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Elliot wanted to introduce a very special new friend to his brother Michael, asking the latter to open his eyes only when told. At Elliot’s signal, the two saw each other for the first time. While Michael’s grin vanished slowly from his face, the new friend tried to perform an amiable smile. Then their sister Gertie entered the room and started shrieking at the shocking sight, prompting the others to scream as well and a neck to extend. It took quite an effort to calm the emotional turmoil caused by the encounter, which is hardly surprising when one considers that this was the moment when Elliot introduced E.T. to his siblings. This scene can serve as a prime example of an encounter with emotion: while the terrestrials and the alien initially lacked a shared language that would have allowed them to communicate verbally, bodily expressions like E.T.’s neck extension, and, later on, the direct transmission of emotional and physiological states between ‘it’ and Elliot, established an intense interaction that triggered a succession of unforeseen events. Steven Spielberg’s 1982 film further demonstrates how vital science fiction has been for negotiating ways of dealing with emotional difference, not only on an intra- or intercultural but also on an interplanetary level.  

Building on this encounter that involves more than ‘just’ human participants, the conclusion summarizes the most significant insights of the preceding chapters in light of the questions raised in the introduction. As it cannot possibly do justice to the rich case studies that have been examined, the conclusion focuses on certain aspects. The first three sections highlight
crucial findings about the emotional dynamics of transcultural encounters and the final two
discuss the ways in which these dynamics have themselves changed across time. Along the way,
the conclusion will also suggest how the analyses presented here can be fruitfully linked with
debates in other fields and will identify some avenues of research that deserve further
exploration.

**Between the Particular and the Universal**

The analyses collected in this volume highlight the ambiguous position of emotions, which
straddle, on the one hand, particular, culturally specific and, on the other, universal supra-cultural
dimensions. The case studies do so by showing how specific sociocultural frames shape
emotional practices while, at the same time, bodily affects cut across such frames, transcending
boundaries of class, race, religion and gender. The studies thus contribute to a reconsideration of
the dichotomies between languages and bodies or nurture and nature that have haunted emotion
research since its beginnings. On the one hand, the case studies discuss instances where actors
claimed that expressing their feelings through the body has helped them when language failed
them. A similarly universal understanding of emotional communication is revealed when it is
described as reaching directly to the heart and thus as transcending cultural boundaries. At the
same time, however, emotional interactions are not relegated to a realm totally beyond the
semitic. Rather, feelings are themselves at times described as a language. Emotions thus do not
necessarily constitute a universally transparent alternative to the exchange of linguistic signs.
Nevertheless, they comprise a bodily surplus that transcends individual cultures and languages.
This surplus opens up a space where sensorial registers, like scent and touch, are privileged and
which, at the same time, is adjacent to and interconnected with speech.
The cultural specificity of emotions also becomes apparent when bodily signs and gestures are closely linked to certain social positions, when feelings rely on specific frames of understanding, and when they are linked with particular political structures. Actors of differing occupations have thus, in some instances, favoured very specific emotional behaviours, as the chapter on entrepreneurs aptly demonstrates. Simultaneously, specific conceptual frameworks were decisive in shaping the outcomes of emotional encounters; for example, when the effects of pain or empathy varied depending on whether actors viewed them through a Christian lens or from the perspective of social criticism. Moreover, the political implications of emotional gestures transpire from the controversies around kneeling and from the doubts cast upon the love expressed by subalterns for persons of power. Yet constructionist perspectives highlighting cultural specificities alone do not suffice to comprehensively grasp – let alone explain – the dynamics of emotional encounters. In particular, they tend to lose sight of the multilayered and polysemous character of feelings that have often been accompanied by a multiplicity of contradictory meanings. The chapter on missionaries demonstrates this by highlighting the confusion that the converts’ laughter caused among missionaries, making it impossible for the latter to interpret their flock’s feelings in a clear-cut fashion.

These ambiguities become particularly pronounced when one brings the question of intentionality into play. Clearly, emotional interactions sometimes involve certain aims, the collaborative coordination of the communicative process being one of them. This is most clearly the case among diplomats but also between occupying forces and occupied populations. In other instances, travellers have explicitly sought out emotional encounters in order to experience self-transformation or to enhance their emotional self-control. But even in cases involving very specific intentions, these could be considerably thrown off track in the course of the emotional
interaction. The chapter on occupiers demonstrates this by telling the story of a US officer who fell for a blonde Nazi woman in spite of his attempts to maintain a distance between himself and the local population.\(^7\) Emotional communication can also take place without those involved intentionally trying to have an effect on one another at all. The dynamics triggered by Jean Briggs’ loss of temper, as described in the chapter on anthropologists, aptly illustrates this. Emotional encounters have not always been primarily determined by cognitive deliberations and intentional actions but also by involuntary gestures, utterances and other signals.

Thus, neither nurture nor nature can alone entirely account for the emotional dynamics triggered by transcultural encounters – neither on a theoretical level nor on the level of the actors’ own accounts. The book hence highlights the intersections and interstices between both dimensions. Accordingly, we might view language not only as a culturally shaped system of intelligibility that imposes certain fixed meanings and interpretative frameworks upon its speakers. Rather, we should consider the fact that language itself has the potential to harbour affective dynamism and immediacy, properties that are usually ascribed exclusively to the body.\(^8\) The encounter between divergent semiotic traditions can therefore also engender transformative effects and linguistic creativity, thus destabilizing performative usages, extending their horizons and allowing for something new to emerge.\(^9\)

While modifying our understanding of language, arguing against the sharp distinction between nature and nurture also compels us to dispute conceptualizations of the body as a natural entity that is resistant to sociocultural disciplining. The physiological aspects of corporeality – for example, the body’s reactions to pharmaceutical stimuli in the chapter on the mentally ill or its extreme reduction to a mere piece of flesh through torture – should not be hypostasized to encompass it as a whole. The body itself is a historically specific construct with malleable
boundaries that are, in part, informed by culturally specific conventions. This becomes apparent when ‘civilizing processes’ promote certain bodily postures or when bodies gendered as feminine prefer to communicate their feelings through physical contact. Drawing a clear line between these cultural aspects of the body and its physical dimension is therefore ultimately misleading. Thus, historical research on emotions should not limit itself to the supposedly safe ground of constructionist paradigms that focus on how prescribed rules shape bodily behaviours. Rather, research on the history of emotions should also pay attention to how bodies themselves can impact the dynamics of emotional encounters in unexpected ways.

Maintaining such a twofold perspective makes it possible for us to take an approach that emphasizes the unruly features of the corporeal and at the same time avoids the danger of unintentionally reintroducing a universal understanding of emotions. In this respect, the analysis of transcultural emotional encounters can also contribute to other strands of research, like the study of queer migrations, where sexuality is often viewed as something that oscillates between universal bodily desires and particular sociocultural scripts. As the approach advocated here offers alternative routes for analysing the interstices between bodies and languages, it ties in with explorations of migratory and queer disidentifications that shift boundaries and positions in an often unpredictable fashion. It simultaneously opens up new perspectives on the spatial imaginaries of ‘home/away, proximity/distance, and absence/presence taking place both at home and in transnational settings’.

Spatial Dimensions between the Local and the Global

The previous observation hints at a second point that deserves special attention, namely the significance of space in general and the interaction between global and local processes in
particular. The spatial settings within which transcultural encounters unfold can have a decisive impact on the emotional dynamics they engender. This is why, as the chapter on travellers argues, Persian accounts about journeys to England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century carefully noted the divergences between the emotional styles prevalent in the street and those prevalent in the more exclusive setting of clubs. At the same time, the distinct emotional connotations of dance performances in all-male as opposed to hetero-social environments did not escape the attention of British authors writing about their experiences in colonial India. In the chapter on lovers, the emotional effects of spatial surroundings are shown to have been caused by the familiar chord the mountainous Pathan country struck within Morag Murray, who was raised in the Scottish Highlands. They are also evidenced by the ways in which the perception of certain landscapes and cityscapes influenced the encounters between advancing military forces and local populations.¹⁴

Beyond such intimate links between spaces and feelings, the preceding chapters also enable broader insights into how global transformations impacted on local emotional events and vice versa. In this sense, the establishment of ever more clear-cut racist and imperialist hierarchies in the second half of the nineteenth century contributed to a shift in the feelings that informed the gaze with which Indian travellers viewed the spectacles of London and other European cities. Wondering curiosity was increasingly replaced by envy and an ambition to emulate what was now coming to be considered the metropolitan standard.¹⁵ Later on, the shift from colonialism proper to more complex and diverse postcolonial asymmetries in the course of the twentieth century decisively changed the emotional experiences of anthropologists in the field and enabled encounters among lovers that would have been unlikely before.
Conversely, local dynamics could also have effects on a global level. The far-reaching revision of missionary models for appropriate religious feelings occasioned by the transition from individual to mass conversions in colonial locales illustrates this, as do the ways in which the feelings of tourists at a local level shaped the commodification of the exotic and rising fears about immigration in a globalizing world. One would definitely overstretch the book’s findings, however, if one were to claim that local and global developments have always interacted with one another, not to mention the even less tenable contention that their interaction followed a clearly defined pattern. In contrast to linear narratives about neo-imperialism, globalization or neo-liberalization, the present analyses emphasize uneven combinations of sometimes contradictory developments. This is because they link micro- and macro-perspectives and consider enduring as well as fleeting, ritualized as well as spontaneous encounters.

Similarly, the chapters’ discussions of the emotional conditions and effects of globalization point in multiple directions, thus avoiding overly clear-cut conclusions. Insecurity, anxiety and trust might at first seem to be among the primary emotions that either inhibited or accelerated globalizing dynamics. Yet a closer look reveals that insecurity is too broad a notion to serve as a meaningful category for analysing historical case studies. The mechanisms actors have employed for building trust ultimately have proved to be too unreliable and have generated results too inconsistent for trust to function as the emotional foundation upon which globalization could thrive, at least if one perceives the latter as a continuous process of increasing global interconnectedness.

A history of emotions perspective, therefore, highlights globalization’s discontinuous and ambiguous features. The multitude of emotions evoked by transcultural encounters – ranging from curiosity, fear and disgust to contempt, longing and solidarity – supports this claim. If
processes of globalization have a distinct emotional effect at all, this consists in the intensification of these ambiguities. Thus, historically feelings have had the capacity to facilitate as well as obstruct the establishment of links and communication across spatial distances. They could amplify as well as attenuate cultural gaps and boundaries.\textsuperscript{19}

From this vantage point, attending to emotional dynamics in transcultural encounters contributes significantly to current debates within global history by exposing the equivocality of globalizing processes. While the postcolonial emphasis on notions of equality granted actors more leeway in emotionally navigating transcultural encounters and thus eased the establishment of global interconnections, the emotional celebration of diversity could also camouflage intensifications of global inequalities. An all too naive reliance on the liaising force of feelings may thus prevent actors and scholars from appropriately addressing the challenges posed by surges in global emotional disconnection and alienation.

\textbf{The Open-Ended Features of Translation and Mimesis}

This ambiguity is closely linked to the third point worth highlighting, namely the open-ended nature of transcultural encounters. Focusing on the role feelings have played in such interactions, the analyses have drawn attention to their unpredictable effects. The chapter on performers demonstrates that even in cases where the encounter was intentionally staged in order to expand the emotional repertoires of all parties involved its actual outcomes ultimately remained beyond the control of those staging it. Throughout, encounters have had the potential to destabilize as well as restabilize pre-existing categories. This point is amply illustrated by the chapter on prisoners, which discusses how Dostoyevsky’s prison experience reversed classist
hierarchies and, at the same time, reaffirmed rigid boundaries. The case studies thus testify to the limits and the strengths of encounters’ transformative potential.

In analysing this open-endedness of communication and the production of meaning within transcultural constellations, the notions of translation and mimesis have proven particularly useful, less so the concept of affective transmission. This might be due to the fact that it draws too sharp a division between bodily affect and the cognitive dimensions of thought and meaning. For this reason, the concept can hardly be applied in historical analyses of sources that do not allow for such a separation. Furthermore, drawing such a sharp distinction ultimately runs counter to insights into the biocultural character of emotions. The concept of translation, on the other hand, implies that the alleged opposites are always already intertwined with each other, without, however, merging into one another.\textsuperscript{20} Similarly, one can describe the correlations that translation establishes between different languages as the unfolding of an in-between space in which connections emerge and meanings shift. In this vein, the case studies emphasize the crucial role of intermediaries such as missionaries, diplomats and travellers, who move between diverse semiotic codes, thereby negotiating difference, transforming linguistic practices, familiarizing strange idioms and denaturalizing familiar expressions. Furthermore, translation can be regarded as an ongoing process that continues to operate beyond the moment of encounter itself: it also shapes retrospective accounts of the encounter as well as these accounts’ own translation into different languages and genres, which may – like poetry – themselves be particularly emotional and difficult to translate.\textsuperscript{21}

These points underscore the productive aspects of translation. However, they also hint at its problematic aspects. For various historical actors, moving between different codes and languages has been accompanied by the risk of misunderstandings, especially in situations
involving highly formalized performative and literary genres. The danger of such misapprehensions alarmed some actors to an exceptional degree. Misunderstandings have led to international complications and have had fatal consequences, even in cases where the process of translation did not have to bridge different languages. At the same time, misunderstandings have also harboured the potential to enhance communication, contribute to the creation of new meanings and thus to foster emotional closeness and understanding.

Beyond such dynamics that played out – not exclusively but predominantly – at the level of signification, the concept of mimesis enabled the chapters to discuss the bodily dimensions involved in transcultural encounters. In doing so, the chapters reveal how the re-enactment of displays of emotion could enable people to embody the other and defamiliarize the self, as happened with European missionaries when they took part in funerary rituals at the imperial court in Beijing. Yet far from being played out by bodies completely devoid of any pre-existing cultural formation, such mimetic processes involved prefigurations or premediations that rendered the respective practices knowable. In some instances, explicit instructions tried to ensure that actors were informed about the other emotional culture before they entered into the encounter. These examples demonstrate that researchers have to take preconceptions of historical actors into account if they want to fully understand the cross-cultural dynamics at play in an encounter. At the same time, they have to be careful not to allow their own presumptions to impact the results of the analysis. Yet while mimesis always involves pre-existing ideas and habits, its outcomes cannot be determined in advance, as mimetic performances also provoke remediations and refigurations that potentially trigger a rewriting of previous emotional scripts. Even if actors engage in mimetic behaviour of their own volition, it often still has the potential to generate unpredictable effects.
Uneven Historical Trajectories

Having emphasized the open-ended character of emotional encounters, it is hardly surprising that the attempt to tease out historical trajectories does not yield any clear-cut results. The changing conditions for and effects of transcultural interactions did not follow a linear narrative leading from struggle and discrimination to harmonious recognition and the resolution of all conflicts. Nevertheless, three observations might prove helpful for charting this uneven terrain from a historical point of view. The first concerns historical shifts in the evaluation of mimetic behaviour; the second deals with historical actors’ increasingly nuanced attempts to reflect on the emotional intricacies of transcultural encounters; and the third links their shifting dynamics with historically specific notions of the self.

In the eighteenth century, attempts at mimetic re-enactment were – at least in some cases – viewed as proof that ‘civilized Europeans’ had advanced skills that allowed them to master unfamiliar codes so successfully that they could ‘blend in’ among the locals without – so they thought – being noticed. In other cases, mimesis was viewed as a poor substitute for appropriate forms of understanding, a method used by ‘barbaric’ others, who supposedly lacked the cognitive abilities necessary for ‘proper’ communication. This negative evaluation of mimesis can be witnessed in the distrust with which missionaries faced the mimicking of religious emotions by converted Dalits in the nineteenth century. In another context, the refusal to mimetically re-enact local habits was seen as demonstrating international prestige among European envoys in Beijing, or as an indispensible means for maintaining control and guaranteeing the safety of occupying troops in Germany after 1945. These findings are not sufficient to produce a concrete narrative about how ‘Europeans’ despised mimesis at first and...
then gradually came to cherish it or the other way round. Nevertheless, they make clear that the evaluation of mimetic practices depended on who engaged in mimesis and how groups or individuals perceived the relationship between the people providing the model and the people mimetically emulating it. While less nuanced hierarchies did not necessarily hinder people from disdaining mimetic practices, we can nevertheless claim that the more relationships were informed by hierarchies and an unequal distribution of power, the more mimesis was regarded as dubious and disreputable.

The growing number of books offering advice on the emotional dynamics of transcultural encounters was, in part, aimed at helping people to avoid questionable and above all ignorant forms of mimetic behaviour. These books were intended to enable all sorts of transnationally mobile actors to properly understand the intricacies of the encounter and to manage their emotional comportment accordingly. Such attempts at promoting certain kinds of knowledge about emotions range from instructions issued to soldiers deployed in foreign countries to advice books for employees of transnational corporations; from advertisements marketing tourist destinations to internet blogs discussing the problems of intercultural relationships; from missionary training preparing candidates for different cultures to anthropological research making the anthropologist’s feelings themselves the object of enquiry. Such projects also increasingly exposed the relation between assumptions about different emotional cultures and their embeddedness in imperialist hierarchies or neo-liberal policies of development. Although these forms of knowledge production were not entirely new in the second half of the twentieth century, they became accessible to an unprecedented number of people following the advent and spread of various media. These bodies of knowledge thus contributed to a shift in the primary way individuals learned about transcultural emotional differences, away from personal contacts.
and relationships and towards the sphere of sociological or behaviourist generalizations. At the same time, the increased medial exhibition of encounters with emotions has made efforts to intentionally regulate or even manipulate their dynamics ever more likely. But due to the fact that transcultural encounters with emotions are inherently open-ended, attempts at regulating and manipulating them have not relieved – let alone resolved – the issues permeating them. Instead, efforts to regulate encounters only intensified participants’ ambition to successfully work through them, which ultimately increased the unpredictability of their outcomes.

People thus increasingly strove in a self-optimizing fashion to excel in the navigation of transcultural encounters. This observation links the shifting emotional dynamics of the encounter with the history of the self. Roughly speaking, this history runs from early modern notions of porous selfhood to modern conceptions of the sovereign subject who takes pride in independence and steadfastness, all the way to postmodern or avant-garde forms of subjectivity that might be described as being decentred, potentially self-contradictory and engaged in an ongoing project of experimentation. These transitions have also had an impact on emotional encounters. While from the modern perspective a rupture in the self was typically considered to be an indication of mental illness, avant-garde subjectivity has often entailed a desire for shocking experiences and encountering the alien, which would optimally enable the self to transcend its own limits. This trajectory is certainly in need of more nuanced historical differentiation and should be complemented by perspectives that consider cultural varieties of selfhood. Nevertheless, these preliminary observations should suffice to demonstrate that diverse perceptions of the self have had a strong impact on the ways in which transcultural differences have been historically negotiated in face-to-face encounters.
The Changing Evaluation of Differences

The shift from the modern emphasis on sovereign identity and self-sameness to the postmodern striving for experimental self-alteration also points towards decisive changes in the ways difference has been historically perceived. These changes were intimately intertwined with shifting regimes of power and logics of racial distinction. While the latter allowed for permeability in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they privileged closures and hierarchies in the nineteenth, which in turn gave way toreopenings and complex asymmetries in the twentieth century. Whereas ideas about equality inspired by religious beliefs or legal discourse informed the emotional dynamics of transcultural encounters in the early phase, racist disdain felt by ‘Westerners’ towards their ‘non-Western’ counterparts gained prevalence later on, increasing the gap between rulers and ruled and barring intimate encounters between them. Alongside colonial racism, processes of nationalization played an important role in spurring the emotional production of distance and closeness, strangeness and familiarity well into the twentieth century. At the same time, notions of universal humanness and solidarity continued to influence face-to-face encounters, even if attempts to overcome differences often, paradoxically, went hand in hand with a re-establishment of rigid boundaries.

Thus, changes in the potential of emotions to cross various boundaries, such as distinctions of race or class, did not follow a clear-cut historical trajectory. Rather, the historical analyses show a coincidence of conflicting ideas and practices. In the twentieth century, this tangle was further complicated by the rise of discourses and practices that celebrated diversity. Sympathy towards and a will to understand different cultures gained in prominence, as did longings for the exotic other, which further complicated the relationship between universal sameness and universal differences. Yet, while its effects remained ambiguous, this trend once
more illustrates how feelings influenced the construction, perception and treatment of
differences, and vice versa.

One particularly interesting observation in this respect concerns the increasing relevance
of multipolar differentiations and subtle distinctions in the twentieth century that replaced the
previously prevalent, stark and mostly binary oppositions of race, class or other differences. This
trend can be inferred from the increasingly precarious nature of the distinction between
familiarity and strangeness, as well as from the blurred boundaries between sanity and insanity.35
While several institutions have continued to uphold this opposition, individuals have increasingly
come to perceive themselves as nodes in complex networks that bring together different kinds of
relationships and distinctions; this has led to an uneven distribution of emotional normalcy and
aberration within such networks, where the two are no longer categorically separated. Similar
tendencies towards valuing ‘multiple differences’ informed the negotiation of love and sexuality
in transcultural settings towards the end of the twentieth century.36 Highlighting these multipolar
forms of differentiation, the analysis of emotional encounters can also make a significant
contribution to current debates on migration, where emotional patterns and practices play a
prominent role.37 All too often these debates revolve around overly simple notions of integration
that presuppose the existence of a monolithic host society into which newcomers are then
supposed to assimilate. In this context, the emphasis on complex, multipolar relations between
closeness and distance, and familiarity and foreignness, offers much more appropriate ways of
thinking regarding the emotional negotiation of cultural and other differences.

* * *
One of the advantages of the enquiry into the emotional dynamics of transcultural
encounters is the attention it draws to these multipolar patterns of differentiation. Moreover, it
opens up fresh and, considering the recent upsurge in emotional alienation from transnational
solidarity, also timely perspectives on the ambiguous ways in which feelings at once facilitate
and obstruct global interconnections. The preceding chapters have also shed light on the
intriguing interstices between universalizing supra-cultural and particularizing culturally relative
approaches and tendencies. These tensions between the universal and the particular might
ultimately help us better understand interactions not only within the human sphere, which is the
focus of most strands of emotion research: it might also shed light on other, less anthropocentric
understandings of encounter that involve different forms of life, as the example discussed at the
outset of the conclusion demonstrates. Further research might thus extend its scope to include
extraterrestrials as well as other non-human beings, like the puppet that figured as E.T. in Steven
Spielberg’s 1982 film. On the film set, the director urged actresses and actors to emotionally
interact with this manufactured creature in order to increase the authenticity of their on-screen
encounters. This hints at the multitude of different kinds of emotional encounters that further
research might explore by building on the analyses and the arguments proposed by this book.

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Habsburg Empires, 1867–1918 (Berghahn, 2018).
<A>Bibliography</A>


Notes


2. Chapter 5, Frevert, ‘Diplomats’ in this volume.


7. Chapter 6, Nielsen, ‘Occupiers and Civilians’ in this volume.


disidentification, see Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*.


16. Chapter 1, Cummins and Lee, ‘Missionaries’ in this volume. See also Chapter 2, Cabanas, Khan and Marjanen, ‘Travellers’ in this volume.

17. See Chapters 4, Arndt, ‘Entrepreneurs’ and 6, Nielsen, ‘Occupiers and Civilians’ in this volume.


Alternative Empathies in a Small Place’, 18–26; Seyd, ‘Gegenwart des Unbehagens: Gefühle und Globalisierung’.

20. On how translation and the related concepts of feedback and resonance are used in research on affect and emotions in order to describe the complex interplay between the different dimensions of these phenomena, see Pernau and Rajamani, ‘Emotional Translations: Conceptual History beyond Language’, 46–65; Massumi, Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation, 12; Reddy, The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions, 64, 84; Russell, ‘Core Affect and the Psychological Construction of Emotion’, 150, 165.


22. Chapter 1, Cummins and Lee, ‘Missionaries’ in this volume.

23. See Chapters 5, Frevert, ‘Diplomats’ and 8, Rozenblatt, ‘Monsters’ in this volume.


25. See Chapter 6, Nielsen, ‘Occupiers and Civilians’ in this volume.


27. See Chapter 2, Cabanas, Khan and Marjanen, ‘Travellers’ in this volume.

28. Chapter 4, Arndt, ‘Entrepreneurs’ in this volume.

29. For discussions about emotions in this field, see Eitler and Elberfeld, Zeitgeschichte des Selbst: Therapeutisierung – Politisierung – Emotionalisierung; Illouz, Saving the Modern Soul: Therapy, Emotions, and the Culture of Self-Help; Lupton, The Emotional Self: A Sociocultural Exploration.

31. Chapter 8, Rozenblatt, ‘Monsters’ in this volume.


33. Chapter 10, Pernau, ‘Lovers and Friends’ in this volume. See also Chapters 1, Cummins and Lee, ‘Missionaries’ and 5, Frevert, ‘Diplomats’ in this volume.

34. Chapter 2, Cabanas, Khan and Marjanen, ‘Travellers’ in this volume.

35. See Chapters 6, Nielsen, ‘Occupiers and Civilians’ and 8, Rozenblatt, ‘Monsters’ in this volume.
