaboration and participation in these virtual spaces depend on the ability and predisposition of the individuals who get involved in the interactive story and the architecture or interface of the documentary.

5. Methodology

This research has developed a hybrid methodology that combines the methodological approaches proposed by **Gifreu-Castells** (2011), **Gaudenzi** (2013), and **Nash** (2012b). The objective is to obtain a taxonomy of the civic participation forms that could arise from the marriage between i-docs and politics. Firstly, the model suggested by **Gifreu-Castells** (2011) is based on Nichols' argument and considers that there are three elements that must be taken into account for the analysis of the interactive documentary: the role of the speaker, the message, and the receiver.

Secondly, as we said before, **Gaudenzi** (2013, p. 39-69) formulates the following questions to understand the interactivity level in documentaries: who is being called to participate, what they are allowed to do, and when the moment to accomplish the action is. The answers to these questions determine three modes of interactivity (**Gaudenzi,** 2013, p. 69):

1) semi-closed mode, where users can navigate but cannot modify the content;

2) semi-open mode, where users can participate in the content but they cannot change the structure of the documentary; and

3) open mode, where users and the documentary change constantly with each adapting to the other.

However, we suggest a fourth mode to this classification: the closed mode, regarding those documentaries where there is no interaction at all.

ONLINE

https://www.nfb.ca/interactive
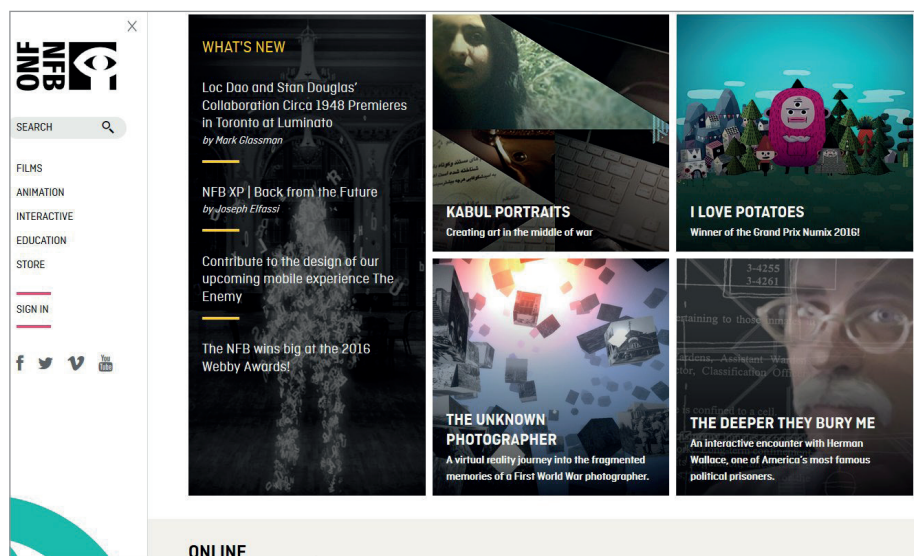
Finally, **Nash** (2012b, pp. 195-210) deals with the social dimension of interactive documentaries through participation and highlights the importance of the ability of participants to connect and commit with other users.

In summary, this research has collected some of the most representative documentaries placed on the *ARTE* database, the *National Film Board of Canada*, the *Open Documentary Lab* at *MIT*, and other documentaries created by minor producers. Thus, the final collection includes the following documentaries: *Triumph des Willens* (*The Triumph of the Will*), *Journey to the end of coal*, *0 responsables* (*Zero responsible*), and *Global lives*. This selection is expected to be useful to illustrate the civic participation models that interactive documentaries allow.

> *Global lives* may be a suitable space to build an open government system because it allows the convergence of the traditional representative model and deliberative democracy

6. Results and discussion

This section introduces an analysis of the documentaries that have been collected to devise a taxonomy about the different civic participation expressions. The results of this analysis reveal that documentaries enable four levels of civic engagement: closed, semi-closed, semi-open, and open. It is important to note that this taxonomy is based on a pure model; although we are aware of hybrid paradigms as well, we have not included them in this analysis because they are not representative or meaningful. This way, we can find a parallel between, for example, the *Triumph des Willens* documentary and the closed mode; *Journey to the end of coal* and the semi-closed mode; *0 responsables* and the semi-opened mode, and *Global lives* and the open mode.

6.1. Closed models: the lack of participation in *Triumph des Willens*

Triumph des Willens (Leni Riefenstahl, 1935) is a linear documentary that relates to the 1934 Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg and it represents a classic in documentary history. *Triumph des Willens* permits a cognitive interaction: spectators are only allowed to reflect upon the story narrated or to act according to what the documentary tells them, but they cannot interact, navigate, or add contents that modify the structure of the documentary. For these reasons, *Triumph des Willens* constitutes a good example of a closed model. This documentary illustrates a kind of tale in which the speaker -the *Nazi Party* through Leni Riefenstahl- uses unidirectional communication channels to spread propaganda messages with the aim of reaching followers –in fact, *Nazi Party* supporters grew after this film–. In this case, there is no feedback possibility because the documentary presents a hierarchical communication structure. In conclusion, *Triumph des Willens* is a closed model that only motivates individuals in a cognitive mode.

6.2. Semi-closed models: *Journey to the end of coal* and *clicktivism*

Journey to the end of coal (Samuel Bollendorff and Abel Ségrétin, 2008) was produced by *Honkytonk films* and is an interactive documentary that shows the miserable working conditions of Chinese coal miners. The aim of this documentary is to expose the daily deaths that occur in mines and that have never been reported by the media. In order to achieve this objective, *Journey to the end of coal* provides information that is expected to motivate the audience to reflect upon the working conditions of Chinese coal miners, but the documentary does not ask spectators to respond. The structure of this model of i-doc is closed and hermetic, but allows users to inquire into the problem and delve into the idiosyncrasy of each character. Spectators find the opportunity to plan their own route when they interact with the various options the platform offers, but they cannot modify the story or the documentary structure. Gaudenzi named this kind of interactive documentary hypertext because it does not offer possibilities for real participation. The premise behind *Journey to the end of coal* is that users are just allowed to choose options and click on them. That is what we call "clicktivism", which means to reduce activism to a mere mouse-click, and it does not represent a real engagement or commitment to the cause.

6.3. Semi-open models: *0 responsables* and the virtual agora

0 responsables (*Zero responsible*) was produced by *Barret Films* and the *Asociación de Víctimas del Metro del 3 de Julio*[3]. It is a transmedia project composed through an interactive documentary, a lineal documentary for TV and an interactive product for SmartTV. *0 responsables* narrates the tragic Valencia railway accident that occurred on 3 July 2006. The project –available online– has five episodes that include pictures of the accident and testimonies of victims, journalists, and politicians.

The interactive documentary enables users to navigate through the structure of the platform, look up information and find testimonies. Although viewers cannot modify the documentary structure, they are allowed to participate in the story in two ways: First, individuals can provide documents, videos, and comments and post messages on social media like *Twitter* (#0responsables). In addition, users can also support the cause by participating in the virtual agora of the interactive documentary and joining the demonstrations organized every month in Plaza de la Virgen (Valencia).

In conclusion, the main objective of *0 responsables* is to report an unjust situation and encourage social mobilizations in order to get justice for the victims of the railway station and against the political elite who mismanaged the situation and did not provide solutions. Thanks to the civic engagement in this project and to the broadcast of a report on *Salvados* TV program, the case was re-opened and some people responsible for the accident were forced to declare this in the *Valencia Assembly*.

6.4. Open models: *Global lives*, how to create a documentary community

Global lives is a transmedia project –website, DVD, and exhibitions– founded in 2004 by David Evan Harris. The objective of this interactive documentary is to become a great database of video resources capable of reflecting the lifestyles of people from different cultures. This project aims to explore human diversity using video tools and to motivate people to debate, investigate, and think about cultures, ethnicities, languages, and religions.

This interactive documentary was made by volunteers from various countries and professionals: documentary makers, academics, journalists, photographers, etc. *Global lives* is

also a collaborative documentary because users are allowed to participate in the content and modify the structure of the platform. Spectators can add new content or just share their content via *Twitter*, *Facebook*, and other social media. The growth of these kinds of documentaries depends on the participation generated by users: user-generated-content strategy. Volunteers become the speakers of the story and the audience turns into a documentary community (**Nash**, 2014, p. 389). Publics are not just passive observers anymore, but active participants that produce and consume content. In this way, citizens become activists capable of participating in social petitions and can join any kind of cause.

> In *Global lives*, citizens can collaborate in the structure of the documentary, but there is a committee that makes the final decision

In any case, what really makes this project different from the rest of the documentaries presented is that it permits users to participate in the structure; this means that volunteers can get involved in how the project is going to be articulated and organized, as well as participate in debates and forums. This is an example of how society is changing the way citizens participate in the public sphere, but also represents a pretext to motivate a politics' renovation according to the claims of these emerging social trends.

In short, *Global lives* could be understood as a "living documentary" (**Gaudenzi**, 2013). It is a platform that accepts individual contributions that affect the content and the structure of the documentary. Moreover, it is a suitable space to build an open government system because it allows the convergence of a traditional representative model and the deliberative democracy (**Barber**, 1984; **Habermas**, 1999; **Daly**; **Prugh**; **Costanza**, 2000): citizens can collaborate in the structure of the documentary, but there is a committee that makes the final decision.

7. Conclusion

The objective of this paper is to emphasize the interactive potential of interactive documentaries to change the role of citizens from passive individuals to active political actors with their own voice. This way of social activism through i-

Table 2. Marriage between i-docs and politics implications

Level of civic participation	Participation forms allowed in documentaries taxonomy	Arnstein's ladder of participation	Results from the marriage between i-docs and politics
Passive	Closed mode	1. Manipulation 2. Therapy	Orwellian model
Active	Semi-closed mode	3. Informing 4. Consultation 5. Placation	*Tokenism* model
	Semi-open mode	6. Partnership	Playful model
	Open mode	7. Delegated power 8. Citizen control	Athenian model

docs creates new spaces for an open government paradigm. In this context, this paper has developed a taxonomy based on the level of interaction that i-docs permit.

Regarding the role that citizens play in the interactive documentary we have identified two kinds of user profiles: passive and active. Passive citizens represent a low level of participation because they only get involved in a cognitive way. Spectators witness the progression of the story and are able to reflect on the information received, but they cannot interact. This passive role is typical in lineal documentaries and defines citizens who live in a closed government model, like in the *Triumph des Willens* documentary where communication is unidirectional and feedback is not permitted as users cannot change the content or the structure of the documentary.

The active citizen also gets involved at a cognitive level, but they interact as well. In this sense, citizens can modify the content, the structure of the documentary, or both elements at the same time. These different possibilities configure different government models: the semi-closed mode, like in *A journey to the end of coal* documentary. It constitutes a *Tokenism s*trategy because citizens believe that they belong to a real participative democracy when, in fact, it is just a mirage. The semi-open mode, like *O responsables*, describes citizens who can participate in the story, but they cannot change its structure.

In conclusion, although there is still not a real open mode that represents an open government system, this research proposes that the marriage between i-docs and politics is the most suitable way to create an open social model, like for example in the *Global lives* documentary. Interactive documentaries such as *Global lives* allow citizens to participate in the content -the story- and to modify the structure of the documentary. *Global lives* offers an experience in which individuals get involved and engaged at all levels; for that reason, this documentary symbolizes the purest representation of the philosophical grounds for the open government model.

Notes

1. **Barnouw** (1996); **Barsam** (1992); **Nichols** (1983; 1991; 2001); **Renov** (1993; 2004); **Rotha** (1952; 1970); **Rabiger** (1997); **Català-Domènech** (2001; 2008); **Breschand** (2002); **Cerdán**; **Torreiro** (2005); **Cerdán**; **Torreiro** (2001); **Rosenthal**; **Corner** (2002); **León** (1999); **León**; **Negredo** (2013), among others.

2. **Gaudenzi** (2011; 2013); **Rose** (2014); **Whitelaw** (2002); **Choi** (2009); **Dinmore** (2008); **Nash** (2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2014); **Winston** (1995; 2000); or **Britain** (2006) in the Anglo Saxon countries. In Spain, scholars such as **Gifreu-Castells** (2011; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015); **Gifreu-Castells**; **Moreno** (2014); **León**; **Negredo** (2013); and **Rodríguez-Fidalgo**; **Molpeceres-Arnáiz** (2013) stand out.

3. This Spanish association was founded in 2006 and represents the victims of a railway accident in Valencia, in the south-east of Spain. The Valencia derailment occurred on 3 July 2006, when a commuter train travelling from Plaza de España station (Valencia) to Torrent (Valencia) derailed at high speed on a bend about 50 metres before arriving at the Joaquin Sorolla-Jesús railway station at Valencia. Of the 150 people aboard, 43 were killed.

8. References

Area-Moreira, Manuel; **Ribeiro-Pessoa, Maria-Teresa** (2012). "De lo sólido a lo líquido: las nuevas alfabetizaciones ante los cambios culturales de la web 2.0". *Comunicar*, v. 19, n. 38, pp. 13-20.
http://dx.doi.org/10.3916/c38-2012-02-01

Arnstein, Sherry (1969). "A ladder of citizen participation". *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, v. 35, n. 4, pp. 216-224.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225

Aston, Judith; **Gaudenzi, Sandra** (2012). "Interactive documentary: Setting the field". *Studies in documentary film*, v. 6, n. 2, pp. 125-139.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1386/sdf.6.2.125_1

Barber, Benjamin R. (1984). *Strong democracy: Participatory politics for a new age*. Berkeley: University of California Press. ISBN: 978 0520242333

Barnouw, Eric (1996). *El documental: historia y estilo*. Barcelona: Gedisa. ISBN: 978 8474325638

Barsam, Richard (1992). *Nonfiction film: A critical history*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. ISBN: 978 0253207067

Berrigan, Frances J. (1979). *Community communications. The role of community media in development*. Paris: Unesco. ISBN: 9231017713
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0004/000440/044035eo. pdf

Breschand, Jean (2002). *Le documentaire: l'autre face du cinéma*. Paris: Cahiers du cinéma. ISBN: 978 2866423483

Britain, Connor (2009). *Raising reality to the mythic on the Web: The future of interactive documentary film.* North Carolina: Elon University.
https://issuu.com/cbritain/docs/taaportfolio

Campos-Domínguez, Eva-María (2011). *El desarrollo de la ciberdemocracia en el Congreso de los Diputados: la comunicación e interacción entre ciudadanos y parlamentarios a través de internet (2004-2008)*. Tesis doctoral. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
http://eprints.ucm.es/12401

Carpentier, Nico (2012). "The concept of participation. If they have access and interact, do they really participate?". *Fronteiras*, v. 14, n. 2, pp. 164-177.
http://dx.doi.org/10.4013/fem.2012.142.10

Carpentier, Nico (2015). "Differentiating between access, interaction and participation". *Conjunctions*, v. 2, n. 2, pp. 7-28.
http://dx.doi.org/10.7146/tjcp.v2i2.23117

Castells, Manuel (2008). *La sociedad red.* Madrid: Alianza. ISBN: 978 84 206 4246 8

Català-Domènech, Josep-Maria (2001). "La crisis de la reali-

dad en el documental español contemporáneo". En: Català-Domènech, Josep-Maria; Cerdán, Josetxo; Torreiro, Casimiro (eds.). *Imagen, memoria y fascinación. Notas sobre el documental en España.* Madrid: Ocho y Medio, pp. 27-44. ISBN: 9788493137687

Català-Domènech, Josep-Maria (2008). *La forma del real. Introducció als estudis visuals*. Barcelona: Universitat Oberta de Catalunya. ISBN: 978 8490297469

Cerdán, Josetxo; **Torreiro, Casimiro** (2005). *Documental y vanguardia*. Madrid: Cátedra. ISBN: 978 8437622309

Choi, Insook (2009). "Interactive documentary: A production model for nonfiction multimedia narratives". En: Nijholt, Anton; Reidsma, Dennis; Hondorp, Hendri (eds.). *Intelligent technologies for interactive entertainment.* Berlin: Springer, pp. 44-55. ISBN: 978 3642023149

Corner, John (2002). "Performing the real: documentary diversions". *Television and new media*, v. 3, n. 3, pp. 255-269. *http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/152747640200300302*

Dader, José-Luís (2002). *La ciberdemocracia posible. Reflexión prospectiva a partir de la experiencia en España.* *http://www.saladeprensa.org/art361.htm*

Dahlgren, Peter (2012). "Mejorar la participación: la democracia y el cambiante entorno de la Web". En: Innerarity, Daniel; Champeau, Serge (eds.). *Internet y el futuro de la democracia*. Barcelona: Paidós, pp. 45-67. ISBN: 978 8449327407

Dahlgren, Peter (2013). "From public to civic intellectuals via online cultures". *Participations. Journal of audience & reception studies*, v. 10, n. 1, pp. 400-404. *http://bit.ly/1TsKpGH*

Daly, Herman; **Prugh, Thomas**; **Costanza, Robert** (2000). *The local politics of global sustainability.* Washington: Island Press. ISBN: 9781559637442

Darley, Andrew (2002). *Visual digital culture: Surface play and spectacle in new media genres*. London: Routledge. ISBN: 978 0415165556

Dinmore, Stuart (2008). *The real online: Imagining the future of documentary*. School of Communication. Doctoral thesis. University of South Australia.

Espinosa-García, Mario (2009). "La participación ciudadana como una relación socio-estatal acotada por la concepción de democracia y ciudadanía". *Andamios*, v. 5, n. 10, pp. 71-109. *http://bit.ly/1TLgWbB*

Fung, Archon (2006). "Varieties of participation in complex governance". *Public administration review*, v. 66, n. S1, pp. 66-75. *http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00667.x*

Gaudenzi, Sandra (2011). "The i-doc as a relational object". *i-Docs*, 8 September. *http://goo.gl/yZmkpe*

Gaudenzi, Sandra (2013). *The living documentary: From representing reality to co-creating reality in digital interactive documentary.* Doctoral thesis. University of London. *http://research.gold.ac.uk/7997*

Gifreu-Castells, Arnau (2011). "The interactive documentary. Definition proposal and basic features of the new emerging genre". *McLuhan Galaxy conf. procs.*, pp. 367-378. ISBN: 978 8493880217
https://www.academia.edu/1491044/The_Interactive_Documentary._Definition_Proposal_and_Basic_Features_of_the_New_Emerging_Genre

Gifreu-Castells, Arnau (2012). "Nuevo modelo de no ficción interactiva móvil. Caracterización del reportaje y el documental interactivo". En: García-Medina, Irene; Contreras-Espinosa, Ruth-Sofía (eds.). *M-todos. Tendencias y oportunidades de la movilidad digital*, pp. 59-66. ISBN: 978 8469520710
http://repositori.uvic.cat/bitstream/handle/10854/1873/artconlli_a2011_mtodos.pdf?sequence=1

Gifreu-Castells, Arnau (2013). *El documental interactivo como nuevo género audiovisual. Estudio de la aparición del nuevo género, aproximación a su definición y propuesta de taxonomía y de modelo de análisis a efectos de evaluación, diseño y producción*. Tesis doctoral. Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
http://agifreu.com/interactive_documentary/TesisArnauGifreu2012.pdf

Gifreu-Castells, Arnau (ed. y coord.) (2015). "Narrativas de no ficción audiovisual, interactiva y transmedia". *Obra digital*, n. 8. Vic: Universitat de Vic-Universitat Central de Catalunya.
http://revistesdigitals.uvic.cat/index.php/obradigital/issue/view/12/showToc

Gifreu-Castells, Arnau; **Moreno, Valentina** (2014). "Estrategias y modelos de financiación del documental interactivo y transmedia". *Fonseca. Journal of communication*, n. 9, pp. 41-63.
http://revistas.usal.es/index.php/2172-9077/article/view/12241/12591

Grierson, John (1966). *Grierson on documentary*. London: Forsyth Hardy Faber. ISBN: 978 0520005341

Habermas, Jürgen (1999). *Problemas de legitimación en el capitalismo tardío*. Madrid: Cátedra. ISBN: 978 8437617534

Hibbing, John R.; **Theiss-Morse, Elizabeth** (2002). *Stealth democracy: Americans' beliefs about how government should work.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978 0521009867

Jenkins, Henry (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. NY: NYU Press. ISBN: 978 0814742952

Jenkins, Henry (2014). "Participations: Dialogues on the participatory promise of contemporary culture and politics". Forum. Part 3: Politics. *International journal of communication*, v. 8, pp. 1129-1151.
http://goo.gl/t951aC
http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/2787/1124

Jenkins, Henry; **Carpentier, Nico** (2013). "Theorizing participatory intensities: A conversation about participation and politics". *Convergence: The international journal of research into new media technologies*, v. 19, n. 3, pp. 265-286.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1354856513482090

Jenkins, Henry; **Ford, Sam**; **Green, Joshua** (2013). *Spreadable media: Creating value and meaning in a networked culture*. New York: New York University Press. ISBN: 978 0814743508

Lasswell, Harold (1948). "The structure and function of communications in society". En: Bryson, Lyman (Ed.). *The communication of ideas*. New York: Harper & Row, pp. 37-51.

León, Bienvenido (1999). *El documental de divulgación científica*. Barcelona: Paidós. ISBN: 978 8449307270

León, Bienvenido; **Negredo, Samuel** (2013). "Documental web. Una nueva página para el sueño interactivo". *Telos: Cuadernos de comunicación e innovación*, n. 96, octubre 2013 - enero 2014, pp. 1-10.
https://goo.gl/GWkpoY

Nash, Kate (2011). *Clicking on the real: telling stories and engaging audiences through interactive documentaries.*
http://goo.gl/Vht9oc

Nash, Kate (2012a). "*Goa hippy tribe*: Theorising documentary content on a social network site". *Media international Australia*, n. 142, pp. 30-41.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1329878X1214200105

Nash, Kate (2012b). "Modes of interactivity: Analyzing the web-doc". *Media, culture and society*, v. 34, n. 2, pp. 195-210.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0163443711430758

Nash, Kate (2014). "What is interactivity for? The social dimension of web-documentary participation". *Continuum: Journal of media & cultural studies*, v. 28, n. 3, pp. 383-395.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2014.893995

Nichols, Bill (1983). "The voice of documentary". *Film quarterly*, v. 36, n. 3, pp. 17-30.
http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3697347

Nichols, Bill (1991). *Representing reality: Issues and concepts in documentary*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. ISBN: 978 0253206817

Nichols, Bill (2001). *Introduction to documentary.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. ISBN: 978 0 253 22260 2

Rabiger, Michael (1997). *Directing the documentary.* London: Focal Press. ISBN: 978 0240806082

Renov, Michael (1993). "Toward a poetics of documentary". En: Renov, Michael (ed.). *Theorizing documentary.* New York: Routledge, pp. 12-36. ISBN: 978 0415903820

Renov, Michael (2004). *The subject of documentary.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. ISBN: 978 0816634415

Rodríguez-Fidalgo, María-Isabel; **Molpeceres-Arnáiz, Sara** (2013). "Los nuevos documentales multimedia interactivos: construcción discursiva de la realidad orientada al receptor activo". *Historia y comunicación social*, v. 18, pp. 249-262.
http://dx.doi.org/10.5209/rev_hics.2013.v18.44325

Romaguera-Ramió, Joaquim; **Alsina-Thevenet, Homero** (eds.) (1989). *Textos y manifiestos del cine. Estética, escuelas, movimientos, disciplinas, innovaciones.* Madrid: Cátedra. ISBN: 978 8437608457

Rose, Mandy (2014). "Making publics: Documentary as do-it-with-others citizenship". En: Ratto, Matt; Boler, Megan (eds.). *DIY citizenship: Critical making and social media*. Boston: MIT Press, pp. 201-212. ISBN: 978 0262026819

Rosenthal, Alan; **Corner, John** (2005). *New challenges for documentary.* Manchester: Manchester University Press. ISBN: 978 0520057241

Rotha, Paul (1952). *Documentary film: The use of the film medium to interpret creatively and in social terms the life of the people as it exists in reality*. London: Faber and Faber. ISBN: 978 0803815292

Rotha, Paul (1970). *Documentary film.* New York: Hasting House Publishers. ISBN: 978 1447439998

Sampedro, Víctor; Sánchez, José-**Manuel** (2011). "La Red era la plaza". *Ciberdemocracia.es*.
http://www.ciberdemocracia.es/articulos/RedPlaza.pdf

Servaes, Jan (1996). "Participatory communication research with new social movements: A realistic utopia". En: Servaes, Jan; Jacobson, Thomas L.; White, Shirley A. (eds.). *Participatory communication for social change*. New Delhi: Sage, pp. 82-108. ISBN: 0803992963

Servaes, Jan; **Malikhao, Patchanee** (2005). "Participatory communication: The new paradigm?" En: Hemer, Oscar; Tufte, Thomas (eds.). *Media & global change. Rethinking communication for development.* Buenos Aires: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, pp. 91-103. ISBN: 9871183267
http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/coediciones/20100824061923/glocal.pdf

Sundar, Shyman; **Kalyanaraman, Sriram**; **Brown, Justin** (2003). "Explicating web site interactivity: Impression formation effects in political campaign sites". *Communication research*, v. 30, n. 1, pp. 30-59.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093650202239025

Velásquez-Carrillo, Fabio; **González-Rodríguez, Esperanza** (2003). *¿Qué ha pasado con la participación ciudadana en Colombia?* Bogotá: Fundación Corona. ISBN: 958 971997X
http://www.dhl.hegoa.ehu.es/ficheros/0000/0120/participacion_ciudadana_en_colombia.pdf

Whitelaw, Mitchell (2002). *Playing games with reality: Only fish shall visit and interactive documentary.*
http://mtchl.net/playing-games-with-reality-only-fish-shall-visit-and-interactive-documentary

Whiteman, David (2004). "Out of the theatres and into the streets: A coalition model of the political impact of documentary film and video". *Political communication*, v. 21, n. 1, pp. 51-69.
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10584600490273263-1585

Winston, Brian (1995). *Claiming the real: The documentary film revisited.* London: BFI. ISBN: 978 0851704647

Winston, Brian (2000). *Lies, damn lies and documentaries.* London: BFI. ISBN: 978 0851707976