Andrew A. G. Ross

Mediated Humanitarian Affect

2020

https://doi.org/10.25969/mediarep/14989

Veröffentlichungsversion / published version
Sammelbandbeitrag / collection article

[1 0]

Mediated Humanitarian Affect

Andrew A. G. Ross

This contribution reflects on the cultural politics of affective media in the field of global humanitarianism. Liberal advocates of internet connectivity continue to celebrate mobile and other digital networking technologies as vehicles for global dialogue and transnational justice. A key conceit of this tradition is an ontological linkage between the scale of mediated communication, the sensorial range of human experience, and the capaciousness of moral attention. In reference to recent developments in digital humanitarian advocacy, this chapter disrupts these linkages and tells a more complex story about the politics of mediated humanitarian affect. Digital humanitarian campaigns enhance moral sensitivities but also engender new forms of digital labor, data gathering, and political control. Crisis mapping technologies

expand opportunities for liberal institutions to manage distant populations according to specific rationalities of governance. And the algorithms that circulate video advocacy campaigns are translating distant conflicts into new sites for enjoyment and moral urgency. The case of mediated humanitarian affect reveals the extent to which human affective energies are being captured by the technologies and regimes of power characteristic of neoliberal societies.

In a January 2010 address on the topic of internet freedom, then-United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton celebrated online and text messaging efforts that had raised massive funds for victims of a devastating earthquake in Haiti. She reported that the Text HAITI campaign had already generated more than $25 million and described it as "a showcase for the generosity of the American people" (Clinton 2010). This success story revealed the great democratic potential of the digital age, as information technologies create what she, recalling Marshall McLuhan (1994), described as "a new nervous system for our planet." The idea that communications technologies might encourage global sensitivity and thereby increase humanitarian responsiveness has deep roots in liberal internationalism. And, as evidenced by commentators who invoke the potential for internet connectivity to sustain democratic openness on a global scale (MacKinnon 2012; Shirky 2011; Slaughter 2016), the notion of a "global village" continues to inform the liberal imagination (Srinivasan 2017). The central conceit of this tradition is an ontological linkage between the scale of mediated communication, the sensorial range of human experience, and the capaciousness of moral attention.

In reference to recent developments in digital humanitarian advocacy, this chapter disrupts these linkages to tell a more complex story about the politics of mediated affect.[1] Dispensing with narratives focused on

1 I assume that, despite the availability of many compelling philosophical critiques of human rights (Arendt 1973; Rancière 2004), Western humanitarian advocacy continues apace and needs to be understood as a force unto itself in cultural politics.

geographic scale, I argue that viral expressions circulated through social media are reconfiguring the landscape of cultural authority and power in ways that confound liberal aspirations toward a generalized empathy. The visual images and expressive acts associated with campaigns to save child soldiers in Uganda, to free the so-called Chibok girls of Northern Nigeria, and to help refugees in Syria are laying channels of sensitivity selectively attuned to particular events, beneficiaries, and problems. Through these sensitivities, practices of digital humanitarianism are creating affect-generating outlets for cultural expression, sites of entertainment, and opportunities for enjoyment. To explore such processes, here I will focus not on individual participants, campaigns, and movements but instead on non-subjective affective energies I call "mediated humanitarian affect."

While humanitarian campaigns and networks are engaged in moral advocacy, mediated humanitarian affect bears no necessary, normative, or political valence. Mediated flows of humanitarian affect cannot be reduced to the generalized compassion or empathy of Fassin's "humanitarian reason," and nor do they conform to the ironic gestures associated with Chouliaraki's "post-humanitarianism" (Fassin 2012; Chouliaraki 2010). And yet, because they enable specific, politically significant forms of cultural authority, they call for the critical ethos that these authors invoke. Digital humanitarian practices comprise part of a larger cultural political economy of distributed agency, with humanitarian affect serving to direct attention, instantiate sites of cultural authority, and sustain new forms of political control. These social and political consequences of mediated humanitarian affect remain concealed as long as we accept the tight linkage between the scale of communication, the possibility of human sensory enlargement, and the capaciousness of moral imagination. I thus begin with a critical genealogy of these associations.

1. Feeling Global

When Clinton and other liberal observers attribute a global scale to media technologies, they give expression to the latter's historical identification as instruments of communication. The concept of communication evokes the idea of sharing or making common (Peters 1999, 7), but the idea of achieving such a shared exchange across geographic distance only emerges historically as technologies facilitate wider spheres of transmission and engagement (Thompson 1995). Technologies such as railway-enhanced postal delivery, telegraphy, and radio broadcasting created an association between communication and the transmission of informational content

across geographic space (Guillory 2010; Headrick 2000; Peters 1999, 7–9). During the modern period, mediated experience thus becomes associated with communication—understood, through "a metaphor of geography or transportation" (Carey 1989, 15), as the sending of informational data.

As opportunities for mediated communication proliferated during the nineteenth century, they became implicated in the political economies of liberal internationalism. Figures such as David Livingstone, Leonard Woolf, and Norman Angell held up transportation and communication technologies as opportunities for achieving cross-national understanding and peace (Rosenberg 2012). These claims echoed the utopian ideas of Saint-Simon and Michel Chevalier, both of whom saw communication as the key to fostering transnational solidarity (Mattelart 2000, 15–16). Networks of travel and communication together held the potential to promote unity and imperialist conceptions of civilization, important antidotes to the nationalist and racial fragmentations characteristic of nineteenth-century politics. Such theories laid the groundwork for an explicit connection between the sociology of communication and the politics of liberal internationalism.

The normative value of communication was further enhanced during the twentieth century, as new technologies permitted both faster transmission and worries about a corollary loss of authenticity. The proliferation of channels facilitating communication thus served to underscore its value for promoting democratic sociability. The American sociologist Charles Horton Cooley embraced these potentials and approached communication as a liberation from geography—even regarding communication technologies as facilitating a kind of unconscious spiritual connection across distances (Peters 1999, 187). But, as Peters notes, Cooley's reflections are indicative of a broader cultural anxiety over the impact of new technologies. The advent of everyday opportunities for long-distance communication only placed a greater premium on face-to-face—and other forms of social and spiritual—connection regarded as possessing greater authenticity. In this vein, Dewey (1946) and others expressed a characteristically twentieth-century effort to recover authentic forms of deliberative communication, and social and political threats such as fascism and commodification only augmented that endeavor (Habermas 1989; Horkheimer and Adorno 2002).

While Dewey, Habermas, and other democratic theorists focused on public deliberation at a national level, the moral potential of communication found its logical realization in discussions of a "global public sphere" (Fraser 2007; Fraser et al. 2014; Volkmer 2014). Such late-century theories of global

dialogue are staged against the backdrop of post-WWII institutional experiments aimed at peace, education, and scientific cooperation. The *Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO) thus declared in its preamble the intention to leverage communications practices and technologies "for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives." And, while UNESCO accepted the United Nations' fundamental commitment to state sovereignty, it nevertheless pursued a global mandate: the "sacred duty" to support "the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity." Through the work of this institution, the idea of "one world" successfully displaced cultural pluralism as the basis for liberal internationalism (Duedahl 2011, 103). Protecting the "free flow of information" through mass media became a key preoccupation in the service of those objectives and is now reflected in UNESCO efforts to protect internet freedom (Duedahl 2016, 27; Peters 1999, 26; Dutton et al. 2011, 8). Clinton's efforts to align global-scale communication with moral solicitude and democratic values resonate with these multilateral projects.

But recent developments in humanitarian practice suggest that the digital technologies Clinton celebrates are being used in ways that confound mid-century visions of "one world." McLuhan was surely correct in his claim that media technologies alter the sensory capabilities of the human beings that use them. But, in the early twenty-first century, his attribution of global scale to that sensory realignment seems remarkable for the holism it presumes. The contention that our "global village" is a "resonating whole" allowing for "totality and inclusiveness" or "world consciousness" (McLuhan and Powers 1989, 91, 95, 103) does not adequately reflect the manner in which processes of mediation are sustaining more localized and differentiated affects. The "planetary nervous system" is not one unified organism but a multitude of selective sensitivities fueled by specific repertoires of digital practice.

2. Humanitarian Affect

Enthusiasm for digital humanitarianism is a chapter in this narrative of global holism. Various digital technologies—including social media platforms, video sharing sites, serious video games, and crowdsourced crisis mapping—are now routinely used for humanitarian advocacy by governments and various non-governmental organizations. And, while both scholars and practitioners have begun to assess the effectiveness of these practices on an operational level, the advent of digital humanitarianism

has yet to be contextualized in relation to the broader history of communication, its capacity to augment sensory and affective experience, and its connections with the project of liberal internationalism. Taking steps in this direction, I suggest that these digital humanitarian practices are producing localized flows of humanitarian affect induced by specific events, campaigns, and issues, rather than generating global awareness or sensitivity.

Advocacy for human rights has long been associated with augmentations of human sensory experience. Since human rights violations are often concealed by the state actors who perpetrate them, and since humanitarian crises often occur at a distance from the outside actors who respond to them, the task of humanitarianism is inherently dependent upon public awareness and witnessing. Human rights is, at its core, "a visibility project" (Gearty 2006, 4). Organizations such as Amnesty International were founded on the practice of witnessing, employing techniques such as letter-writing and prisoner adoption as the conduit for extra-local public involvement and advocacy (Hopgood 2006; Scarry 1985). Beginning in the 1980s, images circulating via newspapers, magazines, and direct mail campaigns helped to bring outside attention to famines and other humanitarian crises in the Global South (Moeller 1999). During the 1990s, real-time news coverage was seen as playing an important role in not only securing public attention (Robinson 1999), but also in the inauguration of a new sensory regime of visual simulation (Baudrillard 1995). Because human rights claims have historically involved geographical and cultural distance, we can understand them only by excavating the mechanisms of visibility and simulation connecting and constituting willing humanitarians and would-be beneficiaries.

Social networks and the algorithms behind them have qualitatively transformed mediated access to human suffering. As mobile computing and social networking technologies afford opportunities for ordinary users to co-produce media content, broadcasting networks and centralized organizational structures are no longer integral to mediatized humanitarianism. Indeed, much attention has been paid to such "user-driven" capabilities, which Castells (2009) associates with the phenomenon of "mass self-communication" and Bennett and Segerberg (2013) with the "personalization" of social movement organizing. But these accounts reposition agency onto the individual user without calling into question the ontology of intentionality that privileges communication as the primary aspect of mediated experience. What makes social networking and mobile computing practices distinctive is not only their reliance on user-generated

content but also the manner in which they distribute opportunities for cultural expression and agency. Here the suffering human is more than an external object triggering action; they are part of an assemblage of technical, sensory, and affective processes involved in channeling human activity and directing attention.

Humanitarian campaigns built around hashtags, viral videos, and iconic images therefore do more than merely communicate information to a user: they distribute inducements to affective expression. Human rights organizations are increasingly seeking to capitalize on the power of crowdsourcing through innovative use of digital media tools (Cornell, Keisch, and Palasz 2004; Joyce 2010). Viral video and hashtag campaigns such as KONY 2012 and #BringBackOurGirls showcase the potential for new forms of participation (Berents 2016; Carter Olson 2016; Loken 2014): the latter generated over four million retweets during the second half of 2014 (Carter Olson 2016, 773), while the Kony video attracted more than 100 million views in just six days (Brysk 2013, 158). The significance of this participatory element can be seen in both the content generated by users and the affective energies produced by the curatorial practices of clicking, forwarding, liking, and posting. Crisis maps and other forms of digital crowdsourcing generate data for the purposes of witnessing and coordination among relief agencies (Ziemke 2012), but they also distribute the experience of solidarity and moral confidence within an emergent assemblage of mediated participation. What results are "circulations of affect" (Ross 2014) that coalesce around the catastrophic events, celebrity activists, and iconic images that most acutely direct attention to human suffering.

These humanitarian affects do not pre-exist the mediations that induce them: they are socioculturally constituted and contextually specific responses rather than generic emotions. The emotionality of human rights advocacy has been widely recognized by various cultural histories of humanitarianism, with many accounts pointing to the importance of compassion and empathy in motivating and defining the scope of human rights consciousness and advocacy (Crawford 2014; Hunt 2007; Ure and Frost 2014). And yet, as I have suggested elsewhere (Ross 2018), these stereotyped emotions do not capture the various emotions and moods—including anger and guilt—that can arise in response to human suffering. Moreover, as Hutchison (2016), Käpylä and Kennedy (2014), and others have demonstrated, even seemingly commonplace emotions such as compassion are shaped and disciplined by the images and campaigns that elicit them. Humanitarian practices such as celebrity activism and its attendant technologies, moreover, have enhanced certain styles of affective

expression, such as the intimacy of "confession" (Mitchell 2016, 295). These affects are generated through the social processes, cultural values, and technical media that sustain contemporary humanitarianism.

Humanitarian affect does not pre-exist its expression because human affectivity is so deeply constituted by media technologies. Contemporary media theory suggests that mediation needs to be understood not as human actors using instruments of communication but as human and material elements co-evolving within composite systems, or assemblages (Clark 2003; Clough 2000; Galloway, Thacker, and Wark 2014; Hayles 2012; Massumi 2002). Mediated practices of humanitarianism have become important nodes in this co-constitution of technological and human capability. Research in neuroscience shows that affective responses are predicated on patterns of embodied sensitivity, such that exposure to an emotionally significant object activates responses in the brain. But the class of images, objects, and experiences that qualify as "emotionally competent stimuli" (Damasio 2003) changes with experience. The brain's capacity for plasticity (Angerer 2017; Malabou 2008; Wexler 2006) ensures that affective capabilities are continually channeled and directed according to repeated patterns of exposure and stimulation. What at first seems to be a quintessentially human endeavor—pooling the capabilities of some human beings to attend to the needs of others—is also the interface between cultural representations of suffering, the algorithms and other technical processes that distribute them to human sensory receptors, and the styles of affective response that both help to normalize.

Studies of humanitarian practice provide some indications of these new styles of affect. One shift has been toward enhanced opportunities for pursuing enjoyment through helping others. Critical commentaries point to the danger of "narcissism" as a generation of social media users becomes absorbed in self-expression and public performances of generosity (Papacharissi 2009; Rifkin 2009). Even without fully endorsing such worries, however, we can accept that digital humanitarian practices are providing opportunities for experiencing pleasure through small acts of perceived generosity. Helping, giving, and saving involve distinct exchanges of affect, and, as Bornstein suggests, we need to understand "the subtle shades of humanitarian efforts—differentiated by varied imperatives, impulses, and systems of obligation and assistance" (2012, 11). The digital labor associated with navigating and curating humanitarian content builds new styles of affect around distributed forms of action. Research in moral psychology suggests that moral judgment and altruistic actions generate feelings of pleasure and pride (Haidt 2003; Prinz 2007, 81). Contemporary forms of

mediated humanitarianism are multiplying opportunities for these joys of moral action (Chouliaraki 2010).

Ethnographic research also points to the growing salience of urgency within contemporary humanitarianism. Whereas older forms of human rights advocacy tolerated incremental change, the accelerated forms of communication afforded by digital technologies are amplifying moods of urgency within humanitarian networks (Mitchell 2016, 290; Pandolfi 2010). The Rwandan genocide was a key catalyst for this specific temporality, which helped to fuel international support for the "Responsibility to Protect" doctrine. It is in this cultural context that the Invisible Children organization invested their KONY 2012 campaign with such a distinctive impatience. The short film at the heart of that campaign relates the story of American students on a church mission trip who, after witnessing the plight of child soldiers in Uganda, are eager to expose the injustice and catalyze American intervention. As the film's narrator pivots into an explanation of the campaign, he states "we can change the course of human history but time is running out" (Russell and Invisible Children 2012). The imperative to "do something!" has more authority in an environment in which readily accessible forms of digital engagement give the impression that its sole alternative is to "do nothing." As many critics have suggested in the aftermath of the KONY 2012 case, the rapid responses enabled by digital humanitarian campaigns disempower local actors, mis-represent the structural causes of suffering, and promote misguided remedies as a consequence (Brysk 2013, 156–60; Finnegan 2013; Mamdani 2012).

Urgency, enjoyment, and other forms of mediated humanitarian affect are not well understood as manifestations of a uniform expansion of sensory range or a global enhancement of empathy. Human rights advocates continue to embrace new media as opportunities to realize the ambitions of liberal internationalism. In this vein, Michael Ignatieff asserts that new media technologies are facilitating "the steady enlargement of the audiences before which we feel we much justify ourselves" (2017, 15). Indeed, as tools of communication, digital media have the potential to reach globally distant users—but as sites of affective mediation, their impact is both more differentiated and more mutable. Iconic images and signal events hold the potential to forge specific sensitivities that direct attention in a selective manner and generate styles of affectivity within specific media milieus. Generalized assertions of global empathy and moral concern obscure such affective processes.

3. Capturing Humanitarian Affect

Political assessments of digital media and social movements often alternate between celebration and suspicion. On one side are those who regard digital tools as affording new mechanisms for enhancing civil society and organizing and facilitating collective action without a strong organizational center (Bennett and Segerberg 2013; Castells 2012). The emphasis here lies on the mechanics of organizing, especially the potential for user-driven contributions to achieve an outsized impact through digital networking and aggregation. On the other side are those who worry that online activities such as social media networking are producing a deficit of authentic political commitment (Joyce 2011; Morozov 2013; Rifkin 2009). In this vein, Gladwell (2010) argues that social media-driven movements lack the personal sacrifices and "strong ties" that underpinned the US civil rights movement. He and other skeptics argue that clicking, liking, and posting amount to a form of "slacktivism" that cannot produce real change.

While not without their merits, both views are quick to apply metrics of effectiveness that leave the broader political economy of digital humanitarianism unexamined. The last three decades have seen human rights advocacy subsumed within the market rationalities of neoliberalism (Goodale 2009; Hopgood 2013; Moyn 2010). Organizations and networks operate within a competitive marketplace wherein media, donors, and celebrities play an integral role in securing attention among would-be sympathizers (Bob 2005; Chouliaraki 2013; Vestergaard 2010). Moreover, use of social media and other digital tools is creating a growing imperative for actors in the humanitarian sector to tailor their publicity to social media algorithms and other data analytic tools. That supporters are often motivated by genuine concern for human suffering does not insulate the enterprise of humanitarianism from capture by the processes, technologies, and cultural authorities that comprise neoliberalism.

Humanitarian affect helps to secure human participation in those broader neoliberal assemblages. The joy and urgency associated with representations of human suffering fuels the circulation of digital content within global economies of giving and receiving. In this context, messages, posts, and appeals become significant not only for their content, but also for the role they play within a larger system that Jodi Dean calls "communicative capitalism"; they are, to use her words, "mere contributions to the circulation of images, opinion, and information, to the billions of nuggets of information and affect trying to catch and hold attention" (2009, 24). Campaigns seek to leverage evocative images and alluring

celebrities in order to accumulate "caring acts" within a distributed pool of "audience labor" (Wilson 2014, 114).[2] Affect thus creates the basis for distributed agency in the absence of geographic proximity, cultural identity, or ideological coherence. The resulting social formations consist of both constellations of individual users and circulations of pre-individual affects that direct attention and inspire action even before the emergence of networks of "mass self-communication" becomes visible.

The moral and political motivations behind digital humanitarian labor tell us little about the regimes of power into which they are drawn. When digital media create opportunities for crowdsourcing and the co-production of content, they serve as engines of participation but do so according to specific terms of intelligibility. Flows of humanitarian affect direct attention to those kinds of human suffering for which moral sensitivities are most acute. Research on transnational social movements notes that issues involving bodily harm receive special attention (Keck and Sikkink 1998); others point to media representations that treat children as privileged objects of moral concern (Moeller 2002) or non-Western populations as needing benevolent Western assistance (Hutchison 2016). These selections are visible expressions of humanitarian sensitivity associated with certain privileged issues, beneficiaries, and cases. Genocide, child soldiers, sex trafficking—each of these high-profile issues provokes such sensitivities and, as a result, presents different potentials to engender flows of humanitarian affect.

This capacity for selectivity means that humanitarian affect enters politics in ways that empower and legitimize certain kinds of norms and institutions. The urgency and enthusiasm generated by the KONY 2012 campaign, for example, became integrated into institutional responses associated with outside military and juridical intervention (in this instance, by the United States military and the International Criminal Court). Moreover, digital tools used to crowdsource the practice of human rights witnessing creates affective channels of authority and dependency between helpers and beneficiaries.[3] For example, a study by Kamari Clarke examines user-driven crisis tracking platforms and smart phone-based capabilities for video capture that are being used by international criminal justice institutions. She argues that these "capture technologies" are

2 On the idea of "digital labor," see, for example, work by Thrift (2008), as well as Clough (2013) and other contributions to Scholz (2013).

3 Grove (2015), for example, points to the way in which crowdsourced contributions to digital crisis maps can help to reproduce specific forms of power within "human security governance."

leveraging the affective potential of the "victimized body" and investing digitally equipped helpers with surveillance capacity and political authority once held by the state (2017, 365). Mediated flows of affect thus serve as mechanisms for eliciting and sustaining local human involvement in the institutional sites of neoliberal world politics.

4. Conclusion

The field of humanitarian practice affords insight into the "affective media transformations" of the twenty-first century. In making creative use of social media networking and various forms of mobile computing, humanitarian movements are crowdsourcing the work of witnessing, fundraising, and cultural awareness. But these technical capabilities are not creating the "planetary nervous system" that McLuhan once predicted and that liberal internationalists associate with internet freedom and global connectivity. Instead, contemporary humanitarian practice is producing a more differentiated and mutable field of affective sensitivities and flows. In this context, generalized accounts of empathy cannot capture the channels of enhanced sensitivity that direct attention to specific issues, populations, and campaigns. Humanitarian affect needs to be understood in the particular.

The phenomenon of humanitarian affect offers further indications about how human elements function within contemporary media assemblages. To begin with, the willful intentions and subjective experiences of individual users comprise some but not all of those human elements. As human beings inhabit humanitarian media environments, affective sensitivities co-evolve with the demands placed upon them to contribute specific kinds of digital labor. That such effects are less visible than the communicative and networking functions of digital media does not make them any less significant for the field of cultural politics. Moreover, the moral motivations behind humanitarian practice bear no fixed imprint on the normative and political valence of humanitarian affect. Images and representations of human suffering engender flows of affect, but that humanitarian genesis offers an unreliable indicator of the institutions and regimes of cultural authority with which they later align.

References

Angerer, Marie-Luise. 2017. *Ecology of Affect: Intensive Milieus and Contingent Encounters*. Translated by Gerrit Jackson. Lüneburg: Meson Press.

Arendt, Hannah. 1973. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New ed. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Baudrillard, Jean. 1995. *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*. Translated by Paul Patton. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bennett, W. Lance, and Alexandra Segerberg. 2013. *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Berents, Helen. 2016. "Hashtagging Girlhood: #IAmMalala, #BringBackOurGirls and Gendering Representations of Global Politics." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 18 (4): 513–27. doi: 10.1080/14616742.2016.1207463.

Bob, Clifford. 2005. *The Marketing of Rebellion: Insurgents, Media, and International Activism.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bornstein, Erica. 2012. *Disquieting Gifts: Humanitarianism in New Delhi*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Brysk, Alison. 2013. *Speaking Rights to Power: Constructing Political Will.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Carey, James W. 1989. *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society, Media and Popular Culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Carter Olson, Candi. 2016. "#BringBackOurGirls: Digital Communities Supporting Real-world Change and Influencing Mainstream Media Agendas." *Feminist Media Studies* 16 (5): 772–87. doi: 10.1080/14680777.2016.1154887.

Castells, Manuel. 2009. *Communication Power.* New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2012. *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Chouliaraki, Lilie. 2010. "Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication beyond a Politics of Pity." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 13 (2): 107–26.

———. 2013. *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-humanitarianism*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Clark, Andy. 2003. *Natural-born Cyborgs: Minds, Technologies, and the Future of Human Intelligence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Clarke, Kamari Maxine. 2017. "Rethinking Sovereignty Through Hashtag Publics: The New Body Politic." *Cultural Anthropology* 32 (3): 359–66. doi: 10.14506/CA32.3.05.

Clinton, Hillary. 2010. "Remarks on Internet Freedom." Newseum, Washington, DC, 21 January.

Clough, Patricia Ticineto. 2000. *Autoaffection: Unconscious Thought in the Age of Tele-technology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2013. "The Digital, Labor, and Measure beyond Biopolitics." In *Digital Labor: The Internet as Playground and Factory*, edited by Trebor Scholz, 112–26. New York: Routledge.

Cornell, Tricia, Kate Keisch, and Nicole Palasz. 2004. *New Tactics in Human Rights: A Resource for Practitioners*. Minneapolis: Center for Victims of Torture.

Crawford, Neta C. 2014. "Institutionalizing Passion in World Politics: Fear and Empathy." *International Theory* 6 (3): 535–57.

Damasio, Antonio R. 2003. *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain*. New York: Harcourt.

Dean, Jodi. 2009. *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies: Communicative Capitalism and Left Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Dewey, John. 1946. *The Public and its Problems, an Essay in Political Inquiry*. Chicago: Gateway Books.

Duedahl, Poul. 2011. "Selling Mankind: UNESCO and the Invention of Global History, 1945–1976." *Journal of World History* 22 (1): 101–33.

Duedahl, Poul, ed. 2016. *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dutton, William H., Anna Dopatka, Michael Hills, Ginette Law, and Victoria Nash. 2011. *Freedom of Connection, Freedom of Expression: The Changing Legal and Regulatory Ecology Shaping the Internet.* Paris: UNESCO.

Fassin, Didier. 2012. *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present Times*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Finnegan, Amy C. 2013. "Beneath Kony 2012: Americans Aligning with Arms and Aiding Others." *Africa Today* 59 (3): 137–62. doi: 10.2979/africatoday.59.3.137.

Fraser, Nancy. 2007. "Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: On the Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in a Post-Westphalian World." *Theory, Culture & Society* 24 (4): 7–30.

Fraser, Nancy et al. 2014. *Transnationalizing the Public Sphere*. Edited by Kate Nash. Malden, MA: Polity.

Galloway, Alexander R., Eugene Thacker, and McKenzie Wark, eds. 2014. *Excommunication: Three Inquiries in Media and Mediation*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Gearty, Conor. 2006. *Can Human Rights Survive?* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gladwell, Malcolm. 2010. "Small Change: Why the Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted." *The New Yorker*.

Goodale, Mark. 2009. *Surrendering to Utopia: An Anthropology of Human Rights*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Grove, Nicole Sunday. 2015. "The Cartographic Ambiguities of HarassMap: Crowd-mapping Security and Sexual Violence in Egypt." *Security Dialogue* 46 (4): 345–64. doi: 10.1177/0967010615583039.

Guillory, John. 2010. "Genesis of the Media Concept." *Critical Inquiry* 36 (2): 321–62.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Haidt, Jonathan. 2003. "Elevation and the Positive Psychology of Morality." In *Flourishing: Positive Psychology and the Life Well-lived*, edited by Corey Keyes, L. M. and Jonathan Haidt, 275–89. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Hayles, Katherine. 2012. *How We Think: Digital Media and Contemporary Technogenesis*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Headrick, Daniel R. 2000. *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge in The Age of Reason and Revolution, 1700–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hopgood, Stephen. 2006. *Keepers of the Flame: Understanding Amnesty International*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

———. 2013. *The Endtimes of Human Rights*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Horkheimer, Max, and Theodor W. Adorno. 2002. "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception." In *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments*, edited by Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, 94–136. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hunt, Lynn. 2007. *Inventing Human Rights: A History*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Hutchison, Emma. 2016. *Affective Communities in World Politics: Collective Emotions after Trauma*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ignatieff, Michael. 2017. "Human Rights, Global Ethics, and the Ordinary Virtues." *Ethics & International Affairs* 31 (1): 3–16. doi: 10.1017/S0892679416000629.

Joyce, Daniel. 2011. "New Media Witnessing and Human Rights." *Human Rights Defender* 20 (1): 23–26.

Joyce, Mary, ed. 2010. *Digital Activism Decoded: The New Mechanics of Change*. New York: International Debate Education Association.

Käpylä, Juha, and Denis Kennedy. 2014. "Cruel to Care? Investigating the Governance of Compassion in the Humanitarian Imaginary." *International Theory* 6 (2): 255–92.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Loken, Meredith. 2014. "#BringBackOurGirls and the Invisibility of Imperialism." *Feminist Media Studies* 14 (6): 1100–01. doi: 10.1080/14680777.2014.975442.

MacKinnon, Rebecca. 2012. *Consent of The Networked: The World-wide Struggle for Internet Freedom*. New York: Basic Books.

Malabou, Catherine. 2008. *What Should We Do with Our Brain?* New York: Fordham University Press.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2012. "What Jason Didn't Tell Gavin and His Army of Invisible Children." *The Daily Monitor*.

Massumi, Brian. 2002. *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Mattelart, Armand. 2000. *Networking the World, 1794–2000*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

McLuhan, Marshall. 1994. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

McLuhan, Marshall, and Bruce R. Powers. 1989. *The Global Village: Transformations in World Life and Media in the 21st Century*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mitchell, Katharyne. 2016. "Celebrity Humanitarianism, Transnational Emotion and the Rise of Neoliberal Citizenship." *Global Networks* 16 (3): 288–306. doi: 10.1111/glob.12114.

Moeller, Susan D. 1999. *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War, and Death*. New York: Routledge.

———. 2002. "A Hierarchy of Innocence: The Media's Use of Children in the Telling of International New." *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 7 (1): 36–56. doi: 10.1177/1081180X02007001004.

Morozov, Evgeny. 2013. *To Save Everything, Click Here: The Folly of Technological Solutionism*. New York: PublicAffairs.

Moyn, Samuel. 2010. *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pandolfi, Mariella. 2010. "Humanitarianism and Its Discontents." In *Forces of Compassion: Humanitarianism between Ethics and Politics*, edited by Erica Bornstein and Peter Redfield, 227–48. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.

Papacharissi, Zizi. 2009. "The Virtual Sphere 2.0: The Internet, the Public Sphere, and beyond." In *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*, edited by Andrew Chadwick and Philip N. Howard, 230–45. New York: Routledge.

Peters, John Durham. 1999. *Speaking into the Air: A History of the Idea of Communication*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Prinz, Jesse J. 2007. *The Emotional Construction of Morals*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rancière, Jacques. 2004. "Who Is the Subject of the Rights of Man?" *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 103 (2): 297–310.

Rifkin, Jeremy. 2009. *The Empathic Civilization: The Race to Global Consciousness in a World in Crisis*. New York: J.P. Tarcher/Penguin.

Robinson, Piers. 1999. "The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy?" *Review of International Studies* 25 (2): 301–09.

Rosenberg, Emily S. 2012. "Transnational Currents in a Sinking World." In *A World Connecting, 1870–1945*, edited by Emily S. Rosenberg, 815–997. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Ross, Andrew A. G. 2014. *Mixed Emotions: Beyond Fear and Hatred in International Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2018. "Beyond Empathy and Compassion: Genocide and the Emotional Complexities of Humanitarian Politics." In *Emotions and Mass Atrocity: Philosophical and Theoretical Explorations*, edited by Thomas Brudholm and Johannes Lang, 185–208. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Russell, Jason, and Invisible Children. 2012. KONY 2012. [San Diego]. Accessed October 16, 2020. https://invisiblechildren.com/kony-2012/.

Scarry, Elaine. 1985. *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Scholz, Trebor. 2013. *Digital Labor: The Internet as Playground and Factory*. New York: Routledge.

Shirky, Clay. 2011. "The Political Power of Social Media." *Foreign Affairs* 90 (1): 28–41.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie. 2016. "How to Succeed in the Networked World." *Foreign Affairs* 95 (6): 76–89.

Srinivasan, Ramesh. 2017. *Whose Global Village? Rethinking How Technology Shapes Our World*. New York: New York University Press.

Thompson, John B. 1995. *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of The Media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Thrift, Nigel. 2008. *Non-representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*. New York: Routledge.

Ure, Michael, and Mervyn Frost. 2014. *The Politics of Compassion*. New York: Routledge.

Vestergaard, Anne. 2010. "Identity and Appeal in the Humanitarian Brand." In *Media, Organizations and Identity*, edited by Lilie Chouliaraki and Mette Morsing, 168–83. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Volkmer, Ingrid. 2014. *The Global Public Sphere: Public Communication in the Age of Reflective Interdependence*. Malden, MA: Polity.

Wexler, Bruce E. 2006. *Brain and Culture: Neurobiology, Ideology, and Social Change*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Wilson, Julie A. 2014. "Cosmopolitan Stars, Interactive Audience Labor, and the Digital Economy of Global Care." *Television & New Media* 15 (2): 104–20. doi: 10.1177/1527476412448469.

Ziemke, Jen. 2012. "Crisis Mapping: The Construction of a New Interdisciplinary Field?" *Journal of Map & Geography Libraries* 8 (2): 101–17. doi: 10.1080/15420353.2012.662471.