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**Emotions and globalization**

Michalinos Zembylas (*Open University of Cyprus*) &  
Constadina Charalambous (*European University Cyprus*)

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# Emotions and globalization

Michalinos Zembylas  
(Open University of Cyprus)

Constadina Charalambous  
(European University Cyprus)

## Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to discuss how emotions are significant in the context of an increasingly globalized world, especially in relation to the phenomenon of migration. Research in many academic disciplines during the last two decades highlights the importance of emotions to international relations, human mobility and the new emotional networks or borders that emerge from globalization and transnationalization processes. As this research shows, the role of language is significant, yet it is inseparable from the importance of spaces, bodies, and practices. Theorizing emotions as discursive-social-embodied processes enables an analysis of the different modalities — including language — through which emotions are constituted and circulated in globalizing and transnational contexts, and highlights their subversive and transformative possibilities. It is suggested that future research needs to delve deeper into exploring the complexities and interplay of these modalities and the impact they have on the affective economies of societies at the macro- and micro-levels. It is important to acknowledge how different people and groups bring different emotional histories and embodied experiences with them, and that these histories and embodiments are embedded in a wider context of sociopolitical forces, needs and interests that involve complex, multiple actors across national borders.

*Keywords:* emotions; globalization; transnationalization; migration; language; discourse; embodiment.

## 1. Introduction

Since the 1980s, anthropologists and sociologists working in the area of emotions have developed sociocultural theories that challenge traditional biological and psychological approaches to emotions, thereby acknowledging the social, cultural and political dimensions of emotional processes (e.g., Ahmed 2004; Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990; Svašek 2008). In particular, during the last two decades, an increasing amount of work has been published on the role of emotions in international relations and politics (Clément and Sangar 2018; Russell Beattie, Eroukhanoff, and Head 2019), and especially how emotions are entangled with the phenomena of migration, globalization and transnationalization (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Svašek and Skrbis 2007; Wise and Velayutham 2017). Although these are not new phenomena, their entanglement with emotions has not been theoretically and empirically explored until recently. Particularly in light of new theorizations of emotions and affects as social, political, and embodied processes (Barbalet 1998; Hutchison and Bleiker 2014; Thrift 2008), explorations of globalizing and transnational forces have gained a new interest. Thus, recent research into the emotional and affective dimensions of these forces has brought to the surface a wide variety of issues such as: the emotional discourses and practices in social media and long-distance communication; the embodied experiences of labour migration and human mobility in terms of gender, ethnicity and

power; the emotional discourses and practices of belonging in migrant communities; the affective politics of critical events in politics such as terrorist attacks and their impact on migration; and, generally, the affective experiences of living in an increasingly globalized world (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Conradson and McKay 2007; Hall and Ross 2015; Hearn 2008; Svašek 2008, 2010; Svašek and Skrbis 2007; Wise and Velayutham 2017).

This paper discusses emotions in relation to the globalization and transnationalization processes and particularly in relation to the phenomenon of migration, as emotions are part and parcel of the affective experiences of migrants. In general, globalization and transnationalization facilitate, produce and contextualize emotions (Hearn 2008). These phenomena are discussed in terms of how the mobility of people, ideas/practices and objects/images involves complex emotional processes that have important consequences for contemporary life (Svašek and Skrbis 2007). Emotions are understood as discursive, social and material processes that are simultaneously performed/embodied by actors acting within globalization and transnational contexts, even though emotions often appear to lie within individuals (Ahmed 2004; Barbalet 1998; Davidson, Bondi and Smith 2005). Hence, the emotional and affective processes that accompany mobility involve complex issues that need to be understood both as deeply emotive and deeply political (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015). The purpose of this paper, then, is to theorize how emotions in the context of an increasingly globalized world are significant in social, political and material terms. The paper will conclude with a discussion of some future directions for researching globalized and transnational emotional processes.

## **2. Globalization and transnationalization**

Although globalization has always been part of the world since the beginnings of human exploration, its historical intensity has increased greatly during the last two centuries (Featherstone, Lash, and Robertson 1995). The modern era has brought global intensification in the movements of people, goods, services, and information — especially with the advancement of technology — e.g., transport, production, communication, and media. Thus, globalization is generally understood as the process in which people, products, technology, information, and jobs spread across national, social, and cultural borders (Appadurai 1996). Although discussions of globalization in the literature often emphasize its transnational economic dimensions, there is much variation in analysis of its political, social and cultural changes, including the recognition of how important language and emotion are (Hearn 2008).

In addition to the notion of globalization, the concept of transnationalization is another term that is used to highlight the new spaces of mobility and the cultural, economic and political exchanges within which non-institutional actors, networks and groups build links across different types of borders and create new communities. The concept of transnationalization emphasizes more explicitly how people today develop networks, activities, patterns of living, and ideologies that span beyond traditional boundaries of home and the nation, operating across the whole globe (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1994). Thus, one can talk about various forms of transnationalizations of emotions in and around these networks, activities, ideologies and ways of living and belonging (Hearn 2008). In fact, the notion of transnational affect and emotion has been recently used to argue that an array of affects and emotions structure inter-subjective relationships and modes of reciprocity within transnational social fields (Wise and Velayutham 2017).

Along similar lines, Appadurai's (1990) notion of the disjunctive scapes is helpful in thinking through some of the elements in the emotional dynamics of these new transversal spaces of mobility and networking. For example, ethnoscapas refer to the "landscapes of persons who constitute the shifting world" (Appadurai 1990: 7); these "landscapes" include the social, economic and political practices and ideologies that are exchanged in transnational processes. Thus, there are ethnoscapas, ideoscapas, mediascapas and financescapas; the suffix *-scape* denotes that these terms are situated within historical, cultural, and political spaces. The notion of emoscape (Kenway and Fahey 2011a, 2011b) adds another potential scape to Appadurai's (1990) original list. As Kenway and Fahey (2011b) explain,

By this [emoscape] we mean the movement of emotion across various spatial scales. In proposing this notion, we clearly reject the view that emotion only moves *within* individuals' psychology or psyche. Instead, we draw on the views above that understand emotions as processes, involving intersections of the social, cultural, spatial and psychic realms. We see emotions as mobile, mobilized and mobilizing. Emotions move individuals, but they also operate in a realm beyond the personal and interpersonal. Emotions are on the move on a global scale via different technologies. They are mobilized by various discourses. It is these discourses that create a cultural context for certain ideas. And, finally, emotions are mobilizing as they motivate people to act. These actions then work to move other people and thus we come full circle. (Kenway and Fahey 2011b: 169, original emphasis)

The notion of emoscape, in Kenway and Fahey's (2011b) view, highlights the spatial flow of feelings between people and places, emphasizing not only the movement of emotion within an individual or between individuals, but also in relation to particular historical, political, social and cultural landscapes.

Finally, translocality is another term suggested by Appadurai (1996) to describe the ways in which uprooted communities become regrounded and extended as a result of globalizing and transnational experiences. The trans in trans-national and trans-local, then, denotes two important notions that need to be considered in understanding globalizing and transnational experiences: first, there is "*moving across* something or *between* two or more somethings — in this case, across national boundaries or between nations" (Hearn 2008: 187, original emphasis); and, second, there is some sort of "*metamorphosing*, problematizing, blurring, transgressing, breaking down, even dissolving something(s)" (Hearn 2008: 187, original emphasis). These two notions highlight the social, political, spatial and material context within which emotional and affective experiences take place, accompanying mobility. All in all, examining emotions in relation to transnationalization requires that our current conceptualization of various terms and categories to theorize emotions as part of globalization and transnational practices needs to be reformulated and redefined. We begin discussing this re-conceptualization by examining more closely the interplay between language and emotions.

### **3. Language and emotions**

The relation between language and emotions has been widely studied in psychology, anthropology and (applied) linguistics (e.g., Besnier 1990). Scholars from different disciplines have examined several dimensions of this relationship: for example, how language can create

different affective stances (Ochs 2002; Ochs and Capps 1996; Ochs and Schieffelin 1989); how affect can be communicated in interaction or manifested within the micro-organization of someone's talk (Besnier 1990; Ochs and Schieffelin 1989); and how speakers in different cultures talk about or define emotions (Wierzbicka 2004). Different languages have also been studied in relation to their different emotional impact on bilingual or multilingual individuals, and in relation to individuals' choice for expressing emotions (usually with one language being the language of proximity and the other one the language of 'distance') (Dewaele 2004; Dewaele and Pavlenko 2002; Pavlenko 2002). However, similarly to other studies of emotion, discussions on the interplay of language and emotions for a long time tended to treat emotions as individual properties, or confined within a certain cultural experience, and often still do not fully consider emotions' sociopolitical and discursive dimension (see Charalambous 2013).

In multilingualism research, special attention has been paid to people's emotional attachment to different languages, and in these discussions, the social and political dimensions of emotions are more explicit. As Pavlenko argues, "the relation between multilingualism and emotions is not exclusively an individual phenomenon — it also plays out on the societal level" (Pavlenko 2012: 462). Sociolinguistic research has long highlighted the power of language to create a sense of sameness and difference, and has shown that many communities regard language as a salient and essential part of their culture and ethnic identity (Blommaert and Verschueren 1998; Charalambous 2013; Heller 1999; May 2001), something that often triggers strong emotional attachments.

At the same time, learning a second or a foreign language is often seen as a way of gaining access to another culture (see, for example, Charalambous and Rampton 2020; Phipps and Gonzalez 2004), which means, consequently, that it offers learners the possibilities of negotiating different emotional stances towards this culture and language. In Kramsch's (2006) words, learners of a foreign language are seen as occupying "an embodied, socially and culturally inflected third place in language, filled with memories of other languages and fantasies of other identities" (Kramsch 2006: 97). The negotiation though of different languages and identities is never independent from language ideologies and sociopolitical discourses that define us versus the others, and in the case of many migrants it also is affected by discourses and processes that have to do with (in)security, fear and conflict (Khan 2017; Kinginger 2004; Rampton and Charalambous 2020).

Processes of forced migration and dislocation, in particular, require therefore a shift on how we view and analyse language, communication and language learning in relation to emotions, and foreground issues of power relations, linguistic inequalities, (in)securitization and trauma. As Briggitta Busch (2017: 342) explains,

Under the conditions of globalization, speakers participate in varying spaces of communication which may be arranged sequentially, in parallel, juxtapositionally, or in overlapping form. At different periods in their lives, at different moments of their day, or even simultaneously (with the help of digital means of communication, for example), speakers participate in several spaces that are socially and linguistically constituted in different ways. Each of these spaces has its own language regime — its own set of rules, orders of discourse, and language ideologies — in which linguistic resources are assessed differently. (Busch 2017: 342-3)

These different communicative settings create different language and emotion hierarchies that often have important impact on people's lives — e.g., people may experience discrimination as some linguistic forms are evaluated as more prestigious than others, inclusion/exclusion based on language, etc. Studies have also shown how language can play a role in getting an asylum status as it can be used to judge the authenticity and credibility of asylum seekers' narratives (see, for example, Blommaert 2009; Maryns 2006). In order to research these settings, Busch (2016, 2017) argues that sociolinguists need to pay attention to the "lived experience of language" which is a deeply emotional experience that gets inscribed into body memory, but at the same time it is shaped by powerful ideologies and inequalities.

Such an approach requires a theorization of emotion that escapes dichotomies and encompasses the discursive, social, political dimensions of the concept that take shape and materialize differently in different chronotopes. The following section unpacks this theorization of emotions, which is needed to understand emotions in relation to globalized and transnational processes.

#### **4. Emotions as discourses, practices and embodied experiences**

Sociocultural theories of emotion highlight that emotions are public, not exclusively private, experiences that are interactively embedded in power relations. This theoretical perspective historicizes the ways in which emotions are constituted, their organization into discourses and technologies of power, and their importance as a site of social, embodied, and spatial control through surveillance and self-policing (Ahmed 2004; Barbalet 1998; Thrift 2008). As power relations are inherent in social, political and cultural experiences (e.g., gender, kinship, class or ethnicity), domination, resistance and sociality are at the core of emotional and affective processes (Svašek 2008).

In particular, Ahmed's (2004) sociality of emotions model is valuable in understanding how emotional encounters with others create boundaries or move beyond such boundaries. Along the lines of the spatial notion of emotional geographies (Davidson, Bondi and Smith 2005), but stretched out in social and political relations (over national borders), Ahmed argues that emotions play a crucial role in the ways that individuals come together, move *towards* or *away* in relation to others and constitute collective bodies. In other words, affective encounters are not individualized but work to bind together a whole community. This argument challenges the assumption that emotions are individual or private phenomena and supports the position that emotions are located in movement, circulating between objects.

Hence, emotions do not come from inside us as *reaction*, but are produced in and circulated between others and ourselves as *discourses* and *practices*. This circulation happens precisely because individuals do not live in a social and political vacuum but move, and thus emotions become attached to individuals united in their feelings for something. For example, it is shown that emotions shape and are shaped by discourses of race and ethnicity; therefore, there are certain emotions that stick to certain bodies through the work of emotions (Zembylas 2008, 2015). In other words, certain bodies (e.g., of migrants) as well as emotional practices and discourses (e.g., hatred and resentment) stick together and perpetuate certain perceptions about race/ethnicity; such bodies and practices occur within racialized and ethnicized spaces and networks of power.

The notion of affect, and its relation to emotion, is an important element of these discussions (Thrift 2008). For post-Deleuzian scholars, for example (e.g., Massumi 1996),

emotion signals cultural constructs and conscious processes, where affect marks precognitive sensory experience, relations to surroundings, and generally the body's capacity to act, to engage, to resist, and to connect. Hence emotion represents a form of assimilation, a closure and containment of affect within symbolic means, whereas affect is considered along the lines of a bodily intensity resistant to domestication, always evading a final structuration. If affect emerges, then, through embodied encounter, transnational mobility is inevitably entangled with the generation and circulation of particular affects and emotions (Conradson and McKay 2007; Wise and Velayutham 2017). An important aspect of theorizing affect, then, is the recognition of variations in local interpretations of affective states and their expression through different linguistic and other semiotic resources. This is why linguist Anna Wierzbicka (2004) emphasizes the importance of language in emotional experiences and their interpretation; different vocabularies of emotion can make a difference to people's emotional experiences (Wierzbicka 2004: 579); at the same time they can also influence the ways people communicate these experiences, the relations they form with others, and the ways they are perceived by both individuals and institutions.

Another way of making sense of emotions research in recent years revolves around a macro/micro distinction (Hutchison and Bleiker 2014) and the different kinds of emotional practices, their political effects and their political contestation within both micro- and macro-politics (Russell Beattie, Eroukhmanoff, and Head 2019). As Hutchison and Bleiker (2014) clarify, macro-approaches theorize in general how emotions matter in world politics, while micro-approaches focus on how specific emotions emerge in particular political circumstances; however, the distinction between macro- and micro-approaches is not essentialized in any way, as there are important similarities such as the notion that emotions are more than just individual and private phenomena. Both approaches offer rich insights into the entanglement of emotions with international relations and politics, albeit from different perspectives that link how individual dimensions of emotions become collective and political through everyday actions. As Russell Beattie, Eroukhmanoff, and Head (2019) also suggest, recent attention to the everyday practices through which emotions are negotiated allow a deeper exploration of the relationship between individual and collective emotions as well as a focus on the role of embodiment within emotions research and its relationship with the dynamics and structures of power.

All in all, there are two key advantages in theorizing emotions as discourses, practices and embodied experiences to analyse transnational emotional processes. The first derives from recognizing that the social, political and embodied dimensions of emotion are manifest at many levels of social interaction, from the dynamics of everyday life and everyday interactions to the dynamics of local, national and globalized processes. Emotions are treated as social, political and embodied forces that are located in the liminal space between the individual and the social. This perspective challenges binary divisions between individual versus social, private versus public, and emphasizes that emotion operates as a constitutively reciprocal component in the interaction/transaction between larger social forces and the internal psychic and embodied terrain of the individual (Leavitt 1996). As Leavitt explains, these perspectives seem truer to common, everyday life experience of emotion than a vision of emotion as either individual or simply social (see also Schick 2019).

The second advantage in theorizing emotions as discourses, practices and embodied experiences derives from the fundamental nature of the globalizing and transnational experiences themselves. For example, migration is invariably a process that creates relations of proximity and distance with strong emotional connotations (Skrbis 2008). It is not difficult to see, then, how transnational migration may be implicated in the generation of particular emotional practices and

discourses (e.g., marginalization and social injustice). Consequently, if we want to pursue a more systematic and critical investigation of the emotional dimensions of human mobility in globalizing and transnational processes, it is necessary to develop concepts and theories that focus centrally on emotions and affects (Hutchison and Bleiker 2014; Svašek and Skrbis 2007; Wise and Velayutham 2017). Migrant life experiences and the migration process offer a rich, complex and under-examined account of the emotional aspects of globalization and transnationalization, especially in light of the contemporary European migration and refugee crisis; therefore, a case is made for paying attention to emotion and migration.

## 5. The case of migration

This part of the paper takes on the case of migration to show an example of how globalization and transnationalization of emotions operate in this phenomenon. As several reviews of literature and special issues have shown in recent years, there are a number of issues emerging in the nexus between emotion and migration, such as the emotional challenges faced by migrant workers; the affective attachments of migrants to their homeland; the ambivalent feelings of ethnic minority groups born in another country; the negative emotional responses of the host population to the presence of migrants; the distressing experience of forced migration and refugeedom (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015; Conradson and McKay 2007; Skrbis 2008; Svašek 2008, 2010; Svašek and Skrbis 2007; Wise and Velayutham 2017); and the emotional experience related to having to adjust to a different language/linguistic repertoire (Busch 2016) or to perform a repertoire that is judged negatively (Charalambous, Charalambous and Zembylas 2016). Emotions are inextricable parts of the migration experiences of translocal subjectivities, that is, “the multiply-located senses of self amongst those who inhabit transnational social fields” (Conradson and McKay 2007: 168).

Not surprisingly, not all movements in transnational social fields are the same; for example, there are differences between movements of the elite and movements of the disenfranchised. Research has systematically shown that many disenfranchised individuals and minority groups feel that they are othered by hegemonic groups (Boccagni and Baldassar 2015). This encounter between various groups is undoubtedly emotional and is represented as proximity or distance between bodies that are read as similar and those that are considered to be different (Ahmed 2004; Fortier 2007). It is an encounter where the national we (the host) is differentiated from the arriving other (the stranger), but it is important to acknowledge how strangeness (including strangeness in language) is unevenly distributed. This uneven distribution, asserts Ahmed (2004), reminds us that who gets constructed as the host or stranger is an effect of relations of power. Similarly, Busch (2017: 352) reminds us the different ways in which linguistic inequalities, embedded in power relations, can be manifested and felt by dislocated people: discomfort and confusion may be experienced when “*self-perception and perception by others* are not experienced as congruent, when people experience *inclusion or exclusion* because of a language or a particular way of speaking, or when their own capacity of interacting by words is associated with the experience of *power or powerlessness*” (Busch 2017: 352, original emphasis). Hence, the political element is an inextricable part of the emotions in the globalized and transnational terrain.

In one of the first papers published that theorized migration, emotions and belonging, sociologist Zlatko Skrbis (2008) pointed out that most theories of transnationalism and migration had failed to incorporate a focus on emotions and especially the power relations involved. As Skrbis wrote, “[m]igrant stories are linked with the experiences of adjustment, settlement,

nostalgia, a shattered sense of belonging, renewal, loss, discrimination, abrupt endings, new beginnings and new opportunities — all potent sources of emotions” (Skrbis 2008: 236). Therefore, a more systematic investigation of the emotional dimensions of transnational migration and its entanglement with politics is extremely important “in contemporary settings of globalised economic crisis, state violence, exploited migrant communities, and hegemonic gender politics of post-colonial states” (Good 2004: 529). The explicit investigation of emotions in precisely these settings, argues Good, shows that “only through explicating the logic of key emotional constructs do major social dramas become intelligible, and [...] can particular domains of affect be understood” (Good 2004: 529).

In a more recent overview of migration and emotion studies, Boccagni and Baldassar (2015) suggest that the nexus between emotion and migration makes for an important research field for two reasons: first, the migration process offers a window from which to view emotions in the light of everyday life experiences; second, an analysis of emotions provides an important critique of the predominant economic rationalist approaches to migration of the past. Arguably, as this paper maintains, transnational migration offers a valuable lens through which to examine the interplay of emotional and political complexities of human mobility and the ways in which they are entangled with issues of language (interaction, communication, language choice, language learning, etc.) and the living experience of language.

Also, Wise and Velayutham (2017) reiterate that affective and emotional dimensions of transnational practice require further empirical and theoretical attention and suggest the notion of ‘transnational affect and emotion’ to describe emerging work in this area. In operationalizing transnational affect, Wise and Velayutham (2017: 127) sketch out different kinds of affective intensity (strategic intensity, moral intensity, embodied intensity, intensity of ties or exclusions) and their intersections with transnational social fields. As they write, “[a]ffective intensities *implicate* transnational objects” (Wise and Velayutham 2017: 127, original emphasis), both shaping the migration experience and reproducing transnational connections.

As noted earlier, migration frequently results in a sense of marginalization among migrants and their children due to discrimination or the lack of communication with members from the receiving country (Svašek and Skrbis 2007). Migrants and their families have to deal with emotions of loss, trauma, suffering, physical hardship and the violence of voicelessness (Busch 2016). At the same time, members of the receiving country may experience fear, anger, anxiety, resentment, and hatred for migrants who come and threaten the social, cultural and linguistic character of the nation (Fortier 2007). Migration, then, influences the emotional and political dynamics as well as notions of self and belonging for both migrants and members from the receiving country. Attending to feelings linked to transnational migration is essential, if we, as researchers, are to understand the new manifestations of racism, marginalization, far-right movements, and nationalism and the resulting implications for migrants’ lives in multicultural societies (e.g., see Kølvråa 2015).

In particular, emotional practices and discourses must be examined as constitutive components of perceptions about race and ethnicity in light of the multiple forms of globalization and transnational migration (Fortier 2007). Race and ethnicity have a materiality that is partly to do with the aspects of racial and ethnic discourses that are constructed as being material (e.g., bodily markers are used to stereotype people) and partly about the emotional discourses and practices through which bodies are drawn together or apart on racialized and ethnicized terms (Riggs and Augoustinos 2005; Zembylas 2018). As far as racism is concerned, the differences between ethnic or religious groups are highlighted and used to structure superiority/inferiority relations and thus prevent migrants’ integration into the society on the ground that migrants are a

threat to the society's unity (Balibar and Wallerstein 1991). Similarly, nationalism is another powerful example of how national identity is emotionally constituted and organized (e.g., through the use of symbols, language, imagery and music) to create certain inclusions and exclusions (Closs Stephens 2016). When categorizations and boundaries between the national self and the arriving other are accompanied by practices of exclusion and discrimination, then nationalism becomes manifest in powerful collective feelings such as national pride and national consciousness (Zembylas 2015).

In an era of globalization, increasingly fractured and diasporic communities are seeking to (re)gain a sense of home and belonging (Nash 2002); this process redefines the emotional dynamics of proximity and distance (Davidson and Milligan 2004). In the encounter with the other, as a movement of proximity or distance between the national self and the arriving other, new social, political, material, linguistic and spatial boundaries are formed. Uncovering the links between power relations and certain emotion discourses about migrants and their families, then, reveals the affective economies created by social policies and practices in different societies.

## **6. Conclusion and future directions**

In this paper, we have considered emotions as part of globalization and transnationalization processes, particularly in relation to the phenomenon of migration. In this, we have suggested that the role of language is an important part of the emotional experience, yet it is inseparable from the importance of spaces, bodies, and practices. Emotions are experienced in localized ways, but they are also embedded in complex, transnational ways, especially in the case of migration. The globalization and transnationalization of emotions, then, constitute attempts, however flawed, to talk about contemporary and substantial historical, social and political changes (Hearn 2008). It is important, as Hearn suggests, to further explore how micro-political contextual factors (e.g., segregation, interethnic relations) are entangled with macro-political conditions (citizenship, welfare, opportunities) (see also, Hutchison and Bleiker 2014).

For example, future research needs to delve deeper into exploring the modalities through which certain emotions about migrants and other minority groups (e.g., fear, anxiety) are constituted and maintained in particular societies and what impact they have on the affective economies of these societies at the macro- and micro-level. These modalities are unavoidably part of ongoing efforts within a globalized world to articulate a viable relationship between the self and the other (Zembylas 2012). This struggle involves the systematic investigation of the ways in which explicit mobilization of certain emotions (e.g., patriotism, national pride) produces exclusive definitions of subjectivity and belonging. As Boccagni and Baldassar (2015: 78–79) suggest, more systematic and comparative studies are needed to examine how migrants display and negotiate their emotions, as affected by their belonging in terms of religion, ethnicity, nationality, normative frameworks of morality and so forth. Another idea could also be to see how different emotions are stylized/organized hierarchically in different societies and how these hierarchies interact with discourses and experiences of migration. In general, Wise and Velayutham (2017) suggest that affective and emotional dimensions of transnational practice constitute a productive new theoretical and methodological approach that can advance understandings of what motivates, compels, and structures transnational actors' participation in transnational social fields.

Furthermore, in relation to the issue of methods, more research is necessary using multi-methods (mixed methods including an ethnographic component, and life histories/biographic

narratives) and multimodal analysis that could inform the study of emotion and globalization (see also Karrebæk and Charalambous [2018] on an account of how linguistic ethnography can contribute to the study of people and languages in motion). Methodological choices of how to study emotion and globalization — e.g., whether to use a questionnaire to focus on key variables or qualitative case studies — are inevitably entangled with ontological and epistemological assumptions of how emotions are understood (see Clément and Sangar 2018; Schutz and Zembylas 2016). As Savage suggests, “an important part of the process of deciding what is the most appropriate approach for researching emotion is ensuring coherency between theory, methodology, and the focus of the study” (Savage 2004: 32). The methodological choice of how to study emotion and various aspects of globalization is not only a question of methods, of course, but rather it is also about the ethical issues involved in the research process (Prosser 2015). Ethical questions such as the following are unavoidable: “If this research opens up new perspectives and identities for participants to embrace, to what environments will they return and what supports will be in place to sustain them in these new identities? Is it ethically just for this research to prompt social change, but potentially increase social injustice? In addition, where does the researcher-participant responsibility extend and end?” (Prosser 2015: 180). It is important for researchers of emotion in different disciplines to consider such questions and refine their methods and methodologies to ensure that the ethical implications are addressed (Schutz and Zembylas 2016).

To conclude, a focus on emotions as discursive-social-material processes in globalizing and transnational contexts highlights the subversive and transformative possibilities that are created. These possibilities refer to *un-doing* existing discourses and practices that exclude and marginalize certain people and groups as well as understanding the resilience of such discourses (see for example Charalambous et al. 2020). This effort includes the development of a mode of critique in research and theorization that comprehends the role of affective economies and their political implications in societies. Moreover, it needs to be acknowledged that different people and groups bring different emotional histories and embodied experiences with them, and that these histories and embodiments are embedded in a wider context of sociopolitical forces, needs and interests that involve complex, multiple actors across national borders. Unless these emotional histories and embodied experiences are constantly interrogated, to question taken-for-granted ideas about race, ethnicity, language class and gender, there will be little hope of transforming the material, relational, emotional and spatial contexts of globalization and transnationalization.

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