AFFECTIVE TRAJECTORIES RELIGION AND EMOTION IN AFRICAN CITYSCAPES

HANSJÖRG DILGER,
ASTRID BOCHOW,
MARIAN BURCHARDT,
and   MATTHEW
WILHELM-SOLOMON,

editors

AFFECTIVE TRAJECTORIES

RELIGIOUS CULTURES OF AFRICAN AND AFRICAN DIASPORA PEOPLE

Series editors: Jacob K. Olupona, Harvard University; Dianne M. Stewart, Emory University; and Terrence L. Johnson, Georgetown University

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CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION AFFECTIVE TRAJECTORIES IN RELIGIOUS AFRICAN CITYSCAPES

HANSJÖRG DILGER, MARIAN BURCHARDT,
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This volume is the first of its kind to focus comparatively on the multiple articulations between the varied affective and emotional states of people living in and beyond urban Africa, on the one hand, and the religious practices, ideas, and infrastructures present in African cities that impact them, on the other. In an important sense, the affective and emotional dynamics in urban Africa,[1] and the social, political, and material configurations that sustain—or are sustained by—them, are bound up with religion, its politics of collective aspirations and presence in public spaces, as well as its material practices.

In this volume, we envisage the intertwining of religion, affect, and emotion in African cityscapes and, more specifically, the ways in which religious symbols and rites structure—and are reworked through—embodied and affective relationships with urban materialities and power relations, on five levels. First, religious ideas and practices offer affective regimes that regulate the hermeneutics of the self; second, religion allows people to encode their emotional states in moral and/or spiritual terms that shape their maps of meaning and guide their actions; third, religion supplies affective forms of belonging that are often simultaneously localized and transnational, and thus forge new notions of emplacement; fourth, religion produces ritual

spaces for catharsis, peace, and elation and hence offers an outlet for the discord and anxiety of city life, though religious groups and rituals also foster aggression toward those considered to be outside their moral order; and fifth, religious communities often provide concrete material, emotional, and organizational support and care to those living in precarious and dangerous situations.

In order to explore these various intertwinings between affect, emotion, and religion in urban African settings, the volume engages with two bodies of literature that have not yet been systematically applied to the analysis of religious practices in African cityscapes and beyond. First, the volume builds on the literature on affect, emotion, and sentiment that has flourished in the social sciences and cultural studies in recent years, and whose analytical potential for the field of religion still needs to be fully explored—not only in Africa but also in other parts of the world. Second, it connects the literature on affect, emotion, and sentiment—and the way in which it has been applied by individual authors to the study of religion so far (e.g., Riis and Woodhead 2010; Herbrik and Knoblauch 2014; Scheer 2015)—to the exploration of the diverse religious, symbolic, social, political, and material mediations of urban space in Africa and beyond.

Taken together, these two bodies of literature inform our notion of affective trajectories, which we consider central for thinking about how the affective and emotional dimensions of religious ideas, practices, and materialities coalesce to shape specific urban environments in contemporary Africa and beyond, and how they are simultaneously shaped by them. We argue that scholars of religion should focus more systematically on the ways in which theoretical notions of affect, emotion, and sentiment can be applied when exploring religious lives in the cityscapes of global Africa, which today extend far beyond the "narrow" confines of the continent, and how they provide unique entry points for analyzing the entwinement between religion, affect, emotion, and sentiment in the twenty-first century.

AFFECT, EMOTION, AND SENTIMENT IN THE STUDY OF RELIGION IN AFRICA: A BLANK SPOT

The dynamics of affect, emotion, and sentiment powerfully mold the experiences and social practices of people living in urban Africa, as well as African migrants who have moved to the urban centers of Europe, North America, and other parts of the world (Cole and Groes 2016). For instance, the lives of Africans in urban environments have been shaped by regional

and civic conflicts; the desires and pervasive pains induced by neoliberal market-oriented reforms; large-scale urban-rural and transnational migrations; the rapid demolitions, dispossessions, and constructions of urban and (post)colonial change; and high levels of unemployment, poverty, and epidemic illness. Taken together, these various processes challenge not only the imagination of African urbanites when navigating these often highly strenuous conditions in the creation of coherent lives but also the imagination of scholars to develop new understandings of these dynamics (Förster 2016), not least with regard to the conceptual and methodological repertoires that we apply when we research and represent the highly diversified experiences and responses of African urbanites in relation to these dynamics.

As this volume shows, moving into and residing in the vital and economically, ethnically, socially, and religiously diverse urban centers of the continent and its diasporas often triggers—and is triggered by—states of anxiety, insecurity, and fear, as well as feelings of excitement and hope, for instance, for a better life or for socioeconomic liberation. In this regard, life in urban African settings implies the reorganization of social relations and individual subjectivities, thereby giving rise to new understandings and practices of citizenship, self, and personhood, but also to sensations of marginality and exclusion and the anxieties of leading a "good life" in precarious environments. In addition, urban centers, and the opportunities and risks that living in them implies, provide spaces for sensations of pleasure, love, care, and intimacy, as well as experiences of suffering, alienation, and emotional drama.

Despite the pervasive presence of affect, emotion, and sentiment in the lives of African urbanites, the affective experiences of African cityscapes are often subordinated to a focus on macroeconomic, demographic, and political forces. Consequently, Edgar Pieterse emphasizes "the importance of reading the affective functions of popular practices, because it is only through the redeployment of such registers that one can begin to fathom what is going on in the real city, and potentially animate a resonant engagement with the city" (2011, 18). Nevertheless, an approach to the affective dimensions of African urbanisms—and particularly their relationship to religious practices—has thus far been largely absent in the literature.

This blank spot in the scholarly literature tends to ignore the fact that it is not only Pentecostal churches that incite a wide range of affective and emotional sensations among their members in the context of highly charismatic church services and collective healing prayers (Pype 2015). Indeed, emotions are part and parcel of the repertoires of other religious traditions, including Islam and other Christian denominations. These other religious

traditions have also articulated very specific scripts on how their adherents are to experience and express emotional states with regard to love, sexuality, and ritual (Corrigan 2008) or their personal relationship with God (Gade 2008). At the same time, in African cities and their diasporic counterparts, people's religiously mediated affective and emotional states cannot be thought of independently of the social relations, material infrastructure, and configurations of power that have structured urban life in and beyond Africa over the last decades.

This volume does not aim to define a rigid framework for the study of affect, emotion, and sentiment in African cityscapes, especially as there is no consensus in the theoretical literature on how to define and distinguish these concepts; indeed, they are often used in interchangeable ways (see, e.g., Palmer and Occhi 1999, 12). In a similar vein, the contributors to this volume each formulate a specific understanding of affect, emotion, and sentiment, which are—and *need* to be—deeply situated in their respective research constellations and in relation to the particular conceptual arguments they make.

Against this background, this introduction aims to outline, above all, an "intellectual space" (Meyer 2009, 2) that emphasizes the importance of studying the dynamics of affect, emotion, and sentiment in relation to religious discourses, practices, and materialities in urban Africa from various disciplinary, regional, and thematic perspectives. Furthermore, the conceptual framework of "affective trajectories" that we outline here aims to formulate a mediating position between the various approaches to the study of affect, emotion, and sentiment—as we summarize them in the following two sections—in relation to urban African religion(s). Such an analytical framework highlights the need to formulate precise conceptual understandings of affect, emotion, and sentiment, and how they entwine with religion and the urban, without losing sight of ethnographic specificities and the conceptual subtleties that their exploration requires.

Significantly, we also recognize that in much Enlightenment-inspired thinking, key notions that are touched upon in this volume, such as "religion" and "affect," have been encased in conceptual binaries (such as affect, emotion, and sentiment vs. reason and intellect; body vs. mind; nature vs. culture; time vs. space). In line with postcolonial criticism, in this volume we seek to unsettle the hierarchical organization of these binaries and the privilege typically accorded to one side of them. Going beyond this criticism, we also highlight that conceptual dyads such as affect and reason, or body and mind, emerge through dialectical processes of coconstitution.

Pentecostal pedagogies that posit believers' emotions as the subject of conscious cultivation and training are a good illustration of this point (see Cazarin and Burchardt, this volume), as is the rationalization of sentiment among Pentecostals in the context of rural-to-urban migration in Botswana (see van Dijk, this volume).

AFFECT, EMOTION, AND SENTIMENT SHAPE— AND ARE SHAPED BY—RELIGION

In the wider social science and cultural studies literature, a significant corpus of studies has formulated the assumption that a fundamental distinction needs to be made between "affect" as a form of preconscious experience that establishes a largely unstructured and embodied relationship between individuals and the social and material world, on the one hand, and "emotion" as the culturally and socially mediated articulation of this experience, on the other. According to this perspective, a close relationship exists between affect and emotion, in that the former designates an intensification of bodily states that makes individuals act or relate to their surroundings in particular ways (Massumi 2002), while the latter translates this experience into the domains of language, cognition, and other modes of representation (Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990).

While "emotions" are often thought of as the social and cultural coding of the inchoate experience that "affect" comprises, it would be misleading to think of emotion *as* affect: "It is better to think of emotion as that which follows affect once the moment is gone, and the 'affected' person finally becomes aware of the experience, framing it discursively" (Bialecki 2015, 97). In other words, while emotions describe the bodily and mental reactions of the subject toward events or encounters including pain, fear, anger, or pleasure, they also involve complex "judgments" (R. Solomon 1995), "perceptions" (W. James 2013), and "apprehensions of the world" (Sartre and Streller 1962, 9), and thus already contain an element of *reflexivity*. Emotions may also be an expression of ethical values and normative assumptions if they convey a person's or group's sentiments that something is fundamentally right or wrong.[2] Taken in this way, emotions can be regarded as complex "bio-cultural" formations (Röttger-Rössler and Markowitsch 2009), which comprise both cognitive elements and bodily sensations (Ahmed 2013, 5). It also becomes clear that this conception of emotion and affect goes beyond the Cartesian notion of "ratio" versus "emotions," "body" versus "mind," or the "individual" versus the "collective."

Recent social scientific studies have consequently moved beyond the individualistic perspective of the psychology-driven "emotion and affect studies" of earlier decades and have emphasized that affect and emotion are always embodied in the relationships between individuals and their wider social and material environments. Thus while Michelle Rosaldo (1984, 143) described emotions as "embodied thought" as early as 1984, it was only more recently that social scientists have shown how emotions are performed and enacted in relation to discursive frameworks and power configurations (Röttger-Rössler 2004; Riis and Woodhead 2010), as well as the social context at large (Lyon 1995).

As Riis and Woodhead (2010, 10) have argued for the domain of religion, for instance, it is through particular "emotional regimes" that religious communities shape their members' emotional and affective lives. In this sense, religion is the context not only for the regulation, cultivation, and disciplining of emotional states but also for their transformation (11). Riis and Woodhead also stress that the embodiment of such emotional regimes is not a passive process, as the members of religious groups are actively engaged in learning the "emotional repertoires" (11) of their respective social environments. Nor are such embodiments permanent or unchangeable, as emotional regimes "educate and structure sensibility not only in relation to daily tasks and duties, but across the life course, and they help in the navigation of its transitions and crises" (11).

In recent years, anthropological and sociological scholars of affect and emotion have adopted an increasingly broad perspective of "the social" in their research and have shown that environments are shaped not only by people's relationships with their fellow human beings but also by their interactions with the wider material and nontangible world. Especially in the context of "affect studies," these uses of affect have been informed by the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari (1994, 169), who conceived of "affects" as "the nonhuman becomings of man" and "affection" as a form of corporeal relation to other bodies (Deleuze 1990, 218). Brian Massumi has elaborated on these ideas, arguing that affects are "basically ways of connecting, to others and to other situations" (2015, 6). According to his perspective, affects involve flows and networks between human and nonhuman actors, and "although affect is all about intensities of feeling, the feeling process cannot be characterized as exclusively subjective or objective: the encounters through which it passes strike the body as immediately as they stir the mind" (x).

In recent years, philosophical conceptions of affect and affection have

been explored anthropologically in different ways. Elizabeth Povinelli (2011), for instance, has related these conceptions to the survival of marginalized populations under late liberalism and neoliberalism and has argued that an affective force is always one of *potentiality*—an articulation of endurance and striving. Kathleen Stewart (2007, 9–10) has embedded the study of affect within everyday events and experiences and explores how "ordinary affects" elicit transient, or unexpected, forms of sociality and trajectories. Finally, Sara Ahmed argues that affects and emotions circulate between humans and objects rather than residing within the subject: "Emotions are both about objects, which they hence shape, and are also shaped by contact with objects" (2013, 7). Ahmed thus moves away from an intrapsychic understanding of affect to an affective economy of the circulation of objects that attaches "affective value" to materialities and signs. Moreover, she links her reflections on the affective economy of emotions to material histories of social and political inequality in which emotions evolve. Through history, specific objects obtain "affective values," linking past and present suffering and inequalities (11).

While affect and emotion are always embedded in larger social and material environments and their histories, they are also a direct reflection of the moral and ethical values that guide a person's ways of being-in-the-world. According to Throop (2012, 158), the notion of "moral sentiments" helps us to explore how affective sensibilities and values shape our attention to the world we live in. It also highlights how value sentiments are simultaneously integrated into the larger political histories and configurations that govern people's lives (cf. Stoler 2004). Throop suggests that these embodied ways of being-in-the-world become subject to ethical reflection, especially in "moments of destabilization" and at times of heightened social and cultural rupture (Throop 2012, 158; see also Zigon 2007). In contrast to short-term emotional states and sensations, sentiments can therefore be conceived of as "emotional dispositions" (Reihling 2014, 33), which "refer to an individual's conscious anticipation of an event and justify the appearance of a corresponding response" (32). Furthermore, sentiments have been understood as the "conventionalized" form of representing affective and emotional responses—such as in literature and poetry—which "contributes to . . . representations that are tied to morality, which is ultimately tied to politics in its broadest sense" (Abu-Lughod 1988, 34).[3] Given the ambiguous potential of moral sentiments in times of social and political transformation, it is crucial to explore not only how sentiments cultivate our attitudes toward

and practices of a "good life" (Robbins 2013a) but also how *resentment*—that is, sensations of rage, anger, bitterness, and frustration—becomes central in situations of injustice and injury (Fassin 2013).

With reference to the topic of this edited volume, a relational concept of affect, emotion, and sentiment (cf. Reihling 2014; Röttger-Rössler and Slaby 2018) concerns the various materialities and technologies—and all types of sensational forms (Meyer 2010)—that mediate religious expressions in urban space, such as (sacred) objects, (visual and sonic) media, language, text, and infrastructure. Informed by sociological theories of embodiment and the anthropology of the senses, scholars have analyzed, for instance, how religious groups use sound, images, and iconography to appeal to the sensual capacities of urban audiences and to engage their believers' imagination of the extraordinary (Oosterbaan 2009; Meyer 2008; Hirschkind 2001). They have also explored the conflicts that arise due to competition over sonic and iconic representations of different religious communities in urban space (Brennan 2010) and the idea that materialities are not simply "carriers" of affective and emotional codes but have the visual, aural, and haptic power to affect human and nonhuman beings on multiple levels (Scheer 2012; Larkin 2013; Pype 2015). They also stress that settings of mobility and migration can enhance emotional sensations of alienation and (failed) belonging in particular ways, as migrants can be faced not only with the challenge of (re)connecting to their places of origin but also with a host society that confronts them with political and bureaucratic barriers, as well as with a lack of empathy (Svašek 2010).

Again, religious communities contribute to the production of affective belonging and orientation in such settings of globalization and marginalization through, for instance, the provision of rituals and prayers for dynamics of emplacement (Dilger, Kasmani, and Mattes 2018; Englund 2002) or suffering bodies (Mossière 2007a). Religious affectivities thus transform the experience of social exclusion and marginalization and therefore have the potential to invert (or at least question) historical power relations. This holds true despite the fact that religious practice itself is embedded in relations of power, as has been shown meticulously in the history of Christianity in Africa (cf. Comaroff 1985). Religious teachings too have ambivalent effects: they enable members to move up socially by opening new emotional fashions and worldviews (Miescher 2005; van Dijk 2009), but they also forge new forms of social exclusion and inequality (Meyer 1998b).

As we have shown so far, the links between religion, emotion, affect, and sentiment are collectively authorized and subjectively felt, but one of the major arguments of this book is that they acquire particular qualities and cultural force in urban spaces. In this line of thinking, we follow Simmel's ([1903] 2006) pathbreaking insight that cities are sites of condensation, acceleration, and intensification and are constituted by spatialities and materialities that shape people's affective relations. We suggest that this conceptualization helps us to understand how cities mediate people's religious experiences and expressions. In pursuing this argument, we expand on the burgeoning field of studies on religion in urban space, and point to their shortcomings.

We intervene in these debates with two arguments. First, we contend that in many studies on religion and urban space, just as in urban theory more generally, affect, emotion, and sentiment have not received sufficient attention. Indeed, we argue that emotional dynamics are in fact central to understanding how urban space enables and constrains lived religions—and how it is simultaneously shaped by them. Second, we argue that religion affects—and is affected by—the city. Religious beliefs motivate urban dwellers to engage in practices that result in ideational-material assemblages that we call cities (Farías 2011; McFarlane 2011). Conversely, cities shape religion by confronting people with the need to permanently adapt their forms of religious belonging and worship to fluctuating urban circumstances and the often ephemeral nature of city life resulting from mobility (Burchardt and Höhne 2015; De Boeck and Plissart 2004). In order to appreciate the relevance of these arguments in the African context, a more precise understanding of the nature of urbanization in Africa is necessary.

The emergence of towns and urban centers in Africa significantly preceded European colonialism. These precolonial urban forms, along with those developed in parallel to but not by European colonists, included a diverse array of settlements, including Tswana "agro-towns," the intricate and vast constructions of Great Zimbabwe; Mbanza Kongo, a trading center (also for the slave trade) of the Kongo Kingdom; the Asante settlements of West Africa; Gondar, built by the Ethiopian emperor Fasilidas in the late seventeenth century; and Islamic cities such as Cairo; among many others (Freund 2007). As Bill Freund (2007) has meticulously documented in *The African City: A History*, the colonial city then took several forms, involv-

ing the imposition of colonial administrative and labor regimes onto existing settlements, but also the establishment of entirely new cities. Colonial towns and cities were often divided into spaces of prosperity and abandonment, but these divisions were also continually subverted and challenged by indigenous populations (Fanon 1961; Freund 2007).

The most rapid period of urbanization, however, has been during the postcolonial period. Pieterse and Parnell (2014) have characterized this as "Africa's urban revolution" in their edited book of this title. In the first chapter of their book, Pieterse and Parnell note, drawing from data from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA), that as of 2011, the continent was 40 percent urbanized, expanding from around 14 percent in 1950. They characterize the specific dynamics of African cities as relating to high levels of inward and circular migration; the emergence of porous peri-urban edges; the political emphasis on key cities; high levels of informal organization; overlapping systems of land tenure and power; and high levels of poverty.

Characterizations of African urbanism have often been caught between, on the one hand, dystopian imaginations of out-of-control African slums and related Marxist-inspired analyses of continual economic exclusion and immiseration (Murray 2011; Davis 2006); and, on the other, those that emphasize the agency and creativity of African urbanites—though recent analyses have attempted to move beyond these binaries (Harrison 2014; Mbembe and Nuttall 2008; Rizzo 2017; Robinson 2010; De Boeck and Baloji 2016; Simone 2008). Throughout Africa, urbanization has been characterized by continual processes of "accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey 2008). However, these processes have been driven not simply by capitalist development but also by the dynamics of postcolonial politics, land tenure and legal-political contestations, along with modernist visions for the postcolonial city (De Boeck 2013). Sometimes dispossession has been directly driven by party politics—for instance, in the case of Zimbabwe's Murambatsvina started in 2005, the clearance of informal settlements was aimed as a direct attack against urban opposition to Mugabe's government (Potts 2006). Furthermore, in spaces throughout Africa, enclave-style development with areas developed for the rich and conspicuous consumption have continued to produce further displacement and exclusion (Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002; Freund 2007).

The dynamics of contemporary migration and enforced displacement have powerfully shaped African cities (Kihato 2013; Landau 2009; Nyamnjoh 2006). In spite of their associated hardships, these processes have also con-

tributed to the "Afropolitan" and transnational dimension of these spaces and their attendant cultural, symbolic, and semiotic density and vitality (Mbembe and Nuttall 2008; Quayson 2014). Simone (2008) and others have emphasized the ability of urban dwellers to improvise and continually generate new alliances and identities in order to navigate the city. Some observers furthermore have theorized the power of new mediascapes and technologies in shaping African cityscapes (Larkin 2004; Meyer 2015). Finally, the influence of religious forms and architectures has been particularly prominent in configuring African urban centers in recent decades (Burchardt and Becci 2013; De Boeck 2013; Landau 2009; Wilhelm-Solomon et al. 2016). In developing these themes in this volume, the emphasis on religion and affect does not entail a retreat into focusing only on passions and interiority, but rather on the ways in which the urban environment affects, debilitates, and capacitates urban dwellers. It is the relationship between urban spaces, mobilities, and mediascapes, and the intimate social and religious experiences of urban dwellers that this volume aims to explore.

Adopting this approach requires both elaborating on and also departing from the well-trodden paths of urban theory, particularly those relating to the production of urban spaces. These theories, though powerful and influential, have been limited in their theorizations both of religion and also of affect, emotion, and sentiment—and particularly the connections between them. Henri Lefebvre's writings have been hugely influential in urban theory and may serve to illustrate our first point. Although Lefebvre frames the "right to the city" as a "cry and a demand" (1996, 158), his work on urbanism and the production of space provides little theorization of the relation between religion and emotion. The closest he comes is in his writing on "rhythmanalysis," where he notes of his imagined figure of the rhythmanalysist in the Mediterranean city that he wanders the street with "his thoughts and emotions, his impressions and his wonder" (228–229). He also relates his notion of the study of rhythms explicitly to religious rituals and their "irruption and also their intervention in everyday life" (235). However, in his proposed methodology, and in his notion of the "(co-)production of space," anything like *affect* as a prediscursively felt and sensory apprehension of the city is never fully realized. Although the notion of the production of space thus remains a powerful idea for apprehending the structuring of the urban, it requires supplementation when theorizing the intimate and affective engagement with cities.

For the purposes of this volume, we engage the notion of space to refer to networks of sites in which humans and things are specifically emplaced

(Löw 2001). Such emplacements, like their articulations in people's momentary perceptions, past memories, and future imaginations, mark and punctuate spaces (Berberich, Campbell, and Hudson 2013). This also implies that people are not alone and above other beings in creating spaces but are always, as Ingold's "dwelling perspective" suggests, "in an active engagement with the constituents of his or her surroundings" (2005, 5). To this conceptualization, we add two central theoretical insights. First, the networks of sites that make the city always also include places beyond the city (such as "the rural," "the global," or the reference to "history"). The "urban proper" thus contains within it "other spaces," as Foucault ([1967] 1984) insisted. Second, the relations between the places within a network of sites are established through people's movements, mobilities, and imaginations. Cities are infrastructures of circulation that facilitate the movement of people, ideas, and things between sites. We suggest that circulations take place on territories that are in some way always religiously marked; albeit not all social groups are able to effect such markings in the same way, and perceive and interpret them differently. People circulate between places with religious meanings, and it is imperative to explore how the meanings actually influence their movements along with their emotive and affective experiences of urban space.

In addition, engaging analytically with urban space benefits from the notion of scale (Brenner 2001) that addresses the hierarchical arrangements of urban centers in an interconnected world, as well as the internal diversity of urban spaces with their "hot spots" and "dead zones" (van Dijk 2011). Consequently, in this volume cities are considered spaces of intensification (Debord 1967) configured around spatial mobilities, risks, and opportunities, as well as "vulnerable and often invisible infrastructures [which] impose their own spatial and temporal logic on the city" (De Boeck 2012). At the same time, cities also become spaces of "ontological insecurity" (Giddens 2004), where the vagaries and fragilities of urban centers threaten their inhabitants' sense of identity and coherence, challenging their social, spiritual, and moral beings in highly gendered and embodied ways (Mukonyora 2007). Again, religious practices that originate from the fields of Christianity, Islam, and African or other forms of "traditional" religion help to overcome these states of insecurity and establish affective and emotional belonging in the context of highly fluid urban environments (Wilhelm-Solomon, Kankonde, and Núñez 2017).

With regard to the specific role of religion in the production of cityscapes, finally, this volume is informed by the burgeoning literature on religion

and urban space that has demonstrated how religion and urban environments are mutually shaped (Becker et al. 2013; Burchardt and Becci 2013; Wilhelm-Solomon et al. 2016). On the one hand, urban processes shape religious identities, forms of belonging, and religious aspirations and practices (van der Veer 2013; Dilger 2017). Chiefly, cities affect religion by casting religious communities and their forms of sociality within particular spatial regimes and by contributing to the territorialization of religious categories (Hervieu-Léger 2002). These regimes also involve questions around places of worship as key sites for organizing religious communities, celebrating togetherness through shared religious rituals, and expressing and consuming religious aesthetics through forms of "architectural registration" (Knowles 2013, 656) or decoration, especially in the context of festivals and ceremonies (Garbin 2013). On the other hand, religious communities and traditions shape cities and urban space in invisible and visible ways. They contain the imaginaries and ideas on the basis of which people make urban worlds and relate to the city. But they also often leave durable infrastructural and architectural imprints, whereby notions of the divine are materially mediated. In addition, in highly mobile African cities, life is characterized by new kinds of religious sociality that enable emotional, financial, and ritual support that often goes far beyond the role of kin and family networks and ties (Akyeampong 1996; Dilger 2007, 2014).

While we value this research, we nevertheless argue that there is a need to better understand how affect, emotion, and sentiment shape the nexus of religion and urbanism, as scholarly understandings have thus far remained limited. It is clear that for diaspora communities and migrants in African cities, religion contributes to notions of "home-making" (Adogame 1998; Eade 2012; Olupona and Gemignani 2007) or "place-making," by which Vásquez and Knott (2014, 326) understand articulations of dwelling, building, and inhabiting (see also Dilger, Kasmani, and Mattes 2018). Such practices engage with spatial regimes and reconfigure the ways in which religious lines of difference are mapped onto urban territories and spaces, thereby producing particular "topographies of faith" (Becci, Burchardt, and Casanova 2013). At the same time, religious actors and institutions connect these topographies to novel forms of religious popular culture (e.g., speaking, singing, dancing, praying, and dressing) (Schulz 2012), which also shape notions of home and feelings of belonging. Similarly, entrepreneurial religious individuals and organizations produce new forms of entertainment, for instance, through commercialized purchased artifacts of popular music (de Witte 2012) or the burgeoning video film industry (Meyer 2015).

In brief, throughout the early twenty-first century, religious practices, and the sensational forms they produce (Meyer 2011), have shaped the lives of urban African populations through emotional styles and fashions that become sources for identification, imagination, and desire in highly volatile urban settings. Next to Christianity and Islam, this also holds true for revitalized forms of "traditional" healing and religion in the city, such as the urban Marabout in Senegal who are increasingly popular among urban professionals (Gemmeke 2008), as well as globalized forms of African traditional religions (Olupona 2008). Similarly, herbal "Eastern" medicines such as Ayurvedic remedies or traditional Chinese medicine have moved increasingly into East and West Africa (Hsu 2009) to become part and parcel of the professional aspirations of urban medical entrepreneurs, as well as the spiritual-therapeutic (and affective) trajectories of African urbanites.

AFFECTIVE TRAJECTORIES: TEMPORALITY, SOCIOSPATIALITY, AND REASON

In this volume, we conceive of affective trajectories as highly diversified forms of sensation, which point to the dissolution and opening of human experience in the context of religious ritual and practice into its surrounding (urban) forms. Anthropologically and sociologically, this represents a concern with affect, emotion, and sentiment "as a space of potentiality where new forms of life can emerge" (Povinelli 2011, 105). The authors in this collection are thus interested in exploring how such potentialities unfold—and how they are modulated, experienced, and embodied—in specific religious settings, as well as with regard to the wider everyday lives of African urbanites. As proposed in Stewart's (2007) notion of "ordinary affects," the chapters explore the scenes, anxieties, and problems that are connected with everyday living in African urban settings, and the affective and emotional experiences and potentially religiously informed ideas and practices that are opened up.

The "affective arrangements" (Slaby, Mühlhoff, and Wüschner 2017, 6) that result from such potentialities are always highly situated and contingent, though their particular trajectories are never merely coincidental and are thus open for analysis and representation. In this regard, we move beyond studies of affect, which argue that affective states are always only unstructured and inchoate and thus ultimately nonrepresentational and nonrepresentable. As Wetherell has argued, affect is both represented and triggered by discourse, and "talk, body actions, affect, material contexts and social relations assemble *in situ*" (2013, 351).

Following these observations, with this volume we intend to provide an integrative space that accommodates insights from poststructuralist thought on affect (Massumi 2015; Stewart 2007), as well as concerns with the cultural coding and ordering of emotions (Scheer 2012; Reckwitz 2012). Our guiding concept of "affective trajectories" is indeed meant to highlight the fact that experiences of urban space involve a wide register of affects, emotions, and sentiments—often at the same time. In other words, "affective trajectories" are pathways through space-time in which affects, emotions, and sentiments are mobilized simultaneously and in coconstitutive ways. And insofar as they represent different modalities of affecting and being affected, each of these terms has a particular analytical potential necessary for understanding the complex nature of religiosity in urban Africa. Significantly, in this context, religion is not construed in opposition to rationality, knowledge, and intellect but provides spaces in which knowledge is embodied, affects are ordered, and so on.

With the notion of "affective trajectories," we also introduce a theoretical concept that captures analytically the relationship between religion, affect, emotion, sentiment, and urban forms. In particular, we seek to address the various forces of affecting and being affected as they are shaped by—and simultaneously co-shape—the nexus of temporality and spatiality in the religious lives of individuals and communities; that is, the ways in which people's movements and mobilities are inscribed in their biographical becoming and, conversely, the ways in which life courses always unfold in spaces. An affective trajectory is thus a mode of articulating time-space coordinates that involves memories of the past as well as imaginations of the future. It includes, for instance, the traces of the former presences of people and of encounters between believers, gods, and spirits in urban space (Selim 2018, 110–13; Dilger, Kasmani, and Mattes 2018, 109). Affective trajectories are therefore mutually interconnected series of emplacements whereby the networks between people, religious forces, and material places are constantly established, dissolved, and remade.

As the chapters in this volume show, there are in particular three dimensions that shape and reshape the relationships between religion, affect, emotion, and sentiment in urban settings. First, the chapters stress that affective trajectories extend across different time spans and account for the fact that imaginations related to historical sites and figures may also shape the religious practices and ideas in contemporary African cityscapes. Take, for instance, the wanderings and travels of Johane Masowe in the 1930s, which led the prophet far beyond colonial Zimbabwe into the wider southern Afri-

can region; the routes he and his followers took have left traces on the morphology of the urban landscapes they passed through and have continued to shape the imaginations of the Masowe Apostles religious group—and their sense of belonging on the margins of Harare—until today (Mukonyora, this volume). In a similar vein, the affective expressions and experiences among Botswana's urban middle classes have to be understood through the colonial and postcolonial histories of Christian moral education and how religiously informed ideas of the family and class-based belonging have been shaped across generations and under shifting political and economic conditions (Bochow, this volume). Such ethnographic accounts highlight the historicity of affect, emotion, and sentiments by showing that affective arrangements "emerge out of multiple formative trajectories . . . [and] might be cautiously considered as 'conservation devices' in which histories of interaction and of collective habituation have become sedimented, so that the ongoing affectedness that transpires within the arrangement is a differential reenactment of past processes" (Slaby, Mühlhoff, and Wüschner 2017, 6).

Histories of affect comprise not only long-term historical processes but also biographical trajectories, which become embodied in specific affective and emotional (Beatty 2014) practices, situations, and experiences. Thus, as Kathleen Stewart notes, "the affective subject is a collection of trajectories and circuits" (2007, 59), becoming legible only in relation to a person's past experiences and practices, which culminate in specific modalities of being-in-the-world. As the chapters in this book show, such embodiments of affect, in being rooted in a person's history, can include the process of "becoming Muslim" in the *zongo*s (Muslim wards) of Ghana (Pontzen), the conversions of young men in Cape Town to Pentecostalism (Reihling), and the affective journeys of patients on the West African coast (Lange, all in this volume).

In all these instances, it thereby becomes clear that the biographically rooted embodiment of affecting and being affected is rarely restricted to the individual's situation alone but is always a critical articulation of larger social, economic, political, and religious configurations. Thus the process of becoming Muslim in urban Ghana is a conflicted one, as the affective regimes of prayer mediate not only the individual emergence of the self within a wider transnational community of believers but also—and simultaneously—an articulation of *dis*sent with alternative practices of being and becoming Muslim in the migratory contexts of the urban zongo. Similarly, the affective conversions of the young men in Cape Town are entwined with particular mobilities and emotional maps of the city and include in several instances the renunciation of "the evil forces of gangsterism and drugs." Fi-

nally, the patients' narratives on the West African coast are not only stories of affective (re)orientation and (re)connection in the search for healing and well-being but also—and simultaneously—a direct reflection of what the neoliberalized health systems in this region are *not* able to offer their citizens. All of these examples demonstrate that affects and emotions are not just "placed" in individuals but have to be read as distinct forms of collective mobilization and attachment (Ahmed 2013), as well as powerful articulations of discontent, anger, and frustration in settings of inequality and injustice (cf. Fassin 2013).

Second, the chapters in this volume draw attention to the way in which affective trajectories and potentialities are always embedded in—and co-shape—larger social, political, and material configurations and arrangements in specific urban settings. Thus, it is only in the context of collectively experienced sensations and affective potentialities that people are motivated to make decisions and act on their environments, which are modified and transformed in the process. Furthermore, it is only in the interactions with the specific conditions and materialities of urban spaces that the dynamics of affection "transfigure" (cf. Riis and Woodhead 2010, 11) the emotional lives of African urbanites in relation to religiously sustained ideas, practices, and paraphernalia. As van Dijk shows in his chapter in this volume, urban settings in Africa amplify the potential for mutual affection in that processes of urbanization have become essential for shaping the sentiment of sophistication among Pentecostal professionals, as well as for evoking particular desires for knowledge and distinction among the growing middle classes in Africa's cityscapes. Similarly, Lambertz explores how transnational religious forms and trajectories in Kinshasa become articulated with local spaces through religious ceremonies, and enmeshed in affective idioms and spatial practices that are closely entwined with local political histories and institutional practices.

With regard to the specific role of religion in the formation of affective cityscapes, it is thus important to emphasize that religious collectives do not enforce emotions, affect, and sentiment in uniform ways, but that they rather provide affective orientations and potentialities that are enacted and embodied along highly situated paths. Furthermore, while most of the contributors focus on one specific religious or denominational framework (Christian, Muslim, "traditional," or new spiritual movements), it should be remarked that most urban centers on the African continent (and in its diasporas) are shaped by the co-presence of a wide range of internally diversified and partly contested religious traditions and practices.

In this volume, it is primarily the chapters by Ibrahim and Wilhelm-Solomon that adopt an explicitly comparative perspective on these processes, looking at more than one religious form and congregation, and exploring how affective urban landscapes are configured in the context of religiously diverse settings. Thus Ibrahim explores how both Christian and Muslim congregations in Abuja become "sites of divine encounters," and how the affective attractions and practices of religious groups have become inscribed in the infrastructural setup of the "city of dreams." In Johannesburg, on the other hand, the lens of affect and religion illuminates how marginalized urban populations both experience and coproduce urban spaces in the interstices of larger-scale urban change and how in this process they engage in "affective regenerations" by referring to both Pentecostal, mainline Christian, and ancestral idioms and practices (Wilhelm-Solomon).

Third, and importantly, our notion of affective trajectories is also meant to unsettle and challenge time-honored dualistic philosophies in which emotion, affect, and sentiment are opposed to reason and intellect. Such binaries and traditions of thought have been particularly problematic in African contexts. Especially during the colonial period, but also subsequently, the accounts of Westerners—both nonacademic and academic—have often portrayed Africans' beliefs and forms of behavior as driven by emotions and entrapped in the immediacy of an ahistorical, unending present. Collective practices in the field of religion and politics were typically categorized as "delusional" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1987, 203) and viewed as expressions of irrationality and primordial attachments and drives (cf. Evans-Pritchard 1965).

Racist stereotyping has thus been part and parcel of earlier Western thinking on the role of emotions in Africans' lives. Postcolonial theorists such as Fanon have also worked to develop social and psychological approaches that take into account the effects of violence on the psyches of the colonized, without resorting to individualized models of therapeutic treatment (Akyeampong 2015; Fanon 1961). According to Fanon, colonial readings of subjects' emotional and affective states are direct reflections of relations of hierarchies and power within the colonial setup. We firmly wish to situate our approach to affect, emotion, and sentiment within the formation of colonial and postcolonial urban spaces. Fanon's analysis points out the interconnections of affective states and conditions of violence, exclusion, and struggle. In this regard, our approach here attends to the constant dialectic between affective and emotional experiences and practices

and the spatial and structural conditions in which they emerge: of course this is not to preclude the analysis of particular modes of critical thought as they surface from these struggles, or to reduce Africans to affective or emotional conditions.

Our account unsettles the binaries underlying these traditions of thought, especially by highlighting how emotions—and religious "ways of knowing" (Peek 1991)—have been shaped through forms of intellectualism, learning, and trained reflection during the colonial and postcolonial periods. In many parts of Africa, the spheres of traditional healing and religion, as well as the highly diversified articulations of Christianity, Islam, and other religious (or spiritual) movements and traditions, are prime reserves of intellectual development. For instance, van Dijk (2015a) has observed how Pentecostalism has been characterized by high degrees of intellectual production, the emergence of new public intellectuals, and the flourishing of new literary genres, all of which are geared toward the shaping and legible rendering of emotional lives in social contexts such as kinship, family, and sexuality. In this volume, Cazarin and Burchardt explore how the notions of "emotional repertoire" and "regime" prove especially apt to capture both the similarities and the differences in the rules relating to feelings that Pentecostal pastors aim to teach in vastly different diasporic contexts: both concepts are tied to the fact that pastors engage systematically with the urban domain in terms of moral geographies that believers have to navigate successfully.

In this sense, it behooves us to emphasize that, from an anthropological and sociological perspective, religiously inspired emotions are not so much opposed to intellectualism and practices of reflexive cultivation as evolving in a dialectical relationship with them. Urban conglomerates and their religious articulations, in both Africa and its diasporic extensions, do not assemble erratically acting crowds; on the contrary, they prove to favor intellectualist versions of religion and spirituality that collapse the presumed dichotomy between reason and emotion, religion and science, nature and culture, body and mind, feeling and cognition. Affective trajectories, while shaped by the unintentional force of affect, are not amorphous and irrational, but indeed structured and intelligible. As Alessandro Gusman reminds us in his chapter, however, rendering affective trajectories intelligible requires a high degree of reflexivity and laborious efforts on the part of the researchers to unearth shared grounds of intersubjectivity, especially in contexts of forced migration and extreme violence.

The chapters in this volume are all based on original ethnographic research—carried out by anthropologists, sociologists, and a scholar of Christian theology—and focus on the ways in which religion, affect, emotion, and sentiment are intertwined in people's lives in African cities and their diasporic counterparts. While there is a certain bias within the volume with regard to the strong focus of the chapters on (neo-Pentecostal) Christianity, and with only one chapter explicitly looking at Islam, this is reflective of existing scholarship, where research on neo-Pentecostalism has flourished within the broader study of Christianity in Africa (Meyer 2004a), and less attention has been paid to the study of Islam and "African traditional religion."[4] This being said, this volume includes chapters that explore situations of religious diversity *beyond* neo-Pentecostal religious practice (Wilhelm-Solomon, Ibrahim, Lange, Bochow) or that focus explicitly on "Islam" (Pontzen), "African traditional religion," and its relation to African Independent Churches (Mukonyora), and new spiritual movements in urban Africa (Lambertz).

Taken together, the chapters show how new conceptual perspectives can be formulated regarding the articulation of religious lives, and the ways in which they shape—and are shaped by—affect, emotion, and sentiment in urban settings in Africa and the African diaspora. Furthermore, the chapters in this book explore how experiences and practices of affect, emotion, and sentiment can be studied and represented ethnographically, as these areas of research are, by definition, difficult to access through a sole focus on language or text (Mattes, Kasmani, and Dilger 2019). In this latter regard, the scholars in this volume train attention to the ways in which affect, emotion, and sentiment are encapsulated in religious practices and materialities, as well as the various material and infrastructural forms that life in urban settings in Africa and their diasporic counterparts entails. They also reflect on the ways in which, as researchers, they themselves became implicated in the wider web of affective and emotional states and practices produced by the different relationalities in their field sites (Davies 2010; Stodulka 2015).

The chapters in the volume are organized into three thematic parts. The first part, entitled "Affective Infrastructures," explores the ways in which the materiality of the urban form can be an affective force. The infrastructures of African cities and their diasporic counterparts produce and elicit emotional responses and ritual cleansings and offer sites of catharsis, haunting,

fear, disorientation, and hope. The contributors explore the diverse ways in which the spiritual, religious, and emotional are interpenetrated with the structures of the city—its streets, buildings, populations, and media. If, as Simone (2008) argues, "people are infrastructure" and infrastructure must be viewed in its social and relational aspects, then we argue that infrastructure also has an affective force that is imminent in the social and religious life of the city. Infrastructures also include more ephemeral forms such as soundscapes and mediascapes (Quayson 2014), which evoke particular sensorial and aesthetic experiences of religiously diverse cities (Meyer 2011).

Matthew Wilhelm-Solomon, in his opening chapter on the "dark buildings"—unlawfully appropriated buildings in inner-city Johannesburg—develops the concept of affective regenerations. These entail "the processes through which interpersonal relations and practices, enmeshed in the materiality of the city, are the source of the renewal of urban life and survival in the face of trauma, dereliction, and abandonment." He argues that religious symbols and rites drawn from both Christian and ancestral idioms structure affective relationships with urban spaces and are also reworked through material practices. Affective regenerations indicate some of the processes through which marginalized inner-city populations attempt to deal with the traumas and dislocations of urban life. The concept of affective regenerations is viewed in counterpoint to conceptions of urban regeneration founded on large-scale state-driven and private sector–driven schemes.

Isabel Mukonyora's contribution deals with the "urban wilderness" of Harare during the late 1990s, a time of major social and political upheaval in Zimbabwe. Based on a case study of the Masowe Apostles, an African Independent Church that does not use written texts, her chapter argues that colonial and postcolonial experiences of displacement have led to affective ritual engagements at the margins of the city as a way "to control anger, fear, and sadness associated with marginality in society and based on the belief that the healing power of the Holy Spirit is all around the sacred sites for prayer." The uninhabited urban fringes of the city thus become material spaces through which spiritual idioms of dispossession are projected and felt. The urban wilderness becomes both a material symbolic universe in which difficult human "conditions of injustice, sickness, and general misfortunes" are articulated, and a space where redemption is sought through the emotional connection with God.

Murtala Ibrahim explores how religiously diverse practices and material forms in Abuja mold into—and are simultaneously shaped by—the affective urban landscape that has become known as "the city of dreams" in

Nigeria. In this context, the public sphere of the city becomes a stage for various forms of religious expression and practices that comprise the use of media (images and sound), as well as specific modes of praying and ritual performance. Drawing on his fieldwork among both Christian and Muslim congregations, Ibrahim paints a complex picture of the similarities and differences that shape the ways in which religious spaces provide opportunities for affective participation and belonging, as well as for the correlating modes of aesthetic expression and experience.

Rijk van Dijk's contribution concludes this part by observing processes of sophistication as a central aspect of urban life, on the one hand, and of the development of Christianity, especially Pentecostalism, on the other, in contemporary Africa. More specifically, he explores religious sophistication in terms of the particular ways in which Pentecostals draw on scientific knowledge to arrive at a deeper understanding of human life. Building on his long-term ethnographic involvement with Christians in Malawi, Ghana, and Botswana, van Dijk draws our attention to facets of urban life, such as the emphasis on beauty and new forms of conspicuous consumption, that have rarely been viewed as linked to religion, and to how urban contexts are often seen to amplify religious experiences. Importantly, he theorizes these observations through the notion of sentiment, which means a set of enduring dispositions of collectivities that articulate persons, bodies, and polities.

The diversity of urban life in Africa and its diaspora is mirrored by a multiplicity of religious practices, beliefs, spirits, and religious institutions and authorities that have shaped people's journeys to, and aspirations regarding, cities on the continent and abroad. The importance of geography as well as social mobility for understanding religious practices and beliefs has long been noted in the anthropology of the urban (cf. Schildkrout 1970; Akyeampong 1996), and traveling spirits and ritual practices represent powerful spiritual sources in people's quests for healing and relief across urban and rural settings (Luedke and West 2006; Hüwelmeier and Krause 2010). Spirits, rituals, and religious practices, even if imported from a "foreign culture," establish a sense of "home" (Mohr 2012) and represent important sources of comfort, but also emotional and spiritual insecurity (Hüwelmeier and Krause 2010; van Dijk 2009). The second part, entitled "Emotions on the Move" (cf. Svašek 2010), asks how traveling religious practices and beliefs, and the affective and emotional forces they imply, contribute to novel forms of attachment and place-making and their respective contestations in African cities and the diaspora.

Isabelle Lange's chapter looks at the different affective possibilities that

chronic surgical patients traverse in their quest for healing in the spatial (physical and imagined) triangle of their rural and urban networks, as well as the treatment opportunities of a Christian "mercy ship" offering its services in ports along the West African coast. Her argument draws on Vigh's concept of "social navigation" and explores how West African men and women engage in "affective journeys" that arise out of—and simultaneously co-shape—the uncertainties, anxieties, and hopes associated with their suffering. At the same time, she describes how these navigations lead to the formation of new, or the modification of old, attachments and networks of support—with relatives, healing and treatment collectives, religious congregations—as the patients struggle to inhabit and overcome the liminal spaces between illness and wellness.

Like Lange, Peter Lambertz deals with transnational religious connections, in his case the Église Messianique Mondiale (EMM), a transnational Japanese spiritual movement, in Kinshasa. Lambertz explores the spiritual geography of cleansing ceremonies, or *nettoyage*, as they form an affective engagement with urban spaces, including the "spiritual atmospheres" of markets and squares, of Kinshasa. Lambertz proposes the concept of at*touch*ment to analyze the affective dimensions of engaging with urban spaces in a manner in which the symbolic and sensory are enmeshed in spatial practice. Developing this, he also argues that the EMM's practice and philosophy deploy "a reflexive theory of sentiment and affective behavior as a core theoretical grid to explain . . . the vicissitudes of city life." His chapter thus explores how analytical conceptions of emotion and affect can be articulated in relation to urban spaces, as well as to local languages and categories.

The chapter by Rafael Cazarin and Marian Burchardt focuses on the emotional dynamics of Pentecostal social life in Nigerian and Congolese diaspora communities in Bilbao in northern Spain and Johannesburg in South Africa. The authors argue against an understanding of emotions as spontaneous, unmediated inner representations of experiences and focus instead on the ways in which emotions are bodily states that are learned, inculcated, and cultivated. Building on a close reading of the life stories and biographical narratives of Pentecostal pastors who fashion self-images as emotional teachers, their chapter is based on the conceptual distinction between emotional regimes and emotional repertoires. The former refers to sets of feeling rules that circulate through transnational Pentecostal public spheres, while the latter means the regulated ways in which pastors draw on and improvise with emotional regimes in their attempts to grapple with the predicaments of migrants in specific urban settings.

The third part, entitled "Embodiment, Subjectivity, and Belonging," shows how religion becomes a source of identification and belonging in the materially, socially, and spiritually often insecure social worlds of African cityscapes, with their highly dynamic landscapes of religious actors, institutions, and practices offering meaning and spiritual orientation. Partially informed by a historical perspective, the chapters show that messages of salvation, healing, holiness, and piety, as well as their reinterpretation of evil forces, spirits, or witchcraft, are often accompanied by attempts to shape or even discipline people's visions of family life, community, and alternative forms of care for others, as well as care of the self and the body, including sexuality, emotionality, and intimacy (Miescher 2005; Ojo 1997). Furthermore, they highlight how affective and emotional styles that are closely connected to the embodiment of religiously informed codes and norms have become intertwined with processes of social class formation and emerging cosmopolitan lifestyles.

In his chapter, Benedikt Pontzen analyzes the zongos—wards of Muslim immigrants from the north—in the Asante towns of southern Ghana. In these wards, daily prayers, or *salat*, form an "affective regime" through religion, which operates through an encoding of daily life, rendering it meaningful through Islamic practice and symbolism. It is from these practices, and the affective and emotional states they induce, Pontzen argues, that a Muslim sense of self emerges. The practices of the salat, its "cycle of postures, gestures, and recitations," produce an embodied and affective relationship with God, strengthening ties of solidarity among the worshippers and locating them as a distinct community. However, the salat also opens up a space for religious dissent; thus it both mediates divisions within the local migrant community of the zongos and produces relations with a transglobal Islamic community.

Astrid Bochow builds on Sara Ahmed's theory of the cultural politics of emotions and explores how Christians in urban Botswana have ascribed shifting emotional and moral meanings to the family throughout the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In particular, she shows that Christian moral education shaped the ambitions and desires, as well as the anxieties, of different generations of urban professionals with regard to their marriages and reproductive lives in specific ways. Furthermore, she describes how recent socioeconomic transformations, along with the drastic morbidity and mortality rates associated with HIV/AIDS, have become intertwined both with new opportunities for religious and professional be-