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# Framing the Dark Web

A study in portrayal of the Dark Web in documentary films

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# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Internet culture and its various subcultures have been a source of fascination for me. Some of my earlier memories from browsing the Internet myself is grounded in exploring the unknown. This new activity (or at least it was for me at that point) of visiting different forums, specialised webpages for content, often poorly developed with what would now be considered rudimentary user interface design. As basic as these websites seemed, they were functional and served their purpose well.

These days, instead of exploring randomly, I am instead much more focused on how I engage with the Internet. I find myself browsing the same websites; getting my entertainment from Reddit, reading news through NRK or Aftenposten, finding movies to watch through IMDb, Facebook, while resorting to the same tools whenever I need to solve problems. This is not necessarily intentional from my side, as I am avidly searching for new websites, depending on what I am interested in at the moment. The difference here is that the Internet used to feed me different information because it had no knowledge about my interests or preferences. Now the technology and algorithms behind the websites that we use today have become more advanced. Instead of showing us all available content and allowing its users to decide for themselves. It feeds us information that it thinks that we want to see while at the same time filtering out other information that it deems irrelevant (Kammerer, n.d.).

As I have become more aware of these changes in the algorithms myself, I deliberately try to be more explorative instead of settling with what I already know. Actively going out to find new sources of information, I seek alternative reporting to see different sides of a story whenever news that I find fascinating. Actively going out to find new information introduced me to the so-called Dark Web. It quickly became my newest fascination. I knew it existed and the basic structure, but that was it. While doing my research for a short paper on the Dark Web, I found that the portrayal of the Dark Web in news media seemed overly focused on the negative. Furthermore, when talking to friends and family about the Dark Web, their perception was for the most part, grounded in the unknown and negatives that they had read in the news. This is very interesting to me because I did not see it in the same way from my own research.

How media represent the Dark Web is important because it frames how people think and talk about it. If media focus their attention on the negative aspects, then they contribute to maintaining the negative associations that people may have of the Dark Web. Which in turn, may limit people's inclinations to accept it as a tool for privacy protection (De-Oliveira-Sarda, 2020, p. 257). This is the motivation for my thesis, where I want to analyse how the Dark Web is portrayed. When it comes to media, the dark and unknown might be more exciting and easier to "sell" to the audience. However, a balanced portrayal of any case is essential because it allows audiences to make up their own mind, rather than having the media producers decide for them and shaping the discourse in only one direction. I believe that this is especially important in the case of the Dark Web because it encompasses technologies that give greater attention to ensuring privacy in a time and age where our privacy is becoming more and more important due to technological influence and surveillance (Hoven et al., 2019). Since technology has become such an established part of our daily lives, the solutions to privacy issues likely must come from technology as well. Thus, it is important to properly address depictions of the Dark Web in broader cultural forms, such as audio-visual film documentaries.

To understand how the Dark Web is presented in audio-visual culture, I want to delve deeper into documentary films because it is a diverse and intriguing tool for storytelling that communicates the natural world differently than purely textual mediums. For this, I analyse the two documentary films *Inside the Dark* Web and *Down the Deep, Dark Web.* These two documentaries play on both visual and sound through different formal techniques and functions to engage the viewer. The cohesion of these elements that make up a documentary contributes to further dimensions in storytelling. It does not leave the audience up to their imagination and memory in the same way plain text does – especially if we are to believe the proverb collected by Thomas Fuller:

"Words are but winds; but seeing is believing" (Fuller, 1732, p. 256).

## 1.2  Research questions

My main research question stands as:

How is the Dark Web portrayed through the documentary films *Inside the Dark Web* and *Down the Deep, Dark Web*?

Based on this primary question I have derived sub-questions that is more focused and to help me find answers as to how the Dark Web is portrayed through documentary films.

1. How is the Dark Web introduced?
2. Do the two documentary films take a clear stance towards the Dark Web?
3. How do the documentaries portray people who use the Dark Web described?
4. How is the content on the Dark Web presented?
   4.1. What type of Dark Web content is mentioned?
5. How is the soundtrack used in the two documentary films?
   5.1. Are there clear changes in the music throughout the documentary films?

## 1.3  Reading guide

This thesis is structured into six main chapters. Chapter two covers the theoretical framework. Chapter three continues with a closer look at my methodical approach to the thesis and describes the basis for the analysis and answering the research questions.

Chapter four and five are dedicated to the two documentary films. In each of these parts, the documentaries are summarised and analysed in different parts. The analysis is based on the methodology detailed in chapter three and grounded in the theoretical framework presented in the upcoming chapter.  For each of the documentaries, I look closer at the implications for the analysis and observations made.

Chapter six is used for bringing the two documentary films together through discussion. Here I attempt to highlight commonalities and differences to find the answer to my main research question.

Lastly, chapter seven is used for concluding the study of how the Dark Web is portrayed in the two selected documentary films.

## 2  Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework in this thesis is set up through 5 major sections: The Dark Web, documentary/nonfiction film, journalism, rhetoric, and music. The first section covers the Dark Web, the main purpose of this section is to build an understanding and contextualise the Dark Web. The remaining sections cover's the theory that the analysis and discussion is based on.

## 2.1 The Dark Web

Through portrayal in the media, the Dark Web has gained a reputation as a place that facilitates criminal activity such as drugs and information for sale (Graham & Pitman, 2020, p. 594). However, to properly understand what the Dark Web is, we must establish an understanding of its place in the Internet ecosystem and what makes it different from the Internet that many of us use daily. Although I will not do an in-depth technical elaboration, this is outside the scope of this thesis because my research focuses on studying how the Dark Web is portrayed through documentary films. In this case, the idea and culture around the Dark Web are more significant. However, because the technical aspects of the Dark Web are perhaps the main reason it has become what it is, I will present some baseline knowledge in the future sections to better understand the Dark Web and as groundwork for the analysis and discussion.

### 2.1.1 Surface vs. Deep Web

Two parts construct the overarching architecture of the Internet: The Surface and the Deep Web. The Surface Web is the area that average Internet users' access when they browse the Internet. This area consists of websites that we can access through standard web browsers (Chertoff, 2017, p. 26). What designates these websites to the Surface Web is that these websites are all indexed and catalogued by crawlers[1] for the different search engines. This factor makes it possible to search for and access websites through regular web browsers (Guccione, 2018).

On the other hand, the Deep Web is made up of all the websites and data that is not indexed by search engines. It comprises all the membership websites, fee-based content databases containing user information, e-mails, cloud storage, and data generated through websites on the Surface Web and Applications (Greenberg, 2014; Guccione, 2018). The Data from websites like Facebook are classified as Deep Web because you have to use application program interfaces (API)[2] to access it (Chertoff, 2017, p. 27).

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[1] A program used by search engines that traverses the Internet in order to collect and index data (Go Up, n.d.)

[2] A set of code that enables data transmission between one software product to another (Altexsoft, 2019).

There are some reasons why crawlers might not index a website. One reason is password protection, which stops the crawler. Other reasons are files located in a website's root that tells the crawlers not to index it or if a website is purposefully hidden, and the crawler cannot access it. All this generated data is usually protected by layers of passwords and user control, and other backend[3] technology that requires specialized software to access (Hawkins, 2016, p. 6).

A common metaphor to describe the difference between the surface and the Deep Web is the iceberg. On this iceberg floating in the ocean, the smaller visible part is referred to as the Surface Web; this is the part that we access and use regularly. The more significant part floating beneath the surface is the Deep Web, which comprises all data and information that is not reachable through regular search engines. It has been estimated that the data on the Deep Web makes up around 90% of all traffic or data flow on the Internet. Many of the websites that people access daily such as Facebook or Netflix, or subscription-based news, are user and password protected and are therefore defined as Deep Web content (Greenberg, 2014).

The Dark Web and the Deep Web are often communicated as being the same thing. Although they exist in the same domain of the Internet, they ultimately are not synonymous. The short version of this is that the Dark Web is a portion of the Deep Web, a part of the Internet one cannot access through conventional methods such as search engines and are intentionally hidden (Weimann, 2016, pp. 195-196). I will cover this more thoroughly in the upcoming section.

### 2.1.2 Dark Web

The Dark Web is a portion of the Deep Web. The Dark Web is a shared terminology for the websites and tools used to access content on websites that have been intentionally hidden (Weimann, 2016, p. 196). Websites and applications available on the Dark Web are called hidden services (Tor Project, n.d.-b). The actual size of the Dark Web is unknown. It is, however, estimated to be relatively small compared to both the Surface and Deep Web. Security researcher Nik Cubrilovic, found less than 10,000 sites on one of the Dark Web

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[3] The part of a website or software that the users do not see (Christensson, 2020).

networks and that the Dark Web accounts for less than 0.1 per cent of the content on the Internet (Greenberg, 2014).

Some of the most known tools for accessing the Dark Web are The Onion Router (Tor), an Internet proxy[4] that allows users to browse the Internet anonymously and grant access to hidden services, I2P a peer-to-peer network[5] layer for sending data between computers, and Freenet, an anonymous publishing software. Each of these Dark Web networks has different uses, but the key affordance that they all offer anonymity and security through encryption and different protocols as well as access to the hidden services that make up the Dark Web (Chi Square, 2012). The anonymity that these different networks provide is what makes up the core value for content and users of the Dark Web. An example of how anonymity provided is further covered in section 2.1.3 about the Tor network.

The different hidden services on the Dark Web are exclusive to the different networks. To access a website on one of the networks, you are required to use the correct tools and network. Sites that are available on the Tor network are not on I2P or Freenet. To access a Dark Web site, one must know the site address, type out the Uniform Resource Locator (URL), or locate them through directories on other Dark Web sites. One of these directories is Hidden Wiki, a site on Tor that organises sites by categories in the form of a link list (Weimann, 2016, p. 196). While there are search engines available on the Tor network, they struggle to keep up with the evolving landscape of new sites and old ones that change addresses to remain hidden and as protection (Guccione, 2018).

Gabriel Weimann defined the Dark Web as a place that mostly contains illegal and anti-social activity (Weimann, 2016, p. 196). Although there is a plethora of different content on the dark web, extensive media coverage helped highlight illegal drug markets such as the Silk Road helped the Dark Web build its infamy. The Silk Road was a website, much like Amazon.com, that allowed its users to browse and buy drugs and other counterfeit goods (Gehl, 2018, p. 2).

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[4] Short for proxy server, a computer or program that acts as an intermediary between a client machine and server (Collins Dictionary, n.d.).

[5] A network where computer systems are connected to each other through the Internet (Christensson, 2006).

The Silk Road was shut down in 2013, but new sites continue to appear, fighting for a share of this drug market (EMCDDA, 2017).

Different sites on the Dark Web are filled with opportunities for the highest bidder. On the different markets, you will be able to find stolen credit cards, personal information, user databases and weapons. In his book *The Dark Net*, Jamie Bartlett wrote about a Dark Web site called Assassination Market. This site allowed visitors to bet on the deaths of other people, often well-known individuals. Any visitor to the site could submit names to the list, and the person who guesses the correct time of death would get the pot. One of the page's instructions stated, "Making your predictions come true is entirely optional", almost as an encouragement to go after the pot (Bartlett, 2014, pp. 3-4). This site serves as an example of the dubious and unethical content available on the Dark Web.

One of the topics that get a lot of media attention in the context of illegal activity on the Dark Web is child exploitation. Sites connected to child pornography amounts for a large part of the traffic on the Dark Web. A study conducted by Dr Gareth Owen and Nick Savage of the University of Portsmouth found that over six months, 80% of the traffic was related to sites known for child exploitation (Chertoff, 2017, p. 30). Law enforcement use computers that automatically target sites of this nature. This means that the generated traffic may appear even greater than it actually is. However, the researchers argue that even if one account for a large portion being automatic traffic from law enforcement, the traffic to these sites is still significant (Chertoff, 2017, p. 30).

In 2017 the Norwegian newspaper VG published an article on the Dark Web site "Child's Play". This investigative journalistic work exposed how a joint operation between an Australian law enforcement task force, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and police in Canada and Europe worked to fight child pornography on the Dark Web. During this operation, the Australian members of the operation Task Force Argos ran the Dark Web site for almost a year before finally shutting it down, even sharing pictures and videos to bait members of the site (Høydal et al., 2017).

The Dark Web is, however, not only a place for illegal and immoral activities. Some people living under totalitarian or oppressive regimes use it simply to gain access to the same information as everyone else, such as e-books censored by oppressive governments or social networks. BBC and Facebook have established mirror sites on the Dark Web specifically

targeted at those who wish to remain anonymous while providing their services to those who cannot access them due to Internet censorship (Schurer, 2020).

Human Rights activists and dissidents use it to connect to websites such as Facebook or to publish articles without the overhanging fear of being arrested. Julian Assange and Edward Snowden used the Dark Web to expose government secrets (Chertoff, 2017, p. 31). It has become such an effective tool that the service SecureDrop was explicitly developed as a whistleblower submission system on the Tor network. As a service, it aims to limit metadata trails in communication between journalists and sources. The Freedom of the Press Foundation manages SecureDrop, and news agencies worldwide use it to protect their sources (SecureDrop, n.d.).

Furthermore, there are sites or forums for discussions on politics or networks like the Youth Liberation Front (YLF) made for younger people worldwide to have a place to talk and have their voices heard on LGBT+ issues, bullies and gender roles. The provided anonymity helped them be open, without fear or judgement and being tracked (Gehl, 2018, p. 221). Hidden Answers is similar anonymous site like where users can ask questions about anything or have discussions without censorship (Schurer, 2020).

### 2.1.3 Tor browser

Anonymity is what makes up the core value for content and users of the Dark Web. The most prominent, or perhaps well-known of these Dark Web services is the Tor browser. The main goal for Tor is for everyone to have private access to an uncensored version of the Internet, committed to the privacy and freedom of its users. Tor is today serviced by The Tor Project non-profit organisation, although they do not own the Tor network, they continue to operate it as a tool for others to use. Its origins go back to the United States Navy as an anti-surveillance tool (Tor Project, n.d.-a). Originally intended as a tool for providing anonymity to U.S. military personnel serving abroad, it was later released to the public to generate more users, thus providing a higher degree of anonymity to the military users (Chertoff, 2017, p. 27).

The Tor browser functions much like a regular Internet browser; you download it and connect. However, once you connect and try to access a website, the different protocols and security layers are engaged to secure anonymity for the user. Tor utilises what is called onion routing. The central idea behind this is that instead of a user connecting directly to a website, the user instead connects to that website through a series of randomised nodes run on

volunteers computers that make up the network before ending up on the wanted website (De-Oliveira-Sarda, 2020, p. 57). Like an onion, the nodes work as different layers of protecting the IP address of the user.

By routing through different nodes before entering a website, the user's IP address is masked, making it harder to track it. Some hidden services also require passwords and other security measures (Chertoff, 2017, p. 27). Many claims that downloading the Tor browser and using it to browse the different hidden services provides anonymity. However, it is not entirely true that it provides complete anonymity by just using the browser alone. Government agencies like the NSA and FBI can de-anonymise and track IP addresses and, in that way, the users behind them. The specific techniques have not been disclosed and remain classified (Taylor, 2019). However, utilising extra tools such as virtual private networks (VPN[6]) ensures a higher degree of security for those that wish to keep their browsing private. Being caught is a matter of user-generated mistakes and improper use of the tools available. Law enforcement has the power to track down users. However, layers of protection and a challenging environment of secrecy and adaptive users makes it more difficult than on the Surface Web (Taylor, 2019).

The Tor browser gives the user access to the same websites that most normally have access to, but it also opens up to access the hidden services that you cannot gain access to otherwise. However, it is not always that easy to get what you want out of the Dark Web. It requires some know-how to access different sites. There is no universal search engine like Google that lets you search and go. A lot of websites are accessed on a know-how basis or through other sites.

The past sections have covered the basics of the Dark Web. After establishing an understanding of the Dark Webs uses and technology, the focus change towards documentary film in the upcoming section. The section will focus on defining documentary film and what distinguishes it from other types of film.

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[6] An encrypted connection over the Internet from a device to a network, ensuring that sensitive data is transmitted safely and prevent unauthorized eavesdropping (Cisco, n.d.).

## 2.2 Documentary/Nonfiction film

In the book *A Dictionary of Film Studies*, Annette Kuhn and Guy Westwell define documentary in the following way:

> "A practice of filmmaking that deals with actual and factual (and usually contemporary) issues, institutions and people; whose purpose is to educate, inform, communicate, persuade, rise consciousness or satisfy curiosity; in which the viewer is commonly addressed as citizen of a public sphere; whose materials are selected and arranged from what already exists (rather than being made up; and whose methods involve filming 'real people' as themselves in actual locations, using natural light and ambient sound" (Kuhn & Westwell, 2012).

This definition constructs an understanding of what distinguishes documentary film from other types of film. The key concept relies on capturing and communicating something that deals with real people and issues through content that, to a higher degree, is more tangible than what a feature film produces.

In the 1930s, John Grierson defined documentary film as a "creative treatment of actuality". With this definition, Grierson attempted to distinguish documentary films from information film. He saw the need for dramatization when representing social issues. This also concludes that not all nonfiction film are documentaries because documentaries require some element of dramatization and creativity (Plantinga, 2015, p. 12).

Although this is an early definition, Plantinga credits Grierson's so-called first principles to be highly influential because of how they draw out the function of the documentary. He set the boundaries for what a documentary film is supposed to be for many viewers, critics, and filmmakers through the description of these functions. Firstly, it cannot be simply instructional in its form; there must be some dramatic element in order to best constitute a shared pattern of thought and feelings from its viewers. Secondly, Grierson believed that documentary films function best as a tool for propaganda; it needs to have a social purpose, where it can be education and enabling a better understanding of hierarchy and the nature of society (Plantinga, 2015, pp. 26-27).

Another term used for this type of film is nonfiction. Nonfiction describes a wide variety of films where the only clear defining limit is that the film is not fiction. Like documentary film,

it deals with reality and actual people rather than presenting fiction. The use of the nonfiction name is, however, not always straightforward. Ann-Louise Shapiro states in her conversation with Jill Godmilow that it is a tainted terminology because it implies a concept of something not being something else, in this regard, since it is not fiction, it must be true. Since it must be true, it removes certain techniques in documentary filmmaking. Techniques such as re-enactment, speculations and creative freedoms are creative treatments that a documentary film could make use of, but in a purist form it would not be accepted, because it is not real enough (Godmilow & Shapiro, 1997, pp. 81-82).

Bill Nichols argues that "documentary is not a reproduction of reality, but a representation of the world we already occupy" (Nichols, 2001, p. 20). This is because the documentary film stands for a specific point of view of the world. Viewers also tend to judge reproductions and representation differently. While a reproduction is judged based on its accuracy to what it portrays, a representation is judged on the pleasure, valuable insights and knowledge, quality of orientation or disposition, or the tone and perspectives that it provides. In this sense, we ask more of a representation than reproduction (Nichols, 2001, pp. 20-21).

Nichols goes on to present four different angles that shape documentaries. The first is the institutional framework, which is grounded in the notion that a documentary is labelled as such before the viewer or critic has access to it (Nichols, 2001, p. 22)  Secondly is the community of practitioners, meaning those who make documentary films that have a sense of common purpose on what they do. This view can be different from those of the institutional framework, but those funding and promoting a film, has the power to influence its definition (Nichols, 2001, p. 25).

Thirdly is what he calls "corpus of text", or genre, which relies on shared commonalities that place them into genres and make up the documentary. It is the shared characteristics, norms and conventions that distinguishes the work and makes it become what it is. The genre is characterized by norms such as editing, voiceovers and stance (Nichols, 2001, p. 26). At last, there is the constituency of the viewer, their expectations and assumptions are based on previous experiences from watching a type of film or life. Their experience and understanding the work influence whether it will be perceived as a documentary or something else (Nichols, 2001, p. 35).

Since the first principles of documentary film were defined by John Grierson, others have further developed the idea of the function of the documentary film. Michael Renov puts forward four tendencies or functions of nonfiction film in his text "Towards a Poetics of Documentary". (1) the first function is to record, reveal or preserve, (2) to persuade or promote (3) to analyse or interrogate (4) to express. These functions are further described as modalities of desire, impulsions that fuel the documentary discourse. These functions are, however, not exclusive. Certain functions might be more attractive to the filmmaker than others. A good nonfiction film does not necessarily have the perfect balance of these functions. They render the creative and rhetorical possibilities presented in documentary films (Renov, 1993, pp. 21-22).

These different definitions highlight what it is that makes a film become a documentary or nonfiction. Grierson's version emphasises that there must be a dramatization or creative treatment involved. Furthermore, Ann-Louise Shapiro explains that there is a misconception that nonfiction has to be void of these elements. The shared commonality lies in that they all state that there must be a clear presence of reality and actual people involved. Another notion that is put forward through these definitions is that there needs to be a function to the films.

Based on the idea that a documentary film needs to have a function, Renov details four different functions and its varieties that a documentary can have. When put together in different varieties, shapes and forms, a documentary's rhetorical project is constructed. Its aim is to do something for someone, to persuade or promote a standpoint or action; this gives the documentary a purpose.

After defining documentary film and some of the key concepts, the upcoming section will look briefly at journalism and the connection that it has to documentary film.

## 2.3 Journalism

In the essay *Journalism plus?: The resurgence of creative documentary,* Annie Goldson argues that mainstream news and current affairs have become more and more tabloid. A result of this is that could be that documentary films take on a larger role in carrying out investigative journalistic work. Because broadcast television has seen an influx of reality-based content, documentary films are becoming more independent and reemerging on alternative platforms, like cinemas or online (Goldson, 2015, p. 96). Another side to this comes from the notion that documentary filmmakers work with longer perspectives, and

therefore, can go deeper into the matter that they are working on (Goldson, 2015, p. 89). When documentary filmmakers cover current affairs, they cross into the domain of more traditional journalistic work.

According to Mark Bailen, a journalist's purpose lies in the primary intent to investigate and disseminate material that is to the public's interest (Brown, 2014). This has earlier been coined to those who work as journalists as their primary occupation or who associate as journalists. With a changing media landscape, due to the influence of the Internet and new platforms for communicating, the definition of a journalist has moved towards intent and qualifications, rather than a title reserved for those working for more traditional gatekeeping organisations (Brown, 2014).

When studying perceived ethical conflicts in U.S. documentary filmmaking, Patricia Aufderheide, found that filmmakers to a large extent work without the established and formulated ethic codes that journalists have through their organisations. However, interviews with documentary filmmakers revealed that they still see themselves important to telling truths that served the public's interest, and that they believed in maintaining high standards of integrity to their subjects, viewers and makers (Aufderheide, 2012, p. 382).

Through the evolution of documentary film, the lines between the documentary and journalistic work have become blurred. A result of this is the term Journalism Plus, which was coined by documentary filmmaker Laura Poitras. It describes the interconnectivity between these two fields, where you do journalistic work through fact-finding while using storytelling that reveals something about the human condition (White, 2015). Poitras, who worked on the documentary *Citizenfour* (2014) about Edward Snowden and the disclose of global surveillance programs, was adamant about her journalistic obligation of protecting her source while documenting the events during this case (Das, 2015).

## 2.4  Rhetoric

This section will cover the rhetorical framework for my analysis of the documentary films. In support of the rhetorical theories, interviews and style is described. In the context of documentary film, they can be seen as rhetorical devices to shape the rhetorical project.

In his text, *The Question of Evidence*, Bill Nichols looks at images as evidence and the power that they hold as a rhetorical tool for documentary films. Based on Roland Barthes

essay *Rhetoric of the Image* (1964)*,* Nichols argues that rhetoric or persuasive speech lacks a moral compass and that it leads the audience towards ideology rather than knowledge (Nichols, 2015, p. 35). The power of rhetoric ultimately lies in its ability to direct the audience by establishing credible, compelling, and convincing cases reduced to the power in putting ideology into practice. This means that rhetoric can be deceptive. But it is an essential and elementary tool that we have to project influence to others (Nichols, 2015, p. 36).

On the other hand, the rhetoric of the image is conflicted in a power struggle, in which the meaning and effect cannot be determined in advance as simply ideological. The rhetoric of the image, film, or spoken words, gives an opportunity for those who use it to enter discourse with others (Nichols, 2015, p. 36).

When discussing images as evidence, Plantinga puts forward that photographic evidence is problematic because we generally want indisputable proof to settle a claim or implication when we ask for evidence. Images do not provide this kind of proof on their own, but images may hold more substantial evidence than verbal notions or an artist rendition of a scene. Images are, however, still vulnerable to the same obstacles as spoken truths because they are open for misrepresentation and interpretations that complicate and dilute evidence (Plantinga, 2015, p. 64).

Photographers and filmmakers hold great power in how an image represents the real world, how they chose to frame it, or what they chose to show of the event being recorded constructs the connotations that it may hold. Even when there exists an indexical bond between what you see on camera and what's happening in the scene as a whole, it is necessary to have some scepticism about what is shown and proved. A film's project and implications rely on the use of images in relation to the context, credibility of its sources and the final evaluation of the film's rhetorical project (Plantinga, 2015, p. 64).

According to *Aristotele's Rhetoric* there are three means of persuasion: ethos, pathos, and logos. These are different strategies or techniques used to influence and persuade the audience of your appeal (Craig, 2017; Rapp, 2010).

Ethos refers to the speaker's character and is achieved if the speaker appears credible to the audience. Some of the ways that this can be achieved is if the speaker appears to have a lot of experience when dealing with the issues being described, or if the speaker stands as a with

high regard in society. For example, a celebrity can use their fame to sell a product or an idea because people may want to be like them (Craig, 2017; Rapp, 2010) .

Pathos, otherwise called emotional appeal, targets the emotional disposition of the receiver. When targeting emotions, the speaker can alter the receiver's judgement because emotions make you more vulnerable to influence (Rapp, 2010).

Logos targets the receiver's logic. This is done by communicating facts, statistics, or logical evidence by setting up clear arguments and action from observable effects. If the speakers reasoning of the argument is good, then it may be worth considering (Craig, 2017).

Interviews in documentary film hold an advantageous position because it offers evidence through being able to see and hear the interview subject. This gives the audience information about the spatial context and the interviewed person, such as facial expressions or tone of voice. These elements and the testimonies given by interview subjects build credibility because the audience can judge the person based on what they see and hear (Plantinga, 2015, pp. 69-70). The selection of persons for the interviews reveals much about the rhetorical project of the film. This selection is often related to questions of objectivity, balance, fairness, and bias. A perfect balance and objectivity are challenging to achieve, but whom the filmmaker chose for interviews and what is used from the interviews change the reliability and bias of the project (Plantinga, 2015, p. 88).

Interviews are an invaluable resource for the nonfiction artist, and in their presentation lies one of the great strengths of nonfiction film and video. We not only benefit from what is said but from the visual and aural information available in how it is said. For the filmmaker working in the formal style, the question becomes how to fit the interviews into the rhetorical project of the film. Every interview has its own unique perspective. If the filmmaker wishes to present a certain rhetorical point, weaving the different perspectives into the discursive project is essential (Plantinga, 2015, p. 162).

Bill Nichols explains two reasons why interviews in documentaries may be problematic. The first one lies in that if all interviews agree with each other, creating a superficial sense of truth. The viewers may also conclude that the filmmaker has only interviewed people who share the same sentiment, which may lead to questions regarding the accuracy and truthfulness of the film. The second problem is that the film's perspective may be lost in the interviews and that the viewers can misunderstand the function of the interviews (Plantinga,

2015, p. 162). This can happen because the interviews are left as isolated interviews and not weaved into the structure or rhetoric of the film. Or that one interview is so long or extensive that it becomes the centrepiece, without structuring the documentary as a portrait (Plantinga, 2015, pp. 163-164).

Style in documentary film is different from that of fiction. Style in fiction mainly comes from the director's translation of the story from a textual format or play that communicates a defined imaginary world. In a documentary, the style results from the director's perspective of the historical world and their involvement with the film's subject (Nichols, 2001, pp. 43-44).

Through the use of patterns of applied techniques, a film gains its style. Techniques here refers to editing, camera movement, lighting and sound that make up the composition of the film. Style communicates information, but it is also a way of engaging the audience emotionally and perceptually (Plantinga, 2015, p. 147).

Plantinga presents two main styles: formal and open style. These align with the types of voice, and reflect the characteristics through applying patterns of techniques, which results in style. Style in the formal voice supports the rhetorical project of the film by communicating information, creating perspectives, and activating the perceptual and emotional effects that the filmmaker wants. Style is rarely used as a tool on its own but as a supporting function to the film's discourse. The filmmaker may use stylistic elements to create a distinct look, but they remain flourishes in a discourse otherwise marked by a consistent, communicative function. The formal styles ultimate goal is clear communication and discursive coherence (Plantinga, 2015, p. 147)

The open style is a lot vaguer in its communication and is less likely to direct the viewers towards planned interpretations (Plantinga, 2015, p. 153). Plantinga argues that the open style is not a style of its own, but rather a style that is relative to the formal. As Plantinga explains this, in an extreme case, the open style would be void of any discursive comment or explanation, and instead be completely observational. However, since any technique or style in nonfiction needs to contribute to the perspective of the film, this is impossible (Plantinga, 2015, p. 147). Because the open style is so ambiguous it can align itself to both the open and poetic voice. The freedoms that are associated with the open style, is what makes it stand out from the formal style and voice.

Rhetoric stands as an essential tool for filmmakers. It gives them the ability to persuade and influence the audience through spoken word, images, and film. An important note lies in the use of images as evidence. Filmmakers have great power in how they portray the real world. It is, therefore, crucial to have some scepticism about what you see in any film.

Furthermore, interviews and style are shown to be a great support to the rhetorical project of a film. Interviews function as a way of communicating and constructing evidence, and the proper use of interview subjects can significantly support the rhetorical project by adding credibility to the project. Meanwhile, style is used to enhance the impression and perception of the presented arguments and film. After detailing the rhetorical framework for this thesis, the following section will look closer at voice.

### 2.4.1 Voice

Spoken word is essential in documentary film. However, when documentaries speak about the projected world on screen, it is done with all the available techniques, such as utilising images and sound together or with images alone in silent films. This culmination of techniques is the voice of the documentary film. In this context, voice is referred to as how the documentary film speaks to its audience (Nichols, 2001, p. 42). Not only through voice-overs and narration, but this also happens through the body of the film because of editing, juxtapositions, music, lighting and composition, dialogue, commentary, or silence, images and words (Plantinga, 2015, p. 37).

The voice in a documentary film can present an argument or a specific point of view. In many ways, documentaries try to convince or persuade the viewers through the effectiveness of the voice (Nichols, 2001, p. 43). The voice that an image of a film speaks is capable of countless different effects. Some may be ideological but necessarily in a way that enhances the status quo. It can just as easily put forward counter-ideologies to undermine the status quo. Films and their makers set out to move us, to create a reaction. The reactions can both contest an ideology and confirm it (Nichols, 2001, p. 38).

To look further into voice, Plantinga uses three main types: formal, open and poetic. The primary function of these is to assert the presence and lack of authority in the narrative of nonfiction (Plantinga, 2015, p. 106). These voices are not exclusive by any means, but they are presented more as a heuristic device to showcase some of the clearest voices that we may

observe, and it is essential to note here that films may have other functions and qualities as well.

The formal voice maintains a high degree of *epistemic authority*, which refers to the clarity of its communication. It does this through three main techniques. Firstly, it works together with textual elements to explain certain elements of the actual world. Secondly, the formal voice acts in a classical form by having the aesthetical characteristics of harmony, unity, and restraint. These characteristics are projected through both the structure of the film and its technique. Lastly, the formal voice uses what Noël Carroll calls an *erotetic narrative*. This type of narrative structure reflects on processes of practical reasoning by bringing forward questions that are answered through the subsequent scenes. This is done through two clear actions: Present clear questions or relevant and coherent questions or answer the presented questions (Plantinga, 2015, pp. 106-107). Nichols uses the term "voice-of-God" to describe this type of voice because it is so clear and direct in its authority, pointing out the explicit argument or point of view for the viewers (Nichols, 2001, p. 47).

The open voice is different from the formal voice in that it does not claim any definitive authority. Instead, Plantinga refers to it as *epistemically hesitant*. Where the formal voice presents clear questions and answers, the open voice is restrained in its approach. It does not claim knowledge in the sense that formal voice does. In most cases, it does not present clear overarching questions, and in the case that such a question is made, it is hesitant and ambiguous in its answer. Furthermore, this voice is observative and explorative, instead of using narrational remarks and claiming knowledge, such as the formal voice (Plantinga, 2015, pp. 107-108).

Lastly, the poetic voice is almost purely concentrated towards nonfiction film as art or as representation, coined *epistemic aestheticism*. This type of nonfiction is seen in poetic documentaries, avant-garde films, metadocumentaries and parodies (Plantinga, 2015, p. 109).

These voices are not defined by their asserted stance of the projected world. Instead, they play on different methods and techniques to propose their project through discourse in the actual world. Be it through establishing definitive questions and answers, ambiguity, or beauty.

The voice in documentary film conveys that of the filmmaker that takes a position to convince us of his project. Rhetoric sets the foundations for this way of speaking. Rhetoric encompasses functions such as reason narrative, evocation, and poetry for the purpose of

inspiring and/or convincing the audience about a position or issue. There are five divisions from classic rhetorics that can be transferred into documentary film: Invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery (Nichols, 2001, p. 49).

Invention is the establishment of "proofs" that supports a position or argument. In the context of rhetorics, proofs are not what can be defined as scientific or empirical evidence. Rather, proofs here are references to established truths, established through social rules and conventions, and not scientific method (Nichols, 2001, pp. 49-50).

Aristotle presents two types of evidence or proofs, Inartistic proofs, which references the facts of a presented argument, and artistic proof that is targeted towards the audience's feelings. Inartistic proofs are facts or evidence such as witnesses, documents, physical evidence, or DNA, as a few examples. Evidence that the filmmaker cannot create, but that they can evaluate and interpret. Artistic proof is the result of the filmmaker's resourcefulness. It is not something that already exists, but that the filmmaker can produce through techniques in filmmaking. The artistic proof can furthermore be divided into three types of strategies. Ethical generates the impression of morally good characters or credibility. Emotional which plays on the audience emotions to produce the desired outcome; establishing moods or state of mind for the wanted point of view. Lastly, the demonstrative uses reasoning or demonstration to forge the impression of proof (Nichols, 2001, p. 50).

Arrangement refers to the syntax in the rhetorical project. A basic arrangement is the problem/solution syntax. However, there are other ways that a filmmaker can arrange its rhetorical project. An opening that draws the viewer's attention, laying out the established proofs in the problem, a concrete argument for a point of view, proving that the other point of view is wrong, and finally summarising the problem that leads the viewer towards the wanted course of action (Nichols, 2001, pp. 56-57).

Style is the use of techniques such as camera movement, lighting, editing, and music that generates the wanted tone or characteristics of the project (Nichols, 2001, p. 57). The style in documentary films comes from the director's translation of his or her perspective of the historical world to visual terms and the directors' involvement with the film's subject (Nichols, 2001, p. 44). Ultimately, the film's style is a build-up of a pattern using different techniques that together project the world and model reality. Style conveys information, but it also has the function of affecting the viewer's emotions and senses (Plantinga, 2015, p. 147).

Memory in film can happen in two different ways: The first is where the film creates visible representations of what transpired, targeting memory, and potentially contributing to the creation of popular memory by establishing a common understanding and sense about how something happened (Nichols, 2001, pp. 58-60). Popular memory refers to what people generally believe happened, as opposed to what historians establish as what actually happened (Cohen, 2014). The second way is that the viewer draws on past experiences to interpret what they see on the screen—remembering details from the introduction of a specific aspect to make connections to the results (Nichols, 2001, pp. 58-60).

Lastly, delivery, seen initially as a way of delivering a perspective or argument effectively. Some key concepts of delivery are eloquence and decorum. Eloquence refers to the clarity of the argument and the effectiveness of the emotional appeal. At the same time, decorum is the effectiveness of a particular argumentative strategy or use of voice for the specific setting or audience (Nichols, 2001, p. 60).

These five divisions of rhetorics function as guidance to the strategies that filmmakers can apply to their projects. It is a specific orientation to the historical world that gives a documentary film a voice of its own (Nichols, 2001, p. 60).

Voice is the combined effort of the techniques that form the way a film speaks to its audience. Furthermore, Plantinga defines three types of voice that each has its own set of characteristics and uses: Formal, open, and poetic voice. To understand these types of voices, one can look at the five divisions from rhetoric that form how the voice communicates its project.

## 2.5 Music

Michael Pickering and Emily Knightly have through their empirical research on photography and music as facilitators for memory, established that along with photography, recorded music stands as the two most noteworthy technologies for remembering and functioning as mnemonic devices in memory studies, helping people to activate memories and activating associations to the music (Pickering & Keightley, 2015, p. 1). Music provides no factual information compared to that of an image, nor does it produce propositions or conceptual information about the projected world in the way that voice-overs do. However, music provides an experiential and emotional character to the viewer's experience. In that way, it supports the preferred interpretation of the film (Plantinga, 2015, p. 166)

The primary function of music is to evoke emotion, placing the viewer into what is referred to as the experiential envelope of the film. As an example, *The Battle of Midway* (1942) uses familiar songs to evoke pride in the country and armed forces (Plantinga, 2015, p. 166). The experiential envelope is built up by created moods, which the musical score contributes significantly to the mood of the film and the audience. It places the viewer in the right mental place to interpret the events on the screen (Plantinga, 2015, p. 166). Music ultimately functions as a unifying element for the film, helping develop the projected world and contributing to the rhetorical position (Plantinga, 2015, p. 168).

Music has the ability to give direction for our emotions and intellectual understanding of the film. It does this in various ways by association to historical eras, environments, or geographical places. This creates an atmosphere of time and space for the audience. Further, it also can portray a character's thoughts and psychological state of mind. Music may also enhance the dramaturgical elements by playing on suspense and order of scenes (Helseth, 1997, pp. 15-16)

Music holds unique power by playing on our emotions and its ability to create and fortify moods. In the way, that classical or baroque music may bring us back in time or place us into a concert hall or church. Electronic music portrays that of modernity, and metal music, aggression. Its associative ability can create whole universes and contexts of its own. An example here is the music of Ennio Morricone, music that was produced for Italian-made western movies, mostly filmed in Spain. Nevertheless, when we hear this music, it brings us to the wild west, the land of cowboys and outlaws. It has become the music of this time and place and creates an atmosphere that is unique to this in an instant.

Music serves as a supporting element in film through its primary function to evoke emotion and leading the audience into the correct mood to interpret the film. It does this by enhancing the dramaturgical elements and guiding our understanding through playing on its associative nature and memory.

# 3  Research design

For this thesis, I decided to do a comparative study of the documentary films *Inside the Dark Web* and *Down the Deep, Dark Web.* The goal to look closer at how the Dark Web is portrayed in documentary film. To see how this is done, I have applied a method of studying

different elements that are used to shape the rhetorical project and communicate to its audience.

One of the reasons why I chose to work with these documentaries is that they are different types of productions. Inside *the Dark Web* is a TV production by the BBC and is part of a series of documentaries, while *Down the Deep, Dark Web* is an independent production by the companies Zygote Films and Upian.

Another reason why I chose to work with these two documentaries is that there are limited amount documentaries about the Dark Web. While doing my research, I found that most documentaries about the Dark Web were smaller-scale productions, both in terms of apparent budget and runtime, published on different online video platforms or through news websites. It was beyond the scope of my analysis to include more material, therefore, I decided to limit myself to these two documentaries.

The research design for this thesis consists of three main parts. In the first part, I summarise the documentaries to give an overview of the films and to establish the basis for the analysis. Following the summary, I analyse two different perspectives: interview choices and focus areas. Interview choices map out who the interview subjects are and what roles they play in the documentary film. Focus areas seek to establish the key concepts and themes of the documentary film.

The second part is the primary analysis of the documentaries. Here I look closer at what the rhetorical project of the documentary films is. This is done through analysing the rhetoric, interview subjects and voice in the documentary films. Furthermore, I use the five canons of rhetoric, invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. Lastly, I analyse the music of the documentary films before I discuss these elements and bring them together in a discussion to see how they are used to form the rhetorical project to answer my research questions.

I carry out this process for each of the documentary films *Down the Deep, Dark Web*, and *Inside the Dark Web* separated. In the last part, I bring them together in a discussion to see what the similarities and differences are.

To maintain traceability through my analysis and discussion, I use timecodes as a reference to the documentary films. They are presented in square brackets with minutes and seconds in the following way [MM:SS].

## *4  Inside the Dark Web*

*Inside the Dark Web* is a documentary film produced for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) documentary series Horizon. The Horizon series on the air since 1964 with a mission statement to communicate science (BBC, 2004). *Inside the Dark Web* aired in September 2014 and is directed by Mike Radford (IMDb, n.d.-b).

The runtime of the documentary is one hour and aired as episode 4 of the 51st season for Horizon (IMDb, n.d.-b). Because of limitations for BBC content in Norway, I had to find alternative sources to view the documentary. I managed to find it on Dailymotion, where someone had uploaded it (canal tofu, 2014).

The documentary film is narrated by Amanda Drew, who brings the audience along to take a closer look at how surveillance has infringed upon people's privacy and to meet the people fighting back with the use of cryptography and technology through the Dark Web.

## 4.1  Summarising *Inside the Dark Web*

The documentary starts with introducing the Internet of Things[7] (IoT) by showing a modern house that is integrated with technology that does everything from closing and opening the blinds and locks the house as you leave for work [02:20]. This short introduction concludes that this house represents the new normal where everything we do is recorded and stored as data. This is used as a pathway into the next segment, which shows us an old telegraph station that is used to contrast the new technology of the Internet [04:47].

Subsequently, the audience is taken to Cornwall, England, where the old telegraph cables used to come ashore and is now the place where the fibreoptic cables that carry around 25% of the Internet's traffic come ashore from the Atlantic [05:46].

It is then revealed that this is also the location of GCHQ Bude[8]. A listening station that has been used as surveillance of the data that travel through the cables [06:01]. The narrator then explains that we only know this because of documents released by whistleblower Edward

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[7] An umbrella term for anything connected to the Internet and that communicates with other devices, such as smart refrigerator, wearable electronics, security cameras, or cars (Christensson, 2015).

[8] Government Communications Headquarters in Bude, United Kingdom. An intelligence organization within the U.K. Government focused on signal intelligence and information security (Mustad, 2020).

Snowden. Moreover, that this revelation has changed the way that many thinks about privacy and the Internet.

Following this, the inventor of the world wide web, Sir Tim Berners-Lee, explains some of the implications of this type of mass surveillance and why it is important to learn more about what is happening and rethink the way we use the Internet [09:23]. This is followed up by a change of scene where we meet Julia Angwin, a journalist and technology researcher in New York, who talks further about the surveillance going on and how governments use data for surveillance and businesses as marketing tools [11:04]. Angwin then exemplifies how the technology in our phones allows companies and government agencies to pinpoint people's location through Wi-Fi signals more accurately than GPS.

Further examples are explained and show how all the data that our apps and mobile devices collect can be used to decide who may be prioritised for heart transplants, drawing out scenarios where governments and companies have unreasonable power over individuals.

This then leads to a segment about how this future may be challenged, starting with introducing Dr David Chaum, who in the early 1980s predicted some of these trends [18:38]. He developed ideas of how to disguise patterns in e-mail communication through cryptography.

As a continuation of this notion, a segment about Paul Syverson and his colleagues at the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory, who developed the concept of onion routing based on David Chaum's ideas [24:14], this research ultimately resulted in the Tor Network. This is followed up by Jacob Appelbaum, a Computer security researcher advocating for the Tor Network [28:46]. He explains how Tor operates and that it secures privacy and anonymity for the users.

As an example, the importance of Tor in the Middle East is shown [29:57]. It was a vital tool for dissidents to communicate during the Arab Spring. Further explanations show how activists and ordinary people use it in countries like China and Iran, where the Internet is restricted. Following this, the narrator explains that Tor wasn't only used by those in oppressive regimes but as a tool for whistleblowing through Wikileaks [32:29]. The founder of Wikileaks, Julian Assange, then explains how Tor was instrumental in gaining access to documents, revealing what governments were doing behind the façade, and how governments reacted threatening towards activists using the Tor network.

The next segment goes into the appearance of Dark Web markets, focused on the Silk Road [38:07]. An interview with a police officer starts this off, explaining how they became aware of this market. This segment then shows how the Silk Road functioned and how the Dark Web and digital currency like Bitcoin make it very difficult to shut down these types of markets.

This moves into an interview with Troels Oerting, Head of European Cybercrime Centre. He talks about the difficulties in fighting cybercrime with the emergence of this type of technology and how it ultimately facilitates risk-free crime [48:00]. Jacob Appelbaum comments on this through the idea that this crime-based narrative about the Dark Web is overused. The Internet culture reflects human society, and that criminal behaviour is part of that [49:28].

This is followed by an interview with Eugene Kaspersky, CEO of Kaspersky Lab, an Internet Security Company. He has a conflicting idea of how the Internet should be regulated, believing that privacy is a thing of the past [50:05]. The focus of this idea is an Internet passport, an ID that has to be used when conducting certain tasks on the Internet. Subsequently, a segment that focuses on applying cryptography and security to the regular Internet is a thing that should be done, but that it is challenging to execute because it is not very user-friendly [52:44].

As the documentary ends, it is concluded with calls for privacy, urging people to be more protective of their privacy and use the tools to protect themselves and others.

## 4.2  Analysis of *Inside the Dark Web*

### 4.2.1  Interview choices

In *Inside the Dark Web*, there are 15 different interview subjects. Some interview subjects stand out in the documentary because through their contributions to the Internet, they have become well-known and important characters in Internet culture. As the founder of the world wide web, Sir Tim Berners-Lee is one of these [09:23]. He laid out the foundations for the Internet that so many uses daily. This is an explicit attribute to his credibility as an interview subject in this context. Furthermore, Dr David Chaum laid out the ideas behind the technology that the Tor Network is built on [18:38]. Then there is Paul Syverson, who, together with his team, took the ideas of Chaum and created onion routing and the Tor Network [24:14]. Then there is Julian Assange, founder of Wikileaks, which is perhaps the

most famous platform for whistleblowing, and that is made possible from premises laid out by the Dark Web.

The other interview subjects may not stand out based on fame. However, this does not mean that they do not contribute as much to the documentary's credibility. They are all presented with apparent affiliations to the domain they talk about and communicate their perspectives precisely and efficiently.

However, even though the interview subjects are well chosen, they appear somewhat unbalanced because of the under-representation from opposing viewpoints. With a focus on surveillance and privacy, only two directly talk about the challenges with, and reasoning for being opposed to services like Tor. Jon Iadonisi and Troels Oerting. Iadonisi talks about the operation to take down the Silk Road market and some of the challenges they faced, although brief. And then Oerting, Head of the European Cybercrime Centre, talks about the premises that the Dark Web and Bitcoin has created for illegal markets and other criminal activity on the Internet.

Most interviewees either communicate technical aspects of the different segments or argue for the need for privacy. There is little opposition to the idea of privacy, and in the cases where it is spoken of the challenges related to privacy, they are given little screen time. Iadonisi and Oerting represent positions opposed to the Dark Web; however, they communicate challenges and fact-based information.

### 4.2.2  Focus areas

The broad focus area and theme for this documentary lies in surveillance and the infringement upon people's privacy. To support this overarching narrative, there are three main segments: One that looks at the technology, one that looks at affordances and possibilities, and lastly, one that tries to look closer at the question of privacy.

The first focus areas take a closer look at the technology that enables surveillance. This starts with an introduction to the Internet of things. It is used as an example of how the technology in everyday items generates data that allows for tracking the patterns of life of individuals down to how you move through your own house. Subsequently, this moves on to the fibreoptic cables that the Edward Snowden leaks revealed, to be tapped by the GCHQ Bude. Ultimately, it was weaknesses in the technology that enables this mass collection to happen.

The following example is presented by Julia Angwin, who explains how cell phones can be tracked through Wi-Fi signals more accurately than through GPS.

The next focus is on the emergence of the Tor Network. Here the affordances and possibilities that the technology provides are presented. Starting out with the evolution of the Tor Network, the documentary explores the basis and early ideas from Dr Chaum before moving on to the development of the technology by Syverson and his team. This is continued with examples of how the technology is used. Drawing on examples from the Arab Spring through an activist in Syria, before looking at The Silk Road and Bitcoin.

Towards the end, the focus area shifts towards privacy questions if we can allow people to keep their privacy at the cost of facilitating almost risk-free crime. While others work to maintain privacy, the CEO of Kaspersky Lab, Eugene Kaspersky, states that he believes privacy on the Internet is over and that we should look for other solutions instead. Sir Tim Berners-Lee confronts this idea and instead urges technological advances to protect privacy. Subsequently, there is a segment where cryptographers at the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN)[9] are updating safety protocols for the domain name structure of the Internet.

### 4.2.3 Rhetoric

The documentary *Inside the Dark Web* has a very distinctive formal style that is apparent in how it presents the Dark Web and concepts surrounding the privacy issues that it focuses on. The filmmakers use dark stylistic elements such as limited and muted lighting, distorted transitions, and coloured filters on archived footage and images that support the ominous, mystical, and darker nature of the themes in the documentary film. Which in turn, enhances the impressions from the presented scenarios. While these themes function well on their own by creating a particular look and expression, they also support the documentary film's rhetorical project by setting the mood and guiding the audience's feelings about the topic.

The film is used to shed light on the technologies that threatens our privacy and the technologies that try to fight back against the established rules and systems. The challenges

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[9] A non-profit organisation that helps coordinate assignment of numbers to the Domain Name System of the Internet at a technical and policy level.

against people's privacy are a crucial concept of the documentary because it sets the mood and theme of the film. This concept is reinforced by playing on the dark nature of technologies and scary elements to reflect the severity and seriousness of the situation.

There are apparent uses of rhetorical devices used to direct the audience and establish credible and compelling cases. This is done using ethos, which plays on the speaker's credibility, and pathos aims to appeal to the receiver's emotions. The primary goal when using these techniques is to influence and engage in constructing belief in the presented arguments.

The most evident use of ethos in this documentary is through well-known interview subjects with close links to the related topics. Tim Berners-Lee, David Chaum, Paul Syverson, Julian Assange, and Eugene Kaspersky, all persons who have gained somewhat of a celebrity status in the Internet world, either through their contributions to technology or ideas. Not only is their presence and subject matter expertise related to what they talk about and present, but their status fortifies their credibility greatly in their respective subjects and as part of the documentary.

Another example of ethos is Dr Joss Wright from the University of Oxford Internet Institute [04:47]. Even if he might not be as well-known as other interview subjects, he represents one of the most renowned research and education institutions in the world. It is one of the names that many people have some association with, and its prestige contributes to the value of the insights presented by Dr Joss Wright, which in turn adds to the credibility of his testimonies.

Pathos as a rhetorical device is used by presenting possible and real scenarios, as well as stylistic elements that play on fear and uncertainty. Through examples of mass surveillance and tracking technology as the main ingredients, the emotional appeal is apparent as a tool for grabbing the viewers' attention and conditioning their thoughts towards being more aware.

From the very beginning of the documentary, invasive technology [02:20] and the technology that allows for mass surveillance [04:47] is presented. These are effective tools because they directly touch on the uncomfortable truths presented by the technology that is becoming part of people's daily lives. This is a technique used by the filmmakers to grab the attention of the audience and engage them through setting the mood with a sinister ambience that plays on the uncomfortable truth of the technology and environment. The uncomfortable truth may in turn instil fear into the audience, making them think about if they are targeted by surveillance themselves.

This is a continuing ambience that is maintained through the documentary by depicting other forms of privacy invasion such as tracking on the Internet and mobile phones [11:26]. Dr David Chaum speaks on his early ideas and discovery of these threats. Afterwards, Paul Syverson presents the Tor network, which ultimately was developed to avoid tracking communication on the Internet.

Afterwards, the Tor network is presented as one of the tools fighting back against the increased surveillance taking place [28:56]. It is first communicated as a way of securing free speech and avoid tracking. Examples of this use are then shown through activists in Syria fighting against government prosecution and then with Wikileaks through Julian Assange. The Silk Road is also used to show what the Tor network enables. All this is done against the backdrop of privacy and securing free speech, but the examples shown are undoubtedly grey areas that target viewers' emotions.

With these examples in mind, the filmmakers target different emotions that could decide if the audience embrace or accept Tor as an option. One is compassion for those that cannot live their everyday lives without fear of prosecution. Then there is fear of a government committing war crimes and reaching their arms further, touching upon morally corrupt actions. And then there is the uncertainty of the legal aspects of the Dark Web, with the Silk Road being a marketplace for illegal and stolen goods.

These emotions are somewhat contradicting because they do not appear to sell a specific standpoint on the Dark Web or, more specifically, the Tor Network. However, the use of emotions is an effective rhetorical device for the documentary film. The documentary does not try to tell the audience that the Dark Web is the only way to fight back against invasions of privacy and challenges towards free speech. Instead, it presents it as one option, showing the technology's ingenuity and its flaws. In that way, it opens for the audience to make their own decisions from the information that is given.

### 4.2.4 Voice

The voice in *Inside the Dark Web* relies heavily on techniques that correspond with those of formal voice. The documentary film uses textual elements in a unified order to set up the narrative and explain the projected world. The different segments throughout the documentary contribute to constructing an understanding of the presented scenario where we live in a world where our privacy is infringed upon by technologies that enable surveillance. From

introducing the technologies that make this possible and explaining what this means for the audience, then presenting the Dark Web through the Tor network as a way of fighting back and challenging the current situation. By the end, it has presented the challenges and solutions for the audience to reflect on themselves.

At a lower level, this is done by presenting the situation, explaining the reasoning behind it or what allows it to happen, and then presenting a result or opportunity that then evolves into the next segment. One example of this is the Silk Road segment, it is introduced as a market for narcotics on the Dark Web. The market model is then explained with the escrow system that organises the transactions and the technology behind Bitcoin as the currency used. Then towards the end, the challenges that these systems create for law enforcement and lawmakers are then presented to close out the segment.

*Inside the Dark Web* also follows a classical form through harmonious aesthetics. The stylistic and visual elements are consistent throughout the documentary. It uses the same visual effects and arrangements that create a complete and finished look. There are no segments or scenes that deviate from the aesthetic elements. The overall harmonious aesthetic also shows restraint. Instead of giving in to artistic freedoms, the director has settled for a few elements that are applied consistently, such as the infographics that use the same font, colours, and graphical effects. An example of the infographics used can be viewed in Figure 7. The use of faceless individuals as a representation of anonymity and privacy are clearly artistic elements. However, it is done in a manner that is not overly dramatic. Instead, the faces are covered in basic white masks, showing restraint and simplicity. See Figure 6 for example.

The documentary follows an erotetic narrative structure. It presents clear questions that are answered in the following scenes. The questions are present at two levels, the over-arching question of privacy and surveillance that runs through the documentary and then more minor questions for the different segments. This reflects the process of practical reasoning by building knowledge through questions and answers.

The high degree of authority that the formal voice asserts is evident in this documentary. In many ways, it reflects the "voice-of-god" that Bill Nichols described. It does this by presenting clear questions and answers, but the narrator presents proofs and answers on its own, not only through interviews.

### 4.2.5 Invention

The documentary heavily relies on the use of inartistic proofs to support the different arguments. One way they do this is through interviews of people with first-hand accounts of different topics. Some specific examples of this are Sir Tim Berners-Lee as the inventor of the world wide web, Paul Syverson; one of the creators of onion routing, Julian Assange; the founder of Wikileaks and Steve Crocker from ICANN. These are all people who function as witnesses that support different arguments through the documentary.

Although inartistic proof is very apparent, the documentary also uses artistic proof. One example of this is when Dr Joss Wright uses light and mirrors to mimic how GCHQ Bude could tap into the fibreoptic cables coming ashore in Cornwall, Figure 1. This is a type of demonstrative proof because it demonstrates the techniques to forge the impression of proof for the viewers.

Another example is Julia Angwin, who explains how mobile phones can be tracked through Wi-Fi signals. As she explains it, she walks through a street in New York and shows all the different Wi-Fi hotspots that she can find on her phone, essentially claiming that just by pinging these hotspots, companies can track phones more accurately than through GPS signals. This is a combination of demonstrative and emotional proof. Demonstrative because she actively shows the different Wi-Fi signals on her phone as she explains the concept and emotional because she appeals to the audience with an example that could directly impact the audience's emotions and privacy. This can be viewed as a scare tactic that puts the audience into a state of mind that makes them more aware and hesitant towards Wi-Fi hotspots and the companies that can do this to urge people to act to protect their privacy.

### 4.2.6 Arrangement

*Inside the Dark Web* uses a traditional problem/solution syntax at the segment level. However, the overall narrative arrangement is not as black and white. It starts with an introduction that grabs the viewers' attention. Playing on emotions with real live examples that the audience might experience, such as detailed patterns of life data being collected through increased connectivity in people's homes and Wi-Fi connections in areas where they might move. It then presents the proofs of why this is happening and what enables it through examples from the fiberoptic cables coming into Cornwall and technology for marketing purposes present on websites.

It then draws on examples of technology that is made to protect people's privacy through Tor and Bitcoin. Finally, it summarises the challenges and views from both sides. It concludes that people's privacy is becoming more and more transparent and that everyone must make up their mind towards what the right course of action should be, whether to fight back or to let it go on.

With a focus on informing the audience, it presents cases and information to allow the audience to reflect on different issues through logical reasoning and the ethical dilemmas that are present with technology that protects people's privacy and enables illegal activity.

### 4.2.7  Style

The documentary uses clear stylistic elements to create the look of the film, utilising a fixed camera and dark pallets through most of the scenes. The dark style is apparent through interviews and graphics to support the documentary. The camera used is primarily based on fixed positions and panning to create movement in the scenes.

There are, however, a few cases where handheld cameras are used. One example of this is when Julia Angwin walks through the streets of a city, explaining how Wi-Fi signals are used to track and locate cell phones. Another example is when Paul Syverson is filmed at the pier outside the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory, and lastly, inside the bunker where ICANN is upgrading the encryption protocols for the domain name system of the Internet. The use of handheld cameras in these situations creates an organic look of movement. The restraint in using handheld cameras gives a harmonious outlook and consistency to the footage, supporting the formal voice by establishing a controlled environment.

Another example of these controlled environments is the fixed frames used for interviews. When speaking, interview subjects are framed with the bottom at shoulder height or upper body. This framing creates the subject to appear close to the screen and creates an illusion of personal communication, even without speaking directly to the camera, see Figure 4 for example. As if they are speaking to the audience and not the narrator, this personal element is an effective rhetorical tool to build credibility to the subjects.

The presence of the narrator also reinforces this. The narrator never speaks directly to the interview subjects; instead, she present questions and situations from the outside, ultimately functioning as a transitional element between the segments.

Overall, the documentary has a dark look, scenes with sunlight are limited, and most of the interviews conducted are sparsely lit, focusing on highlighting the subjects' faces. The dark look is also apparent through the different transitions used between segments. The filmmakers utilise a background with pitch-black darkness with screens of varied sizes and placement. These screens are primarily filled with black and white images or footage to contrast the black background. Examples of these transitions can be seen in Figure 2 and Figure 3.

One element that is used to symbolise anonymity is masked people. They first appear as a prop in the segment of Dr David Chaum. They are used to reinforce the ideas that one cannot be anonymous alone, only relative to others. These masked people are dressed in ordinary clothes, but their faces are hidden with a white rounded shape that hides their faces, Figure 6. These are again used to symbolise the Dark Web users. As part of the scenes with the masked people, the colours are matted out, amplifying the white and black colours, which is consistent with the transitional screens used in the documentary.

There is also used an onscreen effect of shaking and distortion in these scenes. The distortion effect creates associations to the digital as well as playing to the fact that anonymity is a way of distorting people's identity, altering reality.

### 4.2.8  Memory

Memory is activated using popular memory and past experiences from the documentary. A clear example of popular memory comes from the example of whistleblower Edward Snowden. The premise of this documentary lies in the mass surveillance happening, and as a result, ordinary people's privacy is threatened. Edward Snowden revealed and proved how this was happening on a massive scale to the public (Greenwald et al., 2013). Throughout the documentary, this revelation is used to establish truths and connect the technologies used for this activity.

The documentary uses sound clips of Edward Snowden talking about privacy and the need to continue to strive for privacy and advancements in technology. This clip is used towards the end of the documentary and enables the audience to draw on their experience and remember details from earlier in the documentary. Snowden's position, experiences, and views on what needs to be done to protect people's privacy dramatically contributes to his credibility.

Another example of memory use is the Arab Spring. With the Tor browser as the starting point, the Arab Spring and the Syrian activist Reem Al Assil explain how Tor ensured that people could escape prosecution and challenge oppressive regimes. The Arab Spring is an established historical event and was perhaps even more relevant in 2014 when this documentary came out. Such a current event effectively draws on memory and establishes truths and reason in a documentary film.

### 4.2.9 Delivery

The delivery in the documentary is the most apparent through the narrator, Amanda Drew. She leads the documentary forward and communicates consistently through applying eloquence and decorum. The audience's experience of the narrator is only in the form of voice-over narration, they never see her on the screen or interacting with the interview subjects. However, the narrator uses her voice to communicate with a high degree of clarity in the arguments: the formal tone and clear, consistent presentations of segments and information.

This clarity and consistency of the narrator's communication reassures the audience and establishes authority through formal voice. The established authority is a clear strategy to function as an anchor for the different thematic segments and direct the audience through the documentary film by establishing truths and opening for self-reflection.

Effectively applying eloquence and decorum is coherent with the formal voice that this documentary utilises. The synergy between delivery and voice is crucial as it is challenging to do one without the other while maintaining credibility towards the rhetorical project.

### 4.2.10    Music

In the documentary *Inside the Dark Web*, the soundtrack uses a classical theme that compliments the formal style of the documentary organically. The classical sounds produced through traditional instruments is applied effectively to match the narrational structure of the documentary. This is perhaps most clear because volume and tempo are used to create suspense, playing on the mental and bodily events, maintaining interest, and building curiosity for upcoming parts.

These instances of suspense are apparent in transitions between different segments and as pathways between themes in the interviews. Moving from low volume background music and building up when there is no narration or interview subjects are talking.

At [11:05], the narrator has just explained the outline of the Edward Snowden revelations, this is used as a pathway into the nest segment, and as the narrator, Amanda Drew, says "Watching isn't just done by governments", b-roll[10] As this b-roll footage plays, the volume and tempo are turned up, building the suspense for the next segment that takes a further look on these other watchers.

There is a consistent use of music in this documentary. Broadly, the music uses similar instruments and melodies throughout the documentary, this consistency creates a harmonious impression that contributes to the overall style of the documentary. There are, however, two places where the music used is drastically different. This breaks up the consistency and helps change the documentary positively and effectively, helping to keep the audience's attention.

The first place where the music changes drastically is in the introduction of Dr David Chaum [18:37]. The music then changes to an easy-going rock or blues sounding track. This is done in unison with clips from the 1970s Berkley and San Francisco. The footage and music lead the audience back in time to establish the context of Dr Chaum's involvement in technology and plays on the audience's popular memory of that time. An older generation that lived at this time may instead activate actual memory and a feeling of nostalgia, playing directly on their emotions, Figure 5 is a screenshot of the illustrated time.

The second point where the music changes are when it is used as a transition between when Paul Syverson explains the development of onion routing and when the Tor project is made available to the public [27:18]. In this transition, we see a compilation of footage in black and white, obscuring faces with shadows and masks. There is also a short clip of the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory before it changes to the black and white footage of people typing on their phones and laptops at increased speed.

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[10] B-roll is video footage that is used to support primary footage. It builds atmospherics, dramatic tension or illustrate a points made (MasterClass, 2020)

The song used here is "Clubbed to Death" by Australian Music producer Rob Dougan (Wikipedia, n.d.). This song was made famous as the soundtrack to the film *The Matrix* (1999). The use of this song may evoke memory of a specific time or period, for those who remembers it from *The Matrix*. Even if the audience does not directly associate it to *The Matrix*, it is a distinctive change in the sound of the documentary, and the high energy and increased tempo hints at something modern and exciting.

Through *The Matrix*, this song could be seen as an association to hacker culture, and in turn the Dark Web. Hacker culture and the Dark Web has this shared association because of the alternative use of technology as well as operating in areas that can be a grey zone between legal and illegal. The Matrix and this song are associated with hacker culture because the main character, "Neo", is a hacker himself and is the reason he ends up becoming the main character in the first place (IMDb, n.d.-c).

During the build-up, the footage of people in black and white is shown on the screen, then it changes to the footage of the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory appears, and the narrator says, "[...]the more anonymous people, the better the security. The navy had what they believed was a smart way of achieving that". As the sentence ends, the rhythm of the music changes and the faster-phased footage is used to match the music. This is done to play on the audience's emotion by building up the suspense and then use that suspense to create excitement. This is done through the faster pace of footage and higher tempo in the music.

The music used in the documentary compliments the dark stylistic elements used throughout the film. The music enhances the effect of the stylistic elements and together they work to create the scary and sinister feelings, that become associated with the mass surveillance and infringements upon people's privacy. This could also indirectly influence the perception of the Dark Web through its name in the film title, and its placement in the documentary film.

### 4.2.11 Implications of *Inside the Dak Web*

*Inside the Dark Web* leaves the impression of a documentary grounded in formality. The rhetorical devices and voice that the documentary communicates with to the audience is likely an important catalyst to this impression. However, it is the synergy between all the different elements applied to communicate this film that ultimately makes it appear in the formal way it does.

I believe it is important to remember where this production comes from to understand this formal impression that it gives off. It is not an independent production. It is produced as an episode as part of a long-running documentary series aimed at an audience interested in science and technology in general. As an informative documentary, it communicates the basics of the Dark Web and highlights the challenges that we face regarding privacy and free speech. However, a result of this shallow depiction is that the examples and cases used are very safe. They do not bring in any new or exciting revelations. The information and examples used are the same that I read about or watched while doing research for this thesis.

It is a BBC documentary, and this entails some expectations, but also certain respect and authority. The BBC has established themselves as a producer of high quality programmes and track record of award-winning documentaries and other productions, both domestically and internationally (BBC Studios, n.d.). They do hold a strong position in the media world (Turvill, 2020), and in this way, authority and what they communicate may directly impact how things are perceived. In this case, it is understandable that they do not stray too far off from the topics that appear in the Dark Web and privacy debate.

The documentary film's argument is easy to follow thanks to the fundamental problem/solution syntax used in the documentary film. Even with this basic arrangement structure, it does not appear dull or choppy. The use of intermissions and introductions, and visual effects make the documentary flow and build on a clear red line.

One observation is that the documentary film does not play on the typical Internet and Dark Web tropes. Everyone present in the documentary is dressed in smart clothing, sporting suit jackets and shirts. There is no one casually dressed appearing for interviews. To me, this implies two things, this is part of the formal style and look of the documentary film, and that this is done to appear more credible.

Furthermore, the documentary plays directly on the associative nature of the Dark Web name. The Dark Web gives off a mysterious and dark natured association, which is utilised in an excellent way to set the mood and tone for the documentary. All the stylistic elements and music have a dark look and feel to them. The different techniques used to do this may directly impact how the audience perceives the Dark Web. It borders between the exciting and unwanted.

The result of this formal style is an informative film on the Dark Web and privacy issues. It presents the facts in an understandable, clear, and concise manner. This consolidates into a documentary film that appears "stiff" or overly polished. This comes from the limited freedoms that the formal style and voice present. The artistic freedoms and more ambiguous presentation that other documentaries would likely have been misplaced in this documentary film.

## 5  Down the Deep, Dark Web

*Down the Deep, Dark Web* is a documentary film released in 2016 as a co-production by the companies Zygote Films and Upian, directed by Israeli filmmakers Duki Dror and Tzachi Schiff (Zygote Films, n.d.-a). The company Zygote films were established in 2002 by filmmaker Duki Dror focusing on exploring the complexities of social, cultural, and political fault lines in the Middle East. The company has produced over 25 award-winning documentaries screened at some of the most recognised film festivals worldwide (Zygote Films, n.d.-b).

Upian is a French digital design studio and interactive production company founded in 1998. The company is established to communicate with the general public about important social issues. According to their website, they have established themselves as a well-recognised documentary film production company and have been at the forefront of web documentaries in France and at an international level (Upian, n.d.).

The documentary has a total runtime of 54 minutes. The languages used in the documentary are English and Hebrew (IMDb, n.d.-a). While most of the documentary is carried out in English, some interview subjects speak Hebrew. In these cases, there are subtitles in English available. I could not find the documentary film on any available streaming services in Norway. Instead, I managed to find a copy of it on YouTube (Behroozian, 2018).

*Down the Deep, Dark Web* follows the host and narrator Yuval Orr, a journalist tasked with writing an article about the Dark Web. While working on this article, Orr is taken on a

journey through the Dark Web through exploration and interviews with technology experts, law enforcement, hackers and crypto-anarchists[11].

## 5.1  A brief summary of *Down the Deep, Dark Web*

There are two major parts or themes that make up the body of this documentary. Firstly, one can be defined as the explorative where the viewers follow Yuval Orr as he attempts to establish what the Dark Web is. The second is more investigative and primarily focused on privacy and anonymity on the Internet. In the upcoming part, I will look closer at these parts and go through the motions of the documentary as a summary.

The first major part starts with the introduction where Yuval Orr is present at an undisclosed location [00:39], the setting is dark, and he meets two masked men by a dimly lit shipping container, Figure 9. As these scenes unfold on the camera, Orr talks about fear and his relationship with fear before he moves on to establishes his mission, to write 1500 words about the Dark Web.

As a continuation of the introduction, the scenes change, and we are introduced to the ideas of George Orwell's book *1984* [02:20]. The book, which was published in 1949, takes place in a dystopian future where the effects of totalitarianism and mass surveillance are presented through ideas of the Big Brother that is always watching (Lowne, 2020). With Orwell in mind, the narrator talks about his relationship with the Internet and how he never even taught about there being a different side to the Internet [03:10]. It is here that the viewers get introduced to the Dark Web [03:37]. As the narrator searches for the Dark Web, we are taken into a compilation of video clips about the Dark Web while Orr is filmed in front of his computer doing research [03:43].

The clips used are very much focused on the illegalities of the Dark Web, highlighting marketplaces with drugs, passports, information, and weapons for sale. This concludes the introduction, and we are then taken into the main body of the documentary film. To start this

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[11] Someone who is aligned with crypto-anarchy, a philosophical belief system centred around using cryptographic software to protect personal freedoms and maintain privacy and financial sovereignty(Raji, 2020).

off, Yuval Orr then meets with a white hat hacker[12] that demonstrates hacking and can easily be achieved by very basic tools available through the Dark Web [05:47]. This notion launches the documentary into where Orr downloads the Tor browser and starts exploring the Dark Web by briefly showing different websites [07:51]. As Orr questions the legality of what he is doing and the content available on the Dark Web, he brings the audience along to an interview with a law enforcement officer [09:58]. The officer explains the challenges and false security that anonymity through the Dark Web presents.

The continuation of this brings the viewer into an interview with a person that uses the Dark Web regularly [11:43]. The look and presence of this individual challenge the idea of the "Dark Web user" and explains what uses she has found for the Dark Web. We are taken into another interview where the focus is on information sharing and the possibilities that the Dark Web presents to develop new ideas and challenge the establishment and bring forward revolution [13:44].

This concludes the first major part where the narrator explores the Dark Web and the different aspects; although brief, it highlights some key aspects of this technology. The following part is more investigative and takes on questions and challenges regarding privacy and anonymity, perhaps the Dark Web's key affordance.

As the next major part begins, the viewers are shown clips of how law enforcement combats challenges with the Dark Web [17:01]. Subsequently, we are brought into an interview with two cyber-security experts hired by U.S. law enforcement [17:20]. This interview brings forward the principle of privacy and the idea that technology like the Dark Web is needed. The example used is that people living under oppressive regimes can use it to escape prosecution, which leads the viewer into an introduction of anarchism and groups associated with this idea and the fight for privacy [19:27].

The anarchistic ideas and questions surrounding privacy led Yuval Orr to travel to Prague, Czech Republic, to try meet some of these anarchists taking part in a convention at the Institute of Cryptoanarchy. A think tank and hackerspace focused on decentralized solutions and unlimited dissemination of information [20:35] (Institute of Cryptoanarchy, n.d.). A short

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[12] A white-hat hacker is someone who is hired to find security flaws in systems so that they can be secured (King University, n.d.).

sequence of b-roll of footage from the convention then leads us to Orr finding someone who wanted to speak on camera. The following interviews talk about the idea of falsified freedom through online surveillance and how people's privacy is affected by technology [21:41]. The challenges that both individuals and law enforcement face to keep safe while maintaining basic freedoms.

As a continuation of the prior notions, a short segment about Edward Snowden and the mass surveillance conducted by the NSA is shown [29:35]. This launches into the idea of the crypto-anarchists to create alternative systems to the government where people can enjoy the freedoms that governments challenge through technology. We then see a few interviews that talk about the different systems that could be used to achieve this [33:21]—ultimately creating virtual states that allow people to opt out of bureaucracy posed by the states today. Furthermore, the ideas of the first crypto-anarchists are introduced through their manifesto. In it, they accurately predicted some of the challenges that we now face in terms of mass surveillance, need for privacy, electronic currencies such as Bitcoin, leaking of national secrets, and Dark Web markets [37:28].

We are then showed how states try to limit the spread of this technology under a backdrop of national security concerns. How the governments directly target specific technologies because it challenges the way they want things to be [38:39]. An example of The Silk Road marketplace is brought forward, exploring how the founder was used as an example when brought to justice, discussed in section 2.1.2 [39:28]. Meanwhile, the crypto-anarchists see him as a revolutionary and that he showed how an alternative market was possible and threatening to governments.

Following this, an interview notion that the Dark Web is used as a scapegoat for intelligence failures through examples of terrorist attacks [41:46]. The interviewee exemplifies how politicians blamed the Dark Web for these attacks. However, the attackers had not been using the technology at all. Following this, the idea that the Dark Web is not just a place but an idea that represents basic needs are brought forward through an example of parents talking in a different language to obscure the conversation for children [44:04].

This concludes the main body of the documentary film, and the audience is then lead into the ending segment. Here Yuval Orr travels to Berlin to meet up with two of the crypto-anarchists he met in Prague [46:48]. The following scenes reveal that this is the footage used as the

introduction of the documentary. In Berlin, Orr interviews these two masked men and talks about the work they are doing to fight for privacy, why they do it, and why it is important. The documentary then closes out with Orr summarizing his newfound perception of the Dark Web, that it was not the evil he initially thought it to be. However, rather one of the few options presents to escape the overarching presence of Big Brother [52:02].

## 5.2  Analysing *Down the Deep, Dark Web*

### 5.2.1  Interview choices

Throughout the documentary, there are a total of 16 interview subjects. Their professional background ranges from journalists to law enforcement and anarchists. My initial impression is that they are well chosen as representatives for their respective topics. However, there is an over-representation of subject matter experts that are positively inclined towards the Dark Web, in comparison to those that are opposed to it.

In the first major segment where Yuval Orr is exploring the Dark Web, he interviews a diverse range of people. Boaz Dolev of Clearsky Cyber Security [04:50], Danor Choen as a cybercrime consultant and white-hat hacker [05:47], Nir Elkabatz, Head of investigations at the Israeli Police Cyber Crime Unit [10:09], Lilyth, a Dark Web user [11:59], and Roey Tzezana a futurist and author of the book *Guide to the Future* [14:05]. These all represent different standings and perform different tasks for the documentary. This segment primarily occurs in Israel, and all the interview subjects speak Hebrew to the camera. Although this is the smaller of the two major segments, the different viewpoints and perspectives are balanced.

This selection also makes sense in the documentary film produced by a company from Tel Aviv in Israel. It is narrated through our guide to the Dark Web, Yuval Orr, who also appears Israeli. Tel Aviv is also recognized as one of the big tech cities around the globe and is a hub for big companies such as Google and Facebook and more local tech companies (Hoffower, 2019). The selection of interview subjects enforces this and represents the technological landscape that exists in this location.

In the second segment, Yuval Orr travels to Prague and interviews various people related to the crypto-anarchist convention. The central topic of this segment is related to questions of privacy and alternatives to established governments. The interview subjects for this segment are a lot less balanced than the first.

The more significant part of the interviews in this segment is related to the crypto-anarchist convention or people who appear positively inclined towards the Dark Web and similar technologies. Alejandro Caceres and Amanda Towler, who works for the DARPA Memex[13] program of the United States Department of Defense, even argue for the necessity of a system like the Dark Web for those living in oppressive regimes and as a tool to secure privacy for others in need [17:20]. Caceres and Towler instigate the ideas of oppressive governments and anarchistic ideas that prompt Orr to travel to Prague. This makes the investigative nature of the segment appear unbalanced, as there is no one present to argue for opposite or different perspectives concerning the Dark Web.

Compared to the first major segment, where the interview subjects are primarily used to present different opportunities and perspectives of the Dark Web, The second segment falls short in presenting a similarly diverse subject group. One reason for this might be that the focus of the entire segment is on matters of privacy. Counter arguments and oppositional views of the interviewees are presented, but this is done using extraneous material such as clips and images. However, this does not have the same effect as an interview. No person clearly speaks for the other side of privacy. Instead, a fast-paced compilation of clips and images are used.

### 5.2.2 Focus areas

The focus areas in *Down the Deep, Dark Web* are closely linked to the major parts presented in section 5.1. The first part focuses on exploring the Dark Web and the variety of opportunities and possibilities it presents. The second part takes a closer look at matters regarding privacy and possibilities surrounding this topic. These are the broad overall focus areas that frame the overall narrative structure of the documentary. There are, however, smaller focus areas that build-up to the overall narrative and supports the segments.

One of the first clear focuses is the legality of the Dark Web. This focus is brought forward by introducing illegal markets and how the anonymity that the Dark Web technology affords the users facilitates this type of activity. In this segment, Yuval Orr gets insights from

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[13] Memex is a project by the Defense Advanced Research Project Agency (DARPA) that seeks to develop software to improve online search. The name is a reference to the hypothetical computer by Vannevar Bush called Memex (DARPA, n.d.).

cybersecurity professionals, talks to law enforcement and someone who uses the Dark Web to buy products that they cannot purchase otherwise.

As this is a focus area that is used in the start and as an introduction to the Dark Web, it sets up the presumption that the Dark Web is a very dark place and that it is a place that is primarily used to engage in illicit and degenerate activity. However, the next focus shifts towards information sharing and fostering ideas and innovation. In contrast to the first focus area, this challenges the initial narrative of an illegal space and brings a different notion to the film's discourse. One that is not only positive but presents potential opportunities.

When the documentary moves into the second major segment, the overall focus shifts towards privacy, the introduction to this focuses on escaping oppressive regimes, providing a safe haven for alternative ideas, and living an everyday life without fear of prosecution. This establishes the idea that perhaps the Dark Web and similar technologies is something that the audience need, and that people should be more aware of the rise of Big Brother.

The next focus runs off from prior and builds on establishing alternative systems to the existing governments. Systems that will allow people to retain a higher degree of privacy, avoid bureaucracy and live their lives with the possibility to opt-out from the existing states. Although these ideas seem far-fetched, they build on the earlier idea that the Dark Web is a necessary technology and that the invasions of privacy that many experiences today are essential to be aware of.

### 5.2.3 Rhetoric

The impression that I am left with after watching this documentary is that the Dark Web is presented in a way that favour the darker aspects. Although there are clear examples of both negative and positive aspects, the negative perspectives are devoted more time, and are more precisely articulated. One example of this is the segment where Yuval Orr downloads the Tor browser and starts exploring the Dark Web himself [07:50]. There is a clear focus on the dark and illegal aspects, Dark Web sites for drug sales, weapons, killers for hire, forums for different sexual fantasies and fetishes, animal torture, paedophilia. When Danor Cohen explains law enforcement's reaction to the Dark Web and how they did not know what to do with it [09:43], Orr summarises it as a modern-day Sodom and Gomorrah [09:52].

This short introduction to the Dark Web relies heavily on negative dimensions and dark connotations through language and images. What makes this introduction perhaps even more compelling is how the narrator is presented as exploring it for the first time himself. This builds up a strong image and message that the Dark Web is a place for illegal and degenerate activity. After his exploration Orr associates the Dark Web with the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, a religious reference to the place of sin that was so bad that God had to destroy it (Groth, 2020). This is a strong negative connotation and perhaps even more so in the context of the documentary being an Israeli production. This supports the notion that the Dark Web is so horrible that it should not exist.

While these darker and illegal aspects are presented very clearly, there are also examples of positive sides of the Dark Web. However, the positive sides are presented on a theoretical and ideological level instead of showing more explicit examples of positively aligned websites and services.

During the interview with Alejandro Caceres and Amanda Towler [18:40], the example of oppressive regimes is used to present a different side of the Dark Web. Here, Towler says that she would want technology like that Dark Web to exist if the government were to turn on her in a future scenario. This example does bring forward a positive side of the Dark Web. The fact that it serves as a tool for those in need and enables revolutionary progress like the Arab Spring is an excellent testament to the technology. However, this example is much less explicit, because it does not show any examples of the websites used, or what it could look like. This is a distinctive difference form the approach when discussing illegal markets or other adult content. In these examples they very clearly show images and recording to detail the content and websites. Instead, it brings forward the idea that this technology is needed because some can challenge one's freedoms and privacy.

However, when these two examples show different sides, they play on the audiences' emotions to portray the Dark Web. Even when these examples use the same rhetorical technique to communicate, they are conflicting in what they tell you what to be afraid of. Another important note here is that these examples are not used together consecutively or as part of the same segment. This illustrates that emotional appeal is a deliberate technique used to engage the audience in the documentary, to keep their attention and awake the interest.

It is not only in these examples that pathos is used. It is applied throughout the documentary related to different topics and discussions. As a technique, it functions well because of the context of the documentary, which is focused on exploring the Dark Web and presenting the options that exist for dealing with the Dark Web, either remove it or embrace it. The filmmakers do not appear to pick sides themselves, but instead give the viewers a choice to decide.

The overall rhetorical project is not to sell a specific point of view or argument but to inform the audience of different sides of the Dark Web. The documentary film achieves this, however, there is a lack of nuance in the examples and topics that are used. There is very little space dedicated to alternative communities on the Dark Web, sites that would directly exemplify the other side, as opposed to the markets for drugs and adult content. Examples that would show that the Dark Web is a place for fringe activities and that there is content there that is the same as on the Surface Web. This would reduce the demonization of the technology and bring it forwards as a more approachable space, and not just a technology that could be used in the scenario where a government went rogue.

One of the attempts of doing this is the interview with Sheera Frenkel [27:00]. She talks about how the Dark Web is not even called the Dark Web in Africa and the Middle East. Moreover, instead, it is just referred to as the Internet. Instead, it is a place for people to exchange information in a free and safe way. She mentions LGBT communities in Africa and that it is the only safe place for them online. These notions are good; however, there is an absence of evidence to back this claim. Including imagery of websites used by these communities or similar would significantly strengthen these arguments and have this interview be more impactful in its efforts to normalize the Dark Web.

### 5.2.4 Voice

Throughout the documentary, Yuval Orr functions as the narrator and the audience's window in *Inside the Dark Web*. As he explores the different topics, he does not claim any knowledge or definitive answers. Instead, he explores the topics through observation; he is hesitant and understands the different points of view presented by those he interviews. The open voice, as defined by Plantinga, usually does not present clear overarching questions. However, Yuval Orr does this several times. However, instead of answering or stating them clearly, he weighs his options and presents them hesitantly to move the narrative of the documentary forward.

> "[28:12] Orr: I can understand the need for the Dark Net while living under a
> dictatorial regime. But freedom is a fundamental part of democratic societies, isn't it?"

How he does this, differ from the "voice-of-God" that is present in the formal voice. Because he never claims knowledge from an authoritative standpoint, he questions his beliefs that freedom is a fundamental part of democratic societies.

Orr's style of narration through the documentary aligns with the open voice the most. It is in its nature what Plantinga calls *epistemically hesitant* because Orr is hesitant and ambiguous when presenting answers. He does not appear to want to influence the viewers understanding, but instead, he leads with questions and information to follow up on.

One example of presenting information is at the [35:36] mark where he explains the dynamic between the crypto-anarchists wanting to establish alternatives to the established states and the way forward through technologies like Bitcoin. This is done briefly but precise, highlighting that it is one of the systems that could be the leap forward to achieving what the crypto-anarchists wanted. This information is presented as a passage between topics to link together two segments. It is not used as a way for the filmmakers or the narrator to show off their knowledge to the audience but instead helps lead them and enable a better understanding of the topics being presented.

Together with the editing and arrangement, the narrator functions as a guide for the viewers, bringing them along as he explores the Dark Web and questions surrounding privacy. This makes the feel of the documentary seem more natural as if the viewer is part of the journey to discover, rather than teaching directly and presenting knowledge from an authoritative standpoint.

### 5.2.5 Invention

Invention in the documentary is achieved through different techniques. There is no single technique used, instead, the filmmakers apply all the tree different strategies; ethical, emotional, and demonstrative. The clearest of these however, are the ethical and emotional. To a large extent, these are artistic proofs because they rely on secondary sources. One clear example is the interview with Alejandro Caceres and Amanda Towler [18:40], whom the U.S. Department of Defense hires to monitor the Dark Web. Even though they present scenarios

and cases where it is needed to police the Dark Web, they also argue that the Dark Web is necessary and vital to protect people's privacy.

An ethical strategy is used here. Their working situations builds to their credibility, while their arguments for privacy creates the impression of being morally good. Furthermore, this example also applies demonstrative strategy through the need for the Dark Web for those living under oppressive regimes. This is reinforced through the juxtaposition of footage from the Arabic Spring.

Another example is when the masked men under the pseudonyms Smuggler and Frank Braun, along with Paul Rosenberg, talk about the data that is collected through social media and other digital platforms [21:44], and how people as the users of services like Facebook or Skype essentially are products for sale. And that the privacy that we believe exists in our own homes is gone because of the influence of technology in our daily lives. This is a clear use of emotional strategy; it uses examples from our daily lives and situations that people often find themselves in and reveal that things are not as we believe them to be. This instils fear and uncertainty in the viewers, and through this moves them in the direction of being more aware of the dangers and acting appropriately. This ultimately reinforces the narrative of the Dark Web and privacy being necessary for the audience.

### 5.2.6 Arrangement

The arrangement in *Down the Deep, Dark Web* is a variety of basic arrangements that follows a problem/solution syntax and artistic freedoms. The documentary starts by using elements to capture the viewer's attention. This is done by establishing an unknown through the unknown dark place that the narrator is placed into. The narrator talks about fear and how we often fear that which we are conditioned to be fearful of, such as masked people, darkness, and unknown places [00:37]. At the same time, the camera precisely captures this, an unknown location in the dark with a masked man present. The narrator then introduces us to his project of writing about the Dark Web. This same place is again used at the end of the documentary as part of the closing scenes.

After this introduction, the documentary follows a more traditional linear timeline with problem/solution syntax. Problems or questions are presented as part of the narrator's exploration of the Dark Web topic and are followed by solutions or options. The solutions or

options are never presented as final. Instead, they are used to build on the unknown to generate new questions or delve further into the topic.

Below is an example of how the solutions presented by an interviewee generates further questions and options for the narrator.

> [33:46] Yuval Orr: How would the separate realm operate though? if we are still completely dependent on the state?
>
> Martin Leskovjan: What (?) state provide is lots of bureaucracy (.) senseless work that I have to do (.) everyday (..) like to go to the offices and undergo all these taxes and so (..)  but state also provide basic needs we have like the safety, security, roads and everything (.) But all of these things can be provided privately uh (.) by means of decentralised tools so everything can be provided by (.) by global provider uh (.) or (.) or provided from totally different country (..?) there are initial borders are not making sense in this (.) in this surrounding, because (..) you know on Deep Web (..) its (.) it totally doesn't matters (.) where you join from.
>
> Orr: So, then the alternative to the state and systems growing in the Deep Web (..) was a call for revolution? (..) With that thought in mind I finally managed to catch up with Julia Tourianski (..) who's flashy YouTube clips had brought me to Prague [34:45]

This example shows a problem/solution syntax that initiate further questions and drive the documentary forward. After Martin Leskovjan gives his answer to Orr's question, Orr does not summarise or conclude with any definitive solution. The example stands as an example to the narrator's ambiguity and hesitation to solidify positions. Furthermore, it allows, Martin Leskovjan, to present his position without any interruption. Instead of taking a clear position or opposing this standpoint with claimed knowledge, Orr uses the information that he is given to explore further.

The way the documentary is arranged uses the narrator placed into this explorative context as a guide for the viewers. As he delves deeper into specific topics or areas, the viewer follows that curiosity, allowing the interview subjects to present their answers to the related questions and topics.

### 5.2.7 Style

Through the focus on Yuval Orr's personal experience when exploring and building understanding about the Dark Web; The filmmakers utilise both handheld and fixed cameras. In the areas where there is movement, handheld cameras are used. This becomes apparent through the camera movement that does not follow a linear path and camera shake.

Framing varies throughout the documentary. For interviews, the camera is primarily static and positioned to see the people interviewed, showing both upper body and head. However, in some cases, such as during the interview with Sheera Frenkel [27:03], the camera is set up to capture the laptop monitor, instead of a screen-capture or arranged as an in-person interview, as shown in Figure 14. Unlike most of the other interviews, this one appears to be conducted over video chat instead of in person. The interviews are edited so that the interview objects are speaking to the filmmakers or audience instead of dialogue. The questions presented by Orr are taken out of the scenes themselves and instead presented in voiceover.

The editing utilises various camera shots and short montages of clips from outside sources and screen recording from a computer. Clips from sources such as YouTube are used throughout the documentary. These are established through visible video controls, or it is mentioned being from YouTube by the narrator. Video controls also give the impression of it being a video from the Internet. This is clearly visible in Figure 10, where Boaz Dolev talks about the Dark Web. Sound effects are also used, such as mouse-clicking sounds and sounds of the scroll wheel. These are effects that amplify the modern and digital context of the documentary, giving it a contemporary look and feel, almost as if you are viewing the same clips through your personal devices.

Visually the documentary uses a dark coloured theme. The staged interviews have a background that use a colour at the darker end of the spectrum. This background has graphic that resemble computer parts such as motherboards with connectors and capacitors that gives it a very computerised look. This Graphic is faded out towards the edges of the screen where it becomes darker. Lighting in these interviews is also used sparsely, with only the interviewees being lit up.

The dark colours with digital and technology references are directly connected to the film theme, which targets technologies such as the Dark Web and surveillance. This in turn, creates association to the darker nature and unknown of the technologies.

The interview subjects are all dressed in casual or more business casual attire. This casual look in interviews compliments the overall style of the documentary and makes the subjects come off as more comfortable and relaxed. The lack of ties and formal clothing compliments the image that many have of people in the tech world. They appear more focused on doing a good job than presenting a façade. Some wear shirts for their interviews, Boaz Dolev and Roey Tzezana, for example, but they do not button up their shirts all the way, and Tzezana has even rolled up his sleeves above the elbow. Another example of this more casual attire is Paul Rosenberg, who wears a suit jacket with a simple t-shirt underneath [22:47]. Other interview subjects wear casual clothing such as t-shirts, zip-up hoodies and even leather jackets.

We do not get to know the age of the interview subjects; however, they all appear between young adults and old adults. Lilyth does appear to be the oldest subject at around 60 years or older. See Figure 12 for example. The grown-up casting suggests that either the technology is embraced more by an older generation or that it is difficult to find young professionals with experience from the Dark Web. Lilyth as a casting adds an exciting dimension to the documentary because she is older than what one would expect her to be. The Dark Web is not an overly easy technology to use and requires some technical knowledge and understanding. This and the age of this interview subjects adds an exciting and mysterious effect, making you want to know what kind of products that she is purchasing.

### 5.2.8 Memory

One of the strong tools that this film utilises in its rhetorical project is memory. There are several points throughout the documentary where film footage from historical events that transpired are used. Drawing on concrete examples from the Second World War [51:16], Martin Luther King Jr. [32:10], the 9/11 terrorist attacks [29:35] and the Arab Spring [18:48], these are used to fortify topics and are used as examples to understand the presented context better. These historical events and people, they have been established as popular memory, because of extensive coverage through different media such as books, news coverage, or documentaries.

We also see that the introduction of the documentary is used to draw the viewer's attention. The scene from the start is activated again at the end of the documentary. By doing this, the filmmakers allow the viewers to activate their memory and better understand how he ended up in the strange situation at the start of the documentary. This is also done through the

narration of the documentary. There are two obvious uses of this technique. One is of the cypherpunks[14], who is introduced as the first creators of a Dark Web. They are first introduced at the [20:11] runtime and are brought forward again at the [37:30] mark to highlight some of their prophesied developments in technology and politics.

Another example is the short montage of YouTube clips with Julia Tourianski. She is initially presented speaking about government control, freedom, and privacy. The montage is used in the segment about anarchists, starting at [19:25]. The woman is shortly introduced by the name Julia Tourianski. However, we do not see her again until later when Yuval Orr interviews her at [34:40]. Here again, clips from her YouTube videos are used, allowing the users to remember her from earlier in the documentary. Her answers in the interview are used in a few different places. However, the effect of this familiar face and the direct and effective montage with her YouTube videos establishes her brand and activates the memory of her to contextualise her presence in the interview.

Memory is actualised throughout the documentary as an effective tool. As we follow Yuval Orr's exploration of the Dark Web, each topic and experience build up the context for future questions, allowing the viewer to make up their own understanding and conclusions to the questions that Orr presents.

### 5.2.9 Delivery

Yuval Orr communicates without being overly formal in his speech. We mostly hear him in a narrational setting, presenting the tasks ahead of him or reflecting on the perspectives that he is presented through interviews. In the few cases where we see him interact with his interview subjects, he sticks to a primarily informal and personal style. This is a clear strategy, and this style reinforces his presence and mission in the documentary film. He is set out to learn about the Dark Web and to find out what it is. When interacting in this informal style, he connects better with the people he talks to. He does not assert a dominant position as an interviewer; instead, it plays out as conversations where he asks questions. This appears genuine in the documentary, an ordinary person who wants to know more about the Dark Web. Through

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[14] A group started in 1992, working towards widespread use of cryptography as a measure to retain privacy (PetriB, 2018).

this strategy, it appears that he gets realistic and credible answers that do not seem rehearsed and superficial.

This outward appearance is likely a technique by the filmmakers to achieve this effect. They want us to connect with the narrator, to see him as genuine and interested in the Dark Web, because it likely makes the documentary seem more engaging and credible.

### 5.2.10 Music

The music used in the documentary is used as a supporting device to construct the mood and activate emotion through dramatic effects in support of the narrative. The overall soundscape consists of ominous and mystical music that resembles a thriller movie—using both electronic and classical instruments to capture the digital and futuristic aspects of the research object.

The soundtrack changes effectively and is precise in its changes. It uses music to play on the ominous and mystical aspects of the Dark Web and support the different topics focused on through the documentary film.

Although there are changes in the music used, they follow the same style, and there are no significant dramatic changes in the soundtrack that stand out. This use gives the impression that there is a clear thematic line through the documentary with an organic narrative structure. There are, however, changes in tempo and rhythm. At the start of the documentary at 03:45, Yuval Orr sits down to research the Dark Web. As this is happening, the volume and tempo increase for a short period, the sounds are electronic with hard but precise drum sounds, this gives a futuristic sound, but also gives the impression of urgency as he, for the first time, starts to look for information concerning the Dark Web.

Another example of music used is during the interview with Lilyth at [12:00]. One of the impressions that Orr gives about Lilyth is that she is not what he had imagined a Dark Web user to look like. Instead, she is an older woman that could be a grandmother. During this segment, a string instrument is used together with ominous rhythmic music. This sound gives the impression of a strange, whimsical character, an almost misplaced individual in this environment. This specific sound also gives a mysterious feeling and plays with the viewers' curiosity. This works well with Orr's impression of her and the statements that she makes through the interview, that she is not afraid of the Dark Web and that she initially started using it to purchase goods that she otherwise could not get. The interview and music work

very well together here and plays on the audience's emotion of curiosity and wanting to know more about this character and what she was doing and is purchasing on the Dark Web.

### 5.2.11      Implications of *Down the Deep, Dark Web*

The documentary *Down the Deep, Dark Web* unravels the Dark Web through the narrator's experiences, and the result is an exciting blend of destructive and ideological notions that seek to challenge the viewer's perception of technology and privacy so that they can draw their own conclusions.

When presenting the Dark Web, *Down the Dark Web* continuously touches on cultures characterised as alternative or fringe. The most definitive example of this is the segments that handle the convention at the Institute for Cryptoanarchy. In broad terms, this is a group of people that are inherently focused on ideas that evolve around decentralisation, privacy, and alternatives to the establishment. Although they do an excellent job at communicating their views on the Dark Web and privacy issues, some aspects are challenging. Anarchy is, for many people, a negatively connotated word that is often linked to the unlawful or chaotic. This negatively loaded word associated with so many of the interview subjects could present difficulty when building a credible case for privacy issues and the legitimacy of systems like the Tor network or Bitcoin.

There are some more extreme cases like Smuggler and Frank Braun, who have unique and focused views on privacy. They both hide their faces before the camera, and we see Smuggler tell the filmmakers not to film certain places and not show his hands when he types on a keyboard. During interviews, they also communicate quite far-reaching ideas and clear stances towards the establishment. This portrayal makes them appear paranoid and as they have something to hide, which they ultimately do, their privacy. They also speak very candidly on topics like mass surveillance by governments and drawing parallels to the systems used by Nazi Germany to prosecute the Jewish population of Europe.

Their perceptions and ideas come off as very idealistic and not feasible enough to take seriously, undermining the credibility of the interview subjects and the documentary. If the interviews were more balanced with others from the more established side of the tech industry, one might see the ideas as less idealistic and more realistic and actionable.

This unlawfulness also comes into mind when I look at the examples of Dark Web content used in the documentary. When the Dark Web is introduced at the earlier part of the documentary, the examples shown are narcotics, weapons for sale and news reports of illegal activity. Almost the same thing happens again when the narrator explores it himself. The content shown is of illegal drug and stolen goods, adult content, and other borderline bizarre sites. The Silk Road example does the same thing, thereby giving the impression that the Dark Web is a place for illegal and fringe adult content. In contrast, having more "normal" content and not only linking the Dark Web to desperate measures to escape totalitarian regimes or revolution would make the Dark Web appear more normal, as well as the perspectives presented by the anarchistic aligned interview subjects in the documentary.

The documentary has a style that aligns the most with what Plantinga defined as the open style. It is less consistent in how it applies different stylistic elements, which creates a varied look and ambience to the documentary film. The stylistic elements play on interfaces and Internet experiences that the audience may have themselves. This makes it easy to put oneself into the shoes of the narrator and follow the story. These elements also work well visually because they break up the documentary film and creates changes in the tempo and pure filmic aspects. There is much footage from different news outlets, which the audience may have seen before or have seen similar footage themselves, and this connects the documentary to the real world, making it possible to relate to the different experiences and draw on memory to better understand the context of the different topics and themes through the documentary.

## 6  Discussion

The documentaries show that they utilise many of the same examples and concepts when explaining the Dark Web and privacy discourse. However, they communicate this information distinctively different through rhetorical devices, voice and stylistic elements.

Analysing these two documentaries has shown that there are apparent similarities and differences. The key concept for both evolves around informing the audience about the Dark Web and presenting different challenges and affordances that this technology provides. This is done through various techniques and applying rhetorical devices to shape the documentaries into what makes them stand apart when presenting different or similar aspects in the over-arching privacy discourse.

In the documentaries, the Dark Web functions as a tool or conveyor for the bigger privacy debate, it serves this function by being presented as a tool to fight back against mass surveillance. However, the Dark Web is presented differently in each documentary film to communicate this question of privacy. In *Down the Deep, Dark Web*, the Dark Web is used as the primary plot device, which drives the narrative forward and leads to different themes and aspects. In comparison, *Inside the Dark Web* uses the Dark Web as a minor thematic shift and a response to that which challenges people's privacy. In both cases, the Dark Web undoubtedly holds solid positions and is an essential focal point for this debate.

To organise this discussion better, I will break it down into sections that correspond with the areas of my analysis. The two documentaries will be discussed together for each of these sections before carrying out a general discussion. This will help focus the discussion and highlight the similarities and differences found.

## 6.1 Interview subjects

There is a different approach to interview in the documentaries. *Inside the Dark Web* has a larger presence of established industry professionals and use them and their first-hand experienced to build credibility to the project. On the other side, *Down the Deep, Dark Web* appears more varied, and has subjects that are presented as being aligned with more alternative political movement and ideologies.

The documentaries have an almost identical number of interview subjects; *Inside the Dark Web* has 15, while *Down the Deep, Dark Web* has 16. Furthermore, none of the interview subjects appear in both documentaries. *Inside the Dark Web* has a group of subjects representing a Western European and North American tech world. *Down the Deep, Dark Web* uses subjects that are from or have a presented affiliation to the locations in the documentary film; Israel and the Czech Republic, intermixed with subjects from other places.

Another point where the differences are apparent is the clear focus on ethos as a rhetorical device that *Inside the Dark Web* has in the documentary. They have a selection of subjects that are celebrities in the world of technology and have first-hand experiences in using and developing ideas and technology associated with the themes in the documentary film.

The latter could be the result of outstanding factors such as budget or positions in the media world. This is not something that I look much into for my analysis because these are not

factors that I consider to be essential to portraying the Dark Web. Nevertheless, it is an exciting aspect that would be interesting to look closer at in another study.

*Down the Deep, Dark Web* also plays on ethos. However, the subjects present in this documentary are not as well known. Instead, they play on the well-presented testimonies of the subjects instead of reputation. The credibility of the project is undoubtedly essential, but the way that credibility can be constructed is varied and allows for different techniques and approaches.

One of the challenges with interviews that Bill Nichols presents, is a case where all interviews agree with each other. If this is done, it creates a false sense of truth, and may give the impression that this is done intentionally to sell a specific point of view. This is not the case for either of the documentaries. They both manage to present different viewpoints and have interview subjects who are from a variety of backgrounds. However, one element that I found lacking was government officials or companies that use the data collected. Their insights and reasoning behind the need for mass surveillance and data-collection, would be an exciting addition to the narrative of the story. Instead, we are presented information of what the data is used for through secondary sources, with limited use of evidence to support the claims.

## 6.2  Focus Areas

The following section will cover focus areas. The overarching focus area in the documentary *Into the Deep Web* is surveillance and infringement upon people's privacy. The documentary naturally divides into three thematic segments: technology, affordances and possibilities, and privacy to support this focus.

The technology segment is driven by the different technologies that allow companies and governments to conduct surveillance on a massive scale. Technologies that were gradually becoming a more significant part of our daily lives at the time of this documentary film. The second follows the development of the Tor Network and what the result is for ordinary people and those fighting against it. Lastly, the focus shifts towards a more philosophical approach, bringing up the questions of whether we can afford people anonymity while simultaneously facilitating close to risk-free crime.

*Down the Deep, Dark Web* has a different focus area structure. The overarching focus of this documentary is on the Dark Web and what challenges and possibilities follow. To support the

overarching focus, there are two major parts and four more focused segments that constructs the narrative in this documentary. The first major part looks at the Dark Web in general and what affordances that it provides. The second looks closer at questions surrounding privacy, what the Dark Web means for a world where our privacy is being challenged.

In support of these two major parts, the more focused segments look at the legality of the Dark Web and how it impacts both users and law enforcement, information sharing and innovation, privacy, and the need for the technology, and lastly, challenging the establishment and status quo.

The focus area structure varies between these two documentaries, with three more apparent focus areas. *Into the Deep Web* can go into more detail about the different themes. The extra room for each segment enables the filmmakers to present information and better understand the different aspects.

If we look at the themes covered, there are some commonalities. Both spend time describing the technological aspects, affordances, and privacy questions. The time spent and how much they go into detail is varied because the sub-themes and presentation are different.

## 6.3 Rhetoric

The next part I want to discuss is rhetoric. As how communication is shaped to form a belief, it is a crucial concept to understand how the Dark Web is portrayed in the documentary films. One of the central points to this discussion is that both documentaries rely on dark aspects to portray the Dark Web. This approach is an effective way of creating associations and build the perception that people are left with.

While it is a tool used to influence the audience, it is not only a way to shape their understanding; it also functions to engage, draw, and keep the audience's attention through the documentary film. A dramatic effect that directly plays on peoples wants to know more about what seems mysterious, dark, and uncomfortable, directing the mood and emotions.

To build belief in the arguments presented in the films, the documentaries use all the rhetorical appeals ethos, pathos, and logos. However, the differences in use and how effective and impactful they appear. Both documentaries use pathos as a way of persuading the audience.

Some commonalities of examples used are those living under totalitarian regimes and mass surveillance infringing upon ordinary people's privacy to draw upon some examples. Both these present scenarios that are unwanted, uncomfortable, and that might even draw out fear. Totalitarian regimes are in both documentaries presented through the Arab Spring and how regular people and activists use it to communicate and escape the government. The case that is drawn for the audience is that if they were to find themselves in a similar situation, they would perhaps want the technology that enables the Dark Web themselves. In *Down the Deep, Dark Web*, this is even reinforced and introduced by two working for the government. Based on their positions and views on the technology, it amplifies the credibility and, in the end, the belief in the technology. An assumption here is that the audience does live in a place where this is not needed, but if people are living under oppression, this might fuel them into downloading the Tor browser and start using it. In an extrapolated scenario, this might even save them from prosecution and allow them to live somewhat everyday lives online, which is perhaps the most important thing that this technology could achieve.

While the first example reflects possible or actual scenarios, the last one is very much a reality. Both documentaries use mass surveillance carried out by governments and companies to discuss why the Dark Web is essential—framing it as a necessary technology because governments and companies are abusing their powers to collect data and information on people. Furthermore, it is explained that they do this to improve their services and technology to earn more money or possibly find criminals and terrorists through secondary sources. This revelation or uncomfortable truth directly targets the audience's emotions amplifying discomfort and uncertainty and making people reflect towards their technology uses and whether they might be targeted themselves.

These are just two examples of how these documentaries use emotional appeal as a device to shape belief and build compelling cases for the Dark Web and privacy issues. Both also use ethos, credible appeal. However, *Inside the Dark Web* uses this form more persistently than the other. One of the forms of ethos involves using celebrities or notable people to bring their message forward. *Inside the Dark Web* does this when presenting different cases or viewpoints. Although they might not be as well known in popular culture, some of the interview subjects are very notable in the technology world. Through them as interview subjects, they reinforce the documentary's credibility and testimonies because they are well-known. Perhaps even more important, they have first-hand experience of what they are

communicating, which is something I have found that this documentary does better than the other.

An important note on rhetoric is that none of these documentaries attempts to sell a specific viewpoint or case. They are not propaganda documentaries, instead, the main project appears to lie informing the audience. They both do an excellent job at highlighting different sides of the Dark Web and questions surrounding privacy. They do this through good examples and objective, informative presentation of perspectives and cases. While both documentaries aim to present credible information and show different sides, one thing that I find very interesting is how much space is given to idealistic viewpoints in *Down the Deep, Dark Web*.

This documentary has a significant portion and use of interview subjects dedicated to people who associate with anarchism and fringe movements. While all these present compelling cases and exciting ideas, it is an interesting choice. This is done to highlight their side of the debate. However, the negative associations and connotations to anarchists and such far-reached political idealism make it challenging to build credibility. Their association and political stance shadow the important questions and ideas that they do bring up because of subconscious prejudice and years of being a very extreme and fringe movement.

## 6.4 Voice

The use of voice in these documentaries show very different approaches. Inside *the Dark Web* use a very distinctive formal voice, while *Down the Deep, Dark Web* aligns the most with open voice. The main difference between these two lies in how authoritative they appear and how harmonious the style is. The assertation of authority is done through the narrators in the documentaries.

*Inside the Dark Web* uses what is referred to as the "voice-of-God". It is clear and direct in its communication, presenting questions and answers using proofs through the narrator and the interview subjects. There is a consistency in the build-up of scenes in the documentary. It follows an erotetic narrative structure that presents questions and answers them in the subsequent scenes. Along with the applied style, this creates harmony in how the documentary is perceived, and makes align with the formal voice.

*Down the Deep, Dark Web* has an open voice and is not as clear and direct in the communication. Instead of following a distinct erotetic narrative structure, there is very few

answers and the establishment of solutions. Interviews and presentations instead lead to new questions that are used to drive the documentary forward. While Yuval Orr, the narrator, does present some answers in *Down the Deep, Dark Web*, he does so hesitantly. He does not claim any knowledge, and he brings the audience along as he experiences the Dark Web and seeks to explore the questions of the Dark Web himself. This difference is one of the definitive aspects that make these documentaries stand apart.

The latter is an interesting revelation. It is also somewhat expected. In the context of one TV documentary and one independent, it makes sense that it would be this way because of how they are presented. One of the assumptions of a TV documentary is that it is more formal and that it has some degree of instructional approach to communication, perhaps, even more, so from a BBC documentary.

## 6.5 Invention

To support their own arguments, documentaries draw upon the use of invention or proofs. *Inside the Dark Web* has a clearer use of inartistic proof through first-hand testimonies, while for *Down the Deep, Dark Web* artistic is more prevalent, because they rely more on secondary sources and techniques to create proof.

This is coming from that Inside the Dark Web uses more first-hand experiences through their interview subject. As witnesses and with direct involvement with the topics and experiences they present, the credibility of the arguments is reinforced. On the other hand, the artistic proof is the result of the filmmaker's resourcefulness. This type of proof is used heavily by both documentaries.

This type of proof involves using recorded footage as demonstrative tools to illustrate specific cases and examples. Alternatively, footage from news coverage to contextualise or support the presented arguments. These two types of proof are effective in that they either directly show what has happened or witness testimonies of a specific case.

Inartistic proof may have a more profound impact and support an argument with higher credibility than artistic proof. However, this is reliant on the credibility of the person presenting the proof. Testimonies from someone who has been established as a compulsive liar will be less effective than if it comes from someone that is more truthful. There is little reason to doubt testimonies from people in the documentaries.

One subject that I find interesting in this case is Julian Assange, who gives his accounts on Wikileaks and the Tor network. Although he is presented as facing criminal charges in the documentary *Inside the Dark Web*, and he still is today  (Wintour, 2021), this does not necessarily make him less credible in this specific case. This is because he is inherently interested in and working towards revealing government corruption and malpractice. Tor is one of the tools that allow this to happen, and it is thanks to this technology and other cryptographic measures, truths have come out.

## 6.6  Arrangement

Both documentaries use the basic problem/solution extensively; however, the difference here lies in the voice. As I have established, *Inside the Dark Web* has a clear formal voice while *Down the Deep, Dark Web* uses an open voice to communicate. This means that both documentaries present problems and solutions, but the way the solutions are presented is distinctive.

Through the formal voice, *Inside the Dark Web* presents very clear questions and answers. This is because the formal voice naturally takes on an authoritative position and claims the presented knowledge. On the other side, *Down the Deep, Dark Web* is far more ambiguous and hesitant in its solutions. Instead of constructing clear solutions, Yuval Orr continuously answers the solutions with new questions instead. The open voice is not as authoritative as the formal, and the explorative body of the voice creates an environment for reflection and contemplation rather than being overly instructional.

The arrangement is not as entirely black and white as this appears because it varies, there are cases where both documentaries utilise a clear problem/solution syntax. One could say that this basic structure is present at a lower level because the solutions are not always final, they sometimes lead to new questions instead, or that the narrators don't conclude anything themselves. This creates an extra dimension so that the structure is not only a 1:1 transaction. Instead, one might have solutions presented from different viewpoints and use artistic or inartistic proof to support arguments.

Towards the end of the documentaries, both use a similar arrangement to conclude the films. Both documentary films present the Tor network as one tool for accessing the Dark Web. To discuss Tor, law enforcement and users are able to present their reasons, challenges and

solutions to the question of whether this technology should persist, even when it enables criminal activity.

The answer to this is presented hesitantly by both documentaries. Instead of giving clear answers and taking a stance in support or against the Dark Web, they both present questions to the audience, leaving it up to them to decide what is best. I believe that this is a good way of handling it because both documentaries are ultimately used to inform and present different points of view. If they were to take a definitive stance, then the credibility of the documentaries would be shaped as a propaganda tool or a marketing ploy by some organisation.

## 6.7  Style

Style is an essential tool in engaging and shaping feelings and associations for the audience, directly impacting how something is perceived. To construct the perception of the Dark Web, dark stylistic elements is a common denominator for these two documentary films. Both these documentaries have chosen to rely on dark colours and graphical elements to support the storytelling. The dark elements are organically linked to the associations that are constructed towards the Dark Web and privacy. Be it the dark nature of the examples used to highlight content on the Dark Web or the uncomfortable looming threat of invasive technology and surveillance.

The use of dark stylistic elements also comes forward as a way to creates excitement and suspense, similar to horror movies that evoke feelings that leave the audience at the edge of the seat. It is uncomfortable and fearful to watch, but the psychological tension present makes it hard to turn away. This dark theme suits the documentary films, not only from an entertainment perspective but also because they inform and reveal information that impacts people's lives.

The formal style of *Inside the Dark Web* is apparent in the consistency of the elements used. Infographics, transitions between topics and interviews, camera movement, framing for interviews and lighting during interviews are all presented harmoniously and consistently. *Down the Deep, Dark Web* does this differently. While there is a sort of consistency in how these elements are used, they appear much more randomly and intermixed. For example, some interviews are set up with the same backdrop and lighting and framing without the narrator present. In other interviews, the camera changes, and we see the

narrator, some recordings of interviews being conducted via the Internet, and the laptop is shown in the frame.

The much more broken up interviews and elements in this documentary is a good approach for *Down the Deep, Dark Web* because it makes it appear more natural, as if the audience is following Yuval Orr to different interviews and locations. *Inside the Dark Web* does this in parts as well. However, you don't get the same interaction with the narrator, but because of consistent use of the same stylistic elements, the harmony and formal style are preserved.

I find it very interesting how two documentaries can use seemingly similar techniques, yet the appearance and way it is presented become different. This is ultimately what creates the style of the documentary films and gives them the uniqueness that makes them become what they are.

Another point to style is that there is a difference in how explicit the documentaries are in portraying content on the Dark Web. Through examples, both visual and audio, *Down the Deep, Dark Web* is far more explicit when showing content. They use clear images and explanations of the content found on the Dark Web. A direct comparison here is how they discuss the Silk Road. When explaining the Silk Road and what can be sold and bought there, *Down the Deep Dark Web* shows clear images of different narcotics and other substances, Figure 11. As *Inside the Dark Web* does the same, but they are much more ambiguous in their presentation and it is mentioned as a buffet for narcotics. However, they never show clear images of different drugs. Instead, they have screen recordings of different names. These recordings are masked by distorted filters, which shake and make it more challenging to read the information on the screen. An example of this can be seen in Figure 8.

This difference might be because *Inside the Dark Web* cater to a television audience. This likely means that they have to take different age groups into account and be less explicit with the imagery that they use. *Down the Deep, Dark Web*, on the other hand, can be more explicit because they likely are not bound by the same age-related restrictions because it is not primarily made as a TV documentary and can, to a higher degree, limit the audience, compared to a documentary part of a TV series.

## 6.8 Memory

The use of memory in these documentaries is dependent on popular memory and experiences from earlier in the documentaries. With popular memory, this is especially apparent because they use many of the same examples. Edward Snowden's whistleblowing, the Arab Spring, the early days of the Internet are all examples that had significant coverage through news outlets and experiences that the assumed audience of adults has. I assume that the audience or target group for the documentaries are adults because of the severe nature of the topics covered and the severity of privacy invasion. Younger people today may not associate as closely with privacy issues because they have grown up with technology at their fingertips, while a more grown-up audience likely remember the times before the Internet or at least realise the severity of privacy issues.

Activating experiences from earlier in the documentaries is done through summarising questions and presented points of views. This forces the viewer to think back to what has been said to understand the developments. This is an effective way of engaging the audience and keeping them interested. It also allows them to contextualise and form their understanding of new topics.

## 6.9 Delivery

Delivery in these documentaries sees very different approaches. This is closely linked to the different voices that the documentaries take on where *Inside the Dark Web* use a formal and *Down the Deep, Dark Web* an open voice. In the latter, we see the narrator as part of the documentary, interacting with interview subjects and partaking in the storytelling while travelling and researching before the camera, guiding the audience, and bringing them along through the film.

In the documentary *Inside the Dark Web,* we never see the narrator. However, her presence is very noticeable because of the clear and consistent voice-over narration. The established authority that the narrator has in the documentary does so that she not only guides but leads the audience, presenting knowledge, questions, and solutions.

Even though there is this constructed presence, I feel that there is a lack of a human dimension. The way that Yuval Orr is presented and is visible makes him appear to connect more with the interview subjects and the story. Meanwhile, there is an almost cold distance and overly formal relationship through *Inside the Dark Web.*

## 6.10 Music

Music is the last analysis section. The music and soundscape of these documentaries are generally similar. They use instrumental music that fits the theme, changing volume and tempo to build suspense and supporting the filmic elements and situations.

The overall sound in *Inside the Dark Web* is defined by classical instruments with a few changes into modern electronic music. *Down the Deep, Dark Web* uses classical instruments together with electronic to create a modern sound. Both soundtracks consist of ominous, almost mystical music to build feelings of discomfort and uncertainty, drawing in the audience. The sound is almost like that of crime series, where it creates a dramatic effect and amplifies the suspense in situations.

An interesting find is that *Inside the Dark Web* uses music to draw upon memory and association. This is done with one of the songs from the science fiction movie *The Matrix.* The song has become synonymous with hacker and Internet culture through the movie, and it is used to draw an association between the Dark Web and hacker culture. This is a straightforward approach to linking the Dark Web to alternative culture without explicitly saying that it does so.

It is a theatrical effect and change in the sound of the documentary film. It synergises with the change of tempo and graphical effects used to signify anonymity and a leap forward in technology. The association to *The Matrix* creates a futuristic image and notions the idea that maybe, this is the future of the Internet.

In the case that the intent is to link the Dark Web to hacker culture, this effect can have a devastating effect in legitimising and normalising the Dark Web. If hacker culture is associated with criminal activity, then people will connect the Dark Web to the illegal. Many people might still be under the impression that hackers only work for their own gain. They are unaware of hackers' different sides, those who work for security companies to expose vulnerabilities and faults in systems.

Nevertheless, this is a use of memory and association that changes up the documentary film. Doing so engages the audience by building suspense and increasing the tempo for the upcoming segment. This is done masterfully with harmony between the music and film and graphical elements and makes for one of the most intriguing scenes from both documentaries.

## 6.11 General discussion

Analysing these documentaries has shown that much of the same content and examples are used to cover the Dark Web. They draw upon the same examples and use them to shape the narrative of what the Dark Web is. This reveals much of the Dark Web discourse, being torn between illegal activity and legitimacy because of a need for protection against surveillance. The same examples of content on the Dark Web and its necessity for privacy and free speech, create an environment where the audience must decide their stance with scarce information.

If the documentaries were more diverse in the content and examples they use, it would create better grounds for making decisions. It is important to note that these documentaries are not related, other than focusing on the same subject matter. However, from the current standpoint, if one were to watch both documentaries, there is little new information that shows more diverse, normal, and legitimate content on the Dark Web or exemplifying that there are uses outside the extreme measures against totalitarian governments.

Another aspect of the examples used may come from headline news and timely aspects. The documentaries came out in the years following the Edward Snowden whistleblowing in 2013 (Greenwald et al., 2013). This could mean that the leaks were a catalyst for producing these documentaries and that the technological aspects of the Dark Web are seen as topic that enables this discourse and functions as a response to mass surveillance. Regarding the latter, it is essential to keep in mind that the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory initially developed the Tor network. I find this to be an interesting turn of events, that the technology developed to keep U.S. servicemen protected from surveillance, is now used to fight back against this exact thing.

Because of the Snowden leaks, this topic was likely very relevant and exciting at the time these documentaries were released. Today, it appears almost as if the Dark Web has fallen back into the shadows that it came from. The last sizable documentary production of the Dark Web was the film *Silk Road: Drugs, Death and the Dark Web* in 2017 (IMDb, n.d.-d). Privacy issues, however, have not disappeared, and the media continuously bring it up. However, the focus seems to have shifted more to the tech conglomerates, looking at what they are doing and could be doing, rather than highlighting alternative technologies like the Dark Web.

I believe that this is because of the vital positions that social media and other digital platforms hold in the world. It is not something that is going away, and instead of trying to coerce people away from it, the tech companies are held accountable to a higher degree.

The two documentaries can both be seen having journalistic tendencies that alight with the journalistic purpose, according to Mark Bailen in section 2.3. Thematically the focus in the documentaries lies on privacy issues that are highly relevant to the public's interest. Furthermore, the documentaries can be linked to journalistic ethic codes. They serve the public through information in the documentaries. There is no evidence of fabricated information, and the documentaries communicate different sides of the story and allow the audience to make their own decision from the information given.

Whether this is intentional or accidental could be debated. However, the way that this stand can be seen as being what Lauren Poitras dubbed Journalism Plus. It is the blurry line between documentary and journalistic work that appears. The documentaries portray a theme and story that is intriguing and makes for good entertainment. Although they bring up the privacy debate some time after the Edward Snowden leaks, the issues and debate is still relevant. timely news-related topics that were part of the news pictures around the time they were released. In the pursuit of good storytelling, the presence of journalism interconnected with documentary film.

Although it is outside the scope of this thesis, privacy issues are not gone, and in 2018 the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) of the European Union went into effect (Wolford, n.d.). This speaks to the extent of privacy issues on the Internet and recognises that it is a challenge. This is a solid testament to the relevancy of these documentaries and others like them.

# 7  Conclusion

In this thesis, I have studied how the Dark Web is portrayed through the documentary films *Inside the Dark Web* and *Down the Deep, Dark Web.* To discern how this is done, I focused my analysis on the rhetorical project on the film and how specific elements are used to communicate with the audience.

Before concluding the thesis, I will go through the supporting research questions and answer them briefly based on my findings. The supporting questions were developed to help focus the data collection and analysis, to better answer my main research question.

How is the Dark Web introduced?

There is a distinctive difference in how the Dark Web is introduced. This comes from how the documentaries use the Dark Web as a tool in the narrative. *Down the Deep, Dark Web* uses the Dark Web as the catalyst to drive the story forward, and acts as a focal point for the different themes and topics throughout the documentary. When introduced early in the documentary, it is introduced as an alternative Internet, a place hidden underneath the surface with untraceable websites. A place that makes people untraceable and where those who want to carry out actions in secret would gather to buy and sell illegal and stolen goods.

For *Inside the Dark Web*, the focus lies in mass surveillance and privacy related issues. Here the Dark Web is used more as a response to privacy concerns. This is also how it is introduced, a mechanism to fight back against surveillance from governments and companies. The introduction starts by building up the story of encrypted communications from the ideas of Dr David Chaum to Paul Syverson and his team developing onion routing and then releasing it to the public. The Dark Web is presented as a tool that provides anonymity online.

Do the two documentary films take a clear stance towards the Dark Web?

Neither of the documentary films takes a clear stance towards the Dark Web. They both appear objective and informative, highlighting different positions and arguments towards and against the Dark Web. However, since the Dark Web is presented as a place rampant with illegal activity or as a tool for extreme measures through the examples used, the impression is skewed towards a negative association. This is not the documentaries taking a stance towards the Dark Web, but there is a lack of different content that opposes the negative aspects of the Dark Web. Furthermore, the examples used for illegal and unethical content is much more explicit in its depiction than the positive sides. It therefore leaves the impression that it is negatively loaded. This could be judged as taking a stance; however, they do make up for this by presenting different points of view.

How do the documentaries portray people who use the Dark Web described?

The two documentaries portray people that use the Dark Web as relatively ordinary people that are technology savvy. However, most of the affiliations or quirks that these people have made them stand out from the regular person that uses the Internet. Everyone has something that makes them unique, a quirk or particular interest, but the documentaries highlight this to connect them to the Dark Web.

When *Inside the Dark Web* does this, the people connected to the Dark Web are presented as having a professional and work-related interest, such as Jacob Appelbaum, a computer security researches who works for the Tor project. Meanwhile, *Down the Deep, Dark Web* comes off as more focused on details that make the people stand out. Such as using it to purchase goods that they cannot get otherwise or affiliated with idealistic movements, such as the crypto-anarchists that the narrator meets in Prague, people who are inherently opposed to the government and truly embrace technology to protect their privacy.

How is the content on the Dark Web presented?

Both the documentary films present the content on the Dark Web as illegal, degenerate, and bizarre. There is a heavy focus on sales of drugs, and The Silk Road market is used as an example in both documentaries as examples of the drug trade on the Dark Web. This generally illegal or alternative content likely has some influence over audience's perception of the Dark Web. It communicates that the Dark Web is a place that is generally illegal, alternative, and that it is no place for regular people.

These examples are likely a deliberate tactic because it makes the Dark Web seem more extreme and mystical. This type of content is highlighted because it is so open, transparent, and visible on the Dark Web. It is available with anonymity, making it appear very interesting and triggers curiosity.

While specific content may be more open and appear more available on the Dark Web, it does not mean that this is the only place where it is. It can likely all be found on the Surface Web, only that it more hidden. The fact that it is so visible on the Dark Web is one factor that makes the Dark Web interesting.

What type of Dark Web content is mentioned?

*Down the Deep, Dark Web* mentions a variety of different content focused on different markets, forums, and other types of websites. The documentary does not detail the different

content but instead mentions them briefly as examples while showing them on the screen. The longest allotted time is given to illegal markets for different illegal and stolen goods, with a general focus on drugs. However, stolen identities, killers for hire and human trafficking is also mentioned. The Silk Road is also given a small segment of its own to reveal how markets function and are targeted by law enforcement.

Yuval Orr, the narrator of *Down the Deep, Dark Web*, also does a fast show and tell about different sites that he had found on the Dark Web. Among these were forums and sites for adult content with a focus on different kinks and fetishes, child pornography, animal torture, neo-Nazi forums, and the Cannibal Café forum; dedicated to sexual fantasies involving cannibalism.

Furthermore, during the interview with Roey Tzezana, sites where 3D-printer models can be downloaded, and ideas and information exchanged. Another interview with Sheera Frenkel talks about sites or services where people living in the middle east can talk freely and exchange information. The exact details or examples of these sites are not given. This might be because of security concerns or that the filmmakers or interview subjects deemed it irrelevant for the documentary.

*Inside the Dark Web* has little mention of content on the Dark Web. Instead, they are focused on the affordances that the Dark Web provides concerning privacy. However, one example is used: The Silk Road, which has its own segment where the content and economics of the sites are described. In the segment, the contents are described as a market for anonymous wholesale of illegal drugs.

Although different types of content are mentioned in the documentaries, the description of the different content is heavily favoured towards the illegal aspects when showing examples. Even when the sites for exchanging ideas and information talked about, one example is being able to 3D-print a gun.

How is the soundtrack used in the two documentary films?

The soundtrack in the documentaries is used as a supporting technique to set the ambience and control the mood and feelings of the audience. The instrumental music is dictated to be lingering in the background and then activated to help build suspense and curiosity through changes in tempo and melody.

Are there clear changes in the music throughout the documentary films?

There is a similar impression from the soundtrack of the documentaries. They both utilise classical instruments supported by electronic sounds to match the timeliness and modern characters of the themes and topics. There are distinctive changes that appear to reinforce the impressions and engage the viewers. This is done through sinister and ominous sounds used to amplify specific scenes and themes to make them appear mysterious and build suspense as dramatic effects.

Both documentaries also use tempo to match scenes and create feelings and association to changes and excitement. This use of tempo is in many cases synchronised with faster paced footage. Together these two effects create an effect speed, make it appear as if something is happening rapidly, such as Yuval Orr researching the Dark Web, or Tor being released to the public, which in turn creates an impression that this event majorly changed the Internet landscape.

Finally, the main research question and conclusion:

> How is the Dark Web portrayed through the documentary films *Inside the Dark Web* and *Down the Deep, Dark Web*?

When portraying the Dark Web, these two documentaries have different approaches and use various techniques that distinguish them from each other. The main differences in these documentaries lie in the way that they communicate the topics related to privacy and the Dark Web. *Inside the Dark Web* has a distinctive formal approach in its communication. This is most clear through narrator's position in the film and the style and rhetorical devices applied. These work together harmoniously and create the tone and voice for the project. It projects a clear, authoritative voice that directs the documentary in an informative and objective way.

Contrary to the latter, *Down the Deep, Dark Web* is much more aligned with the open voice and style. It is much more hesitant and ambiguous when presenting questions and answers, leaving room for reflection, and making decision. The narrator's presence functions as a guide and brings the audience along as he explores the Dark Web, making it appear more personal and natural.

Although there are differences in the communicative approaches, there is a commonality in how the Dark Web is portrayed. Through examples and thematic focus, the Dark Web is

heavily associated with illegal and alternative activities. As much as the documentaries are objective and present different aspects and points of view, the darker aspects shine through and a give much more detailed depiction in both documentaries.

The focus on the dark nature reinforces the impression that the Dark Web is a place for this type of activity. This focus also emphasises that the affordances that it provides, are enabling criminal and degenerate activity. Furthermore, it is essential to mind that these dark associations make for excellent and intriguing entertainment and function well as a dramatic effect for the documentaries.

When the Dark Web is presented as this scary mischievous place of the Internet, it creates the association and impression that it is indeed dark. By focusing the narrative on the illicit activity that appears, a picture is painted of that this is the only activity that the Dark Web is used for. Even though there is illicit activity on the Dark Web, it is certainly not the only use that it has, and there is content that share commonalities with that of the regular Internet. Suppose people are scared away from using this technology through the represented narrative. In that case, they might not be inclined to adopt it, reducing the chance of normalising the Dark Web as a protector of free speech and privacy.

The primary aim of the documentaries is to highlight privacy issues so that the audience can make informed decisions to protect their own privacy. The Dark Web is an instrument to this discussion and is an example of the technologies that try to fight back against surveillance. The documentaries show what Tor and the Dark Web in general can do for us, and what some chose to do with it. As an instrument, it is effective in communicating the effects of privacy-related challenges online, and therefore, the way that we talk about it and how the Dark Web is framed will likely be part in determining whether people embrace it or not.

When the Dark Web is portrayed negatively through such popular media as documentaries, the impressions that the audience is left with is that the technology is reserved for illegal and degenerate content. Because of this, it will likely not attract regular people. Instead, it will continue to attract those who are more tech-savvy and into alternative cultures, thus creating very defined ecosystems.

# 8 Limitations and further research

The major limiting factor in this thesis has been time. Because of limited time, I decided to narrow the scope and focus my project on two documentaries. This constraint does give somewhat limited insight into how the Dark Web is portrayed. A project that includes a varied selection of documentaries would contribute greatly to understanding how the Dark Web is portrayed on a larger scale.

Another limitation has been language. I chose to write this thesis in English for various reasons; however, since it is not my first language, it has been challenging and provided a substantial learning curve. Furthermore, the Dark Web is a relatively recent phenomenon and has not been studied as extensively as other fields; some research in other languages may therefore have become excluded.

There are opportunities for further research on the Dark Web. With limited research focused on media and cultural perspectives, studies that target these fields would contribute significantly to the Dark Web and privacy discourse. While this study is focused on documentary film, others medium is highly relevant. A study of news and literature coverage in a time aspect combined with qualitative elements would significantly enhance understanding of the Dark Web and its position on the Internet and as a cultural phenomenon.

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# Appendix A - Screenshots



*Figure 1 - Screenshot 08:11 - Inside the Dark Web* – Wiretapping example



*Figure 2 - Screenshot 09:19 – Inside the Dark Web* – Transition screen Snowden
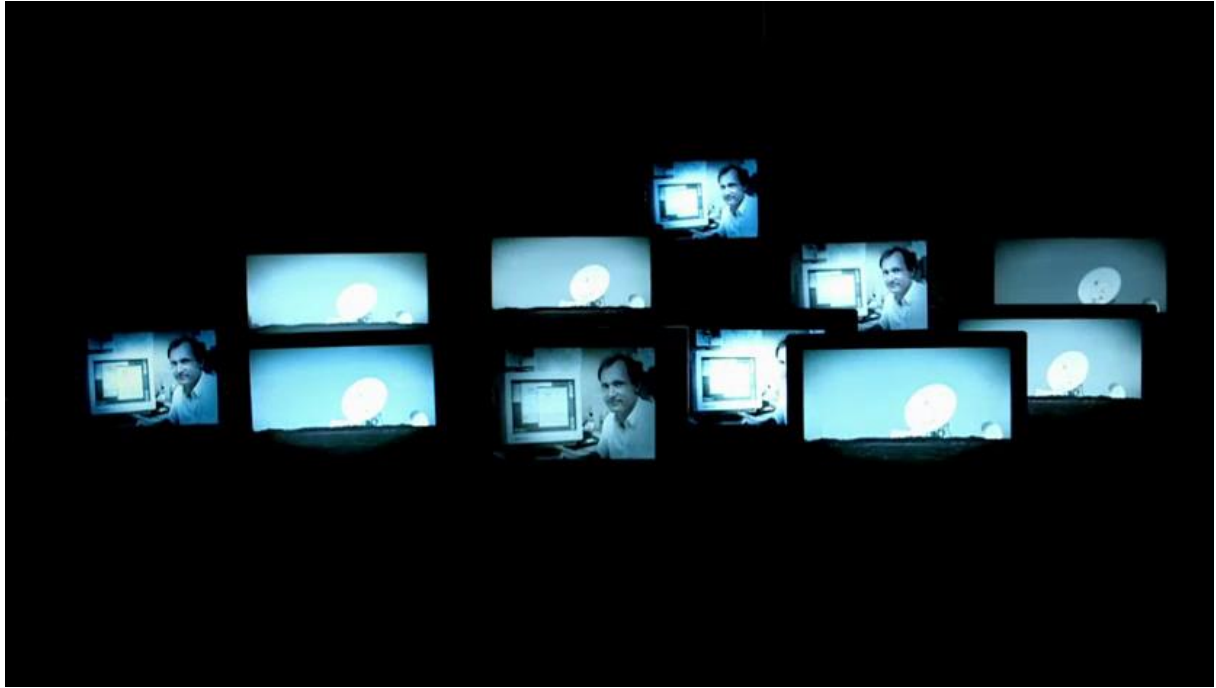
*Figure 3 - Screenshot 09:27 – Inside the Dark Web* – Transition screen Tim Berners-Lee



*Figure 4 - Screenshot 10:32 - Inside the Dark Web* – Interview Tim Berners-Lee

*Figure 5 - Screenshot 18:53 - Inside the Dark Web* – 1980s footage



*Figure 6 - Screenshot 22:54 - Inside the Dark Web* – Anonymity representation
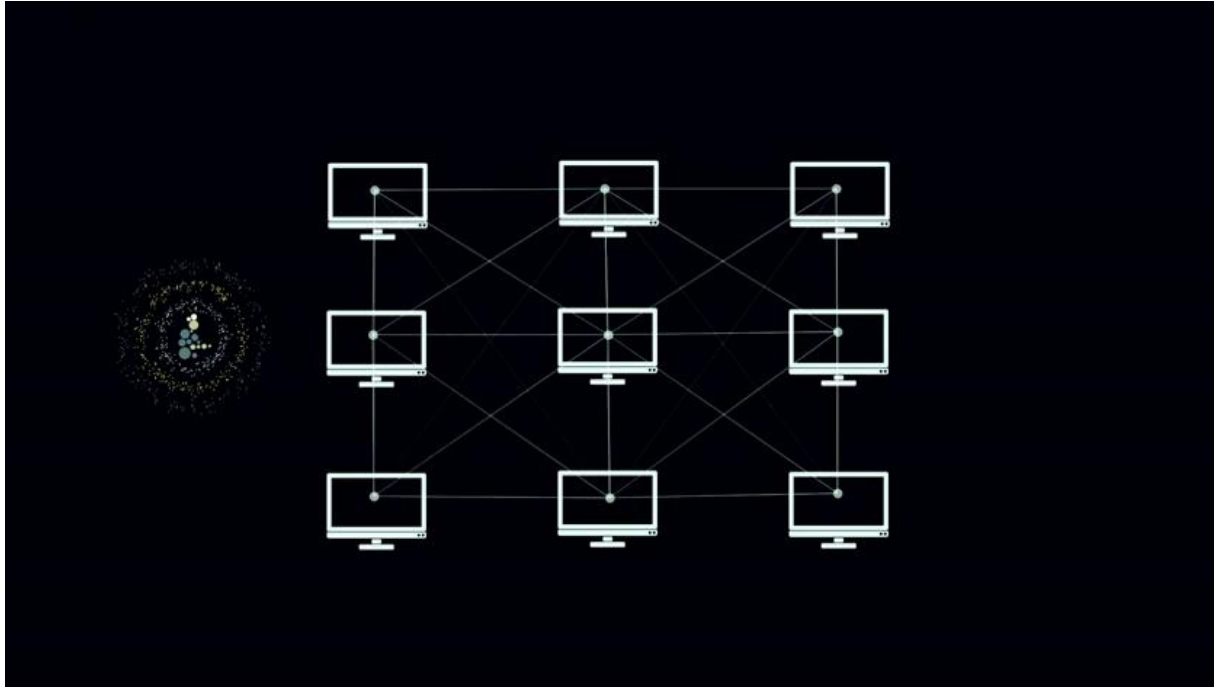
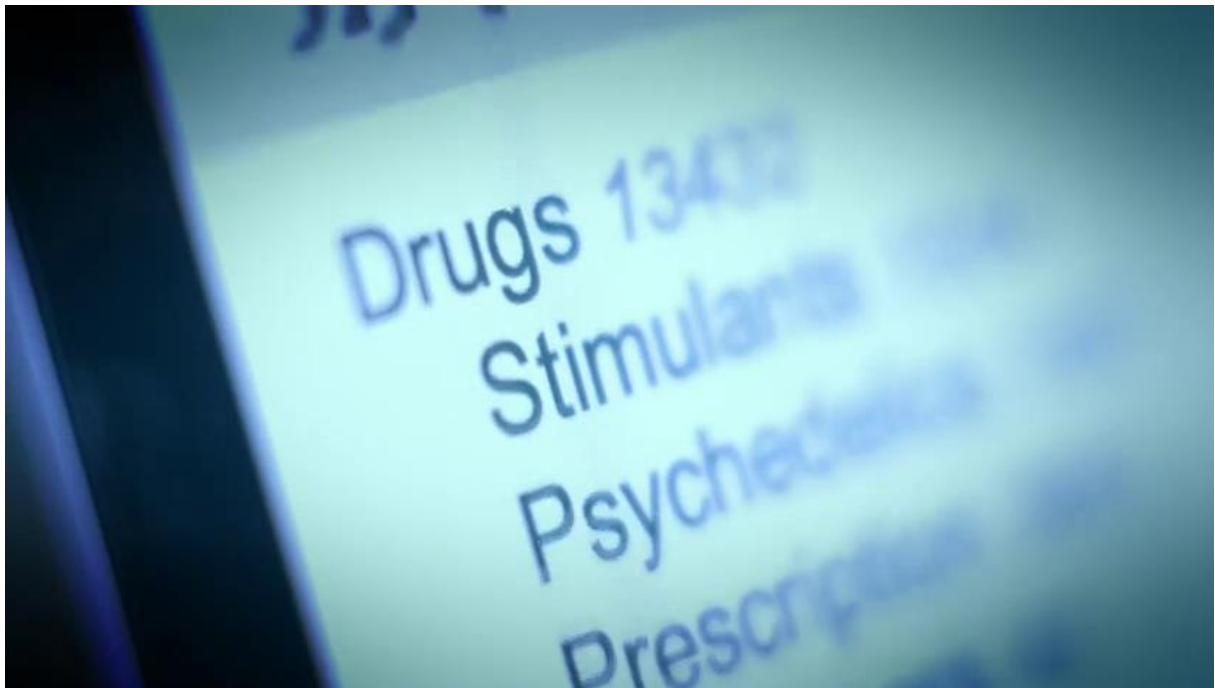*Figure 7 - Screenshot 26:31 - Inside the Dark Web* – Infographic Onion routing



*Figure 8 - Screenshot 38:59 - Inside the Dark Web* – Dark Web Market

*Figure 9 - Screenshot 02:27 - Down the Deep, Dark Web* – Smuggler and Frank Braun



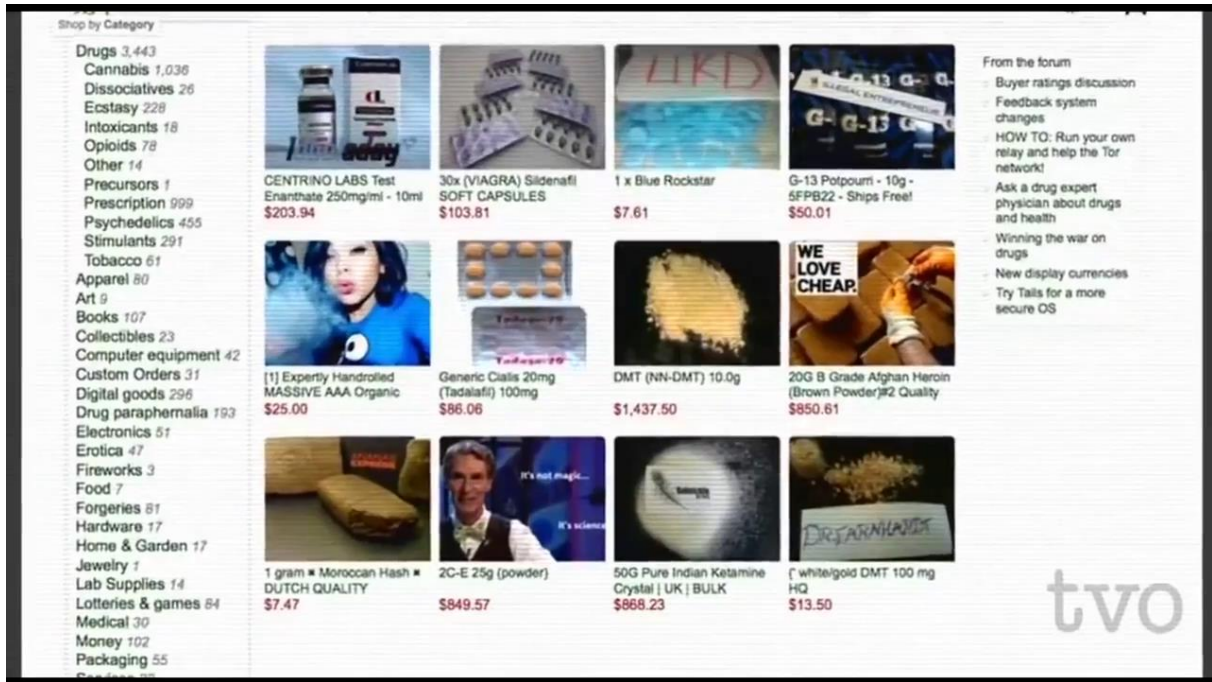*Figure 10 - Screenshot 04:51 - Down the Deep, Dark Web* – Boaz Dolev interview

*Figure 11 - Screenshot 09:04 - Down the Deep, Dark Web* – Dark Web market



*Figure 12 - Screenshot 12:05 - Down the Deep, Dark Web* – Lilyth interview

*Figure 13 - Screenshot 22:47 - Down the Deep, Dark Web* – Paul Rosenberg interview
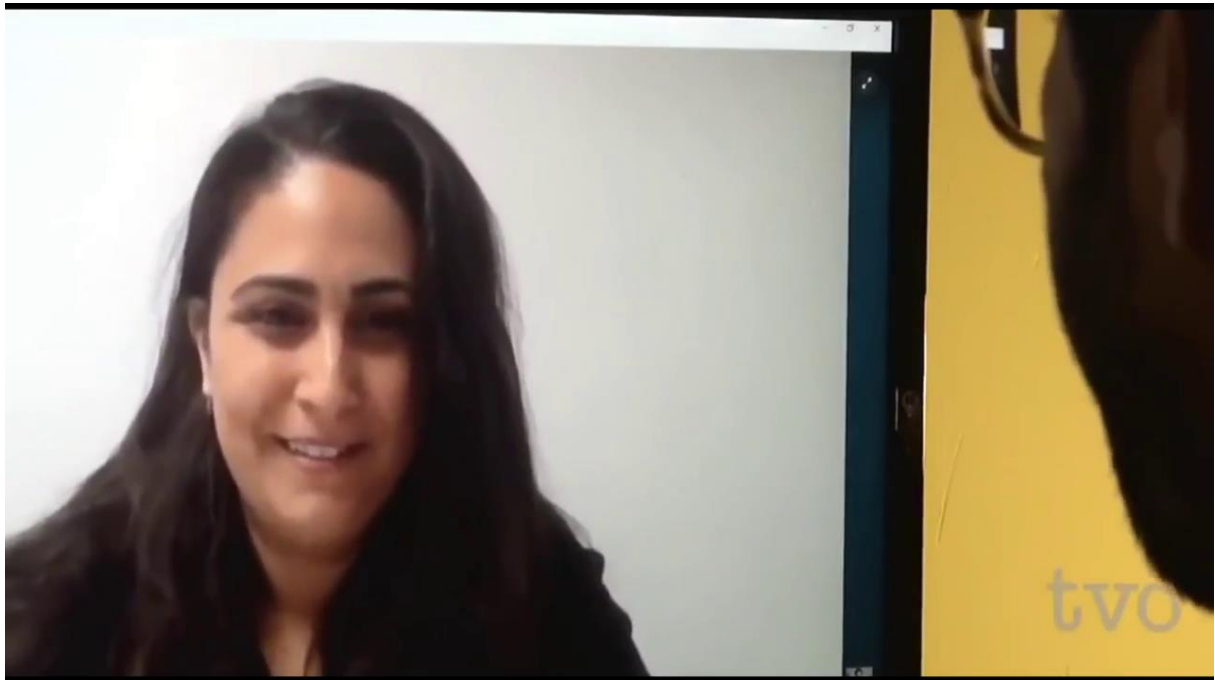


*Figure 14 - Screenshot 27:08 - Down the Deep, Dark Web* – Sheera Frenkel interview