Transmedia Storytelling and Online Representations –
Issues of Trust on the Internet

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Abstract— In this paper we present an alternative way to raise awareness about online advance-fee fraud scams, by exploring the extent to which concepts of transmedia storytelling are adaptable in representing a scambait – the practice of scamming a scammer. Both scammers and scambaiters take advantage of the anonymity that Internet affords. By investigating their practices we can question the trust that is put into online representations. To understand the concept of scamming and scambaiting, the motives of scammers, victims and scambaiters are presented in this paper.

Transmedia storytelling can be very immersive and has successfully been adapted to fictional storyworlds. Yet, what happens when transmedia concepts are adapted to documentation material and blended with fictional characters? With the help of an example – the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” – we illustrate how a documented scambait evolved into a transmedia story, unfolding over several media channels: an art installation, online on various social media platforms, a video trailer, as a card game and as a scambait kit. This case study presents the challenges that emerge when both fiction and reality are blended into a transmedial narratology.

Keywords-419-scam, scambait, transmedia storytelling.

II. INTRODUCTION

Boosted by Internet technologies, scammers increasingly seek out to reach victims through fraudulent online representations and mass e-mails. We all receive proposals, either in our inbox or spam filter, that in fact are attempts to scam a victim. Most of us delete the sams and have a critical eye for offers seemingly “too good to be true”, yet scamming is a big industry that many victims fall for. Scams come in various forms, some quite unbelievable, others smartly entwined in our daily practices. If we take a closer look into our spam filters, a number of scam stories reveal to be quite creative and intriguing story worlds. These stories are designed to appeal to our emotions of greed, empathy or scarcity, making the presented offers and opportunities even harder to reject.

There are a number of people called scambaiters, who enter these stories knowing them to be scams, yet willing to correspond with the scammers. Both scammers and scambaiters use fake identities and back them up with narrated digital representations to gain the trust of the counterpart. They play within the gray area of Internet raising a question we all have: how can we trust online representations? Due to various reasons scambaiters publish their correspondences online. These stories are intriguing, yet hard to enter and grasp. Most of the scambait stories are published on partly exclusive platforms in the form of text based email correspondence, which is hard to follow. Could there be a way to make a scambait story easier to grasp? Could it reach a wider audience, and immerse people into the narration affording various levels of involvement?

Documenting and publishing information of how scammers operate, subsequently raises awareness about scams, and can be seen as preventing new victims to fall for a scam. We look into transmedia storytelling concepts to explore: 1) how spreading a scambait story across various media channels increases the chance to reach various audiences. 2) How transmedia storytelling can both give the possibility to have an overall understanding of a story, and offer anyone interested a possibility to dig deeper. 3) How transmedia storytelling can provide a method to unravel information and support an open ended story. In the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” case study we try to implement these cross media concepts in an interactive installation and through online social media channels. Several entrance points give the audience a possibility to investigate the story and dig deeper into the storyworld.

II. SCAMS AND THE INVOLVED PARTICIPANTS

Advance-fee fraud is a confidence trick that lures the victim into paying a fee in advance, with the future hope of getting a larger amount of money. In “The economic psychology of scams” written by Lea, SEG et al. [16] advance-fee fraud is referred to as an ‘unusual kind of advertisement, offering goods and services in exchange of money’. Whereas in the case of a fraud most of the time money gets exchanged and very seldom any goods. The origins of advance-fee fraud dates back to the 16th century and is known as the ‘Spanish prisoner’. This scheme tells a compelling story about a wealthy person, who is imprisoned in Spain under a false identity. To secure the release of the prisoner, the trickster is raising money, promising the victim generous rewards when the prisoner returns. After the victim has turned over the funds, further difficulties arise and the trickster continues to ask for money until the victim is cleaned out or declines to put up more funds.

In the early 1980s West-African university students started to contact ‘possible business partners’ around the world to interest them in the declining oil-business. These scamming practices have spread out all over the world [28]. The ‘2010 Internet crime report’ by the Internet Complaint Center [11] points out the growing diversification of cyber crime, resulting in over 25,000 complaints per month. Due to technological development, the confidence tricksters are no longer limited to personal contact with the victim.
Over the decades different forms of media like letters, phone calls, fax messages, email, Instant Messaging Systems (Chat, VoIP), Internet Gaming sites as well as Social and business networking sites have been used to spread the ‘get-rich-quick’ stories [15]. These communication systems have rapidly increased the opportunities for scammers to reach victims. At the same time they have helped the scammers to hide their personalities and their working practices [1].

With today’s increased use of internet, scammers can work with standard office computers on a global level, tricking their victims by impersonating fundraising Charity NGO’s, State Lottery institutions, Conference/Art Festival organizers or as romance seekers on Dating websites. These types of cyber crime are often called ‘419-scams’, ‘419’ referring to the Nigerian Criminal Code dealing with cheating and fraud [19].

A. Who are the scammers?

419-Scams are a worldwide phenomenon, yet each scammer has his/her own story to tell why they turned into cyber crime. When taking a closer look at the development of West Africa, we see that western media strongly influenced foreigners’ interpretation of Africans. For many westerners, the legacy of slavery and colonialism implies that Africa is still dependent on relations with western countries. According to Jenna Burrell's findings, this black and white perception of Africa, is turned around by African Scammers and serves them as subversive justice to extract money from the seemingly limitless wealthy West. This misrepresentation of dependency relations is mirrored in 419 plots like the African orphan who needs a monthly donation, the women seeking refuge from a corrupt government, the lawyer who wants to bring money out of an oppressed country, etc. Many scammers face a lack of faith in any legal business opportunities [2].

According to a scammer interviewed on the British Scam-detectives website [12], 1% of people reply on the sent out emails, and maybe 1 out of every 20 people who reply wires on average of $7,500 USD. Furthermore the interviewed scammer explains that after a successful scam (meaning the victim wired money to the scammer) the scammer often tries to contact the victim again. This time the scammer uses another fake identity and pretends to be a law-enforcement officer from the FBI or the Nigerian EFCC, convincing the victim that they caught a gang of scammers and found the details and contacts of the victim. The victim often believes the story, that ‘justice finally finds its way home’ and is often even easier convinced to pay ‘a small processing fee’ to get the lost money recovered.

B. Who falls for the scam?

The victims of cyber crime can be found in any society independent of their race, wealth, social status or intellectual education. They range from single persons to business organizations and educational institutions [18]. The scammer uses a persuasive strategy to induce the victim to make decision errors by stirring up emotions like greed, commitment, trust, scarcity, positive illusions, desperation, vulnerability [16]. The victims tend to believe in the honesty of the scammer, falling for the claimed uniqueness of the opportunity that is being offered by the scammer [1].

As victims trust the scammers, they wire money using Western Union, Moneygram or similar services. After the first payment is done the scam continues. It can take several months and countless payments until the victim realizes the scam. Besides the financial loss victims often face psychological issues: their trust in their own judgment and their trust in other people is shattered; and the personal violation can be the psychological equivalent of rape. Other emotional reactions might include: shock, disbelieve, anger, fear for their financial security, shame, embarrassment or frustration with criminal justice professionals [4].

C. What motivates the scambaiters?

Scambaiters are persons who reply to scam emails, being fully aware that the emails are written by scammers. “Scambaiting involves tricking Internet scammers into believing you are a potential victim.” [24]. This means that the scambaiters turn the tables and lure the scammers into incredible story-plots, always giving the scammers the feeling that they will get a lot of money. Like all of us, scambaiters find scam emails in their inboxes, but while most of us immediately delete them, scambaiters reply using a fake identity. It is easy for the scammers to use a fake identity, promising victims a high amount of money. On the other hand, it is just as easy for the intended victim to do the same. The scambaiters organize themselves on various Internet platforms like thescambaiter.com, 419eater.com or scamorama.com. On these platforms, they exchange current email-scams and share their stories within the community. Scambaiters do this for different reasons. Tuovinen et. al. [27] illustrate three possible motives:

- Community service: the baiter seeks to protect potential victims by tricksly scammers into exhausting their resources.
- Status elevation: the baiter seeks to gain the admiration of his peers by outwitting scammers.
- Revenge: the baiter or someone close to him has fallen victim to a scam in the past and the baiter seeks retribution.

Scambaiters often work together with international phone operators, Internet service providers, banks, local embassies or “state-trading organizations” to deter the activities of the scammers. Scambaiters try to fool the scammers with their own schemes, creating a lot of extra work for the scammer, so that the time consuming tasks hinder the scammer to trick real victims. These activities falls into the category of community service. Scambaiters also ask for photographs of the scammers, often showing them in humiliating poses or holding signs with debasing texts. These photos are posted on different scambaiting forum sites where the poster gains the admiration of his fellow baiters, making scambaiting the “Internet’s first blood sport” [3]. These kind of actions are motivated by status elevation and revenge.

III. TRANSMEDIA STORYTELLING

The contemporary buzzword ‘transmedia storytelling’ can be defined as a story that is designed and told across multiple media channels. Henry Jenkins [13] points out that each new media text needs to add a valuable contribution to the whole story. Transmedia storytelling utilizes the affordances of each medium: "in the ideal form of transmedia storytelling, each medium, does what it does best".

While studying the transmedia phenomena Christy Dena [9] observed that it is “in fact the same phenomenon emerging in different ways at different times”. So transmedia is nothing new, digital media has simply amplified it. Henry Jenkins [13] traces it as far back as the Middle Ages, giving an example of the story of Jesus that was told through various mediums like stained glass
windows, tapestry, psalms, live performances and printed text. Hybrid arts, theater, anime and Japanese “media mix” culture are all recognized as contributors to the development of transmedia storytelling in western culture [20].

Angelique Toschi [25] argues that transmedia storytelling “is becoming the norm rather than the exception” in today’s entertainment. This rings true if we look at the increasing number of productions, starting from older examples like “Star Wars” and “Matrix” and moving on to newer projects like “X-men”, “The Dark Knight” or TV-series like “Lost”, “Heroes” and “Dollhouse”, all adapting various forms of transmedia storytelling. Also video games like the “Warcraft” have developed to transmedia through spin-offs with various narratives in form of novels, comics, tabletop games etc. [17]. On the other hand transmedia storytelling is also a part of an emerging new storytelling system. Nick Tandavanijit [26] from Blast Theory compares today’s situation of transmedia storytelling with the early movie makers in the shift of the 19th and 20th century who were working with black and white film and no sound. Knowing the history of film – who knows where we can go with transmedia storytelling. Transmedia is emerging in many different fields like TV, game and film industry as well as in new media art, all with various media production practices. Lance Weile [26] architect of Pandemic 1.0 sees media artists and small scale independent companies as the R&D of new storytelling forms.

IV. “RE: DAKAR ARTS FESTIVAL”

The “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” [20] project documents the practice of scammers, who announce an online open call for a fake art festival in Dakar, Senegal. The festival is just a lead story for advance-fee fraud and victims are lured into wiring money for reservations, transportation costs, commissions or other service charges without knowing that the festival does not exist.

Most scambait are documented in online forums. Forum members post stories as threads in different categories like ‘My first bait’, ‘Romance scams’, ‘Ebay scams’ etc. Each thread gives the possibility for other forum members to comment on each other’s stories. Also several photo galleries can be found on the forum e.g. ‘trophy room’, ‘hall of shame’ or ‘Mugu museum’. Scambaiting involves documenting and publishing the scammers practice. A different approach is carried out by the platforms that want to warn of 419-related business proposals. These platforms just post the scam emails including the email headers and IP-addresses. They are open to the public and are also indexed in search-engine queries. We think that there are various possibilities to make scambait documentation more accessible, easier to follow and therefore maybe more entertaining like “The Road to the Skeleton coast” [23].

A. The first contact

The “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” project evolved out of a personal email message directed to the authors of this paper inviting them to participate in the upcoming Dakar Arts Festival.

Received Email:

“Dakar Arts Festival ”
November 1, 2010 To December 30, 2010
"International Dakar Arts Festival 2010"

Under the high patronage of the ministry of arts and culture, in partnership with the galleries arts of west Africa. Dakar Arts Festival will host for the first time an international contemporary arts exhibition, starting from November 1, 2010 To December 30, 2010.

All art galleries , Artists from all over the world are cordially invited.

Programs: exposure(speech) carnival) for more information for your participation

CONTACT US :
BF:2256 Dakar Arts Festival
Dakar - Sénégal
Mariama Sy
TELEPHONE + 221- 77-743-63-51, + 221- 76-743-63-51
Or Write: dakar_arts_festival@yahoo.fr

A similar text is also used as an “open-call” and announced on different art-related platforms [19]. A first online search for the festival revealed the numerous open-calls that were posted on the art platforms. The claim that the festival is organized for the first time validated the lack of any documentation of previous festivals. The absence of an official festival website and some grammatical mistakes in the open call made us curious, whether the festival was real or not.

To investigate a bit further, we started developing online characters, that were in contact with the scammers. We created three virtual characters: a gallerist Peter Irrthum, an artist Heidi Humptburg and the gallery secretary Toni v. d. Alm. When the correspondence with the scammers developed, online representations like Wordpress blogs, Social Media profiles, etc., were created to backup the identities of the characters and to pursue the unfolding of the story. By cross-referencing to these online representations in the correspondence we gained the trust of the scammers and this helped us collect more information about them and their practice.

B. The anatomy of the scam

The outcome of the one-month correspondence with the scammers in addition with further knowledge about scamming practices is visualized in the following figure 1. The diagram gives an overview of the main parts of the scam. We assume that as long as the victim pays the requested money, the scammer will invent further processing fees, service charges, etc. We further assume that when the victim stops the payments, the scammers still have several possibilities to make money by selling the victim’s contact details to other scammer-groups, using the gathered documents for ‘identity theft’ or contacting the victim again under a different identity to start a ‘follow up scam’.
Figure 1. The anatomy of the “Dakar Art Festival” Scam

C. Developing a scambait into a transmedia story – mixing reality and fiction

As in the case of “Re: Dakar Arts Festival”, when making a video documentation there tends to be more research, material and interesting sources that possibly can be included. Transmedia storytelling has mostly been applied to fictional worlds. “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” deals on one hand with real world scammers and on the other with fictional identities and their stories.

Telling the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” story over multiple channels provided us with a method to narrate a multileveled story. The SubmarineChannel transmedia production “Collapsus” [5], developed from a concern that the audience for documentary is dying. They took a new approach, mixing fiction and documentary into a transmedia story. “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” can also be seen as project where documented material is presented with means of transmedia, a genre that Jenkins exemplify as having a lot of potential [14]. We present this documentation by spreading the different story lines online over blogs and other social media channels, open for everyone to investigate. For the recipient this means a more active participation in the story. It becomes an explorative challenge to search online for clues and put the pieces of the story together.

Cross media narration forms work well for raising awareness about complex problems. As Jenkins [13] points out, well made transmedia storytelling can make you more aware of your surroundings. If we look at the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” storyworld, we find a mix of fiction and reality. This is natural because both scammers and scambaiters seek credibility for their stories by connecting them into real world events, practices or locations. The “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” story refers to two real geographical locations: Dakar in Senegal and St. Gallen in Switzerland. The scammers present Dakar as the location of the fake art festival. Dakar is considered to be the center of West African art, and actually hosts an Art Biennale. This gives the scammers a real world reference making their story more credible. We chose Switzerland as the home of Heidi, Peter and Toni, due to the fact that Swiss citizens need a visa when visiting Senegal, and this becomes an important turn in the end of the story. The city of St. Gallen was chosen considering its location in the German speaking part of the country, thus excusing our lack of French, which is a preferred language in Senegal. Another reason to choose the stereotypically rich Switzerland as the location of the supposed victims, was to emphasize the global misrepresentations of poor, suppressed Africa and rich colonialist Europe.

The people involved in the scambait story are real, yet they are all acting under false identities that are so easily provided by present technologies. As can be seen in figure 2 (second row), the scammers introduced several characters into the story as well.

Figure 2. Characters in the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival story”

We created the virtual characters to safely approach the scammers; each character had online representations, like homepages or profiles on social media platforms, containing personal information, validating the person’s existence. We assume that online traces or Google-hits underlines real world existence, yet there are no tools to discern whether an online identity is real or fake. Within this gray area, scambaiting evolves into a game where proof of existence becomes a “trophy”. These “trophies” appear in
the form of photos, id-cards and other official documents like Western Union forms, visa applications, invitations from ministries etc. They are connected to existing companies and real life practices. In the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” scam bait we used an unofficial Western Union- "Global Security Compliance Form" to receive information about the scammer, yet we have no proof that it reveals anything about the real scammer. On the other hand it adds information to the story and its characters. The fictional story worlds of transmedia appeal to fan communities. Various online communities of scambaiters and other groups raising awareness about scams exists already. So in the case of “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” instead of finding ways to facilitate a scambaiting forum we wanted to bridge our story world to existing communities, yet again connecting the fictional story to existing sources.

D. Channels and entrance points of “Re: Dakar Arts Festival”

Christy Dena [9] divides the use of media channels in a multi channel work into: story channels that are primary channels to tell about the plot and characters, storyworld channels that add further information to the plot or characters and commodity channels that have low-level relevance to the storyworld. According to Dena [9] every “distinct media” has its own environment. Our experiences are affected by the context and surrounding they take place in. Subsequently the environments become mutable entry points to the story and can therefore effectively engage various audiences. In other words, works shown in many different contexts are likely to reach a different kind of audience in various settings [29].

In the “Power to the Pixel-The Cross-Media Film Forum” presentation, Dena [9] refers to 42 Entertainment’s 3 levels of users: casual, active and enthusiastic. She emphasizes how crucial and important it is to provide content to reach user on all of these levels. Content should be accessible and appealing for the casual majority with expanded story worlds to explore, active users need detail interactivity that acquires skills and time, and co-creation should be offered for a hand full of hardcore enthusiasts.

Figure 3 illustrates how the various channels in the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” story have various roles 1) telling the plot, 2) in supporting the story and, 3) in inviting the audience into various levels of involvement. The illustration also maps how the story allows the audience to enjoy the experience of the story as spectators, investigators, interactors, players, co-authors or media activists, whichever level they feel most comfortable with. Depending on the audience’s desire of involvement, they can just experience one component of the story or follow the story across a number or over all media channels [17]. Of course the level of participation and the time given to explore various channels will have an input on how the story is experienced, therefore all extensions are also valuable to the whole.

E. Challenges and design choices

The main challenge of the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” project is to retell a documentation of a scam in an interesting way such that it invites various levels of involvement from the audience. The mix of real life and fictional elements in the story world also leads to interesting discussions on design ethics.

1) Suitcase

The suitcase consists of various elements [21]: 1) video snippets, like flashes in a dream, visualizing parts of the story, 2) an interactive audio-timeline reproducing the email correspondence, 3) various printed documents taken out of the email correspondence with the scammers, including: invitations, money transfer forms, hotel and flight reservations etc. 4) map of Dakar with important locations combined with a fact sheet about Senegal and 5) Heidi’s art postcards and Peter’s business cards that visitors can collect and use as entrance points to further investigate the story online. As described earlier, most of the scambait stories are text based. The challenge with the suitcase was to edit the correspondence and choose what to highlight in the audio format of the story, and which artifacts and video elements should be used to support it.

As Dena [9] defines it, the suitcase in itself can be seen as an “IntraComposition Transmedia” work. When interacting with the suitcase the user navigates within a channel, in this case the art installation, yet between modes such as watching the video, interacting with the audio-timeline and reading the printed materials. The suitcase belongs to Heidi and it is a physical representation of the otherwise virtual story world. The suitcase is one of the main entrance points into the story. When the audience is exploring the suitcase they can grasp the essence of the documented correspondence with quite a low level of involvement. In the case of “Re: Dakar Arts Festival”, when the story unfolds over the various channels in a non-linear fashion and with several possible entrance points, it is not possible to introduce elements chronologically, though each channel like a blog or each mode like the audio timeline in the suitcase can have a linear time perspective. Thus when designing the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” story, we emphasized on Jenkins’ idea of “Spreadability vs. Drillability” [14], meaning that viewers should be able to scan the story, decide if it is interesting for them, as well as drill or dig deeper into it when the story captures their imagination. So instead of thinking about how to present the material in a chronological manner, we rated the importance of our documented material, as well as recognized main and sub entrance points into the story. This helped us spread different elements of the story over various channels with the objective that main entrance points, like the

![Figure 3. Entrance points, channels and level of audience involvement](image-url)
suitcase, tell the overall story, whereas sub entrance points, like Peter's business cards and Heidi's post cards help you to dig deeper into the online layers.

The “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” story is left open ended because the scam as well as the story can still mutate and develop. Julian Evergreen Keefer [10] identifies stories as closed or open and argues that mediums like books and films are good in telling closed stories whereas oral narration and hypertext afford open ended stories. In the suitcase, the e-mail correspondence is transformed to an interactive audio-timeline, where various narrators tell fragments of the story. A text to speech program is used to give each character a voice, yet giving the feeling of anonymity and artificiality unveiling the virtual nature of these identities. The story in the suitcase is open ended; it partly continues online and partly overlaps, taking a more personal point of view by reflecting more on reactions and feelings that Heidi, Peter and Toni have in relation to the correspondence with the scammers instead of repeating it.

2) Online
The story unfolds online through a number of social media platforms. The canonical narrations that transmedia storytelling affords can be used to give insight into various perspectives of the same issue. Heidi, the artist, has a Flickr account showing her work, and a blog reflecting her feelings about exhibiting in Dakar. Peter, the gallerist, has a more official point of view to the story through his gallery website, Facebook page and his Linked-in page. It is possible to contact Peter on his e-mail, entering yet another string of narratives in the form of an automated Email response. Toni is the one who is suspicious about the “Art Dakar Festival” being a scam. His point of view can be investigated through his blog, Youtube channel and by becoming friends with him on Facebook. There are intentional gaps in the stories of the characters and cross-linkings between the characters. According to Geoffrey A. Long [17], “negative capability” i.e. gaps in the storytelling and hints to people, events and locations, evokes the sense of mystery, empowers the audience to fill the gaps and pushes them to investigate the story further. The online audience of “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” assumes the role of an investigator, collecting the information from different sources and assembling the pieces from their own story. The website www.dakarartsfestival.net facilitates the audience in the process of assembling the puzzle, by presenting the characters of the story and leading visitors to investigate their social media profiles. All the fragments of the online story assemble into the second main entrance point of the story. This takes place when an artist receives the “Art Dakar Festival” email from the scammers and uses online search engines to find more about the festival. The presented search hits includes Heidi’s, Toni’s and Peter’s social media profiles as well as the dakarartsfestival.net site, subsequently making the online search a main entrance point to the story. Meta key words, tagging images, cross-linking, and social media sharing opportunities are some methods we used to raise our appearance in search engines. We also published open calls on online art platforms taking visitors to the dakarartsfestival.net site to get more cross linkings to the page. On the other hand we still face the challenge of scammers modifying the open call – the festival organizer becomes “Diallo Sow” instead of “Mariama Sy” or the name of the whole festival changes to “FIARTS ARTS SENEGAL”. This affects how easily the online entrance points to the story can be found with various online search engines. We have to recognize that the entrance points need a follow-up, so they appear in various search results also based on the mutations of the art festival scam.

The use of social media platforms also gives an interesting aspect, both in how to spread the story and how to get audience feedback. Peter's “Galerie Irrthum” Facebook page is preliminarily created to give Peter traces of existence online. During the story development process, Peter's Facebook page has gathered thousands of artists, gallerists and art followers as friends. We post a fake newspaper clip about the gallery's involvement in the art festival scam on Peter's Facebook page, thereby offering Peter's Facebook friends an entrance point into the story. Subsequently we will know if anyone digs deep enough to realize that the gallery is fake and what kind of reaction it will evoke among the friends of the gallery. These reactions will definitely affect the storyworld.

3) Video trailer
The video trailer is embedded in the online story, and parts of it is used in the suitcase, yet it can also be presented as an individual channel. When the video trailer is presented at experimental (documentary) film festivals, it ends with an encouragement “to investigate the story further online”, functioning as an additional sub-entrance point to the story, yet again reaching another audience in a different environment. In this case the video is merely a teaser that needs to catch the audiences' attention and provoke through its open ended nature, further involvement into the story.

4) Quartet Cards
The quartet cards are a commodity, a spin-off from research carried out for this project. The cards follow the design of the classic quartet cards that were originally developed for educational purposes. The game can be played with various rules, all accessible online. The cards in a playful way, raise awareness about various types of scams.

Scambait forums, research institutions, crime departments all have own methods of categorizing scams. Therefore the challenge was to design eight categories, with four cards in every category and each card revealing one scam type, while still keeping it short and fun. Some of the cards are linked to online sources, giving yet another layer to dig deeper into the world of scamming. The cards are connected to the world of scams, but they do not add anything new to the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” story. On the other hand the cards are promoted on the dakarartsfestival.net web page. The 32 cards are spread on the various social media platforms that are connected to the story. The cards become a collectible item, visitors have to actively search for the whole pack, print them out and play the game. The card game also works as an independent design item distributed through other platforms like museums or game shops.

5) Scam the scammer kit
The Scam the Scammer Kit is an extension of the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” story for those in the audience willing to become actively involved. It can only be received when replying to Toni's call for further investigation of the scam. The Kit serves as a bridge between the “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” story world and scambaiting communities. This continues the documentation of the the “Dakar Arts Festival” scammers' practices. The kit comes in the form of a confidential enclosed letter that includes a number of documents:
- A “mission document” encouraging further investigation of the “Dakar Arts Festival” scam. The mission is a scambait task performed from an artist’s point of view or from the perspective of various art related institutions that seek collaboration with the “Dakar Arts Festival”-organizers.
- An “identity form” partly pre-filled (connecting the character to the mission) giving the user a new identity for safe scambaiting.
- A number of “scammer information forms” for the user to fill in, helping to keep track of the characters presented by the scammers.
- A guide for safe and ethical scambaiting including references to scambaiting forums and other resources.

One question that arose during the designing of the kit was how to encourage an ethical, more documentation-oriented approach to scambaiting. By introducing the ethical guidelines in the kit we wanted the users to question their motives and methods of scambaiting before entering scambaiting communities. We wanted to emphasize more on the motives of community practice rather than status elevation or revenge, which seemingly put more attention in humiliating the scammers. The Kit affords a totally new point of view to the story, where the audience has to develop their own understanding about the role of the scammer, the victim and their role as a scambaiter. The kit can be seen as a facilitative tool for a potential activist, who is working to raise awareness about cyber crimes.

6) Reposting the Open Call

The "Re:Dakar Arts Festival" transmedia story is presented in connection with the Schmiede Festival 2011[22]. To connect with the main audience – artists, designers and creative enthusiasts – a new Dakar Arts Festival open call was announced in May 2011, claiming that the "Dakar Arts Festival" is collaborating with the Schmiede Festival and is accepting proposals.

This open call was posted on the Schmiede festival website, announced on university message boards in Germany and Austria and sent to international art platforms and mailing lists. From the international art platforms the open call spread to other art related sites, blogs and tweets. The open call was published in a similar textual format as used by the scammers. The only given possibility to contact the festival organizer was an e-mail address of the transmedia story authors, not the scammers. Interested artists who replied to the open call sent in their CVs and exhibition proposals proposals.

Between May 17 and July 15, 2011 we received 42 proposals from all over the world. The proposals came from both emerging and established artists working with various mediums like paintings, photography, new-media, sound, sculpture, performance etc. In a few cases we responded directly to the artists, revealing that we were documenting the scammers’ practices and the fake Art Dakar Festival. This happened when the artist had already been contacted by the real scammers or had doubts about the festival and its liability. These contacts lead to both negative and positive responses from the artists. Negative responses were mostly connected to fears of stealing the ideas or publishing names and artworks without permission. Yet when we explained our intention to raise awareness by telling the story of the fictive victims Heidi and her gallerist, the acceptance of the art project increased and gained further support.

The direct communication with the artists also lead to positive unexpected results. A French artist (who was just about to send her artwork to the scammers), found out about the scam by contacting us. She was relieved that she did not send money or artworks to the scammers and wanted to warn other French artists by translating parts of the dakarartfestival.net content [6].

During the Schmiede festival 2011, the Re:Dakar Arts Festival transmedia story will also be presented to the other artists who intended to participate.

Sofar, the Dakar Arts Festival project has aroused interest within the community of exhibiting artists. However it is still too early to evaluate how the different channels of the transmedia story have been received.

V. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we described an alternative way to present an advance-fee fraud email correspondence by using transmedia storytelling strategies. By investigating the different roles of scammers and victims, we tried to filter out the persuasive strategies scammers use and the resulting emotions victims suffer from. We looked at the scam-baiting motives and came to the point that besides “wasting a scammers time”, revealing their practice in a compelling story can help warn potential victims.

Through our practical work “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” we figured out that the online representations for our virtual characters highly increased their trustworthiness and therefore gave us more possibilities to investigate and document the scammers’ practices. These online representations evolved into a transmedia story, where different parts of the story can be followed over social media networks. These various perspectives on the scammers working practices got extended in an interactive art installation and an informative card-game. These storytelling strategies empower the audience to choose their level of involvement and evolve from a ‘passive-spectator’ to an ‘active-explorer’. Concepts of transmedia storytelling can also be used to unfold multilayered stories, suggesting ways to spread details over various channels. By categorising fragments of the story, different users – casual, active, enthusiastic – can dig into it according to their preferred levels of involvement. Future opportunities to exhibit and promote this project will help us gauge the various levels of audience involvement. However, besides website statistics and viewer-rates, more refined tools to evaluate transmedia storytelling needs to be examined and tested.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The “Re: Dakar Arts Festival” project was developed during the Artist-in-Residence 01/11 at Subnet, Austria. This publication is funded by the Cultural Department - City of Graz, Austria.

VI. REFERENCES
