

Why We Are Angry:
Rearticulating Fisher's Narrative Paradigm with Interactivity and Hypertext

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ABSTRACT

In December 2012, the brutal gang rape and murder of Jyoti Singh in New Delhi, India sparked international outrage leading to numerous protests. Singh's story raised many questions regarding sexual violence and rape culture in India. *We Are Angry* is a digital narrative that responds to sexual assault and misogyny in India through the story of a victim whose tragedy mirrors that of Singh and many others. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the rhetorical potential of digital narratives through the analysis of *We Are Angry*. Specifically, I used Fisher's Narrative Paradigm as a lens to determine how the use of hypertext impacts the narrative's inherent rationality, fidelity, and coherence. This thesis illustrates that digital narratives' use of hypertext allows the creator to develop a narrative in a way that can expand the reader's knowledge on prominent international social justice issues. Hypertext further enhances the level of fidelity and coherence for a reader who may not be familiar with the Indian setting.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Disturbing news of a brutal gang rape in New Delhi rocked India and the world in December 2012. Jyoti Singh, a 23-year-old medical student had boarded a bus with a male friend on their way home after viewing *Life of Pi*. While in route, five men entered the bus and beat the young woman and man. The men raped Singh and then violated her with an iron rod. Naked and bleeding, she was left with her male companion on the side of a highway in New Delhi. Two students walking by found them and carried them to a nearby hospital (Roa, 2014). Singh died from her injuries thirteen days later.

The case sparked numerous protests surrounding the culture of sexual violence against women in India. Beginning the day after the rape, protesters from different castes began gathering at the Jantar Mantar and India Gate, which are two major architectural landmarks in New Delhi (Roa, 2014). Protesters, particularly women, in the area were enraged by the crime because they identified with the victim. One student protester stated, “We’re protesting here because she could have been me.” Another protester said, “She represented the aspirations of so many Indian girls, studying hard, daring to dream big.” Indian law prohibits the naming of sexual assault victims, so Singh was dubbed “Nirbhaya,” or “fearless one” by the media (Udas, 2013).

Although Singh is only one of too many victims of sexual violence in the world, her case reached international proportions. News of Singh’s rape and subsequent death spread across the world. In 2013, the U.S. State Department posthumously awarded her the International Women of Courage Award. According to the website for the U.S. State Department (2013), Singh’s “personal ordeal, perseverance to fight for justice, and her family’s continued bravery is helping to lift the stigma and vulnerability that drive violence against women.” Her death also sparked a large response from both mainstream and social media. Social media such as Twitter and

Facebook were used to both share thoughts and condolences (Brown, 2013, January 4). Conversations also began brewing about India's problem of violence against women (Bélair-Gagnon, Mishra, and Agur, 2013, April 8). The Delhi 2012 gang rape also prompted the creation of artistic responses. A recently released documentary entitled *India's Daughter*, produced and directed by filmmaker Leslee Udwin examines the culture of India, a culture that would result in the loss and death of 23-year-old Singh and countless other women. A subsequent reaction to the violence committed against Singh is *We Are Angry*, a fictional digital narrative that is a response to Singh's rape and murder and the sexual violence committed against so many of India's women. The narrative takes readers through the experiences of a young woman in her 20's who is raped in a car and left for dead on the side of the road. Sustaining terrible injuries, the woman is found by two passers-by and taken to a nearby hospital. Throughout the story, readers experience multiple narrators, including the victim, the police, the victim's doctors at the hospital, the victim's family, the accused rapists, the investigative team, and politicians. The narrative also includes news flashes, with fictionalized news stories that reflect the real-life news stories about rape crimes in India, allowing the reader a fuller view into the rhetorical situation of rape culture in India.

Published online, the site is free to view and takes readers through two different modes of experiencing the story. Readers are given the option to either "Experience" or "Read" the narrative on the website's homepage; however, each mode presents the same information. In the "Read" mode, key words are hyperlinked to visual images, graphics, videos, and sound clips. In the experience version of the story, images, graphics, and words appear without having to click on a hyperlink. Another function of the hyperlinks is to define words. The narrative is written in English; however, the narrator often uses Hindi terms and slang. These terms are defined for the

reader, thus making them accessible to English-speaking audiences. Words or phrases in the narrative that refer to other real-world stories also are hyperlinked to YouTube videos and real news reports. Finally, the narrative also presents many visual images that emphasize the plot. As stated by the creators, *We Are Angry* was created to showcase different artworks that have served as expressions of anger regarding rape culture. The piece has allowed the creators to attempt to implement change (About, 2015).

The similarities of the fictional attack on the narrator and the actual rape and murder of Singh are not lost on the reader. According to the creators of *We Are Angry*, the work was created as a response to the culture of sexual violence and discrimination against women in India:

Introspecting. Questioning. Pontificating. Feeling repulsed, feeling scared, persecuted, calling for castration, calling for death, calling for tighter laws, calling for speed, calling for a change in beliefs, calling on God, calling off the shame. We were begging the government to care and the police to police. And for people—men and women—to think of women differently, to think of women as equals. (Afterword, 2015)

Although the narrative is fictional, its meaning echoes the real life struggle of women in India.

I analyzed *We Are Angry* in order to understand how narrative discourse in an online format can act as a rhetorical instrument to discuss an internationally prevalent issue. I also analyzed the narrative's use of hypertext and interactivity to add to the literature on free-to-view hypertext narratives. Given the fictional nature and the nonfictional context of *We Are Angry*, Fisher's Narrative Paradigm offers a rich mode of rhetorical analysis. Based in a narrative rationality that portrays humans as being natural storytellers who use their stories as rationale, Fisher's Narrative Paradigm offers a more complete view of the persuasive efforts of *We Are*

Angry. Using Fisher's (1987) conceptions of fidelity and probability will determine the coherence of the narrative in relation to the nonfiction story occurring in India and across the globe.

Because the work was published in a digital format, the discourse is rich with modes of interactivity and visual images as well as videos and graphics. Hypertextuality, a system in which fragments of a text are hyperlinked to extra supplementary information, is a prominent feature of *We Are Angry*. Through this sort of interactivity, a medium can fully engage its readers and absorb them into the digital environment (Oh & Sundar, 2015).

According to Digital Fables, multimedia storytelling in news coverage has become more prevalent in mainstream media, including big name newspapers like *The New York Times* (About, 2015). Interactivity and hypertextuality has been explored in the academic fields of literature, video game studies, and journalism; however, no known research has been published regarding the rhetorical effects of interactivity and hypertext on a narrative. Further, no known research has been published on how interactivity works in the context of the digital narrative, particularly in a narrative that is used to advocate a prevalent international social justice issue. By using Fisher's Narrative Paradigm as an overarching approach to analyze the text and hypertext in *We Are Angry*, I used a case study approach to further a rhetorical understanding of digital narratives.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Narrative and Rhetoric

Storytelling through narrative is pervasive in our society. It holds a special place in the American imagination due to its therapeutic, instructional, and informational properties. Maguire (1988) stated that the advantage storytelling gives over other modes of communication is that it “encourages one human being to reach another human being in a direct and positive manner” (p. 6). Along with their day-to-day functions, storytelling in the form of narrative discourse has been used in the rhetorical sense. Kaufer (1997) explained that rhetoric is the “application of language to bring about a world, a cast of characters, and a contest to the listener’s here and now” (p. 269). His conception of rhetoric is that it is an inherently narrative form of communication—the rhetorical act is best done through storytelling. Further, narratives also can be used to persuade others to accept a particular worldview. West and Carey (2006) noted that when telling a narrative, the speaker is able to use rhetorical choices to modify his or her audience’s perception. Narrative performs a variety of key rhetorical functions. According to Fisher (1987), we establish a meaningful life world by recounting and accounting stories. Such use of stories can be traced to Burke’s (1969) notion of “man” as symbol-using animals. Symbols work to give order to the human experience. Narratives often provide symbolic meaning (Redick & Underwood, 2007). Narration occurs through symbolic actions, or words and deeds that have sequence and meaning for those who live, create and interpret them (Fisher, 1987).

Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm

Walter Fisher is credited with furthering a narrative approach to critiquing rhetoric. In his preeminent works (Fisher, 1978; Fisher, 1980; Fisher, 1985; Fisher, 1987), he redefined the way rationality is viewed in rhetorical argument. Fisher first became concerned with the views of

traditional rationality, which stem from the rational world paradigm, when he determined that traditional rationality ultimately deemed the public unreasonable (Fisher, 1984). In his analysis of the nuclear controversy, he found that the discourse of experts was privileged over the discourse of the public, completely disregarding the importance of public moral argument (Fisher, 1984). Fisher (1987) noted that public moral argument was intended to create conversations surrounding issues and values within a society at large. However, as a form of public—and often political—discourse, public moral argument has the tendency to draw in experts; it is then undermined by the prevailing truth of the dominant culture. The argument is then closed to the public and the privileged class determines what is right.

To reconceive rationality, Fisher offers up the narrative paradigm, which he claims will “give shape to [public and social knowledge] as identifiable entities in the discourse of citizenry, to give public knowledge a form of being” (Fisher, 1984, p. 15). As stated in Rybacki and Rybacki (1991), “Fisher suggests that it is in our nature as humans to use stories to get at truth” (p. 108). Fisher (1987) defined his own paradigm as one of reason, value and action by which we get at the truth, as opposed to accepting the “truth” of traditional rhetorical argument. Before defining the narrative paradigm, a few key premises of human behavior as noted by Fisher must be outlined. First, humans are *homo narrans*—all forms of human communication can be seen as being a story. Second, beliefs and behaviors are based on “good reasons” that are determined by the context and the values of a particular culture. Third, “good reasons” are determined based on our own individual culture, history, character, language, and experiences. Fourth, the rationality of a story depends on its consistency with other stories we have seen, heard, or experienced. Finally, the world is full of stories (Fisher, 1987).

The narrative paradigm defines the way that humans test communication. According to Fisher (1987), humans test communication based on the principles of probability and fidelity. Probability is defined by the principles of coherence—in Fisher’s (1987) words, does a story “hang together?” A story’s coherence is assessed by its structure, its material in reference to other stories, and the actions or behaviors of its characters. Fidelity rests on the truthfulness and reliability of a story. Fisher (1987) went on to say that humans test the fidelity of a story based on a logic of “good reasons.” Good reasons are based on the values of the audience—they are ruled by history, culture, biography, and character. These good reasons are also anchored to the underlying values that define specific situations (Fisher, 1981; Fisher, 1987).

The ability to make decisions based on “good reasons” arises from our inherent logic that Fisher (1987) dubs narrative rationality. Unlike traditional rationality, which is based in logic, narrative rationality assigns basic rationality to all humans based on the premise that we are all storytelling beings. According to Fisher (1987), the traditional conception of rationality is considered to be something that is learned from formal education; therefore, it is reserved for those who have been considered “experts.” Defining rationality as stemming from formal education denies the voices of the general population. On the other hand, narrative rationality claims that we are all endowed with rationality because we can all tell stories, thus solving the aforementioned problems of public moral argument. Narrative rationality informs an audience of a story’s values, values that they will accept as good reasons to change a belief or a behavior. Remarkable on the lack of elitism found in Fisher’s (1987) conception of narrative, Roberts (2004) stated, “it has implications for ethical behavior and hopefulness for the human spirit” (p. 129). Opposite traditional rationality, narrative rationality has a uniquely humanistic quality.

Along with the lines of narrative rationality used in a narrative, Rybacki and Rybacki (1991) mentioned that narratives should be analyzed in regards to their plot development, characterization, and setting. Plot analysis involves determining what problems need to be solved or what obstacles should be conquered. It is also important to determine what crises or conflicts are occurring in the narrative. The plot should also have sufficient detail to be considered a good reason an audience should believe the rationality of a story. Characters should be memorable, because a story's believability often depends on its characters and their motives, which are defined by decisions, actions, and values. Rybacki and Rybacki (1991) said a critic should consider the explicit and implicit qualities of the character. The audience should also be considered, as they will be the ones who determine what are considered acceptable and unacceptable behaviors. Finally, the narrative rationality will rely on the characters, as the audience will need to identify with the character's humanity. Lastly, the setting will determine the mood, tone, and emotional content a story. Rybacki and Rybacki (1991) stated that the setting should be determined in terms of the rhetorical situation, which is the historical-social time and place in which the rhetorical act occurs.

Rhetorical critics have applied the narrative paradigm in a variety of different ways, including in the analysis of how narratives pervade real life situations. In Burns's (2015) study on the use of narratives as persuasive recruitment tools for universities, he combined the narrative paradigm with the concept of regulatory fit, or how well a student fits with their school of interest. Analyzing data from focus groups, he found that stories can be used as recruitment tools and are persuasive once a student has narrowed down his or her list of choices. Burns (2015) also found that using student narratives that are realistic and representative of life on campus makes higher education more tangible for the student. Bute and Jensen (2011) conducted

a study to determine how low-income women perceived their sex-education experiences using the narrative paradigm. The researchers sought to see how the women connected their experiences to their sexual health knowledge, beliefs and behaviors. The study's approach built on key aspects of Fisher's paradigm, including how narratives are used to make sense of situations; how individuals imbue meaning to decisions and behaviors; and where individual's stories fit in the historical moment. Ultimately, stories provide a rationale for decision and action (Bute and Jensen, 2011).

Narratives also have been studied as essential for seeking group-based support. In their study on a Toughlove parental support group, Hollihan and Riley (1987) sought to understand the appeal of the Toughlove group and determine how members of the group are acculturated into the philosophy. The researchers found that the rhetoric of the group reflected the idea that the rational world and scientific notions of psychology did not understand the parents' situation. Narrative rationality was more coherent than the traditional rationality of the rational world. Hollihan and Riley (1987) found that the Toughlove narrative met these parents' needs by fulfilling the necessities of Fisher's Narrative Paradigm. Because the story was based on old-fashioned values, restored social order, and placed blame where it belonged, it was found to be probable. The story also had fidelity because it resonated with the parents' feelings that they were good people who were not bad parents. Critics place emphasis on the fact that the analysis of the Toughlove story allows critics to understand the appeal of stories and learn how to avoid the creation of stories, which may bring about harmful consequences. The second premise illustrated by Hollihan and Riley (1987) reflects one reservation Warnick (1987) has to the narrative paradigm. She points out that even coherent stories can contain "bad" values. However, to compliment the narrative paradigm, Fisher (1999) developed an ethics consonant with the

logic of narrative rationality. He proposes a model of practical wisdom. According to Fisher (1999), one exhibits a model of practical wisdom when one

...argues in terms of the values that constitute the form of life or practice one is a participant in; takes full measure of whatever conflicts in values there may be because of the evolving nature of the form of life or practice or the embeddedness of that form of life or practice in other forms of life or practice; applies the tests of narrative rationality in assessing the facts, arguments, values, and emotions in the case—both during deliberation and arguing that case; and recognizes that one's judgment is a judgment, not an absolute truth. (p. 8)

In a more recent analysis on the effect of narrative in regards to group support, Niles (2008) studied Black female friendship groups using Fisher's Narrative Paradigm, which she says is useful for examining the values and rationality embedded into stories women tell each other. In the study, she found that the paradigm was broad enough to allow race, gender and culture to be incorporated into a broader understanding of storytelling in friend groups.

Scholars have studied the narratives that are presented on television, both fictionalized and in the news. Bansley (2015) focused her thesis on the 2013 Virginia gubernatorial campaigns. She used Fisher's Narrative Paradigm to describe, analyze and compare the rhetoric of each of the candidates in their televised advertisements. Her thesis was centered on Fisher's notion that ideas are communicated through stories, which order the human experience. Burns (2009) conducted a critical analysis on NBC's Olympic broadcasts. According to her, the framing of athlete's stories reinforced hegemonic values in order to further support the American dream. Fisher (1984) claims that narratives are used to create reality. Burns (2009) found that the stories that were told about Olympic athletes define success according to the American dream,

and this definition has devastating effects on the average American citizen due to their own inability to achieve athletic greatness. Fisher's Narrative Paradigm has also been used to study public relations efforts. Caldiero (2004) examined how news magazines adhere to certain types of narratives whenever covering a notable crisis situation. He found that news magazines adhere to Fisher's (1984) notion that storytelling is the best rhetorical tool for meaning formation. Narratives assist journalists in further explaining and shaping the crisis for the public. Mazumdar (2012) used the paradigm to explore Israel's efforts in shifting blame to activists after the crisis surrounding Mavi Marmara and the "Freedom Flotilla" in May 2010. According to Mazumdar (2012), Israel could not shift the blame to the activists who lost their lives because its YouTube campaign failed the tests of narrative logic. Other research on Fisher's Narrative Paradigm has focused on fictionalized storytelling on television. Eaves and Savoie (2005) investigated further how narrative probability and fidelity are created and sustained in the reality television show *Big Brother*. The researchers found that the show contained probability because the elements of reality television contain the same elements of set-up, conflict, and resolution as real life situations. Fidelity was found to occur through narrative framing and narrative voyeurism. The narrative's characters are framed with the perception that they mirror the attitudes, values, or beliefs of the audience. Finally, the authors found that the producers of *Big Brother* had created a televised narrative that taps into the audience's voyeuristic tendencies. Eaves and Savoie (2005) posited that because the audience is looking into the narrative from the outside, fidelity is enhanced—the narrative has been made even more reliable and truthful.

Scholars outside of the field of communication also have employed Fisher's Narrative Paradigm in their studies, accentuating the utility of the theory. Roberts (2004) recognized the connections between the communication discipline and folklore through both disciplines' uses of

narrative theory. She sought to reinterpret the narrative paradigm through the performance paradigm, which sees individuals as performers. In the performance paradigm, humans transform knowledge into lived action—performers live out a story. Sasso (2013) extended Fisher into the study of literature with her analysis of reader’s reactions to secondary characters in Jane Austen novels. Her research illustrates how a better understanding of each character’s vantage point offers a fuller understanding of the story. In her thesis, Falconer (2013) applied Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm for a better understanding of the narrative probability and narrative fidelity in Guirgis’s play *The Last Days of Judus Iscariot*, which explores the debate between mercy and free will. She found that probability and fidelity are achieved because the dramatic action is complete, self-contained, purposeful, varied, engages, and maintains the interest of the audience (Falconer, 2013).

It has been noted that Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm provides an excellent lens through which to critique fictional narratives (Rybacki & Ryback, 1991). Given the fictional narrative and the nonfictional context of *We Are Angry*, the narrative paradigm offers a rich mode of rhetorical analysis. I am interested in extending its application to see how the narrators of the story use narrative rationality to advocate against sexual violence. Is the plot as presented by the narrator found to be probable? Is there narrative fidelity? In other words, does the narrator provide “good reasons” to believe her story?

Persuasion in Digital Discourse: Exploring Interactivity and Hypertext

Digital discourse has been largely ignored as a source of human persuasion, particularly in the field of rhetoric (Warnick, 2007). Despite its lack of visibility in scholarly work, Stroupe (2004) noted that to be able to persuade and communicate in an increasingly digital world, it is important to understand the persuasive appeal of online messages. Usage of graphics, images,

videos and sounds are incredibly persuasive and, therefore, worthy of study. Messages that appear online are not just channels of communication: “Web site messages are *designed*; they are often carefully wrought attempts to attract and retain audiences” (Warnick, 2007, p. 26).

Therefore, web authors create online content and use language with a specific intent in mind: often, they are trying to persuade. Web-based content also uses other medium-specific modes for persuasion, including nonlinearity and interactivity (Warnick, 2007). In order to study an online narrative such as *We Are Angry*, a medium-specific approach is required. There are several interesting design implications in the discourse of *We Are Angry* due to the narrative’s use of multimedia including elements of interactivity, which works to move the narrative forward.

Since the 1990s, interactivity has become a popular research area in the field of communication and new media studies. Despite its popularity, there has been little consensus regarding the definition of the term. Ryan (2001) noted two levels of interactivity: technological support, which is interactivity constituted by the medium, and interactivity that is intrinsic to the work itself. As a characteristic of new media, communication scholars have studied interactivity to determine its appeal for the web user. In their study of website user’s information processing and flow state, Sicilia, Ruiz, and Munuera (2005) found that participants who were exposed to interactive online environments processed information more thoroughly than when they were exposed to a non-interactive website. Participants also experienced better *flow* of reading the website material, which is defined as the sensation that people feel when they are completely involved and pleased with what they are doing. Individuals in a flow state experience intrinsic interest and a sense of time distortion during online engagement. Oh and Sundar (2015) also found that user engagement with the medium can be persuasive when employing interactivity. They found that it has the potential to absorb users into a virtual environment, which fosters

better attitudes toward the messages, without the systemic processing of those messages. Further, Ryan (2001) noted that interactivity offers web users a certain degree of choice that is appealing.

One form of interactivity that has been studied in relation to online narratives has been hypertext. The hypertextual system is a system in which text is broken into fragments and stored in a network where nodes are connected through electronic links, or hyperlinks (Ryan, 2001). A node is a collection of data that is organized around a specific subject. Nodes are connected forming a network. When a user clicks on a hyperlink, the system displays the connected node. Often, several hyperlinks will appear and the reader will be given a choice of which node to follow. In order to create a more complete visualization of hypertext, Fraser (2000) used a city as a metaphor. Like hypertext, a city is nonlinear; it is a fixed and fluid entity to the people who live there. Spaces and places are connected through a series of reference points in the same way that hypertext is connected to a fixed space, and readers can choose their own paths to travel. Hypertextuality is the type of interactivity that occurs throughout the online narrative *We Are Angry*.

Hypertext has forever changed online discourse. Not only can it adopt the organizing principles that we associate with modern print (stream of consciousness, multiple authorial voices, and narration of events from different points of view), but also it is distanced from its print counterpart in many ways (Bolter, 2001). Landow (2006) noted that the new online form of text is a paradigm shift on scale with the invention of the printing press. It is turning out to be “one of the more traumatic remediations in the history of Western writing (Bolter, 2001, p. 24). In a thesis on the hypertext narrative and news writing, Cowart (2011) said we need to “re-imagine genre” because authors are currently writing for a “screen-focused and digitally literate audience” (p. 3).

Scholars long have acknowledged the rhetorical appeal of interactivity and, subsequently, hypertext. According to Warnick (2007), online interactivity between a website and its audience is significant in creating rhetorical appeal for the readers of online messages. She noted the ways that it can create identification between the online rhetor and their audience. Kaufer (1997) reinvented rhetoric as a “design art”—every detail included in a work has an effect on the work’s audience. He stated, “the rhetor is an architect of the social world” (p. 270). As such, the hypertext that is available in a rhetorical work serves the function of giving the work its meaning. Morgan (2002) explained that the very presence of a node infers some significance to the web user. Landow (1997) illustrated that there is a new type of rhetoric in which web users depart from the rhetorical work and arrive to an appendage of that work, which offers further detail and information. These illuminations match those of Chow (2008) that “*text* is an abstract machine carrying the intentions, meanings, and potentials” to website users” (p. 347). Therefore, the act of creating hypertext within a written work is rhetorical. The choice to enact a feature of hypertext is rhetorical as well. Ryan (1999) elucidated clicking as a “reasoned action when it implements the reader’s decision to pursue the reading in a relatively foreseeable direction” (p. 127). The Internet user and viewer create self-identity while navigating the hypertextual work (Gillard, 2000). Exploring texts online has also been seen to be ludic, or playful. The Internet’s aesthetic and interactive qualities make it a source of both information and entertainment, where users can gain information while also having fun (Wilson, Hamzah, & Khattab, 2003). By acting on the hypertext by choice, a user is actively seeking out further significance in the rhetorical work.

Interactivity and the digital narrative share a special bond. Digital narratives can be imbued with hypertext in an effort to engage an online reader. Schneider (2005) espoused that

the appeal of hypertext is that it liberates the reader from the linearity of non-digital narratives. Nielsen (1995) commented on the popularity of interactive fiction, in which several authors write stories set in the same fictional universe. Informal versions of published fictional works are becoming more popular. For example, the University of North Carolina offers a Storyspace system where writers can share their interactive fiction with interested readers. These interactive works offer nontraditional ways of reading fiction online. Michael Joyce's (1984) *Afternoon, A Story* became extremely popular after its publication on the Storyspace system because of its nontraditional plot. It is known as the first hypertext fiction and contains 539 nodes and 915 links (Nielsen, 1995).

Interactivity serves many functions in a narrative. It has been seen as a way to control how the reader progresses through a story (Ryan, 2001; Bolter, 2001). It can also be used to let the reader explore alternative versions of the story, and different features for a textual world. It can be used to interrupt the flow of narration. Finally, it can be used to provide background information, explanations, supporting materials, and intertextual references. Previously, in printed, physical editions of a work, annotations were used to convey information external to a text. According to Marino (2007) in his study the recreation of the James Joyce novel *Ulysses* into web format, he suggested that there are several benefits of using online hypertext over annotations and endnotes. Notes give the illusion of authorial control, whereas hypertext elements give the user as reader control over further finding information. Further, end notes act as though some end goal has been reached, whereas with hypertext, a reader can continue from node to node, gathering more and more information (Marino, 2007). Hypertext allows readers a more exploratory experience. Hypertext also more clearly illustrates literary elements typically used in print formats, such as displacement, departure, and suspension (Bolter, 2001). With the

hypertext used in online discourse, readers must suspend their continuation into a text because they have to travel from link to link. Hypertextuality can be integral in offering depth to a digital narrative. An example can be seen in Joyce's *Afternoon, A Story*. The digital fiction tells the story of a man who has witnessed a car crash that may or may not involve his ex-wife and son. Punday (2004) explained the deeper meaning of the hypertext included in Joyce's story. The fiction rests on inaccessible narrative hypertext links, which can only be reached after the reader travels through other links. The reader's frustration with the inability to reach the final narrative unit of the story mirrors the loss of the main character. Punday (2004) noted that the reader is pulled into the story not only through narrative inevitability, but also through a perceived inevitability of failure. Similarly, the 2008 hypertext fiction *Deviant: The Possession of Christian Shaw* by Donna Leishman uses hypertext to emphasize aspects of the narrative (Choo, 2010). The text tells the story of Christian Shaw, who was believed to have suffered from demonic possession in 1696. Leishman uses hypertextuality to illuminate the different possibilities of Shaw's strange behavior, including mental illness, loneliness, or an overactive imagination. In the text, the reader is presented with different options that provide a disjointed view of Shaw's life. Depending on which narrative hypertext links are activated by the reader, different readers experience and interpret the text in different ways.

With the ongoing popularity of newer hypertext fictions, literary scholars have examined the possibility of translating classical works in the literary cannon to a web-based medium and including hypertext. Marino (2007) commented on the potential benefits of translating James Joyce's preeminent work *Ulysses* into a hypertext narrative. He noted that the novel, often proclaimed as being ahead of its time, calls to be liberated from its linear form: "*Ulysses* as a whole seems to deny the possibility of definitive editions, simple facts, and straightforward

allusions” (p. 477). If published in a digital format, there is remarkable potential to highlight the obvious and intentional parallels to Homer’s poem *The Odyssey* through hypertext. Similarly, Carlson (2010) noted that scholars often debate the translation of the medieval classic *Le Morte D’Arthur* into digital format. The purported trend in print editions towards textual conservatism hinders the potential of a digital medium to open the narrative to different adaptations and analyses.

Straying from literary and textual-based fiction, videogames have also been widely studied by scholars in hypertext and interactivity. In his study on the popular videogame *Bioshock*, Tulloch (2010) noted that as participatory narratives, videogames work by constructing players’ subjectivity. He claims that an analysis of agency and interactivity in the game shows how players’ desires’ are influenced through the social constructions of the *Bioshock* universe—in his words, “choice and obedience are never mutually exclusive” (p. 36). The setting of an interactive narrative eliminates users’ agency, and players are immersed in the environment that is created for them by the game. Immersion into the narrative universe has been seen as one of the appeals of game play. Punday (2004) discussed the extreme pressure in game making to tell a story and create an engaging fictional environment. In the video game *Myst*, players must complete narrative puzzles by searching for clues to move to different locations throughout the game. The locations are constrained until the player solved each puzzle. While this could seem irritating, Fraser (2000) espoused that it is the exploration of these intricate spaces that keep the players interested in the game.

Hypertext scholars have also taken a critical eye. Benefits of hypertextuality have been aesthetic as well as beneficial to marginalized groups in society. Case (1997) noted that hypertextuality offers a new freedom of choice, which is cognitively beneficial to the reader of

an interactive narrative. The new dimensions of interactivity add new dimensions to time and space not available in linear text. Joyce and Tringham (2007) added, “hierarchical boundaries between researchers and others can be blurred by using the possibilities of digital technologies to give access to more data and to tools to present original interpretations of data—fostering diverse perspectives” (p. 329). Hypertextuality offers access to information that was not previously available.

Narrative’s real-world non-fiction counterpart, journalism, also has explored the potential of hypertext and interactivity. According to Doherty (2014), the value of hypertext has been largely unexplored although it could offer many benefits to the field. Hypertext could increase depth in reporting, allow stories to be told from different perspectives, and create a deeper relationship between journalist and the audience. Hypertext could also provide online journalism with greater perceived transparency as well as credibility (De Maeyer, 2012). However, Doherty (2014) cautioned that hypertext also offers the reader more choice, which means handing over more power. In a study on students’ perceptions of online journalism, or e-journalism, Wilson, Hamzah, and Khattab (2013) found that students enjoyed using what they called “instant news” and felt “empowered” (p. 526).

As explained by Kaufer (1997), narrative is a persuasive form of discourse that, through the creation of a fictional world, shapes the reader’s real world. Fisher (1987) espoused that we all tell stories to communicate. Because we are endowed with narrative rationality, we use stories to persuade others to accept our values and views. Narrative also allows different discursive choices for the rhetor (West & Carey, 2006). When narrative is used online, a discourse-specific modality helps further its persuasive potential. Interactivity, particularly in the form of hypertextuality, can impact a narrative by imbuing it with some sort of deeper meaning (Punday,

2004; Choo, 2010). It can also allow the reader a deeper understanding of the narrative world.

Because rhetoric is a “design art” in which every detail is persuasive, the narrative *We Are Angry* should be analyzed in conjunction with its various interactive features (Kaufer, 1997, p. 270).

CHAPTER 3. DESCRIPTION OF ARTIFACT AND METHOD

We Are Angry: A Digital Narrative

Produced by Digital Fables in 2015, the online narrative *We Are Angry* is a response to the prevalence of rape and gender based violence directed that overwhelmingly effect women in India. It is a call to end the sexual violence and rape culture that pervades India's culture. The narrative is published online, so it is free to view regardless of the reader's physical location. The narrative's publishers take full advantage of the website's interactive aspects, including hypertext that links the reader to sound clips, videos, graphics, Hindi slang, definitions of meaningful terms, and visual images. Explaining its mission, Digital Fables states, "We are living in mixed media times and yet rarely do we find the media coalescing in a truly integrated and artistic way, a way that could take storytelling – especially issue-based storytelling – to another level, not replacing books or the linear text experience, but offering another construct" (About, 2015). Ultimately, the website's function is to express anger regarding sexual violence and to act as a catalyst for social change. Lyndee Prickitt, Digital Fables' creator, is an American journalist who was living in New Delhi at the time of the 2012 gang rape. The digital fiction is "an effort to keep the conversation alive—fusing traditional function text storytelling with other media bolstered by real news content and annotations" (About, 2015).

Because online texts may be ever changing, I have insured the consistency of my analysis by crystalizing it using the video project software Camtasia. With Camtasia, I videoed the website on November 12, 2015. During the session, I went through every aspect of interactivity available on the website. It should be noted that the website offers the viewer two versions of the narrative. In one version, the reader chooses to "Read" the narrative, and readers are directed to a screen that looks similar to a book embedded with hyperlinks. The hyperlinks lead to photo,

video, real-life news articles, fictitious news stories, vocabulary definitions, and sound clips. When a reader chooses to “Experience” the narrative, the same interactive elements appear without provocation. This version of the narrative offers the reader a more immersive experience. It provides the reader with fuller detail and enhances the interactive and hypertextual features. Therefore, for the sake of this thesis, I have analyzed the narrative that appears when a reader “Experiences” *We Are Angry*.

Method

Characterized as a digital narrative, *We Are Angry* utilizes interactive features such as hypertext to tell the story of a young woman who has been victimized and left to die. Hypertext is used to link the narrative to real rape cases that have been prominent in Indian news. Due to the nature of the narrative, Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm offers a rich lens through which to judge the effectiveness of the story in modeling the current sexual assault crisis in India. Further, no known academic research has been published on the use of interactivity and hypertext and rhetorical narrative in the digital sphere. I have utilized Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm as a lens to critique *We Are Angry*’s narrative rationale and use of hypertext.

A review of the literature presented several questions regarding the uses of interactivity and narrative in the discourse of *We Are Angry*.

RQ1: Does the narrator provide “good reasons” for the reader to believe her story and advocate against sexual violence?

RQ2: How does interactivity further the narrative rationality and create “good reasons” for the viewer of the website to believe the narrator? (Fisher, 1985)

RQ3: When interactive hyperlinks are presented to the viewer as a choice, what is gained from viewing the optional, interactive features?

In order to test these research questions, I employed two levels of analysis: the narrative and the hypertextual. As an interactive narrative, *We Are Angry* calls for an approach to rhetorical analysis that determines the narrative rationality inherent in the narrative, then determines how the use of hypertext further impacts that narrative rationality.

I began by analyzing the narrative form of *We Are Angry* using Fisher's Narrative Paradigm and textual analysis. First, I analyzed the plot's progression, characters, and setting of the discourse to test the probability and fidelity of the narrative. Second, to test the narrative rationality of *We Are Angry*, I employed the method laid out by Fisher (1987) and explicated by Rybacki and Rybacki (1991). The method involves answering four sets of questions that impact narrative rationality, which will guide my analysis. The questions are as follows:

Question of Fact

- What are the implicit and explicit values in the rhetorical act?

Questions of Relevance

- Are the values in the message appropriate to the kind of decision, change in belief or behavior, asked of the audience?
- Are values omitted, distorted, or misrepresented?

Questions of Consequence

- What is the result of adhering to the values in the narrative?
- What happens to concepts of self, behavior, relationships, society, and the process of rhetorical action?
- How are the values operationalized?
- What is the morality of the story?

Questions of Consistency

- Are the values confirmed or validated in the personal experience of the audience and the life stories or statements of credible others?
- Does the narrative make its appeal to some ideal audience?

I also conducted an analysis of the digital discourse of *We Are Angry*, specifically focusing on the narrative's use of interactivity. Although rhetorical theory on hypertextuality and interactivity is developing further, no known method has been articulated regarding the rhetorical criticism of hypertextuality. Ryan (2001) offers up a method of analyzing hypertext through in-depth description. Using her method, I have described and analyzed the five ways *We Are Angry* used hypertextual, interactive features. Although visual images and videos are included within the hypertext, I have only described and analyzed them for their overall use and impact within the narrative and not for their rhetorical appeal. Further analysis determined whether the use of hypertext enhances the probability and fidelity of the narrative. For the sake of this thesis, analysis focused only on content that appears directly on www.weareangry.net, and did not extend to outside websites. All references and quotes cited in the analysis and the discussion are found directly within the narrative *We Are Angry*.

CHAPTER 4. ANALYSIS OF ARTIFACT

We Are Angry is a fictional account of a real horror faced by many women around the world. Through the narrative of one unnamed victim of gang rape, the digital work exposes the problems of rape culture in India. The narrative follows the victim from the time she is found on the street to the hospital where she lays unconscious. The narrative ends with the victim's life hanging in the balance.

This chapter will analyze *We Are Angry* through the lens of Fisher's Narrative Paradigm. It is divided into three sections: Narrative Analysis, Interactivity and Hypertext, and the Test of Narrative Rationality. The first section of this chapter will analyze the narrative's use of progression of the plot, characters, and setting through the lens of Fisher's Narrative Paradigm, specifically focusing on how these elements enhance narrative probability and fidelity. Probability, or coherence, is defined by asking how well a story "hangs together" (Fisher, 1987). A story is considered coherent based on its structure, material in reference to other stories, and the actions or behaviors of its characters. Fidelity determines the truthfulness of a story—a narrative's fidelity allows it to "ring true" for the reader. Readers determine the fidelity of a story based on a logic of "good reasons," which are grounded in the values of the audience. These values are ruled by history, culture, biography, and character. The second section of this chapter will analyze the narrative's use of hypertext and interactivity through the lens of Fisher's Narrative Paradigm including probability (coherence) and fidelity. Finally, I will analyze the narrative rationality of the text through Rybacki and Rybacki's (1991) questions of fact, consequence, relevance and consistency. Narrative rationality informs an audience of a story's values which they may accept as good reasons for changing a belief or behavior.

Narrative Analysis

The narrative opens with the primary narrator, the victim of a brutal gang rape. The victim begins the narrative by vaguely telling the reader that something has happened to her. She begins with a description of the car in which “it” happened. Eventually she is more specific about the “it”—she was raped. She describes the red-orange *paan* stains, which closely resembled blood on the car’s white interior. She explains that *paan*, a mouth stimulant, is widely used throughout India. This use of *paan* as a narrative detail is the first of many references to Indian culture that appear throughout the narrative. It is the narrative’s first attempt to anchor itself within the story’s setting—Delhi, which is a territory of India. Including these first details and Indian cultural references invites the reader deeper into the setting and is an attempt to further the perception of probability, or coherence, for the reader. The inclusion of references to Indian culture allows the setting of the narrative and the real-world setting to hang together. Although the narrative opens with the victim, the reader notices a lack of initial coherence in regards to her characterization. She is largely the story’s most important character, but she remains unnamed. Her chapters are told in a stream of consciousness from her first person point of view. Ultimately, this first chapter serves to entice the reader further into the plot, with the victim asking how the reader will evaluate whether she is telling the truth. There is not much information presented about the victim in this chapter.

Following the victim’s chapter, the second chapter is entitled “News Flash” and includes two fictional news stories. The reader is told that two students of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Preeti Chopra and Mannish Singh, discovered an unconscious woman beaten and partially disrobed on a roadside in Mehrauli. When two policemen on foot patrol discovered the woman, the two students caught the interaction on camera. The policemen accused the woman of

being a sex worker, poked her with a *lathi* (a long, heavy stick used as a weapon) and delayed getting her to the hospital. After realizing they were on camera, the policemen took the young woman to the All India Institute of Medical Science (AIIMS) in New Delhi, passing a closer hospital (Max Bupa) in order to evade Chopra and Singh. The woman was placed in the intensive care unit. JNU and AIIMS are both institutions in Delhi, India. Again, the narrative attempts to heighten coherence as it connects the fictional narrative with its nonfictional setting. These news flash articles serve to set the scene as modern day Delhi. By using real locations through the narrative, it could seem more probable to its audience.

The following chapter details the fallout of the officer's poor response to the rape victim. The two policemen are answering to the Station House Officer (SHO) who is clearly mad that the video of his employees has gone viral online. They explain that they thought that she was a randi, or prostitute, because she was wearing a miniskirt and looked as though a client had beaten her. Due to the prevalence of smart phone video technology, it is not uncommon to see videos of police response go viral. A negative police response or instance of police brutality often spreads across the Internet, reaching web users in different parts of the world. In this regard, the narrative attempts to establish fidelity, or its truthfulness and reliability. Smart phone technology has been used in the past to capture instances of police negligence. For a savvy web user who may be reading *We Are Angry*, the use of smart phones to spread awareness may ring true.

Clicking to the next page, the narrative returns to the victim, who explains that in the policemen's hasty willingness to brush her off, they mistook her for a prostitute and her sarong for a miniskirt. She reveals that it is clear she is a victim, and not a prostitute:

But the police wouldn't have thought of that. Such surmising requires great powers of observation and deduction: blood, bruises and dirt on my legs and thighs might have

suggested a forced entry; no shoes on my feet might not have been a sign I was a lady of the night (prostitutes don't wear shoes?) but a victim of some nasty crime before being discarded on the roadside.

She then apologizes for insulting the police's intelligence, and she explains that she sounds bitter because she had been raped by "three men – sorry, two men and one 'boy' of 17 years of age." As the narrative continues, each chapter from the victim gives the reader more detail. In this chapter, the victim has reflected more on her situation, and expresses anger at the police who "finally came to [her] rescue" only to "nudge [her] disregarded body with their dirty *lathi*," which is a police stick. While the first chapter of the narrative offered minimal detail, this chapter offers more coherence to the reader as it exposes the anger and characterization of the victim.

A new "News Flash" chapter appears on the fifth page decrying the poor police response to the rape victim as well as detailing how the spread of the video and story over social media has sparked vigils outside of AIIMS. Again, the narrative is hinting at the fidelity of the narrative in reference to what could happen during nonfictional rape cases. A subsequent chapter turns to doctors in the hospital, who describe the injuries sustained by the victim as internal bleeding in the brain, intestines, and vagina.

Returning to the victim in the seventh chapter, she explains, "No, I'm not a whore." In this chapter, the reader gathers even more detail about the first person narrator. She tells the reader that she's a 27-year-old commerce graduate who is from a long line of civil servants and educators; she has studied abroad; she has had two serious boyfriends. She has had sex with her boyfriends and one acquaintance, but feels that does not make her a whore. She tells the reader that she runs her own vending machine business. The reader also obtains more detail on the

victim's physical appearance—she's stylish with short hair and no curves; she is not a “dented and painted woman.” She doesn't want to bring “unnecessary attention” to herself, but she also doesn't look down on women who do. She explains that soon her parents were going to look for a husband for her; however, she believes that no one will marry her since she's been raped:

Would the boyfriends, brothers, fathers, sons and husbands who gather in the streets out in front of the hospital I'm lying in, who are demanding justice for me, "another daughter of India ravaged by its wolves," be happy to wed or sanction their nearest and dearest to marry soiled me?

As the story continues, the victim is more open with the reader. The increasing levels of specificity act as an enticement for the reader to move forward into the digital narrative. The victim begins to undertake the role of a character that a female reader can identify with.

Although the reader is still unsure what exactly has happened to the narrator, or why, the continuation into the victim's storyline gives the reader further detail into her identity, increasing the probability of the victim as the narrative's main character. This chapter also enhances the reader's perception of fidelity by referencing India's cultural standards, which can be applied universally. The victim's parents were looking forward to the victim beginning her own life and starting a family. The victim is worried that her rape will impact her future happiness, as a man may see her as soiled. She wants to believe that there are some men out there who are fighting for her that would be interested in marrying her.

The narrative allows the reader a glimpse of protesters who have gathered outside of AIIMS to protest rape and India's misogynistic cultural milieu. Here, there is a direct call to action within the dialogue of the protesters: “We want justice for the victims, compassion and action from the police and accountability from our judicial system.” The reporter asks, “Are you

afraid that such a fast track system might though, ma'am, bear with me, please, ma'am, some say, it might increase false accusations?" The narrative informs the reader that women in India who seek help are often accused of *bhediya aaya*, translated as "crying wolf." In this chapter, the narrative appeals to readers who are familiar with the controversy of how to prevent women from "crying wolf," or falsely accusing someone of rape. Here, the protesters mirror the activists who protested rape and sexual violence after the Delhi December 2012 gang rape, adding to the narrative's fidelity to real cases of rape. It also hints at controversies surrounding rape in modern day India.

Meanwhile, the victim continues to question whether or not she is "soiled goods." Either way, she explains that there is a "tree of disregard" that rises from the "roots of misogyny." The tree of disregard spawns rape; it can be stopped when women are given equality and respect. The victim's persona is used to speak on the underlying misogyny that pervades India, a tool used to enhance the perception of narrative fidelity. She tells the reader that in India, girls and women are either seen as a liability or as chattel to be used by men. In this chapter, the victim as the narrator also serves another plot device—her voice is the authority on what happens to a rape victim. She details the Delhi December 2012 gang rape of Jyoti Singh, and another of a five-year-old girl. However, the victim counts herself as lucky. She says, "My attack and humiliation were marginally less brutal..." The reader discovers that she was driven around Delhi, beaten, and subjected to three consecutive rapes. Finally, she was pushed from the car, where her head hit a brick, leaving her unconscious. This chapter expands the reader's knowledge about the victim's rape, while comparing it to two other rape cases that happened in the near past. As a turning point, this chapter serves to further open the coherence of the narrative because the

victim has revealed more details. Not only does the narrative make more sense, but also the victim is seen as a more realistic character.

The following two chapters, “Family” and “Victim,” offer the reader a glimpse of the victim and her family in the hospital. Each family member blames himself or herself. The victim’s father thinks he should not have let her run her own business; her mother says the police should have listened to her because she believes the rapist to be the boy the victim had fired whom had been harassing her. Her brother only speaks to her telling her that she will be all right. The victim says for them to stop crying; it’s no one’s fault except for the rapists. She questions whether society is right and women should not be allowed to manage a business alone: “Maybe it's too soon. Maybe this country isn't ready to treat women equally in the workplace? How can it be? Women are deemed inferior to men. And yet we as a nation want to be a super power? Emerging India.” Here, the narrative again attempts to enhance fidelity by offering a “truth” of being a woman in India.

We learn in the subsequent chapter, “The accused,” that the police have arrested a suspect, Kunal Narayan, who had worked for the victim. When she fired him, he harassed her; however, he denies the rape allegation. Back to the victim, she tells the reader she wasn’t a fool; she dressed appropriately and even had a security guard. She had mostly good male workers:

No. This wasn't about getting robbed and raped by an angry ex-employee. Though I'm sure the man behind this would be only too delighted for it to seem that way. It was about more than that. And I pity the wrongly accused and what the police might do to him.

This marks the narrative’s first attempt to redefine the “truth” of rape. The fidelity in this chapter lies in the “truth”—that the victim was smart and careful and somehow was still raped.

The next chapter, "Investigation Team," finally offers most of the details about why and how the victim was raped. The police have tracked down the car, which is owned by a Surdi taxi company. In the car, they find dirt and a ripped up invoice from a company, AMC Food and Beverage. The company had recently shut down. One of the brothers who owned the company currently runs a taxi firm; the other is still in the food and beverage business dealing in vending machines. The victim now tells the reader that a businessman who wanted to buy her company had pursued her, but she refused. One day her security guard called in sick. That was the day the rapists grabbed her and pulled her into a taxi. In order to avoid suspicion, one man pretended to be her husband while the other pretended to be her brother. The two men yelled at her, accusing her of being a bad mother to her children. She says, "no one batted an eye. Naturally, who was going to disagree with such sentiments and stop a wayward wife and mother from being pushed in to her 'husband's' car?" This chapter heightens the coherence of the narrative, as the reader learns the reason that the victim was raped. The chapter implies that the victim's business competitor hired three men to rape her as a form of punishment for not selling her business to him. The victim then confirms this with her own testimony:

You see, a competitor - a man in his fifties with two daughters of his own, so he told me - had been hassling me for months to sell my business to him. First he tried to woo me. Then, when I did not take kindly to his advances, he became more and more aggressive and then brutish.

A chapter entitled "Politician" opens with a new character, an aging female opposition politician, shouting, "As another one of our sisters fights for her life, it's clear from the investigation that this was blatant misogynist intimidation of the highest and most gruesome kind from one failed businessman against his younger, more successful lady competitor!" Although

not explicitly stated, it is clear that this female politician is being interviewed about the victim and her situation. The reader then learns through the politician that the male competitor mentioned by the victim did not directly rape the victim, but the politician argued that he “turn[ed] her to his wolves” in order to intimidate her. The argument then turns to the question of whether someone who is responsible for rape is also a rapist:

...why is the law not punishing the men who think it's fine to violate a woman - in this case just because she has short hair, runs a business and is successful - by using rape against her and not try him for that crime he instigates? Why?

However, the interviewer then questions the opposition politician, stating that there is a deeper problem than verdicts and sentencing: “Isn’t there a lack of political will to really address the fundamental issues affecting women in India?” These arguments surrounding the issue of rape may ring true, or enhance narrative fidelity, to the reader as being similar to the questions that circulate during a high-profile rape case. The narrative is implying that politicians may argue for women’s rights on the news, but may never make any progress with this issue.

This chapter, which relies on dialogue, is contrasted with the following chapter that brings the reader back to the victim. She describes her current state of mind:

...aware of every horrible thing, the nightmare I can not wake up from, thoughts and arguments and regrets rushing through the mass transit of my mind, keeping me alive, anger pulsating through my veins, disgust with everyone and everything, keeping me alive, but hurting and tired, so tired...

In a stream of consciousness, the victim as narrator describes a “light” that she fears is “death, waiting.” The narrative began with the victim revealing minimal detail to the reader. In this chapter, the victim’s inner dialogue reveals her overt feelings of sadness and fear, further

enhancing the victim's probability as a character. The second to last chapter is entitled "Rapists"... but there is only "Silence. Why?"¹

The final chapter allows the reader to visit the victim in her hospital room with her family. In a stream of consciousness, the victim says, "Forgive me if I've come across as too bitter, or biased, or anti-man, or anti-police, or too cynical, too hopeless, too angry too bitter too furious too pitiless. Or too pitiful." Although she is fighting for her life, she is still concerned with others' perceptions of her as a victim. She then attempts to bargain with God, that she will speak about her case and help other women if she can live. She will "funnel all this anger into something useful." She wants to hug her mother; her father is pacing around the hospital room. Her brother, Anil, has been crying and "keeps pumping his fists and biting his nails." The narrative ends with the victim lying in a coma in her hospital bed surrounded by her family. She leaves the reader with her last thought—"We are all so angry and bewildered. We are all so angry." The victim's chapters have offered a building of characterological coherence. In this final chapter, the anger of the victim peaks and her will to live is finally revealed.

Several aspects of this narrative enhance Fisher's (1987) notion of probability and fidelity. Probability implicates the coherence of a narrative, asking if it "hangs together." The use of details to set the scene of modern-day Delhi enhances the narrative's probability. By including details such as institutions like JNU and AIIMS, there is an increased connection between the fictionalized plot of the narrative and its nonfictional setting making the narrative more probable for the reader. The narrative's use of the victim's chapters is also a device used to enhance coherence. Through the build up of each "Victim" chapter, the reader gains more insight into the victim as a character and also what has actually happened to her. Fidelity, or the truthfulness and

¹ Further detail from this chapter will be given in the Interactivity and Hypertext section

reliability of a narrative, also was enhanced. The narrative's inclusion of the use of students' smartphones to capture police misbehavior matches our world today and may ring true to the reader. Throughout the story, the victim as the narrator serves as a character that can increase identification with young women and, more specifically, rape survivors. Because the victim remains unnamed, others are easily able to see themselves or anyone they may know who has suffered rape in her. Increasing the identification between the main narrator and potential readers of the narrative, the creators of *We Are Angry* have enhanced the truthfulness, or fidelity, of the story. The victim also serves the expert on India's rape culture, as much of the external information regarding rape culture stems from the "Victim" chapters.

Interactivity and Hypertext

As a digital narrative, *We Are Angry* conforms to its online platform by including elements of interactivity. When the reader decides to experience the narrative, she is greeted with instructions to "Scroll down to see content." As the reader scrolls, she will notice that there are several interactive features to the narrative as well as hypertext that are used to enhance the experience of the reader. This section describes and analyzes the use and effects of interactivity and hypertextuality.

Hypertext is used in many ways throughout *We Are Angry*. Certain words and phrases in the narrative are used and further explained through hypertext. Whenever the reader interacts with an element of hypertext, the linked portion of the narrative will open more information in a sidebar on the left side of the webpage. This allows the reader to view the linked information as well as the text of the narrative. At times, the hypertext may open pop-up windows with other features, including text, photos, or links to outside sources. It is important to note that the hyperlinks presented in the text of the narrative keep the reader on the webpage and do not

redirect the reader away from the *We Are Angry* website. When readers click on links to external articles, the articles open in a new tab in the reader's web browser. In my analysis, I noted several different types of material that are presented when a reader interacts with the hypertext embedded in the narrative. I have operationalized these types of hypertext into five different categories: definitions (definitions and translations); news (references, editorials, fictionalized news); background information (background); multi-media (images and videos); and invitational interactivity (questions posed in the narrative that open comment boxes).²

Definitions

The narrative works to increase its readers' understanding of the plot and setting through the use of hypertext that provides definitions, translations, and explains references to Indian culture. The narrative uses definitions to enhance the perception of coherence. Throughout the text, the victim prompts the reader to pay special attention to certain words or phrases. When the narrative opens, she talks about the perpetrators of her crime—"Perpetrators. What a great word." Clicking on the word "perpetrators" opens a sidebar on the left side of the screen. The reader is given the definition, "(noun) – a person who perpetrates, or commits, an illegal, criminal, or evil act." The narrator then says, however, "nothing has the sting of the word rapist." Clicking on rapist, the definition is given: "(noun) – one who commits rape: the unlawful compelling of a person through physical force or duress to have any act of sexual intercourse; one who commits an act of plunder, violent seizure, despoliation." By giving a straightforward definition of rape, the narrative is clearly defining the reality of the crime against the victim. Defining the crime increases the reader's ability to understand what is happening in the narrative, furthering its coherence. The use of hypertext to define rape does not allow the audience to

² I have created the names of these categories. These categories are defined by their titles on the webpage *We Are Angry*.

interpret or reinterpret what has happened to her. Because she is the victim, she also is spared the task of a full explication of the rape—at least not in the first chapter.

Further, special attention is also given to the “more innocent” offenses often used to shame women in India. An in-depth definition of “leching” is given:

(verb) - to act in a lecherous or lustful manner, showing excess or offensive sexual desire.

From late 18th century (denoting a strong desire, particularly sexually): from lecher, lecherous, Middle English: from Old French *lichiere*, *lecheor*, from *lechier* 'live in debauchery or gluttony', ultimately of West Germanic origin.

The hypertext also expands on another form of harassment commonly found in India, eve-teasing, which is Hindi slang for “public sexual harassment or molestation of women by men, ‘Eve’ being a reference to the biblical Eve, the first woman.” The straightforward definition of these terms allows the reader a fuller description of what the actions actually mean. Further, by defining these terms, the narrative offers the reader good reasons to consider these actions taken toward women as harmful, therefore furthering the fidelity. The reader can visualize these unseemly acts that are committed against women in Indian culture and throughout the world.

The use of hypertext also serves to define Hindi words that are used in the text. Some of the words that are defined are simple, for example, *chowki*, which means “police station,” or even *haan*, defined as “affirmation meaning right, correct, yes.” Yet, a pattern with the use of Hindi terms and slang is that these words are used to express a great deal of emotion in the narrative. For example, the police often use profane Hindi slang to express their anger at the case or the accused rapist. Some of the terms used are *bhenchod*, defined as “sister fucker;” *gaand*, defined as “ass;” and *maderchod*, defined as “mother fucker.” The doctors express disbelief at the fact that the victim has been so badly beaten—“Hey Bhagwan! They battered her face up

too?” “Hey Bhagwan” is explained as being Hindi for “Dear God!” When the reader gets a glimpse at the victim’s family, the reader experiences the other end of the spectrum. The family members use Hindi terms of endearment, such as *meri bachchi*, meaning “my baby girl” and *chhoti*, defined as “small; little sister.” These clear expressions of anger and love add depth to the characters. Because these exclamations are given in the text in Hindi, their use adds elements of truthfulness, or fidelity, to the characters. Although the reader is not as connected to these secondary characters as they are to the narrator, perceiving the characters as realistic allows the audience to feel more empathetic toward their situations. The police are angered about being perceived as apathetic; the family is worried about losing a beloved daughter and sister.

In addition to defining Hindi words, the hypertext also serves to explain references to real locations in India. For example, the victim was having coffee at Connaught Place before she was kidnapped and raped. The hyperlink to Connaught Place tells the reader that it is a commercial district in New Delhi. When the victim tells the reader that not all men are bad, she believes some may go to Ramlila Midan demonstrations; the reader is told that Ramlila Maidan is an open area near Old Delhi used for festivals and rallies. The use of real locations in and around New Delhi gives the reader a fuller glimpse into the setting of the narrative, furthering the narrative’s coherence for all readers, regardless of a particular reader’s background and physical location. Overall, hypertextual links are attempts on the part of the narrative to open the text to those who are unfamiliar to Indian culture and geographical locations. Without a further understanding of the narrative’s setting, it cannot “hang together,” or be seen as probable. These references may also be seen as an attempt to increase fidelity because an explanation of the setting furthers the truthfulness of the narrative.

News

Although the narrative is fictional, it is embedded with information from real news sources to bolster its claims and provide further insight into the inspiration for the creation of *We Are Angry*. When news sources are presented, there is a short summary of the subject of the news articles. At the beginning of the narrative, the victim describes what she sees as police apathy toward rape. She says, “Some of them are no better than the brutes they’re meant to be protecting the public from.” In the first reference, the reader is presented with two incidents in which police have been accused of rape, both in September 2013. The first incident, in which “two policemen from the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir were arrested for allegedly abducting and raping a minor,” is linked through two news stories from the *Times of India* and the *Kashmir Observer*. The second incident is when “two Uttar Pradesh policemen were among four men arrested for allegedly gang-raping a 28-year-old woman in Delhi’s satellite city of Noida.” This news story is linked to *The Hindu* and the *Times of India* as its news sources. The victim also indicts the police for protecting rapists—“...those who aren’t breaking the law aren’t above protecting those who do.” She then presents cases from September 2011, January 2013, and September 2013 in which the police helped to protect a rapist. For example, two stories from the *Times of India* and *ZeeNews* discuss such a case: “Police officials in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh are accused of colluding in a cover up to protect a member of the state assembly accused of raping a minor girl and then implicating her in a false burglary case.” Finally, the narrator accuses the police of “having a total disregard for a victim’s ordeal,” citing five cases in which Indian police were insensitive toward rape victims. The use of real news examples adds fidelity to the narrative—the audience expects what they see in the news to be true. This effect may be even more extreme for an online audience that can easily gather information from online news sources. By citing

real life examples of police apathy, the reader is more likely to believe that the police response video went viral over social media.

Unsurprisingly, the victim compares her own situation to that of Jyoti Singh, whose rape and death reached international proportions: “And if I sound bitter, well, I was just raped by three men - sorry, two men and one "boy" of 17 years of age - who pulled me into their car and drove me around Delhi (heard that one before?)” A background section then tells the reader:

December 16, 2012: A 23-year-old physiotherapy student was gang-raped, penetrated with an iron rod and had her internal organs pulled out by five men and a minor.

‘Nirbhaya’ – the fearless one, as she most commonly became called – died of her injuries two weeks later. The brutal crime sparked massive outrage across India.

The reader is invited to “Read more: *The Indian Express*, *Hindustan Times*, *The Guardian* Watch more: *NDTV*.” The explicit comparison of the victim in *We Are Angry* to Jyoti Singh reveals to the reader that this narrative is not just a fictional work, but it is a reflection of the culture of rape, and apathy towards rape, in India. Again, the narrative’s fidelity in reference to others stories is strengthened. The reader may even go as far as to identify the victim as Jyoti Singh, and further visualize what Singh’s mindset may have been before her passing.

External news stories not only give the reader more information on similar situations, but they also give a glance into the debates surrounding rape. The victim asks the reader, “But I ask you, will killing rapists or chemically castrating them, those who are caught, really clean out that putrid decay?” Hypertext in this sentence links to references in which India has debated penalties such as castration. In a later chapter, a female politician who is being interviewed about the victim’s current situation states, “Never mind that rapists aren’t given the death penalty, unless, sir, you would like to have that debate again?” When the reader clicks on “that debate,” news

sources discussing the death penalty for rapists are presented. The reader also gains the knowledge that India has had trouble determining how to punish rapists who are underage: “And don't even get me started on one of them being an underage rapist and so allowed to be free in just three years!” Articles are presented that discuss the lenient punishment for underage rapists—of course, as the reader knows, one of the victim’s rapists was a “‘boy’ of 17 years of age.” The female politician is asked about the “lack of political will to really address the fundamental issues affecting women in India.” This piece of hypertext leads to a left sidebar entitled “India Debates Political Apathy Over Rape” that lists several of the ongoing controversies about rape culture in India. Several news articles are cited exposing the perception of political apathy regarding rape in India. Two quotes pulled from the articles surround the Delhi December 2012 gang rape. One author states:

Caught as they were between the stony silence of an impassive government and the cynically simplistic demands of Opposition politicians for instant justice, it is hardly surprising that the leaderless crowds which spontaneously gathered at India Gate on Saturday and Sunday to protest the recent incident of rape in the Capital should have ended up in a violent skirmish with the police...

A subsequent article entitled “Ears Wide Shut” from *The Indian Express* states “Don't forget the incompetent way this has been handled by your government and do not forgive them for it...”

Two articles from January 2014 discuss that there is still political apathy around gang rape despite the continuing problem of sexual violence against women.

These news stories ultimately serve to enhance the credibility of the victim’s story. Here, both probability and fidelity come into play. Debate surrounding rape crimes is prevalent in the news, particularly in discussions of India’s rape culture and the Delhi December 2012 gang rape

of Jyoti Singh. This narrative, as played out in the news, adds coherence to the story by mirroring the actions and discussions of characters in *We Are Angry*. It is probable in comparison to other rape stories that have been in the news. Based on the treatment of the rapists in the narrative—the fact that there is even a debate on how they should be punished—lends credence to the fidelity of the story in reference to modern-day India. The narrative can be seen as telling the truth if the actions of the characters are reflective of the actions of real lawyers, police officers, and politicians. Because the creators were able to reflect real responses to rape culture in the past, the reader can consider the ramifications of indecisiveness when it comes to sex crimes.

Interestingly, the narrative also includes hypertext that presents *fictional* news that conforms to the narrative. In two chapters entitled “News Flash,” fictional news stories work to give a journalistic perspective of the victim’s story. At the end of the first chapter, the victim tells the reader, “You can just read my words and rely solely on my description. Only, how do you know I’m telling the truth?” The second chapter of the narrative presents the reader with the first “News Flash.” The reader finds two news stories: “Students Post on Facebook Poor Police Response to Battered Woman,” from the *Indian Press Association* and “ ‘Insensitive’ Police Response Video Goes Viral,” from the *Delhi Chronicle*. These news stories give the reader the first “fact-based” background into what has happened to the victim. They also serve as the evidence that the victim is telling her audience the truth, therefore strengthening the narrative’s argument and assisting in the perception of fidelity of the narrative. In the second “News Flash” chapter, two stories entitled “Police Apathy Video Sparks Vigil for Rape Victim” and “Virtual World Activism Sparks Real Vigil Against Rape” fills the reader in on the ultimate fall out of the rape. As fictional news stories, these pieces of hypertext mirror their real-life counterparts; however, they can be specific in a way that the nonfiction news stories cannot. Both fictional and

nonfictional news stories act together to enhance the probability and fidelity of the narrative. Nonfictional news stories enhance coherence because the content and organization of the material is similar to the real life news stories that are also cited by *We Are Angry*. By modeling news stories, these fictional stories also entice the audience to see them as true because an audience will expect the news to be based in truth. Overall, the use of news stories enhance the perceived fidelity of the narrative by giving the audience good reasons to believe its rationale.

Background Information

The narrative further illuminates the situation of modern-day India by providing background information introducing the roots of misogyny in Indian culture. Background information allows the reader more context and expands on the rhetorical situation of modern day India. Specifically, these hypertextual elements offer further fidelity on the social situation of women in India—a woman’s worth is defined by her appearance and her relationship with men and her family. When describing herself, the victim tells her reader that she has “short hair but not for any political reasons.” The reader that clicks this link finds background on the quoted statement—once a member of parliament, Sharad Yadav, made women with short hair a political issue when he criticized a bill that would make 33% of parliamentary seats reserved for women. He is quoted as saying, “Do you think these women with short hair can speak for women, our women?” The victim explains this by saying long hair is common in India, and it reflects India’s traditional values. Therefore, Yadav is implying that women with short hair cannot represent the women of India because they are untraditional—i.e., they are more masculine and not feminine enough to represent the country.

The victim also explains that a woman’s physical appearance is typically used as a justification for rape. However, she debunks such “justifications” by describing her own

appearance and how it does not conform to the type of look that has been known to “cause” rape. She is not “blessed with the curves of an aspara,” which is a “beautiful, celestial nymph, typically the wife of a heavenly musician in Hindu mythology.” She is far from a “dented and painted woman” because she doesn’t unnecessarily invite attention from men. When the audience interacts with this phrase, it is explained:

In India some cars are colloquially referred to as 'dented and painted' as they've had many accidents covered up with their dents hammered out and painted over to mask the damage. Some people have extended the phrase to refer to a 'loose women' who has 'been around' so much she needs lots of make-up and accoutrements to mask her wear and damage.

The phrase originated from the Delhi December 2012 gang rape. The son of India’s president, who was also a member of parliament at the time, called the protesters of the rape “dented and painted”:

Walking in candlelight processions, going to discotheques... Those who are coming in the name of students in the rallies, sundori, sundori mahila (beautiful women), are highly dented and painted... I have grave doubts whether they're students, because women of that age are generally not students.

Referring to women as “dented and painted” is just one form of verbal misogyny that men and women in power have used to oppress Indian women. Under the above piece of information, readers are invited to “Read more,” and a pop-up window with the title “Jaw Dropping Enlightenment” appears, with the description “Some of India’s less progressive minds tackle the problem of rape.” In the window, there is a list of quotes from some of India’s well-known politicians and leaders about rape. Interestingly, beside each quote, the gender of each speaker is

marked showing that both men and women in power are ignorant about the issue of rape. Some of the quotes read as follows: “Just because India achieved freedom at midnight does not mean that women can venture out after dark,” from Botsa Satyanarayan, Indian National Congress legislature from state assembly of Andhra Pradesh; “Boys will be boys, they make mistakes... Will you hang them for rape?” from Mulayam Singh Yadav, Samajwadi Party chief; and “Rapes take place also because of a woman’s clothes, her behavior and her presence at inappropriate places,” from Asha Mirje, Nationalist Congress Party (NCP) leader and a member of the Maharashtra Women’s Commission. An external source is linked to each quote. These quotes illustrate the fact that Indian politicians and public figures largely blame women for rape, whereas “boys” cannot help themselves. Women can be blamed based on their clothing choices and for being out of the house late at night. The quotes serve to expose the political elite’s perception of women’s place in society. Each works toward an enhanced perception of fidelity, as they introduce, or remind, the reader of the “truths” that limit social change. The narrative implies that if the hegemony of the rhetorical situation is that of discrimination against women, rape will continue to happen as long as rape is seen as the woman’s fault. One of the politicians quoted, Asha Mirje is mentioned by the victim: “So I dress appropriately, Madam Mirje, and I stay clear of isolated places day or night.” Here, the victim is refuting the politician’s assertions that women are to be blamed for their own rapes. This piece of text is linked to a reference in which Mirje had made insensitive comments about the Delhi December 2012 gang rape and a later rape of a journalist in an abandoned mill: “Did Nirbhaya really have to go to watch a movie at 11 in the night with her friend? Take the Shakti Mills gang-rape case. Why did the victim go to such an isolated spot at 6pm?” Again, the reader is exposed to the hegemonic discourse that asserts the victim is to blame.

Ironically, Mirje refers to Jyoti Singh as *Nirbhaya*, meaning “fearless one.” This nickname, along with others, had been used to show sympathy toward Singh. In a subsequent reference, the reader is told that she had also been called “Braveheart;” *Damini*, meaning “lightning;” *Jagruti*, meaning “awareness;” and *Amanat*, meaning “treasure.” The effect of continuously mentioning the Delhi December 2012 gang rape is that the reader is constantly referred back to the nonfictional rapes that have occurred in India, reconfirming the connection of the victim’s case to other rape cases. “Braveheart” is also a term of endearment one politician uses to refer to the victim in *We Are Angry*, which is a direct comparison of the victim in the narrative to Jyoti Singh, adding to the perception of fidelity in *We Are Angry*.

The hypertextual elements of the narrative also explore the roots of misogyny, which are determined to be the true causes of rape, rather than a woman’s clothing or a victim being in the wrong place at the wrong time. The victim tells the reader “girls are disregarded as a problem or liability at best.” Interacting with “problem or liability” links the reader to statements from Kirti Singh, who is a women’s rights activist and Indian Supreme Court lawyer. Singh notes the ways that girls and boys are treated differently in families. They are not given the same food, education, treatment, and are raised to become wives: “From the time they are born—or not born—and continuing till late in life when they become wives or mothers, it’s a vicious cycle of discrimination, and violence keeps on continuing.” An online article from CNN is marked as the narrative’s source. From birth, Indian females are treated differently from Indian males. The victim then says that this disregard for women and girls is paired with a tendency toward violence, particularly when a woman refuses to sleep with a man. The man may then turn to rape to get what he wants. A quote from *The Hindu* journalist and social commentator Nilanjana S. Roy rationalizes that rape is so prevalent in India because violence is widely tolerated and

accepted in Indian culture. Roy says, “What is missing from India's current obsession with rape is an assessment of what Indian men have experienced or witnessed in the way of violence. Few studies examine the impact violence has had on their lives, as either victims or perpetrators.” In response to criticisms about police reform, he says the people have to realize the officers’ experience with violence in their own homes and communities may have an impact on their response to reports of rape, domestic violence, and sexual violence. The use of hypertext here reveals the narrative’s “truth” surrounding the reason that rapes occur. Women are treated as second-class citizens from birth; men perceive women as being tools to be used for pleasure; a tendency toward violence in addition to these prevailing attitudes toward women leads to rape. The narrative is attempting to shift fidelity away from the hegemonic views of women and rape, toward a view that does not blame the victim for her own rape.

Although Singh and Roy elucidate on other reasons for rape, the victim cannot help but blame herself. She thinks, “Maybe it’s too soon.” This piece of hypertext links to two quotes regarding women’s advancement and how this may lead to aggression towards forward thinking women. Dr. K. Srinath Reddy, who is president of the Public Health Foundation of India, says violence against women is caused by increasing tension: “Women are breaking through and advancing toward greater attainment - but in a society that continues to be patriarchal, that is increasing tensions.” Men feel that women are encroaching into the workforce, which is part of the masculine sphere. In order to punish these women who come into the masculine space, men may turn to rape. Interestingly, this is the main reason cited by the rapist in *We Are Angry* that the victim was raped. Sagarika Ghose, a TV editor and social commentator, had this to say in *The Hindustan Times*: “A profound fear and a deep, almost pathological, hatred of the woman who aspire to be anything more than mother and wife is justified on the grounds of tradition.”

Men are ultimately afraid of successful women because they will no longer be of use to them. Fidelity is enhanced by these quotes because the reader either believes this position on women to be true, or may know someone who believes it to be true.

The victim notes that she is sometimes proud of her country: “it's amazing such an overly populated and deeply diverse ‘country’ functions half as well as it does.” Yet other times, she’s “deeply disappointed by the opportunity that seems to be passing us by.” She tells the reader that these missed opportunities lie in wasted human resources—“more than half of our human resources aren't even used in the workforce: women are meant to stay at home.” The piece of hypertext is linked to an article from *Forbes* entitled “The economic case against rape in India.” The implication is that India should take care of its women because they are a valuable work resource. The victim says, “Even some of our most successful, business-friendly politicians echo this.” Linked is a quote from India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi in January 2014 saying, “We have so far seen women as home-makers, we need to see them as nation-builders now.” However, Modi himself has made sexist comments in the past, hinting again at Indian politicians’ tendency toward hypocrisy and hypercriticism of women. The victim criticizes India for not allowing women into the work force and keeping them as “home-makers” rather than contributors to a better India. Again, the narrative is attempting to redefine fidelity for its audience by revealing its own truth and frustration about inequality for women.

Although some of the possible causes behind rape are alluded to, the victim never understands why. Toward the end of the narrative, the second to last chapter is entitled “Rapists,” insinuating that the reader will get more background on why the rapists attacked the victim. However, the only text on that webpage is “Silence” and the hyperlinked question “Why?” This piece of hypertext opens a pop-up window with a cry for further understanding:

We – the collective public - we do not know why they do it, do we? Sure, some of us think we know, but do we really? Why does no one interview these rapists in India? ...Don't we need to hear and understand the reasons - perhaps indigestible or crude, incomprehensible or unsophisticated, maybe irrational or even insincere - from the people who commit these acts of aggression before we can begin excavating the rot at the core?

The pop-up window questioning *why* we don't know why rape happens illuminates the frustration of those who have either acknowledged rape as a prevalent problem or suffered because of the prevalence of sexual violence around the world. It ultimately acts as an aside from the victim to express her anger at her current situation.

In the final chapter of the narrative, the victim makes a plea to stay alive. On her hospital bed, she lists all of the things she would do differently if she's allowed to live. She says:

I promise I will funnel all this anger into something useful. I will go back to work and I will show other women they can do it on their own too. Because we can. We will use our intelligence, our passion, our creativity and wit, whatever it takes.

Intelligence and passion are elements of hypertext linked to real-world organizations, groups, and campaigns that seek to empower Indian women. "Intelligence" links to four organizations: *I am Nirbhaya*, which is a campaign to end rape and sexual violence in India; *Jagori*, which is an organization that's mission is to inform, inspire, and empower women; *Breakthrough*, which is a multimedia campaign promoting the rights of girls and their value in family and community; *Lawyers Collective*, which is a group that is strongly against violence against women. "Passion" links the reader to *Nirbhaya*, which is an inspirational theatre empowering survivors of gender-based violence to speak out. By linking the reader to these outside organizations, the creators of *We Are Angry* are listing ways the reader can become more involved in the cause to advocate for

women's rights and end sexual violence against women. Further, the victim says that a collective "we" need to convince men and women to treat their daughters fairly and not tell them how to dress. This element of hypertext is linked to an image telling the reader that Mirje, who blamed women for being raped because they were dressed inappropriately and said the Delhi December 2012 gang rape happened because Singh was out too late, has since apologized for her statements. The victim promises that "India is changing and for the better as long as we stand strong against ignorant, medieval and inhumane convictions." Again, the narrative links the reader to the "Jaw Dropping Enlightenment" quotes. In order to make India a better place for women, "we" need to fight ignorance and medieval views of women and femininity. By linking the reader to outside sources that fight sexual violence, rape culture, and discriminatory views about women, the narrative increases its probability. It is using the hypertext to link the narrative to organizations that enact the narrative's values. The narrative is calling its reader to commit to an action or behavior that would be carried out by the victim if she were allowed to live, which is a probable end to the victim's story.

Ultimately, the use of the hypertext to delve into more background information serves to strengthen the points of the victim as our primary narrator. The creators used hypertext to provide further context on the rape situation in India. The hypertext explains some of the roots of misogyny—girls are treated differently from a young age. It also explains that public figures and politicians often blame the victims of rape for being in the wrong place and the wrong time and for wearing inappropriate clothing. Meanwhile, "boys will be boys" and therefore cannot be blamed. However, some outside sources would argue that women should be protected because they are an untapped human resource for India's work force. Ultimately, the hypertext gives

more background into the rhetorical situation of *We Are Angry* by giving the reader further detail into misogyny in Indian culture.

Multi-media

Throughout *We Are Angry*, hypertext is used to present photos, videos, and graphs and charts. Although the narrative includes aspects of multimedia embedded in the text, the photos and videos in this section only are accessed through hypertext and are shown in pop-up windows or in the left sidebar when clicked. This section will be devoted to analyzing the narrative's use of multi-media in hypertext. I will not be analyzing the content or rhetorical messages that come out in the photos or videos used.

The narrative uses photos twice to further illustrate the observations of the victim as she describes her situation. In the first chapter, she mentions seeing the *paan* stains, telling the reader not to mistake it for blood: "But the erupting red-orange splotches, that's *paan*, a ubiquitous stain across India." When the reader interacts with *paan* by clicking on the word, a collage of *paan* stains in public space appears in a pop-up window. The stains are bright red and reflective of blood. In a later chapter, the victim describes her appearance as compared to other Indian women. She says she prefers to keep her hair short and stylish and not long, which is "so old and common in India." This phrase opens a photo of traditional Indian women in saris with long, black hair in the left sidebar of the webpage. Although hypertext opens both of these photos, it is interesting that the two photos open differently. The *paan* stains appear in a pop-up window that takes up the whole screen and has to be closed out before the reader can continue. The photo of women in saris appears in the left side bar. The victim wants the reader to be shocked and jarred by the appearance of *paan*, which resembles blood. Meanwhile, the photo of women in saris is a side detail only meant to further the victim's meaning, but not have much effect on the reader.

Video also is shown when the reader interacts with different hypertextual elements. The key theme of the videos was misogyny in India. Going back to the victim and her appearance, she denies that her looks had anything to do with her rape. She tells the reader that she is “more modestly turnout out than most Bollywood heroines.” When the reader clicks on “Bollywood heroines,” a YouTube video entitled “No Country for Women” produced by *Transhuman Collective* appears in the left side bar. The video begins as a compilation of Bollywood actresses scantily clad and dancing provocatively. The video also shows Indian men demeaning Indian women. When the men are being interviewed, they say things like “If they wear skirts like Rakhi Samani (Hindi actress) why won’t we tease” and “Women wear tight jeans that show off their body. Seeing that, men go mad and ‘eve tease’.” When a later chapter mentions “eve-teasing,” the hypertext opens a subsequent YouTube video of men “eve-teasing” women by cat calling: “Hey sexy;” “Where are you going? Take me with you.” There is also the threatening “Better to go with me than on your own,” implying that the woman is safer to allow this man to pick her up so another man does not attack her. The “No Country for Women” video also shows news footage of public assaults on women. In a newscast from *Times Now*, footage shows a crowd watching as a group of men undresses and molests a woman on a busy street in the middle of the day. The news anchor reports that police did not show up until a half hour later. In a subsequent news report from *Face the Nation*, male activists are shown beating women for being independent. The news anchor reports the men called the women whores and prostitutes and disrobed them because they “objected to women not following traditional Indian morality.” In this video, the message that *Transhuman Collective* sends is that sexualized mediated images of women insight violence in men. However, one woman when being interviewed objected to this by saying “What ever I do, I do it for myself.” She wears what she wants regardless of what

society thinks of her. Again, the narrative through the video is attempting to redefine fidelity for its audience by exposing the hegemonic truth—women are sex objects for men and should be treated as such—and arguing for a new truth of female empowerment.

The victim believes that seeing women as lesser humans hurts India and its economy. In the text, the victim recalls that she heard a lecture once that said “emerging India lagged behind China not because of China's railroading, authoritarian rule versus our immature, noisy democracy, but because we don't look after our number one natural resource: our population.” In the text, a YouTube video of a TED Talk given by Yasheng Huang entitled “Does Democracy Stifle Economic Growth” appears in the left sidebar. Here, the hypertext allows the viewer to watch the same video as the victim rather than to blindly accept her word. Here, the hypertext is used to share information with the reader, which works to enhance the narrative’s fidelity. The audience may choose to view the video and take it at face value as evidence that India is ignoring a valuable human resource by seeing women as unequal.

Finally, hypertext is also used to present informational graphs and charts. These graphs and charts typically appear in pop-up windows when the reader interacts with the hypertext. The information given correlates to the topic being discussed in the text. The narrative tells the reader that, “Nine times the amount of recorded rapes go unreported and of those that do, only 25% of those rapists actually get prosecuted.” The chart entitled “India’s Rape Crisis” tells the reader that in 2012 out of “25,000 rapes reported to the police, 15% of rape cases came to trial, 24% of rape trials resulted in conviction, some estimate for every 1 rape registered, 9 go unrecorded.” Each statistic is cited from its outside source including the National Crime Records Bureau for 2012, Oxfam, and a retired police officer talking to a British Broadcasting Corporation reporter. By exposing the reader to statistics through visual infographics, the narrative is attempting to

enhance its fidelity. Ultimately, the use of multimedia is an attempt by the narrative to expose a logic of good reasons to believe that India has discriminatory views toward women. The use of photographs portrays “traditional” Indian portrayals of femininity, while videos and informational graphics report sexualized violence that has occurred.

Invitational Interactivity

Invitational interactivity is defined as questions posed in the narrative that open comment boxes where the reader can give an answer. This interactivity occurs in hidden hypertext that is typically embedded in questions from the victim. These hypertextual elements were not marked by hyperlinks, but only are found when the reader scrolls the mouse over the victim’s questions. If clicked, the question opens a pop-up window in which readers see the question rephrased and a text box in which readers can join the discussion. In the middle of the narrative, the victim discusses how hard it is for women who are raped to find a husband because they are seen as being soiled. She discusses her parents’ possible disappointment about her poor marriage prospects. She says, “Now – raped, beaten and filmed by well-meaning onlookers – who will marry me? Would you?” The text box poses the question “Would you marry a woman who was raped?” At the time of this thesis, there is just one comment that answers the question. When discussing why men rape women, the victim says:

But for those whose response to frustration or unsated desire is physical violence on top of a deep disregard for women, presto, you have potential rapists. A lot of them. And that is the rotten core. I don't even want to excavate through the putrid decay, the stinking, scummy roots to get to the bottom of it. Your guess is probably better than mine. I'm in no state to be rational.

When the reader interacts with the phrase “Your guess,” she is again greeted with a text box with the question “What do you think?” At the time of this thesis, there are no comments.

Although there are no comments, the webpage has a chapter entitled “Comments” where readers can leave comments about their thoughts on the narrative. When readers click on a “community” tab in this “Comments” they can read others’ feedback. The use of this invitational interactivity is to allow the reader to make comments. The producers were trying to create a community and implore readers to respond to their piece of social commentary.

The creators of *We Are Angry* used cited news stories and background information to further both the probability and fidelity of the narrative as well as to bring further credibility to the victim. Most of the information that was cited as news or background information came in the victim’s chapters, in an attempt to create an all-knowing first person narrator. Hypertext, therefore, furthered the probability of the narrative by creating a reliable first person narrator who presented the reader with background information and cited sources to enhance the coherence. The plotline and details of the victim’s story reflect the real world events that have happened in India due to its worsening rape culture. The victim is found by apathetic police, which reflects the real police apathy and corruption in India. She is also called “Braveheart,” in reference to Jyoti Singh, the victim in the Delhi December 2012 gang rape. The connection of the victim’s story to real cases that have occurred in India is used to enhance the coherence of the victim’s story. By referencing the cases, the narrative also is forcing the reader to acknowledge the truth that lies in the victim’s situation, thus enhancing fidelity.

Further, interactivity through hypertext is ultimately used to provide context for the rhetorical situation of modern day India. Indian women who suffer from sexual assault often suffer from victim blaming. Political and public figures see women’s dress and behavior as the

root cause of their attacks and keep a “boys will be boys” mentality. Meanwhile, men are exposed to hypersexualized women in the media and, as a result, treat all women as a sexual object. Hypertextual links are used both to expose the hegemonic “truth” about rape culture through politicians’ blame the victim mentality and to use outside sources to define the actual truth about rape. It stems from a culture that lauds violence and treats women as second-class citizens. The narrative uses outside sources to redefine fidelity for the reader. Finally, the hypertext of *We Are Angry* enhances the fidelity of the narrative because it adds an element of truth and believability that is not completely fulfilled in the main text of the webpage. The creators have taken full advantage of their ability cite outside Internet sources.

Test of Narrative Rationality

The final section of analysis will test the narrative rationality of *We Are Angry*. According to Fisher (1987), all humans are endowed with narrative rationality because we have the ability to tell and to understand stories. He positioned narrative rationality as an alternative to traditional rationality, which is only attributed to those in power. Narrative rationality informs an audience of a story’s values, which an audience may accept as good reasons to change a belief or behavior. Good reasons for an audience to believe a work are based in fact, which indicates the values in the rhetorical act; relevance, which measures of the values in relation to the beliefs or behaviors the narrative seeks to further; consequence, which is the results of adhering to the values of a narrative; and consistency, which is the validity of the narrative when tested against the audience’s experiences (Fisher, 1987). Fisher (1987) states, “By identifying ourselves and our worlds with the fictive world-representations, we experience the truthfulness of the work’s message, the way the message impinges on our understanding of ourselves or some part of the world” (p. 162). *We Are Angry* uses a fictional narrative to further the audience’s understanding

of its own world—a world in which women are subject to sexual and domestic violence on a regular basis. This section of analysis will test the narrative rationality of the narrative and discuss potential interpretations that arise when an audience considers the narrative (Fisher, 1987, p. 161). Rybacki and Rybacki (1991) pose a series of questions that determine the fact, relevance, consequence, and consistency of the narrative. These questions will be used to test the narrative rationality in *We Are Angry*.

Question of Fact

The one question of fact asks the critic to identify the implicit and explicit values in the narrative. The explicit values advocate for safety and equality for women. The narrative follows the story of a young entrepreneur turned victim. Due to discriminatory gender norms, male peers saw the victim as being unworthy of owning a successful business. In order to “teach her a lesson” when she refused to sell her business to a male competitor, he hired a group of men to rape her as a form of punishment. Throughout the continuation of the narrative, the reader learns more about the victim and may eventually identify with her. She is a young commerce graduate who had a relatively normal life until a group of men and one “boy” decided to take her physical autonomy away from her. The narrative uses the character of the victim as an example of the inequality faced by women in India. This inequality leads to a lack of safety. By the end of the narrative, the victim is calling for a change in the way India views its women; however, this rationale can be applied universally.

Implicitly, the narrative extols the value of news as a credible source of information. It uses news stories and references to increase its fidelity. By doing so, it is clear that the creators of *We Are Angry* see the news as being completely based in fact and expect their audience to believe so as well. The narrative also values the transparency of social media. In the “News

Flash” chapters, social media paired with smart phone video technology is portrayed as a tool used by civilians to combat the hegemony. In the narrative, social media and the spread of viral videos are used to implicate the policemen who mistreated the victim. Further, the viral video exposed the world to the policemen’s mistreatment of the victim, sparking outrage with protestors and conversations on national news.

Questions of Relevance

In order to determine the relevance of the narrative, a critic must ask: are the values in the message appropriate to the kind of decision, change in belief or behavior, asked of the audience? In the final chapter of the narrative, the victim as narrator makes a plea to God to let her live. She makes several promises. She promises to go back to work and prove that women can take on responsibility and possibly own their own business. Or, if women are not accepted in the workplace, they should go on strike and see how India holds up. She calls for women to embrace their own equality. She wants men and women not to tell their daughters how to dress and to tell their sons to behave. The victim also says that she will speak out about other cases of sexual assault, and not just those in the privileged class. She says, “This anger should fuel us. Or at least, at least, at least, change us to see women as equal and not inferior to men.” The implication of these final words from the victim is that the reader is also asked to do these things. The entire narrative has led up to this call to action. Her characterization as a strong, independent woman is meant to empower the audience to advocate for equality for women and change the way women are viewed, especially in India. The situation of the victim is connected to the situation of many women in India through the website’s use of hypertext and external references. These references provide the audience with irrefutable evidence that the values espoused in the narrative are relevant and must be adhered to.

A critic must also ask if values are omitted, distorted, or misrepresented. The use of hypertextual references throughout the narrative allow the reader to fact check anything that is found on the webpage *We Are Angry*. However, it is important to keep in mind that the quotes that are used on the webpage have been chosen for a reason.

Questions of Consequence

Questions of consequence ask: How are values operationalized? What is the morality of the story? Explicit values are operationalized through the victim and her story. The victim illustrates India's disregard for women and the narrative uses her story to combat that disregard. It serves to mark as undeniable proof that women are treated with inequality in comparison to males: "most men, though not all, and even many women, see women as inferior to men." Girls are disregarded as "a problem or liability at best." A woman's value is seen as relative to what she has to offer a man. In an interactive graphic, a woman's possible uses are defined. She can be used to cook, clean, fetch water, host fancy parties, look rich, bear children, have sex, punch, and boost egos. The victim faces this nasty ideology when she refuses her rapist's offer to buy her business and is raped as a punishment. The narrative combats this view of women by stating that women should be equal and allowed to be independent and successful on their own. In fact, the victim argues that equal work for women would be advantageous for India. The victim's voice acts as the argument against "medieval" views of femininity and present the moral of the story: that women should be safe and treated as equals. According to the narrative, rape is a crime and should be treated harshly, while female (and male) victims should be believed and protected. It is an action that stems from a culture of violence and misogyny. The victim operationalizes the narrative's values of safety and equality through her own story, acting as an example for everything that is wrong in India and the world at large.

What is the result of adhering to the values in the narrative? What happens to concepts of self, behavior, relationships, society, and the process of rhetorical action? In the final chapter, the creators give the audience a final call to action through the victim's deathbed thoughts. This call reaffirms the values of physical safety from sexual and domestic violence, as well as equality for all women. The victim asks women to use their intelligence, passion, creativity, and wit to invoke thought about the issue of violence and provoke change. She calls to men to join women in fighting gender-based violence. Finally, the victim calls for a collective "we" to "stand strong against ignorant medieval and inhumane convictions," which she implies mostly stems from the ignorance of the government and the public at large. Therefore, society as a whole is called to question any discriminatory practices that prevent full gender equality. The reader is expected to lead this charge.

Questions of Consistency

In order to test the consistency of the narrative, a critic must ask: Are the values confirmed or validated in the personal experience of the audience and the life stories or statements of credible others? *We Are Angry* bolsters the victim's story by using hypertextual references to past cases of sexual violence and assault in India. The narrative consistently references and reflects the Delhi December 2012 gang rape of Jyoti Singh. The victim is referred to as "Braveheart," which was one of the nicknames for Singh. Her story also is spread across social media, not unlike Singh's story. Further, the narrative relies on quotes from India's political elite to expose the culture of misogyny and inequality. The narrative bolsters itself through the use of real news stories cited through hypertext. Does the narrative make its appeal to some ideal audience? Although the narrative does appeal to Indian culture by setting the scene as modern day Delhi, the narrative uses interactivity to appeal to any audience. Hypertext is used

to explain Hindi translations and references to the setting of Delhi, which is intended to invite anyone from any cultural background into the narrative.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Multimedia and digital storytelling has become extremely prevalent in the media; however, no prior research into the rhetorical effects of interactivity and hypertext on narratives has been published. *We Are Angry* is a free to view, digital narrative that uses a fictional style to discuss the ongoing problem of sexual violence that is prevalent in India. This thesis took a case study approach to rhetorically analyze the narrative and its use of interactivity through hypertext using Fisher's Narrative Paradigm as a lens. *We Are Angry* is a direct reflection of the lived experiences for many rape survivors in India and around the world. This chapter will begin by discussing the probability and fidelity of the victim as the narrative's main character. It will then move on to discuss the narrative's use of hypertext and its effects on the probability and fidelity of the narrative. I will then comment on *We Are Angry*'s narrative rationality. Finally, my conclusions will be offered.

Largely, probability and fidelity in *We Are Angry* rely on the victim as the first person narrator. As the first character introduced and the central focus of *We Are Angry*'s plot, the unnamed victim is the most important character in the narrative. The presence of her chapters ultimately serves to carry the plot forward. With each "Victim" chapter, the reader learns more about the plot of the narrative and more about the victim, increasing her characterological coherence. In the first chapter, the victim is introduced and the reader only learns the basics of the plot of the narrative. The victim describes her current situation—that she has been raped. The narrative then makes an attempt to have the reader move forward in the plot with the victim asking the reader, "Only, how will you know I'm telling the truth?" This question acts as an enticement for the reader to continue the story. Relying on this main character, the victim, is a risky choice on behalf of the creators of *We Are Angry*. If the reader decides that she does not

identify with the victim and is not interested in her story, she may not decide to continue with the narrative; however, she may also be curious about the victim because the first chapter leaves out the how and why of the victim's rape. This first glimpse of the victim also expands her personality through biting prose: "Yet nothing has the sting of the word rapist. Listen to it. The rasping R, the shrill long A, the ultimately effete PIST of a loser who preys on the vulnerable and weak."

As the narrative continues, so does the reader's understanding of the victim as a character. In her second chapter, the victim reflects more on her situation, expressing anger toward the policemen who "finally" came to rescue her, but write her off as a prostitute who has been mistreated by a john. She suggests that the policemen are incompetent. In this chapter, the reader is given additional insight into the identity of the victim, furthering her characterological coherence through her anger. The victim's third chapter becomes even more personal with the reader discovering the appearance of the victim, her hobbies, her love life, and her experiences with her friends. In this chapter, the victim's characterization serves to increase the identification between herself and the reader. The reader continues to be unsure of the exact details of *We Are Angry's* plot, but this identification with the victim is enough for her to move forward.

By continuing further into the narrative, the reader learns more about the victim and her case, further increasing her characterological coherence. The final two "Victim" chapters reveal her lying in a coma in her hospital bed. In a stream of consciousness, she tells the reader that she has begun to see a "light" and that she fears it is death waiting for her. The final chapter of the narrative ends with the victim describing her anger and wanting to put that anger toward something positive. In fact, the anger of the victim had been steadily building and redirecting itself throughout the narrative. In the beginning, the victim's anger is directed toward her rapists;

however, as the narrative continues, her anger builds to also be directed at the police, then society and the politicians who perpetuate rape culture. The build up of anger is appropriate to the values that the narrative extols. It also furthers its coherence because it is a logical conclusion to the victim's story. The victim's anger is meant to further increase the reader's anger and offer her a solution at the end—to work toward the equality and safety of women.

Throughout the narrative, the victim compares herself, and is compared with, past rape victims who have been portrayed in the news. She is largely identified as a reflection of Jyoti Singh, the victim of the Delhi December 2012 gang rape. The victim of this narrative was also raped, beaten, and left to die. Protesters gathered in anger at the rape and violence after word spread over social media. Much like Singh, the victim's rape and hospitalization created a public outrage. Hypertextual references continually compare the narrative's victim to her real-life counterpart. When the victim is referred to as "Braveheart," the reader is told that this is one of the many names given to Singh. Finally, Singh's case was also cited in regards to the continued political apathy surrounding rape after the Delhi December 2012 gang rape. The use of hypertext to compare the two victims ultimately allows for the stories to reflect each other. The reader does not have to depart from the narrative to gain more insight into Singh's case—she does not have to leave the victim. The ability for the reader to review Singh's case through hypertext allows a more direct comparison between the two. This use of hypertext ultimately enhances the narrative's fidelity. It allows the victim's story to "ring true" to its audience through direct and indirect references to past rape cases.

Probability and fidelity are found in the textual narrative of *We Are Angry*; however, it is the use of hypertext that takes these elements of Fisher's Narrative Paradigm even further. The narrative includes many different references to Indian culture that would typically seem foreign

to an unfamiliar reader. However, hypertext is used to enhance the degree to which the story “hangs together” through its definitions and translations of Indian words. Coherence through hypertext also furthers the narrative’s setting. Due to its use of hypertext, the narrative can make textual references to real locations in India without explicitly explaining them, which would disrupt the narrative flow. Rather, the reader can click on textual references and avoid leaving the narrative to gain more insight into unfamiliar terms and places. Further, the narrative uses hypertext to bolster its own arguments—through hyperlinks to the news, the narrative allows the reader a more complete view of current events surrounding rape cases in India thereby increasing the narrative’s probability. The use of the news may also “ring true” to the audience and enhance the narrative’s fidelity. An audience will typically expect what is found in the news to generally be held as true.

The use of hypertext allows for the enrichment of narrative probability and fidelity without a departure from the narrative itself. In his work, Landow (1997) noted that hypertext narratives create a rhetoric of departure and arrival. Such departure, however, may break up the narrative and distance the reader, disrupting the persuasive process. In *We Are Angry*, hypertext acts as a conduit through which rhetors can make direct references to an outside work or influence without directly stating the reference or removing the reader away from the work itself. Because the work’s progression is vital to its persuasive appeal, it is important that the reader does not have to “leave” this first person narrator.

As previously mentioned, the narrative’s main use of hypertext serves to further its fidelity, or truthfulness, to the setting and the characters. While fidelity is enhanced through the use of hypertext, it also serves another device. Hypertext is used to define and redefine the “truths” found within the narrative and the rhetorical situation on which the narrative is based.

The government at large perpetuates women's lack of safety and equality. From the beginning of the narrative, the reader is set up to associate the government and the victim's rape. The car in which the rape takes place is an old government car that has been repurposed into a taxi. The reader is told this in the first few lines of the narrative. The old government car becomes the literal vehicle through which the victim is raped. As the narrative continues, the reader discovers a high level of government ambivalence and ignorance that perpetuates the cycle of sexual and domestic violence against women. This ambivalence is found within the hypertextual elements that discuss background information. Hypertext exposes many politicians' and public figures' "blame the victim" mindset—women cause rape through their clothing and actions. Asha Mirje, NCP leader and member of the Maharashtra Women's Commission, is cited multiple times for her sexism and blame-the-victim thinking. The narrative cites even more "jaw dropping" ignorance in a citation of quotes from well-known public figures about rape. Subsequently, the police may then be reluctant to help a victim, thinking she brought the violence on herself. The lack of action on the part of the two policemen who discover the victim on the street mirrors the lackadaisical, or sometimes even evil, attitudes of India's police force in general. The narrative cites incidents in which police have been insensitive to victims; colluded in the act of rape; or even been accused of rape themselves. These values and beliefs of the government define a hegemonic "truth"—women bring about their own rapes.

However, further use of hypertext exposes the true cause of rape to be India's misogynistic culture. Within the text, the victim's persona paired with hypertext is used to explain the dangers of the "roots of misogyny." She explains that in India, girls and women are viewed as chattel to be used by men. They are "disregarded as a problem or liability at best." Women are seen as second-class citizens from birth. These misogynistic values are exposed

through the narrative's use of hypertext that links to outside news stories and hyperlinks to background information. This information shifts the hegemonic "truth" of why rape happens, and exposes that rape is caused by the feminine inequality, a culture that accepts violence, and harmful images of women in the media. The victim further confirms this shift in fidelity through her lived experiences: she was smart and safe, but still fell victim to rape because of India's misogynistic culture.

Finally, *We Are Angry* does meet the tests of narrative rationality. Through this narrative, *Digital Fables* is ultimately arguing for safety and equality for women. The victim as the first person narrator does provide good reasons for the reader to believe her story; however, hypertext further confirms the narrative's values. Its credibility lies in its use of hypertext to expose the experiences of others who have been victims of sexual violence. Further, the narrative's appeal extends past the Indian public and to the world at large. The narrative is online and free to view; therefore, the narrative may resonate with a variety of audiences. Its use of Hindi language and slang strengthens the story's coherence. However, the use of hypertext to define these terms opens the narrative to interpretation by readers who speak any language. Therefore, *We Are Angry* meets the test of narrative rationality for any audience who seeks to view it. Hypertext presents the reader with evidence that is considered good reasons to believe the narrative.

Conclusion

Fisher's Narrative Paradigm is one of reason, value, and action (Fisher, 1987). This case study approach illuminates how the paradigm can be applied to digital narratives. Digital narratives depart from their physical counterparts in several ways. According to Chow (2008), they carry their own "intentions, meanings, and potentials" (p. 347). Indeed, hypertext expanded the ability of *We Are Angry* to meet Fisher's (1987) notions of narrative probability and fidelity.

Probability was expanded by the use of hypertext to explain cultural references. The creators have taken full advantage of their ability cite outside Internet sources to open the narrative to anyone unfamiliar with Indian culture. Fisher (1987) espouses that a rhetorical work must be judged based on the circumstances of the discourse. The Internet offers an opportunity for the reader to interact with a work in a way that they cannot with a work of text. The reader can fully explore the work's sources and get a fuller view of the narrative without departing from their place within the work.

The ability of a reader to explore using hypertext adds a level of fidelity that a work of text does not have. Kaufer (1997) noted that rhetoric is a “design art”—every detail that is included in a work has an effect on its audience, marking the rhetor as “an architect of the social world” (p. 270). From the beginning, hypertext allows the reader to create her own knowledge through the narrative. The victim asks, “Only, how will you know I’m telling the truth?” If the reader decides not to accept the victim’s word, she can compile her own knowledge of the rhetorical situation that is the influence of *We Are Angry*, furthering the narrative’s ability to persuade. The ability to choose to view hypertext allows the reader to decide if she wants to accept the narrative as “just” a story, or see it as a reinterpretation of a culture that accepts the sexual violation of its female citizens. It also offers no foreseeable end to the amount of knowledge of reality possibly gained by a reader, an important aspect of web interactivity noted by Marino (2007). The narrative ultimately rang true to the reader through its use of intercultural references. It also used hypertextual explanations of previous cases of sexual violence to bolster its arguments. Therefore, the use of hypertext allows the reader to believe the truth of *We Are Angry*. Fisher’s Narrative Paradigm should be applied to other digital texts as we need to “re-imagine genre” (Cowart, 2011, p. 3).

Hypertext and interactivity open digital works in a way that can expand our knowledge and reflection of prominent social justice issues. It may be used to cite outside background information and news stories that bolster the arguments of a digital narrative. It can also be used to further relate to the issues inherent in the narrative by providing more general information to anyone who wants to get involved with the issue. Future research should focus on how other digital narratives dealing with social justice issues take advantage of the online format.

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