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Thomas Stodulka
Samia Dinkelaker
Ferdiansyah Thajib *Editors*

Affective Dimensions of Fieldwork and Ethnography

Springer

Theory and History in the Human and Social Sciences

Series Editor

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Series Foreword

The Real Humanity of Research

From Suffering to Knowledge

This volume is a breakthrough—overcoming the consensual social norm that denies the affective origins of scientists' passion for knowledge. Contributions to this book—coming from the framework of anthropology—prove to all social sciences that the basis for all new knowledge is the affective goals-oriented subjective striving by researchers who are dedicated to their fields and are ready to endure various kinds of hardships in their ways. Whether this entails anthropologists' frustrations during their fieldwork or a "number crunching" sociologist who tries to understand how society works from meta-analyses of "big data," the human affective relating with the desire to find out something new is shared across all sciences.

Maintaining the image of *rationality of science* is possible only through its opposite—that of the deep irrationality of the researchers who take risks of being burned on a stake or discredited for offering seemingly unrealistic ideas that, decades later, become recognized as major breakthroughs. Such passion for objectivity in science is admirable in its persistence. We find ways to experience the curious pleasure of the pain of our grant applications being turned down, submitted papers only to be rejected by journal reviewers, and our university administrators forcing upon us mundane tasks that have no connection with knowledge creation. We feel frustrated—yet ready to go on, as our intellectual goals are personally, deeply crucial for us. Science is a subjective and affective solution for personal life dedication. It is a kind of liminal plane of existence from which there is no return; we can only forge ahead towards knowledge. If we are lucky and persistent in suffering through the hardships of such pilgrimages, these hardships may reach their destination. But they also can be aborted halfway, as we see promising researchers turning into administrators or perpetuators of existing knowledge.

The process of creating new knowledge is inherently ambiguous—requiring researchers to accept their role of constantly moving ahead amidst all the uncertainties of their exploration. Scientific discovery:

> …reveals new knowledge, but the new vision that accompanies it is not knowledge. It is *less* than knowledge, for it is a guess; but it is *more* than knowledge, for it is a foreknowledge of things yet unknown and at present perhaps inconceivable. Our vision of the general nature of things is our guide for the interpretation of all future experience. Such guidance is indispensable. Theories of the scientific method which try to explain the establishment of scientific truth by any purely objective formal procedure are doomed to failure. Any process of enquiry unguided by intellectual passions would inevitably spread out into a desert of trivialities. (Polanyi 1962, p. 135)

Tolerating this permanent state of liminality is the life-course adaptation task for researchers. It is far from being an easy task.

The present volume provides many examples from the field of anthropology, demonstrating that affect is the center of all of our knowledge creation efforts. Years ago, George Devereux (1967) pointed to various ways in which researchers adjust to uncertainties. The new material in this book adds to our basic understanding of the real world difficulties in the field and of the ways in which ordinary human beings—with the assumed, created identity of *anthropologists*—cope with all the various misperceptions of their roles as outsider-researcher and suspicions about their magical or administrative impacts onto the lives of the communities they study. Development of trust in the *other* is essential for productive fieldwork—yet it is a fragile interpersonal state that can vanish in an instant.

The trust—or its absence—can be mutual. In order to be let into the affairs of the ones a social scientist wants to study—anthropologist, sociologist, or psychologist—a counter-investigation of the researcher takes place[1]. Who is she (or he) coming here to penetrate into our ordinary, extraordinary, mythological lives? What is the potential danger of letting the researcher in? There exist regular social norms for accepting a guest—but not for accepting a visitor who wants to peep into our local affairs as a kind of spy. Guests are traditionally honored; spies are despised. And nothing can save the fieldworker from being stigmatized when deviating from the role of guest. The anthropologist's home institutions do nothing to protect the rights of the researchers. They only seem to worry about the people who are being studied, while the people who do the studying are left to their own resources.

The "seem to" here is accurate. The institutional "protection of human subjects" as it proliferates across the world is inherently ambiguous. Even as research institutions have developed elaborate rituals for "protection of the research participants" and are telling us about these, why should we—the objects of their research—trust them? They say our participation is *for science*, but what does this mean? Our ordinary lives are filled with practical needs within which such claims make no sense. Are there any benefits for us? Here these institutional gatekeepers would be the strange visitors: do they understand what creates importance for us?

[1] See Günther (1998) for a vivid description of such counter-investigation in a US university context.

The answer here is of course “no.” They cannot; there are very few connections between their worlds in ivory towers (nowadays perhaps better called data manufacturers) and ours in the jungles of everyday life. And we keep living in ours, not theirs. They may come for short visits, but we remain. What they call “participation” with “informed consent” while asking us to sign the appropriate forms is a confusing act. We have agreed to be studied by our word of honor, so why a piece of paper with our signatures? We may sign these—for us that is an act of generosity towards the guests and a part of our normative hospitality towards people who visit us from afar. So the first—and maybe only—benefit we get from participation is proof of our own hospitality.

What the reflections by the anthropologists tell us about the affective saturation of the field experience in the social sciences goes far beyond the practical questions about how to survive the fieldwork and what kind of evidence it might bring. Phenomena similar to the fieldwork experiences are there in psychologists’ consultation offices, and in the realities of sociologists trying to solicit a “random sample” from a nonrandom social community. It is a version of the general process of human communication that has been posited by Karl Bühler (1934) under the notion of the organon model. It antedates the Shannon-Weaver model of technical communication—widely but inadequately applied to interhuman communication—by around a decade. A version of the model for the special case of the research act is given in Fig. 1.

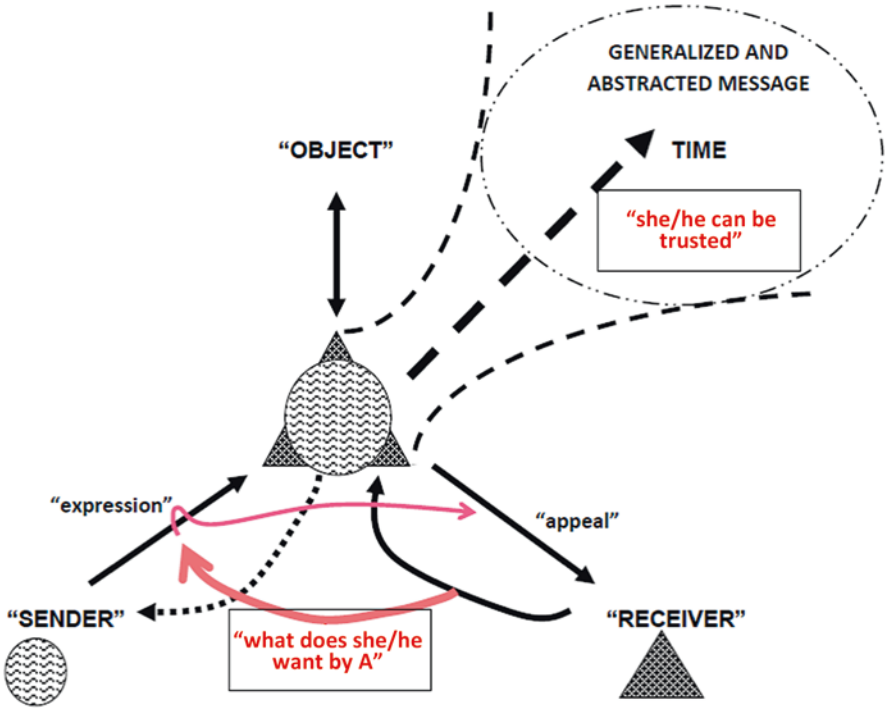

Fig. 1 General model of communication in the research process

The original Bühler model involved the object (about what communication was going on), the sender (who encodes message A—denoted in the figure by a circle—about the object), and the receiver (who interprets the sender's message in one's own terms—denoted by the triangle). The critical, crucial implication of Bühler's model is that interhuman communication is always approximate—we may refer to the same object but its meanings for the sender and the receiver ordinarily do not fit one another's. This has two consequences: the constant need to specify what the other meant and freedom for possible innovation of the meanings of the object. Our capacities to leave the immediate objective reality of the object to encode it in humorous, sarcastic, or moral terms is an indicator of this freedom.

When viewed as an example of research encounters—in the field or in a laboratory—Bühler's scheme includes two further features. First, the goal orientations for encoding a message by the sender are present. The researcher *wants something* from the receiver (the "expression" entails suggestions of how to receive the message), and the latter—in addition to receiving the message—is involved in the detection of the meta-communicative agenda involved. ("What does she/he want?") It is dependent upon the *interpretation of the intention* that the receiver responds—with very different possible tactics ranging from joining in the communicative act to pretending to join in ("empty talk"), redirecting the conversation, or outright challenging the intentions.

If the communication process continues over time, then the second feature, trust, may emerge. Trust is a meta-communicative field-like sign (see Valsiner 2014 on the point-like and field-like signs) that is generalized by the person (in sender and receiver roles) to mark the messages communicated and their intentions. Statements like "I do not really understand what the author of this Preface wants to say *but I trust him*" is an example of such meta-communicative marking. As can be seen from Fig. 1, the trust is a catalytic condition that makes substantive communication possible. It does not cause any of the phenomena discovered in the research process, but its presence makes it possible to bypass or inhibit the barriers that protect the insiders' knowledge from outsiders "peeping in."

The dialogue about affectivity in the research process that is initiated by the present volume is a result of an intellectual revival in the social sciences. The new collective interdisciplinary effort—Berlin School of Affective Scholarship—is a good example not of the return of the center of intellectual gravity of the social sciences to Berlin but a manifestation of transnational, collaborative efforts floating within and between globalized academic landscapes. The young, globalized, and cosmopolitan Berliners of today—a multicultural and transnational group of social scientists—are working in our twenty-first century towards a real synthesis of ideas in the social sciences. The readers of this volume have the privilege of entering into an intellectual dialogue with this new wave of scholarship that is likely to lead to new—affectively completed—understanding of the world.

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Contents

About the Editors

Thomas Stodulka is Junior Professor at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Freie Universität Berlin. His work focuses on the interplay between affect, emotion, mental health, stigmatization, childhood, and critical epistemologies. He conducted long-term fieldwork with street-related young men in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, between 2001 and 2015, and he has directed international research projects on the role of affect and emotion in fieldwork and ethnography, envy in transcultural perspectives, and critical perspectives on interdisciplinary emotion research and big data. He is the co-founder and co-convenor of the European Network for Psychological Anthropology (ENPA) at the European Association of Social Anthropologists.

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Natashe Lemos Dekker Through ethnographic fieldwork in nursing homes in the Netherlands, Natashe Lemos Dekker's PhD in Medical Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam research addresses the social processes and the moral values in death and dying with dementia. She assesses the politics of death and dying by questioning normative conditions for the production of lives worth living. As a Research Fellow at the Leiden University Medical Centre, she studies the implementation of palliative care in nursing homes through a critical evaluation of palliative care tools for observing and marking the end of life.

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in human-environment relations, and to the roles of information and communication technologies in the mediation of those relations and processes.

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Judith Okely's research interests include gypsies/travelers. Professor Okely has published widely on these issues. Her research interests also include anthropological fieldwork methods. Her *Anthropological Practice* (2012) draws on extended

dialogues with 20 anthropologists (of 16 nationalities), having done individual fieldwork around the globe. Recent publications also focus on gender issues. Professor Okely has lectured and taught in more than 20 countries. She has also given distinguished lectures at the London School of Economics and Helsinki, and she is Deputy Director of the International Gender Studies Centre at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford University. In 2011, Judith was awarded a medal by the Faculty of Philosophy, University of West Bohemia, as a "World Scholar" and also received the Seal of the City of Pilsen, in the Czech Republic.

Emilia Perujo focuses her research on contemporary kinship. She studies adverse kinship situations such as infertility and separations, from an anthropological perspective, and is interested in the fluid substance of relationships.

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Foreword: Pathways of Affective Scholarship

James Davies and Thomas Stodulka

This book is the result of considerable struggle, within the social sciences and beyond, to both acknowledge and determine the enabling role of affect and emotion in social science research. Drawing together a group of relatively young scholars in the realm of affective research, this volume offers powerful examples of how the affective dimensions of fieldwork have empirical and methodological worth.

For the past 6 years, scholars at the Freie Universität Berlin and beyond have undertaken a systematic and empirical-rooted analysis of fieldwork experiences, experimented with alternative fieldwork methodologies, and, in the process, *have* generated critically important qualitative and quantitative data that further illuminates how our subjective reactions to the conditions of the field can be epistemologically informative. The approach adopted in this volume is a relatively young one in the history of fieldwork methodology, which, at its most basic level, can be broadly divided into two sub-streams of enquiry—*traditional empiricism* and *radical empiricism*. As each of these traditions has approached the researcher's subjectivity in the field in distinct ways, it is important that we identify where this current volume sits within these streams of enquiry by way of first providing a brief synopsis of each.

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Traditional and Radical Empiricism

Traditional empiricism is generally regarded as a methodological approach more concerned with studying "things themselves" than the *relations* between things. As an approach, traditional empiricism—in both quantitative and qualitative research—thus considers subjectivity as something to be controlled and restrained, rather than as phenomena to be considered empirically informative (Davies 2010b). Traditional empiricism has, therefore, drawn firm lines between the researching subject and the researched object, carefully defining across the social sciences what attributes of the researcher can usefully contribute to the activity of knowledge construction—namely, rationality and the capacity for detachment. This approach therefore implies that attributes such as encroaching feelings or affects have to be methodologically removed or subdued, as they invariably introduce irregularities that cloud and bias research (ibid.). For traditional empiricism, then, the researcher's emotions or affects are seen as impediments to understanding, more disabling than enabling of the work researchers do. Traditional empiricism, if discussing emotions at all, only does so from the empirical standpoint of offering advice upon how emotions could be "managed" and "tamed" in ways freeing fieldworkers to undertake more unclouded research. While this approach has dominated official fieldwork manuals written not only for ethnologists but also for psychologists, cultural theorists, sociologists, and educationalists, many anthropologists have, however, remained privately—if not always publicly—committed to taking seriously the value of fieldwork's intersubjective and experiential dimensions. Indeed, as we have written elsewhere:

> Many of these anthropologists [who take the intersubjective nature of fieldwork seriously] share affinity with feminist theorists who have fought to retrieve emotion and subjectivity from marginal spaces. The abandonment of emotion into zones of pathology, radical and racial otherness, into the feminine, the outlawed, the exotic, the mad or the bad, is part of a wider traditional empirical movement where the emotional, as Catherine Lutz has criticised, is "considered as an unfortunate block to rational thought" (Lutz 2001: 104). If emotion is linked with irrationality, and the irrational with a kind of distorted vision, then emotion is simply grit in the eye of rational inspection. The syllogism misleads (as all syllogistic fallacies do) when empirical work produces data that contradict the syllogism's first premises. And such data now increases, if only on the margins. (Davies 2010b, p. 12)

The "data" referred to in the above quotation is what *radical empiricism* embraces. This is illustrated by first noting that radical empiricism has its roots in the work of the philosopher and psychologist William James, influenced by a suite of earlier theorists and philosophers working in phenomenological and interpretivist traditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Intellectuals such as Gottfried Herder, Martin Heidegger, and Wilhelm Dilthey invoked the ideas of *Einfühlung* (feeling into the world), *Gestimmtheit* (attuning to the world), and *tonalité* (adjusting to the pitch of the world), all urging that participation and detachment were methodological postures that could each reach distinct species of fact and that therefore *both* belonged in social research. This view was also implied in Max Weber's insistence that the observer and observed were constituted of the same

human essence—an idea grounding the concept of *Verstehen*: knowing through empathic attunement (Davies 2010b). This stream of radical empirical thought has been taken forward by more recent anthropologists such as Michael Jackson (1989, p. 3), who "stresses the ethnographer's interactions with those he or she lives with and studies, while urging us to clarify the ways in which our knowledge is grounded in our practical, personal and participatory experience in the field as much as our detached observations [and] makes the interplay between these domains the focus of its interest".

While many social/cultural studies scholars have conceptualized the aforementioned "interplay" as the site where the "intersubjective" dimension of ethnographic work resides, what has often been overlooked within paradigmatic debates on ontology and epistemology is reflection on the role of the ethnographer's emotional role within intersubjectivity and its epistemological relevance. For example, hands-on methods to aid translating the researchers' emotions into a valid set of complementary data have rarely been pursued beyond ethno-psychoanalysis case studies (e.g., the use of psychoanalytical concepts such as "transference" and "countertransference" to facilitate understanding of emotions in the field (Crapanzano 2010; Devereux 1967) and ethno-psychoanalytical data interpretation workshops (Bonz et al. 2017)). However, more recently, Davies (2010a), Spencer (2010), Svašek (2010), and Burkitt (2012)—by highlighting the methodological significance of emotions as arising between ethnographers and their interlocutors—have set the path for an inquiry into the pragmatics of how to practice an emotional reflexivity that does not begin at the period of writing up or post-fieldwork supervision (hence "after the fact") but starts at the very onset of fieldwork itself.

The aforementioned move can be classified as *radical empiricism,* as it implicitly questions the traditional empirical advocacy for the researcher's emotional detachment from his or her data. It requests a research methodology that is pragmatic insofar as it aims to translate the emotions that arise from and influence field relations into a complementary set of ethnographic data for further analysis and interpretation. Further questions still remain, however, regarding how best to practice such emotional reflexivity in the field and how to communicate it via ethnographic analysis and writing. These problems are methodologically and institutionally challenging. With few exceptions (Robben and Sluka 2012), method handbooks and academic emotion regimes still reproduce narratives that fieldwork is a *rite de passage* that novices must traverse "no matter what." Whatever the personal and professional cost, it is a methodological requirement that anthropologists immerse themselves and affectively relate to others' life-worlds as empathetic and compassionate fieldworkers, in order to "blend in" or "grasp" informants' ways of feeling, narrating, and navigating through their local worlds. And yet, fieldworkers are also expected to metamorphose into detached analytical scientists upon return to the academic site, where their emotions and immersions are transfigured into scientific disturbances (Davies 2010b; Stodulka 2015). To counter this contradiction, radical empiricism advocates an epistemological position that places the researcher's empathy and emotions at the heart of ethnographic knowledge production, whatever the site (ethnographic/academic) from which that knowledge is produced.

A methodology that takes the ethnographer's affective disposition and positionality into account assists in translating affecting and affective field experiences into language that speaks to those who have not "been there" and so do not share the ethnographer's privileged, involved, and long-term fieldwork experience. Radical empiricism opens up alternative ways of researching and writing about field relations. It pursues a thorough documentation of emotions related to encounters with research partners, interlocutors, and informants. By fully acknowledging affects and emotions' relational dimension (i.e., the *in-between*)—as they arise from and influence the social relationships and encounters with informants, interlocutors, collaborators, research partners, and physical or virtual field sites—radical empiricism highlights their epistemic dimension.

This Volume

Many of the scholars of this present volume associate with what has been dubbed the "Berlin School of Affective Scholarship"—a network that has been driving more recent developments in combining methodological aspects of traditional empiricism with the epistemological tenets of radical empiricism. This volume, as does the network more broadly, comprises anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, psychologists, and literature scholars (e.g., Dinkelaker 2019; Keil 2019; Liebal et al. 2019; Selim 2018; Shah 2018; Stodulka 2017; Stodulka et al. 2018; Thajib 2019) who have gone beyond merely theorizing on the epistemological relevance of emotions in the field, venturing into the pragmatics of translating diverse affective experiences into useful anthropological data, by way of developing for fieldworkers a suite of fieldwork techniques (Lubrich and Stodulka 2019; Lubrich et al. 2017; Stodulka et al. 2019). This book brings to awareness many ways in which the affective reactions to the condition of the field enable rather than impede processes of anthropological and social scientific knowledge construction. It aims to advance methodological reflections and practices of affective scholarship and invites other disciplines from the human, cultural, and social sciences to engage in critical and constructive methodological dialogue. In short, it is a valuable addition to critical epistemological debates that embrace the body, the personal, and the emotional in empirical research, and in particular fieldwork and ethnography (Behar 1996; Briggs 1970; Favret-Saada 2012; Haraway 1988; Koivunen and Paasonen 2001; Okely 2012; Stoller 1997; Wilce 2004). It attempts to translate the researcher's subjectivity into empirical and theoretical insights through self-reflexive engagement with ethnographic methods and fieldwork experiences. Moving beyond the dialectics of scientific objectivism and sentimentalist subjectivity (Cerwonka 2007), traditional and radical empiricism, this book delineates the researcher's affects and emotions as critical processes of anthropological analysis and representation.

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Introduction: Affective Dimensions of Fieldwork and Ethnography

Ferdiansyah Thajib, Samia Dinkelaker, and Thomas Stodulka

> I have the feeling that most of the negative emotions come from either cultural differences (in which I am confronted with my ethnocentrism and interpretation of justice) or from the feeling that I am not doing fieldwork well, that I am being too lazy, that I am not getting enough data, that people don't have or don't make time for me and that I have no right to expect that from them. Positive emotions on the other hand are, I think, intimately related to feelings of doing my fieldwork successfully (having an interesting interview/FGD, having gotten to an important insight, etc.) but actually mostly they are related to having special interactions with the people around me, being inspired by them, feeling affection for them and their affection for me, and having a feeling of a real connection and friendship with the people who my research is about. So I guess, very simply put, it is *production* and *affection* that determine both the positive and negative emotions that I feel during fieldwork. (Fieldwork reflections by a colleague analyzing her own emotion diary in retrospect, 2015)

This book explores the role of researchers' emotions and affects in understanding "the field." Whichever methods ethnographers apply during field research, however close they come to be to their informants, and no matter how involved or detached they feel, fieldwork pushes anthropologists to constantly negotiate and reflect their scientific subjectivities and positionalities in relation to the persons, communities, spaces and phenomena they study with. The quote above exemplifies fieldwork challenges and gratifications that anthropologists have widely discussed and debated in terms of fieldwork ethics (Caduff 2011; Caplan 2003; De Laine 2000; Dilger et al. 2015; Fluehr-Lobban 1991; Scheper-Hughes 1995; Stoczkowski 2008), methodological practices (Amit 2003; Beatty 2010; Okely 2012; Rabinow 1977; Rosaldo 1989; Sanjek 1991; Sluka and Robben 2012; Stoller and Olkes 2012), colonial traditions inscribed in ethnographic encounters (Asad 1973; Smith 1999), and modes of

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ethnographic representation (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Fabian 1990; MacDougall 1998; Tierney and Lincoln 1997). This volume focuses on methodological implications that bring to awareness the potentials of researchers' affects and emotions that enable more than they hinder processes of anthropological and social scientific knowledge construction. We found this collaborative book project on our own prospects (Davies and Stodulka 2019; Stodulka et al. 2019; Stodulka et al. 2018) that particularly extend on classic and recent contributions from psychological and feminist anthropology (Behar and Gordon 1995; Crapanzano 2010; Davies and Spencer 2010; Fischer 2018; Hollan 2008; Hollan and Throop 2008; Narayan 1993; Rosaldo 1980; Wolf 1996; Visweswaran 1994). This book is our bid to provide intellectual space for methodological and epistemological debates, and expound the potentials and the limits of affectively aware scholarship by means of comprehensive and illustrative ethnographic case studies.

Affect, Emotion, Fieldwork, and Ethnography

This book focuses on methodological reflections and ethnographic case studies in relation to what the authors of this volume experienced as affects, feelings, and emotions during and after fieldwork. Abstaining from convoluted theorizing, we discuss them in relation to the practices of fieldwork and ethnography, and define them loosely as embodied social and relational processes and experiences (Burkitt 2014; Röttger-Rössler and Stodulka 2014; White 2017). As minimal definition, the authors of this book agree on very basic theoretical assumptions: emotions link affects (as bodily, sensory, inarticulate, and sometimes nonconscious experience) with surrounding local worlds by way of shared or recognizable modes of communication, articulation, and feeling. Emotions are linked to cultural repertoires that enable persons to express their own and label others' observable or imagined affects and feelings. Such expressions can occur through shared and communicable emotion words, through gestures, symbols, or body movement. Emotions can be performed and enacted without significant changes in communicating a person's physiological arousal and experience. They motivate action and interaction, and relate to social, cultural, economic and physiological needs and wants. Their display and articulation are affected by and affect others. They are critical in relating people to or disconnecting them from each other (Stodulka 2017a, b, c).

Considering their experiential, psychological, political and social qualities, we argue that their understanding is vital in navigating and making sense of everyday lives and environments. In short, everything emotions do (and can do) should be considered directly relevant to ethnographic fieldwork practice that we understand as series of encounters with persons, places and objects in complex and diverse constellations of power asymmetries. Affects, feelings, and emotions influence and manifest the experience of these encounters, and vice versa, encounters influence

and shape researchers' and interlocutors' emotions, feelings, and affects. Ultimately, they affect what textbook methods (sampling, surveying, interviews, FGDs, systematic observation, participatory, and artistic approaches, or field experiments, and so forth) researchers apply, and how, when and with whom they engage in them.

As illustrated in the quote that prefaces this introduction, field researchers grapple with a wide range of emotions: the happiness after establishing social relations; the pride of "belonging" to host communities; the fear and anxiety not to produce enough data or to do fieldwork "the wrong way"; the disappointment when we feel that we never really belonged to our host communities; for some, the guilt related to colonial heritage and/or privileged life compared to many of our research subjects; the insecurity how to reciprocate hospitality and shared knowledge; or the panic that sneaks in, when we feel that we are not doing enough, or realize that we have to "wrap up" and leave soon. They constitute, as we have elaborated elsewhere, as "field emotions" (Stodulka et al. 2019), or "field affects" (Stodulka et al. 2018), that are generative in the formation of ethnography, and deeply influence our mode of knowledge production—and that hence transpire as epistemic.

Emotional experiences during fieldwork do not only prevail within the blurred boundaries of research. They transgress such idealized work-life dichotomies, and become part of researchers' lives, where they stick and resurface. When compared to other methodologies, the fundament of fieldwork and ethnography is a participant observation, in which researchers immerse themselves into the lifeworlds of the persons, objects, and communities they study (with). As an academic endeavor that is described as the most humanist among the sciences and the most scientific among the humanities (Sluka and Robben 2012), the anthropological fieldwork *persona* is professional researcher and private person at the same time (Leibing and McLean 2007). Similar to "the field," which is increasingly experienced as unbounded psychological, historical and social relationship between researchers, their tasks, and experiences vis-à-vis the lifeworlds, the people, spaces, and places they study with rather than a geographic entity (see Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Marcus 1995; Spencer 2010), ethnographers' minds and bodies too dissolve into their work—and their work seeps into their personal lives, loves, terrors, and dreams.

We propose that, if attended to systematically, carefully and reflexively, emotions—as relational phenomena between researcher and the researched—can be helpful in constructing, unearthing, and representing ethnographic knowledge. The contributions of this volume convey that attending to researchers' emotions as epistemic, understanding them as relational and complementary data can be scientifically rewarding. This book is an appeal to highlight their importance in ascribing meaning to the phenomena ethnographers study. Training fieldworkers' emotional literacy (the capacity to discern and name affective experience in relation to someone or something), by encouraging techniques to document their emotions systematically, promises to enhance researchers' emotional reflexivity and support affective ways of researching, reflecting and representing "the field" as ethnographic knowledge.

Coincidences of Desire: Emerging Affective Scholarship

The groundwork for this book emerges from a transnational and interdisciplinary research collaboration between anthropology, primatology, and literature studies, titled "The Researchers' Affects."[1] After senior colleagues had rejected our ideas at reviewer panels twice as "unscientific," we were able to acquire research funding in a third attempt. When in addition to the three project leaders a team of five doctoral students had been formed, we went on to explore the roles of affects and emotions in ethnographic and primatographic knowledge construction, from the choice of research subjects, to the researcher's positionality, the generation of knowledge and data, and their interpretation and public representation. To this aim, we have studied fieldworkers' affects and emotions from different disciplinary angles (Keil 2019; Lehmann and Stodulka 2018; Liebal et al. 2019; Lubrich et al. 2017; Shah 2018; Stodulka et al. 2016; Suter 2016), as well as refined and developed new methods to identify and make use of these epistemologically (Lubrich and Stodulka 2019; Stodulka et al. 2019).

With regards to our own discipline, we devised semi-structured emotion diaries that could assist fieldworkers in the systematic documentation of affective experiences during fieldwork.[2] Systematizing documentation, we assumed, helps fostering "a habitual mode of affectively aware perception and attention to the researched phenomena" (Stodulka et al. 2019). To gain empirical insights on the affects and emotions at stake during fieldwork, we collaborated with over 20 early-career ethnographers (mainly from the discipline of anthropology) who employed the provided emotion diaries during their fieldwork, shared emotional episodes during semi-structured interviews, and participated in word sorting tasks, open and closed word listings. The majority of the researchers extended their collaboration with the project by contributing more than half of the case studies compiled in this volume.

This book also owes gratitude to a series of "lunch-break" and other informal discussions of the "Affective Epistemologies" working group at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Freie Universität Berlin. The group comprised of fellow junior researchers who all shared concerns regarding the lack of systematic, rigorous and critical reflection on the roles of emotions and affects before, during, and after fieldwork. In retrospect, this confluence of interests and needs was not coincidental given that at this period of time, most of us were either still in the process of preparing, taking breaks, or just returning from our respective fieldwork. As a regular meeting platform for almost 2 years, this working group also functioned as a peer support group among junior scholars, in which they could engage in structured discussions and analytical exchanges around the topics of emotions and affects in the field, independent from the official academic curriculum. The collaboration with members of the working group translates into this book through the majority

[1] The project was directed by Katja Liebal (primatology), Oliver Lubrich (literature), and Thomas Stodulka (anthropology) and funded by the Volkswagen Foundation (2013–2018).

[2] See Appendix.