



# Introduction

## Postsocialism and the Politics of Emotions

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A second month has gone by since I was torn from you, from our home, from our Sarajevo. I have learned in this short but for me so long time what sorrow, loneliness and nostalgia mean. And suffering, real suffering.

Woman, late 20s, Sarejevo. In: Mertus et al. (1997: 93)

People are insecure, and there is so much conflict about every little thing: over land, over anything that a person gets –there are accusations about how he got it, and then he gets mad at the accusers and soon whole families are not speaking to each other.

Woman, 50, Bulgaria. Quoted by Creed (1999: 228)

Oh, we had fun at work. We laughed a lot together. That is to say, the work was really hard, physically hard, you know? But we looked after each other. If one girl was ill, we others would cover for her, do her work, so the director wouldnt know. Oh, and we went out together after work – sometimes for tea and cakes and sometimes – you know? – for vodka. Now? No, I don't see any of them any more. It costs too much to go into town. And I have no money to go out. And what would we talk about now? I'm embarrassed.

Woman, 40, Poland. Quoted by Pine (2002: 104)

### Introduction

This book intends to demonstrate that emotions are inherent in political dynamics. It opens up a theoretical debate on the significance of emotional dynamics to political processes in the context of postsocialism, and offers intriguing ethnographic analyses that explore the dialectics of emotional and political change and continuity in Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, Russia and Slovenia. While some chapters



analyse small-scale dynamics on the level of village politics, others investigate political relationships in rural areas, border regions, towns and cities. A number of chapters have a broader scope, and explore local reactions to and participation in globalising processes, including migration, remigration and European Union enlargement.

From the perspective of emotions, postsocialist Europe is a fascinating area of research. As the above quotes suggest, in many parts of the region the tumultuous political and economic developments have generated strong feelings, ranging from hope and euphoria to disappointment, envy, disillusionment, sorrow, loneliness and hatred. Over the past fifteen years, the region has attracted the attention of an increasing number of scholars from different disciplines who have analysed various aspects of what has become known as ‘the transition’ or – theoretically more apt – rather diverse transformation processes (Berdahl 2000: 2–3; Bryant and Mokrzycki 1994: 3–4; Stark 1992: 22). Most of them, however, have focused narrowly on the economic, political and social dimensions of this process, and have paid little or no attention to emotional dynamics.

This lack of interest in emotional processes can partly be explained by the rather persistent idea that ‘reason’ and ‘passion’ are mutually exclusive categories, and that ‘true politics’ are (or should be) a process of *rational* decision-making. The myth of pure rationality has been propagated for centuries in different forms by influential Western philosophers. Plato (c.429–c.347 BC) imagined reason as a charioteer who dominated the unruly passions, represented as wild horses. Philosophers such as Kant (1724–1804) and Hegel (1770–1831) equally contrasted rational action to uncontrolled, passionate behaviour, and saw reason as a way to obtain freedom and to attain moral truth. In this view, reason was the foundation of sound politics, whereas passion threatened the moral and societal order.

The reason-versus-passion tradition has been criticised by a philosophical countercurrent, represented by scholars such as Aristotle (died 322 BC) and Hume (1711–76). Aristotle was interested in the ways in which emotions could be manipulated, and thus become powerful means by which orators, politicians and others influenced people (see Lyons 1980: 33). In *Rhetoric*, he defined emotions as ‘all those feelings that so change men as to affect their judgements’ (Aristotle 1941: 1380), thus undermining the belief in politics as a purely rational sphere of action. Instead, Aristotle defined politics as an interpersonal process in which knowledge of other people’s emotional behaviour was vital.<sup>1</sup> Centuries later, Hume argued that ‘reason is the slave of passions, and can aspire to no other office than to serve and obey them’ (Hume 1739, quoted by Blackburn 1994: 319).



Sceptical about the power of reason, and regarding ‘passions’ as the core of all human action, he believed moral thought to be the expression of naturally evolved sentiments, which therefore ensured cooperation within societies (Blackburn 1994: 180). In line with the perspectives of Aristotle and Hume, this book argues that a focus on emotions is vital to the understanding of political processes.

This introductory chapter will first discuss some of the anthropological underpinnings of the main argument of this book, i.e. that emotions are intrinsic to politics and political change. Secondly, it will introduce the individual chapters and relate them to other relevant studies, structuring the account through a discussion of what can be loosely regarded as ‘types’ of emotional processes, including hope and joy, disappointment and nostalgia, mistrust and fear, and anger, hatred and xenophobia. These emotions have been produced, felt, objectified and politicised in specific ways in distinct postsocialist contexts.

A number of other themes weave through the chapters that follow. An important topic that connects the first four contributions is the influence of rapid economic change on people’s everyday lives and political outlooks. While the first two chapters unravel the emotional impact of economic restructuring and marginalisation, the major theme in the second two chapters is the emotional dynamics of changing property relations.<sup>2</sup> In Chapter 1, Patrick Heady and Liesl L. Gambold Miller examine feelings of nostalgia in rural Russia in the context of economic transformation and social change. Dimitrina Mihaylova explores experiences and discourses of social suffering among the borderland Pomaks in Bulgaria in Chapter 2. Filippo Zerilli’s Chapter 3 discusses the conflicts between tenants and owners that have arisen as a result of the privatisation and restitution of residential property in Bucharest. In Chapter 4, I explore the dialectics of emotions and moral and political justifications in the context of changing property relations in a small Czech village.

Carolin Leutloff-Grandits’ Chapter 5 also deals with changing ownership, but here the changes are an effect of ethnic tensions and the violent break-up of Yugoslavia. Focusing on postwar Croatia, she looks at the ways in which emotional memories and judgements have influenced the claims for housing and property by Serbs and Croatians in the town of Knin. The major focus of Leutloff-Grandits’ chapter is the upsurge of nationalist sentiments in the postsocialist context, an important theme that is also central in the two chapters that follow. In Chapter 6, Zlatko Skrbiš analyses an emotionally powerful nationalist myth about the origin of the Slovenian nation, and his contribution focuses specifically on ways in which migrants



contribute to it. In Chapter 7, Justine Golanska-Ryan compares the strategies utilised in two campaigns against Polish European Union membership, demonstrating that the reinforcement of nationalist sentiments has been an important political tool.

Political rivalry is a second important theme in Golanska-Ryan's analysis. This topic is also explored in Chapter 8, in which Birgit Müller examines the politics of envy, resentment and hatred, as played out in a fierce struggle for power in a Czech village. Müller demonstrates that a lack of agreed-upon rules of behaviour, and the absence of relations of trust within the political arena have been a major stumbling block in local politics. The political dynamics of trust and mistrust is the major focus in Chapter 9. In this chapter, Don Kalb and Herman Tak critically explore the perceptions of citizens from Wrocław of local and national policy makers during and after devastating floods in southern Poland. Their study shows how disappointment and anger with the malfunctioning of state institutions and the incompetence of regional representatives has generated widespread feelings of mistrust amongst the population, a phenomenon also common in other postsocialist states, as is apparent in the other chapters.

In her Afterword, Alaina Lemon rightly suggests that even though it is worthwhile to focus on the interface of politics and emotions, it should not be forgotten that emotions cannot be understood by a focus on political processes alone. In line with her argument, it is not our aim to propagate a perspective that reduces 'emotions' to 'politics' or vice versa. Instead, we aim to provide insights into how emotions have been actively politicised (see all the chapters), and in some cases, depoliticised (see, in particular, Chapter 5) in different postsocialist settings.

## **Relevant Anthropological Debates**

### *Biology and Culture*

The contributions address issues that are central to the anthropology of emotions, an area of study that has grown considerably since the late 1970s (for a discussion of the main debates in emotion theory, see Leavitt 1996; Lutz and White 1986; Lyon and Barbalet 1994; Harré and Parrot 1996; Milton and Svašek 2005; Plutchik and Kellerman 1980). Anthropologists working in the field have developed sociocultural theories that have challenged traditional biological and psychological approaches to emotions, thereby introducing a perspective that acknowledges the *political* dimension of emotional processes.



Biological theories, inspired by the work of Charles Darwin, have in most cases regarded emotions as adaptive physical processes that have developed as an inherent part of human evolution. The psychologist Paul Ekman (1980), also inspired by Darwin, compared people's facial expressions in thirteen different cultural settings, and claimed to have found evidence for cross-cultural universals, which in his view were generated by biological forces. From an anthropological perspective, however, the notion of humans as a 'biological species' is too limited because it disregards or simplifies the significance of cultural and political complexities in human life. It is thus not surprising that Ekman's work has been criticised by numerous anthropologists, including Michelle Z. Rosaldo (1983) who accused him of assuming the existence of physiological universals and then simply 'adding culture'.<sup>3</sup>

Rosaldo (1983), Lutz (1988) and other cultural constructionists have argued, by contrast, that cultural forces are constitutive of emotions, and affect the ways in which physical phenomena are felt, perceived and conceptualised. In their perspective, culture is an active force that affects the ways in which humans experience, express and manipulate emotions. Consequently, as power distribution is inherent in cultural process (for example in terms of age, gender, kinship, class or ethnicity), domination, resistance and cooperative sociality are at the core of many emotional processes. As this book will demonstrate, the politics of emotions are effective on many (at times tightly interrelated) levels of social interaction, from the dynamics of everyday family life to the dynamics of local, national and global political processes.

Cultural constructionists, however, have tended to overemphasise the cultural particularity of specific emotional discourses and practices (Milton and Svašek 2005). Despite cultural particularities, human beings in different parts of the world are confronted with certain types of emotionally-evocative situations that are comparable, such as confrontations with 'danger', 'loss', 'power difference' or, in the case of postsocialist Europe, with rapid economic and political change. Evidently, what or who is regarded as dangerous, precious, or powerful differs in distinct sociocultural settings and historical periods, and – again referring to postsocialist Europe – the emotional impact of economic and political transformation can be extremely diverse. Consequently, a sensitivity to contextual specificity is highly necessary, yet without losing sight of connecting links and broader similarities.

Obviously, one has to be cautious when using specific emotion terms in a comparative perspective because, as pragmatic normative tools, they tend



to project rather specific images of what emotions are, and how one should behave in particular emotionally-evocative situations. The English concepts of ‘fear’ and ‘grief’, for example, are used by English speakers to label a number of *different* experiences of ‘danger’ and ‘loss’ that may be quite specific. ‘Fear of the dark’ and ‘fear of losing one’s job’, for instance, are rather distinct feelings, and the latter is much more likely to be politicised than the former. At the same time, emotion terms tend to reproduce culturally and historically specific norms of emotional behaviour, which makes their translation into other languages a somewhat problematic exercise (Wierzbicka 2004).<sup>4</sup> As the contributions to this volume demonstrate, it is therefore crucial to firmly place emotional discourses and displays in the historical, cultural, political and linguistic contexts in which they are conceptualised, framed and experienced.

### *The Individual and the Social*

Many psychologists have perceived emotions primarily as intrapsychic phenomena, paying little attention to political processes that affect emotions in real-life settings. They have attempted to understand emotions through experiments with individual participants in controlled environments, an approach that has been rooted in a belief in scientific objectivity, and that differs radically from the now dominant paradigm in anthropology which emphasises reflexivity and the subjective nature of knowledge production (for exception, see, for example, Whitehouse 2002). Like most anthropologists a number of innovative psychologists have criticised the common psychological tradition of laboratory-based experiments on emotions. Brian Parkinson, for instance, has noted that the emphasis of psychological theories on internal generative mechanisms ‘artificially isolates emotional experience from the ongoing social context within which it is often intrinsically linked’ (1995: 24).

The *social* dynamics of emotional life has been the main focus in most anthropological research in the past four decades, and this perspective has provided valuable insights into the political dimensions of emotional interaction (see below).<sup>5</sup> Recently, some anthropologists have suggested that not all human experiences can be understood by a focus on ‘the social’, and that ‘the individual’ should come back into the analytical framework (Milton 2005 and Josephides 2005). Abner Cohen (1994) convincingly argued that not all social norms, including those that regulate emotional display, are fully internalised by individuals (the latter conceptualised as self-conscious beings who have the ability to critically reflect on their own and other people’s behaviour). From a different theoretical perspective, phenomenology-inspired studies have acknowledged that individual



humans have internally-felt, bodily emotional experiences that, at least to some extent, create a sense of physical separation (Casey 1987).

Accepting that individuality and sociality are dialectically related processes, one of the major challenges for the study of emotion, then, is to provide an understanding of emotions as forces that bridge ‘the individual’ and ‘the social’ (cf. Leavitt 1996; Overing and Passes 2000; Svašek 2005a). Even though the chapters in this book do not explicitly theorise this issue, their focus on the interface of emotional and political processes does provide interesting examples of how people in Central and Eastern Europe have been politically motivated and manipulated by hope, disappointment, joy and fear – not as isolated respondents reacting to emotional triggers, nor as collectivities fully determined by shared norms of emotional behaviour, but as positioned, socially embedded, thinking and feeling individuals.

### *Politics, Emotions and Discursive Power*

The most prominent anthropological approaches have defined emotions as functional realms of action, as culturally specific narratives, as evaluative judgements and learning devices, as embodied experiences, and as ideological discursive practices. Directly or indirectly, all have been interested in issues of power and authority.

The theme of politics has been of major importance in the work of poststructuralist anthropologists inspired by the work of Michel Foucault. In an edited collection, entitled *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, Lila Abu-Lughod and Catherine A. Lutz (1990: 15) pointed out that ‘emotional discourses are implicated in the play of power and the operation of a historically changing system of social hierarchy’. Consequently, emotional discourses (for example about increasing poverty in postsocialist states, see in particular Chapters 1 and 2) and discourses of emotion (for example the discourse of *machat* among the Pomaks, see Chapter 2) may establish, assert, challenge or reinforce power and status differences. In other words, emotions are not only used by those in power to persuade and dominate the less powerful, but they *also* provide loci of resistance, idioms of rebellion, and the means of establishing complementarity with status superiors (ibid.).

Arjun Appadurai, who defined emotions as ‘discursive public forms’ (1990: 93), pointed out that in Hindu India, ‘praise’ (*stōttiram*) is a pragmatic performance in which relations of reciprocity are created between superiors and inferiors.<sup>6</sup> Other discourse analyses of particular emotion terms have similarly shown that emotions shape social life, and provide a moral framework in which power relations are being discussed and played out (see, for example, White 1990).



### *Body Politics, Embodied Sociality and Embodiment as Culture*

More recently, a growing number of influential scholars have argued that discursive perspectives reduce emotions to processes of meaning construction, thereby largely ignoring the sensual, bodily dimensions of emotional experience. Studies of discursive formations of emotions, they noted, should therefore be complemented with the analysis of what has been called ‘the body politic’, practices of ‘embodied sociality’, processes of ‘embodiment’ and the interplay of ‘meaning’ and feeling’.

‘The body politic’ (cf. Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987) refers to the regulation and control of bodies in social and geographical space, and the concept is highly relevant to the argument of this book because it draws the attention to the embeddedness of individual humans as physical (and thus emotional) beings in fields of power. Regimes of power and knowledge that construct human subjectivity and reproduce political inequalities are partly effective *because* they regulate bodily movement (Foucault 1979, 1980).

Similarly emphasising the importance of bodily processes in the enactment of power, Lyon and Barbalet (1994: 48) argued that ‘[e]motion activates distinct dispositions, postures and movements which are not only attitudinal but also physical, involving the way in which individual bodies together with others articulate a common purpose, design, or order’. In Lyon and Barbalet’s perspective, bodies are not only subjected to forces beyond their own control, as pointed out by Foucault, but they also function as active intercommunicative social agents, engaged in emotional and political interaction. This implies that emotions are neither completely personal inner feelings, nor purely externally imposed dispositions, but experiences of ‘embodied sociality’ that are essential to individual human agency (Lyon and Barbalet 1994: 48). This approach helps to explain how individuals employ conscious and unconscious bodily behaviour to express and negotiate emotional meanings that may be politically relevant.

Thomas Csordas (1990; 1994) introduced the concept of ‘embodiment’, criticising theories that have understood human experiences as *either* ‘culture’ *or* ‘nature’, reducing emotions to cultural meaning or bodily feeling (see also Leavitt 1996). In Csordas’s theoretical model, pre-objective, multi-sensory experiences are objectified and internalised in a process of embodiment, defined as ‘the existential ground of culture and self’. In this perspective, culture is always embodied and never opposed to nature, and feeling and thinking bodies are not influenced by, but formative of culture. Embodiment is then potentially a political process. Tracey Heatherington (2005), for example, clearly showed that, as part of local resistance against the establishment of a nature park in Sardinia, embodied experiences of the common lands were





objectified as indexes of authentic culture. This emotional perception and experience of local identity thus justified the political protest.

## **Euphoria and the Politics of Hope, Desire and Joy**

In the above sections, I have introduced a number of anthropological debates and perspectives which claim that political processes are inherently emotional. In the remaining part of this introduction, I shall explore the dialectics of politics and emotions in postsocialist communities by discussing various ‘types’ of emotions, starting with a discussion of what may rather crudely be called ‘positive emotions’.<sup>7</sup> What I have in mind here are the ‘uplifting’ emotional processes during and immediately after the end of state socialism, which expressed and reinforced the widely shared expectations that everything would now change for the better.

There is no doubt that the collapse of the state socialist regimes, and the prospect of freedom and democracy, put many East and Central Europeans in a state of euphoria, at least during and immediately after the political turns. Large groups of people were overwhelmed by joy, believing that the quality of their life would drastically improve by the introduction of democracy and the market economy. Enthusiastic Western journalists and involved scholars came up with imaginative metaphors to describe the jubilant mood. Timothy Garton Ash (1990: 62), for example, called the opening of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 ‘the greatest street-party in the history of the world’. This image of happy smiles and joyful songs and dances brings home the physical, multi-sensual dimension of emotions, as well as their infectuous potential, also known as ‘emotional contagion’ (Parkinson 1995: 183).

### *Longing for Freedom*

There were numerous reasons for people to welcome the end of state socialism. Those who had suffered persecution – individual dissidents as well as members of particular ethnic and religious groups – welcomed the promise of political liberty. Artists and intellectuals who had worked in the ‘grey zone’ between official and unofficial culture, for instance, strongly believed that democracy would bring the creative freedom they had longed for (Svašek 1997). Their feelings of joy projected a strong dissatisfaction with state socialist politics, and expressed moral concerns for individual liberty. This corresponds with Renate Rosaldo’s (1984) view that emotions are moral forces, which can be used to control and criticise social and political action.



In a somewhat different vein, suppressed minorities all over Eastern Europe expressed the hope to be able to express their ethnic, religious or national identities in an atmosphere of tolerance. In this case, moral discourses of joyful, intra-ethnic belonging were emphatically politicised. Some ethnic groups, such as the Latvians, the Lithuanians and the Slovaks, established their own national states, stressing the positive experience of ethnic unity. The fact that this happened in a relatively peaceful atmosphere demonstrates that nationalist sentiments are not always dominated by inter-ethnic anger and hatred. Skrbiš, in this volume, demonstrates that performances of Slovenian nationalist identity have produced emotionally rewarding experiences of belonging. He also shows, however, that enactments of ethnic belonging have projected notions of Slovenian ethnic superiority, which implies that positive feelings of ethnic pride can easily coexist with or transform into feelings of disrespect for others. Numerous studies of the break-up of Yugoslavia have zoomed in on this dark side of nationalism by exploring the dynamics of hatred and violence (see below).

It is important to note that nationalist feelings had not completely disappeared under socialism. Katherine Verdery (1996: 102) has pointed out that '[i]nstead of nudging national sentiments in a new direction ..., socialism strengthened them in ways that were not readily apparent until the changed political circumstances of the "transition" gave them new space' (see also Bringa 1995 and Denich 1994). In the postsocialist era, the politicisation of nationalist feelings has responded to and reinforced people's hope for a better future, and has been used as a strategic method by politicians who desire to gain influence and power (see, for example, Chapter 7 on the importance of nationalist sentiments in campaigns against Polish EU membership).

### *Longing for Prosperity*

Another reason why people were euphoric at the time of the 'revolutions' was that they expected a much higher, 'Western' level of prosperity. Their perceptions of Western living-standards were, however, extremely exaggerated. As Verdery (2003: 364) noted,

[p]eople in socialist countries built up a great illusion, a myth of the West, which they saw as a land of unimaginable prosperity in contrast to their lives in socialism – constrained, modest, and often grim. The collapse of the socialist system led them to expect that now, overnight, their lives would become like those in their myth, and westerners fanned this hope.



In some cases, the desire for more wealth was also coloured by feelings of inferiority. East Germans, for example, who knew (by means of infrequent visits, presents from West German relatives, or West German television programmes) that West German products were generally of a much higher quality than their own, longed for equality with the ‘superior’ West Germans (Borneman 1991: 33; see also Veenis 1999). Not surprisingly, their hope for equal access to quality consumer goods was exploited by politicians who favoured the unification of Germany.

The new postsocialist governments and their advisors reacted to the widespread desire for increasing wealth by promising rapid economic improvement. Western neoliberal economists who propagated individual ownership predicted, for example, that a policy of active decollectivisation in Russia would ensure that by the end of the 1990s around 50 percent of Russian farmland would be in the hands of relatively prosperous private farmers. Ten years later, the actual figure was no higher than a disappointing 8 percent (Visser 2003: 197–98).

Certain groups of people have clearly profited from the economic changes, and have marked their socioeconomic status through ‘conspicuous consumption’ (Veblen 1953). In Russia, for example, prosperous businessmen have celebrated their success by building grandiose villas in architectural styles that hint both at a preSoviet aristocratic past, and at the efficiency of contemporary European business elites. Those less successful have judged the behaviour of the wealthy ‘New Russians’ through a mixture of envy and contempt (Humphrey 1997).

Postsocialist consumption behaviour has also resulted in feelings of mutual rivalry among people in similar economic positions, and the material changes have brought conflicting feelings of longing and estrangement. In a study of postsocialist East German consumption, Milena Veenis (1992: 83) noted that ‘[d]esire and disappointment go hand in hand, and although most people ardently long for even more things, they nevertheless experience the equation of personal worth with material possessions as an extremely estranging development’.

## **Disillusion and Nostalgia**

More than a decade after the ‘end of communism’, the initial feelings of hope for a better future have, in many cases, been replaced by disillusionment and scepticism. Widespread unemployment, new class differences, poverty, corruption scandals, disagreements about the restitution and appropriation of state property, and the economic advantages



taken by the old nomenklatura have generated increasing distrust in the new 'democratic' states (Kalb et al. 1999).

The 'morning after' effect has evoked emotional responses among the majority of the economically less successful populations in all postsocialist countries, and in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, dissidents-turned-politicians have had to admit that their initial ideas about the creation of a new moral order were naïve (Bauman 1994: 28). Those who, influenced by Western economic advisers, believed in the neo-liberal promise of a rapid transition to an ideal market economy have discovered 'that the idea of an unproblematic self-regulating market is utopian' (Bryant and Mokrzycki 1994, referring to Polanyi 1944: 3). By 1993, it had become clear that 'freedom' had a different face from what many had thought. In Prague, Czech artists frequently told me that they felt they had moved 'from the zoo to the jungle'.

The harsh confrontation with postsocialist reality has often caused people to look back with nostalgia at the socialist past. In the former GDR, the sudden domination by West German values and power within a unified Germany has evoked disorienting feelings of loss of identity. This has produced what has become known as 'ostalgia', a desire to re-experience oneself as a GDR citizen through the consumption of GDR products, and by seeing television programmes which strongly idealise life under communism. In the Bulgarian context, villagers miss the socialist emphasis on folklore and workers' rituals, which in practice produced feelings of local and national belonging (Creed 2002). In the rural areas, nostalgic memories of 'past ritual glory' painfully contrast with present-day experiences of ritual decline. Ritual decimation has generated 'a loss in dignity and selfworth, a decline in the quality of life, and a change in notions of village identity' (ibid.: 70).

In Chapter 1, Heady and Miller analyse Russian nostalgic feelings in a number of rural settings in the context of rapid economic change. Due to the transition from collective to individual forms of economic organisation, they argue, it has been hard for many people to form and maintain economically significant affective relationships. Referring to James Scott's concept of 'moral economy', the analysis introduces the term 'emotional economy' to outline the emotional function and significance of work relations. The latter term stresses the social dynamics of emotional processes, and helps to explain that the Russian feelings of nostalgia are not simply to be disregarded as a longing for mythical times gone by, but stem from real emotional decline and loss of social anchorage.



By contrast, in post-Yugoslavia, nostalgic pan-Yugoslav discourses have strongly criticised the break-up of the republic. Some writers and intellectuals who felt at home in a multi-ethnic republic (in which they could move freely across ethnic boundaries), lack a sense of belonging in a divided Yugoslavia. In their case, nostalgia has taken the more specific form of ‘yugonostalgia’, a feeling of loss and longing that is combined with the experience of homelessness and forced migration (Jansen 1998; see also Leutloff-Grandits, Chapter 5). The yugonostalgic counter-discourse has helped post-Yugoslav writers to ‘develop the nomadic aspects of identity that were there already’, but has failed to make real political change (Jansen 1998: 105–6).

## Anger and Outrage

In numerous cases, feelings of loss and nostalgia have led to anger and outrage, empowering people to take public action.<sup>8</sup> Polish peasants, for example, who had been much better off during the last decade under Socialism, were extremely disappointed in the economic reforms introduced by the post-1989 Solidarity government (cf. Bauman 1994: 22; Kocik 1996). The new policies, also known as ‘shock therapy’ (projecting the image of a mental patient who simply needs to be shocked back into ‘normality’, see Verdery 1996: 205, and Lampland 2002: 32), included production constraints such as ‘higher costs of production resources, uncertain demand for agricultural outputs, and increased the arbitrariness of business transactions’ (Zbierski-Salamek 1999: 202). If anything, the peasants were shocked into fury, and voiced their outrage during mass demonstrations in 1990 by organising road blocks, occupying government buildings, and dropping tons of potatoes in front of the Ministry of Agriculture.

In 1995, the Hungarian government faced similar angry protests when it presented a proposal to restructure the welfare system. As Lynne Haney (1999: 151) described: ‘When the doors opened, a stampede of women rushed into the [welfare] office. Their emotions ran high, fluctuating between anger and fear. “I cried when I heard the news last night”, one female client remarked’. The women were furious and upset because they expected that a new liberal welfare regime would give them enough space to pursue their own interests.

If we want to know more about the political impact of public protests, it is necessary to deal with the issues of agency and institutional power, and look at the ways in which willing influential political actors are able to translate emotional and moral claims into effective legal and policy changes.



The Pomak tobacco producers in Mihaylova's analysis (see Chapter 2) organised a strike to protest against the low prices paid for their products by the Bulgarian state, and a number of pragmatic politicians (who were, in Mihaylova's view, more interested in their own political careers than in the fate of the Pomaks), eventually responded to their action. This means that the strikers performed strategic acts of 'social suffering' that were, eventually, successful. The analysis does not only show that the discourse of *narodno stradanie* was carefully played out in a well-thought-out 'emotional performance'. It also emphasises the importance of the bodily dimensions of Pomak marginality to their experience of suffering, which suggests that embodied feelings can strongly drive people to decide to take political action.

Zerilli's analysis of 'sentimental dramas' inherent in the Romanian restitution process (see Chapter 3) explores the ways in which tenants and new house owners have transformed personal emotional experiences into competing political discourses and angry protests in the context of changing national and transnational laws. The case makes painfully clear how one person's loss can be another person's gain, and shows that emotional performances have been played out for national and transnational audiences, including the European Commission.

The theatrical metaphors of emotional *performance* and sentimental *drama* acknowledge that people are able to hide or exaggerate their feelings, and that they can play emotional roles with the intention of creating a certain effect in their intended public. Evidently, people are not completely free to create and perform emotional dramas of their own choice. As Parkinson noted, emotional roles are partly constrained by institutional and cultural pressures, and the 'enactment of institutional and cultural scripts about emotion depends crucially on the allocation and renegotiation of roles, and on the stage-setting that has been done behind the scenes before the acting ever takes place' (Parkinson 1995: 202; see also Goffman 1967).<sup>9</sup>

## Mistrust and Trust

In *Trust in Modern Societies*, the sociologist Barbara A. Mitszal (1996: 177) argued that '[s]ince we are always faced with "the unknowability of others" (Simmel 1950), and since they are free to act against our interest, believing in others' good will involves the element of risk'. Trusting someone or something is thus an emotionally ambiguous project, in which feelings of safety that are inherent in a trusting relationship are always threatened by the possibility of insincerity and betrayal. Under communism, without the



freedom of choice and the option to openly question the political system, ‘trust in political leadership’ was mainly a matter of stage-setting and played conformity, and ‘the main structures of trust were the continuation of pre-state socialist culture and were based on non-market ties of reciprocity and mutuality (Mitszal 1996: 196). As a result, many citizens defined themselves as real but silenced beings who were oppressed by a fake and corrupt state, even if they actively participated in the perpetuation of the system through party membership, through work as state representatives (from primary schoolteachers to high-level bureaucrats) or through active involvement in political nepotism and professional favouritism (Svašek 2002). A strong lack of trust in the state thus characterised East and Central Europeans at the time of the 1989 revolutions, and one of the main challenges for the new authorities was to tackle this problem.

Yet after an initial period of optimism in the early 1990s, when many citizens believed that the political change to democracy would restore their faith in government politics, an increasing number of people began to lose confidence in their new political leaders. Disappointed and worried by rising unemployment, continuing political nepotism, and other consequences of uncivil mismanagement, they once again doubted the trustworthiness of ‘the state’. On numerous occasions, local, regional and national officials have come under fierce attack. In Poland, for example, inhabitants of the city of Wroclaw spread anti-state rumours when their city was flooded in 1997. In Chapter 9, Kalb and Tak argue that these rumours were a vehicle of public fear, and expressed a strong distrust in the authorities. As the chapter shows, political rivalry between different governmental agencies had weakened their effectiveness. Unproductive competition was in part a legacy from state socialist times, because overcentralisation had caused a lack of communication between the various official bodies responsible for the waterworks. Interestingly, after the flood, public representations of the event reactivated two powerful myths of Polish identity: the myth of the whole nation’s fight against ‘alien aggressors’, and the earlier-mentioned ‘people against the state’ image, which had been an important justification for the turn to democracy.

The myth-producing dynamics of social memory can clearly transmit feelings of trust and mistrust over long time periods. In an analysis of the Bulgarian privatisation process, Christian Giordano and Dobrinka Kostova (2002) revealed how Bulgarian urban powerholders who attempted to restore the old system of smallholder agriculture after the end of state socialism (closing their eyes to present-day social and economic realities), were strongly motivated by a tradition of urban–rural mistrust that



originated in the Ottoman past. Stirring up memories of mutual distrust is also a sound strategy when it comes to the production of fear of outside influence. In the Polish campaigns against EU membership, the political spokesmen reinforced existing feelings of insecurity and mistrust in the government through emotional narratives of past Polish victimhood. They portrayed the European Union as an aggressor that would threaten Polish national identity, and sketched the present government as a traitor. (see Golanska-Ryan, Chapter 7)

Strong doubts about foreign influence were also expressed when a Dutch investor started buying property in a small village in West Bohemia, as discussed in Chapter 4. The analysis shows that conflicting claims to ownership justified very different moral discourses of self and society. Czech villagers, Sudeten German expellees and the Dutch investor all had different ideas about the future of the community and their own position in it. Yet while some Czech villagers strongly feared the growing influence of the Dutchman and mistrusted his vision, others welcomed his presence because of the job opportunities he offered.

Mistrust can also express and reproduce ethnic tensions, as shown by Leutloff-Grandits in Chapter 5. She explores the emotionally loaded conflicts over property and housing rights that arose when Serbian house owners, who had left Croatia during the war as refugees, returned to claim their possessions, and found them occupied by new, uncooperative Croatian settlers. Her analysis shows that the claims by Serbs and Croats alike were initially influenced by emotional judgements based on group-specific war-experiences and mutual feelings of mistrust, which had been deepened by Croat nationalistic political propaganda. Yet prewar convictions and experiences became increasingly influential, and came into conflict with nationalist propaganda.

In the former Soviet Union, the combination of a lack of trust, a demand for protection by new property owners, and a supply of unemployed former Red Army soldiers and other willing ‘protectors’, has led to the emergence of the now globally active Russian Mafia (Mitszal 1996: 196). This clearly demonstrates that the politics of trust and mistrust has local, national and transnational dimensions.

## **Fear and Hatred**

### *The Dark Side of Nationalist Sentiments*

One of the characteristics of postsocialist politics has been the widespread display of nationalist feelings, and this – often worrying – development





provides urgent professional and political reasons for examining the politics of nationalist sentiments. In the past twelve years numerous nationalist parties have been established, and some have gained a considerable amount of political power. Also, nationalistic members of ethnic minorities in several countries have created strong links with members of their own ethnic group in neighbouring states, and have questioned or moved existing state boundaries. Wars have been fought in the name of nationalism, and nationalist extremists in several countries have intimidated and killed Gypsies and non-European students and refugees whom they regard as ‘polluting threats’ to the nation. In some countries, people have expressed anti-Semitic feelings.

It is common practice for nationalist politicians to select and incorporate particular historical narratives and emotional memories into their political discourse as a rhetorical device to evoke and strengthen nationalist sentiments. In general, it is of strategic importance to politicians to influence people’s perception of self, and memories that ‘almost automatically’ stir up feelings often have a strong impact on people’s self-perception. Self, in this context, must be understood as a personal *and* a political identity. The most effective nationalist symbols collapse the distinction between the personal and the political, and portray the nation-state as a loyal kin group and an identity/place category with natural connections between blood and soil (Svašek 1999, 2000; Verdery 1999b). Those who are not included in the nation are automatically defined as polluting outsiders.

In a recent publication, Ger Duijzings (2000) pointed out that ‘the suffering nation’ can be a powerful nationalist image. In the run-up to the Yugoslav conflict, Serb nationalists used the Kosovo myth and references to the Second World War to reinforce the notion of Serbs as a nation of victims. The myth referred to the battle of Kosovo in 1389, when the Serbs had been defeated by the Ottoman Turks. The fate of the Serbs during the Second World War also served as an emotional narrative that stirred up vivid memories of suffering, both on a personal and a national scale (ibid.: 197). Second World War traumas have been played out by nationalist politicians in different postwar contexts (Bowman 1994; Hayden 1994; Jansen 2002, 2004).

One could give many other examples of the incorporation of references to a past of collective suffering in contemporary nationalist discourse. Czech Communists and Republicans constantly remind their audience of anti-Czech Nazi crimes in an attempt to block interregional cross-border cooperation with the Germans. In 1994, for example, the journalist Jiří



Frajdl stated in the Communist newspaper *Halo noviny* that the Euroregion Egrensis ‘set up in 1992’ was ‘an old Nazi plan’, a conspiracy between pro-German Czechs and anti-Czech Germans (cf. Svašek 2000).

In other cases, cross-border links have been strengthened by nationalist members of ethnic groups. Macedonians, for example, began questioning the border-lines between Macedonia, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania in 1989. In October 1989, supporters of the Skopje football team used the emotional context of a football match to propagate the political idea of a single Macedonian nation by shouting slogans, such as ‘We fight for a united Macedonia’. In February, tens of thousands of nationalists demonstrated in Skopje to celebrate their shared identity, and to protest against the ‘perceived oppression of Macedonians in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania’ (Poulton 1995: 173).

In this volume, Leutloff-Grandits (Chapter 5) shows that in the postwar Croatian town of Knin, memories of inter-ethnic aggression have evoked nationalist sentiments that have reinforced processes of ethnic identification. Yet, as noted earlier, the chapter points out that memories of pre-war friendly inter-ethnic neighbourhood relations also influence people’s judgements and behaviour. Those memories ‘resist the politicised reading of the past’, and are at odds with the official nationalist propaganda. Consequently, such narratives and emotions have remained part of a hidden, private discourse.

Skrbiš (Chapter 6) approaches the dialectics of politics and nationalist sentiments from a theoretical perspective that incorporates economic metaphors. Inspired by Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of social capital, he introduces the term ‘emotional capital’, and argues that the Venetological theory about Slovenian origin, which was developed by nationalist Slovenian pseudo-historians during the late 1980s, both generated and exploited such capital. Emotions are here regarded as valuable assets that can be employed by socially situated individuals to gain power and authority. In the Slovenian case, the capital consists of anti-communist, pro-religious, nostalgic sentiments that have been reinforced and transferred through particular diasporic discourses and practices.

As Skrbiš shows, certain groups of Slovenians have used the emotional capital to identify themselves as ‘superior’ Venets in opposition to the ‘inferior’ Slavs. The discourse must be firmly placed in the context of post-Cold War developments, since the Venetological theory effectively accuses the Slavic Serbs and Croats of responsibility for the outbreak of inter-ethnic violence in the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, the theory is an attempt



to undermine the authority of mainstream Slovenian historians, and accuses them of communist distortion.

The concept of ‘emotional capital’ is indeed useful in any consideration of the dialectics of politics and emotions. It draws attention to the ways in which people actively manipulate particular sentiments for political reasons, and points out how they may use this ability as a form of ‘investment’. As noted earlier, political parties in various postsocialist countries have capitalised on the disillusion of disappointed citizens, and have used this emotional capital to gain political power.

As a metaphor, ‘emotional capital’ may, however, wrongly suggest an image of people as overtly conscious beings who simply decide to ‘spend’, ‘exploit’ or ‘invest in’ particular sentiments. Even though this may often be the case, people can also feel overwhelmed by emotions, and experience emotions as bodily feelings over which they have no mental control. Well-known sayings in different languages refer to the experience of emotions as bodily changes, as in the English sayings ‘being blind with rage’ and ‘feeling shivers down the spine’ (see Leavitt 1996). Certain physical changes are, of course, not just metaphors, but are measurable and are related to physiological changes. An increasing heartbeat, for example, is related to an increasing level of adrenaline. Some anthropologists with an interest in politics and emotions have recently included a focus on physiological processes in their theoretical framework. Karen Lysaght (2005), for example, has examined how fear, as embodied feeling, can influence human consciousness, and affect the spatial behaviour of fearful Catholics in the streets of Belfast. Such a perspective could also be used to analyse the impact of fear in postsocialist Eastern Europe, in particular in cases of inter-ethnic violence and racist threats.

### *Racism and Xenophobia*

Discourses of national belonging often include notions of ethnic purity, and make rigid distinctions between pure selves and polluting others. As Verdery suggested, such views were easily adopted in postsocialist Europe because

[m]any East Europeans are used to thinking in terms of secure moral dichotomies between black and white, good and evil. For those who also understand democracy not as institutionalised disagreement and compromise but as consensus ... a powerful longing for a morally pure unity can easily solidify around the idea of the nation and the expulsion of polluting aliens: those who are not of the ‘People-as-One’. (Verdery 1996: 94)

In Hungary, for example, anti-Gypsy, anti-Semitic and other xenophobic sentiments have been propagated by the right-wing nationalist politician



István Csurka, who established the Party of the Magyar Truth/Justice and Life (*Magyar Igazság és Élet Pártja*) in 1993. The party name is identical to the name of one of the old fascist political parties of the 1930s, and skinheads who are also party members talk of themselves as ‘Hungarists’, another word created by the fascist movements of the 1930s. The party aims at spreading fear by picturing non-Magyars as a threat to the nation, and refers to socialism, communism, liberalism and globalisation as chapters in a ‘world-encompassing judeoplutocratic conspiracy’ (György Péteri, personal conversation. See also: Arato 1994: 106; Szalai 1994).

Csurka used to be a prominent member of the *Magyar Demokratikus Forum* (Democratic Forum of Hungary), which in the early postcommunist years was the leading non-socialist party attracting various groupings from the decent traditional Conservative Right to some extreme rightist positions. He was expelled from this party in 1993 for his radical rightism and anti-Semitism, which shows that his politics of fear and hatred is far from acceptable to all Hungarians. His fascist party does, however, have seats in parliament, and there is a danger that it will improve its position in the coming elections.

The idea that Gypsies ‘don’t work’ and are ‘unproductive parasites’ has been widespread in different historical periods. It has been a factor in stirring up anti-Gypsy feelings during the interwar period and under state socialism, and has evoked similar emotions during the past twelve postsocialist years. Confronted with increasing economic insecurity and the hard rules of capitalism, many poor Hungarians have blamed the Gypsies. As Michael Stewart stated:

Those rare individual Gypsies who have succeeded in manipulating the new possibilities have brought down the wrath of their non-Gypsy neighbours. Often the success of these Gypsies is interpreted as the result of a cunning, simultaneous manipulation of both the market and the state benefit system – just as in the past the Gypsies were thought to benefit both from the state handouts and from the semilegal trade sector ... It is, then, at the rich Gypsies, as much as at the half-starved Gypsy pickpockets and thieves, that the ethnic cleansers now direct their fury. (Stewart 1997: 7–8)

Alaina Lemon (2000) has argued that Russians have long pictured ‘commerce’ as a non-Russian (‘Gypsy’ or ‘Jewish’) suspicious activity. Although ‘network-based strategies of attaining goods and privileges’ were widespread amongst Russians and non-Russians in the Soviet period, and both Russians and non-Russians have been involved in postsocialist trade, racial discourse has been used to brand Roma and other



untrustworthy aliens as the new market enemies who are unreliable and threaten the impoverished Russians (*ibid.*: 66).

In his study of Serbs and Gypsies in Novi Sad, Mattijs van de Port (1998) has claimed that Gypsies evoked strong feelings of contempt among the majority of Serbs. Interestingly, however, whereas the Serbs considered Gypsy speech acts to be an endless stream of lies and cheats, they regarded Gypsy music, in all its tragic sentimentality, to be the most truthful rendering of Serbian life experiences. In Serbia, the idea that the emotions are the realm of the ‘really real’, the domain where non-negotiable truths can be found, has a very strong appeal. It is an idea that became particularly attractive during the recent war when people felt the pain of losing relatives, friends, the homestead, communal life, and feelings of hatred towards those who inflicted these wounds. These feelings were hard to translate into words, and Serbs admired Gypsy musicians for their ability to express them in music.

As in the other postsocialist countries, in the Czech Republic, too, discrimination against Romanies has worsened since November 1989. In a study by Renata Weinerová (1994), Romany respondents gave several reasons why life had been better before the introduction of political ‘freedom’. Economically, they had been better off because of the lower costs of living, the right to employment and better housing policies.<sup>10</sup> Socially, they had been in a better position because people had been more willing to help each other, they had felt safer, and there had been ‘criminal proceedings against the expression of personal views disloyal to the regime’, which had meant that people were not allowed to form fascist groups, and had feared to express racist views in public (*ibid.*: 25). After the 1989 Velvet Revolution, groups of skinheads were openly violent against Romanies. In 1993, a seventeen-year-old Czech girl who participated in a televised beauty contest stated in an interview that she wanted to become ‘a public prosecutor’ because it would enable her to ‘clean our town of its dark-skinned inhabitants’ (Stewart 1997: 2)

## **Politics and Emotions in the Post-Cold War Context**

The various contributions to this book demonstrate that after the end of the Cold War, as a result of the globalising forces of capitalism, migration, forced migration, and the creation of transnational forms of political and military cooperation, the emotional experiences and discourses in and of the regions have been influenced by a variety of local and extra-local factors.



While the end of state-socialism allowed for a strongly increased but still selective transit of people, goods, information and capital from the capitalist West to the former East bloc and vice versa, it also created immense socioeconomic differences within the postsocialist countries, and ‘gave an enormous boost to new transnational coalitions, linking East European to other Eurasian elites’ (Kalb 2002: 318).

Transnational emotional politics have both united and divided social groups and individual actors. The ongoing enlargement of the European Union has shaped the political debates in various postsocialist countries, and has generated emotional exchanges between the proponents and antagonists of future membership, as is clear in Golanska-Ryan’s analysis in Chapter 7 of the Polish campaigns against EU membership. The enlargement has also created tensions between those countries that have been accepted in the first round and those that have not. In addition, the existence of transnational, European political and legal bodies such as the European Parliament, the European Commission and the European Court of Justice has transnationalised local and national legal discourses. Numerous local actors and interest groups in different countries have addressed these European bodies to protest against particular national policies and attempt to gain certain rights. European institutes are being used strategically by local interest groups as transnational political platforms in an attempt to influence national and European politics. In Chapter 3, Zerilli describes how thousands of Romanian former house owners sent complaints to the European Court of Justice in Strasbourg in an attempt to force the Romanian government to change ownership and restitution laws.

Transnational discourses and practices may be used strategically, but the models used are not ‘automatically’ applied to local conditions. Even though various postsocialist countries have chosen to introduce Western-style democratic systems, and to adopt a Western-style market economy, they have not simply ‘reprogrammed’ themselves according to a unitary Western model. Ethnographic studies have shown that democracy and privatisation have many different faces in Central and Eastern Europe, and that postsocialist transformations can bring about unexpected outcomes. In a Transylvanian village undergoing decollectivisation, the villagers revalorised certain forms of collectivism, and resisted the transition from public to private ownership (cf. Verdery 1999a). In another cultural setting, Bulgarian villagers who had been critical of Communist Party policy, began to give their support to the Socialist Party as a form of protest against the postsocialist economic reforms (cf. Creed 1999). In other words, local processes counteracted transnational neoliberalism.



Throughout postsocialist Europe, local actors have, willingly or less consciously, resisted or failed to apply 'ideal' democratic standards, propagated by Western democracies. This is clearly illustrated by Müller's analysis of local politics in a Czech village in Chapter 8, which explores reactions to the Mayor's plan to invite a German investor to establish a large cement factory near the village. Despite the official democratisation of Czech society, the political debate that followed did not in any way mirror 'Western-style' democratic culture. Instead, the debate turned into slanderous attacks and the writing of unpleasant anonymous poems that were basically personal accusations on the basis of old enmities. The poems did not reflect the ideological differences between the two main political factions in the village – the communists and the ecologists – but instead served to fuel personal battles and to express and generate negative emotions. In Müller's view, the mutual attacks fundamentally differed from the political controversies in which representatives of various political convictions may passionately discuss standpoints about society in public 'without fear of personal reprisal be it from public authorities or fellow villagers'.

Yet, despite local idiosyncrasies and resistance to 'Western' influence, the postsocialist states are undoubtedly affected by the global forces of transnationalism. The 'international community', for example, has actively interfered in war-torn Yugoslavia (basing its policies on its own diverse experiences of war and trauma, cf. Fierke 2002), and has continued to play a role in the newly established post-Yugoslav nation-states. This was clearly demonstrated by the fact that the International Yugoslav Tribunal in The Hague successfully demanded the extradition of Milošević and other politicians whom they regard as responsible for crimes against humanity. Obviously, due to increasing interaction in the post-Cold War era, politics and emotions in Western and postsocialist parts of Europe are *mutually* intertwined, which is well-illustrated by the following.

One of the issues about which Milošević is being questioned is his involvement in the massacre at Srebrenica, a dreadful event in which the Dutch military force played what is regarded by many as a doubtful role. In July 1995, the Bosnian Serb army occupied the enclave, an area that had been designated a 'safe haven' for Bosnian Muslims in 1993. *Dutchbat*, the Dutch UNPROFOR battalion of peacekeepers that protected Srebrenica, made the questionable decision to cooperate with the occupying army, and after their withdrawal, thousands of Muslims were massacred by the Serbs. As a result of emotional outcries in the Dutch media, which sharply criticised the politicians responsible for the mission, the Dutch government



commissioned the Dutch Institute for War Documentation to investigate the Dutch role in Srebrenica. The report was published in April 2002 (Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogs Documentatie 2002), and a few days later, the Dutch government decided to accept its responsibility by stepping down.

The Srebrenica case once again reinforces the main argument of this book, namely that the study of political dynamics *needs* a focus on emotions to be able to unravel the complexities of political interaction in local, national and global settings. Such a perspective has become even more urgent after the proclaimed ‘War on Terror’ in the aftermath of 9/11, the attack on the Twin Towers in the USA. Consequently, the chapters that follow propagate a research agenda that puts ‘emotions’ at the very centre of the study of politics.

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## Notes

1. Aristotle explored people’s different emotive states of mind, the social context in which they felt specific emotions, and the reasons for their emotivity. In the case of anger, he posed the questions: ‘What is the state of mind of angry people?’, ‘With whom do they usually get angry?’, and ‘On what grounds do they get angry?’ (Lyons 1980: 34). The cultivation of rhetoric, ‘the art of using language so as to persuade or influence others’, became an important field of study in medieval universities (cf. Blackburn 1994: 330).
2. One of the key issues of economic change in postsocialist Europe is the privatisation and restitution of former state-owned property. Several anthropologists, who all regard ownership as a multidimensional sociocultural phenomenon, have explored this process (see, for example, Abrahams 1996; Hann 1998; Verdery 2003). Chris Hann (1998: 34) noted that: ‘A concern with property relations requires investigations into the total distributions of rights and entitlements within society, of material things and of knowledge and symbols. It requires examination of practical outcomes as well as ideals and moral discourses, and an appreciation of historical processes, both short-term and long-term.’ Verdery (1998: 161) similarly claimed that property ‘is best analysed in terms of the whole system of social, cultural, and political relations, rather than through more narrowly legalistic notions such as “rights” and “claims”’.





3. Not all psychologists and anthropologists differ as fundamentally in their approaches as Ekman and Rosaldo. Numerous scholars in the disciplines of anthropology and psychology have also influenced each other. Various clinical psychologists have developed a sensitivity to the cultural dimensions of emotional discourse and display. Due to large-scale migration, therapists all over the world have been confronted with a variety of patients from different cultural backgrounds. This has led to debates about the culturally specific nature of certain behavioural problems, and to the development of specific therapies that take cultural dimensions into account. Such therapies agree with Obeyeskere's view that universalistic approaches to diseases such as depression 'impose medico-centric interpretations on decontextualised observations' (Lutz and White 1986: 414). In recent years, a number of anthropologists have been inspired by the work of innovative psychologists such as Damascio (cf. Kay Milton 2001). The anthropologist Harvey Whitehouse (2000) has developed theories of emotions, ritual and religion in response to the work of cognitive scientists.
4. Attacking the notion of universalist core emotions, Anna Wierzbicka (2004: 82) argued that the English understanding of 'grief' connotes the culturally specific experience of 'an acute but short-term emotion following an exceptional event (death)'. This particular understanding of confrontation with loss does not exist, she claimed, in Polish or French culture, nor did it occur in premodern England, when the word 'grief' existed but referred to 'a combination of misfortune and suffering seen as common in life' (ibid.: 82).
5. Anthropologists have conducted research in a large number of different cultural settings, and dealt with topics as varied as, for example, emotion and feeling in Sinhalese healing rites (Kapferer 1979), headhunting and emotional dynamics in the Philippines (Rosaldo 1980, 1983, 1984), anger and shame in Papua New Guinea (Schieffelin 1983), emotions and conviviality in native Amazonia (Overing and Passes 2000), love for nature in the British environmentalist movement (Milton 2002), love and grief for kin amongst Spanish Gypsies (Gay-y-Blasco 2005), and emotional intersubjectivity during fieldwork (Tonkin 2005).
6. Various anthropologists have analysed the politics of emotion in non-European communities. In 1980 Michelle Rosaldo examined the importance of headhunting in political processes among the Ilongots in the Philippines, and found that indigenous notions of 'passion' and 'knowledge' were crucial to Ilongot political behaviour. Another well-known example is Lila Abu-Lughod's study of the oral lyric poetry through which women and young men in a Bedouin community in Egypt express personal feelings that violate the moral code underlying the political system (1986). Other anthropologists have – albeit more indirectly – dealt with the political aspects of emotional discourse and display in places such as Papua New Guinea (Schieffelin 1983), the Solomon Islands (White 1985), and India (Seymour 1983). Several anthropologists have also examined emotional dynamics in the context of violence and repressive state policies, exploring the effects of political intimidation and murder (see, for example Suárez-Orozco 1992). Years after their escape, traumatised refugees and migrants who have been part of these 'cultures of terror' (Taussig 1987) are still afflicted by syndromes of terror and guilt over selective survival. For the survivors of war and atrocities, one of the ways of dealing with traumatic experiences is by expressing one's thoughts and feelings in words.



The reconstruction of the trauma story can be an essential stage in the recovery process during which traumatised selves are reconstituted and order is imposed on disorder (Lewis Herman 1992; Stein 1993; but see Leys 2000: xx). In the context of this book, it is important to note that trauma narratives can also be *politically* highly significant (Svašek 2005b; Volkan 1999). They can be constructed and played out in the public domain, and have radical political consequences.

7. Obviously, the label 'positive' is somewhat problematic because people often have mixed emotions, and to isolate 'positive' feelings from 'negative' ones can hide complexities and mystify experiential reality. Furthermore, what is experienced as a positive emotional interaction by one person can have a depressing impact on somebody else.
8. The notion of 'emotional empowerment' may wrongly create the impression of humans as passive individuals, steered and overwhelmed by their passions. Even though at the other extreme – the image of people fully in control of their feelings – is equally unrealistic, people do actively manage their emotional life, and induce or suppress particular feelings through what Arlie Russell Hochschild has called 'emotional labour' (1983: 7). Politicians are involved in such 'labour' when they strategically evoke or strengthen people's sentiments or when they justify ideas and policies through moral arguments that appeal to commonly shared feelings and emotions. Angry and disappointed citizens manage and perform their emotions in acts of public protest.
9. The role concept has also been incorporated into various psychological and sociological theories of emotion. Hochschild (1983) argued that institutional roles and cultural scripts influence the ways in which emotions are expressed and felt, and Averill (1980) and Sarbin (1986) claimed that the enactment of emotions is influenced by the cultural content of emotional meaning. These insights support the view that emotional dynamics are intrinsic to cultural and political processes.
10. Romanies were also the victims of discrimination in the job market. Private employers took advantage of their difficult situation, and often employed them without any form of legal recognition, health insurance or rights. According to Renata Weinerová (1994), the increased internal economic differences within the Romany communities in Prague between a small minority of prosperous Romany entrepreneurs and the majority of the poor unemployed, have increased feelings of inferiority and helplessness among the latter.

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