Notes

Introduction: Empathy, Emotional Politics and Transnationality

1. I discuss the ways in which the categories 'emotion' and 'affect' themselves have been distinguished later in the Introduction.
2. As Marjorie Garber notes, while empathy 'is a modern word', it has a Greek analogue: 'empatheia' (2004: 24).
3. Susan Leigh Foster explains that 'empathy' was 'originally coined in 1873 by the German aesthetician Robert Vischer as Einfühlung and translated into English by Edward Titchener in 1909' (2010: 127). Vischer and Titchner were interested in analysing the affective and kinesthetic experience involved in 'the act of viewing painting and sculpture' (10). See also Coplan and Goldie (2011), and Currie (2011).
4. As Garber explains, '*Sympathy's* roots are Greek and Latin: it literally translates as "having fellow feeling," from *sym* plus *pathos*, "suffering together"' (original italics, 2004: 23). In this vein, Foster discusses how, during the 1900s, 'sympathy was most often theorized as a form of "fellow-feeling", the product of "delicate nerve fibres", reacting to the sorrow or joy of another. Both the individual's expression and demeanour, and also the entire scene affecting the object of one's sympathy needed to be evaluated in order for a sympathetic reaction to occur' (2010: 10).
5. See also Bozarth (2011), and Coplan and Goldie (2011).
6. See, for example, Meyers (1994), Coplan (2011), and Coplan and Goldie (2011).
7. See Bartky (1996), Engle and Khanna (1997), Spelman (1997), Koehn (1998), Ahmed (2004, 2010), Pedwell (2007, 2010, 2012a, b, 2013), and Hemmings (2011, 2012).
8. Drawing on earlier influential feminist work by Nancy Chodorow and Jessica Benjamin, Meyers offers an 'account of critical moral reflection that situates empathic understanding of others in a context structured by the values of mutual-recognition and self-recognition' (1994: 16). For Meyers, however, 'The understanding of the other's perspective that empathy affords gives one another insight into the values and disvalues at stake in a given situation, but it does not settle the question of what one ought to do' (59).
9. Nussbaum acknowledges, however, that, although empathy may not be necessary for the development of compassion, 'there is something correct in the contention that empathy is psychologically important as a guide' (2003: 330–1).
10. Indeed, as Nussbaum argues, 'a torturer may be acutely aware of the suffering of the victim, and able to enjoy the imagining of it, all without the slightest compassion, for he regards the pain of the sufferer as a great good for him, and he believes that his purposes matter and that those of the victim do not' (2003: 29). More generally, 'enemies often become adept at reading the purposes of their foes and manipulating them for their own ends'. In such

cases 'empathy is used egoistically, denying real importance to the other person's goals' (329).

11. In interactions between British colonisers and the people they encountered in North America, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, Foster suggests, 'sympathy and empathy each served to establish the grounds on which one human being could be seen as differing to another' and were thus moblised 'in part, to rationalize operations of exclusion and othering' (2010: 11). Through notions of sympathy developed by Abbe DuBos and Hume, Foster argues, 'all humans could now be located on a shared grid symbolizing the world, and taxonomised according to variations measured in terms of degree; more or less civilized; darker or lighter skinned; more or less pusillanious; with greater or lesser talent in a given pursuit' (139).

12. In *Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism*, Khanna argues that 'understanding psychoanalysis ethnographically involves analyzing its use, both by Europeans and the colonized' as a means to address 'the parochiality of various psychoanalyses' and to '[give] life to uses of psychoanalysis different from that formed by Freud in its metropolitan center' (2003: 10). This project of 'worlding' psychoanalysis, she suggests, 'involves understanding parochialization and rejection, and also provincializing a language that represented itself as universal' (10).

13. As Marianne Liljeström and Susanna Paasonen suggest, 'For many, the so-called "affective turn" is a reaction towards the limitations of post-structuralist theorizations, their structuralist legacies and commitment to linguistic models' (2010: 1). They note that, 'New materialist critiques in particular have argued for the shortcomings of textual analysis and the legacy of the so-called textual turn for its tendency to downplay the sensory and the material in accounts of society and culture while conceptualizing cultural phenomenon and discourses, texts or systems to be interpreted' (1). Anna Gibbs, for example, has argued that within cultural studies 'the body has been conceived…largely as a body of words, the sum of discourses about it' (2002: 336). Notwithstanding some important exceptions, she suggests, 'the Humanities as a whole have also been handicapped by a refusal to consider affect as anything more than culturally constructed "feelings" and "emotions" substantially divorced from the materiality of the body' (337). See also Massumi (2002), and Coole and Frost (2010).

14. See also Anu Koivunen, who argues that while 'proponents of new materialism renounce social constructionism and its focus on language, representation, discourse and ideology as a critical prison-house', these criticisms elide 'the significant amount of critical work *within* so-called representational thinking of post-structuralist emphasis on language that explicitly displaces the focus on a true self of emotions, arguing instead for the cultural and historical contingency of emotions, and investigating emotions and emotion cultures and contingent technologies of subjects' (2010: 19). See also Hemmings (2005), and Pedwell and Whitehead (2012).

15. For some scholars in the social sciences and humanities, this attention to affective textures and intensities has facilitated new epistemological and methodological approaches to scholarly work. Inspired by Eve Sedgwick's call for the incorporation of more 'reparative' forms of intellectual engagement (2003) and Kathleen Stewart's (2007) approach to 'following the surfaces and

textures of everyday life rather than exposing the putative realities of under-lying structures' scholars have pursued the possibilities of modes of cultural analysis that are not limited to ideology critique (Cvetkovich, 2012a: 5). As Ann Cvetkovich notes, 'For some time now, there have been calls to think beyond the well-worn grooves of the search for forms of cultural manage-ment and hegemony on the one hand, and modes of resistance and subver-sion on the other' (2012a: 5). She emphasises, however, that the objective of affective approaches should not necessarily be 'to move beyond critique', which remains vital, but rather 'to do its work differently, by paying atten-tion to complexities of lived experience and cultural expression in ways that do not necessarily break down convenient dichotomies between left and right, progressive and reactionary, resistance and containment' (2010: 5). See also Hemmings (2005, 2011), Wiegman (2014), Stacey (2014), and Pedwell (2014).

16. See also Lorde (1984), Young (1990), Butler (1990, 1993, 1997, 2004), Braidotti (1994, 2002, 2006), Brennan (2004), Skeggs (2004), Ngai (2005), Gorton (2007), Love (2007), Pedwell (2007, 2010, 2012a, b, 2013), Stewart (2007), Fortier (2008), Puar (2008), Tyler (2008, 2009), Freeman (2010), Koivenen (2010), Liljeström and Paasonen (2010), Blackman (2012), Pedwell and Whitehead (2012), Skeggs and Wood (2012), Wetherell (2012), Whitehead (2012), Wiegman (2014) and Stacey (2014).

17. While Brown acknowledges that 'tolerance' may be considered 'too polymor-phous and unstable to analyze as a political or moral discourse', she argues that careful analysis of 'the semiotically polyvalent, politically promiscuous, and sometimes incoherent use of tolerance in contemporary American life…can be made to reveal important features of our political time and condition' (2005: 4).

18. See also Sedgwick and Frank (1995), Sedgwick (2003), Cheng (2001), Ahmed (2004), and Bewes (2010).

19. See also Garber (2004), Woodward (2004), and Pedwell (2012a, b, 2013).

20. Berlant also suggests that ubiquitous (and often uncritical) calls for compas-sion as a social and political 'good' might consider more seriously 'the Freudian notion of Schadenfreude, the pleasure one takes in the pain of others' (2004: 5).

21. See also Nussbaum, for whom emotions are '*eudaimonistic*, that is, concerned with the person's flourishing' (original italics, 2003: 31). In other words, 'emotions look at the world from the subject's own viewpoint, mapping events onto the subject's own sense of personal importance or value' (33). As such, emotions for Nussbaum are 'localized': 'I do not go about fearing any and every catastrophe anywhere in the world, nor (so it seems) do I fear any and every catastrophe that I know to be bad in important ways. What inspires fear is the thought of damages impending that cut to the heart of my own cherished relationships and projects' (33).

22. Phillips and Taylor argue that Winnicott, developing Freud's analysis, suggested 'that aggression can itself be a form of kindness, and when that aggression isn't envious rage, or the revenge born of humiliation, it contains the wish for a more intimate exchange, a profounder more unsettling kind-ness between people' (2009: 50). Thus, they contend, 'If there is a kindness instinct, it is going to have to take on board ambivalence in human relations.

It is kind to be able to bear conflict, in oneself and others; it is kind, to oneself and others, to forego magic and sentimentality for reality. It is kind to see individuals as they are, rather than how we might want them to be; it is kind to care for people just as we find them' (95–6).

23. See for example, Connolly (2002), and Clough (2007).

24. See also Wilson (1998, 2004), Gibbs (2002, 2007), Angel and Gibbs (2006), and Clough (2007).

25. See also Thrift (2008).

26. Drawing on the writings of Deleuze and Felix Guattari, Henri Bergson and Spinoza, Clough theorises affect as referring generally to 'bodily capacities to affect and be affected or the augmentation or diminution of a body's capacity to act, to engage and to connect' (2007: 1–2). Affect, from this perspective, 'constitutes a nonlinear complexity out of which narration of conscious states such as emotion are subtracted, but always with "a never-to-be conscious autonomic remainder"' (2; see also Connolly, 2002; Gregg and Seigworth, 2010). As Anu Koivunen notes, however, contra Massumi, Clough does not understand affect as 'presocial', rather, it is 'a means of theorising the social' (2010: 17).

27. For Probyn, shame may be so disconcerting – and potentially a catalyst to transformation – precisely because 'we feel it simultaneously in our bodies, at the core of our selves, and in our social relations' (2005: 4).

28. See also Anna Gibbs, who has sought to 'rethink the role of innate or categorical affect in human communication' (2002: 335).

29. See also Connolly (2002, 2011).

30. As Gunew notes, the interdisciplinary 'Decolonizing Affect Theory' project initiated at the University of British Columbia, Canada in 2005 was guided by the key question: 'To what extent can we think meaningfully about affect outside the concepts and terms of European psychoanalysis'? (2009: 12).

31. In *Cruel Optimism*, Berlant argues that 'optimism manifests in attachments and the desire to sustain them: attachment is a *structure* of relationality' (2011b: 13). 'The experience of affect and emotion that attaches to those relations'; however, 'is as extremely varied as the contexts of life in which they emerge': 'An optimistic attachment is invested in one's own or the world's continuity, but might feel any number of ways, from the romantic to the fatalistic to the numb to the nothing' (13). See also Berlant (2010).

32. Like Ahmed, other feminist critics such Clare Hemmings (2005) have called attention to the ways in which the affect/emotion divide frequently maps onto gendered disciplinary and political hierarchies that elide or marginalise feminist and postcolonial analyses. See also Tyler (2009), Bondi and Davidson (2011), and Pedwell and Whitehead (2012).

33. See, however, Amanda Wise and Selvaraj Velayutham, who use the term 'transnational affect' to 'signal the traffic as well as the role of affects and emotion in the reproduction of transnational social fields', paying particular attention to the role of affect in the 'compelling reasons as to why migrants (temporary or permanent) maintain connections with their home country and transnational networks' (2006: 2). They define 'transnational affect' as 'the circulation of bodily emotive affect between transnational subjects and between subjects and symbolic fields which give qualitative intensity to vectors and routes thus reproducing belonging to and boundaries of transnational fields'

(3). In developing a typology involving two 'preliminary "clusters" of affect', including 'social emotions' and 'secondary affects', Wise and Velayutham argue that transnational affect is primarily 'generated through empathy and contagion' (3). Indeed, empathy is what creates affective relations and resonance between the various emotions and affects in their typology (see also Velayutham and Wise, 2005; Wise and Velayutham, 2008).

34. See also Hannerz (1996), Grewal (2005), and Ong (2006).

35. Although the concept of 'globalisation' also points to phenomena of connectivity, border-crossing and time-space compression in the context of late capitalism, dominant analyses of globalisation have tended to assume that such processes follow a rather universal and/or all-encompassing logic. As Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih argue, 'the logic of globalisation is centripetal and centrifugal...and assumes a universal or core norm, which spreads out across the world while pulling into its vortex other forms of culture to be tested by its norm' (2005: 5). By contrast, transnationality describes 'spaces and practices acted upon by border-crossing agents, be they dominant or marginal' (5). Thus, if the global is 'defined vis-a-vis a homogenous and dominant set of criteria', Lionnet and Shih contend, 'the transnational can be less scripted and more scattered' (5). See also Grewal (2005).

36. Berlant is critical of how scholars 'interested in the ways in which structural forces materialize locally often turn to the heuristic 'neoliberalism' into a world-homogenizing sovereign with coherent intentions that produces subjects who serve its interests, such that their singular actions only *seem* personal, effective and freely intentional, while really being the effects of powerful, impersonal forces' (2011b: 15). As she argues, 'This dialectical description does not describe well the messy dynamics of attachment, self-continuity, and the reproduction of life that are the material scenes of living on in the present' (15).

37. 'Whereas in England', Ong suggests, 'the effects of globalization may appear to threaten that country's economy and cultural identity, in Asia, transnational flows and networks have been key dynamics in shaping cultural practices, the formation of identities, and shifts in state strategies' (1999: 17).

38. Transnational affects, Wise and Velayutham argue, also 'emotionally reinforce a moral economy made up of social norms and systems of care, reciprocity and obligation' which 'are regulated through affects such as pride, honour, shame and fear of ostracism and policed through the collective evaluative gaze of the transnational community' (2006: 8).

39. As Grewal argues, we might also view as novel the particular 'technological and consumerist modes' through which contemporary forms of transnational citizenship could be be imagined from the 1990s onwards (2005: 13).

40. Moreover, as Sanjeev Khagram and Peggy Levitt note, 'a transnational lens opens up the possibility of conceptualizing the local or the micro in non-territorial terms such as an economic development project, the "cell" of a broader criminal network, the multi-sited patron saint celebration, or a link in a larger commodity chain' (2008: 4).

41. See also Hutchings (2008).

42. See also Moeller (1991), Silverstone (2003), Sontag (2003), and Zelizer (2010).

43. See Chakrabarty ([2000]2007), Cheng (2001), Khanna (2003), Eng and Kazanjian (2003), Gilroy (2005), and Cvetkovich (2012a,b).

44. See also Wise and Velayutham who, in their analysis of the affective experiences of transnational migrants, discuss how 'Time and space contracts and expands according to affective engagement' (2006: 7). 'At the extreme end of the affective spectrum', they argue, 'traumatic memories shrink time because they are so embodied. Such memories have a "presence" that gives them a feeling of being closer than other memories. In this way, the shrinking of time brings the memories into the immediate present, at least until the memories are narratively integrated' (7). Furthermore, 'affects such as shame or loss of face that many transnational migrants experience contract distance, creating a kind of spatial intensity; where the "face" of the community in front of whom you feel shame is brought into the "here and now" – creating a kind of imagined co-presence (even though the community may be thousands of kilometers away)' (7; see also Velayutham and Wise, 2005; Wise and Velayutham, 2008).

45. See also Cheng (2001), and Khanna (2003).

46. Grewal emphasises, however, that 'Despite these links to colonialism, there seems to be no single logic of rule; connectivities brought together multiple logics to create assemblages of rule that governed the demarcation of space' (2005: 25).

47. Lionnet and Shih's reading of Glissant to highlight the ontological nature of transnational relationalities resonates with Chakrabarty's argument that 'To provincialize Europe was then to know how universalistic thought was always already modified by particular histories, whether or not we could extract such pasts fully' (2007: xiv). See also Anim-Addo who seeks to go 'beyond the creolisation theories of Brathwaite and Glissant', in order 'to develop ideas concerning the gendering of creolisation, and a historicising of affects within it' (2013: 5).

48. This perspective on transnationality resonates with my own previous work which, in conceptualising the cross-cultural formation of embodied practices (such as 'African' female genital cutting and 'Western' cosmetic surgery) through the heuristic of 'web weaving', proposed a critical framework for theorising transnational relationality premised on the discursive-material ways in which we are constitutively connected across cultural and geo-political boundaries. In thinking through relational webs, rather than more reductive modes of cross-cultural comparison or analogy, I argued, we might address the complex ways in which figurations such as 'the cosmetic surgery consumer' and 'the victim of female genital mutilation' are mutually constituted, while 'combating the construction of the native as the straightforward or direct "other" to the coloniser' (Chow, 2006: 137 cited in Pedwell, 2010; see also Pedwell, 2007, 2008, 2011).

49. For example, in some contexts, governments have pursued neoliberal strategies of governmentality whereby they 'cede more of the instrumentalities connected with development as a technical project to global enterprises but maintain strategic controls over resources, populations and sovereignty' (Ong, 1999: 21; see also Ong, 2006).

50. As such, Grewal argues that 'totalizing theories of power like those set forth in [Hardt and Negri's] *Empire* misread the concept of network as simply about

deterritorialization and diffusion rather than about recreating nodes of power through the network as it spreads in particular directions' (2005: 22).

51. From Puar's perspective, 'the "affective turn" in recent post-structuralist scholarship' suggests 'that no matter how intersectional our models of subjectivity, no matter how attuned to locational politics of space, place, and scale' these analytical models remain limiting if 'they presume the automatic primacy and singularity of the disciplinary subject and its identitarian inter-pellation' (2008: 206).

52. Clough argues that 'For Freud, as for Butler and for theorists of trauma gener-ally, the body is the body as organism, a closed system, seeking homeostasis and equilibrium' (2007: 11).

53. See also Butler (1990[1999], 1993, 1997), and Berlant (2008a, 2011b).

54. See also Gibbs (2010).

55. Since the 1970s, neoliberal practices of governance have emerged in the context of the move by a range of states, led by the UK and the US, as well as China, away from broadly Keynesian fiscal and monetary policies and towards 'the privatization of public resources, financial liberalization (deregulation of interest rates), market liberalization (opening of domestic markets), and global economic management' (Melamed, 2006: 14–15). With the collapse of the Bretton Woods agreement and the elections of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan in 1979 and 1980 respectively, a neoliberal orthodoxy took hold which espoused that 'human well-being can best be advanced by liber-ating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade' (Harvey, 2005: 2). Such political and economic principles have, since the early 1980s, been upheld by international institutions that regu-late global finance and trade, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization, as well as a range of other national and transnational actors and bodies in the areas of development, business, media and education. What is important to emphasise here is how neoliberal ideology views the market itself as a source of ethical conduct and assessment. As Harvey argues, to the extent that neoliberalism values market exchange as an ethic in and of itself, '[i]t holds that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market' (2005: 4). The role of the state, from this perspective, is primarily 'to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such [market] practices' (2), whereas its previous functions with respect to economic regulation and many kinds of social provision should be strictly limited. As such, neoliber-alism can be understood broadly, as Grewal puts it, 'in terms of a variety of formations through which states arrogated welfare to the workings of the market or applied market logics to welfare concerns' (2005: 15).

56. As Ong argues in *Neoliberalism as Exception*, '[a]s an array of techniques centred on the optimization of life, neoliberalism migrates from site to site, interacting with various assemblages that cannot be analytically reduced to cases of a uniform global condition of "Neoliberalism" writ large' (2006: 14). Indeed, she suggests, 'market-driven calculations' have been employed in 'the management of populations and the administration of special spaces' in a range of contexts in which 'neoliberalism itself is not the general

characteristic of technologies of governing' (3–4). As such, '[w]e find neoliberal interventions in liberal democracies as well as in postcolonial, authoritarian, and post-socialist situations in East and Southeast Asia' (3). Similarly, Povinelli argues that with the rise of China, India and Russia as global economic players, the assumption that there is 'a self-evident relationship between a poltical form (democracy) and economic form (capital market)' has been undercut (2011: 20). 'This rise of counter-hegemons', she suggests, 'subsequently opened new potential for South-South relations, unmediated by the G8, even as it challenged liberal democracy as the horizon of a world political economy' (20).

57. The promotion of such technologies of subjectification has been linked to the second wave of neoliberalism of the 1990s, associated with Bill Clinton's presidency in the United States and the election of Tony Blair and New Labour in Britain. Under Clinton, as Ong notes, 'individual responsibilization' was transformed into 'the new norm in previously subsidized domains such as health and education and was employed as the rationale for "workfare" programmes' (2006: 11).

58. As Ong notes, neoliberal governmentality 'can be traced to Foucault's notion of "biopower", a modern mode of governing that brought "life" and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge/power an agent of the transformation of human life' (2006: 13). Neoliberalism can thus be seen as involving forms of governmentality that rely 'on market knowledge and calculations for a politics of subjection and subject-making that continually places in question the political existence of modern human beings' (11).

59. Hochschild's work was crucial in contributing to budding theories of the social construction of emotions, and later analyses of their performative circulation in the context of gendered, classed, racialised and sexualised relations of power. It was also prescient in tracing the links between emotion, global capitalism and neoliberalism later fleshed out by key scholars such as Nikolas Rose (1989, 1996).

60. See also Boler (1999).

61. As such, Caple James' analysis resonates with the work of feminist scholars such as Wendy Brown (1995) who, as Karyn Ball notes, have pointed to the ways that 'suffering becomes ideologically necessary so long as the discourse striving for its eradication remains invested in the moral capital of traumatic pathos and empathetic identification with its victims' (2007: xxx).

62. In this vein, Ong examines how 'Populations governed by neoliberal technologies are dependent on others who are excluded from neoliberal considerations' (2006: 4). 'The articulation of populations and spaces subjected to neoliberal norms and those outside the preview of these norms', she suggests, 'crystallizes ethical dilemmas, threatening to displace basic values of social equality and shared fate (4). See also Povinelli (2011).

63. See Boler (1999), Ahmed (2004), Berlant (2004), and Pedwell and Whitehead (2012).

64. In making these arguments, I am indebted not only to theories of postcolonial melancholia but also to feminist and anti-racist analyses of empathy's fraught imbrication within histories of empire, slavery and colonialism.

Exploring the postcolonial legacies of empathetic politics, scholars such as Hartman (1997), Spelman (1997), and Foster (2010) have highlighted the 'paradox of identification' that empathy has long entailed (Spelman, 1997: 127). For example, considering 'the precariousness of empathy and the uncertain line between witness and spectator' in the context of slavery in the US and Britain, Hartman argues that 'it was often the case that benevolent correctives and declarations of slave humanities intensified the brutal exercise of power upon the captive body rather than ameliorating the chattel condition' (1997: 4–5). Indeed, modes of empathetic identification with black slaves on the part of whites implicated in the slave trade often involved acts of substituting 'the self for the other' that resulted in 'the obliteration of the other' (7). For Hartman, 'this is not to suggest that empathy can be discarded' or simply 'dismissed as a narcissistic exercise', but instead 'to highlight the dangers of a too-easy intimacy, the consideration of the self that occurs at the expense of the slave's suffering, and the violence of identification' (20).

65. As such, my analysis resonates with the work of other feminist cultural and social theorists, such as Teresa Brennan who brings together psychoanalysis and neuroscience to explore 'the transmission of affect' in ways that 'undermine the dichotomy between the individual and the environment and the related opposition between the biological and the social' (2004: 7). See also Wilson (2004), Blackman (2012) and Wetherell (2012).

1   Economies of Empathy: Obama, Neoliberalism and Social Justice

1. See, for example, Berlant (1997, 2004, 2008a, 2011b), and Ahmed (2004, 2010).

2. Affectively prompting the individual to 'see through the eyes' of another, Dominic LaCapra suggests, drawing on Kaja Silverman, empathy can enable 'heteropathic identification' in 'which emotional response comes with respect for the other and the realization that the experience of the other is not one's own' (LaCapra citing Silverman, 2001: 40). Moreover, Chabot Davis argues that empathy is 'an active cognitive process of imagination' (2004: 404) which, through its 'radically destabilizing' function (401), can 'play an important role in catalyzing social action' (404). See also Bartky (1996).

3. Daryl Koehn (1998) argues that empathy must be specifically 'dialogical': 'Ethics must provide a space in which people who are on the receiving end of care or trust or empathy…can contest effectively the caregiver's trust or empathy' (4). Yet, as Sanda Bartky (1996) queries, 'we assume that the advantaged have a special obligation…to cultivate in themselves certain affective states vis a vis the disadvantaged', but 'is it in the interests of the disadvantaged to do likewise'? (180). See also Morrison (1988), Meyers (1994), Pedwell (2010), and Hemmings (2011).

4. See also Gunew (2009),and Hemmings (2011).

5. In her analysis of university students' affective engagement with multicultural literature, Boler suggests that 'through modes of easy identification and

flattened historical sensibility', students most often participate in a practice of 'passive empathy' which 'may simply translate to reading practices that do not radically challenge the reader's world view' (1999: 157). Nussbaum argues, moreover, that 'the type of empathy prompted by people telling their life stories on daytime TV, for example, rarely leads to genuine compassion: it is too fleeting, too much prompted by curiosity and sensationalism, to engender real concern for the person involved' (2003: 330). From Lauren Berlant's (2008a) perspective, ephemeral experiences of empathy are representative of the contemporary global 'culture of sentimentality' in which suffering is routinely commoditised for entertainment value, and personal feeling is positioned as the key domain wherein social and political grievances and hierarchies can be addressed.

6. For Boler, the term 'economies of the mind' implies 'exchange', 'currency' or 'commodity' and points to the 'more dispersed and "global" effects of power' that 'discourses of emotion serve' (1999: 21).

7. Through its rhetoric of transnational social justice, Obama's administration defines itself in opposition to the 'aggressive neoconservatism and imperialism' of the Regan, George H. W. and George W. Bush regimes' (Melamed, 2006: 15), yet is retains central elements of Clinton's neoliberal economic liberalisation and global economic management, as well as wider neoliberal principles of self-reliance and self-governance.

8. See also Rose (1996), and Greco and Stenner (2008).

9. As Bruce Nussbaum argues, 'quality-management programs can't give you the kind of empathetic connection to consumers that increasingly is key to opening up new business opportunities' (2005: 1). Yet through employing empathetic 'design thinking', companies can 'generate products and services that provide greater customer experiences, top-line revenue growth, and fat profit margins' (1). Resonating with Obama's concerns regarding America's international economic competitiveness, he maintains that it is precisely through such an entrepreneurial approach premised on 'empathy' that American corporations can beat out their Indian and Chinese counterparts: 'America's customer culture is a divide that foreigners have a hard time penetrating – which gives U.S. companies their best, and perhaps only, shot for growth'. Indeed, design thinking 'can create…an edge that outsourcing can't beat' (1).

10. Boler argues, for example, that 'in patriarchal culture, we learn emotional rules that maintain our society's particular hierarchies of gender, race and class' (1999: xxi). Yet, she points out, 'none of the representations of emotional intelligence analyse how people are taught different rules of conduct for emotional behaviour according to their gendered, racialised and social class status. Instead, we are all supposed to feel the same "empathy" and "optimism"' (61). Moreover, Swan notes that, in the British context, the cultural association of white, middle-class heterosexual masculinity with 'emotional self-control, rationality and independence' is produced precisely 'in opposition to black middle-class and working class masculinities and white-working class masculinities that are seen to be emotionally labile, particularly in relation to anger' (2008: 90). Transnationally, such gendered and racialised emotional binaries are transposed onto West/

non-West oppositions to render 'non-Western' others as feminised, irrational and overly emotional, or indeed, as incapable of sophisticated processes of affective discernment (Foster, 2010; see also Said, 1978; Yeğenoğlu, 1998).

11. Sara Ahmed's analysis of 'affective economies' is particularly relevant here. Drawing on Marx, Ahmed argues that 'emotions accumulate over time, as a form of affective value' (2004: 11). 'Objects only seem to have such value', she suggests, through an erasure of 'the histories of production and labour' within which they have taken shape: 'In other words, "feelings" become "fetishes", qualities that seem to reside in objects, only through an erasure of the history of their production and circulation' (11). From this perspective, we can think about how, as objects, 'the corporation', in Patnaik and Mortensen's analysis, and 'the nation' in Obama's narrative, can only be constituted as 'empathetic' through the erasure of certain forms of labour, but also, through the erasure of certain lives as meaningful and deserving of social protection.

12. Some scholars have argued that Obama's 'empathic' centrism is not merely contextual, but rather intrinsic to his well-honed mode of political engagement. As Tom Hayden suggests, 'his formulaic centrism means that Obama always will be positioned to the right of most progressives', not because of philosophical disagreement (Obama himself prefers a single-payer health-care system), 'but because he requires the existence of a disappointed Left as proof that he commands the center' (italics in original, 2011: 267; see also Berlant, 2011b).

13. See also Halberstam (2005), and Freeman (2010).

14. Like feminist visions of empathy and social justice discussed in the first part of the chapter, both Kelley's 'Black radical imagination' Muñoz's' queer futurity' are modes of affective political engagement premised on collective processes (and collectivities in process). In Kelley's words, 'the black radical imagination … is a collective imagination engaged in an actual movement for liberation. It is fundamentally a product of struggle, of victories and losses, crises and openings, and endless conversations circulating in a shared environment' (2002: 150). From Muñoz's perspective, 'we must vacate the here and now for a then and there … individual transports are insufficient. We need to engage in a collective temporal distortion' (2009: 185).

2 Affective (Self-) Transformations: Empathy, Mediation and International Development

1. As Clare Hemmings discusses, feminist theorists such as Lorraine Code, Patricia Hill Collins, and Sandra Bartky 'have theorized empathy as a technique for challenging the myopic world view of the Western feminist subject' (2011: 196). In the work of these and other feminist and anti-racist scholars a focus on empathy 'stresses the importance of the feminist researcher extending her view beyond her own subjective concerns and imagining the world, or knowledge, through the eyes of the other. It contrasts autonomy with intersubjectivity and finds the latter to be both more valuable and more

in tune with the collective practices and the epistemological judgements marginalized communities make' (196).

2. See Rose (1996, 2006), Grewal (2005), Harvey (2005), and Ong (2006).
3. See Meyers (1994), Alexander and Mohanty (1997) Bartky (1996), Spelman (1997), Boler (1999), Nussbaum (2003, 2010), Chabot-Davis (2004), and Gray (2011).
4. See also Spelman (1997), Nussbaum (2003), Whitehead (2012), and Pedwell (2013).
5. See also Bartky (1996).
6. In this context, Chouliaraki notes, 'who watches and who suffers reflects the manner in which differences in economic resources, political stability, governmental regimes and everyday life enter the global landscape of infor- mation. Similarly, who acts on whose suffering depends on patterns of economic and political agency across global zones of influence – North and South or East and West' (2006: 4).
7. See also Moeller (1991) Boltanski (1999), Ahmed (2000), Silverstone (2003), Bennett (2006), and Zelizer (2010).
8. Bennett argues that 'this conjunction of affect and critical awareness may be understood to constitute the basis of an empathy grounded not in affinity (*feeling for* another insofar as we may imagine *being* that other) but on a *feeling for* another that entails an encounter with something irreducible and different, often inaccessible' (original italics, 2006: 10).
9. The first phase of contemporary neoliberalism is largely connected with the Thatcher and Reagan governments who, with the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1980s, sought a return to nineteenth-century trade regimes. In the 1990s a new phase of neoliberalism took shape through political leadership in Great Britain, the United States and other advanced liberal democracies which sought not only to expand markets within the context of globalisa- tion but also to apply market logics to welfare concerns.
10. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) which, in the late 1990s, replaced older Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) as a means to encourage local ownership and participation in economic strategy development, have functioned largely to perpetuate and extend central elements of tradi- tional structural adjustment in contemporary neoliberal forms: As condi- tions of aid or lower interest rates on existing loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, developing and emerging countries are compelled to open up markets as well as privatize public services, which effectively transfer responsibility for administering social programmes and ameliorating social suffering from the state to individuals, communi- ties and local institutions. As such, 'the spread of neoliberal calculations and choices' has been fuelled by international bodies such as the World Bank, 'in the form of prescriptions such as "political entrepreneurialism" in emerging countries, where discourses of life-long learning and enter- prise encourage citizens to self-manage and compete in global knowledge markets' (Ong, 2006: 14).
11. As Matt Baillie Smith and Katy Jenkins argue in their introduction to a special issue of *Emotion, Space and Society* on 'the emotional spaces of international development', 'the backdrop against which international development

research and practice takes place tends to be highly charged and embedded in the emotional' (2012: 75).

12. *Immersions* have been practiced by development professionals since the 1980s, with early initiatives taken by Karl Osner, who pioneered Germany's Exposure and Dialogue Programme (EDP) which involved 'German parliamentarians, senior officials, leaders from NGOs, and the private sector, aid agency and government staff in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and South Eastern Europe' (Chambers, 2007: 7). With the rise of participatory approaches in international development in the 1980s and 1990s, such as the Participatory Rural Appraisal and wider practices of Participatory Action Research, *immersions* began to be developed and employed by a much wider range of institutions and agencies.

13. Indeed, my own encounter with *immersions* came in 2008 when I was working as a research consultant for an international NGO that had been contracted to assist in developing a gender-equality training strategy for the UK Department for International Development (DFID). *Immersions* were identified by my employers as a new participatory training approach worth examining in further depth. Thus, part of my interest in this chapter is to reflect on the challenges of bringing together critical theory and international development practice – an often epistemologically and politically fraught, if nonetheless vital, activity in which I have been personally involved.

14. See IDS (2004), Chambers (2007), and Kramsjo (2007).

15. In describing 'unlearning' as a process which prompts development officials to 'become vulnerable' and place themselves in 'a position of inferiority', thus enabling critical 'listening' and thinking to occur (2007: 58), Thomson's account of *immersions* resonates closely with Chabot-Davis's argument that 'cross-racial empathy' can produce new ways of thinking and knowing on the part of privileged subjects through producing white alienation from privilege (2004; see also Bartky, 1996; Boler, 1999). It also echoes Gayatri Spivak's suggestion that establishing an ethical relationship with 'the subaltern' comes only through a process of 'unlearning one's privilege as loss' (Spivak, 1990).

16. From Bennett's perspective, while trauma-related art often 'touches us' it 'does not necessarily communicate the "secret" of personal experience' (2006: 7).

17. See Boler (1999), LaCapra (2001), Shaw (2002, 2005), and Gobodo-Madikizela (2006).

18. From Kramsjo's perspective, through *immersions*, 'alien and exotic poor people of rural villages in far-off Bangladesh have become close and understandable' (2007: 92). While the uncomfortable resonances in this and other similar quotes with legacies of colonial anthropology are palpable, we might also connect such discourses with the 'economies of truth' which characterise the operation of contemporary international development (Caple James, 2010). As Erica Caple James argues, within the international aid apparatus, discourses of 'truth' and 'transparency' are frequently mobilised to 'support many international and national organizations' quests for legitimacy and additional funding' and to represent the 'accountability' of

'interveners and their institutions to their *own* donors and stakeholders' (2010: 34).

19. Of course academics are not exempt from these fraught dynamics with the pressure to translate field work and other empirical research into media interest, publications, grant income and tenure.

20. As Swan argues, for many organisational theorists, this process of 'feminization' includes 'a range of self-presentations and imagined skills including speaking, communicating, empathy, helpfulness, caring, nurturance, sensitivity, attentiveness to others, intimacy, being open and being egalitarian and cooperative' (2008: 98). Particular 'emotion performances' are now understood as 'workplace resources and a key part of how business gets done' (98). See also Adkins (2002), and Fineman (2002).

21. In making this argument I have been influenced by Clare Hemmings' analysis of empathy and feminist theory in *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory*. Feminist theory, Hemmings notes, has called for empathy across social and geo-political borders and boundaries as a means to challenge 'the myopic world view of the Western feminist subject' (2011: 196). However, she argues, such practices of empathy 'may undo a subject/object relation, replacing it with a subject/subject relation but those on either side of the slash are not equal; they are held apart by relations of recognition that are temporally as well as spatially managed' (213). Indeed, 'empathy might be said to enhance rather than diminish the powers of the empathetic subject, requiring renewed marshalling of existing reflexive skills and the learning of new ones, in the desire to extend subjective recognition appropriately' (203). As such, Hemmings contends, empathy, in this context, 'is likely to reinforce rather than unpick the position of the empathetic subject, and cannot account for historical and contextual stumbling blocks that frame the possibility of intersubjective relations' (204).

22. Furthermore, while development professionals argue that 'everyone…should do an immersion!' (Sandkull and Schill, 2007), this inclusive call pays little attention to the geo-politics of space and movement on which *immersions*, and international development more broadly, are based. Such politics raise important questions not only about who physically *can move* and who is fixed in place but also regarding who affectively *is moved* by empathy and what relations of power such movement entails. There is, it should be mentioned, some acknowledgment in these literatures that the benefits of *immersions* are unequal, that development officials are likely to gain more from *immersions* than are their host families. Yet this important concession is offset by the dominant rhetoric woven throughout the literature which suggests that, on the whole, *immersions* are of significant value *to all* involved. As Kramsjo claims of the Swedish Global Journeys programme, 'Participatory sharing of information is vital – it is just as interesting for the host villagers to hear about the foreign guests' family situation, concerns, problems, attitudes and values (and crops!) as the opposite' (2007: 22).

23. The excerpts also raise questions about the conditions under which immersion hosts agree to act as hosts – in other words, how much scope or ability do hosts have to decline this role in a context in which resources are exceedingly scarce and development organisations facilitating *immersions* may be seen locally not only as a rare source of income but also as the only hope

for advocacy, influence or change? Moreover, what effects might *immersions* have on the dynamics and structures of communities that participate? As such, I would suggest, we need to ask what kind of political encounter this 'transportation to the site of poverty' entails and also, perhaps, what links to neo-colonialism, missionary journeys and development tourism it bears.

24. It is important to emphasise that such hierarchies do not operate exclusively through North/South axes. For example, the 'development elites' that some *immersions* programmes seek to produce are embedded in transnational circuits that depend on (and may exacerbate) class demarcations and urban/rural distinctions within 'developing' and 'emerging' nations. Such complexities reflect the intricate, uneven and shifting character of both the international aid apparatus and of wider neoliberal modes of governmentality in which transnational 'cultural differences' can seem less important than intra-national class hierarchies (Spivak, 2003). From this perspective, while neoliberalism is often figured as an invention of Western liberal democracies that 'sweeps from dominant countries to smaller ones' along a 'simple geographical North-South axis' (Ong, 2006: 12), it is necessary to understand how neoliberal modes of governmentality are often mobilised through 'political exceptions that permit sovereign practices and subjectifying techniques that deviate from the established norm' (12). It is therefore, as Ong, argues, productive to examine neoliberalism not (only) 'as a "culture" or a "structure" but as mobile calculative techniques of governing that can be decontextualized from their original sources and recontextualized in constellations of mutually constitutive and contingent relationships' (2006: 13).

25. Clare Hemmings notes the ways in which critiques of empathy within feminist theory have been countered by feminist perspectives which seek to separate 'good empathy' from 'bad empathy', that is a 'lazy and false empathy in which we take the other's place' (Dean, 2003: 96)' (Hemmings, 2011: 200). In these kinds of narratives, she suggests, 'Bad empathy keeps things are they are; good empathy transforms intersubjective relations' (200). Hemmings is sceptical, however, 'that it is always possible to tell the difference between good and bad modes of empathy, particularly when affective attachments are in play' (202). Furthermore, she argues that there are problems with the 'assumption of reciprocity' these discourses convey: 'The feminist literature on empathy acknowledges that the other-subject may not wish to be so recognized when the empathy is "bad", but it is always assumed that "good" empathy would be appreciated' (202). But what happens, she asks if 'the other-subject is not interested in intersubjectivity or refuses the terms of empathetic recognition?'. From Hemmings' perspective, 'to be empathized with could be a horrific prospect, one resulting in the dissolution of the self, when the empathetic subject is associated with violence, for example' (204).

26. Shah's invocation of the productivity of 'discomfort' here resonates with Megan Boler's advocacy of a pedagogy to discomfort as an alternative to liberal discourses of empathy (Boler, 1999).

27. My acknowledgements go to Anthony Costa for highlighting this point at a talk I gave at the London School of Economics in 2011.

28. See also Berlant (1998, 2004, 2008a), Sontag (2003), and Bennett (2005).

29. See Silverstone (2003), Sontag (2003), and Chouliaraki (2006).

3   Affect at the Margins: Alternative Empathies in *A Small Place*

1. See Boler (1999), Berlant (2004), Coplan and Goldie (2011), and Pedwell (2012a, b, 2013).
2. See Engle and Khanna (1997), Spelman (1997), Pedwell (2007, 2010), and Hemmings (2012).
3. See Berlant (1998, 2004, 2008a, 2011b), Ahmed (2004, 2010), Brown (2005), Ngai (2005), Probyn (2005), Bondi et al. (2007), and Pedwell (2012a, b, 2013).
4. See also Cvetkovich (2012a,b), and Pedwell and Whitehead (2012).
5. See also Meyers (1994), and Koehn (1998).
6. See also Hemmings (2011).
7. While I refer to *A Small Place* as an invective, other authors suggest that it 'poses a problem of genre definition' (Covi, 1990, 38). As Giovanna Covi argues, 'it is a political essay for its content, but reads like fiction, while sounding like a speech delivered with the rhythm of a song' (38, see also Donnell, 1995).
8. The terms 'margins' and 'marginality' have long been employed within feminist, postcolonial and queer theory to address those (gendered, sexualised, racialised and classed) subjects, populations, practices and knowledges that are denied legitimacy within or excluded from mainstream structures of thought and attendant social, cultural, economic and political circuits of power (see, for example, hooks, 1984; Haraway, 1989; Hill Collins, 1991). As critical scholars have pointed out, however, concepts of margin/marginality – and related distinctions of 'centre' and 'periphery' – are complex, fluid and shifting. As my analysis of Kincaid's *A Small Place* highlights, subjects may be marginalised in some respects and privileged in others and such distinctions of power may change over time and across cultural and geo-political contexts. Distinctions of privilege and marginality can be particularly difficult to untangle (and are impossible to fix) in the midst of transnational forms of affective inter-connectivity. Nonetheless, I maintain that, as a complex, contested and contingent concept, marginality offers a productive heuristic for thinking through the ambivalent links among emotion, positionality and transnationality at a time when distinctions between 'the West and the Rest', among other social and geo-political hierarchies, remain salient.
9. See Covi (1990), Tiffin (1990), Donnell (1995), Black (dir) (2001), King (2002), Gregg (2002), and Brooks Bouson (2006).
10. As I discuss in Chapter 4, such concerns are also resonant in critical explorations of what it might mean to 'decolonize' theories of affect and emotion. Challenging 'the fundamental premises upon which Affect debates have been constructed' (Gunew, 2009: 12), for example, the University of British Columbia's Decolonizing Affect Theory project has sought to unravel the implications of affect theory's cultural specificity and explore possibilities for thinking 'meaningly about affect outside the concepts and terms of European psychoanalysis' (15) (see also Lutz and Abu-Lughod, 1990; Reddy, 2001; Spivak, 2003).
11. In her preface to *Afro-Future Females: Black Writers Chart Science Fiction's Newest New-Wave Trajectory*, Marleen S. Barr positions Octavia Butler, Toni Morrison, Andrea Hairston, Nalo Hopkinson, Nisi Shawl, and Sheree

R. Thomas, as 'contributors to science fiction's black new wave' (2008: x). She describes this genre as 'Afrodiasporic, fantasy-infused, magic-centered science fiction' (xvii) that combines 'the tenets of realism with elements of allegory, folk tale, Gothic, and romance' (x). Citing texts such as Butler's *Kindred* (1988) and Morrison's *Beloved* (1987), Bar argues that 'Afro-future female writers transcend ghettoizing generic classification; they join the best American writers in creating work that combines mainstream literature with science fiction and fantasy' (x).

12. My interest in the affective reception of this text by various transnational readers was sparked by an anecdote by a friend and colleague who commented that every time she taught Kincaid's text in her course on postcolonial fiction, her (predominately white, middle class, British) students would react with palpable anger and frustration. They didn't want to see themselves as the stereotypical tourist that Kincaid' describes.

13. See, for example, Boler (1999), Chabot Davis (2004), and Nussbaum (2010).

14. This diasporic complexity is much more explicitly brought to the fore in the Ghanaian setting of Saidiya Hartman's memoir *Lose Your Mother*, in which 'the tourist' is not figured as a privileged white, European but rather a privileged African American. Indeed, the central political and affective fault line in Hartman's text emerges not between white Westerners and black Africans or African Americans (though these relations of course loom large in the background), but rather between native black Ghanaians and African American visitors or migrants, who want to ask questions about histories of slavery that most Ghanaians indicate they have little time or desire to revisit or dwell on. This divide is of course linked to a longer more complex history of slavery than Kincaid's narrative endeavours to unfold – that is, the practices of internal slavery in West Africa that both preceded the Atlantic slave trade and intensified in its wake. While Hartman yearns desperately for some sort of empathetic identification or solidarity in the aftermath of slavery with native Ghanians, she finds that the colleagues, townspeople, and villagers she encounters are more inclined to seal the region's slave trading past with a wall of absolute silence or worse, in Hartman's perspective, a rose-tinted view that troublingly 'exult[s] in the wealth of slave-trading ancestors, if only because it was less humiliating to have been a merchant than to have been a slave' (2007: 72).

15. For a different perspective see Veronica Gregg, who argues that Kincaid's text 'is caught within many of the assumptions it purportedly seeks to overturn' (2002: 925): 'In the apparent decolonization of her own mind', she argues, 'the enlightened narrator frames herself as a unitary subject and linguistically recolonizes othered Antiguans' (927).

16. Thank you to Neelam Srivastava for helping me to think through this important point.

17. See also Sedgwick and Frank (1995), and Sedgwick (2003).

18. As cultural and psychoanalytic theorists have emphasised, we should also not underestimate our capacity to hold together seemingly contradictory or irreconcilable affects (Berlant, 2004, 2008; Phillips and Taylor, 2009; Ahmed, 2010; Hemmings, 2011).

19. See, for example, Jane King, a St. Lucian poet, who criticises Kincaid for 'denigrating our small place in this destructively angry fashion' (2002: 899) and positioning natives of the Caribbean as 'all corrupt, stupid or insensitive' (902, see also Gregg, 2002; Brooks Bouson, 2006).

4 Affective Translation: Empathy and *The Memory of Love*

1. See also Mason and Armstrong (2008).
2. See Chow (2006), Butler (2008a), Puar (2008), and Povinelli (2011).
3. *The Memory of Love* was awarded the Commonwealth Prize for 'Best Book' in 2011 and was also shortlisted that year for the Orange Prize for Fiction.
4. In *Contemporary African Literature in English: Global Locations, Postcolonial Identifications* (2014), Madhu Krishnan situates Aminatta Forna as part of a group of 'high profile African authors', each of whom 'it could be argued, is equally non-African'. Krishnan is interested in the implications of this 'geographic dissonance' with respect to 'the image of Africa circulated in each author's work', and in why 'this decidedly transnational African identity' has 'become representative' (2014: 3). She also considers how today 'the majority of contemporary African authors find their publishing audiences through British and American presses', and hence, their works 'are to be found rarely on the African continent itself, and, where accessible, priced well beyond the means of the average reading consumer' (36). Nonetheless, Krishnan warns against a 'dichotomous view of African literary production' that fails to grasp 'the complexity of cultural transmission and circulation'. The claim that 'African literature cannot be accessible to a reading public located on the continent, for example, 'forgets the ingenuity of readers and communities in sharing, reproducing and circulating texts' (37).
5. As Coplan and Goldie note, Rogers 'held that a successful therapist must employ empathy as both an epistemological tool that provides access to clients' private, subjective experience and in order to foster the type of environment necessary for the client to be receptive to the therapists' suggestions' (2011: xvii). However, while Rogers 'believed that therapy could not succeed in the absence of empathy', he also 'considered empathy difficult to achieve. He warned that the therapist must preserve boundaries between herself and the client, lest she risk over-identifying with the client, which distorts understanding and interferes with the therapeutic process' (xx).
6. See also Stuebe (2008) and Ickes (2011).
7. See, for example, Benjamin (1988), Silverman (1996), LaCapra (2001), and Phillips and Taylor (2009).
8. See also Coplan and Goldie (2011: xxxv, 28).
9. See Bartky (1996), Engle and Khanna (1997), Spelman (1997), Koehn (1998), Ahmed (2004, 2010), Pedwell (2007, 2010, 2012a, b, 2013), and Hemmings (2011, 2012).
10. See Chow (2006), and Berlant (2008a, 2011b).
11. See, for example, Coplan (2011), and Coplan and Goldie (2011).
12. See Chow (1996, 2006), Spivak (1988, 1993), and Povinelli (2011).
13. Beginning in the 1950s and culminating in 1968, Povinelli notes, anti-colonial and new social movements put the legitimating frameworks of liberalism under extreme pressure by calling attention to the ways in which what had been framed as 'paternalistic arts of civilizational care' functioned in reality as 'acts of colonial domination and dispossession' (2011: 25). In other words, these movements revealed modes of governing social and cultural 'difference' that had been long legitimated as forms of *caring* to be instead technologies of *violence and harm*. Yet, over time, the radical import of this

legitimacy crisis of liberal democracy was neutralised when 'state after state instituted informal policies of cultural recognition (or cognate policies such as multiculturalism) as a strategy for addressing the challenge of internal and external difference that they faced' (25).

14. See also Nirinjana (1992), and Bielsa and Bassnett (2009).

15. It is worth acknowledging, in this respect, that translation scholars often refer to 'target cultures' – in fact, one of the new international translation studies journals that emerged in the 1990s is called *Target* (Lefevere and Bassnett, 1998: xi).

16. Lefevere and Bassnett (1998) refer to this equivalence-based model as 'the Jerome Model', named after Saint Jerome (c.331–c.420), which, they suggest, looked to 'the Bible' as its 'central, sacred text' and understood 'fidelity' in translation as 'interlinear translation' in which 'one word would match another' (2). They note, however, that while the Jerome model enjoyed dominance for several centuries in Europe, it was actually pre-dated by 'the Horace Model', named for the Roman poet Horace (65BC–8BC), which took 'negotiation' as its central principle, understanding the translator's duty of 'fidelity' not in relation to the 'original' text but rather to his customer (4). This emphasis on negotiation in translation indicates an early recognition of the power relations in which translation is always imbricated, and clearly 'militates heavily against the kind of faithfulness traditionally associated with equivalence' (4).

17. Following its so-called 'cultural turn' in the 1990s, translation studies became increasingly interested in translation as a process embedded within, and productive of, cultural contexts, relations and practices. The term 'cultural translation', however, has been prevalent in Anthropology since the 1950s (Asad, 1986).

18. Emphasis on *negotiation*, as opposed to equivalence, in translation extends Edward Sapir's legacy to explore how different languages represent *and create* different social realities, while accounting for the fact that, in the context of postcoloniality and transnational capitalism, 'some languages have assumed greater significance than others, through political, economic and even geographical factors' (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009: 6). It also highlights the ways in which linguistic translation involves 'deliberate and conscious act[s] of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication', as well as, potentially, 'falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes' (Tymoczko and Gentzler, 2002: xxi cited in Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009: 7).

19. See also Benjamin (1988), Silverman (1996), and LaCapra (2001).

20. In a move performative of the politically transformative potential of translation, Venuti, reformulates (rather than rejects) ideals of 'faithfulness' or 'fidelity', radically translating them in the context of the cultural politics of postcoloniality: 'Abusive fidelity', for him, is 'a translation technique that aspires to a faithfulness that is not dependent on fluency' (Venuti cited in Lefevere and Bassnett, 1992: 10).

21. Similarly, for Judith Butler, in her analysis of the links between translation and the possibilities of political co-habitation for Israelis and Palestinians, when 'one discourse is interrupted by another; it cedes hegemonic ground in order to make room for what challenges its scheme of intelligibility.

Translation becomes the condition of a transformative encounter, a way of establishing alterity at the core of transmission' (2012: 17).

22. My understanding of empathy as translation resonates in some ways with Jill Bennet's notion of 'empathic vision' (2005). In her discussion of the relationships between art, trauma and affect, Bennett argues for a 'politics of art *not* as a faithful translation of testimony' but rather as one that 'calls upon art to exploit its own unique capacities to contribute affectively to this politics' (3).

23. See also Chakrabarty (2007).

24. See also Ong (1999, 2006), Spivak (2003), Grewal (2005), Lionnet and Shih (2005) Butler (2012).

25. See also Deleuze and Guattari (1975).

26. See also Anna Gibbs who in her analysis of 'mimetic communication' discusses 'the way language – in the very process of making meaning – is implicated with rhythm and movement' (2010: 198). As she suggests, 'Movement, sound and rhythm are all anterior to symbolic verbal communication, and provide a prototype for it; verbal conversation is formally predicated on the rhythms of non-verbal behaviour, which it does not ever entirely replace or supersede. Movement, sound, and rhythm are neither vestigial to language, nor unorganized accompaniments to it' (199).

27. Although 'reliance on the competence of a translator involves trust, trust that she or he will adequately render a message originating elsewhere', Bielsa and Bassnett note, 'the role of the translator has been, and still is, burdened with suspicion and anxiety, for it is the translator who brings across the unfamiliar, who mediates between cultures that may well be violently antagonistic to one another' (2009: 5).

28. For further analysis of 'translation' as a process of negotiating affective ambivalence, see Pedwell (2014).

29. See Asad (1986), Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990), Lefevere (1998), and Reddy (2001).

30. See, for example, Gibbs (2002), Sedgwick (2003), Brennan (2004), and Probyn (2005).

31. Spanning more than four hundred years, the Atlantic and internal slave trades produced a landscape of terror in Sierra Leone that has resonated in complex ways in postcolonial processes, including the devastating rebel war of the 1990s (Shaw, 2002; Kelsall, 2009).

32. Rosalind Shaw argues that 'despite pressure from local NGOs and human rights activists for a TRC, there was little popular support for bringing such a commission to Sierra Leone' (2005: 1). Like the proceedings in South Africa, Sierra Leone's TRC 'valourised a particular kind of memory practice: "truth telling", the public recounting of memories of violence' (1). However, although 'ideas concerning the conciliatory and therapeutic efficacy of truth telling' were presented as universal, they are in fact 'a product of a Western culture of memory deriving from North American and European historical processes', and are at odds with 'local strategies of recovery and reintegration' (1). Similarly, Tim Kelsall suggests that the that truth commissions draw on 'a distinct Western tradition of confession and cathartic healing that is alien to local people in Sierra Leone, where the attainment of a "cool heart" is more important to reconciliation than factually truthful accounts

of past atrocities' (2009: 14). In short, he claims, 'Sierra Leoneans have different ideas of social space and time, of causation, agency, responsibility, evidence, truth and truth telling from those employed by international criminal courts' (17).

33. Freetown was founded as a colony of freed American slaves by the British Sierra Leone Company in 1791 (Shaw, 2002; Kelsall, 2009).

34. Kai's perspective on the post-war influx of Westerners to Sierra Leone resonates closely Jamaica Kincaid's literary polemic regarding the stark inequalities inherent in the kinds of journeys embarked on by privileged North Americans and Europeans in comparison to those taken by 'third world' subjects, as fleshed out in the previous chapter. Similar to the tourists in *A Small Place* (1988/2000), who travel to Antigua to escape the monotony and meaninglessness of life in a 'large place', in *The Memory of Love* middle-class Westerners journey to Freetown primarily to fill an emotional void, affectively renewing themselves and then returning home reborn.

35. See also Hage (2003).

36. In the context of European colonialism, 'the metaphor of the colony *as* translation, a copy of an original located elsewhere on a map' had particular resonance (Bassnett and Trivedi, 1998: 5). Furthermore, given the links between colonialism, imperialism and the development of global capitalism, it is also worth noting the totalising approach to translation on which contemporary neoliberal capitalism depends, 'a "system of equivalence" which can assign all cultural objects…a monetary value' (Fisher, 2009: 4).

37. My understanding of the links between empathy, affective synchronization and attunement shares some similarities with Anna Gibbs' discussion of sympathy and 'mimetic communication' (2010). Gibbs describes mimetic communication as, 'in the first instance, the corporeally based forms of imitation, both voluntary and involuntary (and on which literary representation ultimately depends)'. (2010: 187) 'This phenomenon is also referred to as the "entertainment" of one person with another, as when someone's gestures and movements are syncrhonized with their speech, or when an attentive listener's or an audiences most invisible movements are synchronized with the speech rhythms of the person to whom they are listening'. (2010: 197)

38. My analysis of the links between affective translation, vulnerability and 'becoming minoritarian' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1975) resonates in some ways with feminist engagements with Emanuel Levinas's writing on ethics and vulnerability (see, for example, Ahmed, 1998; 2000; Bell, 1999; Shildrick, 2001; Butler, 2004, 2012; Butler and Athanasiou, 2013).

39. Universalising vulnerability as a desirable or transformative ethical position would not only elide the variable possibilities, as well as the limitations, risks and dangers, of acknowledging or embracing vulnerability for different subjects and populations, it would also fail to account for the ways in which vulnerability is translated and transformed across borders and boundaries. Furthermore, there are important questions to be asked about whether the transformative affective connections that might arise from a mutual sensing of vulnerability, or through processes of de-subjectification, require the recognition of subjecthood as a pre-condition: What about those who do not, within given parameters of intelligibility, qualify as subjects in the first place? (see discussion in Butler, 2004; 2012; Butler and Athanasiou, 2013). My

thanks go to Lisa Baraitser and Paola Bacchetta for their insightful comments in relation to these issues at the 'Interuniversity Gender Research Seminar' organised by Chia Longman at Ghent University in 2013 and to Tiffany Page for sharing with me her incisive analysis of the politics of vulnerability.

40. See Hage (2003), Ahmed (2010), and Povinelli (2011).
41. This letting go of the desire to feel what the other feels may enable what Sara Ahmed articulates as 'an ethics of responding to pain' that 'involves being open to being affected by that which one cannot know or feel' (2004: 30). As Ahmed notes, 'Such an ethics is, in this sense, bound up with the sociality or the "contingent attachment" of pain itself' (30).
42. See also Deleuze and Guattari (1994), and Massumi (2002).
43. This is not to claim that emotional shifts at the personal or collective level *necessarily* result in wider transformation of structural relations of power (as per the liberal ethics of empathy), but rather to explore the interpersonal – as well as the impersonal – as sites where we sense structure working affectively. Thus, instead of figuring the generation of empathy as what is necessary to shift or transform oppressive structures of power, affective translation understands 'the affective' and 'the structural' as always already relational and mutually constitutive.
44. For an interesting discussion on the links between feminist theory, empathy, 'affective dissonance' and solidarity, see Hemmings (2012).

5　Circuits of Feeling in *The Age of Empathy*

1. In their role in enabling embodied simulation, mirror neurons (of which there are many different kinds) have been understood to provide the neural underpinnings of empathy. As Vitorio Gallese notes, 'It has been proposed that mirror neurons by mapping observed, implied or heard goal-directed motor acts on their motor neural substrate in the observer's motor system allow a direct form of action understanding, through a mechanism of embodied simulation' (2009: 520). Similarly, from Alvin Goldman's perspective, 'The rich variety of mirroring responses and their diffused anatomical localization suggest that neural mirroring may be a fundamental building block of empathy, even in its more complex forms' (2011: 46). He elaborates: 'overtly mirroring the emotions of others plays an important role in social interaction. It is through this mirroring that we communicate to other people that we understand what they are feeling' (52). See also Iacoboni (2011).
2. For instance, Iacoboni notes, 'when we see someone else suffering or in pain, mirror neurons help us to read her or his facial expression and actually make us feel the suffering or pain of another person' (2008: 4).
3. For Baron Cohen, 'the key idea is that *we all lie on an empathy spectrum* (from high to low). People said to be "evil" or cruel are simply at one end of the empathy spectrum' (original italics, 2011: 10).
4. Moreover, as I discuss later on, various scientific theories of empathy are imbricated with power relations 'all the way down', so to consider how they are 'politicised' is not to pose an originary 'science of empathy' as neutral or objective, but instead to address the political qualities of the multiple relations and forms of translation though which it is generated and reproduced.

5. See also Gallese (2009), Goldman (2011), and Iacoboni (2011).

6. See, for example, Haraway (1989), Lewontin (1991), and Rose and Rose (2001).

7. de Waal also notes that 'When citizens are pampered by the state, they lose interest in economic advancement. They become passive players with more interest in taking than giving. Some nations have already turned back the clock on the welfare state, and others are expected to follow' (2010: 37).

8. While sympathy is 'proactive' and reflects 'concern about the other and a desire to improve the other's situation' (88), de Waal argues, empathy, by contrast, is an often 'automated', 'unconditional' (2010: 184) and affectively 'neutral' (211) process 'by which we gather information about someone else' (88).

9. Despite what might be suggested by this book's title – *The Age of Empathy: Nature's Lessons for a Kinder Society* – de Waal argues that 'There exists in fact no obligatory connection between empathy and kindness, and no animal can afford treating everyone nicely all the time. Every animal faces competition over food, mates and territory. A society based on empathy is no more free of conflict than a marriage based on love' (2010: 45).

10. From de Waal's perspective, although our automated ability to empathise with others evolved because, 'on average and in the long run, it served our ancestors' (2010: 184), this is not the case for fairness. As he notes, 'the chief emotions are egocentric, preoccupied with what we get compared to others, and how we may come across to others…Only secondarily is there an actual concern for others' (184).

11. de Waal, like many other scientists concerned with the evolutionary foundations of empathy, stresses that empathy evolved to 'promote in-group cooperation' (2010: 221). While empathy is both universal and automatic, he argues, it is most likely to be aroused 'with those who have been "preapproved" based on similarity or closeness' (81). Empathy depends on 'proximity, similarity, and familiarity' (221) and is regulated 'at its very source by means of selected attention and identification' (80). As such, he explains 'primate psychology has been designed to care about the welfare of family, friends and partners' (115).

12. In providing evolutionary scaffolding for 'the American dream' and its ideal of a market-based society, de Waal's ethological account of empathy predictably has little to say about the complex structural relations of power that may prevent 'merit' from being nurtured and recognised in a given society. In true neoliberal fashion, the world seems to turn in his vision on the triumphs and failures of individuals. When society fails, it would seem, this can be traced to individual failures, indeed to personal failures of empathy: 'A lot of trouble in the world can be traced to people whose Russian doll is an empty shell. Like aliens from another planet, they are intellectually incapable of adopting another's viewpoint without any of the accompanying feelings…They successfully fake empathy' (2010: 212).

13. These contemporary analyses have of course emerged from much longer genealogies of critical and creative engagement with Darwinian evolutionary frameworks within the humanities and social sciences as well as the life sciences. Within cultural studies for example, it is notable that Raymond Williams (1980) cites Friedrich Engels on the possibilities of rethinking the

social Darwinist emphasis on the 'survival of the fittest'. See also, Haraway (1989), Lewontin (1991) and Rose and Rose (2001).

14. Following Henri Bergson, Connolly understands perception as always mediated by both 'the event you encounter and the memory without recollection that helps you to translate the encounter into perception' (2010: 26). What Bergson refers to as virtual memory, or motor memory, he claims, 'persists below explicit awareness as a repository of cultural life from the past', and plays an important role in organising our encounters with free-flowing sensual stimuli into intelligible perceptions (26). In other words, it is because our brains store affective impressions of past encounters with other humans, animals, things, assemblages, forces, etc. that we develop neural systems that enable us to quickly make sense of what we experience in daily life, automatically recognising it as similar or different to past events. Bergson's understanding of the mediated nature of perception resonates in key ways, Connolly argues, with the neuroscientist Antonio Damasio's (2000, 2004) description of the role of 'somatic markers' in human thought and action. Although rooted in neural circuits and processes, he emphasises, somatic markers 'are not equivalent to biologically wired dispositions. They have intersubjective and linguistic elements mixed into them' (35). Indeed, in Connolly's reading of Damasio, 'linguistically-complex brain regions respond not only to events in the world but also, proprioceptively, to cultural habits, skills, memory traces, and affects mixed into our muscles, skin, gut, and cruder brain regions' (36).

15. See also Anna Gibbs' analysis of 'mimetic communication' or mimesis as processes of embodied simulation involving the 'complex imbrication of biological capacities with sociality' (2002: 26). As Gibbs argues in relation to mimesis, 'Although culture is predicated on certain biological capacities, it seems clear that the biological body marks a constraining, rather than determining, influence on the nature of the human. And – in part by virtue of constraint – it also actively enables certain kinds of development. It is now not so much a question of trying to work out what is nature and what second nature, but rather to see that the question of nature versus nurture is an artificial one, once we recognize the complex ways in which the human organism and its environments are "mutually unfolded and enfolded structures" (Varela et al., 1993: 199) and are each recomposed through their exchanges' (190). As such, Gibbs contends, 'evolution demonstrates the mutability and malleability of biology as against its permanence' (190).

16. Papoulias and Callard also contend that, within 'affect theory', it is 'a select number of scientists who find favour', such as Antonio Damasio, Joseph LeDoux and Daniel Stern, and their findings tend to be interpreted in very selective ways (2010: 33).

17. Similarly, Ruth Leys notes that today's affect theorists 'seek to recast biology in dynamic, energistic, non-deterministic terms that emphasize its unpredictable and potentially emancipatory qualities' (2011a: 441). In this context, as Papoulias and Callard suggest, 'affect theory provides the language for an imagining of a biology that, since shot through with "the dynamics of birth and creativity" (Thrift, 2008: 59), can act as a prototype for a certain progressive politics' (2010: 36).

18. For instance, Papoulias and Callard argue, although Antonio Damasio 'argues that "[w]hat is played out in the body is constructed anew, moment by moment" (1994: 158), this in no way counters his commitment to seeing emotions as "stereotyped patterns of response" on the level of evolutionary time scales' (2010: 41). As such, they contend, 'While affects have come to take a much greater role in neuroscience, they do not necessarily work in relation to an emancipatory script. Affect theorists seek to enlist affectivity in the service of the body's creative potential, thereby frequently choosing to ignore affect's central role in the regulation of the self' (47).

19. That is, while Papoulias and Callard critique certain affect theorists for creating a distinction between 'good' and 'bad' cultural theory (where 'bad' theory is that which remains aligned with the 'the discursive turn' thus failing to meaningfully take into account materiality), they respond to these dynamics by critiquing those theorists for engaging in 'mis-translation' of science.

20. From Clare Hemmings' perspective, claims for the autonomy and free circulation of 'affect' should be subjected to critique and she urges us to look beyond 'the contemporary fascination with affect as outside social meaning' (2005: 565). See also Ahmed (2004), Tyler (2009), Bondi and Davidson (2011), Cvetkovich (2012a), and Pedwell and Whitehead (2012).

21. See also Gibbs who, in bringing together neuroscience, ethology and cultural theory to analyse processes of 'mimetic communication', suggests that 'theory needs to adopt a heuristic function, drawing creatively on different forms of knowledge to ask *what if* one conceived of the world in this way'. From Gibbs' perspective, 'The 'passionate fictions' of writing, and art more generally, seem to offer a way of…interlocking sensation with story and in the process recreating the essay as a heuristic for innovation' (203).

22. As Gallese argues, this research is novel because in identifying, for the first time, 'a neural mechanism allowing a direct mapping between the visual description of a motor act', it 'provides parsimonious solution to the problem of *translating* the results of visual analysis of an observed movement – in principle devoid of meaning for the observer – into something that the observer is able to understand (italics mine, 2009: 520–1). See also Goldman (2011), and Iacoboni (2011).

23. See also Goldman (2011), and Iacoboni (2011).

24. It should be noted, however, that Connolly is less enthusiastic about the continuing need for psychoanalytic frameworks in these kinds of analyses than other theorists are, including myself. From his perspective 'Freud encloses memory traces within a deep interpretation in which he knows the source and shape of the most archaic traces, even though those beset by them do not' (2002: 40). Connolly advocates an approach that would 'leave open the Freudian interpretation of culture as a possibility without automatically treating it as the only way to come to terms with the layering of culture' (7). He aims to 'foster positive experimentation in ethics and politics by joining a layered conception of memory, perception, thinking, and culture to modest schemata of interpretation and explanation' (4).

25. Teresa Brennan's *The Transmission of Affect* is significant in the context of these discussions because she brings together psychoanalysis and neuroscience to

theorise how affects are transmitted in ways that 'undermine the dichotomy between the individual and the environment and the related opposition between the biological and the social' (2004: 7). For Brennan, 'the transmission of affect' refers to 'how the emotions or affects of one person, and the enhancing or depressing energies these affects entail, can enter into another' (3). It is, she suggests, a process 'that is social in origin but biological and physical in effect' (3). While Brennan draws on psychoanalytic frameworks and concepts, she situates her theory as 'an alternative to psychoanalytic theory or metapsychology' because 'it postulates an origin for affects that is independent of the individual experiencing them' (13). See also Blackman (2012) and Wetherell (2012).

26. See Damasio (2004) and Iacoboni (2011).
27. Wilson asserts that in his earlier more biologically focused research, Freud 'is postulating a melancholic ontology of pain, hemorrhaging, and wounding within which psychic forces and somatic forces are mutually and constitutively bound' (2004: 23).
28. See also Gibbs who, drawing on Darwin and Silvan Tomkins, theorises mimicry (understood as a primary component of empathy) as not only a 'form of embodied copying' but also 'a kind of hinge between nature and culture' (2010: 190). Gibbs also links her discussion to research on mirror neurons.
29. On the basis of recent research which argues for the existence of neurons with 'mirror properties' in the medial temporal lobe of the brain, Iacoboni asserts that 'a revision of the original notion of mirror neurons' is required (2011: 55). Mirror neurons (which are assumed to have both motor and sensory properties) were originally interpreted as functioning to *help us understand the observed actions of others by mapping them onto our own motor repertoire*. By contrast, medial temporal lobe neurons (which are assumed to be associated with higher-order visual and memory properties but not with motor properties), have been interpreted as functioning to *help us understand our own behaviour by mapping our own actions onto our perception of the actions of others* (italics mine, 55).
30. Those who are are defined by the dominant culture as 'Other', who are constructed by that culture as 'ugly, dirty, defiled, impure, contaminated, or sick', Young argues, 'discover their status by means of the embodied behaviour of others: in their gestures, a certain nervousness that they exhibit, their avoidance of eye contact, the distance they keep' (1990: 23). See also Lorde (1984), Silverman (1996), Ahmed (2000, 2004), and Cheng (2001).
31. See Berlant (1997, 2008a, 2011b), Ahmed (2004, 2010), and Cvetkovich (2003, 2012a,b).
32. Ahmed's understanding of emotion as operating in and through affective economies resonates with Wilson's relational view of the brain/body system as a network 'of mutual constitution from which no particular element emerges as the originary, predetermining term' (Wilson, 2004: 19–20), and in which the 'relation between elements rather than the elements themselves determines the character of that structure' (22). It also shares affinities with critical understandings of transnational politics, such as Inderpal Grewal's, as operating through emergent social, cultural, political and economic 'connectivities' and 'networks' in which 'each element in interconnected with a

multiplicity of other elements' and 'the status of individual elements is determined by their connections' which 'make some elements into nodal points through which the network itself maybe argued to flow onward' (Grewal, 2005: 25; see also Ong, 2006).

33. Moreover, as black and other critical feminist scholars have long argued, the production of 'race' is always already bound up with gender, sexuality, class and nation among other vectors, although the meaning and significance of these categories themselves are of course highly unstable and variable in the midst of complex and emergent transnational contexts and connectivities. See, for example, Carby (1982), Amos and Parmar (1984), Crenshaw (1989, 1991), Grewal and Kaplan (1994), Alexander and Mohanty (1997, 2010), Grewal (2005) and Nash (2008).

34. Taking into account the intersecting hierarchies of power that constitute transnational structures and processes, Young acknowledges that 'while everyone in the system of structural and institutional relations stands in circumstances of justice that give them obligations', those who are 'institutionally and materially situated to be able to do more to affect the conditions of vulnerability have greater obligations' (2006: 106).

35. See Rose (1989, 2006), Berlant (2004), and Ong (2006).

36. As Young points out, however, 'such need for cooperation does not mean that agents have no conflicts of interest and no need for struggling with one another. Sharing responsibility means, in part, that agents challenge one another to account for what they are doing and not doing' (2006: 30).

37. In Young's framework, consciousness raising includes both processes 'by which an oppressed group comes to define and articulate the social conditions of its oppression, and to politicize culture by confronting the cultural imperialism that has designated or silenced its specific group experience', and those that involve 'making the privileged aware of how their habitual actions, reactions, images, and stereotypes contribute to oppression' (1990: 153).

38. There is, however, a contradiction in de Waal's discourse here. While, on the one hand, he presents empathy as 'hard-wired' and warns against attempts to 'change the human condition', on the other hand, his argument that we must seize on and cultivate our 'innate' capacity for empathy to create a society based on greater connection and cooperation assumes that empathy (and its biological underpinnings) is fundamentally malleable. My acknowledgements go to Kane Race for articulating this point at my talk at the Department of Gender and Cultural Studies, University of Sydney in 2013.

39. More broadly, in its debt to Bergson and Deleuze, as well as more progressive strands of contemporary neuroscience, Connolly's work enables a rethinking of thought itself – that is a shaking up of how we understand 'the cognitive' to appreciate the ways in which thinking is embodied and constitutive of material relations within the brain-body network and its interface with the world. As Connolly argues: 'Thinking is not merely involved in knowing, explaining, representing, evaluating and judging. Subsisting within these activities are the interpretive and compositional dimensions of thinking. To think is to move something. And to modify a pattern of body/brain connections helps to draw a habit, a disposition to judgment, or capacity of action into being' (2002: 103).

40. Connolly acknowledges that not everything, of course, is amenable to translation, that there will always be an affective reminder or trace that escapes, and that 'some of these memories work upon you without being translated into explicit recollections' (2002: 69–70). He suggests that we should appreciate 'those fugitive registers of being that are pertinent to stability or innovation in thought but unamenable to argument or representation. There is much more to thinking than argument' (74).

41. de Waal argues that 'mood translation' is 'an essential part of empathy'. It is, he suggests, 'the oldest form of adjustment to others. Synchrony, in turn, builds upon the ability to map one's body onto that of another, and make the other's movements one's own, which is exactly why someone else's laugh or yawn makes us laugh or yawn' (2010: 52). For critical interpretations of these processes from the perspective of cultural theory see Michael Taussig (1993) on mimeses and 'Euro-American colonialism', Susan Leigh Foster (2010) on empathy and 'kinesthesia in performance' and Anna Gibbs (2010) on sympathy, synchrony and 'mimetic communication'.

42. Amin calls attention to how, 'Although everyday mixity of itself provides no guarantee of channelling vernacular practices bent on harm into forms that are watchful or tolerant of racial difference…the orchestration of collective or shared space as a commons in which majorities and minorities participate as equals can help to encourage a change in this direction' (2010: 14).

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