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"Equipped with a fuller picture of the mind as embodied and socially networked, the authors here offer exciting approaches to a wide range of non-fiction work including animations, nature films and 'fake news' websites, while attending as well to the creative processes and aims of documentary filmmakers."

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This groundbreaking edited collection is the first major study to explore the intersection between cognitive theory and documentary film, focusing on a variety of formats, such as first-person documentary, docudrama and web videos. Documentaries play a significant role in informing our cognitive and emotional understanding of today's mass-mediated society, and this collection illuminates their production, exhibition and reception. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, the essays draw on the latest research in film studies, the neurosciences, cultural studies, cognitive psychology, social psychology and the philosophy of mind. With a foreword by pioneering documentary scholar Bill Nichols and contributions from both theorists and practitioners, this volume demonstrates that cognitive theory represents a valuable tool not only for film scholars but also for filmmakers and practice-led researchers.

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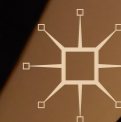
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Fake Pictures, Real Emotions: A Case Study of *Art and Craft*

Aubrey Tang

INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigates the function of morally ambiguous characters in documentary film; it argues that such characters can persuade viewers to renegotiate their moral values, transcend the differences between authenticity and replica, and transgress established social boundaries. It takes, as a case study, *Art and Craft* (2014), a documentary directed by Sam Cullman and Jennifer Grausman, and co-directed by Mark Becker, which chronicles the life of Mark A. Landis, an American art forger living in Laurel, Mississippi. The film is analyzed using an interdisciplinary methodology, drawing first on a textual analysis of Landis's highly particularized screen character, which is then examined in the light of cognitive theories on the construction and perception of fictional characters in film and literature, alongside a discussion of the related moral implications. Psychological considerations of “affect” are used to frame a close reading of empirical data relating to the reception of the film, including 130 online messages, six pieces of journalistic literature, four film festivals/screenings reports, as well as the hundreds of letters and gifts mailed directly to

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Landis.¹ There is a strong correlation between Landis's screen persona and his perceived persona in real life—he is presented more as an unconventional “philanthropist” than a devious criminal.² Viewers' sympathetic responses and transgressive emotions generally follow a similar trajectory in documentaries and fiction films; however, as this study of *Art and Craft* shows, documentaries can provide alternative routes to emotional engagement, due to the genre's special relationship with reality.

Art and Craft focuses on Landis's life, and mainly takes place in Laurel, from around 2011 to 2014. A single white man in his late fifties, who suffers from mental illness, Landis made a hobby out of creating fake masterpieces and donating them to small museums, mainly in the American South, over a period of nearly three decades. Because the paintings were donated, the museums made relatively little effort to authenticate them—unlike the artworks they purchase, which they subject to a rigorous authentication process. As a result, Landis's mischief went unnoticed until Matt Leininger, the registrar of the Oklahoma City Museum of Art at the time, discovered that some of the donated works were forgeries. Although Leininger was instructed by his employer to disregard the whole affair, he continued his investigation into Landis outside working hours, even going so far as to warn other curators, the FBI and the media. In fact, Leininger became so obsessed that, even after the museum was forced to fire him, he continued to pursue his quest to bring Landis to justice. Landis, however, was never arrested. Uninterested in financial gain, he never sold his artworks, only donated them. Furthermore, he paid for his own travel to the museums, so his escapades were all undertaken at his own expense (they were funded by an inheritance from his late mother, his late father's US Navy pension and his own disability benefits from the federal government).³ He also waived his entitlement to the tax write-offs that accompany

¹The 130 internet messages mentioned in this chapter were shown to me by Landis in confidence. For reasons of privacy, I can neither make concrete references to individual letters nor disclose the names of or personal information about their senders.

²Based on my personal interactions with Landis, I can confirm his philanthropy. When helping me gather the sample fan messages, he seemed more concerned with the benefits I would derive from this study than his own self-interest. His thoughtful and caring demeanor towards me revealed an altruism that may explain his practice of creating art forgeries for donation rather than financial gain.

³The information about Landis's sources of income is not clearly conveyed in the film, but was later specified by the filmmaker and a journalist. See Sam Cullman (2015) and Alec Wilkinson (2013).

donations. As a result, although the museums were led to believe that the artworks were genuine, the FBI's Art Crime Team deemed Landis's behavior lawful (that is, in accordance with US legislation) since it involved negligible financial loss. Despite Leininger's efforts to expose him in the media, some institutions—unaware of the story—continued to accept Landis's artworks. The deception only came to an end in 2011, when the *Financial Times* ran an exposé of Landis which was picked up by the global media, and the museums finally began to turn him away.

AN UNCONVENTIONAL ART FORGER: MARK LANDIS

Art and Craft's depiction of Landis creates a highly unconventional screen character, utterly distinct from the characterization of art forgers in most fiction and documentary films. The film brings to light the unusual nature of his real-life circumstances, helping explain his motivation and persona, as well as the public reaction to him. For example, Landis's motivation differs from that of other forgers: he is not interested in money, he harbors no resentments and he is not an egoist. *Art and Craft* eschews narration; however, it makes clear through its interviews with various museum professionals that Landis always donated his forged artworks. This posits a particularly unconventional scenario, since the production of most, if not all, counterfeit art is financially motivated. In addition, while forgers of artistic masterpieces generally seek notoriety or pursue other such narcissistic goals, the audience can clearly see that Landis is not motivated by any egotistical considerations. For instance, the film includes an interview with John Gabber, a *Financial Times* journalist, who speaks of calling Landis again and again, ringing his doorbell and waiting for hours outside his apartment in hope of an interview; Landis never answers the phone or opens the door. Gabber recalls that when Landis finally consented to meet him, the first thing he told him, after admitting to his forgeries, was that he was worried he would become too well-known and would not be allowed into a museum ever again. As he has no interest in money or fame, Landis's character leaves the audience with a sense of moral confusion. While forgery is generally considered immoral, its immorality is located in the act's intent: the desire for money, vengeance, fame or simply to feed the forger's ego. The film essentially renders Landis's character morally ambiguous as he is motivated by none of these things.

Landis's screen persona also contrasts dramatically with that of other art forgers in other respects: they are often portrayed as confident,

anti-establishment, even heroic figures, while Landis has an extremely idiosyncratic personality—frail, mentally ill, humble but charming in a peculiar way. The film opens with this bald, pale, soft-spoken 59-year-old, with a slightly crooked posture, walking through the parking lot of an art supply chain store. His clothes appear outdated and oversized, and his demeanor is distant—he seems oblivious to his surroundings. This immediately subverts the image of the typical, self-confident, provocative art forger normally encountered in fiction films, or even in documentaries about such infamous forgers as Elmyr de Hory in *F for Fake* (1973) or Wolfgang Beltracchi in *Beltracchi: The Art of Forgery* (2014). Instead, the audience sees Landis wandering along the aisles of the store, looking for discounted picture frames. All the while, the scene is accompanied by a score inspired by 1940s Big Band music. This somewhat discordant and non-diegetic music suggests that this is a man out of sync with the present day. Later, we see him going to a follow-up appointment at a mental health facility, and we discover that he was diagnosed as schizophrenic at the age of 17, and has been living alone since his mother's death two years previously.

Besides being disconnected from and overlooked by society, Landis possesses another quality atypical of art forgers: humility. While other forgers commonly boast of their skills and techniques, Landis appears unassuming, despite the fact that he has successfully fooled professionals in dozens of museums. When asked how he managed this, he casually explains that he creates the paintings while sitting on his bed watching TV, using photocopies, pencils, paints, glue, instant coffee, cheap picture frames and pieces of wood bought from a home improvement store. His relative carelessness over his choice of materials is in stark contrast to the attitude of most art forgers, who take pride in verisimilitude and obsess over every detail, using old canvases and paints that are free of any new chemicals. Landis, however, sees replicating artworks as a rather trivial activity, never spending longer than an hour on each piece (Wilkinson 2013). He also denies that he is a “real artist,” claiming to be a hobbyist who likes creating arts and crafts. As art historian Noah Charney (2012, p. 69) affirms, “[h]e has none of the passive-aggression and rash bravado of renowned art forgers like Eric Hebborn, Hanvan Meegeren, or Elmyr de Hory.” Landis's humility about his talents makes him stand out in the popular discourse about narcissistic art forgers such as Beltracchi, who claims that he can successfully fake any masterpiece (that is, he can paint as well as any of the original old masters) (*Beltracchi* 2014). All portrayals of Landis in *Art and Craft* seem to suggest that he is an ordinary, lonely old

man, forgotten by society, a social type we encounter in most American neighborhoods but generally ignore.

The initial mainstream coverage of Landis exemplifies his unconventional character. The film reveals that the publicity was at first entirely negative: it shows some early footage from Local News 12 WKRC-TV in Cincinnati, Ohio, in which Landis is reported as a conman on the loose. Landis was also portrayed as a demonic imposter by other local TV channels, such as Local News KATC-TV3 in Lafayette, Louisiana in 2010, although this is not included in the film (Motifman 2010). In 2011, one of the most authoritative national newspapers in the US, *The New York Times* (Kennedy 2011), represented Landis as a cunning criminal, who had managed to deceive museum professionals and evade an FBI agent. And immediately after the release of *Art and Craft* in 2014, National Public Radio (NPR) and *The Washington Post* described him as “odd” and “awkward” (Blair 2014; Merry 2014), and a follow-up *New York Times* article referred to him as downright “creepy” (Holden 2014). In the film, the curatorial circle holds an equally negative view of Landis: two museum professionals describe him as “quirky” and “eccentric.” Although the audience later sees Landis acknowledged as a talented artist at a Cincinnati art exhibition, public opinion at this point was overwhelmingly negative—an atypical response to either a fictional or documentary portrayal of an art forger. Historically, the public’s fascination with art forgery as a spectacle has been fed by fiction films, documentaries and television. Inspired by elements of thriller, mystery and true-crime genres, these portrayals usually involve a mixture of enigma and heroism, echoing the motifs found in classical Hollywood heist films. Art forgers are typically depicted as intelligent, charismatic and talented; they are considered heroic outlaws and are rarely presented as demonic in the way Landis was initially portrayed by the popular media. In this respect too, he is a decidedly unconventional figure.

CHARACTER PARTICULARITY AND AMBIGUITY

Art and Craft has created a character that disrupts the prototypical relationship between plot, character and scenes found in traditional biographical documentaries. Although it relates to fictional narratives, Patrick Colm Hogan’s (2010) character typology can also be applied to documentary. He explains that as a story is constructed, its plot, characters and scenes inform each other’s development (pp. 136–137). Thus, a typical art forger

narrative has a crime story (plot) and an art forger (character) who creates counterfeit art and hoodwinks the professionals in one or more museum/gallery/art auction settings (scenes). Of these three components, Hogan argues, the characters possess a disproportionate importance in terms of how they affect the scenes and the plot (pp. 138, 142). Thus, particularizing the prototypical characters is a reliable means of particularizing an entire narrative. While *Art and Craft* still features the prototypical structure of art forgery narratives, such as the fake artefacts, the museums, the likable protagonist (Landis) and the unlikeable official antagonists (Leininger and the other museum professionals), Landis's unusual character effectively particularizes the film's narrative despite its prototypical structure.

One example of this is a scene in which Landis meets with the staff of a nearby museum, spinning them a yarn about a nonexistent deceased sister who owned an authentic painting that he now wants to donate. As in *F for Fake* and *Beltracchi*, the concrete locations or "crime scenes" where the forgeries are disseminated (streets, auction houses, art fairs and museums) are prototypical for this kind of narrative. But Landis's self-effacing and diffident persona, which becomes evident as he speaks to the museum staff, stands in direct contrast to de Hory's and Beltracchi's stance, rendering the narrative function of these crime scenes particular rather than prototypical. A similar example can be found in the scenes showing the creation of the forgeries: while de Hory and Beltracchi adopt a typical attitude of pride and self-congratulation towards their meticulously performed work, Landis nonchalantly creates his forgeries while sitting on his bed watching TV. Therefore, although *Art and Craft* incorporates prototypical scenarios, Landis's idiosyncratic character alters the viewer's expected perception of them. The plotline and scenes are dictated by his particular character, and the narrative develops coherently around him rather than being molded by a prototypical narrative template.

The effect of this character particularization on the film's audience is one of surprise and fascination. Prescriptive characterization necessarily entails predictable plotlines and scenes; non-prescriptive characterization suggests unpredictability. Characters who do not conform to the predictable plotlines in which they are embedded intrigue the viewer as they have no way of knowing what to expect from the narrative or how to explain the characters' paradoxical traits. Landis simultaneously conforms to and defies the prototypical characterization of an art forger: he is shown as the paradoxical composite of a petty criminal who cons people into accepting forgeries and a philanthropist with a strong code of moral conduct who

donates his art to the public,⁴ thus creating a morally ambiguous but appealing character. Evidence of this can be found in the journalistic literature, audience responses at screenings and online messages from fans, all of which confirm the largely positive impact of the film on Landis's public persona.

Alec Wilkinson (2013), for example, wrote an article about Landis in *The New Yorker*—one of the most perceptive, well-researched and positive biographical accounts in popular discourse. Wilkinson's detailed account portrays Landis as a multidimensional subject, and he supports this portrayal with contextual facts and background information. The art-and-lifestyle magazine, *Paste*, also made it clear that “[a]lthough we know that what Landis is doing is fraudulent, we can't help but like the guy” (Ziembra 2014). Other film and arts-related journalistic outlets (Meier 2014; Goldstein 2014; DeFore 2014; Hohenadel 2014), including *Hyperallergic*, *Artspace*, *Hollywood Reporter* and *The Eye* (*Slate's* design blog), all expressed a more positive recognition of Landis than the general news media. This far-reaching impact was due, not least, to the wide distribution of the film: it was released on DVD, made available on numerous video streaming services (YouTube, iTunes, Amazon, Google Play, Vudu) and broadcast on PBS. The overwhelmingly positive audience response to Landis has subsequently extended to his life off-screen. He has attended numerous screenings with the documentary crew, including those at prestigious film festivals, such as AFI Docs and Tribeca, and universities in the Southern states (of the US), including Emory University, as well as a screening hosted by the National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI), a nonprofit mental health organization (Landis 2016; Mark Landis Original 2014). At these events, he appeared to be appreciated and celebrated by journalists and live audiences alike (FlyingOverTrOut 2014; Loll 2016). After meeting Landis at a university screening, one student even asked him to adopt her as his honorary granddaughter—a request he accepted with pleasure (Landis 2016).

Other signs of this fascination with Landis can be seen in the plethora of messages and gifts he has received. A friend he met while filming built

⁴Landis repeatedly explains his personal ethics in the film by quoting verbatim from pre-1970s films and TV series. He says that he lives by “the code of *The Saint*,” meaning one should be as ethical as Simon Templar, the Robin Hood-type hero of the show. However, he laments that ethical behavior never pays off in modern society, as Finch, the protagonist of the 1967 Hollywood musical, *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*, discovers.

him a website that allows fans to send him messages and place orders for commissioned artworks (Mark Landis Original 2014). Landis continues to receive hundreds of messages from the film's multinational audiences—and to reply to every single one (Loll 2016; Landis 2016). For this chapter, I studied 130 of these messages and observed the following most common recurring themes: the audience is sympathetic to Landis; they find him inspiring; and they want to establish a benevolent personal relationship with him. One fan invited Landis to his wedding, while others have offered to be his friends, asked to meet him, and offered him gifts or material resources, such as meals, drinks or studio space. He has also received over one hundred commissions for artworks (Loll 2016), as well as a large amount of traditional mail, including greeting and gift cards (Landis 2016).

This positive reception is clearly a direct result of the film, since (as related earlier) museum curators nationwide and the major US media outlets had previously expressed unquestionably negative opinions of Landis. The audience's acceptance of a morally ambiguous character can be explained by exploring the appeal of similar characters encountered in fiction. Murray Smith (2011) argues that an audience finds it much more psychologically feasible to engage with a character who displays morally ambiguous behavior if it does not appear to incur any costs in real life. Analyzing the character of mafia boss Tony Soprano in the TV series *The Sopranos* (1999–2007), Smith states:

This source of appeal is likely to be much more salient and powerful in the context of fictional engagement, where the imagined pleasures and benefits of such behavior do not have to be set against any real costs (i.e. worries about the potential harm that such agents of “rogue power” might inflict on oneself and those one cares about) ... [C]ontemplating the actions of Soprano in the imagination simply is not the same, in all respects, as encountering the actions of a real equivalent to Soprano. (Smith 2011, p. 80)

Hence, the determining factors in whether an audience experiences a positive emotional response to a character are the real consequences rather than the actual nature of the character's moral flaws. Landis's flaws, serious as they are, cause no real harm: he donates his forgeries without hope of financial gain and (from a legal perspective) has committed no crime. Thus, the audience finds it acceptable to like him as a character and perhaps

even feel a sense of moral allegiance towards him.⁵ However, while the audience's evaluation of "real costs" in relation to character engagement operates in a similar way in both fiction and documentary, it should be noted that documentary characters can provide viewers with an opportunity to actualize the costs of their engagement in a way that fictional characters cannot.

Moreover, Landis's non-prescriptive, particularized character provides an avenue for the viewers' imagination and fantasy; although he disrupts conventional expectations about the *prototypical* art forger, this does not necessarily mean that he cannot, as an *archetypical* character, offer them the same imaginative pleasure and satisfaction. The distinction between prototypes and archetypes is sometimes overlooked, but arguably the notion of prototype is more descriptive of the narrative structure, while the archetype is more descriptive of the psychological structure of a character. Theoretically, in the analysis of characters, prototypes and archetypes can (and often do) overlap, but their emphases are different. While both prototypes and archetypes refer to types/patterns of characters, archetypes are specifically associated with the Jungian psychoanalytic concept of a "collective unconscious" that extends beyond the individual. Archetypes are recurring characters and motifs that are conceived instinctually; they exist in all epochs and all cultures (Davis et al. 1982). They reveal universal concerns, processed by the hard-wired parts of the human psyche, such as a caring mother's love for her child. As Henry Bacon (2009, p. 80) puts it, archetypes are "crystallizations of near-universal ways of responding to basic psychological concerns on an imaginary level, free of the restraints of the real world." In this regard, although structurally divergent from the conventional characterization of an art forger, Landis does function as a quintessential archetype—as a "Robin Hood-of-the-art-world" character.

This function can be explained through the archetypes' aptitude to fuel our fantasy. Bacon (2015, p. 17) argues that archetypes are instrumental in connecting with the viewers' "fantasies of physical prowess or exceptional professional, social, or sexual competence... [in] a situation onto which [they] can project a fantasy aspect of [themselves]." When watching

⁵The audience referred to here is the primary audience of the film—the average spectator. Museum professionals, on the other hand, may perceive that Landis has caused them real harm, potentially threatening the reputation of their institutions. Arguably, they comprise a smaller, secondary audience, which is a lot less likely to find Landis appealing.

an archetypal screen character, viewers can “fantasize about what [they] are going to do, what [they] would like to do, and even what [they] cannot possibly do” (p. 17). Further, archetypes facilitate a kind of “symptomatic [audience response] in the form of fantasies with intertwined psychological and social references,” projecting our “hopes and frustrations, dreams, and anxieties” (2009, p. 80). So, on a symbolic level, Landis’s harmless exploit of creating forged artworks and successfully donating them as authentic artefacts offers the audience the fantasy of fighting global capitalism and its commodification of art.

In *Art and Craft*, this symbolism is emphasized, for example, in the scene where Landis creates an artwork on his bed, in front of the TV, while explaining how he started his “hobby.” A sequence of shots showing him putting on a pair of gloves, sawing a wooden board and taking some supplies out of a plastic bag is immediately followed by the well-choreographed sequence of a shoot-out in the classic Western playing on his TV. This montage suggests to the audience that instead of shooting opponents, Landis’s way of getting back at the society that has disenfranchised him is to create forgeries. Instead of guns, his weapons are gloves and art supplies. These images provide the viewers with the archetypal ingredients with which to create an “art world’s Robin Hood” fantasy—an heroic, individual rebellion—thus vicariously satisfying their desire to strike at the capitalist commodification of art. After all, art today is viewed by its wealthy buyers as a financial investment, a tool to diversify portfolios in the hope of withstanding market changes (Goetzmann 1993), as well as a means of generating undeserved amounts of even greater wealth. This fantasy can also be linked to an anti-establishment dream of economic and social justice, since the donated forgeries appear to disrupt belief in the authenticity of some museum collections, however futile Landis’s actions may actually be in this respect.

TRANSGRESSIVE EMOTIONS

The viewers’ fascination and willingness to engage with Landis’s character occur not only on a narrative and symbolic level, but also on an emotional one, eliciting powerful transgressive emotions that contradict established moral values. For instance, while all Landis’s fan letters express sympathy toward him, several representative online messages demonstrate that, for the viewers of the film, his character transcends the difference between real and fake. Some fans suggest that it does not matter whether the pictures

he creates are real or fake as long as he can feel free to paint whatever he wants. Most of the messages do not clarify what they mean by this, failing to specify, for instance, whether they refer to displaying forgeries in the home or whether they condone exhibiting them in a museum. Many messages use encouraging phrases, such as “keep doing what you’re doing” and “stay true to yourself,” along with numerous virtual hugs. These recurring themes clearly indicate a sense of compassion: viewers prioritize this sympathetic character’s personal freedom and mental wellbeing over an adamantine ontological distinction between real and fake—a dichotomy that is as predominant in today’s materialist Western culture as it has been in documentary studies in relation to the authenticity of images and sounds.

In a study analyzing viewers’ transgressive emotions and their capacity for disrupting moral orthodoxy, E. J. Horberg and Dacher Keltner (2007) state that viewers’ intuitive emotions relating to moral allegiance constitute low-level cognition but also a response to social inequality. Such “moral emotions” rarely comprise rational thoughts alone; instead, they are “a complicated combination of principled reasoning, emotion, and perspective taking” (pp. 155–156). One key moral emotion is “compassion.” This is capable of reconfiguring moral judgments by confronting them with other moral distributional principles: when someone feels compassionate, they feel sympathy and may be spurred into performing a benevolent act to alleviate another’s suffering, even if this act violates their moral principles (pp. 164–165). Compassion is thus “closely related to issues of harm, need and helping” (p. 164). Considering the severely deprived nature of Landis’s life, his social reality, compassion appears the best way to describe the type of transgressive emotions his character elicits in the film’s audience.

One example is the scene where Landis explains why he smokes. He recalls that when he went into the emergency room to throw up after being given his psychiatric medication, he remembered that the characters in the classic films he watches on Turner Classic Movies (TCM) always light up a cigarette when they need to calm down, and so he tried smoking. After we see him taking out different prescription bottles of Lorazepam (an anti-anxiety drug), he continues to ramble on about his feelings—his worries about being labeled an art forger, of becoming known as a crook and a drinker, like his father—as he paces up and down. Shortly afterwards, the camera accompanies him to a follow-up appointment at the clinic, where a medical assistant records his weight, which is very low (120

lb) despite the fact that he is wearing a heavy winter jacket. She chats with him about common medical topics, such as his appetite, and we discover that although Landis has told her that his mother has passed away, the assistant appears to have forgotten and asks how she is doing. Since this woman is possibly one of the few people Landis sees on a regular basis, we understand from this encounter both that he is very lonely and that people generally pay little attention to him. Although not happy about the assistant's question, he appears to take no offense and remains calm. Afterwards, the scene changes to Landis's dimly lit bedroom, full of art books, art supplies, paintings and a pile of laundry. His TV is on and he is dipping Melba toast into a tub of spread. He then explains the reason behind his addiction to "philanthropy": when donating a forged artwork, he is—for once—able to enjoy a moment when people are nice to him.

Scenes like this clearly convey Landis's painful lack of human interaction and his simple wish to feel connected to the world; he seems isolated and forgotten by society. Having no financial or institutional ambitions, Landis's loneliness is strangely compelling. In the eyes of a compassionate viewer, this makes him a character truly deserving of support, forgiveness and kindness. His moral flaws, which incur no harm, can be forgiven, and moral boundaries can be reconfigured.

CONCLUSION

This chapter uses Landis to illustrate how a morally ambiguous character can elicit a powerfully sympathetic audience response, provided that there are no real-life costs. The highly unusual, paradoxical nature of his character invites the viewers to connect and engage because they experience fascination and compassion. It also provides them with an avenue for imagination and fantasy, demonstrating how ambiguous characters can elicit transgressive emotions, which in turn can effectively transform the viewers' moral bearings. The emotion of compassion, in particular, does not operate in terms of rational moral evaluations; rather, it is intuitive and altruistic. These mechanisms operate whether the characters belong to a documentary or a fiction film. However, because documentary characters are empirical subjects that exist in a common social reality that the viewers share, their access to these characters and the way they evaluate the liabilities involved in the characters' actions differ from those of fictional characters. Nevertheless, the outcome—renegotiated moral boundaries—is comparable.

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