

AFFECTIVE POLITICS OF DIGITAL MEDIA

Propaganda by Other Means

*Edited by Megan Boler and
Elizabeth Davis*

PART I

Theorizing Media and Affect 51

1 Affect, Media, Memory, and the Politics of the Past
and Zoltan Papacharasz 51
Megan Boler and Elizabeth Davis

2 Reverberation, Affect, and the Politics of the Past
Adi Kurtovich 51

3 "Tuck Your Feelings": Affect, Media, and Reason
Sasha Hong 51

4 Blackout, Affect, and the Politics of the Past
Sasha Hong 51

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

CONTENTS

<i>Preface by Jodi Dean</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xii

Introduction: Propaganda by Other Means <i>Megan Boler and Elizabeth Davis</i>	1
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

PART I	
Theorizing Media and Affect	51
1 Affect, Media, Movement: Interview with Susanna Paasonen and Zizi Papacharissi <i>Megan Boler and Elizabeth Davis</i>	53
2 Reverberation, Affect, and Digital Politics of Responsibility <i>Adi Kuntsman</i>	69
3 “Fuck Your Feelings”: The Affective Weaponization of Facts and Reason <i>Sun-ha Hong</i>	86
4 Blockchain, Affect, and Digital Teleologies <i>Olivier Jutel</i>	101

vi Contents

- 5 Becoming Kind: A Political Affect for Post-Truth Times 116
Ed Cohen
- 6 Beyond Behaviorism and Black Boxes: The Future of
Media Theory Interview with Wendy Hui Kyong Chun,
Warren Sack, and Sarah Sharma 134
Megan Boler and Elizabeth Davis

PART II

**Affective Media, Social Media, and Journalism:
New Relationships 151**

- 7 Pioneering Countercultural Conservatism: Limbaugh,
Drudge, and Breitbart 153
Anthony Nadler
- 8 Breitbart's Attacks on Mainstream Media: Victories,
Victimhood, and Vilification 170
Jason Roberts and Karin Wahl-Jorgensen
- 9 Algorithmic Enclaves: Affective Politics and Algorithms in
the Neoliberal Social Media Landscape 186
Merlyna Lim
- 10 Hashtagging the Québec Mosque Shooting: Twitter
Discourses of Resistance, Mourning, and Islamophobia 204
Yasmin Jiwani and Ahmed Al-Rawi
- 11 Hindu Nationalism, News Channels, and "Post-Truth"
Twitter: A Case Study of "Love Jihad" 226
Zeinab Farokhi
- 12 Computational Propaganda and the News: Journalists'
Perceptions of the Effects of Digital Manipulation on
Reporting 245
Kerry Ann Carter Persen and Samuel C. Woolley

PART III

**Exploitation of Emotions in Digital Media:
Propaganda and Profit 261**

13 Empathic Media, Emotional AI, and the Optimization of
Disinformation 263
Vian Bakir and Andrew McStay

14 The Heart’s Content: The Emotional Turn at Upworthy 280
Robert Hunt

15 Empires of Feeling: Social Media and Emotive Politics 298
Luke Stark

16 Nudging Interventions in Regulating the Digital Gangsters in
an Era of Friction-Free Surveillance Capitalism 314
Leslie Regan Shade

17 Digital Propaganda and Emotional Micro-Targeting: Interview
with Jonathan Albright, Carole Cadwalladr, Paolo Gerbaudo,
and Tamsin Shaw 330
Megan Boler and Elizabeth Davis

Contributor and Interviewee Biographies 351

Index 357