

The Feel of Life: Resonance, Race, and Representation

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This article uses examples of the viral circulation of the images of Black people in the new media ecology of television news and YouTube to suggest that the feelings these images evoke exceed the legibility of their semiotic meaning and the promise of their political efficacy. The article uses this condition of excess in the politics of meaning to suggest that the platforms through which the images of Blacks gather, focus, and habituate points of identification (and disidentification) and perception might complement the continuing conceptual emphasis on racial meaning with a conception of media as a cultural technology for generating and circulating racial feelings and feelings about race.

Keywords: affect, Blackness, feelings, new media, race, resonance

For several generations of U.S. media scholars and activists, representation has been the focus of evidentiary correction and historical accuracy, a place of closing the gap between the complex real conditions of Black life and the media exclusions and distortions that justified Black subordination and domination. Politically, representation stood as the purported site of control over the production of the image, a place where representational parity could help realize cultural and social justice.

As an African American media scholar located in the United States, I want to reckon analytically with what I see as the cultural limit of the political investment in representation. On the one hand, there is optimism about the promise of new media technologies and the forms of access and participation they engender, and on the other, there is the rather more critical assessment of the concentration of resources, wealth, production, and distributive capacities in the hands of a few global players. In the United States, furthermore, as the capacities for greater market differentiation and access to consumers drive media representations of difference, consumer friendly discourses of multiculturalism and diversity replace historic concerns about the lack of cultural parity and the role of media in addressing social vulnerabilities based on race and related forms of social difference.

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More specifically in the case of Blackness in the United States, this shift in image culture operates against the backdrop of what Paul Gilroy (2010) identifies as the loss of the moral indexicality of Black American freedom struggles, where Blackness and the struggles of Black people once critically indexed the affective conditions of subordination—pain, suffering, loss—and the aspirations, dreams, hopes, and desires for freedom (p. 25).²

In the United States, media representations of Black and Brown people on broadcast and cable news, reality and scripted television entertainment affirm diversity and intensify the visibility of Blackness as a marker of social difference, making it the object of distinct sentiments and attachments, including negative and charged emotions such as fear, threat, and danger.³ I suggest that the sentiments that racial subjects mobilize in popular image culture exceed the capacity of representation (I see you) and identity (I know you) to tell us what these emotions mean and how attachments to them guide and enable social action. These affective potentialities for social action and the technologies by which they are expressed and circulated, I submit, might be productively thought of as possible conduits through which to express public and collective feelings about race and what it feels like to live in racialized social spaces.

The sustained emphasis on representation at the expense of other modes of knowing brings critical media studies of race and difference to a looming analytic reckoning. More particularly, in its encounter with postracial discourses of diversity, Black freedom dreams are potentially transformed into marketable multicultural choices and brand identities. Using the viral YouTube and television video of Antoine Dobson, I probe for the registers and circuits of public feelings about Blackness (and, in some instances, Black feelings about race) rather than another visible, recognizable, and consumable register of marketable Black multicultural difference and identity. I offer a modest illustration of where critical-media and cultural-studies scholars might look (and what they might look at) in one sector of media culture to monitor, catalogue, and measure Black affective states and to assess the likelihood of Black affective states to impact the order of things. I focus on the Black structures of feeling that contest the political evacuation of race and the re-inscription of Blackness as diversity as a site of market investments in representation and identity. In other words, I am interested in the everyday mediated expressions and circuits of Blackness not only for the legibility of its meaning or the accuracy of its representation but also for where it circulates and how it mobilizes action and sentiments (e.g., anxiety, stress, anger), perhaps even more general public feelings (e.g., indifference, fatigue, impatience) about Black and Brown people.

A Strange Route to Celebrity: The “Dodson Takes”

The primary example of mediated image culture that I draw on is a relatively mundane but widely viewed (in the United States, anyway) YouTube broadcast that I call the *Dodson takes*. This rather modest example is rich heuristically not so much because it is representative as a sample of feelings or

² Here I refer to the discursive distillation and constellation of associations, meanings, and representations that form common-sense understandings about Black people regardless of the specific and historical realities of Blacks in the United States and the Black Atlantic world.

³ Black filmmakers have used capacity for negative emotions as a charged site of political disruption of the Hollywood strategy of normative identification.

exemplary of a genre of YouTube videos, but because, theoretically, it is good to think with about mediated expressions of Black vulnerability and insecurity and (Black) public feelings about Blackness it generates. So with the Dodson takes, I explore questions about the feel of life, that appeal not so much to veracity, accuracy, authenticity, and legibility of the image (as a news story) but to its ability to convey what it feels like to live constantly exposed to racially organized and distributed vulnerability and risk. In other words, the Dodson takes and other texts like it afford media scholars opportunities to interrogate the affective resonance and sensation of a sector of Black life that we only reckon with analytically through genre demands for legibility, accuracy, and veracity, which are enforced by newsroom editors and journalists, demanded by activists, and required by media scholars.

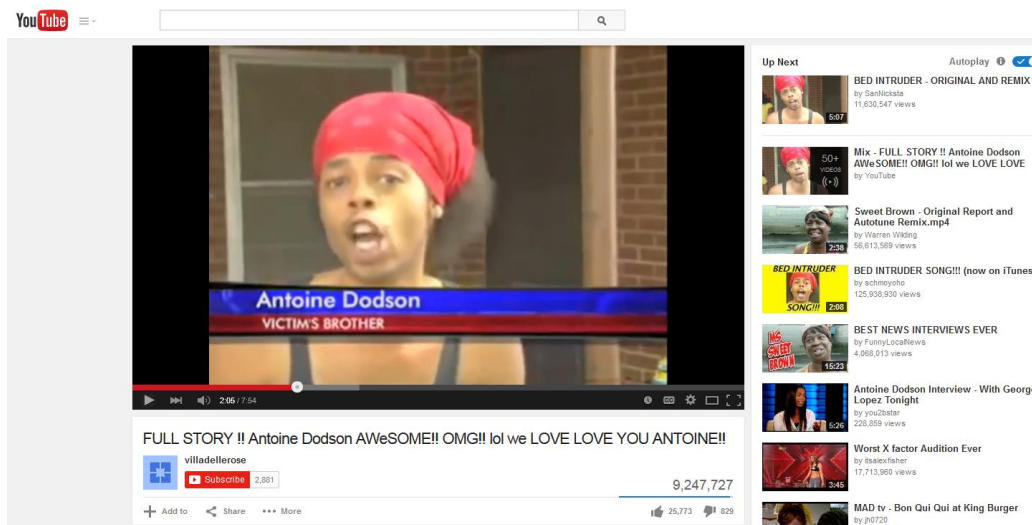


Figure 1. YouTube video clip of Antoine Dodson.

The YouTube⁴ video of Antoine Dodson began its media life as a local eyewitness-news report of a home invasion on NBC affiliate WAFF-48 News in Huntsville, Alabama. In the original news story, Dodson, an African American resident of the Lincoln Park housing project, in Huntsville, Alabama, where the crime occurred, and members of his family speak on camera to Elizabeth Gentle, a White female local eyewitness-news reporter about the home invasion and attempted rape. In the eyewitness account, Dodson and his family members describe in considerable detail the crime for the reporter and viewers and serve notice to violators (and would-be violators) that his family members are watching. Dodson's direct address to the camera bypasses local police and community organizations appealing to community solidarity. His comments affirm a sense of attachment and belonging to their neighborhood and community. Emotionally part plea, part angry declaration (or perhaps even threat), his address is certain and direct.

⁴ See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=civOdWxd4Kc>.

The initial Dodson eyewitness news report went viral on YouTube, but not because it was an extraordinary news story or because it had some intrinsic news value in the nightly flow of crime stories on local newscasts. Indeed, the story was unremarkable, almost cliché in its repetition of Black vulnerability and suffering, a pattern that can be viewed regularly on any local evening news broadcast in the United States. Perhaps the story went viral because this very quality of habituation, routine, and cliché (Keeling, 2007) engendered by media coverage makes it familiar and therefore ripe for manipulation by tech-savvy producers like the Gregory Brothers, who Auto-Tuned Dodson's interview.⁵ The descriptions, pleas for community security, expressions of collective vulnerability, and declaration of vigilance in communal *watchfulness* (as opposed to surveillance)⁶ from the original report provide the raw material for the Auto-Tune transformation from actual news account to *Billboard* and iTunes song. In the story, Dodson's visually and sonically expressive performance (in a Southern African American vernacular tradition) of the admonition\plea to "hide your kids, hide your wife" became one among an endless number of looped melodic and rhythmic rapped refrains that sped across the Internet.⁷

The viral media circuit through which Dodson's news take was reversioned is also worth mentioning.⁸ Dodson and his sister Kelley both appeared on camera, but it was Dodson who became the YouTube celebrity, largely because of the earnest, urgent, and, to be sure, emotional register of his appeal, which was ripe for a range of readings from outrage to entertainment.⁹ Like the Rodney King tapes of an earlier generation, the eyewitness news iteration of Dodson's take was ripe for a kind of discursive and media disassembly and reassembly that fit well with digital exhibition and distribution platforms such as YouTube and Facebook. Instead of being disaggregated and the object of a legal dispute over criminal evidence, as was the case with the videotape recording of the police assault of Rodney King

⁵ Auto-Tune is the digital pitch technology that makes it possible to modify the pitch value of spoken words, rendering them melodic. The Auto-Tuned version of "The Dodson Takes" appeared on the *Billboard* Hot 100 and was available for download on iTunes.

⁶ I deliberately draw a distinction between community watchfulness and surveillance to highlight differences in access to technologies for watching, coding, storing, and mobilizing information concentrated in the hands of the state and concentrated in those of residents, who are armed only with their eyes and low-tech consumer devices such as digital telephones and cameras.

⁷ The Auto-Tune transformation and YouTube viral circulation of this news story raises all sorts of questions about trivialization, vulnerability, and ethics. But the ones I am most interested in are those that foreground issues of visibility and excess, resonance and affect. In particular, I want to concentrate on the angle of vision from which these various digital takes invite us to see and what the circuit and forms of its viral practice and take-up might suggest about the feeling of life as opposed to its representation.

⁸ The actual televised home invasion news story was picked up and reversioned on a number of occasions, including by a mostly White gospel choir at the evangelical Liberty University in Lynchburg, Virginia, founded by Jerry Falwell. The viral "The Dodson Takes" also appeared on television talk shows. Dodson himself even made a brief appearance on the *Soul Train Music Awards* telecast performing the viral Auto-Tuned version of the news story in which he was featured.

⁹ See Jackson (2008) for a discussion of sincerity in contrast to authenticity as the basis of forms of racial belonging and attachment to community.

a generation earlier, Dodson's take was transformed into a YouTube song and widely circulated, thus taking on the burnish (even if momentarily) of spectacle and celebrity (Fiske, 1994; Gooding-Williams, 1993; Iton, 2008; Jackson, 2008; Kellner, 2009).

Along with car chases and local corruption, stories of property crimes, home invasions, robberies, violence, and theft like those covered in this story are a staple of local news, so much so that as news, the Antoine Dodson story is actually quite unremarkable. Rather, it is commonplace in that it is easy for viewers to dismiss neighborhoods such as Dodson's and the people who live there as "other," as those who, while racially and economically separated and spatially contained, still nonetheless threaten the normative middle-class attachment to spaces of security and comfort. This might be thought of as a raced way of seeing. Raced ways of seeing and seeing through race structures are the discursive production of looking practices with respect to race (Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Hunt, 1996; and Mitchell, 2012). Raced ways of seeing and seeing through race naturalize and fix, for instance, the alignment of crime and Black male youth in local news or the alliance between Black middle-class success and the cultivation of the responsible and entrepreneurial self in scripted television. In the transformation of the Dodson takes from a routine home invasion crime story in an African American community into a YouTube video sensation, users are invited (or, more likely, disinvented) to see. These modes of representation—the news story and the viral video—invite or discourage viewers' emotional identification with Dodson, members of his family and community, and their vulnerabilities or hopes (Hartman, 1977; Iton, 2008; Petersen, 2010; Sontag, 1977).¹⁰

Increasingly infused with the logic of the market, a cultural politics of representation aimed at visibility encourages us to see and to recognize Dobson and members of his community, but that invitation is at best fraught because it also marks Dodson as "other." Antoine Dodson is a poor, young, Black male. The issue with Dodson is not one of invisibility but of exposure to vulnerabilities and risks of crime and assault based on where he lives, his class position, and his race. In the absence of shared commitments to a common project, regardless of social location or property status, appeals to media including television for more inclusive representations of racial and ethnic difference gloss over the role of media in heightening insensitivity to vulnerability, risk, insecurity, and abandonment. Looking relationships habituate us to recognize diversity, to celebrate difference, and to affirm individual enterprise. Seeing locates responsibility in the individual in the name of diversity, but is incapable of sensing or feeling empathy, vulnerability and identification for Dodson through those racial differences. It is the numbness and the indifference it mobilizes and expresses to that collective empathy and capacity of racially marginal and subordinate people to express and circulate "their feel of life" that interests me.¹¹

¹⁰ See Jennifer Petersen's (2010) discussion of media and public feeling. Richard Iton (2008), drawing on the insights of Saidiya Hartman (1977), suggests that another effect of repetition, visibility, and the association of Black bodies with abjection is the dulling of empathy for the abject Black body in modern visual culture, a dulling that remains as the afterlife of the production of pleasure and terror in the abjection of the slave body.

¹¹ From another perspective, Kara Keeling (2007) suggests that the repetition of the image produced by the sensory experience of media including television and cinema operate at the level of the senses and emotions to habituate us to recognize and to know such images, a process which she calls cliché.

Can You Feel Me?

I used to visit all the very gay places
those come what may places
where one relaxes on the axis of the wheel of life
to get the feel of life

—“Lush Life,” Billy Strayhorn, *Chrysalis One Music*

This “feel of life,” as Billy Strayhorn puts it in his classic composition “Lush Life,” resonates in the routine social relations and affiliation that take place “on the axis of the wheel of life.” From another angle of inquiry, I want to elaborate more fully on the suggestion that a key element of the Dodson takes is its potential to show what it feels like to live in the condition of vulnerability and risk, but in a way that mutes, distances, and shields the insecurity from normative perceptions of comfort and security. For viewers’ amusement, distraction, and escape, hundreds of images and performances like the Dodson takes circulate every day on YouTube and Facebook and in social media users’ personal communication networks.¹² Kara Keeling’s (2007) elucidation of the cinematic cliché helps me comprehend more fully the limitations of focusing on the representation of Dodson in a local television newscast and the necessity to redirect attention to the realm of affect. For Keeling (2007), the (Black) cinematic cliché inures viewers to Black images and representations and, through our motor-sensory response, habituates our perception to recall and repeat past associations, meanings, and memories. Because we most often experience Black bodies in the news media as danger, as crime statistics, and as cannon fodder to ensure normative safety and security, we can’t see and don’t recognize these bodies except through the habituated emotions of danger and fear. The racialization of the normative modes of seeing makes it difficult to see past the logic of the neoliberal ordinary even as we see through it. In a culture saturated with images of criminality and suspicion attached to non-normative bodies, it is almost impossible to see young Black men, their lives, and their locales except through the degradations mobilized by affective attachments to danger and fear.¹³

I want to suggest that young men like Antoine Dodson call out and turn abandonment, refusal, and isolation into exactly the kind of feeling of belonging and attachment to community that looking relationships and production conventions in television news may often miss by adhering to routine news practices. In other words, Antoine Dodson and countless others like him demand that viewers not just see them but also feel them through registers enabled by platforms like YouTube. Not only do these young people see each other, they flip the mediated script, foregrounding their claims, imaginations, and desires. But these are not merely the performances of Blackness made legible and visible by means of representation. Rather, they are also imaginings made tangible as practice, comment, critique that write

¹² Notable examples are legion and include the People of Wal-Mart, Ain’t Nobody Got Time for That, the Harlem Shake, and Charles Ramsey’s eyewitness news account (which was Auto-Tuned) in the May 2013 Cleveland kidnapping case.

¹³ The list of unarmed Black men innocently killed because they purportedly aroused suspicion and mobilized this sense of habituated fear and danger is daunting: Travon Martin, Oscar Grant, Eric Garner and Kimani Gray are simply the most widely covered by news media.

on the surfaces of urban space, highlighting the terms of participation, refusal, and alternative possibilities in the spaces of neoliberal abandonment.

Like Keeling, John L. Jackson (2008) appreciates the role of racial affect and racial feeling as a necessary epistemological ground for understanding dimensions of contemporary Black self-making and attachment. I use Jackson's and Keeling's ideas about the role of affect as a basis for epistemology in Black popular culture to consider how we might read the example of the Dodson takes in an alternative register.¹⁴ This means attending to the multiple registers in which Black feelings and feelings about Blackness circulate.

For Jackson, hip-hop depends on a modality of feeling rather than merely understanding. In hip-hop, feeling (as in, "Can you feel me?") establishes the terms of knowing, providing participants the means to enter into the pleasures of the music, the language games, and the culture work that the form expresses. This ground of feeling provides the resonance that allows hip-hop's expressivity to exceed the technological forms in which it circulates. To return to the example of the Dodson takes: while various YouTube iterations of Dobson circulate through the visual register of digital culture, following Jackson's (2008) insights about feeling as the ground of hip-hop epistemology, it is the feelings that Dodson conjures both in the eyewitness news take and the Auto-Tune take that provide points of empathy and identification and give expressions to resilience and vulnerability as a potential focus of connection, understanding, and action.

Through the conventions of local news that render the story legible and meaningful, the eyewitness account of Antoine Dodson foregrounds factual details of the story and turns his pleas of sincerity into light-hearted news chatter in what Jackson would call the spectacularization and routinization of race. And yet it is the sincerity, the "do you feel me" quality of Dodson's pleas that lends itself to variation and rewriting, including with Auto-Tune.¹⁵

By going beyond the facts of the news story to get at how it makes one feel, I want to underscore the role of the affective as a form of knowing. This emphasis on what is felt provides an analytical cut into reading the circuit and register of racial feeling that might otherwise go unnoticed. As Jackson suggests, "To feel someone is to connect with them *beyond words* . . . familiarity is something that you sense, not what your gullible eyes might try to violate" (2008, p. 149). I wonder, then, if some of the appeal of the Dodson takes comes from the attachment created for those who felt Dobson ("can you feel me?") not just as news but also as music.

For Jackson, the forms of attachment and identifications that he gathers around the concept of sincerity avoid the litmus tests of authenticity that authorize and underwrite rigid notions of identity. By reserving a central place for sincerity in the discourse of Black belonging and affective connection, Jackson

¹⁴ Writers identify this space of radical possibility variously as "impossible possible" (Keeling, 2007), "excess" (Fleetwood, 2011), "aberration" (Ferguson, 2003), "the break" (Moten, 2003).

¹⁵ This is admittedly dangerous territory, too, since the cinematic cliché is the sensory operation that along with desire makes for the potentiality of Blackness as exotic and fetish.

remains alert to the role of stories, world views, and epistemologies that organize and guide Black life and feeling while avoiding tests of their veracity (by any gatekeepers who insist on fundamental ways of being Black or belonging).

Stressing the role of feeling and sincerity as a site of knowing and point of identification, our example suggests that attachment can be expressed through various media platforms and social practices that call upon the body to keep it real in sonic and visual registers. In this way, we might ask, Is it possible to feel attachment to Dodson? To performers on reality TV? Can the potential for attachment exceed the actual dramatization of citizenship, identity, and belonging demanded by the logic of representation and visibility structured by the sovereignty of the market and individual enterprise?

By highlighting these epistemological and expressive potentialities, I consider this illustration not so much as an exemplar of neoliberal citizenship and self-making of the sort elaborated in some of the excellent and essential recent scholarship on reality television. Rather, I want to read it against the grain of the pathological and moral citizenship and felt judgments and discourses, in which they appear as failed or poorly realized enactments that both mark social boundaries and culturally reinforce the naturalized alliance of normative citizenship and care of the self. I approach these performances as affective claims on space and attachments to community that express *a feel for life* and that tell us something about subjection to racism and the resilience and imagination to challenge it.

Resonance

I want to explore yet another cut into the felt experience of racism, one that challenges the enticement to read Black representation, one primarily about correcting the record and consolidating the alignment of marketization, citizenship, self-making, and diversity.¹⁶ My approach is to consider racial sentiment as a practice of inequality and identity—and not so much as a matter of mere signification and legibility but in terms of racial feeling and feelings about race produced and circulated in television and related digital-media platforms that serve as a resonance machine. By using *resonance*, I mean to suggest that in an emotional register, the media machine organizes and habituates users and viewers to racial injury, pain, suffering, and resentment.¹⁷ It is the capacity (assembled in the form of marketing, brand identity, and convergence platforms) to produce, package, circulate, and thereby cultivate points of identification and disidentification about Blackness that *reverberates*. Taking sentiment into account in an analysis of television as a site for the production and circulation of public feelings about race, for instance, means expanding and complementing approaches to the study of racial meaning and signification in interpretative and semiotic traditions of television and media studies.

¹⁶ Related formulations about the affective form and expression of racism include trauma, melancholia, and the erotic.

¹⁷ In her analysis of *Chappelle's Show*, Bambi Haggins (2007) emphasizes the impact of Chappelle's account of the feelings of racism he experiences, noting in particular his attention to the volume and the duration of the laughter in response to his "Nigger Pixie" skit by members of his White crew, indicating that such excess made him feel like "they got me in touch with my inner coon" (2007, p. 233).

Among the most productive is the analysis of the makeover genre of reality television, in which powerful emotions condition the possibility for successful transformation into neoliberal citizenship and the capacity to care for the self. As Brenda Weber (2009), Laurie Ouellette and James Hay (2008), and Toby Miller (2008), among others, show, humiliation, degradation, embarrassment, sorrow, insecurity, and a host of other emotional states condition the effective transformation from the before of dependency to the after states of enterprise and self-sufficiency. Such conditions are more often private, individual, and interior states whose transformations index readiness to assume the responsibility to care for the self.

Indeed, Brenda Weber notes,

Given that television makeovers work to articulate values of Americaness and to establish the concept of the good citizen by imposing neoliberal rationality on devalued bodies, an argument could easily be made that makeovers are exclusively technologies of objectification, domination, and power. (2009, p. 77)

In this regard, I wonder if we might read Antoine Dodson as enacting a different order of rationality, the legibility of which is expressed as public feelings of the loss, grief, and pain of racism but without the requisite humiliation (and transformation) necessary for entry into neoliberal citizenship and diversity. Dodson helps us think through the economy of citizenship and public feelings but, as Ouellette and Hay (2008) suggest, not routed through the transit points of representational legibility, accuracy, or authenticity but rather through the forms of attachment and belonging that aggrieved communities use to navigate the idealized citizenship that is denied.

The affective register of racial practice is therefore central and includes different orders that do not fit so easily into the production of neoliberal citizenship. As the circuits of his media life show, the various Dodson takes express the perfect moment of the neoliberal condition of possibility for citizenship, at least at first. Dodson moves steadily toward (momentary) celebrity and spectacle. But this condition still depends on a commitment to recognition and legibility that, in the end, instruct and affirm the before-and-after transformation that neoliberal rationality organizes. However, in the registry of expressive forms and feeling are questions of disturbance, disgust, and other bad feelings. So it is to the public register of racial discomfort that cannot be retrieved or restored by the neoliberalism's strategy of makeover or diversity management that I now turn in conclusion.

To move from an analysis of structures and representation to one of resonance,—at least on matters of racism, the resonance machine echoes, coordinates, organizes, and communicates racial practices in different parts of the social machine.¹⁸ These multiple and uneven practices are expressed as sentiments that draw people near and push people away along lines of difference, including race. In this way, one does not begin with the assumption that the impact of racial sentiments is always the same or that these sentiments produce effects among in different sectors of a group in the same way. It is possible, in the realm of representation, to take the measure of racial forms of management and

¹⁸ Ouellette and Hay (2008) think about this in Foucaultian terms as effects and relays of power across and through a conjuncture of institutions and practices.

exclusion, to locate and celebrate desirable racial attachments, and, at the same time, to identify how race mobilizes suspicion, anger, paranoia, and belonging, even among members of the same group.

Methodologically, we might ask what sort of sentiments find expression in different arrangements and parts of the race machine, and what these sentiments might tell us about the failures, gaps, and tensions in the machine. Put another way, can we read these practices of sentiment and the media through which they circulate and resound for the different intensities, velocity, duration, and sensations that they express and for what they tell us about the liberal project of capitalist progress, liberal tolerance, and liberal subject making?

So, I now return to the example of the circulation and the circuit of the Dodson takes on YouTube. The Dodson takes are a capitulation to self-improvement and enterprise and a means of momentarily tracing the itineraries of the everyday, a way of tracking and monitoring just where racism operates through the pedagogies of self-enterprise, the spectacle of celebrity, and market logic. The links between an actual local news story, a viral video, an entertainment spot, and now an archive are telling both about the circuit *and* the public feelings of danger, vulnerability, anger, fear, and threats that the various takes conjure. The Dodson takes help us see where racial feelings are routed and how they gather race, unpack race, make race, and unmake race. Moreover, the digital media technologies and platforms are crucial linkages and sites for registering these feelings—the invitation to like and share is not only about what things mean but also about how viewers feel about a given image, program, or story.

At the same time, these mediated iterations of the Dodson takes perform the sensation of the hollowing out of community. Concerned with what it means to live in the ruins of burned-out, hollowed-out, abandoned, and evacuated capitalist spaces, anthropologist Anna Singh (2013) commends these ruins as potential sites of richly imaginative forms of living. Emphasizing relationships and processes such as impurity, contamination, slow knowledge, and imperfect diversity, Singh describes the creative potentiality of world making in such spaces. This potentiality aligns public feeling (including feelings of anger, vulnerability, and danger) and social subjects, who cultivate a shared commitment to a common public.

The YouTube version of the Dodson takes potentially realigns public feelings and social subjects by writing on the space of abandonment and imagining space, belonging, movement, the relation between the environment and technology in different terms (e.g., communal, collective, public), especially since the dominant public image of poor Black men and women as suspect activates fear, danger, and threat. But these performances are in their time, the time of the everyday, where the routinization of threat and vulnerability is remade, rerouted, reroutinized, and re-presented in media time in the routines of local news, which renders it unremarkable, even light-hearted. With this example, I have traced the lines of sensation and experience these sensations invite not merely as questions of representation, querying what they mean, but for how they make us feel, especially when we are one or two steps removed from the experiences that are mediated by various screens and circuits. These encounters might be thought of not just in terms of accuracy and meaning but also in terms of how and what sort of sensations and feelings they conjure and the various registers they activate and mobilize.

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