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The Sociology of Emotions in Latin America

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Abstract

This article discusses how the sociology of emotions in Latin America, a recently established field of knowledge still in the process of institutionalization, first developed between 2000 and 2019. Research in this period focused on six wide-ranging and heterogeneous thematic areas: (*a*) social change, sociability and emotions; (*b*) social movements and feelings; (*c*) gender, generations, affectivity and care; (*d*) migration and emotions; (*e*) work, affectivity and emotions; and (*f*) theoretical reflections and analytical propositions. Critical evaluation of the field has uncovered three areas of analytical tension that impede its consolidation: disciplinary boundary-setting (sociology, sociology and anthropology of the emotions, philosophy), analytical perspectives (sociological, sociocultural, philosophical), and the object of research (emotions, emotions and the body, the body and emotions), all of which have implications for social research.

INTRODUCTION

The first session on the sociology of emotions, organized by Thomas Scheff for the American Sociological Association's annual conference in 1975, marked the emergence of this field of knowledge as a subdiscipline of sociology in the United States (Kemper 1990). It would be almost twenty years later that Mauro Guilherme Pinheiro Koury founded the Anthropology and Sociology of Emotions Research Group (*Grupo de Pesquisa em Antropologia e Sociologia das Emoções*) in Brazil in 1994, and over thirty years later, in 2007, that Argentinian philosopher Adrian Scribano established both the first working group on the sociology of the body and emotions within the Latin American Association of Sociology (*Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología*) in Guadalajara, Mexico, and the Latin American Research Network on Bodies and Emotions (*Red Latinoamericana de Estudio de los Cuerpos y las Emociones*) (Sabido 2011). A few years after founding these groups, each of these scholars would create specialized journals: the *Brazilian Journal on the Sociology of Emotion* (*Revista Brasileira de Sociologia da Emoção*) in 2002, and the *Latin American Journal for Bodies, Emotions and Society Studies* (*Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios sobre Cuerpos, Emociones y Sociedad*) in Argentina, 2009. (Here and throughout the article, translations of research group names and text passages are this author's unless otherwise noted.)

From 2007 onwards, several research groups and networks emerged: the National Network for Sociocultural Studies of Emotions (*Red Nacional de Investigación en los Estudios Socioculturales de las Emociones*) in Mexico, in 2008, led by Oliva López and Rocío Enríquez; the Sociology of the Body Cluster (*Núcleo de Investigación Sociología del Cuerpo*) in Chile, in 2009, coordinated by María Emilia Tijoux; the Institutional Sociology of Emotions Seminar (*Seminario Institucional Sociología de las Emociones*), established by the author of this article in Mexico, in 2009; the Group for Studies on the Sociology of Emotions and Bodies (*Grupo de Estudios sobre Sociología de las Emociones y los Cuerpos*), founded by Adrian Scribano in Argentina, in 2011; the Research Nucleus for the Study of Intimacy, Affectivity and Emotions (*Núcleo de Estudios Sociales sobre la Intimidad, los Afectos y las Emociones*), established by Ana Abramowski and Santiago Canevaro in Argentina, in 2012; and the Emotions and Society Research Group (*Grupo de Investigación en Emociones y Sociedad*), led by Iván Pincheira, which was recently established in Chile.

With the exception of the pioneering efforts of Koury in 1994, it thus seems clear that the sociology of emotions began to emerge as a disciplinary field in Latin America near the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. In contrast with the comparable process that took place in the United States, this seminal effort did not originate exclusively within sociology but, in the case of Brazil, in the convergence of sociology and anthropology, and in the case of Argentina, in the interweaving of philosophy and sociology. Disciplinary overlaps have also been seen in other countries (Mexico), primarily between anthropology and sociology, accompanied by efforts to attain a purely sociological perspective. These singularities have left their imprint on the empirical research generated in the ensuing decade or so.

This is a young field of research that, despite having begun an incipient process of creating its own scientific practices as a requisite for its autonomy, has yet to establish a clearly differentiated identity, which is why it can be described as a field of research in a process of institutionalization. Achieving this goal requires building the internal and external conditions that can establish the distinct nature of the field's knowledge—namely, creating specialized university departments (as has occurred with gender studies, for example); training human resources who can reproduce its practices and scientific capital; and holding regular academic meetings, backed up by solid research output, in addition to other activities (Bourdieu 2000, 2003).

The objective of this article is to analyze the development of the sociology of emotions in Latin America as a recently established field of research. Following this introduction, the text is divided

into two sections. The first describes the predominant themes and lines of research between 2000 and 2019; the second engages in a critical review that highlights the advances made and the factors that impede the field's consolidation.

In order to evaluate the scientific output during this period, a database was produced containing articles from 39 Latin American journals, in addition to a series of books, chapters, dissertations, and theses, for a total 286 academic products. The descriptors used were as follows: body; body, emotions and affectivity; and emotions and affectivity. After excluding texts that centered solely on the body and those that did not constitute empirical or theoretical research, 258 texts remained, of which we thoroughly examined a sample equivalent to 35%.

Certain patterns emerged in the data collected. First, more than 80% of the scientific output was produced over the past decade (2010–2019), particularly in the last four years of the decade (2016–2019), when 55% of the publications were produced. Second, three countries led in research production, in descending order: Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina. These were followed by Colombia and Chile, as determined by either the country of publication or the author's institutional affiliation. Finally, most of the research fell within six thematic areas: (*a*) social change, sociability, and emotions; (*b*) social movements and feelings; (*c*) gender, generations, affectivity, and care; (*d*) migration and emotions; (*e*) work, affectivity, and emotions; and (*f*) theoretical reflections and analytical propositions. While other themes were identified (emotions and social communication, emotions and religion, artistic expression and emotions), we selected only those that were prevalent enough to mark as distinct research areas.

MAIN THEMATIC AREAS

This review of the thematic areas and the various associated lines of research is predominantly chronological and organized according to the order in which the work appears in the bibliographic review.

Social Change, Sociability, and Emotions

The socio-emotional implications of processes of social change for sociability are one of the earliest and most consistent areas of research that developed in Latin America. Depending on the type of social change in question (the transition from a rural society to an urban one, or the expansion of the modernization process in so-called high-risk societies) and the interpretive framework, researchers identify certain distinct trends. A common observation is the ubiquity of fear as the basis (and correlate) of relational exchanges that result from the weakening of social bonds caused by the process of social change. As a social emotion, fear lies at the root of human vulnerability and plays a fundamental role in the reproduction of the social order (Luna 2005). According to these studies, the ubiquity of fear in contemporary urban societies is an expression of the tension present in social bonds, and it plays a significant role in the reproduction of social distance and processes of stigmatizing otherness.

Drawing on a Simmelian analytical framework, Koury (2002, 2004, 2007, 2014, 2017) and Barbosa (2014b) explore the affective correlates of the accelerated process of urbanization experienced in the city of João Pessoa (Paraíba, Brazil) in the mid-twentieth century. Rapid, unstable social transformations undermine relationships of closeness and trust resulting from a transition toward individualism, turning fear and constant suspicion of the other into the key features of social interaction. Fear of disloyalty, of punishment from God, and of solitude; fear of instability, of uncertainty about the future, and of the unknown; and fear of violence are the three types of fear identified by Koury (2007) in the inhabitants of João Pessoa. In such circumstances, trust and loyalty become invaluable goods for achieving intragroup cohesion (Koury 2002, 2014).

In Luna's (2005) *Sociología del miedo* (*The Sociology of Fear*), a pioneering work in the Latin American context, the author applies a constructivist perspective (Gordon 1990, Hochschild 1983) to analyze the changing social meanings attributed to the Devil, the spirits, and nature by two generations living in a rural community in western Mexico as it transitioned toward an urban, secularized society. The author finds that modifications in the social meanings of these fears and their catalysts occur in a nonlinear and contradictory fashion and are strongly influenced by the introduction of information technologies and the expansion of the educational process, with significant differences according to social class and gender. During the process of social change experienced by this community, fear of the Devil, a symbol of evil associated with sin, blame, and moral transgression, did not disappear but lost its association with Catholicism and acquired more abstract connotations. The domination of scientific discourse by young generations of professionals tempered certain sources of fear related to phenomena in nature. Social change simultaneously modified the culture of resignation and the moral value attributed to suffering in older generations of the community, promoting a more recreational, hedonist vision of life among young people (Luna 2008).

Some have suggested that fear, and particularly everyday fear, is a central dimension of the contemporary emotive culture that helps reproduce the status quo by restricting the opportunities for engaging in exchanges in urban space (Barbosa 2014a,b; Koury 2004). Fear leads to the construction of boundaries (whether visible or invisible) between residents that are rooted in the moral degradation of those singled out as dangerous. Fear of the other, in its moral sense, therefore implies fear of contagion, the risk of being contaminated by the impure; this is the countenance that is conferred on the outsider in the high-risk societies of late modernity (Caprón 2016; Koury 2004, 2007; Olvera & Sabido 2007; Reguillo 2008). Applying this line of thinking, research into each society's emotive culture provides a window onto the symbolic hierarchies it creates and the moral codes that legitimate those hierarchies. As the predominant affective tone of urban social exchanges, fear of the other creates a tendency toward withdrawal, accompanied by feelings of loneliness and nostalgia for a better past (Koury 2002, 2004, 2007). Subaltern sectors of society, in particular, house feelings of shame resulting from internalization of the social representations that stigmatize them (Caprón 2016). This reveals the symbolic violence inherent in an emotive culture of fear, as well as the social pain and suffering it causes (Barbosa 2014a, Koury 2004).

The studies examined also highlight how the media plays a central role in the collective construction of everyday fears by amplifying the stigmatization of certain social groups and the spaces they inhabit. In contexts of acute social violence, young people from underprivileged sectors of society—and the poor in Latin American cities, in general—are among the most criminalized social groups, given their inordinate presence among the victims and aggressors involved in criminal activities. This reinforces the processes of social exclusion they suffer, thereby exacerbating inequality (Caprón 2016, Koury 2004).

From a Foucauldian perspective, Reguillo (2008) suggests that anthropomorphizing and spatially locating fears is a response by contemporary cities to the delocalization of the perception of insecurity, which has political implications. According to this author, demonizing otherness creates an illusion of control over territory, which constitutes a victory for those who hold power. In her research on Mexico, Reguillo identifies three factors used to portray otherness as demonic: the nighttime, the territory of poverty, and a context of institutional mistrust.

Social Movements and Feelings

A common starting point in this thematic area is the recognition that including the emotional dimension enables research to overcome the constraints of cognitive approaches to the study of social movements. Researchers note that incorporating emotionality gives voice to those who

experience injustice, turns victims into actors, generates processes of collective identity and solidarity, and promotes a sense of (emotive) community that makes it possible to rebuild politics. Appeals to pain and a sense of injustice are a strategic resource for movements when they bring their social demands into the public arena, partly because of the moral force that these carry (Freire 2012, Gravante & Poma 2019, Gutiérrez 2016, Otero 2006, Reyna 2016, Rodríguez 2015, Teló 2019).

Nevertheless, authors note the problematic nature of emotionality in the context of collective action. Showing feelings in the public arena can play a part in delegitimizing the movement, as to label someone emotional is to question the validity of what they say, given the common association between emotionality and irrationality in the social imagination (Zenobi 2013). Consequently, even when emotions are central to collective mobilization, they can make it difficult for movements to achieve their objectives (Jasper 2012).

A shared premise of these studies is that emotions are involved in all phases of the mobilization process, from the movement's creation to its disappearance. Researchers therefore strive to identify the emotional dynamics inherent to each movement—that is, their grammar. Particular attention is paid to the role of emotions as triggers for collective action. Typically, key emotions are involved in the initiation of mobilization, such as righteous anger, frustration, grievance, or pain, which usually develop into indignation, an emotion with great potential for collective action (Colin 2017, Corduneanu 2019, Fernández 2014, García et al. 2017, Gutiérrez 2016, Reyna 2016).

In subsequent stages, when the aim is to consolidate allegiance to the movement, empathy—the basis of solidarity—gains importance, as do what are termed reciprocal emotions: those that people feel in relation to others (Jasper 1997). In contexts of war and clandestine activity, relationships of friendship are key, as they provide feelings of trust and loyalty and a series of affective rewards, which help maintain group cohesion through more than ideological affiliation alone (Otero 2006, Teló 2019). Pride, joy, and hope are the predominant emotions when the movement gains public recognition and achieves partial victories. Such affective states are part of the emotional benefit derived from the "pleasure of agency" (Wood 2001, cited by Teló 2019, p. 20). During the demobilization phase, emotions such as frustration, mistrust, jealousy, and envy flourish.

It is important to note that these emotional transitions, while characteristic of the distinct phases of mobilization, do not imply linearity. Nor do they prevent affective states involving high emotional energy from coexisting, in an ambiguous manner, with relatively discordant (and demobilizing) states such as fear, desperation, disappointment, or sadness, depending on the specific conditions of each political confrontation and the achievements obtained. This multiplicity of affective states has led to the construction of analytical categories: activator emotions versus inhibitor emotions, emotions of trauma versus those of resistance, catalyst emotions versus consequential emotions, and mobilizing emotions versus structuring emotions (Colin 2017, García et al. 2017, Gutiérrez 2016, Tavano 2019).

As well as describing the emotive dynamics of the various phases of the mobilization process, several recent studies have investigated the strategies used by social actors to manage emotions. Whether through the implementation of cognitive or bodily practices, or by engaging in profound or superficial acts (Hochschild 1983), emotional management techniques may help achieve a goal of averting fear, offsetting fear with joy, or channeling fear toward anger and indignation to give greater impulse to the group's mobilizing efforts. Developing feeling rules around feelings that tacitly or explicitly prevent the expression of demobilizing sentiments is another emotional management tactic that is often used.

Finally, when it is necessary to rearticulate the mobilizing force of protest at critical moments, appealing to historical memory can be an extremely valuable strategy. It was employed, for example, by Chilean students in 2011, who made use of *cacerolazos* (a popular protest tactic in which a

group of people bang on pots, pans, and other kitchen utensils) as a spontaneous response to the abnormally repressive treatment they received from the police. This event instantly elicited affective connotations for the rest of the Chilean population due to the symbolic importance this ritual gained during the Pinochet dictatorship (1973–1990) (Ortiz 2019). From this perspective, emotional management is yet another political tool for collective action, about which those involved are not necessarily fully aware (Gravante & Poma 2018).

Gender, Generations, Romantic Relationships, and Care

The socio-emotional correlates of gender inequality in various social contexts, the intergenerational differences in the meaning of love and practice of sexuality, and the affective implications of caring for the elderly in the family are the main lines of research identified within the thematic area of gender, generations, romantic relationships, and care.

In a pioneering study, *El crisol de la pobreza: mujeres, subjetividades, emociones y redes sociales* (*The Crucible of Poverty: Women, Subjectivities, Emotions and Social Networks*), Enríquez (2009) identifies the various types of emotional distress that women suffer in contexts of poverty, the cultural meaning they give them, and the emotional regulation strategies they use to tackle them. These forms of "feminine emotional distress" are understood as the diverse emotions connected to suffering in situations of oppression (poverty and social exclusion), which are able to alter people's lives and their conception of themselves as social subjects (Burín et al. 1991, cited by Enríquez 2009, p. 205). Sadness and anger were found to be the most recurrent types of distress, but while sadness was a socially accepted form of feminine emotional expression, anger was not. Invariably, sadness was interpreted as "tiredness," "impotence," or "desperation." Anger, in contrast, took on connotations of "hate," "aggressiveness," "desperation," or "the desire to be alone and go far away" (Enríquez 2009, pp. 248–50). In both cases, women associated these forms of distress with specific bodily phenomena: headaches, a lack of energy, or gastrointestinal problems. Both sadness and anger had clear social elements: Sadness was associated with a lack of resources and asymmetrical gender relations; anger was connected to an excessive (domestic and extradomestic) work burden and the multiple challenges of surviving in poverty. Despite the unambiguously social roots of these forms of distress, in most cases, the types of emotional regulation employed by the women were individual and transitory. This is interpreted by Enríquez as a means of avoiding confrontation with the social order.

Regarding masculine emotionality, while the centrality of anger, rage, and "explosivity" (Ramírez 2014, p. 112) in the reproduction of inequalities between men and women is recognized, as well as these emotions' close connection to violence, attention is drawn to the complexity of masculine emotionality. Rather than being identified with a specific emotion, masculinity encompasses an array of affective states, in which fear and guilt hold a prominent position. Drawing on Kaufman (1997), Ramírez (2014) argues that fear illustrates the emotional contradictions contained within the exercise of power from a position of hegemonic masculinity. This fear may result from a self-perceived shortfall in power, an association with feminine vulnerability, or the insecurity created by female empowerment. A key way of experiencing power is through controlling one's own emotions (Corsi 1995, cited by Ramírez 2014). Unlike fear, guilt is underpinned by self-recrimination for having exercised power in an excessive manner (Kemper 1990).

Another line of research focuses on intergenerational changes in conceptions of love and sexuality in indigenous and urban contexts, resulting from long-term sociocultural transformations (education, access to the labor market, exposure to the media, etc.) (Rodríguez 2014, Velasco 2016). Research conducted by Velasco (2016) in Altos de Chiapas, Mexico, revealed a radical transformation in the meaning of female genitality in three generations of women. While the monolingual

grandmothers were ashamed of their bodies and did not ever dare mention their genitals, the granddaughters expressed pride in their corporeality and were willing to fully express their rage in the face of any kind of sexual hostility—a point that, according to Velasco, demonstrates the potential of this emotion to activate female agency.

Whereas young generations in middle-class urban groups seem to be transitioning toward more equitable affective relationships consistent with a postromantic ethos, analysis of their experiences reveals tensions between romantic and postromantic imaginaries (Rodríguez 2019). Although young people discursively claim the right to have their own space, separate from their partner, this matter is a source of conflict and "schizophrenic emotions" (Rodríguez 2019, p. 349) that apparently fall into two distinct affective orders, romantic and postromantic. Something similar occurs with jealousy: a pattern of feeling belonging to the imaginary of romantic love that is branded anachronistic but is still very much present in the romantic interactions of the young (Peña et al. 2019, Rodríguez 2019). These data confirm the persuasiveness of romantic love (the "dominant amorous creed") in the affective expectations of the younger generations (da Silva 2006, p. 228; see also Peña et al. 2019; T. Rodríguez 2017; Z.I. Rodríguez 2014, 2017, 2019). It is in the discrepancy between the romantic imaginary and practice that lie the roots of suffering in love, an affective condition that is inherent to the mythology of romantic love: Suffering for a loved one ennobles he or she who loves, endowing that person with moral superiority. Lacking love is a source not only of suffering, but of fear and stigma, particularly when it is the woman who does not have a partner (Cuevas 2017).

Contrary to what might be expected, socio-digital interaction does not lessen the contradiction between the romantic ethos and lived experience. While digital platforms free affective attachments of the need for physical copresence, thus expanding romantic markets and creating new forms of flirting and seduction, they also reinforce central components of the traditional romantic imaginary, such as expectations of emotional intensity, the requirement of constant virtual presence, control of the partner's socio-digital interactions as a prerequisite for trust, and the stigmatization of women who actively seek virtual amorous encounters (T. Rodríguez 2017).

A final line of research concerns the socio-affective correlates of care when families look after their elderly (Enríquez 2014, Vázquez & Enríquez 2014). Relations of reciprocity that are built upon affective bonds create high expectations of loyalty and dedication. Whether seen from the perspective of giver or receiver, the act of care generates a dense, ambiguous emotional flow. Sorrow is shown to be the node emotion in the affective range of the elderly who receive care, while desperation, fear, anger, impotence, and tiredness are prevalent in caregivers. When required to care for relatives suffering from chronic degenerative diseases (such as diabetes or cancer), caregivers develop emotional regulation strategies that enable them to look after themselves while maintaining the well-being of those in their care. Such strategies include holding back or simulating affective expression, cognitively omitting the undesirable effects of the disease, and bringing about genuine emotional transformation through deep acting (Vázquez & Enríquez 2014).

Migration and Emotions

Initially, seminal studies in the thematic subfield of migration and emotions were concerned with the implications for women who are left "waiting" for heads of the household who have been away for extended periods (Mummert 1988, p. 285; see also D'Aubeterre 1995) in rural Mexican localities with high levels of male emigration to the United States. Research gradually began to incorporate the affective complexity of long-distance family relationships, and the emotional scars left by the various phases of the migratory process. López (2007) conceived of the Penelope Syndrome concept to allude to the somatic and psychological conditions that affect women in contexts

of extensive male migration, due to the heavy (physical and emotional) burdens they carry. In an effort to add complexity to the notion of waiting, Martínez (2008) suggested that we understand it as an everyday situation of intermittency, a pause in affective relations with those who are absent, the relationship being reactivated now and then through fluid communication or reunions.

Following the same line of thinking, D'Aubeterre (2000) formulated the concept of long-distance marriage to refer to the unique experience of marital life associated with male migration in households spread across multiple locations. Studies have highlighted the prevalence of negative affective states (anger, insecurity, anxiety, shame, melancholy, sadness, anguish, fear, a desire to punish one's partner, nervousness), and the emotional management processes undertaken by wives to ensure they express only the emotions allowed to them as married women, excluding such feelings as anger (Ariza & D'Aubeterre 2009, Cienfuegos 2017, Clairgue 2012, López 2012, Maya & Jarillo 2018, Maya et al. 2019). The state of the marital bond has an effect on several processes: (*a*) the women's emotional well-being, given their heavy dependence on masculine attention to reaffirm their identity; (*b*) the extent to which the migratory project is viewed as a success (or failure) as a strategy for securing the family's social mobility; and (*c*) the frequency with which remittances are sent, inasmuch as these are a symbolic expression of commitment to the family. The cessation of remittances usually precedes break-up of the marital relationship (López 2012).

Affectivity and care exchanged by transnational family members, along with the emotions generated by long-distance family interactions, constitute a second line of analysis (Ariza 2012, 2014; Asakura 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016; Castro 2016; González-Fernández 2016; Hernández 2016; Puyana & Rojas 2011). Studies point to the ambiguous nature of long-distance affectivity and its strong emotional charge. The range of affective states present in transnational family relationships is such that authors talk of emotional meshes or scenarios to describe the series of opposing feelings involved (Asakura 2016, Hernández 2016). In general, the gap between normative expectations concerning maternity, paternity, or filial duties, and people's actual ability to fulfill them, is a source of continual distress. Whereas guilt and remorse (albeit also pride and satisfaction) are part of the spectrum of emotions affecting migrant mothers who are unable to give direct care to their children, resentment, anger, sadness and a sense of abandonment afflict young people after many years of separation from their progenitors. The emotional regulation strategies deployed by children include making an effort to discursively express the appropriate emotions (admiration and gratefulness) in response to what family and community view as their parents' sacrifice, repressing pain and/or anger.

The quality of long-distance bonds between parents and children is strongly influenced by the way in which migratory grieving has taken place. This type of grieving differs from others in its partiality (the object of one's love does not disappear completely), recurrence (it is activated with each separation), and multiplicity (it entails multiple losses—of affection, places, belongings) (Falicov 2002; González 2005; Rozo 2007, cited by Asakura 2016). A successful grieving process should include suitable farewell rituals, but these are rarely performed. In most cases, the parents leave abruptly, without preparing their children, so as to evade the pain of parting, thereby engendering incomplete or "locked in" grieving processes (González-Fernández 2016, p. 113) that create profound feelings of pain and abandonment in the children (González-Fernández 2016, Puyana & Rojas 2011). Such grieving processes, together with the separation from parents and their absence at key ritual moments in the children's lives, damage the relations of intimacy, affection, and trust that maintain family cohesion, fostering feelings of estrangement and disconnection from the family (Ariza 2014, Castro 2016).

A third line of research documents the emotional states associated with migratory journeys and border crossings, on the one hand, and with the multiple facets of migrants' experience in their destinations, on the other. Fear and uncertainty arise repeatedly during the journey and the border

crossing between Mexico and the United States due to the high-risk situations involved. These emotions also permeate the subjectivity of undocumented Mexicans residing in the United States, who are subject to an ever-present deportability regime in a context of increasing criminalization of migration. Some of the mechanisms these migrants develop to manage their situation are confinement and isolation, familiarization with loopholes in the United States' legal system that can protect them, and awareness of how fear is used to intimidate and control them, accompanied by religion as an auxiliary strategy for emotional regulation (Aquino 2015). When the criminalization of immigrants is institutionalized in certain historical or economic contexts, an emotional climate of hostility toward immigrants can be generated, in which fear of the other (the foreigner) is the unifying sentiment (Hirai 2016).

Of all the affective states associated with the migratory experience, nostalgia (a kind of diffuse sadness in which pain is linked to reminiscence and loss) is without doubt the most emblematic (Clairgue 2012; Hirai 2009, 2014; Tuñón & Martínez 2019). It affects not only those who left but also those who stayed behind. In contexts of transition, nostalgia acts as an anchor that reinforces the sense of belonging provided by one's own culture. In his ethnographic research with immigrants from Jalisco in California and Mexico, Hirai (2009) observes that nostalgia is contingent upon the conditions in which the migration took place, the motives behind it, and the experiences of immigrants in the destination society. Far from being omnipresent, nostalgia arises intermittently, changes over time, and takes on different meanings according to gender and generation: Young people recalled their homeland as a space of freedom, while men (in contrast to women) visualized it as a place inhabited by women willing to accept traditional male identity. Important triggers for nostalgia, according to Hirai, are the multiple forms of alienation (physical, social, occupational) that immigrants suffer in the receiving societies.

Hope, sadness, shame, and humiliation are among the many other emotions involved in the migratory experience, which should be understood as an emotional journey (Ryan 2008). Hope and sadness—or a back-and-forth movement between the two—are part of the diffuse, low-intensity affective tone that colors immigrants' day-to-day lives (Ramos 2009). In contrast, humiliation and shame are associated with engaging in socially undervalued employment, such as domestic service and care work in the home, which are segmented labor markets containing large numbers of immigrants from peripheral countries (Ariza 2016, 2017a,b).

Work, Affectivity, and Emotions

The first line of research in the thematic area of work, affectivity, and emotions explores the extent to which employment involves placing workers' affective skills in the service of economic profit. Drawing on Hochschild's (1983) classic study, authors analyze the specificities of emotional work in certain areas of the service sector (including call centers), which is one of the defining forms of workplace management in postindustrial capitalism (Montarcé 2019, Nieto 2017, Thirión 2007). Conveying trust, empathizing with consumers, making efforts to assuage their anger and dissatisfaction, and repeating expressions of deference within an atmosphere of relative emotional proximity are some of the practices involved in performing emotional labor in these workplaces. From a Foucauldian interpretive perspective, the "mass production of smiles" and what is termed "affective standardization" (Montarcé 2019, p. 15)—an occupational requirement of call centers—constitute a form of emotional extractivism that is characteristic of neocolonial capitalism, securing workers' beliefs and affects and using them for the benefit of the company. In a general sense, cognitive and affective skills that enable good relations with customers are part of the requirements considered by human resources departments when evaluating potential workers. Employees should have an attractive appearance, smell good, listen to the customer, put

themselves in the customer's place, generate trust, express gratitude, and be persuasive and able to withstand fatigue; in short, they should be genuine "affective athletes" (Quattrini 2015, p. 67; see also Quattrini 2017).

A second line of research explores the socio-emotional repercussions of occupational instability and unemployment in male workers. The strong association between work and masculine identity makes occupational vulnerability a cause of great anguish (López & Ramos 2018, Mancini 2016, Ramírez 2019, Salguero 2007, Tena 2007). Situations of prolonged unemployment give rise to beliefs of having failed as a man, a husband, and/or a father able to provide for his children. Anxiety, sadness, frustration, humiliation, a sense of uselessness, desperation, shame, fear, and guilt are some of the most common emotions, accompanied by symptoms of depression (López & Ramos 2018). The loss of employment-based connections generates feelings of loneliness and gives credence to the idea of having ceased to be a "normal citizen" (Mancini 2016, p. 223). Public shame at not being able to "rise to the circumstances" (Mancini 2016, p. 223) exacerbates the man's tendency to isolate himself, in a kind of regressive spiral. Research conducted by Ramírez (2019) with a group of unemployed men in the city of Guadalajara, Mexico, uncovers an extensive emotional vocabulary in which, as might be expected, unpleasant emotions are predominant (fear, frustration, uselessness, and loneliness). As well as being able to articulate the affective states associated with unemployment, the men used two indirect resources to allude to their feelings: narration and metaphor. This insight points to the need to take heed of the diverse range of emotional markers present in male life stories.

A final line of research investigates the interconnections between affectivity and work in socio-occupational contexts where gender and/or social class are important stratification factors (Arango 2011; Canevaro 2016, 2018; Cuéllar 2019; Etcheberry 2017; Peláez 2016). In masculinized industries, in which women constitute a specific segment of the workforce, emotional management and bodily control are means by which a defensive distance is established in the face of potential harassment. In her study of the mining industry in northern Chile, Etcheberry (2017) identifies emotional and bodily performances that reflect the occupational profiles of the female workers: While manual laborers reproduced the identities of the hegemonic gender, professionals built legitimacy on the basis of their technical and intellectual abilities. When female workers in masculinized industries perform feminized tasks that are considered dirty or polluting (such as cleaning fish in a tuna industry in Mexico), they are subject to double stigmatization, in which class-based contempt is overlaid by contempt for the female condition. The affective correlate of this double stigmatization is disgust—an emotion with a strong classificatory effect—from which female workers struggle arduously to free themselves (Miller 1997, Peláez 2016).

In feminized occupational sectors, emotional and bodily work are also inextricably intertwined. Beauty salons are one example of this. Male and female stylists are not only required to manage their own bodies in order to project an image conforming to the standards of beauty promoted by the global industry, but are also subject to an implicit vulnerability, crossing the threshold of personal intimacy by touching and adjusting the customer's body without undermining his or her dignity. According to Arango (2011)'s research in Bogotá, hairdressers must provide good service—amounting to emotional labor—in the following ways: understanding customers' needs for personal care and to be listened to on a psychological level, even if the hairdressers do not empathize with them; identifying social class, so as to employ suitable deference markers; and creating the illusion of a horizontal relationship with the customer to generate the necessary trust and intimacy.

Emotional labor is also part of the everyday occupational duties of domestic employees, who work in a singular setting marked by strong class asymmetries and a perpetual tension between affective proximity and social distance. The workers, who are usually female, have to constantly

adjust their affective communication to produce the signs of deference appropriate to their class position, but they must also create the affective closeness expected by those with whom they live. A unique workplace, the home creates intense, ambiguous emotions on both sides of the employment relationship. A combination of factors shape the affective interchange: the type of domestic service (whether live-in or live-out), the career path of the workers, the length of the relationship, the life stage of the employer (who is also usually female), and so on (Canevaro 2016, 2018). The recurrent presence of certain emotions sheds light on the socio-structural properties that shape this relational exchange (Kemper 2006): gratitude, shame, and humiliation for employees, and guilt and trust for those who hire them (Ariza 2016, 2017b; Cuéllar 2019).

Theoretical Review and Analytical Propositions

The two major avenues of theoretical inquiry are the theoretical and empirical challenges presented by the study of love in contemporary societies, and the possible synergies between the sociology of emotions and neuroscience. In the first of these, the research focus is love between couples (Corona & Rodríguez 2000, Costa 2006, García 2013, García & Sabido 2017, López 2018, Sabido & García 2015). A shared analytical basis of these reflections is recognition of the tensions introduced into intimate relations by modernity, caused by both the process of individualization and the commodification of affective relations that is inherent in capitalism (Giddens 1998).

As part of this line of inquiry, some authors have proposed returning to Niklas Luhmann's work to consider how modern love acts as a communication code able to mediate the exchange between the unique worlds of meaning of the two people involved in the relationship (Costa 2006, López 2018). They note that nondiscursive forms of communication (looks, bodily caresses, dialogues based upon nonobjectifiable messages) make it possible to cross the boundary of incommunicability created by the pronounced social differentiation of contemporary societies. From this interpretative perspective, it is possible to analyze how the world of the couple resists the pressures of the market: While the range of romantic consumer goods the market offers facilitates the rituals of life in a couple, it cannot generate the affective energy of love (Costa 2006). What distinguishes romantic relationships from other social interactions is the attribution of a unique meaning to the bond between a couple; this meaning resists the homogenization promoted by romantic consumption as a means of symbolically reproducing capitalism. In López's (2018) revisiting of Luhmann, feelings are a specific way that individuals organize reality as psychic systems, this being made possible by communication. Exploring feelings sociologically entails observing how meaning is constructed in consciousness.

To try to understand the complexity inherent in romantic relationships in contemporary societies empirically, García & Sabido (2017; see also Sabido & García 2015) put forward an analytical framework that draws on Elias, Simmel, phenomenology, and neuroscience. They distinguish between three levels in romantic partnerships, which are understood as social figurations: the semantic (or sociocultural); the situational (or interactional); and "enminded bodies" (Jónasdóttir 1993), which refers to embodied experience that is inseparable from mental processes (Jónasdóttir 1993, cited by Sabido & García 2015, p. 33). The link between the three is sense (*sinn*), a Simmelian concept referring to the meaning and direction that guide humans in the world. According to this analytical model, sense is captured in semantics (sociocultural expectations regarding love), resignified in a unique way by lovers in their situated interaction, and experienced by enminded bodies as a subjective personal experience.

The second line of inquiry, which is concerned with potential synergies between neuroscience and the sociology of emotions, begins by recognizing the difficulties inherent in this dialogue (García 2019, Mercadillo 2016, Romeu 2019, Sabido 2017). An axiom shared by these authors is

that (bodily) perception and experience are biologically and socially mediated. In the view of social neuroscientists, it is imperative for their discipline to acknowledge that cerebral function is linked to a subjective experience and that emotions are part of a body, which is simultaneously biological and cultural. Despite the fact that individuals have similar neuronal and social cognition mechanisms, the bodily experience of each human is configured differently, as the type of information processed may include an extremely varied range of linguistic and cultural content (Mercadillo 2016).

From a social science perspective, the need has been identified for the sociology of emotions to add complexity to its formulations of perception and experience by incorporating their biological correlates, without neglecting the social and phenomenological aspects (García 2019). The social character of both processes—perception and experience—does not negate the central role of the somatosensory system of preferences (Damasio 2005). It is equally necessary for neuroscience to refrain from considering society a mere externality of the individual organism that experiences emotions (García 2019).

A final line of analysis draws on the sensory nature of sociability in Simmel's work in order to make the case for a relational and phenomenological sociology of the senses and experience (Romeu 2019, Sabido 2017). As a meaningful configuration of sensations, perception is multisensory (it goes beyond the five senses), corporeal (it involves movement, balance, and orientation of the body), and interactional. It includes not only the body and its technological extensions (such as electronic devices, walking sticks, or glasses) but also its interior and its internal biological state (Damasio 2005, Sabido 2017), as well as a communicative dimension. According to this research, it is through perception—that which requires somatic markers and social mediation—that we manage our adaptation and survival in the world (Romeu 2019).

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Just over a decade after its emergence, the Latin American sociology of emotions is a research field with increasing scientific output and a diverse range of analytic interests, within which at least six distinct, heterogeneous lines of research can be identified. Most of these underline the importance of including the emotional dimension in analyses of social processes, create inventories of the most characteristic affective states, and make an effort to identify emotional management mechanisms. With few exceptions, these lines of research are grounded in a theoretical eclecticism whose weakness is the failure to revisit foundational authors in the field of the sociology of emotions and subsequent developments of their work, apart from Arlie Hochschild and, to a lesser extent, Theodore Kemper.

A distinguishing feature of this field, which is currently being institutionalized in Latin America, is the insufficient disciplinary demarcation of sociology, which may be related to the process of professionalization of academic sociology in the region. As mentioned earlier, initial efforts in the field were situated at the boundary between sociology and anthropology, on the one hand, and between philosophy (the hermeneutics and biopolitics of Foucault) and sociology, on the other. This characteristic creates several tensions in the field, the most important of which include (*a*) displacement of the sociological perspective and its epistemological premises, (*b*) the difficulty of reconciling analytical frameworks originating in distinct academic traditions and generating relevant, empirically informed statements based on them, and (*c*) the ambiguity (at times, indetermination) of the object of research. Is the object emotions, emotions and the body, or the body and emotions?

Contrary to what one might expect, interdisciplinarity is not viable without first having established a clear, well-developed disciplinary perspective (Portes 2004). The identity and foundation

of sociological discourse depend on how its program of knowledge is delineated and defined. Its vision of social phenomena is constructed from its own perspective and by recourse to its own conceptual tools (Castañeda 2004). The unique contribution of the sociological approach to emotions lies in its attempt to understand their social causes and consequences (Barbalet 1998)—in essence, in exploring the social nature of emotions, as well as the emotional dimension of social life (Bericat 2012).

Anthropology as a discipline prioritizes the sociocultural and constructed character of emotions, perceiving them as social meanings and practices that are geographically and historically variable (Bolaños 2016, Lutz & White 1986). For sociology, emotions are more than sociocultural artifacts grounded in the identity and experience of subjects. They have social-structural elements (power and status) that go beyond culture, without whose mediation they cannot be fully understood (Barbalet 1998, Kemper 1990). As a disciplinary subfield, the anthropology of emotions (generally) adopts the interpretivist position of Clifford Geertz (1988), whose semiotic conceptualization of culture (Bolaños 2016, Osorio 1998) has been criticized for separating the symbolic from its historical and institutional referents (Biersack 1989, cited by Bolaños 2016; Hourcade 1995).

Philosophical discourse explores the world with reference to a completely different epistemological framework. It is grounded not in verifiable methods and hypothetical propositions, but in abstract logical reasoning that does not require empirical validation. It does not start from the premise that subjects are social products whose behavior is determined by social structures or systems; instead, it assumes that they may be understood as an a priori phenomenon (Castañeda 2004, Wallerstein 2004). One of the strands of philosophy that appears most frequently in certain Latin American lines of research is Foucault's biopolitics and its subsequent developments (Agamben 2006, Esposito 2009, Luna & Mantilla 2018). According to this perspective, emotions (and bodies) provide an account of the disciplining mechanisms of biopower, a philosophical concept referring to the singularity of power in modern societies, in which—in contrast to monarchical power—control is exercised upon the individual body, the interiority of subjects, and the social body (the population). Political technologies (disciplines) make it possible to create docile bodies (and subjectivities) at the service of capitalism and liberal governmentality: "the body does not exist as a biological item or a material, but within and through a political system" (our translation) (Foucault 1994, cited by Castro 2004, p. 102; see also Antonelli 2014, Cayuela 2008). Emotions and bodies are therefore subordinate to the political order, making this a radically different starting point from that of sociological discourse.

Whichever of these paths is taken, the analytical vision of sociology is obscured. Subscribing to an anthropological approach impels researchers to take a constructivist, sociocultural conception of emotions—a hegemonic perspective. Applying a Foucauldian perspective runs the risk of politically overdetermining emotions, through teleological reasoning. Both approaches lack a conception of emotions that is relational, unreservedly social, and interactional, qualities that are emblematic of the sociological perspective. The tension created by ambiguous disciplinary delineation also influences methodological decisions and the empirical approach, making it harder to formulate clear, precise observational statements (Chalmers 1990). One of the conditions for making scientific pronouncements is that the recipient must be able to reproduce the statement exactly as its creator produced it, meeting minimum requirements for theoretical and procedural—essentially, methodological—validity (Castañeda 2004).

A final, related result of the tension created by disciplinary delineation is the ambiguity or insufficient analytical differentiation of the object of empirical inquiry in some studies: emotions, emotions and bodies, or bodies and emotions. While they are evidently interrelated, emotions and bodies are discrete analytical dimensions, whose joint exploration is an extremely complex matter.

Studies grounded in Foucault's philosophical approach prioritize study of the body, only occasionally conferring a comparable analytical status on emotions. Addressing both necessitates a careful analytical and methodological articulation of the concepts, grounded in theory, thereby preventing their empirical juxtaposition in a merely nominal or metaphorical sense.

In spite of these critical remarks, as a field of knowledge, the sociology of emotions in Latin America has begun to shed light on the emotional dimension of what are essentially diverse social realities. It has thereby carved out a path of inquiry that requires suitable institutional conditions for its reinforcement and reproduction, including the generation of a critical mass of studies, and the precise delimitation of its remit.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

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