Original citation: Nikunen, K. (2019) Media, emotions and affect. In Curran, J. and Hesmondhalgh, D. (eds.) Media and Society, 6th ed. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 323-340.
Please cite the publishers version if you want to cite this chapter

Kaarina Nikunen

Media, emotions and affect

Interest in emotions and affect in social sciences and media studies has grown substantially during the past ten years. Researchers have pointed out the need to explore media not only in terms of discourse and signs but also on the level of emotions and sensations. The growing interest has both empirical and theoretical grounds. The emergence of digital technologies including interactive virtual media, VR, sensors and smart touch devices have generated great attention to bodily experiences of media. Media are seen to surround us more completely and corporeally than before. This corporeality has opened new interest in emotions and affect and they are seen more closely connected to bodily experiences.

This has provided new horizons for research: technologies of measuring and analyzing sentiments and engagements with media, as well as critical explorations of how media industries make use of these emotional, affective and bodily engagements. At the same time the dominance of the 'discursive turn' in social sciences and humanities has given way to an 'affective turn' (Clough & Halley 2007; Gregg & Seigworth 2010): understanding society not only through discourses but in terms of experience and emotions. There is a growing concern with how emotions drive us to take part in political debates and activism; how emotions enhance or hinder social bonds or shape our moral judgements in mediatized society.

The range of research is wide, including multiple disciplines and varying definitions of emotions and affect. There has been a long tradition of understanding psychological responses to media content; this is now accompanied by interrogations of how media shape emotions and how emotions are managed by media workers.

The chapter provides an overview of different approaches to emotions in media studies. The chapter focuses on research that seeks to understand how examining media and emotions may inform us about society and how emotions are connected with larger social, political and cultural developments. It proceeds in four parts. The first part discusses the very different understandings and definitions of emotion and affect at work in 'cognitive' approaches and, by contrast, those offered by 'the affective turn' in cultural studies.Unlike some major perspectives, I argue that we need to understand emotion and affect as both biological and cultural

In the case studies that follow I discuss four types of research that illustrate how we can study emotions and affect from different perspectives. The case studies are situated more in the context of culturalist approaches, however, making distinction between cognitive or culturalist is not in the focus on these studies. What unites these cases is their interest in the ways in which emotions are crafted and shaped by the media and social forces. They explore emotions in context of social processes and in this way we can see that they sketch out different 'affective practices' (Wetherell 2012). . We can also see from the case studies that emotions and affect are harnessed for commercial purposes by the media, often with problematic consequences, although this is not necessarily addressed explicitly. First, I discuss textual and visual analysis that explore emotional address of narratives and media representations, with examples from news images of distant suffering to reality TV. Second, I discuss research that examines the role of emotions in media work. This research explores how emotions are managed in different ways, for example in traumatic encounters in crisis journalism or in creative work.

Third, I discuss research on emotion in social media, including 'data-driven' approaches such as sentiment analysis, and their limitations. In the end I introduce more theoretically driven work on affective capitalism that makes more explicit argument about commodification of emotions and affect. I argue that we need more empirically bound, contextual work to understand the multiple ways in which emotions and affect work within and through media.

Defining emotion and affect: cognitive and culturalist approaches

What are emotions? There is no clear definition of emotions or even any clear understanding of how emotions should be defined. Instead there are different and contradictory views of emotions depending on whether one does research in behavioural sciences, cultural studies, neuroscience, or social sciences – although understandings of emotions are not coherent even within each of these different fields. Neuroscientific approaches to emotions tend to emphasize emotions as clearly defined, innate and universal. This approach usually considers there to be six primary or basic emotions: fear, anger, disgust, sadness, happiness and surprise (Ekman, 1992). To include more 'socially formed' emotions, secondary emotions (or social emotions) were introduced, such as envy and pride that are more tuned by experience (Haidt, 2003; Moll et al., 2005). Neuroscientist Antonio Damasio (1994) links emotions strongly to the body, arguing that emotions travel through the brain and the body (the body loop) and operate automatically. A problem with less sophisticated neuroscientific accounts is their tendency to understand emotions as somehow programmed in our body. However, Damasio recognizes variation in the intensity of emotional patterns and the ways in which personal experience modify these patterns, (Damasio 1995: 129-130)). Neuroscientists have come to such understandings partly because they study emotions in closed laboratory settings, separated from social contexts. These methods, as argued by Hochschild (1983) and Wetherell (2012) have shaped understandings of emotions as fixed and separate from social interaction. However, theories of universal primary emotions have been questioned from within neuroscience, which has begun to emphasize the need to integrate biological and social approaches to emotions (see Wetherell 2012: 39-50).

Cognitive research seeks to find out how emotions impact human behavior, and particularly areas of cognition (conscious mental processes): perception, learning and memory. The relation between cognition and emotions is complex. While cognitive research has previously leaned on the distinction between cognition and emotions, recent research shows that cognition and emotion are often intertwined (Turner & Stets 2005: 21). Emotions may enhance memory and learning, but they may also hinder and distract (Dolcos & al. 2004). For example research has showed that emotionally arousing information, including emotionally charged stories, film clips and images are more easily retained (Duncan & Barrett 2007). This line of research makes clear that emotional capacities are important for cognitive activities. Studies have also explored how emotions can be regulated and controlled consciously, and how they may change over time (Ochsner and Gross, 2005; Pessoa 2009).

The media effects research tradition has explored cognitive responses to media using quantitative approaches. This area of research strives to find out how emotions enhance judgement and comprehension of media texts; how emotions influence engagement with media and choice of media; what kind of emotions are aroused and what their outcomes might be. Such methods have been used in research on news media effects or different persuasive health campaigns (Nabi & Prestin 2016; Nabi 2003).

By contrast, cognitive theories of emotions emerging from more humanities-based perspectives highlight the relevance of emotions to human interactions, self-realization and the possibility of engaging the world in meaningful ways. In her writing on emotions and public life, for example, Martha Nussbaum argued that emotions always contain intelligence, and "awareness of value or importance"

(Nussbaum 2001: 1). She proposed that emotions are always about something and this 'aboutness' embodies a way of seeing the world. In her approach art and literature particularly elicit emotional responses that enrich human life and well-being (2001: 248). In similar ways Hesmondhalgh considers athe relevance of emotions for understanding the human experience of music and the ways it may contribute to human flourishing (Hesmondhalgh 2013: 17-20).

The so called affective turn (Clough & Halley 2007; Gregg & Seigworth 2010) in cultural studies places greater emphasis than such humanities-cognitivist approaches by seeking to understand sensuous, bodily engagements with culture. However, it includes very varied definitions and understandings of affect. While Sara Ahmed, for example, uses affect and emotions interchangeably and sees both as connected with the meaning-making process, Nigel Thrift (2008) and Massumi (2002) among others, discusses affect as emergent, becoming, and unattainable – and ultimately separate from meaning, consciousness and representation (see Wetherell 2012: 60-61, 74-75). This approach, often influenced by the French philosopher, echoes the neuroscientific view of affect as automatic, reactive responses, that are quite separate from emotion.

Margaret Wetherell, in her book Affect and Emotion, argues for a more integrated understanding of affect, emotions and meaning-making process, in a way that is also supported by recent neuroscience research (Wetherell 2012: 47-50). Following her approach, we can think of immediate affective reactions as part of a larger emotional pool that include emotions of sadness, joy or hope. Such responses are shaped by conscious experience, not separate from them. If we consider affect as completely separate from meaning making processes, it becomes unavailable for analysis and potentially loses connection with the social world.

As Wetherell points out 'people swim in cultural and discursive milieus like fish in water - we are full of cultural and discursive practices' (2012: 65). Her aim is to find ways to make research on emotions and affect accessible for social analysis. Therefore she approaches affect as practice and examines the ways in which affective practices 'sediment in social formations' (Wetherell 2012: 103). Social research has for example shown that particular affective styles become connected to social class and the boundaries of class are marked by emotions of fear, disgust or shame (Wetherell 2012: 110; Skeggs 2005). In a similar way affective practices mark racial and gendered boundaries (Ahmed 2004). Researching affective practice then may sketch out these boundaries and the affective canon of particular social groups or communities. Collective dimensions of affective meaning-making are illustrated in different ironic, hateful, fearful or compassionate responses in public debates or events. Examples of these can be found on social media where people share images of suffering or summon support for demonstrations with particular affective styles.

The famous concept by Raymond Williams (1961, 1968/1987), the structure of feeling, can also been seen as kindred notion to affective practice, to describe broad social categories or historical periods (Wetherell 2012, 14). The complex concept (structure of feeling) refers to experiential dimensions of a particular historical time period that is impossible to attain but that is made available and articulated through art and culture, such as the historical novel, which operates as a mediation of a specific historical conjuncture. Lauren Berlant also draws on Williams in her discussion of the notion of genre as the locus of affective situations that 'exemplify political and subjective formations local to particular space and time' (Berlant 2011: 66).

While Sara Ahmed (2004; 2000) is not particularly interested in making distinctions between affect and emotions, her approach attached emotions to cultural and social situations – to encounters. Ahmed has theorized the 'cultural politics' of emotions in the context of race, racism and multiculturalism by examining the discourses that arise from social and political conflicts. She relies on understandings of

emotions as culturally constructed following the approach of anthropologists such as Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughodin (1990), Geoffrey Whiten (1993) and Michelle Rosaldo (1984). However Ahmed emphasizes emotions, not entirely as outside or inside our bodies, but in terms of how they construct the boundaries that define 'inside' and 'outside'. Ahmed has focused on rather dark emotions: fear, hate, anger and disgust. Even when exploring love, she analyses it as parallel to hate, enabling similar consequences of marginalization and hierarchies.

Drawing on Marx, Ahmed argues that emotions work as a form of capital: affect collects value through its circulation. The affective economy operates to align signs, figures, objects and ideas, and, through these alignments and their circulation, the signs and figures gain affective value (Ahmed 2004, 45) which can then be used by more powerful groups. Here Ahmed introduces the concept of stickiness, that refers to connections and layers between signs, objects and bodies (2004, 90). Stickiness is something that is activated when a sign is saturated by multiple meanings with different emotional registers. Ahmed's approach has been used to explore the circulation of racist imagery and hate speech online, as well as in cultural analysis of images that evoke disgust or desire, and the emotional structures of media 'body genres' (Dyer 1985), including reality TV and porn (Paasonen 2011; Kyrölä 2014).

To sum up, we can say that there is no agreement on how to define emotions and affect, rather these definitions vary according to discipline and approach. However, there is increasing agreement on the intertwined nature of biology and culture in emotional processes, on the idea that there are intricate connections between emotions and reason, and that emotions and affect are themselves strongly linked. The point that emotions are not separate from meaning making processes, and outside of our social worlds, helps us understand the complexity of emotional processes. As Martha Nussbaum has argued in her discussion of the cognitive structure of compassion (2001, 326-356), to feel compassion does not mean that there is no space for reason and evaluation. If we treat emotions as automated reactions and impulses, we give up the possibility of social research on emotions and at the same time lose important aspect of media experiences.

We may then agree that emotions are not only biological, but are also influenced by cultural norms, practices and social structures. The challenge though is how to study emotions and media. How can we make sense of the complex connections between media, emotions and affect? In what follows I introduce three different approaches or areas of research: textual analysis of images of suffering; interview and ethnographic research of media work; and virtual and data driven research of social media and their limitations. These case studies show how, in different ways, emotions and affect are experienced, managed and harnessed in the context of media, in particular contexts but also on a broader view to the ways in which dominant political ideology or economic structure may amplify particular affective practice.

Emotions in media images: affective suffering

In her book 'Regarding the Pain of Others' Susan Sontag (2003) discusses how media images of war and suffering move people, and how because of this, they matter. Through images we are able to gain information about atrocities and war crimes (Zelizer 2010: 6). One of the most famous images of war is from Vietnam in 1972, where 10 year old Phan Thi Kim Phuc is running naked on the road with five other children as American soldiers walkin the background. We can see from the picture that she is in pain and learn afterwards is that her body is severly burned by napalm. The image has come to symbolize anti-war sentiment as it captures the cruelty of war in terms of its impact on the lives of the most innocent of victims: children. During the refugee crisis of Europe in 2015, the image of Alan Kurdi, a two year old refugee boy, who drowned on the coast of Turkey, in a similar way became to symbolize the crisis: it

shocked the public by showing the cruelty of European refugee policy and the dangers of European borders.

Sontag discusses how sometimes sensationalist images of suffering are needed to wake us up and to make people understand that atrocities happen and they need to be stopped. Often however, media images of suffering cross the line of decency and respect for victims: commercial interests may be prioritized over ethical considerations. Both of the images mentioned above have had considerable impact on public sentiment towards war or crisis, but the one of Alan Kurdi has been especially criticized for sensationalism and an unethical approach to tragedy. The concern has been with privacy and respect for the grieving family. Who decides whose lives or death can be exposed to the scrutiny of millions of strangers?

These questions of suffering and sensationalism are central in research on humanitarianism (work on philantrophy, charity and humanitarian organizations) and media. This strand of research is preoccupied with management of emotions asking how humanitarian campaigns and news media address their audiences and elicit sentiments of pity or compassion. It explores emotions as a moral force: how emotions are evoked in images of suffering; how guilt is mobilized to produce compassion and donations through images of suffering, such as starving children; and how emotions may engender political action (Chouliaraki 2013; Seu 2010; Vestergaard 2008; Höijer 2004; Tester 2001; Boltanski 1999). Investigations often include close readings and textual analysis of news images, television narratives, films and humanitarian campaigns. The focus is on what kind of emotional registers media images address and evoke in Western audiences. How are emotions embedded in news coverage of war and disasters? What kinds of emotional response and moral engagement do they invoke?

Lilie Chouliaraki (2013) for example has analysed how humanitarian appeals have changed over time from negative appeals towards reflexive playfulness. She argues that negative appeals, such as images from the famine in Biafra in the end of 1960s, address grand emotions and focus on 'bare' authentic suffering. These images, typically depicting close-ups of starving children, evoke guilt and shame through shock effects, and propose complicity of Western audiences, as part of the Western legacy (Chouliaraki 2013: 60). While bare images of suffering, through shock effect, may have been effective in humanitarian appeals at first, they also evoked criticism for emphasizing power hierarchies between sufferers and benefactors and fetishizing suffering with sensationalist, intimate pictures of body. At the same time the emphasis on despair was seen to cause apathy, indifference and compassion fatigue (Chouliaraki 2013: 60-61; Moeller 1999).
To counter these negative images of apathy, campaigns that emphasized sense of hope, agency and empowerment entered humanitarian field. These positive images would typically include smiling children, and feminist campaigns promoting girl power (Chouliaraki 2013: 57; Koffman et al 2017; Orgad & Nikunen 2016). They tend to personalize sufferers by providing life narratives and creating a sense of similarity between the sufferers and the Western audience. The emotional address suggests horizons of hope and action, rather than pity. Chouliaraki (2013: 61-64) critiques these images for their emphasis on the power of benefactors and gratefulness of the sufferers. In this way their emotional structure does not challenge existing power relations after all.

The post-humanitarianism ethos, as formulated by Chouliaraki (2013) in her book The Ironic Spectator, describes the recent shift in humanitarian images away from grand emotions towards playfulness and reflexivity. Instead of evoking guilt or simple narrative of empowerment, post-humanitarian images are reflexive and focus on the Western self. These images are made for audiences who are media savvy and

operate on social media. The emotional structure of post-humanitarian images is connected to ironic knowingness. Digital media have provided new technologies of sharing, re-shaping and circulating information that have paved way for new forms of engagement. Relationships to media seem to have become increasingly complex and reflexive (Baym 1998; Bailey 2002;, Carpentier el al. 2013). The possibilities for audiences themselves to shape and manipulate images, for example by creating memes and vlogs, expand understanding of the process of media production as well as sensitivity to multiple interpretations (Bailey 2002; Jenkins 2003). Audiences are able to question and scrutinize the origins, authenticity and the emotional address of 'humanitarian' images more than before. This also means that campaign images with strong emotional appeal may appear too simplistic and manipulative. As a result, humanitarian campaigns are increasingly addressing audiences with playful irony. While striving to address reflexive audiences, post-humanitarian campaigns are also influenced by commercial corporate logic. Most importantly, however, the focus is "us" in the West, and in the self-expression of Western audiences. The reflexive playfulness sidelines the victims and root causes of suffering and proposes the western self in the center of preoccupation (Chouliaraki 2013: 173).

It can be argued that such reflexive playfulness is emphasized in the invidualized, networked structure of social media, which propels the self to the center of acts of sharing and caring. An example of this would be the way social media profiles are used to show support for various causes. Recent examples include recoloring profile pictures to support victims of the 2015 (?) terrorist attacks in Paris. These forms of technologized solidarity focus on the transformation of the self via the performance of good citizenship. Such feel-good activism on social media expresses solidarity, but risks forefronting self-expression rather than focusing on questions about justice, global inequality, and the root causes of suffering (Chouliaraki 2013: 17–20; Orgad & Nikunen, 2015). This is an example of affective practice being shaped by social formations and digital technologies to amplify particular individualized feel-good activism.Another area of exploration of emotional registers and moral agency is reality TV, described by Anna McCarthy (2007) as a 'neoliberal theatre of suffering'. Reality TV production includes variety of shows that explore problems connected with intimacy, relationships, self-confidence, economic difficulties and the body. John Corner (2004) aptly points out how emotions, experiences and the desire to be inside of experiences have become emphasized in television genres in the 2000s. In their seminal work on reality TV as a technology of affect, Beverly Skeggs and Helen Wood (2008; Wood et al., 2009) explore the management of intimate relationships through visualization of women's domestic work (on reality shows such as Wife Swap). By sensationalizing intimate relationships, reality television capitalizes on intimacy, and disseminates normalizing and problematically gendered versions of care and relationships.

The rise of 'charity TV', or 'ethical entertainment' (Ong 2015; Hawkins, 2001) provide examples of these new forms of education or pedagogy where experts teach 'ordinary' people to improve themselves: how to help, care and solve problems (Nikunen 2016; Ouellette and Murray 2009; Redden 2007; Hirdman 2016). The feeling of reality is produced via extensive use of actuality footage, and on-location shooting (Raphael, 2009) and extreme and staged situations that provoke conflict and strong emotions. Emotions operate as a certain kind of guarantee of the real in reality TV. The constructed situations of the reality format, where people are put in new, extreme or uncomfortable situations, create the main stage for emotions (Kilburn 2003). Narrative structures involving conflict and intimacy are used to bring emotions to the surface, in front of the camera for us all to witness.

A study I carried out (Nikunen 2016) focused on the emotional structure of a reality TV show that sought to capture how it feels to be a refugee. The Australian series Go Back to Where You Came From included six Australian participants who followed the journey undertaken by refugees - for example staying in refugee camps and travelling by boat. One of the participants of Go Back (Season 1), Raquel, an openly

racist young Australian, is pushed to encounter her feelings on a refugee camp in Kakuma. This confrontation forms the core of the narrative. Her emotions, by confronting refugees in African refugee camp, become visualized in reactions of fear and disgust when she withdraws from the company of others, refuses to eat food or go to the toilet in refugee camp, and eventually breaks down in front of camera. These situations, where emotions become voiced and visualized through tears, screams or laughter, operate as signs of authenticity, the 'money shot' of reality TV (Grindstaff 2002) . In Go Back, as in most reality shows, these moments of tearful breakdowns are followed by moments of transformation, when participants experience a change of heart. Correspondingly Raquel transforms and becomes more accepting towards refugees after her breakdown. This is the classic narrative structure of reality TV where emotions operate simultaneously as signs of authenticity and as a moral compass: emotions we see and learn from. However, my analysis also found that while reality TV strove to show 'authentic' emotions, it could hardly escape the obviousness of its narrative structure.

The above studies exploring the emotional address of media images and television shows, lean heavily on textual analysis of media texts and images. But what are the emotional contexts for the making of such images? What is the role of emotions in media production cultures? Next I move on to discuss how research strives to understand the of role of emotions in television entertainment and journalistic work.

Media work and emotional labor

Emotions are an essential part of media work. It involves both excitement, fun, exhilaration as well as tension, stress, grief, horror and even trauma. It is also highly individualized. The concept of emotional labor, coined by Arlie Hochschild (1983) in her famous study of flight attendants, refers to ritualized display or suppression of emotions, the need to manage emotions to maintain hoped-for atmosphere at workplace or relations to customers – such as the smiles of flight attendants. The study drew attention to the ways in which emotional labour produces risk of alienation and stress as workers have to suppress their emotions and do substantial mental work.

In journalism emotional labour is often strongly present in the work of foreign correspondents and exceptional and unexpected events, such as wars and disasters or in the work of journalists who cover delicate social issues (abuse, poverty) (Richards & Rees 2011; Santos 2009; Hopper & Huxford 2015). Research on media work and emotions has found that the management of emotions is an increasingly important part of work in a sector that has become highly competitive, precarious and uncertain.

Richards' and Rees' (2011) study, based on interviews with journalists, identified a need for the capacity to cope with hard situations and disturbing material. Management of emotions was particularly connected with the need to develop 'a thick skin', to survive in the job. The need to be tough in journalism was important not only in the context of large-scale disasters and wars but also in local accidents and in situations where journalists would have to do the 'death knock' and interview grieving family members or people in vulnerable situations. While emotions of grief and horror are indeed often consciously managed, journalists also speak of other emotions that they identify in these situations, such as embarrassment and guilt for intruding on the privacy of others in difficult situations (Hopper & Huxford 2015).

One interesting aspect of such research is connection of the management of emotions with a high sense of professionalism. There is a need to protect journalism as well as journalists from emotions. The interview data revealed that emotions were seen as harmful for journalism as they threat to contaminate objectivity, one of the core values of journalism (Pantti 2010; Wahl-Jorgensen 2013). These

research point out the inherent contradiction of journalistic practice and values: emotionality appears central to journalistic story-telling, and to the mission of journalism to cover emotionally engaging events (disaster, death, loss, love) that also serve the commercial interests of media companies. However, at the same time, the professional understanding and outspoken values of journalism take a distance from emotions.

Although journalists encounter emotionally challenging situations there is hardly any focus on emotional skills and capacities in journalistic education (Richards & Rees 2011). Instead emotional skills are learned in the course of practice, by trial and error. The lack of emotional training becomes illustrated in Santos' (2009) study that narrates journalists' experiences and anxieties caused by professional denial of emotions. Ignoring and denying one's own feelings while reporting violent news and painful experiences, in Santos' view lead to distant and inhuman reporting, that fails to provide insight or understanding into the nature of violence or vulnerabilities. This is an ethical problem for Santos: Without sensitive reporting violence becomes reported in ways that create arousal and interest among audiences, "a kind of 'paradoxical pleasure' that makes us feel safe"(Santos 2009: 40), not necessarily a critical view of violence. These research sketch out affective practice that is shaped by contradictory expectations of taking distance and making use of emotions, that seem to produce anxiety and increase of emotional labour.

Studies of journalism and emotions often rely on interviews. This poses a challenge concerning how to treat emotions in interview data: they are more about discourses of emotions than direct access to emotions. Interviews tend to reveal a lot about professional ideals and values rather than actual practices. As such they tell about values and meanings attached to emotions whereas ethnographic research with participant observation on workplace may better capture practices of managing emotions. Laura Grindstaff 's (2002) ethnography on confessional talk shows discusses how producers work with the emotions of their guests, trying to extract emotional responses, tears or anger, on camera (money shot, as discussed earlier in context of reality TV). Grindstaff's study shows how central the management of others' emotions are in talk shows. Hesmondhalgh & Baker (2011) on their ethnographic research on a British talent show, provided insight into the complexity of emotional labor , building on Grindstaff's study. Junior workers need to manage the performance of contestants, and their experience of it. The ability to influence someone's life, a transformation from anonymity to fame, adds to the pressure and as in the case of journalists, this was often dealt with by adopting a certain distance (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2011: 171), although such emotional detachment was easier for some than others. The study points out the burden of emotional labor in a context where workers have little autonomy and have to work and coach others' emotions. While such work includes moments of fun and pleasure, creative work in media industries tends to be precarious, short-term, uncertain and competitive. These elements of work are likely to increase the demands of emotional labour by creating greater pressure and anxiety. As the spheres of personal and professional become increasingly intertwined in digital era, the demands of emotional labor are amplified.

Love and hate on social media

Cynicism, irony and lulz. These words describe the sensibility of many social media on sites, such as 4chan, Tumblr, and Reddit (Nagle 2017). If there is one place where emotions seem to be especially abundant and foregrounded it is social media. In recent years social media have become an increasingly important site of research as a space where people gather to discuss topical issues, to form new political alliances and movements, to create their own media, to express their emotions and sentiments, to love, laugh and grieve, to harass others and to pick fights. No wonder that analysis of social media appears to have opened new avenues for exploration of media emotions. While previously researchers conducted

focus group research or interviews on audience, now social media appears to provide direct access to people's experiences.

We can identify different approaches to social media and emotions: research on participation on social media platforms, discussion forums and networking sites examine how people express emotions and form collective emotions on social media environment; research on social media also examines how human interaction, expression of emotions may change in mediated context and how technologies and commercialized contexts shape and regulate emotions.

Studies examine collective formations of emotions (affective practices) on different levels: how emotions drive online discussions and attach people to particular debates, platforms and groups; how emotions are expressed and performed by verbal and visual means. How intensities mark emotional dimension of debate: how fast or slow messages are responded to and how extensive the debate becomes (Paasonen 2015a; Papacharissi 2014). However, social media research captures emotions that are always performed and constructed – and also purposefully provoked (Milner 2013).

An important aspect of studying emotions on social media is paying attention to the technological affordances that regulate emotions. Social media platforms have their norms, rules and regulations that shape expressions and mood of discussions. For example on Facebook the introduction of the 'like' button created an uplifting feel. As pointed out by Jose van Dijk (2013), however, the introduction of the like button was grounded in the commercial goal of gaining information on users and advertisers. More accurate information is now gathered with the introduction of a range of emoticons to express anger, love, sadness, surprise, laughter and like – the new basic emotions of Facebook. This suggests that our expressions of emotion on social media are always part of the technological design of the platforms and forums.

Different social media groups and forums have their own sensibilities that are formulated in interaction between these designs, rules, regulations and user practices. For example many closed health groups and groups of mourning have a supportive sensibility where members may know quite a lot about each other (Cooks et al. 2002; Jakoby & Reiser 2014), whereas political discussion groups may include hostile and aggressive debates (Nagle 2017, Nikunen 2015; Pöyhtäri et al. 2013). Some argue that commercial social media, by adopting only vague policies of moderation, enable and even enhance hostility and racism (Matamoros-Fernandez 2017).

Other researchers have explored affective practices (Wetherell 2013) in immigration debates on social media. In an earlier article, I argued that irony is the guiding sensibility (affective practice) of anti-immigrant online discussions, manifested as detachment and cold humor, as linguistic style with particular ironic use of vocabulary and more general attitude in politics that takes distance from traditional media appearances and institutions (Nikunen 2015). My study highlighted the particular sensibility of political discourse that is enhanced and amplified by the social media environment and its affordances. The affective practices of ironic detachment, trolling and lulz connected with social media subcultures, draw on transgression and reflexive playfulness (as discussed above in context of post-humanitarianism), but have 'spilled over' and become part of the affective practice of political groups that foster hate speech (Nagle 2017). These studies point out how emotions and affective practices are connected to social and political changes and may be influential on national and global politics.

These approaches explore emotions with mixture of methods from virtual ethnographies, textual analysis, observation and interviews. The development of media technologies and new smart devices, have also invited material approaches (McLuhan 1964) to communication and the senses. Such studies explore media as extensions of human bodies and the ways in which emotions are designed through technology. Such questions are connected with mediatization, a concept that draws attention to the

ways in which media and everyday life are increasingly entangled (Couldry & Hepp 2017). Changes in communication technologies and personalized devices are changing our everyday life environments. With the advent of new touch screen devices and VR technologies, the materialities and modalities of technology seem to be more intensively part of our sensitive and emotional interaction. The haptic, or sensitive media approach examines the technological affordances that shape emotions/experience. (Malinovska & Miller 2017; Parisi et al. 2017; Lupton 2016).

Much of haptic media studies is interested in the new modalities that arise through media such as introduction of touch screen or the virtual kissing application (Parisi et al. 2017; Malinowska & Miller 2017). For example research on Skype explores how people express emotions, love, affection, longing and create new forms of being together intimately through screens (King-O'Riain 2014; Malinowska & Miller 2017). Studies look at the ways digital applications can shape 'love habits' (Canto-Mila et al. 2014) and produce new forms of intimacy in everyday life but also frustration and sense of technological dependency and increased longing (King-O'Riain 2014; Cantó-Mila et al. 2014). Some researchers focus on the emotional reactions to media devices themselves: moral panic, rage, suspicion and pleasure caused by technologies that we use and often feel dependent on (Paasonen 2015b). Increasingly research is also exploring to what extend media themselves have become affective. Are media devices emotionally capable and responsive? Have we entered the era of sensitive media?

Data-driven sentiment

Social media may offer space for expressing emotions however at the same time they gather data on people's everyday lives, their interests and activities. Social media data has led to visions of getting access to the inner thoughts and feelings of people with unprecedented speed and scale. The promise of such data analysis is described by Mark Andrejevic (2013, 45) as "the ability to capture human response and activity in ways that influence everything from policing and health care practices to the creation of goods and services". The aim is to translate human emotion to hard data that can be used to capture 'public mood' and predict human behavior and future events. A range of "big data" approaches from topic modelling to corpus and network analysis are used to track moods and emotions on social media. New software is developed in order to better recognize emotions. While the previously introduced research has pointed out how emotions are crafted and shaped by media for commercial purposes, sentiment analysis itself can be seen as a part of these developments. Indeed many media scholars are critical towards sentiment analysis because of its crudeness but also because it has been developed for marketing purposes rather than for enhancing common good.

Sentiment analysis is one of the tools that try to capture how people feel about certain topics, themes or products. Used predominantly in marketing and branding, however, it is increasingly used in academic research, in research done by media organizations, public institutions and NGOs. In short, sentiment analysis seeks to identify positive and negative sentiments from social media data through machine analysis. Sentiments are understood to be "attitudes based on feeling" (Kennedy 2012: 438) through which we might be able to capture, and predict people's moods and reactions. A problem is that measuring emotions from online texts is far from simple. Machine analysis is not very good in interpreting nuances such as humor, irony, and colloquialisms. The analysis is crude and sometimes absurd (Kennedy 2012: 441). Even categorizing texts into positive and negative sentiments is challenging – though new tools for machine analysis are being constantly developed. Further major challenges for sentiment include subjectivity, linguistic creativity, and cultural differences analysis (Scherer 2005; Clavel and Callejas 2016) Dualist categorization of sentiments into positive and negative misses the complexity of emotions as well as the context of social media, where users may not express what they feel but perform feelings in various ways (Marwick & boyd 2010). Sentiment analysis leans on vast

amounts of data and the idea is that quantity makes up for holes, misinterpretations and inaccuracies. The concerns voiced in media research point not only to the crudeness of sentiment analysis as a method but various ethical problems in data gathering and storage. Sentiment analysis is not explicit: people are rarely aware that their discussions are being monitored. These data driven technologies are also considered to be part of the practices that lead to a contemporary culture of surveillance and discrimination (Turow et al. 2015).

Since sentiment analysis is developed for the use of market research, to detect how consumers feel about products, it is not likely to fit well with the goals of social research oriented towards understanding the complexities of human relations. Instead, interpretations based on big data sentiment analysis are likely to simplify feelings as polarized, on the axis of positive/negative.

Data-driven technologies may give us general directions or tones, but it is often unable to understand complex nuances of discussions and uses of irony. However, new methods are developed and tracking emotions is growing area of machine learning. These development are driven particularly by commercial interests and therefore scholars remain skeptical of their capacity to understand emotions and point more to the problems of growing inequalities of data driven methods (Gangadharan 2012; Noble 2017).

Affective capitalism

The ways in which technology, markets and emotions have become intertwined in the digital era, have introduced more theoretically driven work on 'affective capitalism'. Affective capitalism refers to a process, where capital has extended into new spaces, 'creating new markets by harnessing affect and intervening in intimate, domestic relationships' (Skeggs, 2010: 30). The concept of affective capitalism points to blurred borderlines between public and private, increased time-flexibility and entrepreneurialism (Hearn 2010; Skeggs 2010; see also Karppi et al. 2016). This happens increasingly through media engagements (such as social media and mobile technologies), as our everyday lives are surrounded by media.

Discussions of individualization and neoliberalism point out how emotions are increasingly part of marketised systems of surveillance. Research on media technologies point out the emergence of an atmosphere of surveillance (Ellis et al. 2013; Andrejevic 2013) where citizens have become aware of the many ways in which media technologies track and gather information on users and monitor their everyday lives. Malinowska and Miller remind us how development of the emotional, sensitive technologies are connected with US military and publicly-funded scholarly research and with "a model of emotional registers preferred by their makers, most of all the capacity for surveillance of conduct" (Malinowska & Miller 2017: 663).

These ideas propose that emotions appear more central than ever to society, politics and economics and they are made use of by new media technologies more effectively than before. Data analysts in technology companies may collect vast amount of data on emotions and feelings but this data is not necessarily used for public good. New data movements are arising that try to challenge the power of commercial companies, to democratize data – including data on our emotions.

These are important critical views concerning the ways in which emotions are part of contemporary markets and technologies. In all case studies discussed we can see how emotions serve commercial interests of the media, however, in different intensity and extent. Each approach provide understanding of how emotions, and affective practice, work in particular context. They show how emotions are experienced, managed, mobilised and geared in the context of media and how particular emotions carry particular kinds of moral force. In addition, these affective practices are significantly shaped by technologies and economies of media. View to the connections between media, emotions and society

on a broader level, capture how dominant ideologies, economic or political structures may enhance, amplify or favor particular emotional structures.

While the notion of affective capitalism opens an important view to exploring media and emotions, it may also provide a somewhat grim view of emotions, affect and media. Not all media emotions are destructive: media evoke sociability, understanding, and enjoyment in life. Media can evoke a sense of solidarity and a desire to help. Listening to music and watching films can produce moments of delight and happiness, and remind us of sentiments of love and desire that give pleasure to life. To understand the complexity of emotions and media, we need contextual understanding of diverse repertoires of affective practices. This is why there is a need for multiple and multi-method approaches to media and emotions, from textual, virtual analysis to ethnography, to capture the complexity, multiplicity and contradictions of emotional engagements and affective practices around media and the ways in which they are connected with and shaped by social forces.

References:

Ahmed, S. (2004), The Cultural Politics of Emotion. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ahmed, Sara (2000), Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality. London & New York: Routledge.

Andrejevic, M. (2013), Infoglut: How Too Much Information is Changing the Way We Think and Know. London and New York: Routledge.

Bailey, S. (2002), 'Virtuality and The Television Audience: the Case of Futurama' , The Communication Review, (5):239–257.

Baym, N. (1998), 'The emergence of on-line community', in S. Jones (ed), Cyber-society 2.0: Revisiting computer mediated communication and community, pp. 35-68, London: Sage.

Berlant, L. (2011), Cruel Optimism. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Beckett, C & Deuze, M. (2016) 'On the Role of Emotion in the Future of Journalism', Social Media + Society July-September 2016: 1–6.

Boltanski, L. (1999), Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cantó-Mila, N, Nunëz, F. & Seebach, S. (2014), 'Send Me a Message and I'll Call You Back: The Late Modern Webbing of Everyday Love Life', in T. Bensky & Fisher (eds) Internet and Emotions, pp. 144-160, London & New York: Routledge.

Carpentier, N., Schroder, K. & Hallett, L. (2013), Audience Transformations: Shifting Audience Positions in Late Modernity, London & New York: Routledge.

Chouliaraki, L. (2013), The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the age of post-humanitarianism. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Clavel, C. and Callejas, Z. (2016), 'Sentiment Analysis: From Opinion Mining to Human-Agent Interaction', IEEE Transactions on Affective Computing, 7(1) 74-93.

Clough, P. & Halley, J. (eds.) (2007) The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social. Duke University Press.

Cooks, L., Castaneda, M. and Scharrer, E. (2002), '"There's O' Place Like Home": Searching for Community on Oprah.com', in M. Consalvo and S. Paasonen (eds), Women & Everyday Uses of the Internet. New York: Peter Lang.

Corner, J. (2004), 'Performing the Real: Documentary Diversions' in S. Murray and L. Ouellette (eds) Reality TV: Remaking Television Culture, pp. 44–64, New York: New York University Press.

Couldry, N. & Hepp, A. (2017), The Mediated Construction of Reality. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Damasio, A. (1995), Descartes Error: Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain. New York: Putnam.

Döveling, K. von Scheve, C., Konijn, E. (2014) The Routledge Handbook of Emotions and Mass Media.

Dolcos F., LaBar KS., Cabeza R. (2004), 'Interaction between the amygdala and the medial temporal lobe memory system predicts better memory for emotional events', Neuron 42:855–863.

Duncan, S. & Barrett, L.F. (2007), 'Affect is a form of Cognition: A Neurobiological ASnalysis', Cognition and Emotion 21(6):1184-1211.

Dyer, R. (1985) , 'Gay Male Porn: Coming to Terms.' Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media, 30 (March): 27-29.

Ekman, P. (1992), 'All Emotions are Basic', in P. Ekman & R. Davidson (eds), The Nature of Emotions: Fundamental Questions. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, D. Tucker, I and Harper, D. (2013)'The affective atmospheres of surveillance', Theory & Psychology 23(6): 716–731.

Gangadharan, S. (2012) 'Digital inclusion and data profiling', First Monday 17(5)

Gregg, M and Seigworth, G. (eds) (2010), The affect theory reader, Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Grindstaff, L. (2002), The Money Shot: Trash, Class, and the Making of Television Talk Shows, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Haidt, 2003;

Hawkins, G. (2001) 'The ethics of television.' International journal of cultural studies 4(4): 412–426.

Hearn, A. (2010), 'Structuring feeling: Web 2.0, online ranking and rating, and the digital 'reputation' economy', Ephemera: Theory & Politics in Organisation, 10(3/4).

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2013) Why Music Matters, Oxford: Wiley Blackwell.

Hesmondhalgh, D. & Baker, S. (2011), Creative Labor: Media work in three cultural Industries, London & New York: Routledge.

Hirdman, A. (2016), 'The passion of mediated shame: Affective reactivity and classed otherness in reality TV', European Journal of Cultural Studies 19(3) 283–296.

Hochschild, A. (1983), The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hopper, K.M. & Huxford, J. (2015), Gathering emotion: examining newspaper journalists' engagement in emotional labor, Journal of Media Practice, 16:1, 25-41

Höijer, B. 2004. 'Discourse of global compassion: The audience and media reporting of human suffering', Media, Culture and Society 26(4): 513-531.

Jakoby, N. and Reiser, s. (2014), 'Grief 2.0: Exploring Virtual Cemeteries', in T. Bensky & Fisher (eds), Internet and Emotions, pp. 65-78, London & New York: Routledge,

Jenkins, H. (2003), 'Quentin Tarantino's Star Wars? Digital Cinema, Media Convergence and Participatory Culture', in D. Thorburn and H. Jenkins (eds), Rethinking Media Change, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Karppi, T., Kähkönen, L., Mannevuo, M., Pajala, M. and Sihvonen, T. (2016)' Affective capitalism: Investments and investigations', ephemera 16(4):1-13.

Kennedy, H. (2012), 'Perspectives on Sentiment Analysis', Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 56:4, 435-450.

Kilburn, R.W. (2003), Staging the Real: Factual TV Programming in the Age of Big Brother, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

King-O'Riain, R. (2014), 'Transconnective Space, Emotions, and Skype: The Transnational Emotional Practices of Mixed International Couples in the Republic of Ireland', in T. Bensky & Fisher (eds), Internet and Emotions, , pp. 131-143, London & New York: Routledge.

Koffman,O. Orgad, S. & Gill, R. (2015), 'Girl power and 'selfie humanitarianism'', Continuum, 29:2, 157-168

Kyrölä, K. (2014), The Weight of Images: Affect, Body Image and Fat in the Media, Farnham: Ashgate.

Lupton D (2016), The Quantified Self: A Sociology of Self-tracking, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lutz, Catherine & Abu-Lughod, Lila (eds) (1990), Language and the politics of emotion. Studies in Emotion

and Social Interaction, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Malinowska, A. & Miller, T. (2017), 'Sensitive media', Open Cultural Studies 2017; 1: 660–665.

Marwick, A. & boyd, d. (2010), 'I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience', new media & society 13(1) 114–133.

Massumi, B. (2002), Parables of the Virtual: Movements, Affect, Sensation, Durham: Duke University Press.

Matamoros-Fernandez, A. (2017), 'Platformed racism: the mediation and circulation of an

Australian race-based controversy on Twitter, Facebook and YouTube', Information, Communication & Society 20:6: 930-946.

McCarthy, A. (2007), 'Reality television: a neoliberal theater of suffering', Social Text 25: 17-42.

McLuhan M (1964/1999) Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man, Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Milner, Ryan M. (2013) 'Hacking the social: Internet memes, identity antagonism, and the logic of the lulz', The Fibreculture Journal 22/2013

Moeller, S. (1999), Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War and Death, New York: Routledge.

Moll, J, Zahn R., de Oliveira-Souza, R., Krueger F., Grafman, J. (2005),'The neural basis of human moral cognition', Nature Reviews Neuroscience 6:799-809.

Nabi, R. (2003),' The framing effects of emotion: Can discrete emotions influence information recall and policy preference?', Communication Research 30: 224–247.

Nabi, R. & Prestin A. (2016), 'Unrealistic Hope and Unnecessary Fear: Exploring How Sensationalistic News Stories Influence Health Behavior Motivation', Health Communication 31(9):1115-1126.

Nagle, A. (2017) Kill All Normies: Online culture wars from 4chan and Tumblr to Trump and the alt-right. Alersford: Zero Books.

Nikunen, K. (2015), 'Politics of Irony as Emerging Sensibility of Anti-Immigrant Debate' in R. Andreassen & K. Vitus (eds), Affectivity and Race: Studies from Nordic Contexts, Farnham: Ashgate.

Nikunen, K. (2016), 'Media, passion and humanitarian reality television', European Journal of Cultural Studies 19(3): 265–282.

Noble, S. (2017) Algorithms of Opression: How Search Engines Reinforce Racism, New York: NYU Press.

Nussbaum, M. (2001) Upheavals of Thought. The Intelligence of Emotions, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press..

Ochsner, K., Gross, J. (2005),' The cognitive control of emotion', Trends in Cognitive Science 9:242-249.

Ouellette, L. and Murray, S. (eds), (2009), Reality TV: Remaking of television culture. New York: New York University Press.

Ong, J. (2015), The Poverty of Television: The Mediation of Suffering in Class-Divided Philippines. Cambridge: Anthem Press.

Orgad, S. & Nikunen, K. (2016) 'The humanitarian makeover.' Communication and critical/cultural studies, 12 (3). pp. 229-251.

Paasonen, S. (2011), Carnal Resonance: Affect and Online pornography. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Paasonen, S. (2015a), 'A Midsummer's bonfire: affective intensities of Online Debate', in S. Paasonen, B. Hills, M. Petit (eds), Networked Affect, pp. 27-42, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Paasonen, S. (2015b), 'As Networks Fail: Affect, Technology, and the Notion of the User', Television & New Media 16(8): 701–716.

Pantti, M. (2010), 'The value of emotion: An examination of television journalists' notions on emotionality', European Journal of Communication 25(2) 168–181 .

Papacharissi, Z. (2015), Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, Politics. Oxford University Press.

Parisi, D., Paterson, M. Archer, J. (2017), 'Haptic media studies', new media & society, 19(10): 1513–1522.

Pessoa, L. (2009),' Cognition and emotion', Scholarpedia, 4(1):4567.

Pöyhtäri, R., Haara, P. and Raittila, P. (2013), Vihapuhe sanavapautta kaventamassa [Hate Speech Limiting the Freedom of Speech], TUP: Tampere.

Raphael, C. (2009) 'The Political Economic Origins of Reali TV' in L. Ouellette and S. Murray (eds), Reality TV: Remaking of Television Culture, pp. 123-140, New York: New York University Press.

Redden, G. (2007), 'Makeover morality and consumer culture', In Heller D (ed.) Makeover television: Realities remodelled, pp. 150–164, London: I.B. Tauris.

Richards, B. & Rees, G. (2011), 'The management of emotion in British journalism', Media, Culture & Society 33(6) 851–867.

Rosaldo, M. (1984), 'Towards an Anthropology of Self and Feeling', in R. Shweder &Levine , Robert A. (es.). Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion, pp. 137–157, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Santos, J. (2009), Daring to Feel: Violence, the news media and their emotions, Plymouth: Lexington Books.

Scherer, K. (2005), 'What are emotions? And how can they be measured?', Social Science Information 44(4): 695-729.

Seu, I.B. (2010),'Doing Denial: Audiences' Reactions to Human Rights Appeals', Discourse and Society 21(4).

Skeggs, B. (2005), 'Exchange, Value and affect: Bourdieu and 'the Self'' , The Sociological Review 52(2): 75-95.

Skeggs, B. (2010) 'The Value of Relationships: Affective Scenesand Emotional Performances.' Feminist Legal Studies 18:29-51.

Skeggs B. and Wood H. (2008), 'The labour of transformation and circuits of value 'around' reality television', Continuum: Journal of media & cultural studies 22(4): 559–572.

Sontag, S (2003), Regarding the Pain of Others, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Tester, K. (2001), Compassion, morality and media, Buckingham: Open University.

Thrift, N. (2008), Non-representational Theory: Space, Politics and Affect, London & New York: Routledge.

Turner, J. & Stets, J. (2005), Sociology of Emotions, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Turow, J.,McGuigan, L. and Maris, E. (2015), 'Making data mining a natural part of life: Physical retailing, customer surveillance and the 21st century social imaginary ', European Journal of Cultural Studies 18(4-5): 464–478.

Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2013), 'The strategic ritual of emotionality: A case study of Pulitzer Prize-winning articles' Journalism 14(1): 129–145.

Van Dijck, J. (2013) Culture of Connectivity: A Critical History of Social Media, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vestergaard, A. (2008), 'Humanitarian Branding in the Media', Journal of Language and Politics 7(3):471-493.

Wetherell, M. (2012), Affect and Emotion: A New Social Scientific Understanding, London: Sage.

White, G. (1993), 'Emotions Inside Out: The Anthropology of Affect', in M. Lewis &

J. Haviland-Jones (eds), Handbook of Emotions, pp. 29–39, New York: The Guilford Press.

Williams, R. (1961), The Long Revolution, London: Chatto & Windus.

Williams, R. (1968/1987), Drama from Ibsen to Brecht. Rev. ed. London: The Hogarth Press.

Wood, H., Skeggs, B., and Thumim, N. (2009), "It's just sad": Affect, judgement, and

emotional labour', in S. Gillis, and J. Hollows (eds), Reality' television viewing: Feminism, domesticity and popular culture. New York: Taylor and Francis.

Zelizer, B (2010), About to Die How News Images Move the Public. Oxford University Press.