EMOTION AND THE RESEARCHER: SITES, SUBJECTIVITIES, AND RELATIONSHIPS

STUDIES IN QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

Series Editor: Sam Hillyard

EMOTION AND THE RESEARCHER: SITES, SUBJECTIVITIES, AND RELATIONSHIPS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In editing this collection, *Emotion and the Researcher: Sites, Subjectivities and Relationships*, there are many people who should be thanked and acknowledged. As much of our initial engagement with questions of emotion, relationality and the ways in which methods travel across disciplinary boundaries began in our involvement with the Families, Identities and Gender Research Network, we will begin with this acknowledgement.

We both co-convened the interdisciplinary Families, Identities and Gender Research Network (FIG) at Cardiff University, with our colleagues Dr Siwan Rosser, Dr Melanie Bigold, Dr Katherine Shelton and Dr Stephanie Ward. We held a number of events that invited cross-disciplinary perspectives on the immensely complex topics of families, identities and gender, which foregrounded many of the issues that led to the creation of this volume. Papers presented at the series of 'Emotion and the Researcher' workshops, co-convened with the Women's History Network (West of England and South Wales), generated many of the following chapters. In the later workshop series, 'Constructing and Deconstructing Selfhood', we were joined by Dr Agata Lisiak. We are grateful for funding for this later event from the Economic and Social Research Council's Wales Doctoral Training Centre. We would also like to thank all of the presenters and delegates at these workshops. Even those who did not write chapters were in many ways the guiding muse for this collection.

It is also important to thank all of the individual authors for engaging with the project and offering a set of diverse and thoughtful accounts and reflections, drawing on their extensive knowledge and expertise. The authors have recounted their own experiences of research, generously sharing their approach to their craft and the uncertainties, concerns, enjoyments and questions it entails. Many of the contributors are friends and colleagues that we met through the workshops in Cardiff and at other international conferences. However, we feel that we have come to know the authors more closely through the editing process. We have a deep respect for the research and scholarship of all the authors in this collection, and we were privileged that they accepted the invitation to be part of *Emotion and the Researcher*. Overall, the authors' enthusiasm for the collection and their carefully crafted responses

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BAME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CF	Cystic Fibrosis
EMG	Electromyography
ERC	European Research Council
GSR	Galvanic Skin Response
HP	Health Professional
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PHP	Pre-Healthcare Professional
RG	Remedial Gymnast
RMIT	Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
UN	United Nations
WLM	Women's Liberation Movement
WTC	Women's Therapy Centre

FOREWORD

By Janet Fink

In an article about the role of emotions in feminist research, Kristin Blakely (2007, p. 60) asks the question:

> Suppose we turn the focus inward, reflecting not on the research but actually how we respond to our research, and suppose that we feel the research instead of just thinking it?

This provocation to suppose is part of a wider argument that emotionally engaged research 'opens up space for new questions, ideas and interpretations' (Blakely, 2007, p. 65), and it is just such a determination to suppose that is at the core of this important new interdisciplinary collection and its careful interrogation of the place of emotions in empirical research and the production of knowledge.

Given that, if we are sufficiently attentive to their presence, the complex dynamics of emotions can be traced, inter alia, through the development of research funding bids, responses to peer reviews, applications for ethical approval, fieldwork relationships, interpretations of data and the dissemination of findings – in short, 'the everyday' of our research practices – it is surprising that so few collections such as this exist. It is especially so since some of the most constant features of qualitative research are the emotional labour (Hochshild, 1983) demanded by its research practices (particularly when feminist in principle) and the emotionally fraught ethical dilemmas (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004) that emerge, often unpredictably, at every stage of the research process. Yet, at the same time, it is arguably not so surprising that such collections do not have a more visible presence on our bookshelves and in our libraries. As researchers we regularly have to negotiate feelings of respect, guilt, anger or anxiety in making decisions about what is 'the unsayable and the unspeakable'; 'who to represent and how' and 'what to omit and what to include' (Ryan-Flood & Gill, 2010, p. 3). It is not always easy to be open and transparent about such decisions or the emotions that inflect them, and so secrecy, silences and omissions can be recurrent aspects of our research,

research practices and research outputs (Ryan-Flood & Gill, 2010). However, as Sara Ahmed (2010, p. xvii) reminds us:

> 'secrets' aren't simply information or details that are passed or not passed. A secret might be something we keep from ourselves, something that is too hard or too painful to come to light.

It is noteworthy, then, that the authors in this collection *have* brought into the light aspects of their research and of themselves as researchers that they have found difficult to bear or to question, and they have been carefully reflexive about the reasons for this. They thus offer richly detailed examples to readers of how not only to 'trouble' taken-for-granted research practices, in which the researcher is assumed to maintain a neutral and objective standpoint, but also to reflect on the social, political and ethical relations of research generally. Crucially, at the core of these examples are wider theoretical and methodological debates about the meanings and study of emotions (Bailey & Barclay, 2017; Brownlie, 2014; Burkitt, 2014; Lupton, 1998; Smart, 2007) and the importance of presenting thick, vibrant accounts of research encounters and the embodied, sentient lives of research participants (Back, 2013; Gabb & Fink, 2017).

This collection thus echoes the content and concerns of papers presented at two workshops, titled 'Emotion and the Researcher', which were co-hosted in 2014 at Cardiff University by its Families, Identities, and Gender Research Network (FIG) and the Women's History Network (West of England and South Wales). As a member of the audience at one of the workshops and presenter at another, these events were deeply memorable for a number of reasons. First, they provided a 'safe place' for presentations in which emotions generated in and by different research topics, methods and collaborations could be shared with colleagues. Second, the audience was able to respond in kind by relating their own emotional responses to the presentations and the ways their research had evoked similar or different feelings. Third, for some presenters and audience members, these interactions enabled an often long overdue opportunity to acknowledge and process feelings generated either in the field, in the archive, during analysis or when writing up findings. And fourth, the workshops illustrated that 'emotionally sensed knowledge' is never readily or simply attained, not least because 'the epistemological status of such knowledge is always complex, uncertain and provisional' (Bowlby & Day, [this volume], p. 129). The trope of 'journeys' was thus regularly drawn upon in discussions as a way of examining the many different and sometimes arduous paths taken to develop the skills of emotional, ethical and caring reflexivity (Rallis & Rossman, 2010) and of elucidating how emotion is woven

into the spatial and temporal dimensions of qualitative research as well as academic research careers.

Like the two workshops, this edited collection will productively animate and engage those just embarking on their research careers as well as those who have undertaken multiple projects. The authors encourage us to witness how re-focusing our analytic lens onto the secret, liminal or elided emotional landscapes of our research results in richer and more complicated understandings of epistemology, methodology, reflexivity and ontology. They have thus successfully and powerfully answered Blakely's (2007, p. 60) question about what happens when *we feel the research instead of just thinking it*.

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INTRODUCTION: WHY EMOTION MATTERS

Tracey Loughran and Dawn Mannay

THE RESEARCHER'S STORY

All researchers have stories to tell about why they chose to research particular topics. In some cases, there is a direct and uncomplicated link between personal experience and research agenda. We are not surprised to find that the sociologist who interrogates the relationship between class, inequality and education was once a child, 'working-class, troubled, difficult, out of place in schooling, a fighter but also a survivor' (Reay, 2017, p. 2), or that the historian of self-harm is scarred by self-inflicted wounds (Chaney, 2017, pp. 7–17 and 236–243). In other cases, the connections between researcher and subject are more oblique. Who would have guessed that a career in neuroscience hinged on a moment of boredom during a family holiday, when a young girl resorted to reading her grandfather's books, and became captivated by a volume on the brain (Fowler & Shigley, 2018 [this volume])? How could anyone else know that, as an unhappy adolescent, the historian of the First World War found a distorted mirror of her own pain in the symptoms of traumatised soldiers (Loughran, forthcoming)?

Whether such tales confirm expectations or provoke astonishment in the audience, they usually hold profound emotional resonance for the teller. As researchers, many of us feel intensely vulnerable about the prospect of telling our own stories, even if we firmly believe that our research is embedded in our

selves. These stories are not peripheral to our research. They are about where it starts and what keeps us going in the face of obstacles that sometimes feel insurmountable. Yet, for the most part, when we present our research to audiences we deliberately exclude the stories that suffuse that work with meaning.

The same pattern is evident when we think about emotion in the research process. From our own experiences, and from our conversations with colleagues and students, we know that undertaking research is often an intensely emotional experience (Ehn & Löfgren, 2007). There is the frustration at data that will not yield easy answers, the anger at an aggressive question at a conference, the despair when reviewers do not like your work, and, of course, the joy when suddenly all the pieces fall into place and that tricky problem somehow resolves itself. Emotion is not an intrusion into the research process, but a constitutive element of it. So why do we so often pretend it is not there?

'OBJECTIVITY', SUBJECTIVITY AND EMOTION

All academic disciplines have their own conventions for organising research: particular boundaries, methodologies and technical vocabularies. These conventions amount to different ways of organising our mental worlds. They shape the way we see our subjects, the way we speak about them, and the extent to which outsiders can understand us. Most disciplines employ, at least to some extent, techniques that work to conceal the presence of the researcher, or to contain it within certain boundaries. Even when methodologies are used that directly influence the generation of evidence, such as ethnographic or oral history interviews, researchers sometimes apologise for their own presence in the text, try to write it out, or acknowledge their emotional responses entirely through the frame of risk to the data (Fitzpatrick & Olson, 2015, p. 49). Our common working practices create the impression that the researcher is an unfortunate necessity for the production of research, rather than its beating heart.

This embarrassment is, in many ways, a hangover from the nineteenth century, when the human sciences emerged in their distinctively modern forms. As the ideal of scientific objectivity took shape from the mid-nineteenth-century (Daston & Galison, 2007), it became the idol of emergent disciplines with ambitions to scientific status (Smith, 1997, pp. 3–35). This epistemological framework held that the particular researcher was incidental to the generation of universally valid data. Any researcher employing a properly scientific method should be able to replicate the same results, and researchers

not employing a properly scientific method would not produce data worth replicating. The worldview that relegated subjectivity to the status of dirty secret also outlawed demonstrable emotion. In the dominant Darwinian paradigm of the late nineteenth-century, emotion was associated with children, women and non-white races (Darwin, 1872; Lutz, 1986, pp. 289–290), and seen as opposed to the rational intelligence of European manhood. Emotion tainted research.

For good or ill, in the nineteenth century, the ideals of objectivity and the scientific method revolutionised approaches to the study of human life. Despite serious challenges in recent decades to their hegemony, these ideals still influence academic research in all kinds of ways, both acknowledged and implicit. One of the most far-reaching effects is that researchers still struggle to acknowledge and explore their own emotions and subjectivity in ways that enrich their research. As Clifford Geertz (1995, p. 120) lamented in relation to difficulties in theorising field research as a mode of enquiry, 'We lack the language to articulate what takes place when we are in fact at work. There seems to be a genre missing'. In other words, most of us find it difficult to 'show our workings', to account for how the inner states we experience shape and alter our research, even when we fully accept that the 'unseen lens' of emotion 'colors all our thoughts, actions, perceptions and judgments' (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001, p. 10). This volume is an attempt to find this missing genre; to work out exactly what it is we lack, and how we might fill this gap.

EMOTIONAL TURNS

This volume is, therefore, another contribution to the 'emotional turn' within the social sciences and humanities over the past three decades. The roots of this 'emotional turn' spread far and wide, but for current purposes, two particular drivers are especially important. The first is the intellectual purchase of post-structuralism across all fields since the 1980s (Howarth, 2013); the 'cultural turn' was a necessary precondition for its emotional successor (Roseneil & Frosh, 2012). The notion that all knowledge is culturally constructed encouraged research into aspects of experience previously perceived as fixed and ahistorical, including the body and emotions (Rubin, 2002, p. 83), and simultaneously undermined academic claims to objectivity and neutrality. In the wake of this intellectual revolution, and with the realisation that subjectivity had been hiding in plain sight all along, it suddenly seemed necessary to probe the historical and contemporary construction of emotion.

Despite the resurgence of neuroscientific perspectives on emotion within some fields (Damasio, 1999; Rose & Abi-Rached, 2013), and to a certain extent even within popular culture, research in the social sciences and humanities has succeeded in challenging universalist and transhistorical conceptions of emotion (Connolly, 2011; Leys, 2011). There now exists an enormous wealth of research on how emotion operates in specific social, cultural and historical contexts, and it is difficult for even the most hard-bitten neuroscientist or cognitive psychologist to deny that the cultural mediation of emotion has differed greatly according to time and place (Reddy, 2001; Ticiento Clough & Halley, 2007).

The second important driver in the turn to emotion, and one inextricably linked to the development of the 'cultural turn', is the wider social change that has influenced both the make-up of the academy and the perceived legitimacy of different approaches to academic scholarship. Since the 1960s, as 'minorities' (women, gay and Black and minority ethnic scholars) have claimed their rights to a place within the academy, they (we) have vociferously challenged an 'objectivity' that is perceived as the sole preserve of white middle-class men – those who 'never even notice what it means to inhabit that category' because their inhabiting of it 'is never called into question' (Antwi, Brophy, Strauss, & Troeung, 2013, p. 124). These marginalised groups did not only dissect the ideal of objectivity, but in prising open its carapace generated new approaches that emphasised the unavoidability of emotion and subjectivity within research (Harding, 1987). Individuals and groups perceived as fatally aligned with emotion, and therefore as incapable of attaining rationality and objectivity, could only stake their claims to rights, power and voice by attacking the entire worldview that assumed 'objectivity' was possible for some but not others (Rowbotham, 1973, pp. 34–35). Feminist scholars ripped away the veil of science to unmask vested patriarchal interests; post-colonial theorists revealed the rational Enlightenment subject as standing not on the shoulders of giants, but the corpses of dispossessed imperial subjects (Narayan, 2012, p. 147; Taylor, 2012, p. 197). In doing so, they laid bare 'the ideological functions of emotions' as a concept within 'a system of power relations' that its use helps to maintain (Lutz, 1986, p. 288).

Our volume picks up the story from this point and pursues one corollary of these revelations of the impossibility of objectivity. Acceptance of the social construction of all knowledge led many scholars to re-engage with questions of emotion and subjectivity, from several different perspectives. Some chose to assert the irreducibility of biological expressions of emotions and to separate out this terrain from the cultural expressions that *could* be studied (Hofman, 2016, p. 15). Others, following to its logical conclusion the argument that we all necessarily speak from a specific subject position, argued that explorations of subjectivity could even enrich and deepen understanding

(Eley, 2005, pp. 169–172; Miller, 1991, p. 20). These scholars sought new tools, such as the application of psychoanalytic theory outside therapeutic contexts, to shed light on inner states (Hunt, 1990, pp. 109–110). For at least some of these scholars, the turn to subjectivity and emotion provided a means of escaping post-structuralism's relentless emphasis on textuality, and recovering something of the 'real'. It also provided, at least potentially, a way to recognise that research 'involves complicated issues of identification and recognition, and is not itself outside the circuit of psychic exchanges, of projection and introjection' (Dawson, 1994, p. 240).

This approach to subjectivity is only one part, but perhaps the most controversial, of the 'emotional turn'. There are many potential objections, beyond a rearguard defence of scientific 'neutrality', to approaches that make subjectivity central to scholarship. The use of psychoanalytic theory beyond the therapist's couch is perceived as particularly problematic, and from several different perspectives: because the theory is valid in the clinical context, but untried and untestable elsewhere; because the unconscious is, by its very nature, inaccessible to consciousness; or because the fundamental premises of psychoanalysis, including the existence of the unconscious, are unproven. Where scholars do not trespass on the territory of the unconscious, their critics might argue that while explorations of individual subjectivity can tell us much about one person, they are not replicable to other people or contexts, and so can tell us little about wider experiences. (This is, in many ways, simply a new twist on the old criticism that the case study always remains exceptional, and its findings cannot be applied to wider contexts.) Finally, even those scholars seduced by promises of deeper understanding fear that analysis of the subject position will slide into pure subjectivity, and read as self-indulgence rather than the attempt to reach another kind of truth (Roper, 2014, pp. 186–187). As Renato Rosaldo (1993, p. 7) suggested in his seminal essay on grief and a headhunter's rage, trying to avoid the 'slippage from the ideal of detachment to actual indifference', carries the risk for 'the self-absorbed Self to lose sight altogether of the culturally different Other'.

These multiple objections help to explain why, while we now know much about the operation of emotion at different sites in contemporary and past societies (Matt, 2011; Stearns, 1994; Stearns & Stearns, 1988), for the most part researchers have proved reluctant to cross-examine their own emotional motivations, or how their emotional relations to their research topics affect their methodologies and findings. Where researchers do reflect on the role of emotion in the research process, these insights are often either scattered, concentrated within or perceived as only relevant to specific research fields, such as autoethnography, participatory approaches or oral history. It is

still difficult to find a place for the researcher within the results of research. Despite the widespread acceptance that the subjectivity of the researcher is, at least to some degree, inescapable, scholars troubled by this problem still most often choose to book-end their results with a discussion of the 'I' who created it, rather than to integrate the 'I' within it. We return to Geertz's identification, more than 20 years ago, of a missing 'genre', and add that there is still no established, immediately recognisable and easily replicable way of placing the researcher within research. What can we do about this?

EMOTIONAL JOURNEYS

This volume is an attempt to resolve some of these problems, and it is the result of a long journey. For several years, we (the volume editors) co-convened the interdisciplinary Families, Identities and Gender Research Network (FIG) at Cardiff University, with our colleagues Melanie Bigold, Siwan Rosser, Katherine Shelton, and Stephanie Ward. As a group, we spanned many different disciplines: English literature, history, social science, psychology, and Welsh studies. We created FIG because of our dawning realisation that although we shared common interests, even within the context of one institution it was difficult to reach across disciplinary confines. As we held more events that invited cross-disciplinary perspectives on the immensely complex topics of families, identities and gender, the similarities and differences between disciplines began to trouble some of us. We became intrigued by what different traditions take for granted or dispute, the ways in which ideas and methods remain confined or travel across disciplinary boundaries, and the very different uses of apparently similar terms across diverse fields.

This curiosity led us to hold two linked workshops in 2014 on 'Emotion and the Researcher'. One of our main aims in these workshops was to interrogate the operation of 'objectivity' as an ideal and a guiding principle of research, perceived as essential to maintaining scholarly standards, across diverse disciplines. Our frank and often passionate discussions within FIG had convinced us that emotions are always present during the research process and affect the final outcomes, but that disciplinary conventions often work to disguise the emotional impetus behind research. The workshops proved immensely stimulating, as speakers from diverse academic institutions and disciplinary fields discussed, shared and debated the emotional lifeworlds of their research. The excitement of the event generated interest to create a book, and the proposal attracted international scholars who were also looking for a platform to share the lived experience of being a researcher.

In each chapter in this volume, authors reflect on their own experiences of research and generously share their approach to their craft, and the uncertainties, concerns, enjoyments and questions it entails. The contributors are based in departments and schools of Geography, Healthcare Sciences, History, Literature, Medicine, Sociology, and Welsh; in the museum sector; in an institute for psychotherapy, training and consultation; and on a University Health Board. The volume, therefore, brings together disciplines (from the social sciences, humanities and healthcare) that do not usually form part of the same field of enquiry. This provides a unique opportunity for reflection on differences between and similarities across disciplinary boundaries, and sheds new light on common problems and opportunities stimulated by emotion in research. We further consider the revelations this approach offers in our Afterword, but emphasise here that in exposing readers to different disciplinary practices, we hope to encourage them to reflect on the often unacknowledged assumptions within their own fields.

We therefore have three main aims in this volume. The first is to explore how emotion operates throughout the research process. To this end, we have divided the book into three sections, each hosting five chapters, which respectively deal with research relationships, sites and subjectivities. These themes are inevitably interrelated, but shifting the focus to a different aspect of the research process in each section underlines our central finding that emotion is always and inescapably present in research, as well as demonstrating how 'emotional entanglements evolve and transform over time and in different spaces of the field' (Laliberté & Schurr, 106, p. 75). Our second goal is not only perhaps the simplest, but also the most enjoyable: to share methodologies, case studies and experiences from different fields, and in this way to demonstrate the invigorating effects of cross-disciplinary ways of thinking and working. Finally, we want to develop techniques and languages for acknowledging, understanding and consciously integrating emotion into every step of the research process. Each chapter in this volume, therefore, amply confirms Coffey's (1999, p. 158) assertion that 'emotional connectedness to the process and practices of fieldwork, to analysis and writing is normal and appropriate' and 'should be acknowledged, reflected upon, and seen as a fundamental feature of well-executed research'.

REFLEXIVITY AND RESEARCH RELATIONSHIPS

Our first section, 'Reflexivity and Research Relationships', examines how researchers' personal and political identifications influence their relations with research participants. Each chapter focuses on the affective elements

of negotiation within professional and personal research relationships. Importantly, these chapters explore research both within and beyond the field, examining the role of reflexivity in active research relationships, in the process of analysis and in the everyday encounters, interactions and recollections which act on and through the researcher.

Lisa-Jo K. van den Scott's opening chapter on reflexivity and role transitions in the field illustrates the transient and shifting nature of research relationships where researchers are neither total 'insiders' nor 'outsiders' in relation to the individuals they interview (Song & Parker, 1995, p. 243). The chapter documents how van den Scott's transition from the role of friend to that of researcher in the Inuit community in Arviat, Nunavat, and how this transition was further complicated by her social location as a Western outsider. Here, van den Scott reflects on how she encountered, embraced, and even celebrated the exotic, and the importance of adopting an attitude of learning (Spradley, 1979). Appreciating and communicating the honour, enjoyment and terror of researching and representing community lives, the chapter concludes that, 'Research is a messy roller coaster. But what a ride!'

Agata Lisiak and Łukasz Krzyżowski follow with their chapter on emotional support within a research team. The chapter disrupts the idea of researcher 'nearness' based on a shared country of origin, demonstrating that epistemic privilege can be dangerous because it produces a false binary, Polish/non-Polish, 'which silences the multifaceted nature of identities, lifestyles and perspectives' (Mannay, 2010, p. 92). Lisiak and Krzyżowski reflect on their experiences as Polish migrants conducting interviews with other Polish migrants, describing how their participants positioned them as 'like them', and assumed that their own racist, Islamophobic, homophobic, xenophobic, classist, or misogynist perspectives were shared. Their commitment to the wider aims of the research project meant that the authors felt unable to counter these claims. This was emotionally challenging, yet they were able to negotiate these difficulties by drawing support from each other. They share this story to highlight the importance of collegiality when carrying out emotional labour, despite the often anti-collegial and hypercompetitive landscape of academia.

In her chapter on the positional self and researcher emotion, Amie Hodges examines how the researcher's presence can impact on emotional hierarchies, norms and everyday interactions within families. Focusing specifically on how the researcher's presence influences sibling relationships, Hodges communicates how children with cystic fibrosis often take centre stage in family life. In bringing the voices of non-cystic fibrosis siblings to the fore, her

research destabilised the existing family equilibrium. Initially, this generated anger, hostility and defensiveness, but later resulted in partial resolution of unequal sibling relationships. The chapter argues that reflective metaphorical expression can be applied as a method of processing and coping with the emotional impacts of unforeseen and unexpected interactions, and at the same time engender more nuanced understandings of family life.

Kate Mahoney's chapter also acknowledges the salience of hierarchy but her chapter on the emotional entanglements generated by researching the British women's movement returns to an emphasis on the research/researched dyad. The social category of researcher often acts as an important basis for the distribution of status, and access to power, where the researcher is positioned as holding more power than the research participant. However, for Mahoney, her positive emotions, including feelings of excitement, reverence, commonality and being a 'fan of feminism', reversed this position and curtailed critical questioning in the interview setting. Examining the interactional features of positive emotional exchanges, Mahoney argues that historians' personal identifications can inspire research, but unless acknowledged and questioned, the same identifications can work against the desired end of producing critical histories.

The final chapter in this section is Dawn Mannay's exploration of the telling and silencing of trauma in interviews with marginalised mothers. This account moves away from positive emotions to consider the emotional impacts of topics that are hard to speak of and hard to bear. Considering the nature of the interaction between researchers and participants, Mannay argues that psychoanalytically informed frames of analysis can engender a more nuanced understanding of the relationality and emotionality of qualitative research. Rejecting the 'image of dispassionate science' (Rogers-Dillon, 2005, p. 445) conducted by disconnected researchers devoid of any feelings that could contaminate the integrity of the data, the chapter examines feelings of helplessness, anger, guilt and resolution, drawing attention to their emotional weight but also their reflexive value.

EMOTIONAL TOPOGRAHIES AND RESEARCH SITES

The second section, 'Emotional Topographies and Research Sites', considers the operation and communication of emotion across diverse research sites. The chapters explore the emotional resonances of research across different disciplines and domains, including online media, museums, home communities and non-Western cultures. The authors explore the boundaries of insider and

outsider positioning, and the emotions of sadness, anger, helplessness and hope, across private and public spaces in their roles of researcher, writer and curator.

Katherine Carroll begins this shift of focus with her opening chapter on public emotion in applied sociology, which is based on her experience of researching breastmilk donation after infant death. Although early infant death is always a devastating experience, Carroll argues that 'heartfelt positivity methodology' (adopting a positive approach) shows that breastmilk donation after early infant death can provide some bereaved mothers with feelings of pride, productivity and a sense of purpose. Moving beyond the initial fieldwork, Carroll explores the emotional afterlife of this work and its relational affects in three spaces: the audience at an international milk banking conference, a national stakeholder meeting and academic peer review.

Erin Roberts also considers how emotions come into play both in fieldwork and after researchers have left the field. Roberts draws on her experience of conducting a bilingual study of rural household energy consumption in the community where she was born and raised to consider issues of nearness and distance. Documenting the emotional intricacies of doing research 'at home', Roberts introduces the concept of the transient insider to reflect on forms of comfortable uncomfortableness, and the weight of responsibility in telling other people's tales. The notion of transience employed across the chapter emphasises a fluid understanding of positionality, which displaces fixed binaries to illustrate the complexities and multiplicities of space, place and belonging.

Caroline Day and Sophie Bowlby reflect on their experiences both home and away in interviewing young people in Zambia and women in midlife in the UK. The chapter examines the 'translation' of interpretations of emotional responses from one cultural context into another within and beyond the face-to-face encounter of the interview. Day and Bowlby examine cultural sensitivity within the fieldwork and the process of making emotional sense of people's stories, exploring their own positioning, how to react 'appropriately' to distressing accounts, the issues raised in using an interpreter in foreign language encounters and the guilt of actual and perceived privilege. The chapter illustrates the entwinement of emotional and professional complexities and demonstrates the importance of researchers sharing their own uncertainties around fieldwork and interpretation.

The following chapter contends that participant absent research can generate equally complicated emotions. Aimee Grant demonstrates how data collection techniques framed as 'passive' affect researchers' emotional lifeworlds. The realm of online communication can no longer be seen as a

hermeneutically separate space; rather, in this digital age, portals to the virtual world mediate and shape 'real' life experiences. Reflecting on her analysis of user-generated data from an online news site and Twitter, Grant examines the emotion work required in participant absent research. Documenting the physiological impacts of anger, experienced through an elevated heart rate, and the shift from revulsion to desensitisation, Grant's chapter illustrates how physical distance cannot negate the psychological nearness, and associated affective disruption, of emotive online accounts.

Deborah Tout-Smith's chapter moves from the online world to the public space of the museum to consider how emotion can be harnessed to communicate the impacts of historical events on everyday lives to contemporary audiences. The emotional aspects of museum work have received relatively little attention, but Tout-Smith argues that to develop deeper understandings of the past, exhibitions must not simply curate and display inert objects. In the exhibition 'World War I: Love & Sorrow' that she curated for Museums Victoria, Tout-Smith strategically deployed emotion to present an honest, graphic and challenging account of the experience of the First World War. In this chapter, she draws on surveys and qualitative interviews with exhibition visitors to show how the personal stories and objects displayed in the exhibition built empathy and an appreciation of the impacts of war on individuals and families, both in the past and in the present.

SUBJECTIVITIES AND SUBJECT POSITIONS

The final section, 'Subjectivity and Subject Positions', examines tensions between researchers' emotional and political identifications and the 'translation' of subjectivity into established scholarly conventions. Researchers routinely turn their attention to the lives of others who then feature in their written accounts, but within the constraints of academic publishing they are less prone to represent 'themselves as social and cultural products, producing social and cultural products' (Richardson, 1997, p. 1). As in the previous sections, the authors reject the ideology of the rational, detached and objective researcher, but here they also draw on personal experiences to emphasise the positive value of emotions and subjectivities in the research process.

Sally Bishop Shigley's and Lauren Fowler's opening chapter reflects on their collaborative investigation into whether reading literature increases empathy in health professionals. The authors reflect on their journeys into academia

and their differential positionings as neuroscientist and literature scholar. As well as considering the potential dissonance between literary approaches and quantitative measures, and how this can be resolved in research design, the chapter puts forward a passionate plea for collaborative ways of working: 'interdisciplinary work, interpersonal trust and a willingness to be vulnerable opens us up to see and imagine things that we would not have access to if we restricted ourselves to our disciplinary world view'.

The next chapter returns to some of the issues explored in the previous sections around both insider/outsider status, and the difficulties generated by positive emotional orientations to research participants. Lisa Sheppard explores how her identity as a second-language Welsh speaker affected her doctoral study and her actions as an early career researcher. Sheppard links her academic interest in hybrid identities, multilingualism and multiculturalism to her personal history in which different languages symbolise different emotional relationships and different kinds of national identity. As an emerging academic in the close-knit Welsh literary world, Sheppard experienced an affective disjuncture between her belief that criticism is essential to the development of a robust and inclusive literary and critical culture, and her understandable reluctance to speak critically about the work of writers she knew and liked.

Similar issues resurface in Geraldine Latchem-Hastings' account of ethical practice in healthcare research on paediatric physiotherapy. The work of the physiotherapist entails close and prolonged physical contact with patients and their families, which is necessarily imbued with emotion. The emotional resonances of these encounters inevitably infiltrated Latchem-Hastings' interviews with physiotherapists, but as a former paediatric physiotherapist herself, Latchem-Hastings also had to negotiate thorny problems of nearness and distance, acceptance and judgement, and trust and suspicion throughout these interview encounters. The chapter argues for the importance of structured attention to emotional responses in the field, close examination of how and why researchers make particular theoretical interpretations from participants' narratives, and reflection on the relations between researchers and participants. Working through feelings of guilt, anger and frustration, Latchem-Hastings invites the reader to consider the importance of 'reflecting on ethically important, and at times uncomfortable, moments in the research process'.

Mary Morris' and Andrea Davies' chapter continues with the theme of reflexivity in relation to their use of a collaborative 'second-person' methodology within an action research framework. The chapter explores the historical legacies of positions that align masculinity (and science) with rationality and

objectivity, and femininity with irrationality and subjectivity. In this world-view, 'the feminine' is a contaminant of empirical purity. Morris and Davies make gender central to their self-reflexive practices, acknowledging and connecting with emotions in the fields of clinical and systemic psychotherapy. They conclude that although 'entrenched vocabularies' around gender and research still exert too much influence within their discipline, these vocabularies can be challenged by collaborative, reflexive and feminist practices of the kind undertaken in this chapter.

Closing the section, Tracey Loughran considers the interaction of subjectivity, class and education in British 'autobiographical histories'. Loughran details how her own experiences of class and higher education affected her reading of Carolyn Steedman's *Landscape for a Good Woman* (1986), and how the text provided a way to understand and reflect on her own 'inbetween-ness' as an educated working-class woman. The chapter explores who has the authority to speak, the ways in which some voices become silenced and how methods of writing that acknowledge emotion and vulnerability can challenge the accepted order and insist marginalised voices are heard.

Overall, this volume argues that the presentation of research as 'objective' conceals the subject positions of researchers, and the emotional imperatives that often drive research. In this sense, the erasure of the researcher from published accounts of research can be more misleading, or perhaps even dishonest, than acknowledging her/his presence. In this collection, we engage with the emotional experiences of researchers working in different traditions, contexts and sites, and demonstrate their centrality in data production, analysis, dissemination and ethical practice. We never lose sight of 'the rich lived *practice* of emotion culture' (Ikegami, 2012, p. 352). This sustained focus on the emotional position of the researcher and the role of emotion in the research process, rather than on the constitution or operation of emotion in research participants or in contexts 'out there' has a further effect. It breaks down the artificial division between researchers and their participants that much research on emotion still assumes, and therefore unintentionally reifies. We are therefore able to shift 'between the position of participant and observer/listener, constantly reflecting upon how we know about things, and how to view the knowledge we produce' (Edwards & Robbens, 1992, p. 2). In this way, reflection on emotion within research has the potential to lead to new methodologies and practices (Laliberté & Schurr, 2016, p. 73). The volume is therefore a sustained plea for the need to find a new place for emotion in research; to research and write in ways that are more honest, more revealing, and have greater potential to disrupt the established workings of knowledge and power.

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