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PASSIONS AND POWERS: EMOTIONS AND GLOBALISATION

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Passions and Powers: Emotions and Globalisation

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Over the past few decades a vast amount of scholarly material has been published in the fields of globalisation and emotion studies, yet the two have seldom been discussed in tandem. Although globalisation is not a new phenomenon, social scientists began serious theoretical engagement with it only recently (Robertson 1992). Globalisation is increasingly seen as impacting on every field of human endeavour: from religion and politics to economy and sport. As Bauman (1998: 1) memorably puts it:

'Globalization' is on everybody's lips; a fad word fast turning into a shibboleth, a magic incantation, a pass-key meant to unlock the gates of all present and future mysteries. [...] For everybody, though, 'globalization' is the intractable fate of the world, an irreversible process; it is also a process which affects us all in the same measure and in the same way.

Globalising processes are responsible for reshaping social institutions (Holton 1998), reconfiguring human relations ([Giddens 1991](#); Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002), and generating experiences of uprooting and regrounding ([Ahmed et al. 2003](#)). Given its impact on human sociality it is rather surprising that there has been relatively little written about its nexus with emotions.

As with globalisation studies, the field of emotions studies has in recent years stimulated much interdisciplinary debate and controversy, in particular amongst anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, psychologists, and scholars from the fields of history and cultural studies. There is an abundance of meetings and institutional structures¹ that support the discussions about emotional processes,

and numerous conference sessions and resulting publications have explored a variety of specific themes.² On some occasions, the topic of “emotions and globalisation” has been a central focus of analysis.³ This special issue of *Identities* aims to contribute to this recent but growing trend of research by exploring how “emotions” can be theorised to create a better understanding of people’s experiences in an increasingly globalised and interconnected world. Movement and mobility are commonly recognised as the key (albeit not the only) hallmarks of globalisation (Urry 2000), and the articles that follow offer insights into ways in which emotional processes have shaped the worldwide transit of people, objects, images, ideas and practices, and vice versa. They also show how particular structural possibilities and constraints generated by specific globalising forces have influenced emotional discourses, practices, and embodied experiences in concrete cases.

We make three points relating to the organisation of the argument in the Introduction. First, we assume that the readers of *Identities* will possess more familiarity with theories of globalisation and transnational mobility than with current debates in emotions studies. This introductory article will thus pay particular attention to some of the main developments in the study of emotions. Second, by distinguishing three major analytical dimensions of globalisation, we identify a number of research areas that are relevant to the theme of this special issue. We critically discuss a selection of influential studies and situate the contributions to this special issue in the debates. Third, toward the end of the Introduction we suggest a number of ways in which research on passions and powers in global contexts might be further developed.

The significance of emotions

For many centuries, Western thinking has been dominated by the idea that emotions are interior processes that occur within the minds and bodies of individuals. This perspective is rooted in a long-standing philosophical trajectory that defined the self as a field of inner forces, as an arena in which wild passions roam freely, unless they are controlled by the calming impact of superior reason. In *Phaedrus*, Plato (2005) explains this dialectic between reason (rational soul) and passion (desire) through the metaphor of a skillful and controlling charioteer (reason) in charge of a pack of wild horses (passion). An alternative view was expressed by Aristotle, who argued in *Rhetoric* that thought was essential to the strategic use of emotions in rhetorical performance (McKeon 1941). Contrary to Plato, Aristotle positively

valued the power of passions and saw them as central forces in political life. This *Identities* special issue similarly argues that the emotional dimensions of power relations must be explored (see also Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990; Svašek 2006a).

Christianity, through its emphasis on the eternal struggle between the corruptible flesh and the ontologically privileged soul, enforced the split between passion and reason which finally triumphed through the Cartesian principle of the separation of body and soul. In “The Passions of the Soul,” Descartes (1988) constructed a theory in which mind and body were strictly separated. In his view, people could feel emotions because they perceived objects to be either beneficial or harmful (Ahmed 2004: 5). As with many other philosophers, Spinoza reproduced the Cartesian split between body and soul. Central to his theory was the idea that different “affects” could fight and undermine each other (Hirschman 1977: 23). By contrast, Hume, who was sceptical about the power of reason, argued that human instinct drove people to seek good and avoid evil (Lyons 1980). In his view, sentiments evolved naturally because of the need to cooperate in society. In the *Treatise of Human Nature*, Hume stated that “reason is the slave of passions, and can aspire to no other office than to serve and obey them” (Hume 1739, quoted in Blackburn 1994: 319).

Other Enlightenment scholars were highly optimistic about the power of Reason. Montesquieu imagined rationality as a positive, emancipatory force that could control non-progressive desires, thus leading individuals to freedom and equality. In Kant’s view, the “basic passions” of ambition, lust for power and greed, mutually strengthened each other, and rationality should be used as a force to undermine the harmful passions (Hirschman 1977: 21–23).

Rationality and objectivity

The notion of an emotionally-detached, rational state of being came to dominate scientific discourse in the nineteenth century. Reason was again imagined as a positive force, which in this case was thought to safeguard the production of objective knowledge about the world. The myth of objectivism was clearly rooted in Western philosophical traditions, including rationalism and empiricism. While the rationalists believed that “only our innate capacity to reason can give us knowledge of things as they really are,” for the empiricists “all our knowledge of the world arises from our sense perceptions (either directly or indirectly) and is constructed out of the elements of sensation” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 195). As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) pointed out, these perspectives, which defined passion as an element of distortion,

strongly influenced social science practices. Their own “experimentalist” approach defined truth as a contextually-specific perspective that was influenced, among other things, by individual emotional experience. They argued that “understanding emerges from interaction, from constant negotiation with the environment and other people” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 230). Several papers in this *Identities* special issue will show that emotional dynamics do indeed influence people’s perceptions of the world and shape their knowledge about it. We maintain, however, that not all truths are valid and that strategic emotional rhetoric may simplify or distort complex political realities.

In the early post-World War II era, reason and rationality had already become targets of criticism of the Critical theory thinkers, such as Horkheimer and Adorno (1973) and Adorno (1974). In anthropology and the social sciences of the 1970s and 1980s, the critiques of colonial discourse duly ensued (Asad 1973; Fabian 1983; Said 1979), and various scholars unveiled the discourse of superior rationality as an ideological tool, used by white male elites to portray non-whites (Clifford 1988; Jordan and Weedon 1995), women (Cancian 1987; Lutz 1996; Sunderland 2004), and members of the lower classes (Svašek 2007: 178), as inferior beings.⁴ Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 17) convincingly argued that the myth of superior rationality and objectivity has often been sustained in everyday conversation through the use of “spatialization metaphors” that suggest a hierarchy of importance.⁵ The aim of this *Identities* issue is to undermine this hierarchy by taking emotions seriously.

Emotions and sociality

The idea that emotions are situated *within* individuals has increasingly been under attack, and various scholars have argued instead that emotional processes blur the boundary between individuality and sociality (Leavitt 1996; Parkinson 1995; Svašek 2005b). Many have referred to alternative philosophical positions, such as to Nietzsche’s claim that people would be indifferent to their environment if they lacked emotional commitment (Müller 2006), to Aristotle’s view that emotions affect judgement, and to the idea that knowledge about the genesis of emotions is crucial to effective political strategy (Svašek 2006a: 2).

The move toward the definition of emotions as social processes was partially influenced by theoretical discussions in the study of memory, in which scholars such as Casey (1987), Nora (1989), and Fentress and Wickham (1992) replaced person-centred models of memory with models that focused on the social and political dynamics of remembering

and forgetting. Recent models of emotions have argued along similar lines that emotional processes cannot be understood through a focus on individuals alone, because emotions often occur in social contexts and intersubjectivity is essential to emotional life (Jackson 1989). Small children, for example, develop a sense of self as they are taught by others how to react emotionally to their environment. They learn, for example, when and how to show joy or anger, situations in which to demonstrate or suppress grief, and why it is important to express empathy in particular situations. They also learn to interpret certain bodily manifestations as emotions, categorising other physical experiences in alternative ways (Csordas 1990, 1994). It is now well established that these learning processes are partially group specific, and it is therefore not surprising that emotional discourses (Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990) and display rules (Parkinson 1995: 127–144) are influenced by family histories, ethnic and gender identifications, and other factors.

We find references to the powerful nexus between culture and emotional life in early anthropological theorising by Benedict (1928) and Mead (1949). Their perspectives have, however, been strongly criticised for paying insufficient attention to individual agency and for reifying the concept of bounded culture (Svašek 2005a). As such, they ignored what is of central concern in this special issue: the dynamic movement of people, objects, images, and ideologies across social, cultural, and geographic boundaries. This approach regards the self as a multiple, relational process in which subjectivities are shaped and reshaped as individuals engage with past, present, and future experiences and environments. The emotional dimensions of this process can be examined through the exploration of emotional discourses, practices, and embodied experiences (Svašek 2006b).

Defining emotions as discourse, anthropologists such as Lutz (1988) and Abu-Lughod and Lutz (1990) argued that emotional meanings are structured by cultural systems and social life, and demonstrated that emotional discourses reflect and constitute power relations. Other scholars have argued that bodily experience is an inherent dimension of emotional processes (Lock 1993; Lyon and Barbalet 1994; Lyon 1995). We agree with Leavitt (1996), who has convincingly argued for an approach that acknowledges that emotions involve both meaning and feeling, bridging the domains of “body” and “culture.” Such an approach is useful when analysing emotional processes in the context of globalisation.

Emotions and global contexts

How much do we know about emotional dynamics in the context of globalisation? What happens, for example, when people experience their

own or other people's mobility, as tourists, migrants, refugees, or employees of international organisations? How do they feel when they are confronted with unfamiliar routines, landscapes, or ideas? How do they cope emotionally with processes of rapid, or more gradual, political change, brought about by transnational forces? And, how do people react when global economic processes affect local economic conditions, creating opportunities for some and restrictions for others?

One might expect that these questions are being addressed in the literature for it is hard to imagine writing on globalisation-related topics, such as specific forms of migration, bereft of strong emotional implications. Yet, what we argue is that although emotions are implicated in such literature, there is a real lack of a *specific* engagement with emotions in most literature on globalisation. The reason for this is twofold. First, it relates to emotions being implicitly subsumed into the discussions about globalisation rather than explicitly problematised as one of the central planks of globalisation processes. Second, emotions are generally treated simply as an appendage to "human nature," something that is a reaction to social realities, rather than being constitutive of all human interaction with these realities.⁶

Nevertheless, some recent sociological writings on globalisation have attempted to redress this balance, although from a specific theoretical angle. Elliott and Lemert (2006) have built on the literature on detraditionalisation, risk, and reflexivity (Giddens 1992; Heelas et al. 1996; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002) to argue how globalisation creates new types of experiences associated with risk-taking, experimentation, and self-expression, which enforce new forms of apprehension and anxieties. They show how globalisation and its offspring, the new individualism, involve "*ongoing emotional struggles* to relate internal and external experience in which both processes and structures of self-definition are explicitly examined, revised and transformed" (Elliott and Lemert 2006: 72, emphasis in original). Although emotions are here put explicitly on the table of social inquiry into globalisation, a more specific theory of emotion-global dynamics is yet to come.

In this introductory article, we argue that, when analysing the dialectics of emotions and mobility, it is useful to distinguish three dimensions of globalisation, namely, the movement of (1) people, (2) ideas/practices, and (3) objects/images. Evidently, while these dimensions make sense as analytical constructs and heuristic models, they are hard to disentangle in empirical cases. To give an example, a university graduate from Charles University who moves from Prague to London to improve her English will have formed an impression of Britain before her departure from the Czech Republic. She will have been confronted with images of "England" through television,

literature, tourist brochures, or stories told to her by family and friends. Most likely, she will have met some Britons in Prague, language teachers, or passing tourists. This implies that her experiences are shaped by the transit of people, ideas/practices, and objects/images in at least two directions. Notwithstanding the complexity of such processes, the distinctions between different types of movements (people, ideas/practices, and objects/images) are useful for they provide a clear structure that will help us to review a number of relevant themes and studies.

In transit: **People**

Willingly or not, trans-nationally mobile people, perhaps best (although not exclusively) epitomised in migrants, “carry along” particular memories and feelings and are to some extent conditioned by emotional discourses and practices learned in their place of origin. As noted earlier, this process does not take place in the isolation of their minds and bodies, but it occurs in their active emotional engagement with the past, present, and future environments. Mobile individuals are tied to their families and friends “back home,” but they also grow attachments to their new surroundings, learn to express feelings in new ways, and have particular hopes and expectations about what the future may bring. As Baldassar (2001: 6) notes, home becomes an ever “shifting centre” that has the capacity to transform migrant lives into a perpetual balancing act. Those who aim to stay permanently in new locations may want to assimilate to their new surroundings as soon as possible, as is often the case with refugee communities, or may attempt to recreate the world they have left behind through active engagement in diasporic communities (Ahmed et al. 2003; Burrell 2006; Skrbish 1999, 2007, 2008; Svašek 2002). More often, their “trans-national mode of existence” (Marienstrass 1975: 176) pulls them in two or more directions. Because of the “dialectics of diasporic identification” (Gilroy 1991), the relationship of immigrants to their homeland is often “fraught” and “equivocal” (Fortier 2000: 70).

The contribution to this special issue by Loretta Baldassar, which fits an expanding body of literature on transnational family life and builds on her extensive research on transnational experiences (Baldassar 2001; Baldassar and Pesman 2005; Baldassar et al. 2006), explores the emotional dimensions of long-distance relationships between parents, left behind in their homelands, and their children who migrated to Australia. She distinguishes various patterns of “staying in touch” and demonstrates that particular moral discourses often shape care-giving practices. Using Hochschild’s (1983) concept of

“emotional labour,” her analysis shows that although technological changes such as the introduction of the internet have made long-distance communication easier, the need for frequent physical co-presence is still regarded essential by many distant kin. Cheap flights can be considered a factor facilitating these arrangements, and for those who can afford them, return visits are a realistic solution to the need for physical closeness. Yet members of transnational families may not welcome their distant kin’s expectations to meet up frequently and experience it as a moral burden.

The contribution by Marcela Ramirez, Zlatko Skrbiš, and Mike Emmison focuses on the emotional dynamics of transnational family reunions. In recounting and examining the experiences of Marcela, an El Salvadoran migrant to Australia who participated in a transnational family reunion, they demonstrate how globalisation’s effects are *experienced* and therefore *felt* by individual people. The key narrator of this collaborative/experimental autoethnography, who is also one of the writers of the analysis, experiences her reunion with other members of her migrant family in the United States more positively than her reunion with the family members in El Salvador. The authors explain this as a combination of economic (those in El Salvador are relatively poor, whereas the migrants live in affluent societies), linguistic (communication difficulties in El Salvador), experiential (shared experience of migration), and cultural factors (the host-guest dynamics in El Salvador). The case thus shows how the issues of global inequality partly shape emotional interaction within transnational families.

Migration frequently results in a sense of marginalisation among migrants due to discrimination or lack of communication with members from the receiving country. This process can be gendered and is often stimulated by the workings of global capitalism. The “feminization of survival” (Sassen 2002: 258) has meant that increasing numbers of poor women from the South work in low-paid jobs (nannies, domestic workers, care service workers, sex workers) in the North. At the same time, the majority of migrants from the North who work in the South are men employed by international organisations or successful transnational businesses (Dobrowolsky and Tastsoglou 2006). Agencies that look for migrant workers reproduce gender-biased ideas about the “natural ability” of women to be submissive and show love and care and of men to take leadership and control.

Yet both male and female migrants are prone to experience a sense of emotional destabilisation as their emotional dispositions, learned “back home,” may not be acceptable in their new locations. They may feel the pressure to hide what they regard as “natural” feelings, or

they may feel forced to express them in newly coded ways. In addition, some groups of vulnerable migrants, such as refugees (Harrell-Bond 1999; Grillo 2005; Lange et al. 2007), experience condescending treatment, if not infantilisation, by the people who are expected to represent their interests and help them adjust to the new environments.

Numerous migrants, and refugees in particular, have to deal with loss, memories of traumatic suffering, and physical hardship. The complexity of these issues requires interdisciplinary engagement of social (Bhabha 1999; Castles 2003) and behavioural scientists (Fazel et al. 2005). In this special issue, Farida Tilbury explores how African migrants from the Horn of Africa, who have settled in Australia, have used universalist medical jargon to interpret their experiences of unhappiness to communicate with medical practitioners in Australia. Tilbury argues that there are many different sorts of "lived experiences of unhappiness," interpreted and shaped by culturally-specific notions of unhappiness and that the professional psychiatric diagnosis of unhappiness as "depression" is a generalising abstract discourse which translates experience-near concepts into an experience-distant, universal category. The article ends on a critical note, expressing concern for the ways in which universalist medical discourses of depression pathologise the problems faced by migrants, framing their distress as a form of abnormal unhappiness which can only be solved through therapy or a return to the home country. This emphasises the sharp edges of universalising discourses of emotions in contexts of power inequality.

In transit: Ideas/practices

The conditions of globalisation facilitate the global dispersion of political and other ideologies as well as a rapid and often forceful spread of emotionally-charged religious ideas and practices, including fundamentalisms. While these can be seen as a legitimate offspring of global inequalities (Pakulski 2004), they are also the carriers of new types of exclusionary principles that are driven, and accompanied, by highly emotional practices and discourses.

In this issue of *Identities*, Fiona Magowan focuses on the global spread of Christianity and examines local appropriations of elements of transnational Christian musical genres by Yolngu Aboriginals in Australia. Instead of examining the oppressive dimensions of missionary activities in the historical context of colonialism, as other scholars have done (Harris 1990; Woolmington 1986), Magowan explores how the Yolngu have actively transformed Christian musical practices to adopt them to their own emotional needs. The author looks in particular

at the emotional dimensions of Christian music (also in relation to new technologies which have made the global spread easier) and raises questions about the continuity of emotivity between traditional ritual forms and Christian contexts. She demonstrates that the Yolngu have localised charismatic Christian musical genres through the expression of an indigenous sense of place and have translocalised territorial sentiments of belonging as part of pan-Aboriginal (as well as non-Australian indigenous) claims to land rights, thus actively shaping their specific Christian subjectivity. Magowan's interest in musical practice ties in with other studies that deal with the global spread of popular culture and the contradictions associated with the tension between local and global (Redner 2004; Inglis 2005).

By referring to a cultural medium of music, Jonathan Skinner presents an analysis of the globalisation of salsa and examines its specific features and emotional functions in three different settings, namely, Belfast, Hamburg, and Sacramento. The author engages with theories of cosmopolitanism and taps into debates in emotion studies, arguing that while salsa generates more general emotional experiences, it also has particular, contextually-specific and individually-specific emotional meanings and functions. As in the case of Yolgnu Christian musical activities, technological changes have made the almost instant spread of new dance styles over a wide geographical area easier. In addition, dance teachers and their pupils are often financially secure enough to spend money travelling to dance centres and festivals in other parts of the world. Yet as Skinner notes, this does not imply that their shared passion for salsa evokes similar embodied feelings.

The management of intimacy and marital practices in an immigrant context represent an important, culturally sensitive, and emotionally involved aspect of transnational social life. In their paper on partner choice and marriage among the members of the "Indian" community in Australia, Gopalkrishnan and Babacan reveal highly complex dimensions of marital arrangements that involve multiple actors, networks, and locales. They show how patterns of marriage and choice of partner are negotiated transnationally in light of constraints of "the marriage market" and the availability of potential spouses. Technicalities of relationship formation and maintenance thus become an important and essential factor in governing intimacy.

In transit: Objects/images

When exploring how transnationally mobile objects and images are embedded in emotional dynamics, it is useful to make a distinction

between “transit” and “transition.” As Svašek (2007: 5) argued elsewhere, transit records the location or movement of objects over time and across social or geographic boundaries, and transition refers to related changes in the meaning, value, and efficacy of those objects.

The transit of objects and images across national boundaries is stimulated by different types of human mobility, ranging from permanent settlement by immigrants, through temporary relocation by migrant workers and travellers, to brief visits by tourists and participants in international events such as religious festivals and academic conferences. Migrants who have settled permanently often start up businesses that import particular commodities from their country of origin, including food, clothes, videos, and religious objects. Consuming and surrounding themselves with these items “from home” often increases their sense of belonging and emotional well-being and helps to produce a positive diasporic identity (Fortier 2000; Skrbiš 2007).⁷ In transit and transition, these commodities thus undergo a transformative process and gain specific meaning and emotional efficacy in the diasporic context.

Tourists, by contrast, mostly take with them a limited number of mainly practical items and come home with souvenirs and photographs that remind them of their trip. Back home, displayed in people’s houses, they trigger rather particular memories of their time “away.” The artefacts may be used as material signifiers of “exotic otherness” or as tools to charm or impress interested visitors. Reproduced and globally distributed in catalogues and through the internet, images are also used to attract travellers, and as such, are vital to the tourism industry.

In her contribution to this issue, Helena Wulff explores the emotional impact of images of Irish travel advertisements on foreign tourists and members of the Irish diaspora, referring to Alfred Gell’s theory of object agency. In 1998, Gell made a theoretical distinction between “primary” and “secondary” agents, defining primary agents as “intentional beings who, through their actions, produce causal reactions in others” (Gell 1998: 20). Primary agents, he noted, use secondary agents to “distribute their [own primary] agency in the causal milieu, and thus render their agency effective” (Gell 1998: 20). In this perspective, secondary agents are objects or images that actively evoke feelings and generate social action in viewers or users. In the case of the Irish tourism industry, many images aim to evoke a sense of longing for unspoiled nature and promise an escape from the pressures of modern urban life, offering experiences that may heal the affected self.

Objects in transit clearly gain new meanings and emotional efficacy when appearing in new settings, and traders actively react to the demands and desires of consumers. Global art markets, for example, have incorporated all sorts of locally produced items “as art”, feeding the emotional need of buyers for “aesthetic” and “authentic” experiences, thus radically recontextualising the items (Marcus and Myers 1995; Svašek 2007). The transit of particular cultural artefacts to new environments has not only attracted but also frequently infuriated members of the public. The debate in Europe about Muslim headscarves, for example, clearly illustrates this process. In this case, while some have seen the headscarves as positive expressions and markers of religious subjectivity, others have rejected them as dangerous signifiers of an “alien” culture.

Global capitalism has of course also meant a more aggressive transit of objects and images around the world, ranging from the disposal of dangerous waste in poor countries to the spread of child pornography through the internet. It may be clear that the emotional costs of such flows could be considerable. The negative effects of global capitalism have, however, also mobilised victims and their supporters, who have created new transnational connections and groups that passionately discuss human rights issues and the consequences of power and inequality in a world of movement.

Future research

This special issue aims to contribute to the growing need to think about the interrelationship between globalisation processes and emotional dynamics. The contributions that follow reveal not only the diversity of possible case scenarios but also the complexities that arise out of a focus on emotional dynamics in today’s world. In this Introduction we identified a number of interrelated themes on which future research might focus.

The first theme concentrates on the movement of individuals and groups of people through time and space. A central assumption is that subjectivities are continuously shaped through lived experience and that selves are negotiated through active emotional engagement with past, present, and future environments. An important topic to explore in more detail is the impact of power inequality on this process, for example, in terms of ethnicity, class, or gender.

The second theme explores the spread and appropriation of distinct ideas and practices in different localities. Again the issue of power inequality comes to the fore. Who is allowed to feel and express enthusiasm (or contempt) for particular ideas or practices? Which display

rules are dominant and why? To what extent can alternative discourses of emotivity co-exist in particular socio-historical settings? Such questions are crucial when studying emotional interaction in multi-cultural societies.

The last theme focuses on objects and images in transit and on transit-related changes in terms of meaning and emotional efficacy. The underlying idea behind this argument is that subject and objects are mutually constitutive, as individuals are affected by material realities. In connection with our interest in power, it is crucial to explore the ways in which objects and images have the ability to move individuals (i.e., make them angry, sad, proud, etc.) in particular ways, and how, in the context of globalisation, primary agents manage to spread their influence over others through mobile matter.

The above makes clear that it is important to push interdisciplinary engagement with emotions and globalisation and to be open to findings in fields as varied as the social sciences, medical studies, and philosophy. In our view, one should shy away from formulating one overall theory of emotions in the context of globalisation. At the same time, however, we want to stimulate research that takes a multi-level approach by exploring emotions as discourses, practices, and embodied experiences. Yet we do acknowledge that different empirical cases need different theoretical tools to do justice to their complexity. It is only through the production of grounded theory that the reification of particular perspectives can be avoided.

Notes

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1. In the field of sociology, for example, the American Sociological Association has a section on emotions, the British Sociological Association has a study group on emotions, and the European Sociological Association hosts a research network on emotions. Anthropologists are no less institutionally committed to the study of emotions. For example, the Society for Psychological Anthropology, a section of the American Anthropological Association, publishes the journal *Ethos*, which functions as a major platform of discussion about emotional dynamics. Human geographers are also in the process of establishing a journal that will centre more specifically on the study of emotions in spatial contexts.

2. A 2004 special issue of *Ethos* on emotions contains papers presented on a panel organised by Tom Boellstorff and Johan Lindquist at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. *Mixed Emotions: Anthropological Studies of Feeling* (Milton and Svašek 2005) resulted from the workshop entitled "Theorizing Emotions," organized by the editors at Queen's University Belfast. In 2006, the participants of two interdisciplinary workshops at Queen's University Belfast focused on the themes of emotional dynamics in transnational families (Skrbíš 2008; [Svašek 2008](#)) and explored emotional interactions between migrants and members of local communities. In 2002 and 2006, two large interdisciplinary conferences were organised by Liz Bondi, Joyce Davidson, and others at the University of Lancaster and the University of Ontario, which led to the publication of *Emotional Geographies* (Davidson et al. 2005).
3. In 2006, for example, at the bi-annual conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists, nine contributors presented papers in the session "Emotional Attachments in a World of Movement," discussing topics that ranged from Tibetan sensibilities in the Indian diaspora (Timm Lau) to memory and sentiment amongst displaced Serbs in the United States (Birgit Bock-Luna). The session was organised and convened by Dimitrina Mihaylova and Maruška Svašek.
4. It is not surprising that in the light of increasing reflexivity in anthropology, some anthropologists have explored the emotional interaction between themselves and their informants (Behar 1996; Ewing 1987; Kirschner 1987). In September 2006, at the conference "Emotions in the Field" (organised by James Davies and Dimitrina Mihaylova at Oxford University), scholars from various backgrounds (mainly anthropology and psychoanalysis) discussed this issue.
5. They argued that certain speakers of English could say things like: "The discussion fell to the emotional level, but I raised it back up to the rational plane," "We put our feelings aside and had a high-level intellectual discussion of the matter," and "He couldn't rise above his emotions" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).
6. A similar charge of implicit neglect of emotional realities in social analyses has been directed to studies of how transnational family life have treated emotions (Skrbíš 2008).
7. As Ahmed et al. (2003: 10) have argued, the "work of making home, affective and physical, is an ongoing process." This implies that it is necessary to "[unsettle] linear narratives of origin and migration; and [rethink] the relation between embodied subjectivity, place and belonging."

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