Chapter 24

Emotional knowledge, emotional styles, and religion

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From a sociological viewpoint, emotions, especially collective emotions, were already positioned and described within the context of religion by Emile Durkheim (1912/1995). In his perception of society, collective emotions comprise a fundamentally essential component since the emergence of religion is based on the interplay of a socially created imaginary reality (an idealized, second reality) with a specific, socially created kind of emotion (that he calls "effervescence"). To this extent, and in terms of a sociology of emotions, it makes sense to examine collective emotions more closely where—even today—religion is celebrated and religiosity is played out and lived. This chapter is not concerned exclusively with emotions that refer to a social collective or group, such as effervescence. Instead, we are interested in the entire spectrum of emotions that gain meaning in the context of religion. Our work is based on earlier research on the role of transcendence for contemporary religious communities and on studies on the New Age movement, near-death experiences, religious visions, and Marian apparitions (Knoblauch, 1999, 2009; Knoblauch & Soeffner, 1999), and in particular on findings of recent ethnographic research on the "emotionalization" of religion. This research compared newer Christian congregations with a Pentecostal or evangelical orientation to Christian parishes of the Evangelical Church in Germany or of the Roman Catholic Church with regard to their respective emotional culture.

We begin with a few comments on religion and religious emotions, and subsequently outline the specific methods of data collection and analysis. After presenting three dimensions of religious emotions to serve as a backdrop for the analysis, we will then focus on several selected findings, that is, quintessential empirical examples from the diverse and extensive data. "Emotional style" means thereby (in contrast to the definition coined by Reddy, 2008) the situational condensation of the communicational codification of the emotional, which is accessible for our observation and analysis. Additionally, we use the concept of "emotional regimes" that has been used by Riis and Woodhead (2010) to grasp the relations between religious emotions, symbols, and community. In the second part, we will deal with more substantial questions regarding the role of emotions in present-day Christian congregations in the German-speaking world. We will describe both the role of knowledge that is gained via emotions, and knowledge about emotions each for the religious life. Both types are meant when we use the term emotional knowledge. In examining these questions, the role of visual media stands out in particular, which we will demonstrate through an initial analysis of ethnographic data on Pope Benedict's visit to Berlin in 2011. With the aid of the concept of mediatization, it will be shown that there is not only an increase in the usage of media, but that the media are in the experience of religious events influencing these experiences. We will then briefly discuss future work more broadly related to the meaning of emotion and religion in society.

Before turning to the question of the role of emotion in these Christian communities, we would briefly like to present some theoretical, sociological reflections on the relation of religion, emotion, and experience.

Religion, emotion, and experience

Emotion and experience

Many scholars have viewed feelings, emotions, and religion as closely related. Schleiermacher, who is often considered a founding figure of modern theology, for example, identified the essence of religion as "neither thinking nor acting," but as "intuition and feeling" (Schleiermacher, 1799/1996, p. 22). In addition, James, founder of the psychology of religion, gave priority to feelings as opposed to theological "formulas," thus explicitly opposing an intellectualized understanding of theology as a positive science. Otto, author of the classic work on religious phenomenology, stripped "the Holy" of its moral and rational components and saw the core of religiosity in what is "numinous," which in turn cannot be grasped through concepts. Yet, he assumes that it can be described through the "feeling-response...[that] must be directly experienced in oneself to be understood" (Otto, 1917/1958, p. 10)—the feeling of the \textit{mysterium tremendum}.

This emphasis on feeling and emotion as the essence of religion, however, represents only one aspect of our reflections on religion. Schleiermacher's writings, the psychology of religion, and religious phenomenology also refer to the notion that religion is tied to a specific \textit{experience}. There are major differences here between the substantialist conception that religion is established through an experience of the extraordinary—that is, of the holy or sacred, which must therefore be explicitly presupposed—and a functionalist conception in which religion is determined simply through the extraordinariness of the experience (which is based more on the experiencing person than on what is experienced). Nevertheless, the modern inquiry of religion is based not only on emotion but also on a concept of religious experience. Against this background, religion's connection to feelings and emotions represents a particularly modern dimension. Whereas in the course of the nineteenth century, experience became the acknowledged foundation of "empirical" or "experiential" science, the shift in the religious from experience to emotion is tantamount to a strategy which, alluding to Weber (1992), could be characterized as the irrationalization of religion. The modern ideology of secularization tends to see religion not only as the opposite of reason; it also refuses to acknowledge the reality of religious
experience and transforms it—following Comte, Nietzsche, and Freud—into a subjective transfiguration, an illusion, or simply an “irrational” emotion.

**Emotion, meaning, and communicative action**

Surprisingly, the very common secularist opposition between “irrational emotional religion” and “rational scientific modernity,” that we do not share, is subverted precisely by those authors who seem to argue for this very kind of modernity and its disenchantment. It was Weber who in *Economy and Society* (1978) declared the instrumental rationalization of action (and thus its economization) to be the fate of modernity, yet he did not assign emotionality to behavior. Instead he allowed for affectual (emotionally driven) action among his four ideal types of action. Although only marginally rational, affectual or emotionally driven action is characterized by what characterizes human action in general: it is meaningful. By incorporating emotion as an aspect of meaningful action, Weber also laid the groundwork for our sociological consideration of emotion. Just as the spirit of capitalism can be derived from the Protestant ethic, the meaning of emotion is also influenced by society and, in turn, influences social interactions. If we designate this meaning mediated by society as a form of “knowledge,” then we can also speak of emotional knowledge. As we will argue, the concept of emotional knowledge, especially with an eye toward religion, turns out to be particularly fruitful. By this concept, we mean both knowledge about emotions and knowledge that is acquired through emotions.

Here, it is important to consider that like knowledge in general, emotional knowledge is mediated quite tangibly and sensuously through communication or, more precisely—in referring to the acting, experiencing, and feeling subject—through communicative action.¹ For this reason, we are focusing specifically on the forms of communication with which knowledge about and through emotions are mediated. It is apparent that emotionality is by no means simply a side effect of religious communication. Instead, in a very special and to some extent innovative manner, religious communication particularly underscores emotional aspects. As we will show, visual communication assumes great significance for the dimension of emotional knowledge in religion. It makes it possible to mediate visual knowledge, and it is this visual knowledge that in particular emphasizes emotionality. In addition to the visual, other modalities (such as music, though we will rarely touch on it) also play an important role, so that one must point to the special role of (multimodal) media to arrive at a broader understanding of religion in modern society. More generally, as the media increasingly pervade religious practice, emotion, and communication, and change their structure, one can speak of a mediatization of religion (Hepp & Krönert, 2009; Hjarvard, 2009).

Despite all the diversity in the ways in which emotion is expressed, we can identify various emotional styles. We refer to emotional styles to denote the situational aggregations of communicative codifications of the emotional, which we can observe and analyze. We thus use the term in a sense that is distinct from Il loci’s definition (2007, pp. 6–7) to the extent that it is concerned not only with how a society deals with emotions, but in particular also looks at the performative level of emotions.

**Three sociological dimensions of emotion**

When we speak of communicative action or, for short, communication, we do not mean abstract selections that are carried out independently by the actors. Instead, we are referring to the sensory and physical performance of emblematic actions which, for actors as well as for observers, can be perceived, experienced, and thus interpreted. The carrying out of the action itself is referred to using the term performance. For this reason, the communicative—and thus always also multimodal—forms of emotional expressions that are performatively implemented within the frameworks of ritualized ceremonies (such as religious services) are a guiding principle of observational study. To document these communicative forms of expression, we take into account the interplay of aspects relating to language, paralanguage, gestures, facial expression, singing, dramatization, situation, and interaction. The analyses on this first dimension are based primarily on procedures of ethnographic observation and audiovisual data. Some of these data have been recorded by the authors, whereas other data are self-descriptions of congregations, taken, for example, from their websites.²

Our investigations focus not only on established Christian communities, but also on newly founded ones, especially ones in which a majority of their members share the same ethnic background. Through the founding of new congregations in recent decades, the broadened spectrum of the communities in Germany has become interesting and multifarious, including Evangelical, New Pentecostal, and Charismatic congregations, as well as the more mainstream communities of the Protestant and Catholic Churches.

When examining the performance of religious communication, we have to consider that today’s Christian communities often incorporate new media not only for live visualizations during their religious services, but also as a means of portraying their church outwardly and inwardly and to document their community life (Herbrik, 2012). Even so-called church planting, the intentional founding of new churches, is facilitated by the use of media (Fanning, 2009). A congregation’s website plays a role here, in which videos and photographs are used intensively and extensively. Video and photographic analyses are thus almost self-explanatory methodologies of inquiry.

In a second dimension of analysis, we are interested in the emotional knowledge that is mediated by this communicative performance, that is, its meaning instead of significance for the actors and for feeling rules. To analyze how the communicative forms of emotion (whose performance can be observed and interpreted by the members of a community)

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¹ For a more elaborate notion of communicative action, see Knoebelach (2011).

² Our methodological approach for field entry, selection of interviewees and data collection was guided by the principles of constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), whereas our methods for the interpretation of data are based on video analysis (Knoebelach, Schnettler, & Raab, 2009) and Social Scientific Hermeneutics (Sossiefer, 2004). We collected data from 25 congregations and several major Christian events and conducted 30 in-depth interviews with lay persons and pastors.
and what stocks of emotional knowledge can be evoked for several purposes, we carried out in-depth interviews with active members of the congregations. We asked interviewees, who were recruited with the aid of press releases, about the history of their beliefs, about significant events related to their religious life, and about their everyday religious practices. In addition to their respective descriptions of their own emotions, we documented the believers' reflections on the emotionality of their religion.

For instance, in the following example, "Mister R." assessed individual religions in view of their capacity to raise and nourish hope:

R: Umm, so I am someone, I deal with something, actually I tend, tend to deal with something objectively with less emotion and I have looked into various religions including Buddhism and Hinduism, and they are all, umm religions, umm that offer no pleasure. Buddhism is a very sad religion—you get reborn so many times until at some point you achieve nirvana. That is actually a very sad religion. Buddhism is also a sad religion (…) because in Buddhism there isn’t even a soul, that is, very few even believe (in a) soul (because) you just dissolve into nirvana.

Interviewer: Yes.

R: For me Christianity is actually a religion that that umm also gives hope and that there is something else, and that there is life that continues after death.

Interviewer: Yes.

R: That is what attracts me (…) so much [HmM].

The third dimension of analysis is based on the idea that the emotions we focused on and their communicative representations are linked to a social context that is conveyed through ritualized events, their social organization, and mediation. We suspect a connection between emotional styles and the social milieu from which the members of religious groups are recruited, and are presently pursuing this connection in secondary analyses of existing data.

Knowledge and emotion

Knowledge about emotions

When speaking of emotional knowledge, a central concept is that of "feeling rules" (Hochschild, 1979). Which feeling rules are present in the congregations we investigated? In answering this question, we find very obvious and explicit feeling rules in Christian dogma. The best-known example of this would be the two commandments in the New Testament which actually represent feeling rules in a pure form. The Ten Commandments of the Old Testament refer mainly to concrete actions. They prescribe which actions are required of people and which are forbidden: "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not steal" (Ex. 20, pp. 2–26, KJV).

In contrast to this, it is interesting that the instructions given in the two commandments of the New Testament refer to the emotional sphere: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind (37). This is the first and great commandment (38). And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself (39). On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets (40)” (Matt. 22, 37–40).

The Bible also provides believers with assessment standards for various emotions, such as anger. It can be sinful if evoked through egoism or if it seems uncontrollable. However, anger can also be just, if directed against unjust or disrespectful actions. The most noted example of this is how Jesus was enraged and cast the money changers from the temple (see Matt. 21, 12).

These are but a few examples of the most obvious feeling rules that are anchored in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Aside from these explicit and "official" feeling rules there are also other, so-called sociocultural feeling rules. As our data show, there are different ways in which the believers are socialized into observing certain feeling rules or certain emotional styles that are meant to apply for a particular situation or group. In more active terms, this means that believers have a range of options in acquiring the emotional knowledge they need to not behave improperly in a certain religious context.

One example is that many of the recurring ritualized procedures in Christian churches are characterized by emotional scenarios. This is how, for example, the liturgical (or church) year determines the succession of Sundays and holidays, which are characterized by penitence during Lent and Advent, mourning between Holy Thursday and Holy Saturday, and joy at Easter and Christmas.

On a smaller scale, similar emotional scenarios can be recognized in the liturgy of the religious service. This includes some sections during which guilt is felt and acknowledged, and others for the joyful and—depending on the congregation—more or less enthusiastic praise of God and his son. Since all of these procedures and components of the liturgy are repeated regularly, the believers start practicing them from their very first visit to a religious service, therefore experiencing a socialization into the inherent feeling rules and the respective emotional styles.

We also identified explicit commands that urge believers to feel or express certain emotions. Song texts, for example, prompt them to feel joy and exaltation. In the course of a participant observation, we saw the pastor of a Free Church congregation in Berlin who emphatically encouraged his congregation to express praise with greater enthusiasm by telling them that the members of his former congregation had demonstrated more expressive forms of joy and devotion. When singing the same song of praise, he said, they stood on the pews, danced, and clapped their hands. The Berlin congregation then made a great effort to present a similarly engaged performance of the called-for emotions.

This example is intended merely to illustrate the wide range of different emotional forms in expressing the same emotion, which can be socially desirable or undesirable within a certain group or event. This is why it is important for the individual not only to learn which emotions are appropriate, but also to internalize the specific emotional style.

We speak of emotional styles because groups are characterized not only by consistent emotions, but through specific situational emotional preferences oriented toward the emotional scenario.
To acquire or impart knowledge about the "appropriate" emotions and emotional styles, it is often not even necessary to use verbal language. Instead, the media and visualizations play a major role. On well-maintained websites of religious groups, you can find a large number of pictures and video clips. These media and (audio)visual products serve, for one thing, to advise on the emotional experiences that are possible within a group or congregation. They also serve as a kind of model of expression, offering patterns for how and which emotions can and should be demonstrated.

It should be kept in mind that knowledge about religious groups as well as the religious emotions themselves follow less and less a written pattern even in the Protestant sphere. Neophytes and also established members orient themselves along audiovisual models, whereby the role of music should not be underestimated. Visualization serves here as a mimetic "role model" of emotional communication, making this an incidence of the mediatization of religion (Hepp & Krönert, 2009). The media do not only convey the contents, they are incorporated into that which is conveyed. Of particular significance is the role played by popular forms of representation, which can be referred to as "popular religion" (Kneblauach, 2009). Especially in a photo series presented by Free Church congregations, the focus is not only on the liturgical events performed by clerics in the chancel, but also on other participants in the service or event. Our example in this case is the press portfolio of the "Freakstock" Festival that is accessible online (Fig. 24.1).

**Knowledge through emotions**

Whereas religious communication imparts knowledge about emotions, religious emotion is also treated as a source of knowledge. The experience of emotions is used to mediate or make accessible and salient certain religious contents and themes. Emotions serve as a kind of "rational" method of gaining a better or correct understanding of religion and religious aspects, such as a passage from the Bible.

Bibliodrama (Radeck, 1998), a form of dramatic biblical investigation, and Bibliologist (Pohl-Patalong, 2010), a German form of interactive, group interpretation of Biblical texts, are two examples of how to implement this idea. Both techniques invite believers to take the role of certain Biblical figures who appear in selected Bible passages. The passage is then read aloud to the group by a moderator. The participants are supposed to try to work out the ideas as well as the emotions and moods that the Biblical figure might have experienced, thought, or felt. They are expected to portray them performatively in the case of Bibliodrama or to describe them verbally in the case of Bibliologist.

The aim is to envision what a certain Biblical figure might have gone through in his or her heart and mind. Believers are supposed to confront emotions and thoughts that could be relevant for a particular Bible passage, to discover what conflict a figure might have faced or what fears might have plagued him or her. The communicative part of this reenactment together with the others aims to create a specific form of Bible interpretation that is based in particular on the visualization of emotions.

A similar though less concrete approach can be observed in the case of the so-called Thomas Mass. This special format for a religious service was developed in 1988 in Helsinki (Habemer, 2002). Today it is celebrated also in a number of different countries. The Thomas Mass specifically addresses people who have doubts regarding the Christian faith, as is indicated also in the name of the event, which refers to the Doubting Thomas of the Bible. Thomas the Apostle did not believe the report brought to him of Christ's resurrection. He wanted to see the miracle with his own eyes or even to have tangible evidence. Accordingly, physical and emotional experiences play a particularly large role in a Thomas Mass (Fig. 24.2).

The concrete elements of the Mass can be selected by the respective local organizational teams. Although the masses are celebrated in Protestant churches, each participant often has the opportunity to experience a brief personal interaction with a pastor and to be anointed. Other elements that are often used include the lighting of a candle or writing down of one's own thoughts and feelings on a piece of paper and attaching it to a symbolic Western Wall. Participants frequently break up into smaller groups in order to meditate on a picture or a Bible passage or to experience their own body in the meditation. Organizers particularly appreciate unusual musical arrangements and replace the church organ with other instruments. During the Communion service, believers usually hold hands standing in a large circle around the chancel (Fig. 24.3).

In general, the Thomas Mass is conceived so that its different elements attempt to address all the senses of the believers (see also Meyer, 2006). New and rediscovered older Christian rituals and forms of communication are used in order to offer participants sensory and emotional experiences that tend to be rarely experienced in conventional religious services.
Visualization, mediatization, and emotionality

Both participant observation—which up to now we have implemented directly in events of various Christian congregations—and data gathered from the websites of individual churches, support the view of a growing mediatization of religion. This means that different media are introduced into religious communication, thus expands and transforms that kind of communication by incorporating the media and the knowledge that is imparted through the media. At the same time, the communicative situation itself is documented immediately and made accessible to be conveyed further.

For example, numerous churches have screens or monitors to project various kinds of information during the service (Fig. 24.4).

Such equipment seems to have already become standard in newer Free Church congregations. Although this is not yet the case to the same extent in older congregations, screens are now often positioned in or near the chancel, in particular regarding special forms of services (such as rock masses). What just a few years ago seemed exotic, has meanwhile been worked into the liturgy in many younger congregations so that it is hardly perceived any more as strange or foreign. Bible passages on which the sermon is based are displayed by means of an overhead or computer projector. Also, prayers are to be recited by the entire congregation as responsories to the pastor, or the lyrics to the church songs are shown on the screen. In some cases, every single spoken or sung word within a religious service is projected onto the screen and supplemented by visual images.
Particularly with respect to visualizing the words to prayers and songs, projection on a screen often replaces the song book or prayer book. This leads to an interesting change in the posture of congregation members when singing and praying. They no longer look down to read a book, and their backs are no longer curved nor their heads bowed. Their glance is instead directed up toward the screen. Their hands are free and can be raised, used for prayer positions and gestures or to hold hands with their neighbors.

Using means of projection makes it possible not only to repeat liturgical elements but also to incorporate video clips into the structure of the service. We observed this practice mostly in Free Church congregations, some of which had even installed several flat screens into the church interior. This way, presentation of video material can be worked into the sermon. This leads to an interesting interplay of direct address and the—at times emotionally evocative—stylistic means of the media that are available through the specific composition of moving images, spoken commentary, and text as well as background music.

We also observed effects of mediatization on the people attending the service. These effects play a role in terms of the emotional experience of religious events. At the major Taizé meeting in Berlin, what has traditionally been the most moving moment of the service practically lost its original character through the mass attempt of the majority of the event participants to record the moment. When the flame was passed from candle to candle, row to row, and participant to participant, many tried to capture this moment with their cell phones or cameras, although the organizers had explicitly asked everyone to refrain from taking pictures. Participants attempted perhaps to catch what newspapers called the “Taizé feeling,” but with two effects. On the one hand, the flurry of camera flashes is evidence that many participants found this part of the service to be particularly impressive and worthy of holding on to. On the other hand, however, this use of media, which was intended to document the event to be shared with others, greatly affected the event itself, thereby changing its character.

**Emotional regimes**

Our observations of the papal Mass in the Berlin Olympic Stadium in September 2011 are insightful regarding concrete instructions for behavior, in this case directly with an eye towards the performance of emotions. It is particularly noteworthy how Pope Benedict XVI dealt with the emotions of the congregation. In contrast to the descriptive concept of emotional style, which remains implicit in religious communication, here it was a matter of an outright “emotional regime” (Riis & Woodhead, 2010). At the start of the papal Mass, an announcement was made, which was also broadcast to television audiences worldwide, in which members of the audience were asked to refrain from cheering, clapping, or holding up banners (Fig. 24.5).

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3 At the end of every year thousands of young Christians visit the respective European Taizé meeting that is organized by the Taizé Community located in France. See, for example, [http://www.taize.fr/en_article13315.html](http://www.taize.fr/en_article13315.html) (accessed April 21, 2013).

4 On the role of this marking of religious aspects and the ties to popular religion, see Knoblauch (2009).
jazzy "sacro-pop" (contemporary worship music), which can also be heard in Protestant churches (mostly the mainstream Free Churches).

Popular aspects also occurred at the ritual periphery of the event. Whereas the Pope’s exit triggered thunderous applause in the middle of the solemn closing vocals ("Great God, we praise you"), his triumphant entrance into the Olympic Stadium clearly carried traits of the veneration of celebrities. All forms of behavior, such as cheering, waving flags and so forth followed this pattern, and to some extent even the religious personnel also joined in.

An in-depth analysis of recorded video footage of the Pope’s visit3 is even more fruitful. Here we can observe that even clergies celebrated this encounter with Benedict, such that it was marked less by deference to the majestas of the Pope, than it was an expression of adulation of a celebrity, as is also practiced with other celebrities. This reveals an even more profound change in the rituals that make use of media. On one of our video recordings of the event, we can see, for example, two nuns awaiting the arrival of the Pope, standing in the front row along the tartan track of the Olympic Stadium.

One whips out her camera as the Pope drives past them in his Popemobile (Fig. 24.6). Instead of any sort of familiar religious gesture, both of the nuns look, instead, enthusiastically at the (presumably good) result on their camera’s display—even while the Pope in person is still there moving along right before their very eyes. Such changes in ritual can be characterized through the term mediatization. Without expounding here in detail on the term (see Knoblauch, 2013), it should be emphasized that this mediatization changes conventionally familiar forms of piety, and in many cases, also adapts them to nonreligious forms. With regard to collective emotions, these new forms have to be considered

when it comes to the question of how emotions are expressed, and especially how they are socially constructed in the course of social interactions that include the usage of media devices and are newly influenced by media usage.

The devout practice of kneeling before the Pope and the embodied charisma, both of which continued to surround Pope John XXIII, not only gave way to frenetic cheering that virtually turned John Paul II into a pop star (see Bergmann, Soeffner, & Luckmann, 1993); the veneration itself has been mediatized, as we can see in the case of Benedict XVI, to become an act of documentation that carries more significance in the situation than the event being documented. This applied well to the mystery of the event, as the Mass was performed as something that had a greater media presence than an actual physical presence. Not only was the event continuously recorded by thousands of cameras (belonging to people who were at times praying), but the Pope and the accompanying ritual ceremony was followed more closely on a large screen, which for most people was opposite the stage, so that the congregation often turned away from the altar and watched the screen on the opposite side. Even the stillness that is a main element of the emotional regime was broken by the media. When television cameras tried to film it, the stillness was transformed by media-conscious reactions from the audience whenever a camera appeared. Instead of devotion, the camera focuses on smiling, the waving of hands and even, as the camera moves into the distance, arm waving. Television coverage thus encounters a paradox. Wherever it attempts to observe stillness as a form of reverence or prayer, it triggers a reaction as television. The camera, as we know, no longer only records and documents the situation, it changes it (Kepler, 1986).

Outlook: social milieu and the emotional styles of religion

It is precisely a monumental event like that of the papal Mass in Berlin in 2011 which draws attention to the express significance of emotion for religion today. It indicates the emotional regime that religious groups and organizations exercise. In particular, the fundamentally marked forms of religious communication of Pope Benedict XVI point to the role played by different emotional styles in present-day Christianity. The emotional styles are acquired through these forms of communication, as “knowledge about emotion.” They are linked with emotional knowledge, which leads subjects not only to externally participate in the religion, but to become emotionally integrated as it were into the religion.

In contrast to an assumption we suggested at the start of our work on this project, the emotional styles by no means follow any sharply dichotomized pattern that can be divided into ecstatic and enthusiastic variants. The emotional styles also cannot be clearly attributed to certain denominations or religious groups. As the complex orchestration of even the most simple religious events shows, the emotional styles are also very complex, in terms of both their communication forms and their feeling rules, and they are certainly far more complex than the clear-cut bifurcation of the Benedictine Mass might lead one to believe. In order to grasp this complexity, it appears promising to look at the emotional styles of religion not in isolation, but instead to relate them to the cultural and communicative forms of expression in society as a whole. Just as religious communication either borrows greatly from popular culture or else dissociates itself from it, the religious networks, groups and organizations

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3 We would like to express our sincere thanks to Martin Zawadzki and Roman Pernack for making the audiovisual material available to us.
thus defined are also part of a culture whose forms of expression are used as means of social differentiation and association. The complexity of the emotional styles, therefore, makes it impossible to assign the indicated social differences simply to different social classes. Instead, we presume hypothetically, they follow the structure of social milieus. We no longer need to imagine these milieus as cohesive in terms of national societies. They still distinguish themselves through certain socioeconomic characteristics, and they are also determined by different value orientations. Beyond that, however, the forms of internal communication and knowledge play a determining role for social milieus. Precisely because emotional knowledge and emotional styles of communication are so significant for religion, one can assume that emotional knowledge is very significant for social milieus above and beyond religion. When examining religion, our observations support the theory within the sociology of religion that religion can be and has been transformed. Despite all processes of secularization and the many prophecies of doom, religion is definitely not disappearing from today's society. Instead, it is changing its form. The sinking numbers of members in the major churches is contrasted by the steady building up of a multifaceted plurality of religious and spiritual communities, which distinguish themselves through mediatization, visualization, and a clear emphasis on emotionality. Emphasizing emotionality should not be understood as a one-dimensional emotionalization, however, as the research of Hervieu-Léger and Champion (1990) or others suggest. The emotionality of religion never stands alone and remains subjective. It is not an emotionality for emotion's sake, such as in the ecstatic fun culture. It instead has an intentionality (generated by means of religious communication), or a referentiality, which can be understood personally in a Christian sphere as God, or at least (for example, in esoteric spirituality) as transcendence. Whereas we have attempted at least to begin to underline the significance of emotion and its forms for religion, it remains to be clarified how this plurality is constituted in detail, and if and how it can be brought into the context of the social milieus of globalized societies.

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Collective Emotions
Perspectives from Psychology, Philosophy, and Sociology

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